

PUBLISH AND BE BLESSED:
a case study in
early Pentecostal publishing history,
1906–1926

by
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SYNOPSIS

This dissertation argues that a major factor in Pentecostalism's rapid world-wide growth was the emergence of a strong literary, as distinct from oral, tradition. From its earliest days the movement gave birth to a plethora of publications and publishing houses, mostly operating by faith, that proved highly successful in disseminating the distinctive tenets of the movement across the globe.

The first part of this work outlines the social, historical and religious background to the movement in the USA and Britain, and highlights the distinctive doctrines and practices of Pentecostalism. The second section examines the emergence of Pentecostal publishing movements and their products in the USA, especially the role played by the prototypical magazine of W. J. Seymour, *The Apostolic Faith*.

The third and major part of this dissertation is a detailed case study of the earliest, and most influential, Pentecostal magazine published in Britain, *Confidence*. The crucial role that this journal and its editor, A. A. Boddy, played in formulating and propagating the beliefs and practices of the nascent movement is critically examined, together with an assessment of its contribution to wider issues of religious life and thought in Britain. Areas of subsequent influence in the development of historic Pentecostalism and its contemporary offshoots are also discussed.



(93,628 words)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOG	Assemblies of God
DPCM	Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements
EE	Elim Evangel
TLOF	The Life of Faith
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union
RT	Redemption Tidings

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PREFACE

A bibliographical review of scholarly literature on the study of the Pentecostal movement

Although the Pentecostal movement has existed for most of this century, it attracted little attention from scholars until the 1960s. Then the emergence of the Charismatic movement and its pervasive influence on all sections of the Church and society, forced both the media and the academic world to take notice. At present, the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements are the subject of intense media as well as scholarly interest. Articles on Pentecostalism now appear frequently in the quality press¹ and national radio² and television,³ and this interest has been fuelled by the recent appointment of Dr George Carey – himself a charismatic sympathiser – as Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

Currently, three centres in Europe have emerged as pioneers in Pentecostal research; one each at the universities of Louvain and Birmingham, and the newly-created (1990) Donald Gee Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Research at Mattersey Bible College, near Doncaster. The fruits of this surge of interest in Pentecostalism confront the researcher with a formidable task. The most complete bibliography on Pentecostalism so far produced is by C. E. Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Pentecostal Movement*,⁵ whose two volumes contain some 9,883 entries, many of which are primary texts. However, until this comparatively recent wave of interest in the movement arose, only one serious history of Pentecostalism in Britain was available to scholars, and even that was written from a popular rather than critical approach. Donald Gee's *Wind and Flame* was written by a sympathetic

insider whose contact with the movement went back to 1913, and extended up to 1966.⁶ Not unnaturally, his broad sweep seriously underplays his own enormous contribution to the movement, but a more basic weakness is that Gee's work is essentially historically based, and lacks an interpretive schema that synthesizes the historical background to Pentecostalism with its distinctive social and theological development. Also, in a number of important areas, his opinions are rather facile and tendentious, which obviously tends to weaken his objectivity as a historian.

However, the last twenty years or so has seen a positive efflorescence of scholarly works on virtually all aspects of the Pentecostal movement. A fairly comprehensive one-volume introduction to the whole panorama of Pentecostal belief and practice is found in W. Hollenweger's *The Pentecostals*.⁷ Similar but less detailed works include J. Nichol's *Pentecostalism*⁸ and Nils Bloch-Hoell's *The Pentecostal Movement*.⁹ The historical and theological antecedents of the movement have been thoroughly delineated in R. Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*;¹⁰ H. V. Synan's *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*,¹¹ and D. W. Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*.¹²

Information concerning the contribution of other biblicistic traditions towards the emergence of Pentecostalism is given by E. L. Waldvogel in "The 'Overcoming Life': A Study of the Reformed Evangelical Origins of Pentecostalism", and E. R. Sandeen in *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*.¹⁴ The interplay of the holiness tradition with subsequent Pentecostalism is covered in M. Dieter's *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*,¹⁵ and J. Ford's *In the Steps of John Wesley*.¹⁶

From a geographical perspective, a plethora of doctoral dissertations discuss the nuances of Pentecostal belief and practice throughout the world. A global overview

of neo-Pentecostalism is R. A. Quebedeaux's *The New Charismatics*;¹⁷ the background to Dutch Pentecostalism is provided by Cornelius van der Laan's "Gerrit Roelof Polman, Sectarian against his will: Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands";¹⁸ a South American perspective is given by J. S. Carr's "The Growth of Pentecostal Belief and Practice in Brazil – A Sociological Perspective",¹⁹ and J. N. Saracco's "Argentine Pentecostalism – Its History and Theology".²⁰ The movement in Korea – home of the one-million member church of Pentecostal preacher Paul Yonggi Cho – is examined by Boo Woong Yoo in "Korean Pentecostalism – Its History and Theology".²¹ A specialised treatment of the movement in Chicago has been written by J. Colletti, "Ethnic Pentecostalism in Chicago, 1890–1950".²² The origins and development of Pentecostalism in Britain are also recounted in a number of scholarly works. A general phenomenological analysis is R. Massey's "British Pentecostalism in the Twentieth Century: a Historical Introduction and Phenomenological Study".²³ The same author has explored the origins of the largest Pentecostal group in Britain – the Assemblies of God – in "A Sound and Scriptural Union".²⁴ Two other accounts of the AOG, both written by insiders, are David Allen's "Signs and Wonders"²⁵ and William Kay's *Inside Story*.²⁶ As yet, no definitive history of the Elim denomination has been produced, but smaller Pentecostal groupings in the UK are fairly well represented. T. N. Turnbull's *What God Hath Wrought*,²⁷ D. Ollerton's *The Revival's Children*²⁸ and K. White's *The Word of God Coming Again*²⁹ discuss the Apostolic, Bethlehem and Apostolic Faith Churches respectively. The important link between Black holiness theology and incipient Pentecostalism is elucidated in two major studies – I. Macrobert's "Black Pentecostalism: Its Origins, Functions and Theology",³⁰ and W. C. Turner's "The United Holy Church of America. A Study in Black Holiness-Pentecostalism".³¹

Literature on the leading personalities of early Pentecostalism is very diverse. Of particular value are eye-witness accounts written from the scenes of the Los Angeles revival by Frank Bartleman in his *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles*.³² A

detailed study of W. J. Seymour is given by D. Nelson in "For Such a Time as This",³³ and J. R. Goff surveys the work of Charles F. Parham in *Fields White Unto Harvest*.³⁴ The life and ministry of Britain's first Pentecostal leader, A. A. Boddy, is traced by M. Robinson in "The Charismatic Anglican",³⁵ and short vignettes of lesser-known Pentecostals were recorded for posterity in Donald Gee's *These Men I Knew*,³⁶ which, despite the title, actually includes two ladies. Few other British Pentecostals have received extensive biographical attention, three exceptions being the discussion of Donald Gee in B. R. Ross, "Donald Gee: In search of a Church, Sectarian in Transition";³⁷ and D. M. Cartwright's *The Great Evangelists: The Lives of George and Stephen Jeffreys*.³⁸

The disparate nature of Pentecostal belief and practice, and its subsequent development into a number of forms, can be gleaned from a number of scholarly works. The "oneness" (non-Trinitarian) groups are discussed by A. L. Clanton in *United We Stand*,³⁹ and D. A. Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States."⁴⁰ Two seminal works cover the emergence of neo-Pentecostalism in Britain, Peter Hocken's *Streams of Renewal*⁴¹ and Michael Harper's *As at the Beginning*;⁴² while the rise of the House Church movement is traced by Joyce Thurman in *New Wineskins*.⁴³ The specific contribution of the Restorationist churches in general is analysed by Andrew Walker in *Restoring the Kingdom*.⁴⁴ The penetration of the Charismatic movement and neo-Pentecostalism generally into non-Evangelical churches can be gleaned from a number of Roman Catholic scholars, including Rene Laurentin's *Catholic Pentecostalism*,⁴⁵ Leon Suenens's *Charismatic Renewal and Social Action, a Dialogue*,⁴⁶ and Donald Gelpi, *Pentecostalism. A Theological Viewpoint*.⁴⁷

As would be expected, a very large number of works focus on the distinctive tenets of Pentecostal theology, especially glossolalia and Spirit baptism. A survey of the most recent research on this subject is found in W. E. Mills, *Speaking in Tongues: A*

Guide to Research on Glossolalia.⁴⁸ A number of medical, scientific and socio-linguistic approaches to speaking in tongues have been attempted in works such as L. M. Vivier's "Glossolalia";⁴⁹ W. Samarin's *Tongues of Men and of Angels*;⁵⁰ C. Williams's, *Tongues of the Spirit*;⁵¹ and the joint work of H. Malony and A. Lovekin, *Glossolalia: Behavioural Science Perspectives on Speaking in Tongues*.⁵²

Scholarly critiques of Pentecostal doctrine and practice are found in two works by James Dunn, *Baptism in the Spirit*,⁵³ and *Jesus and the Spirit*,⁵⁴ while the same theme is handled by F. D. Bruner in *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*,⁵⁵ and V. Budgen, *The Charismatics and the Word of God*.⁵⁶ Finally, the recently published *Festschrift* to W. Hollenweger contains a large number of scholarly essays that constitute a valuable overview of contemporary Pentecostalism worldwide.⁵⁷ A complete bibliography of works used in preparing this dissertation will be found after the appendices.

NOTES – PREFACE

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2. "Front Room Gospel," *BBC Radio Four*, 23 March 1984.
3. "Thank you Jesus, Thank you Lord", BBC 1 TV, 4 August 1991 (as part of *Everyman* series).
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INTRODUCTION

Who are the Pentecostals?

Religious life in Britain is experiencing a recrudescence of Evangelicalism. Whereas many of the older historic denominations are suffering serious decline and membership losses, Evangelicals are enjoying an expansionist phase and buoyant growth. The phrase 'born again',¹ once the exclusive preserve of a small coterie of fundamentalist Christians, has become almost *de rigueur* in many circles, not least the mass media.

Pentecostals are Evangelical Christians with a plus.² They accept and believe whole-heartedly virtually all that mainline orthodoxy offers, but with the added distinction that, beyond the inaugural conversion experience that makes a person 'born again' is a second separate experience called 'the Baptism of the Holy Spirit'.³ This is a supernatural experience that endues the believer with a new level of love for God and man, resulting in spiritual power to serve God more effectively.⁴ Spirit baptism is attested to by a supernatural sign, generally agreed to be the ability to speak in languages one has never learned.⁵ This gift is known as 'speaking in tongues', or glossolalia.⁶

At present in Britain there are three main groupings within Pentecostalism. The exact membership levels of these groups is difficult to establish with any precision. The statistics available vary enormously, and are constantly changing. There is also a tendency, with some writers, to exaggerate the numbers. However, allowing for these caveats, a tentative estimate of these groups is possible. The first sector, known as 'classical Pentecostals' probably numbers around 100,000 persons. Their

denominations were formed shortly after the movement began in 1906, in Los Angeles. In order of historical formation, these British denominations are known as Elim, the Apostolic Church, and Assemblies of God. The Apostolics are the smallest group, and are themselves an offshoot of the Apostolic Faith Church, founded in Winton, Bournemouth by W. O. Hutchinson in 1908. At present, they have about 3,000 members in the UK.⁷ The Elim movement has about 400 churches, including the largest Evangelical church in Britain, Kensington Temple. During its five Sunday services and two Saturday meetings around 6,000 souls partake of Pentecostal worship. It has recently been the subject of a BBC *Everyman* documentary.⁸ The Elim church has a total membership of around 40,000. The largest Pentecostal denomination in Britain is the Assemblies of God, formed in 1924 and claiming about 55,000 members in 600 churches.⁹ In contrast to the Elim pattern, each church is ostensibly autonomous, but there is an official statement of belief, and an executive council based at Nottingham.

The second major group within British Pentecostalism is known as 'Charismatics' or 'neo-Pentecostals'. Charismatics have received the glossolalic experience, but have generally remained within their historic churches, seeking to spread the ministry of charismatic gifts amongst their fellow believers. Charismatics are therefore a supra-denominational movement, rather than a denomination as such.¹⁰ Virtually every section of the Christian church has been permeated by the movement, but because of its non-sectarian nature, accurate numbers are impossible to compute. Many observers accept a figure of about 400,000 members within this wing.

The third, and, until recently, fastest growing sub-division of Pentecostalism is known as the 'House Church Movement'. These are Spirit-baptised believers who have concluded that the structures of both the Classical and neo-Pentecostal groupings are inimical to the unfettered workings of the Holy Spirit. The house churches generally pursue a radical, independent line on most social, political and religious

issues. Their denial of the validity of other Christian groupings has led to some friction within the Pentecostal movement, and much controversy has dogged their progress.¹¹ At present, there are about 80,000 house church members in Britain, but after a period of rapid growth in the 1980s, their numbers are now declining. In total, therefore, it is estimated that there could be at least half a million Pentecostals in Britain today.¹² Whilst this figure is not spectacular, the growth has occurred from a zero base (in 1907), and against a background of decline in other churches. Further, the movement has prospered in a generally hostile and secular *Zeitgeist*, with opposition coming from fellow Evangelicals as well as unbelievers. The tendency to rationalism and anti-supernaturalism that pervades modern life and much theological thought cuts clean across the Pentecostal *Weltanschauung* with its stress on the immanence of God and the possibility of miraculous phenomena. In this context, therefore, the growth of Pentecostalism in the UK has been significant, although elsewhere in the world it has been phenomenal. The most recent definitive estimates for world-wide Pentecostal growth have been proposed by Barrett, who gives the following geographical breakdown of Pentecostal adherents.¹³

a)	Europe:	29 million
b)	Africa:	48 million
c)	East Asia:	61 million
d)	Latin America:	80 million
e)	North America:	81 million
f)	South Asia:	31 million
g)	USSR:	4 million
h)	Oceania	3 million

This therefore gives a total figure of 337 million Pentecostals throughout the world, in 1989. Assuming the growth rate to be maintained at a constant level, at the time of writing (1993) this figure must now be around 400 million. This makes

Pentecostalism the world's fastest-growing religious movement; the implications of this fact for mission, and the study of intercultural theology generally, are both profound and obvious.

However, the emergence and subsequent expansion of the movement is inextricably bound up with a number of complex social, cultural, historical and religious factors, all of which conflated to form the destiny and character of the movement. These disparate factors must now be considered so that the *milieu* of Pentecostalism can be properly evaluated.

In engaging in this examination of Pentecostalism's *milieu* – and this word is being used in its widest etymological connotation – some explanatory comment is necessary on the scope and methodology adopted in this dissertation. Although this work inevitably conflates a number of disparate academic disciplines, and is therefore to some extent inter-disciplinary, it must be stressed that the main emphasis lies in the field of publishing history. This dissertation is not intended to be a systematic or comprehensive treatment of either Pentecostal history or theology, in both of which fields many scholarly works have been and are being produced. However, there are not as yet any works dealing with the specific contribution of magazines such as *Confidence* to the spread of Pentecostalism *per se*, and there are no detailed case studies of such literature anywhere within the gamut of Pentecostal historiography. This work is intended to rectify that desideratum, and within that context many other fields of academic enquiry are discussed.

Notwithstanding the fact that a worldwide religious movement such as Pentecostalism considers itself to be based on the *spoken* word of God, it is argued throughout this dissertation that it became factually successful principally through the written, published word. Consequently, throughout this work, extensive use is made of, and quotations taken from, the earliest examples of

Pentecostalist literature. This deliberately-adopted methodology allows the views of the pioneering Pentecostals to be presented with minimum risk of bias and distortion, while at the same time making possible a critical and exegetical evaluation of their teachings.

At the conclusion of this work, a number of specific questions are posed by the writer. The purpose of this is to clearly focus attention on the main issues generated throughout the text, and to locate and evaluate the role of early Pentecostal publishing in its theological and historical provenance.

NOTES – INTRODUCTION

1. The phrase is derived from the gospel discourses of Jesus, especially John 3. 1 ff.
2. Strictly speaking, a more accurate term is 'Pentecostalist' but 'Pentecostal' is nearly always used.
3. The various prepositions 'in', 'of', 'with', 'by', are generally assumed to be interchangeable by most Pentecostals in relation to Spirit baptism. One writer who does make a distinction is D. M. Lloyd-Jones, *Joy Unspeakable*, Kingsway, 1984, pp. 173-179.
4. This is deduced from verses such as Acts 1.8, Luke 24.49.
5. Based on the statement of Jesus in Mark 16.18 (but note that vv. 9–20 are almost certainly spurious).
6. Glossolalia is the usual transliteration for 'speaking in tongues', and is used frequently by St. Paul. Other nuances on this word include heteroglossolalia, xenolalia and xenoglossolalia.
7. The most recent estimates of membership are found in the *UK Christian Handbook* for 1994/95, to be published in October 1993. Peter Brierley, the editor, kindly made advance figures available to the writer.
8. "Thank you Jesus, Thank you Lord", BBC 1 TV, *Everyman*, 4 August 1991.
9. These figures are based on data in the *AOG Yearbook*, 1993.
10. In this respect, they are very similar to the original Pentecostal Movement in the UK before 1915.
11. Particularly regarding allegations of harsh leadership and financial mismanagement. The second edition of Walker's *Restoring the Kingdom* was pulped after a dispute with leading Restorationist Gerald Coates, who complained of misleading statements about his financial position and lifestyle. The publishers (Hodder) refused to defend the book in court, on biblical grounds.
12. This is assuming the component of about 400,000 Charismatics. This figure, and that for House Church membership, can be interpolated from data in *The UK Christian Handbook, 1994/95*, and given to the author as advance information by editor Peter Brierley, in July 1993. These numbers should be regarded only as approximations, and liable to considerable deviation on either side.
13. D. E. Barrett in "Statistics, Global", in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Zondervan, 1989, pp. 810–829. Pentecostal growth has been particularly rapid in South America, especially Chile and Brazil, where 10% of the population (14 million) are Pentecostals.

CHAPTER ONE

Pentecostalism: Its background in the USA and Britain

Part of the mythology that attaches to the origins of Pentecostalism is the disingenuous belief that it appeared virtually *ex nihilo*, with no clear pattern of leadership or human forces helping to shape its form and distinctive character. Even so respected a Pentecostal Bible teacher as Donald Gee, normally sagacious and balanced in judgment, averred that the movement did not begin with any one outstanding personality or leader but “was a spontaneous revival appearing almost simultaneously in various parts of the world”.¹

This view seriously overlooks the enormous contribution of men such as W. J. Seymour and C. F. Parham in the USA and A. A. Boddy and Cecil Polhill in Britain, whose publications were for many of the formative years of the movement, crucial in propagating and defending Pentecostal belief and practice. It will in fact be argued throughout this thesis that the role of publishing proved of vital importance in the establishment of the Pentecostal movement, and that the pioneers of Pentecostalism proved adept at exploiting the advantages of this mass medium. In this respect they proved worthy successors to the Reformers, who, some 400 years earlier, had praised the invention of the printing press as “God’s supreme gift to Christendom to aid the spread of the gospel”.²

Gee’s view is also untenable in that it fails to recognise the peculiarly variegated concatenations in social and religious life that, in Britain as well as in the USA, were working almost inexorably towards the creation of a chiliastic, pneumatic

movement such as Pentecostalism. The Pentecostal movement was a child of its time, shaped and fashioned by a multiplicity of sources and events, “rather like a great river, whose source can be traced back to any one of hundreds of streams in the mountain”.³

It is the purpose of this chapter to try and identify these separate sources, and evaluate their respective contribution to Pentecostalism. At the same time, it must be remembered that the movement contributes some of its own highly individualised traits to this search, and it is these factors that give the movement its distinctive character.

The Historical Antecedents of Pentecostalism

1:1. The teaching of the Puritans

Most commentators on Pentecostalism’s antecedents begin with the contribution of John Wesley to a two-fold theory of salvation, the first stage being justification by faith, and the second, sanctification. However, there is clear evidence that long before Wesley posited this two-stage theory, some of the leading Puritan divines adumbrated the latent Pentecostal schema of a bipartite salvation. Eaton has shown that Richard Sibbes, Thomas Goodwin and John Owen – all of whom pre-date Wesley by at least a century – clearly taught a post-conversion reception of the Holy Spirit to the believer, generally resulting in a “sealing” or “witness” or “assurance” of salvation deeper than that given by the conversion experience alone.⁴ Though none of these writers linked this experience to glossolalia, or indeed any of the other charismatic gifts, there is the implicit recognition that the conversion experience is *initiatory*, not final or exhaustive. This is an important concession to subsequent Pentecostal soteriology in that it establishes a close historical and theological link with a body of divinity that subsequently became the basis for the

Reformed Evangelicalism that generally stressed the discontinuity between its own teachings, and those of Pentecostalism.⁵ Both Waldvogel⁶ and Wilson⁷ have come to similar conclusions as Eaton regarding the pneumatological links between Puritanism and Pentecostalism.

1:2. The teaching of John Wesley and early Methodism

The soteriological link between Wesleyan Methodism and Pentecostalism is undeniable. Wesley lived through almost the whole of the eighteenth century (1703–1791) and few figures have influenced Evangelicalism as much as he. Bebbington has adduced evidence of Wesley's debt to Puritanism,⁸ and it may well be that his concept of the Spirit was derived from his reading of Puritan divines, as well as his own independent study of the Bible. However, in one important respect Wesley deviated from Puritan teaching, and it is in this regard that his own distinctive contribution to Evangelical theology was made. Wesley accepted a two-fold concept of salvation, but taught that the second stage (after justification) involved what he called "Christian perfection", "perfect love", "the second blessing", and "entire sanctification". The essence of this idea was that the sinful propensities that remained within the believer after conversion could be eradicated, "root and branch", by faith. Wesley's maturest thoughts on this subject were published in his *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*,⁹ and he regarded the doctrine as the *sine qua non*, the "grand depositum", of Methodism, and for which the movement had been raised up by God.

What Wesley failed to do, however, was to link this experience of sanctification with any kind of definite proof or evidence that it had happened. He clearly agonised over this issue, and was eventually forced to conclude that the Spirit is received by simple faith. Writing in 1782 he asserts:

Entire sanctification from inbred sin can hardly ever be insisted upon, either in preaching or in prayer, without a particular blessing . . . it may be received now . . . and it is to be received by simple faith.¹⁰

According to Wesley, the Holy Spirit “witnesses” to the work done in the heart. In a letter to Thomas Olivers he writes:

One fruit given at the same instant (at least usually) is a direct positive testimony of the Spirit that the work is done, that they cannot fall away, that they cannot sin.¹¹

It was left to Wesley's successor, John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, to emphasise even more clearly the connection between entire sanctification and Spirit baptism. Fletcher, against Wesley's advice, regarded entire sanctification as “receiving the Holy Ghost”. Writing in 1778 Fletcher differentiates his views from those of Wesley thus:

I would distinguish more exactly between the believer baptised with the Pentecostal power of the Holy Ghost, and the believer who, like the Apostles after our Lord's ascension, is not yet filled with that power.¹²

Fletcher subsequently developed a doctrine of ‘dispensations’ that regarded the present age as the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, the final age in the history of the cosmos that presaged the imminent return of Jesus Christ to earth. This shift in Methodist thinking – from the Christocentric to the Pneumatocentric – was a major factor in preparing the ground for Pentecostalism, and the way it happened centres around the teaching of a Missouri lawyer, Benjamin Irwin. The novel twist he imparted to Fletcher's teaching of Spirit baptism is examined in the next section of this chapter.

As to whether Wesley himself ever entered this experience, scholars dispute. Sangster affirms that Wesley disclaims it,¹³ whereas Ford claims Wesley testified to it.¹⁴ Certainly the literature is ambiguous, and there appear to be no explicit data to support Ford's claim.¹⁴ However, the point is irrelevant to the main issue arising from Wesley's teaching, which is that it laid the foundation of Pentecostalism's doctrine of subsequence, and the establishing of a bipartite understanding of the salvation experience.

There is another respect in which the history of early Methodism helped to prepare the way for the Pentecostal movement. During Wesley's long and fruitful ministry on both sides of the Atlantic,¹⁶ scenes of emotional fervour occurred which were similar to those that accompanied the outbreak of Pentecostalism. One example of this is the prevalence of demonic activity opposing his preachers and their message.¹⁷ One of Wesley's helpers, John Cennick, records such an instance:

One night more than twenty roared and shrieked together while I was preaching . . . some of whom confessed they were demoniacs. Sally Jones could not read and yet would answer if persons talked to her in Latin or Greek.¹⁸ They could tell who was coming into the house, who would be seized next, what was doing in other places etc.¹⁹

Such scenes became commonplace during Wesley's ministry, and while he did nothing to encourage it (and at times seems to have been irritated by the phenomena),²⁰ their frequency bestowed a kind of legitimacy that paved the way for their acceptance when they became prevalent in later Pentecostalism.

1:3. The influence of "Higher Life" teachings and the Christian Holiness movement

By the middle of the nineteenth century the teaching of Christian Perfection as a work of entire sanctification had more or less fallen into desuetude in many Methodist circles. However, there remained some very able exponents of the doctrine in what became known as the Oberlin School of Theology, dominated by a lawyer turned preacher, Charles G. Finney. He and Asa Mahan, principal of Oberlin College, Ohio, had been profoundly influenced by reading Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. Both men believed in the possibility of entire sanctification in this life.²¹ By the outbreak of the American Civil War in April 1861, Finney and Mahan had been preaching their distinctive message of holiness coast to coast for over thirty years; during the same period Phoebe Palmer's 'Tuesday meeting for the Promotion of Holiness' had led hundreds of Methodists ministers to claim the experience of entire sanctification.

Nevertheless, just when it seemed the resurgent holiness movement would sweep all before it, the outbreak of the Civil War and its four years of fratricidal strife signalled the end of perfectionist hopes and aspirations. War was, indeed, the ultimate imperfection, and thirty years of perfectionist teaching had failed to avert it. Significantly, two other events that occurred around this time proved crucial in the subsequent emergence of Pentecostalism. In 1858 and 1859 a revival of Evangelical religion swept through Britain and the USA. Known as the 'Second Evangelical Awakening', up to a million converts were claimed. The added impetus such a movement gave to Evangelical life is obvious, and has been well documented by J. Edwin Orr.²²

There is also clear evidence that the town of Sunderland, the crucible of Pentecostal fire in Britain from 1907, featured prominently in revivalistic-type activity under the ministry of Dr and Mrs W. Palmer in 1859, and in 1873 was the subject of a five-week evangelistic campaign by the fiery American evangelist, D. L. Moody. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that the ambience of these meetings created a hunger for spiritual reality and revivalistic fervour, and we do know of at least one report in *Confidence* that recounts the practice of glossolalia from that era.²³

The other significant event was the emergence of what could be called proto-Pentecostal publications; this was a genre reflecting Pentecostal imagery – especially using phrases such as 'The Baptism in the Spirit', 'Pentecost', and the 'filling of the Spirit'. As early as 1840, Henry Cowles, a lecturer at Oberlin College, prepared an article in *The Oberlin Evangelist* entitled 'The Baptism with the Holy Ghost'. Eight years later he followed this up with another work, *On Being Filled with the Holy Ghost*.²⁴ In 1845, a contributor to Finney's *Oberlin Quarterly Review*, had asserted that "the baptism of the Holy Ghost, then, in its Pentecostal fullness was not to be confined to the Primitive Church; but is the common privilege of all believers".²⁵ It is striking how similar these words are to those of most Pentecostal apologetics, yet they antedate that movement by over sixty years.

FOLLOWING PAGE

F. W. Sanford's magazine *Tongues of Fire*, which began publication in 1894. The imagery for subsequent Pentecostalism is significant. The magazine was re-named *Everlasting Gospel* from 15 August 1900, and re-numbered 1:1 from January 1901.

TONGUES OF FIRE

From the World's Evangelization Crusade on Apostolic Principles.

"Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you . . . and be witnesses unto me . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth."

"There appeared . . . tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them."

Vol. III. No. 15. Lisbon Falls, Maine, August 1, 1897.

Entered at the P. O. at Lisbon Falls, Me. as second-class mail matter.

"Beloved, I was constrained to write unto you, exhorting you to contend earnestly for The Faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints.-R.V."

Tongues of Fire

Is published semi-monthly in the interests of the speedy evangelization of the world on Apostolic Principles.

Editor, F. W. Sandford, Bible School, Lisbon Falls, Me.

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Editorial.

DEMONOLGY IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES

BY TWO MEMBERS OF THE BIBLE SCHOOL, MARY R. GUPTILL AND MARGA E. TONNESON.

THIS article is written with the view to opening the eyes of the people who are interested, to the fact of demon-possession, and of arousing them to a realization of their actual existence in times both past and present.

Among all nations and from the earliest times these demons or evil agencies have had a real and undesirable influence in the affairs of men. The mysteries of the magicians, astrologers, enchanters, soothsayers, sorcerers, etc., found throughout the heathen nations, though under different manifestations, far from being mere myths and superstitions, are all in some way the result of association with these rebellious and wicked spirits, who are directly connected with this earth and its inhabitants. The same things are in existence today under different titles as Spiritualism, Christian Science, Theosophy, Esoteric Buddhism, etc.

I. Testimony of the Bible.

God Himself plainly recognizes the reality of these powers; and, while much information might be gathered from other sources as to the truthfulness of these assertions, it is our intention, for the present, to confine ourselves wholly to the testimony of His word which contains abundant evidence of these things, and whose statements will be received at once, as sufficient and conclusive proof by all honest Christians.

1. The Egyptian Magicians.

Ex. 7: 10-12, "Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh . . . and it became a serpent . . . Now the magicians of Egypt they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod and they became serpents."

This was no idle fancy or trick, but an exhibition of real power, from some source, other than God or man, to work a miracle.

2. The Philippian damsel.

Acts 16: 16, "A certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination (or Python) met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying . . . But Paul . . . turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour."

This is a plain case of divination or soothsaying, being the work of a demon, and shows the source of such things today.

3. Again, that God regarded the objects of worship of these nations as real and not wholly imaginary beings is shown by the following passages:

Ex. 12: 12, "Against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgement."

Num. 33: 4, "The Egyptians buried all their firstborn which the Lord had smitten among them: upon their gods also the Lord executed judgments."

Deut. 10: 17, "The Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords."

They must be real beings upon whom the Lord took vengeance and to whom He is compared.

We find who these gods were from the following:

Deut. 32: 17, "They sacrificed unto devils, not to God."

Lev. 17: 7, "They shall no more offer sacrifices unto devils after whom they have gone a whoring."

2 Chron. 11: 15, "He ordained him priests for the high places and for the devils and for the calves which he had made."

Psa. 106: 37, "They sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils."

Pentecostal imagery – though not of course the theology – was even more explicit in the publication in 1856 of William Arthur's *The Tongue of Fire*, which went through eighteen editions in the next three years. Arthur could hardly have foreseen the parallels with his prayer and the coming Pentecostal movement:

. . . Renew the Pentecost in this our age, and baptise thy people generally – O baptise them yet again with tongues of fire. Crown this nineteenth century with a revival of “pure and undefiled religion” . . . greater than any “demonstration of the Spirit” even yet vouchsafed to men!²⁶

This imagery of Pentecost – with its twin themes of holiness and spiritual power – continued to dominate Christian publishing houses during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and that there was an efflorescence of such works is proved by T. L. Smith's assertion that by 1890 there were at least four publishing houses devoted entirely to holiness literature, printing at least forty journals.²⁷ Some of these sold in large numbers, *The Guide to Christian Perfection*, for example, circulating 37,000 copies monthly.

An interesting insight into the possible tensions that could be engendered among Christian publishers by the subtle shift of emphasis from “holiness” to “Spirit baptism” is given by Dayton.²⁸ In 1870, Asa Mahan, then president of Adrian College, approached Phoebe Palmer, publisher of the *Guide to Holiness*, to request that she issue his *Baptism of the Holy Ghost*. This work had apparently been germinating for some six to eight years, and, judging by correspondence between the two, was considered rather controversial. Palmer initially refused to publish Mahan's work, but was won over by his argument that the thesis was “non-controversial” and “experiential”. It is at least conceivable (though Dayton does not suggest this) that Mrs Palmer was also attracted to Mahan's other argument – that the book would achieve a high circulation. Accordingly, by 1882, Mahan could confirm that his book had been “very extensively circulated in America, Great Britain, and in all missionary lands, and has been translated into the Dutch and German languages”. Works

such as this, and W. E. Boardman's *The Higher Christian Life*, first printed in 1858, popularised the message of holiness and Spirit baptism in non-Methodist circles, and therefore acted as precursors of Pentecostalism's later theory of two-stage salvation. Many other books, such as C. G. Finney's *Memoirs* and R. A. Torrey's *Baptism with the Holy Spirit* acculturated the reading public to the terminology of Pentecostalism, but from a publishing viewpoint, the *tour de force* of the literary world was Hannah Pearsall Smith's *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*, first published in 1875 and selling two million copies by 1952. According to Mrs Smith, "the Baptism of the Holy Ghost brought victory over sin and inward rest of soul".²⁹

Operating simultaneously with the success of this proto-Pentecostal publishing movement was another development that facilitated the emergence of Pentecostalism. After the Civil War, various national camp meetings for the promotion of holiness were held across the States. The first of these meetings was held at Vineland, New Jersey, in 1867, and led to the formation of an interdenominational movement for the spread of holiness – the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness.³⁰ A spate of camp meetings held throughout the country broke down traditional boundaries between denominations, and united Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Quakers and Episcopalians in one common quest – the pursuit of a spiritual blessing that would lead to victory over all sin, and a life of constant holiness.

Ironically, the very success of these camp meetings was to lead to increasing polarisation between them and their parent body – the Methodist church – which ultimately resulted in Methodism's repudiation of the new holiness sects, and the formation of several new holiness denominations.³¹ In December 1895 three of these groups formed themselves into the Association of Pentecostal Churches in America. The choice of name is significant, as the founders, W. H. Hoople, H. F. Reynolds and F. A. Hillery were united in their belief in entire sanctification but made no connec-

tion between Pentecost and the charismata – a link that was to prove vital to the formation of the Pentecostal movement just a few years later. Indeed, some of the larger new holiness denominations – for example the Church of the Nazarene – actually included the word ‘Pentecostal’ in their original title. But to avoid confusion, and because their founder Phineas Bresee bitterly opposed the Pentecostal movement, the word was dropped from their name in 1919.³²

By their very nature, the independent holiness groups were susceptible to lack of firm leadership, fanaticism, and highly emotional behaviour. Isolated phenomena occurred which can now be regarded as typical of the practices prevalent in modern Pentecostalism, especially supernatural healing and speaking in tongues. However, none of these epiphenomena were necessarily regarded as inevitable concomitants of receiving the power of the Holy Spirit, and therefore the Holiness movement still failed to point to any definite proof or evidence that the Spirit had entered the believer in baptising fullness. It was this desideratum that the Pentecostal movement was shortly to supply to the movement, and it is at this point that Benjamin Irwin appears in pre-Pentecostal history.

In 1891 Irwin entered into a sanctification experience through the ministry of preachers in the Iowa Holiness Association. He then embarked on a prolonged study of the teachings of the early Methodist leaders – especially John Fletcher. Irwin became convinced there was a *third* experience, after sanctification, called the “baptism of burning love” or a “baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire”. From 1892 to 1895 Irwin served as a travelling evangelist in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and at the end of that period himself experienced a “baptism of fire”, in Enid, Oklahoma. His teaching of a third blessing – “the fire” – was systematised through his organisation of groups of churches known as the “Fire Baptised Holiness Association”.³³ Adept at exploiting the printed medium, Irwin’s publication *Live Coals of Fire* spread his teachings rapidly throughout the USA and Canada.

Members receiving “the fire” would frequently exhibit strange phenomena, such as shouting, screaming, falling into trances, jerking, and most significantly for this discussion, speaking in tongues.

The importance of *Live Coals of Fire* cannot be overestimated in assessing how effectively the published word was used to propagate Pentecostal teaching. Synan comments:

It was the first publication in the nation that taught that the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire was subsequent to sanctification. As such it was quite influential in producing the climate of thought and doctrinal interpretation that produced the Pentecostal movement a few years later. Although the fire-Baptised movement did not teach that speaking with other tongues was the initial evidence of receiving the baptism with the Holy Spirit, this phenomenon was quite common among those who received “the fire”.³⁵

Although most of the Holiness movement rejected Irwin’s teaching, and he himself later fell into “open and gross sin”,³⁶ by the turn of the century his churches were strong enough to prove a vital link in the chain of events leading up to the emergence of the Pentecostal movement. The final link that made the development of Pentecostalism certain and inevitable was Irwin’s contact with Charles F. Parham, who attended Irwin’s meetings and was impressed by what he saw and heard. It was Parham who predicated the theology of the Pentecostal movement on the premise of glossolalia as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism, and his contribution is assessed in more detail later in this work.³⁷

It is clear then that the Pentecostal movement did not originate as a *tabula rasa*. Many complex social and historical factors coalesced with a highly fluid religious background, and out of that amalgam emerged a synthesis that absorbed much of the theology of Puritanism and Methodism, and then of the Holiness movements. The one original contribution of Pentecostal theology to those movements is the linking of glossolalia to the experience of Spirit baptism.

1:4. Developments in the British Isles - Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church

Almost eighty years before Pentecostalism took root in the USA and Britain, scenes that can accurately be described as pre-Pentecostal were rocking the sobriety of the Church of Scotland. The central figure in this unlikely scenario is the Rev. Edward Irving, who studied mathematics and theology at Edinburgh University before being ordained into the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1822.³⁸ In that year he was called to his own church, the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden, London. His evident eloquence – Prime minister George Canning called Irving “the greatest orator of our times” – soon demanded a much larger building and a new church was erected in Regent Square. The cream of London’s society flocked to hear Irving; on any Sabbath it was said that such notables as Charles Lamb, William Wordsworth, Walter Scott, Thomas Macaulay, S. T. Coleridge, Henry Drummond and even William Gladstone were likely to be found in the congregation.³⁹

Influenced by his friendship with, and exposure to the ideas of, Coleridge and Carlyle, – the latter referring to Irving as “the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world or now hope to find”,⁴⁰ Irving developed a theology within an intellectual framework that sought to synthesize modern Romantic thought with an apocalyptic chiliasm that led him into conflict with denominational authority. In short, Irving came to regard himself as a prophet, and developed extreme apocalyptic views that assumed, for example, that Christ would return to earth in 1868.⁴¹ But Irving’s main concern, and the one that immediately links him to Pentecostalism, is his belief in the permanence of the charismatic gifts. Writing in 1828 he says:

Today the gifts of the Spirit are not looked for . . . I am one of those who feel the bondage of the system; and wait on Divine Providence for a call and the work of the Spirit for a warrant to restore to the Church its ancient liberty. And I believe I shall not wait long when it shall please the Holy Ghost to furnish men with gifts to fit them for apostles, prophets, evangelists, discerners of spirits, speaking with tongues and interpretation of tongues.⁴²

During a preaching tour to the Firth of Clyde in March 1830, a Mary Campbell became the first person in modern times known to have spoken in tongues; a few days later she was miraculously healed of pulmonary tuberculosis. Irving interpreted these events as corroboration of his apocalyptic theology, and by 1831 the charismata were being exercised in his London church. Although Irving himself never received any of the charismata,⁴³ the furore occasioned by events in his church led to a heresy hunt, and he was eventually deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in March 1833, ostensibly on the grounds of a defective Christology.⁴⁴ A year earlier he had been removed from leadership in his London church, and with some 800 seceders had formed another meeting in what later became known as the Catholic Apostolic Church. This movement was run on hierarchical lines, guided by “apostles”, “angels” and “prophets” in much the same way as some contemporary neo-Pentecostal and Restorationist groups now operate.⁴⁵

Irving is important in the subsequent development of Pentecostalism for several reasons. There are of course obvious parallels in his belief in the permanence of spiritual gifts for the church, in the nearness of Christ’s return to earth, and in the importance of the prophetic gift in particular in discerning the mind of God for the last dispensation of the Spirit. It is surprising therefore, that in view of these parallels, Irving is not taken much more seriously in his role as the forerunner of the Pentecostal movement. Massey’s thesis does not allude to him at all, whilst Bruner mentions him only to dismiss him in a few lines.⁴⁶ Certainly his Christological views distance him from modern Pentecostals, although several scholars have recently argued that Irving’s Christology is wholly ‘orthodox’ and Pentecostal.⁴⁷ However, Strachan is undoubtedly correct when he says of Irving: “Like a Knox in exile . . . although he is still without honour in his own country and among his own people, he would immediately leap from obscurity to theological prominence, should the Church of Scotland begin to take seriously the challenge of Pentecostal doctrine and experience”⁴⁸

1:5. British Holiness movements and the Keswick Convention

C. G. Finney's brand of revivalism spawned a host of illustrious imitators in Britain. Most of them had imbibed, or been influenced by, the classical holiness teachings propagated by Boardman, Mahan, Finney, R. A. Torrey and A. J. Gordon. William Booth, who founded the Salvation Army in 1865, was originally a Methodist who seceded from that denomination because it opposed his work among the lower classes. His movement has to this day retained, albeit in vitiated form, its belief in scriptural holiness – for example its mid-week meetings are still popularly referred to as “holiness meetings”.⁴⁹ His wife, Catherine Booth, when asked what was the origin of the movement, replied: “It was reading Finney's ‘Lectures on Revival’. It stirred my soul to its depths and pushed me forward”.⁵⁰

From 1873, the American revivalist D. L. Moody paid regular visits to these shores, and attracted huge numbers of converts with his homely preaching and powerful illustrations. Moody, formerly a Chicago shoe salesman, had himself received an overwhelming experience of the incoming Spirit in a New York street in 1871.⁵¹ There is no record that he spoke in tongues,⁵² but we do know of at least one event when after addressing a meeting of young men at the Victoria Hall, London, he left the group “on fire, speaking with tongues, and prophesying”.⁵³ As is the case with Edward Irving's church, and the 1858/59 revival, these outbreaks of glossolalia were spasmodic and localised. Nevertheless they can certainly be regarded as adumbratory of the later world-wide restoration of spiritual gifts through the ministry of the Pentecostal awakening.

Another important factor helping to prepare the way for Pentecostalism was due to developments within Evangelicalism itself, particularly the shift away from the credal rigidities of Calvinistic orthodoxy.⁵⁴ Certainly, Reformed theology had such doughty proponents as the famous Baptist preacher C. H. Spurgeon,⁵⁵ and the Bishop of Liverpool, J. C. Ryle.⁵⁶ But the trend in most Evangelical circles was

towards an interiorised, experiential religion with its concomitant emphasis on subjectivity. Holiness teaching and preaching clearly appealed to such thinking, and a movement that perfectly captured the essence of the new *Zeitgeist* was the Keswick Convention, formed in 1875 by Canon Harford-Battersby.⁵⁷ Its principal aim – “the promotion of scriptural holiness” – attracted devotees from all over Britain. By 1907, some 5–6,000 persons were attending the annual camp, most of them Anglicans.⁵⁸ Keswick’s official organ – *The Life of Faith* – propagated Keswick’s distinctive teaching of sanctification by faith, and the convention continues to exert world-wide influence on Evangelical thinking, attracting some 4,000 conferees to the 1992 event.

Although the Keswick convention later proved unsympathetic to incipient Pentecostalism,⁵⁹ there are two vital links between it and the emergence of the movement. The first is Keswick’s propagation of a two-fold salvation process, the classical Wesleyan dichotomy of justification by faith followed by sanctification by faith.⁶⁰ Keswick stressed the importance of a second inward blessing, anticipating Pentecostalism’s later adoption of this theory. The vital difference is of course that Keswick posited no connection between that blessing and the charismata. The second significant link is that the founder and leader of the Pentecostal movement in Britain, the Rev. A. A. Boddy, visited Keswick on at least three occasions; once between 1875 – 1879; again in 1907, when he distributed thousands of copies of his pamphlet “Pentecost for England“, and again in 1908. Boddy was to write of these visits, “many of us thank God for Keswick in the past”.⁶¹

Keswick’s stature tended to overshadow the work of similar organisations that flourished in the late nineteenth century all with the avowed purpose of “spreading scriptural holiness”. Amongst the most durable of these must be mentioned the work of the Faith Mission, founded in Edinburgh in 1886, the Pentecostal League of Reader Harris ((1891), which despite its name later became a fierce opponent of

FOLLOWING PAGE

Volume 1, number 1, of *Tongues of Fire*, the official organ of Reader Harris's Pentecostal Mission, and a main agent of opposition to early Pentecostalism.

"Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?"—Acts xix. 2.

TONGUES OF FIRE.

Herald of the Pentecostal Mission.

Headquarters: SPEKE HALL, Battersea, London, S.W.

Vol. 1. No. 1.

LONDON, JANUARY, 1891.

ONE PENNY.

"TONGUES OF FIRE."

By READER HARRIS.

What, another newspaper? Yes, and by God's grace and guidance a good news-paper in the truest sense of the word, publishing glad tidings of great joy among all people: good people, bad people or middling people, hot, cold or lukewarm, saved, unsaved or backsliders. There will be not only something for each of them but a

Message from the Lord concerning Him who came into the world to save sinners, reclaim backsliders, sanctify believers, and fill with all the fullness of God, in order that out of them may "flow rivers of living water." (John vii. 38).

Tongues of Fire will primarily be the organ of the Pentecostal Mission, the new name of the Speke Hall Mission and its auxiliaries.

With the rapid spread of the work in Battersea and other parts of London and in the Country, it has been found necessary to adopt a name which will unmistakably express

the objects of the Mission, which are to preach, testify and witness to the power of the Lord Jesus Christ "To save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him." (Heb. vii. 25).

In a word, we seek to spread Scriptural Holiness by unsectarian methods broadcast through this and other lands. We invite to join us in practical sympathy and prayer those among God's people who believe in the

Baptism of the Holy Ghost as a definite blessing received after conversion. In no other spirit than that of the deepest humility, we assume our new name, and take as our watch-word the Apostle Paul's question to the Disciples at Ephesus: "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" (Acts xix. 2).

We believe that Holiness of heart and life is not only obtainable through Jesus Christ, but, demanded by the law and offered by the Gospel, it is

obligatory upon every true Christian. We know that he is able and willing to save His people from their sins, to cleanse them from all unrighteousness, to sanctify them wholly and preserve them blameless in spirit, soul and body; to keep them from falling, and present them faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy.

As we look at the state of the world as it lives in open rebellion to God, at the church's efforts to stem the tide of Practical Infidelity,

or at the deadness or coldness of much of the professing Christianity of the day, the love of Christ we believe constraineth us to proclaim, as He shall enable us, with voice and life and pen the glorious fact that for all the sin and misery, for all the horror and wretchedness that fill the sinner's cup, he prince or pauper, the Christian

of Christ is

The only cure.

If we turn from the sorrows of the present life to the sorrows of the world to come, if with open Bible we endeavour to realise the doom of one lost soul, we must ask ourselves what are we doing to rescue those with whom we live and move, and how are we doing it?

A well-known unbeliever has said: "Were I a Christian, did I truly believe as millions say they do, that the knowledge and the practice of religion in this life influences destiny in another, religion should be to me everything. I would cast aside earthly enjoyments as dross, earthly cares as follies, and earthly thoughts and feelings as

Less than vanity. Religion should be my first waking thought and my last image when sleep sank me into unconsciousness. I would labour in her cause alone, I would not labour for the meat that perisheth, nor for treasure on earth, where moth and rust corrupt and thieves break through and steal; but only for a crown of glory in heavenly regions where treasures and happiness are alike beyond the reach of time and chance. I would take thought for

the morrow of eternity alone. I would esteem

One soul gained to heaven worth a life of suffering. There should be neither worldly prudence nor calculating circumspection in my engrossing zeal, earthly consequences should never stay my hand nor seal my lips."

He concludes with these words: "I would go forth to the world and preach to it, in season and out of season; and my text should be 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul.'"

If an infidel could so speak what ought Christians to be doing? What are you doing? What effective results do you see? "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" If you have you will be heartily in sympathy with us. If you have not

then this very hour turn from unbelief and every other form of sin; abandon yourself unconditionally and irrevocably into the hands of God, and definitely trust Him for the fulfilment in you of "the promise of the Father."

Men and women of God help us in this

Evangel of Holiness.

Pray for us, join the Prayer Union (details of which will be found in another column), induce your Christian friends to follow your example; take *Tongues of Fire* and distribute it, men will thank you for a newspaper when they would refuse a tract. Send us a few words of encouragement or suggestion, a postcard will do.

In a word, we ask your practical sympathy in this effort to spread true religion, sin-forsaking, sin-destroying, God-serving, man-loving religion, for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls and bodies of men, women and children

There are churches which are very appropriately situated in graveyards. They are ecclesiastical tombs. They suggest death rather than life. The most appropriate inscription, over the door, would be: "Died for want of breath."—*Christian Register*.

DIVINE INDWELLING.

EXTRACT—REV. E. W. MOORE.

"If a man love Me he will keep My words: and My Father will love him, and We will come, unto him and make Our abode with him." (John xiv. 23). Yes, He will come, even as to His temple, in the days of His flesh, He came to purify His Father's house, so now revealed by His Spirit He will come again to the temple that he loves.—"But who may abide the day of His coming?" Christ's coming is always a sifting coming; His ministry in the literal temple was a sifting ministry. How sternly He exposed the hollow lives of Pharisees and Scribes! And hereafter when He comes in the clouds of heaven, it will be a sifting coming. "Then shall ye

be separated between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth Him not." So here Christ's coming is a sifting coming; He is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap. I would have you notice that "CHRIST HIMSELF IS THE FIRE." He is like the refiner's fire. It is most true that He uses the fire of His Word (Jer. v. 14), and the fire of affliction (Zech. xiii. 9) in the purification of His people; but there is a deeper meaning in the words than these: "Our God is a consuming fire" (Deut. iv. 24; Heb. xii. 29.) It is Christ's own advent that burns up the filthiness in the soul; it is the heavenly flame that fell at Pentecost that alone can purify the heart (Acts, xv. 8, 9). It is the work of the Great Master Himself thoroughly to purge His floor (Matt. iii. 11, 12); and until abide the day of His coming?" Christ's He does it, it must remain defiled. We can never do it for ourselves, though we may and must be willing to let Him do it for us. "I will yet forthis be inquired of by the House of Israel, to do it FOR THEM.—(Ezek. xxxvi: 37).

Here alone is the remedy for the plague of defiling thoughts, from which so many Christians suffer, and complain that there is for them no release: There is release—release unutterable

Pentecostalism,⁶² the Star Hall of Manchester (1889), which was the spiritual home of J. N. Parr, a co-founder of the Assemblies of God, and Jesse Penn-Lewis's Overcomer League (also later to oppose the Pentecostal movement).⁶³

Nevertheless the overall impact of the early Holiness movement in Britain was considerably weakened by a strong inherent tendency to fratricidal warfare and schism. One reason for this is that the movements tended to be led by strong personalities, who would brook no opposition to their doctrines or policies. A second reason lies in the nature of Fundamentalism itself.⁶⁴ Fundamentalism, based on a literal understanding of the Bible, holds an absolutist *Weltanschauung*. This means that any view not falling within the interpretive schema predicated by that group is, *ipso facto*, a denial of biblical authority and therefore to be rejected. Commenting on the schismatic nature of the Holiness movement, Bebbington says: "The fissiparity of the American Holiness movement that created 25 denominations by 1907 was also a British phenomenon. Already by 1884 there were thirteen independent congregations with their own magazine, *The Holiness Advocate*".⁶⁵

However, the main reason the multifarious holiness sects were unable to dominate British Evangelicalism was because the Keswick convention repudiated the "eradicationist" concept of sanctification that had been espoused by such groups. A celebrated *obiter dictum* of Prebendary Webb-Peploe, speaking at Keswick in 1895, encapsulated the opposition to Wesleyan teaching thus:

When I read such words as dear John Wesley's 'The evil root, the carnal mind, is destroyed within me; sin subsumes no longer', I can only marvel that any human being, with the teaching of the Holy Ghost upon the Word, can thus deceive himself, or attempt to deceive others. It is, I think, a miracle of blindness that we can study God's word and imagine that any man can be free from sin experimentally while here in the mortal body.⁶⁶

The gauntlet thrown down by Webb-Peploe was taken up by Reader Harris, president of the Pentecostal League, whose magazine *Tongues of Fire* became, in spite of

its title, vitriolic in opposition to Pentecostalism. Harris offered the sum of one hundred pounds to any Keswick speaker who could prove the necessity of indwelling sin in the life of a Spirit-filled believer. Harris kept his money, but the strained relations between the groups did nothing to enhance the cause of “scriptural holiness” which all were purportedly striving for. These events within the holiness groups of British Evangelicalism, viewed both historically and culturally, lead up to the final major antecedent of the Pentecostal movement – the Welsh revival of 1904.

1:6. The Welsh Revival of 1904

If one event had to be singled out as the major precipitant of Pentecostalism, it would certainly be the scenes that accompanied an awakening of Evangelical religion in Wales, in 1904. Virtually all scholars concur that the Welsh revival was the final, and most significant, link in the long chain of antecedents already discussed in this work. Commenting on the impact of the Welsh revival, Donald Gee points out:

Its most significant contribution was the creation of a widespread spirit of expectation, Faith was rising to visualise a return to apostolic Christianity in all its pristine beauty and power.⁶⁷

The key figure in this revival was the miner/ evangelist Evan Roberts, and under his ministry scenes very similar to later Pentecostal phenomena were observed.⁶⁸ An eyewitness account of the flavour of the revival meetings is given by Daniel Williams:

The manifestation of the power was beyond human management. Men and women were mown down by the axe of God like a forest. The weeping for mercy, the holy laughter, ecstasy of joy, burning its way to the hearts of men and women with sanctity and glory, were manifestations still cherished and longed for in greater power. Many were heard speaking in tongues and prophesying.⁶⁹

It is of course, the last sentence that is particularly significant for this study, as it identifies proto-Pentecostal phenomena firmly within the locus of classical Evangelicalism. There is some dispute as to the actual extent of glossolalia in the

Welsh awakening. Synan describes it as “prevalent”, following Vivier uncritically.⁷⁰ Cartwright contradicts this assertion.⁷¹ A quotation from the *Yorkshire Post* does not really settle the issue at all, as the reporter probably heard an example of Welsh ‘hywl’ and confused it with speaking in tongues.⁷² There can be no doubt that glossolalia was occasionally present in the services, as Williams’s account can be corroborated by independent sources.⁷³ Perhaps the key to this ambiguity is the attitude of Evan Roberts himself to speaking in tongues. It certainly appears to have been ambivalent, in that he both allowed it to happen and yet sought to discourage it, regarding it as wide open to counterfeit. He writes:

Until the spiritual section of the Church of Christ are more acquainted with the counterfeiting methods of the spirits of evil, and the laws which give them power of working, any testimony to such experience as true cannot be safely relied upon.⁷⁴

In spite of his reservations about glossolalia, Roberts had no such qualms about using the phrase “Baptism in the Spirit”, and indeed regarded this experience as being “the cause not only of the revival in Wales in 1904–5, but of all other revivals in the history of the world”.⁷⁵ Commenting on the link between Evan Roberts’s concept of Spirit-baptism⁷⁶ and the subsequent rise of Pentecostalism, Eifion Evans writes:

One of the main issues of the revival’s aftermath concerned the rise of a vigorous Pentecostalism. The main reason for it was the prominence given to Pentecostal manifestations during the revival. Evan Roberts himself was chiefly responsible for this emphasis.⁷⁷

To some extent there is a disjunction between this comment and the previous quotation from Roberts himself. There is the possibility that he had changed his mind about the issue, writing as he did some eight years after the revival. It is also known that he came under the influence of Mrs Jesse Penn-Lewis, who appears to have been a dominant personality opposed to Pentecostalism.⁷⁸ Certainly she exercised editorial control over his writings, and was nursing him through a breakdown in health.⁷⁹ This fact alone may have coloured Roberts’s later views.

Moreover, a factor of equal importance in evaluating the contribution of the Welsh revival to Pentecostalism is the enormous number of subsequent leaders within that movement who were helped by, or visited, the awakening.⁸⁰ The list involved is a veritable *Who's Who* of early Pentecostalism – Frank Bartleman, T. B. Barratt, Joseph Smale, A. A. Boddy, Stephen and George Jeffreys, D. P. Williams and Donald Gee. Indeed, all the mainline Pentecostal denominations in Britain owe their beginnings to men on this list – D. P. Williams founded the Apostolic Church, George Jeffreys the Elim movement and Donald Gee was present in a key role at the formation of the Assemblies of God in Birmingham on 1 February 1924.⁸¹

Boddy himself was in no doubt as to the inestimable benefits of the Welsh Revival in preparing the way for greater spiritual blessings. From 5–7 September 1908, Boddy visited Gerrit Polman's church in Amsterdam, and while there recalled how he had:

. . . Stood with Evan Roberts in the pulpit. When he returned to Sunderland he brought some of the fire with him and addressed many revival meetings in Sunderland. His people were aglow for two years. This was a preparation for a greater Pentecost.⁸²

As might be expected therefore, the beliefs and practices within classical Pentecostalism still retain something of the *milieu* of the Welsh Revival – spontaneity in worship, lay participation, exercise of spiritual gifts and powerful emotional preaching to name but a few parallels.⁸³ Coupled to these practices was the doctrinal emphasis on eschatology, with a belief that the return of Christ to earth was imminent and that the Church was living in the last times, “the age of the Holy Ghost”. This apocalypticism, a dominant *leitmotif* in all early Pentecostal publications, was a crucial factor in convincing many Christians that the events in Los Angeles in 1906 presaged the end of the world,⁸⁴ and that the fledgling Pentecostal movement was the last great victory of Christ over satanic powers.⁸⁵ It was against this background that the revival in Wales proved, as Bruner aptly comments, “the last ‘gap’ across which the latest sparks of holiness enthusiasm leapt, igniting the Pentecostal movement.”⁸⁶

NOTES – CHAPTER ONE

1. D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, London: 1967, p. 3.
2. This quotation is attributed to Martin Luther by R. Inchley, in *Contending for the Faith*, Leicester: IVP, 1979, p. 315.
3. M. Harper, *As at the Beginning*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965, p. 13.
4. M. Eaton, *Baptism with the Spirit*; Leicester: Inter Varsity Press, 1989, pp. 41–116.
5. This discontinuity is especially apparent in B. B. Warfield's "The Cessation of the Charismata", in *Counterfeit Miracles*, London: Banner of Truth, 1972, pp. 3–31.
6. E. Waldvogel, "The 'Overcoming Life'", p. 66 passim. Another important study linking Puritanism and Pentecostalism is J. D. G. Dunn, "Spirit Baptism and Pentecostalism", *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 23 November 1970, pp. 397–407.
7. G. B. Wilson, "The Puritan doctrine of the Holy Spirit: a critical investigation of a crucial chapter in the history of Protestant theology", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Knox College, Toronto School of Theology, 1978, pp. 16–33.
8. D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, p. 35
9. J. Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Rev. Mr John Wesley, from the year 1725–1777*, contained in *Works of John Wesley*, XI, 1872, pp. 366–446.
10. Wesley's *Letters*, vii, 102.
11. Wesley's *Sermons*, ii, 460. The standard monograph on Wesley's doctrine of the Spirit's witness is A. S. Yates, *The Doctrine of Christian Assurance, with Special Reference to John Wesley*, London: Epworth, 1952.
12. L. Tyerman, *Wesley's Designated Successor*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882, p. 441 (from letter dated 7 March 1778).
13. W. E. Sangster, *The Path to Perfection*, London: Epworth Press, 1943, p. 31.
14. J. Ford, *In the Steps of John Wesley*, Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas, 1968, p.230.
15. Ford adduces no quotation from Wesley to corroborate his claim, whereas Sangster does (c.f. note 13).
16. Wesley crossed the Atlantic 13 times during his ministry, preached 40,000 sermons and travelled 250,000 miles, most of them on horseback.
17. Teaching about Satan and demons is a prominent *leitmotif* in Pentecostal literature. A modern survey of demonic influence in the world is given by Leon Cristiani, *Evidence of Satan in the Modern World*, Illinois: Tan Books, 1974.
18. Supernatural knowledge of hitherto unlearned languages (speaking or hearing under demonic influence) is well documented in Cristiani, op. cit. pp. 76, 79, 96–98, 146; J. White, *When the Spirit Comes with Power*, Hodder, 1988, pp. 75, 140; M. James, *I Believe in the Holy Ghost*, Oliphants, 1969, p. 113.
19. A. A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield*, vol. 1, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1980, p. 327.
20. V. Budgen, *The Charismatics and the Word of God*, Welwyn: Evangelical Press, 1985, pp. 156–163, adduces evidence of John and Charles Wesley's attitudes to such phenomena.

21. Finney's ideas on sanctification were promulgated in his magazine *The Oberlin Evangelist*, started in 1837, and in his *Views on Sanctification*, (1840). Mahan's views were printed in his *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (1844).
22. J. E. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain*, London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1953, pp. 35-37.
23. For details of revivalism in Sunderland, c.f. James Orr, *Light of the Nations*, pp. 145-146; R. Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, Greenwood Press, Westport and London, 1978, pp. 187; 229, n. 102; and John Kent, *Holding the Fort*, London: Epworth Press, 1978, pp. 134-135. For reports in *Confidence* of glossolalia that pre-date 1907, c.f. vol. 11, no. 2, April-June 1918, p. 21; and vol. 12, no. 1, January-March 1919, p. 3.
24. Published by J. M. Fitch, (Oberlin: Ohio, 1848).
25. Quoted in the *Oberlin Quarterly Review*, 1 August 1845; 115
26. W. Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire, or, the True Power of Christianity*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856, p. 354.
27. T. L. Smith, "The Holiness Crusade", *The History of American Methodism*, Abingdon Press, 1964, p. 615.
28. D. W. Dayton, "From Christian Perfection to the Baptism in the Holy Ghost", in Vinson Synan (ed.) *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, Logos International, N. J., 1975, p. 46.
29. Quoted from the Spire Paper Edition, Old Toppon, N. J., 1875, p.28.
30. The history of this movement is traced in J. L. Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism*, New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
31. Ford claims that at least ten new holiness groups formed between 1890-1900 (op. cit., p. 14).
32. Ford, op. cit., p. 33, n. 58. The Church of the Nazarene still maintains its anti-Pentecostal stance. It has about 5,000 members in Britain.
33. Most of the established Holiness churches rejected Irwin's teaching as "the third blessing heresy".
34. *Live Coals of Fire* was first published in 1898.
35. V. Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans, 1971, p. 65. For fuller details of Irwin and *Live Coals of Fire*, c.f. chapter 3, p. 92 of this thesis.
36. Irwin's sin was sexual immorality. He was succeeded by J. H. King, who continued to edit *Live Coals of Fire*. In 1909 King moved to North Carolina, where he founded a monthly magazine, *Apostolic Evangel*.
37. Though Irwin's church was the first to officially teach it as a doctrine, from 1908.
38. The standard biography of Irving is Margaret Oliphant's, *The Life of Edward Irving*, London, 1862. Thomas Carlyle devotes 137 pages of his *Reminiscences* to Irving (J. M. Dent, 1972). Other useful background on Irving is found in A. C. Whitley, *Blinded Eagle*, London: SCM, 1955, and E. Miller, *The History and Doctrines of Irvingism*, London: C. Kegan Paul, 1878, (two vols).
39. Although most of these had deserted Irving by 1828, due to his "fanatical" views on prophecy. c.f. A. A. Dallimore, *The Life of Edward Irving: The Forerunner of the*

- Charismatic Movement*, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1973, pp. 60–61.
40. Whitley, op. cit., p. 34.
 41. Irving's prophetic views were presented in his *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed by God* (1826); in a foreword to M. Lacunza's *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory* (1827), and in *Sermons, Lectures and Occasional Discourses* (1828). In March 1829 Irving began publication of a magazine specifically on prophecy, *The Morning Watch*. It was edited by J. O. Tudor and published by James Nisbet.
 42. Quoted from R. Gardner, *Healing Miracles*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986, pp. 93–94.
 43. It was for this reason Irving was subsequently marginalised in the church he had helped to found.
 44. It was alleged that Irving taught that Jesus had a nature capable of sinning, but that he never in fact did sin. This was the classic "posse non peccare/non posse peccare" controversy that dogged the early church. Irving's views on the peccability of Jesus are found in his *Six Sermons on the Incarnation*, (1828)
 45. It was also the basis of guidance used in the Apostolic Church of D. P. Williams, and known as the "spoken word" movement. Boddy and other leading Pentecostals strongly opposed this view of divine revelation.
 46. R. D. Massey, "Pentecostalism", unpublished MA thesis, University of Leicester, 1976, and F. D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, Hodder, 1970, p. 40.
 47. Scholarly works on Irving include D. W. Dorries, "Nineteenth Century Christological Controversy Centring Upon Edward Irving's Doctrine of Christ's Human Nature", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1987; Jacob Nantomah, "Jesus the God-Man: The Doctrine of the Incarnation in Edward Irving in the Light of the Teaching of the Church Fathers and its relevance for a Twentieth Century African Context", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1982. Both works are a robust defence of Irving's orthodoxy. At a more popular level, recent articles on Irving in the Pentecostal press include David Allen's "An All-Round Charismatic Ministry", *Renewal*, November 1992, pp. 34–36; and "In the Flesh", *Redemption*, December 1988, p. 40.
 48. G. Strachan, *The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving*, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973, p. 21.
 49. The doctrinal beliefs of the Salvation Army are included in their "Articles of War", and still contain a perfectionist view of sanctification.
 50. E. Sisson, "The Epaphras Spirit", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 132, January–March 1923, p. 69.
 51. Details are given in J. Orr, *The Light of the Nations*, (Exeter, 1985) p. 191.
 52. According to Curtis, Moody was "seasoned with Pentecostalism" as a result of this and similar experiences. This is erroneous, as Moody distanced himself from all denominationalism and rarely spoke of his experiences of the Spirit. (c.f. R. K. Curtis, *They Called Him Mister Moody*, New York: Doubleday, 1962, p. 149).
 53. Synan, op. cit., p. 99
 54. John Calvin (1509–1564) stressed human depravity and predestination, in contradistinction to the teaching of Jacobus Arminius (c. 1560–1609). Most Calvinists teach that the charismata ceased at the end of the apostolic period. c.f. B. B. Warfield, op. cit., pp. 3–31.
 55. C. H. Spurgeon was a prodigious preacher and writer, and minister of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London. He clashed with Irving's views on several occa-

- sions. c.f. V. Budgen, op. cit., pp. 182–183.
56. J. C. Ryle (1816–1900) was the first Anglican Bishop of Liverpool, and a redoubtable Evangelical. He wrote strongly against Keswick teaching in his *Holiness* (1877) but by 1892 had softened his views enough to offer prayer on the Keswick platform – when D. L. Moody was the speaker. c. f. Bebbington, op. cit., p. 177.
 57. Harford-Battersby was Vicar of St. John's, Keswick. His co-founder was a Quaker, Robert Wilson, from Cockermouth, Cumberland.
 58. Bebbington, op. cit., p. 179. Currently, most habitués of Keswick are drawn from the Free Churches.
 59. Some of Keswick's leading preachers had fulminated against the Pentecostal movement – notably R. A. Torrey, A. T. Pierson, Graham Scroggie and F. B. Meyer. *The Life of Faith*, Keswick's newspaper, was also critical of the movement, calling it "subversive of genuine spirituality". (*TLOF*, 14 June 1922, p. 732).
 60. The standard monograph on Keswick teaching and history is F. Hartford (ed.) *The Keswick Convention: Its Message, its Methods and its Men*, (London, 1907).
 61. A. A. Boddy, "Brief Items", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 5, August 1908, p. 14.
 62. Harris was holding revival campaigns in Sunderland when T. B. Barratt arrived there in August 1907.
 63. Penn-Lewis's chief opposition was published in her *War on the Saints*, written in collaboration with Evan Roberts and first published in 1912.
 64. A full discussion of the philosophy underlying Fundamentalism is found in James Barr, *Fundamentalism*, London: SCM, 1972 especially pp. 11–39.
 65. Bebbington, op. cit., p. 178.
 66. Reader Harris, *Is Sin a Necessity?*, p. 11 (quoted from Sangster, op. cit., p. 81).
 67. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 6.
 68. An insider's account from both a psychological and religious perspective on the Welsh revival is found in Henri Bois, *Le réveil au pays de Galles*, Toulouse: Société des Publications Morales et Religieuses, 1905.
 69. D. P. Williams, *The Prophetic Ministry (or the Voice Gifts) in the Church*, 1931, pp. 98–99.
 70. Synan, op. cit., p. 99.
 71. D. W. Cartwright, "From the Back Streets of Brixton to the Royal Albert Hall: British Pentecostalism 1907–1926" typed MS, 1981, p. 1.
 72. *The Yorkshire Post*, 27 December 1904. The report dealt with the phenomenon of young persons, normally ignorant of Welsh idiom, apparently fluent and articulate in that language during revival services.
 73. c.f. Hollenweger, op. cit., p. 184.
 74. Penn-Lewis, op. cit., pp. 297–298.
 75. E. Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904*, London: Evangelical Press, 1969, p. 191.
 76. Roberts experienced Spirit outpourings himself at Loughor, Newcastle Emlyn and Blaenannerch c.f. Bois, op. cit., pp 73, 78.

77. Evans, op. cit., p. 190.
78. By 1909, Mrs Penn-Lewis had also withdrawn from Keswick circles.
79. Evans, op. cit., p. 190.
80. The Welsh revival was also visited by British Evangelical leaders who later opposed Pentecostalism, such as G. Campbell Morgan and F. B. Meyer.
81. Gee was not, however, a co-signatory to the Constitution of the 1 February 1924 meeting in Birmingham.
82. G. R. Polman, "Spade Regen", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 6, September 1908, p. 20.
83. The extent of lay participation in ministry and exercise of charismatic gifts varies enormously within the Pentecostal movement. There is a growing tendency for greater control by the leadership, particularly in the realm of "weighing" prophecy – the process by which a message is adjudged to be spiritually authentic, or not.
84. This belief was strengthened by a prophecy that an earthquake would shortly shake Los Angeles. It actually hit San Francisco, on 18 April 1906, with the loss of 10,000 lives. (c.f. F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, p. 46).
85. Pentecostalism posits a dualistic view of the cosmos, and this motif is central to its concept of light versus darkness, Christ v. Satan, flesh against Spirit etc.
86. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, p. 46.

CHAPTER TWO

The beginnings of Pentecostalism in the USA and Britain

At the beginning of the twentieth century, religious life in Britain and the USA was in a state of considerable flux, mirroring as it did the enormous social, cultural and political changes that had occurred in the last decades of the previous century. Reference has already been made to the aftermath of the American Civil War, and the demise of 'perfectionist' teaching in its wake.¹ Many other far-reaching developments were apparent, as McLoughlin points out:

During this era the country shifted from an agrarian to an industrial economy, from a rural to an urban-centred population, from an anticolonial to an imperialist nation, from a relatively homogenous to a polygenetic people . . . and to the final stages of governmental social control.²

Similar changes were of course taking place in Britain, especially in the wake of the industrial revolution and increasing urbanisation. However, Britain was still relatively homogenous and remained so for another fifty years. The accumulative effect of these changes was felt most severely among the intellectually unsophisticated, who by virtue of demographic distribution, made up the bulk of churchgoers in both countries. Coterminously, rapid theological changes had taken place in Europe and the USA, mainly due to the rise of scientific naturalism and a diminution of belief in the veracity of the Bible. This shift was itself a corollary of the higher critical study of the Bible that had been gaining ground inexorably since the 1860s.³

Against this background therefore, the emergence of Pentecostalism can be seen as a two-fold challenge and protest; a protest against the naturalistic *Zeitgeist* of sci-

entific determinism, and a challenge to the low level of faith and dynamism as manifested in much Evangelical religion. It was the belief that there was “something more” that characterised early Pentecostalism. This point is well made by Hutten, who writes:

Rationalism had by then pre-empted the proclamation of the Church for some time, and had caused the Church to make concessions to the modern world view bringing about a considerable flattening and thinning out of the Church’s message . . . this evaporation required a protest . . . it came through the Pentecostal movement.⁴

Such an explanation stresses, of course, only the human side to the origins of Pentecostalism.⁵ It does not, indeed cannot, offer any explanation as to how and why the putatively supernatural phenomena accompanying the nascent Pentecostal movement were manifested in the way they were, there and then. The social and cultural background in other countries was totally dissimilar to that obtaining in Britain and the USA, yet they shared in the same outpouring simultaneously. Scandinavian Pentecostalism,⁶ for example, took root in quite different soil, and the same situation applies to Pentecostalism in most of South America, where it dominates all religions in terms of growth rate.⁷ Therefore the interpretive grid offered by sociologists of religion must be counterbalanced by reasons that the Pentecostals themselves would offer – these lie in the area of answers to prayer, that God would crown the dawn of the new century with a demonstration of supernatural power that would dwarf even the exploits of the apostolic church – in short, a new Pentecost.

2:1. Pentecostalism in the USA

Although some later works have tried to minimise, or even ignore, his contribution, the beginnings of Pentecostalism in the USA are inextricably bound up with the activities of a Methodist pastor from Iowa, Charles Fox Parham.⁸ Having left the Methodist church in 1895 to pursue an independent ministry, he and his wife founded the Beth-el healing home in Topeka, Kansas. In 1899 he began publication of a bi-monthly holiness magazine called *The Apostolic Faith*.⁹ In the summer of

1900 Parham embarked on a three month tour of holiness centres, being deeply influenced by contact with F. W. Sandford's commune at Shiloh, Maine.¹⁰ Sandford was himself deeply interested in divine healing, evangelism and glossolalia, and in 1894 had begun publication of a periodical called *Tongues of Fire*. The title is, of course, significant, and reflects the growing use of Pentecostal imagery in the publications of that period.

Parham's contact with Sandford led him to believe that missionaries could use the glossolalic gift to preach and evangelise in foreign countries (a practice known as xenoglossolalia).¹¹ Further, Parham believed the world would soon be evangelised by a world-wide outpouring of the Holy Spirit, conferring the xenoglossolalic gift for evangelism, and ushering in the second coming of Christ to earth, and the end of the world. In October 1900 Parham opened a Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, with 40 students.¹² Within three months he had gone through all the major tenets of holiness theology, and had reached the second chapter of exegetical studies in the book of Acts. At that point, Parham had to leave the school for a short preaching tour, but before he did so, asked the students to answer the following question in their study of Acts: "What was the Bible evidence for the experience of Spirit baptism?" A more crucial question could hardly be envisaged in that climate, and the answer "astonished" Parham.¹³ The students were unanimous that the biblical evidence of Spirit baptism was "speaking with other tongues". It must be remembered that the students reached this conclusion solely on the grounds of comparing biblical passages that dealt with descriptions of Spirit baptism.¹⁴ The only text book allowed in Parham's school was the Bible, and none of the students would have regarded the Lukan account in Acts as anything other than paradigmatic for all Christians at all times.¹⁵ Still less would there have been any appreciation of the implications of Lukan redaction criticism on the lines that Conzelmann later developed.¹⁶ The account was read and interpreted simply as it stood.

FOLLOWING PAGE

Plate no. 1 – Charles Fox Parham, widely regarded as the original formulator of Pentecostal theology. (c. 1925).



At that point none of the students, or indeed Parham, had received the gift of tongues, but on the first day of the twentieth century Agnes N. Ozman asked Parham to lay hands on her for the reception of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ As he did so, she began to speak in the Chinese language, and was unable to speak English for three days.¹⁸ Atypically, she also received the ability to write in Chinese characters.¹⁹ Within days, all the other students, and Parham, had received the gift of tongues, it being claimed that 21 known languages were identified and authenticated among the students.²⁰

Understandably, the attention of the secular press was riveted on these events, with articles in the *Kansas City Times*, *Kansas City World*, *Cincinnati Enquirer* and *Topeka Capitol* focusing on the events that had mystified the people of Galena.²¹ Most of these articles were sensational and critical, but they provide the first example in modern history of a new religion being launched into public attention via the mass media. Subsequently, proponents of Pentecostalism were to recognise that the attentions of the secular press, though generally hostile, were a crucial factor in giving the fledgling movement world-wide publicity and exposure.²²

By 1903 Parham's Apostolic Faith Movement, buoyed up by many instances of miraculous healing in Kansas, had gained several thousand converts. Moving on to Houston in 1905, he established another Bible school that offered a ten week course in the fundamentals of the new Pentecostalist faith.²³ This event was a watershed in Parham's career, as it saw the emergence of a negro holiness preacher who was soon to eclipse Parham in influence and power within the movement, William J. Seymour.²⁴ The way in which Seymour assumed the mantle of Parham is both curious and interesting.

In 1905, Parham had resumed publication of his magazine *Apostolic Faith*, which had been defunct since 1900,²⁵ but it now took on an editorial flavour that reflected

his new Pentecostal views. Control of this magazine put Parham in a position of such influence that he was poised to become the *de facto* leader of the movement.²⁶ But two events in 1906 led to Parham's downfall.²⁷ The first was an ill-fated attempt to gain control of a theocratic community called Zion City, based in Illinois and founded by John A. Dowie, an eccentric faith healer who had studied theology for three years at Edinburgh University.²⁸

While in Edinburgh, Dowie had been influenced by a disciple of Edward Irving, the Rev. Henry Wright, and he seems to have become something of an acolyte of Irving himself, writing of him, "a greater and mightier man of God never stood upon this earth".²⁹ Dowie's financial mismanagement had led the Zion community into virtual collapse, but Parham lost the subsequent power struggle with Dowie's heir apparent, Wilbur G. Voliva, and became discredited in the eyes of the Christian community.

A few months later an even more devastating blow befell Parham. He was arrested in San Antonio, Texas, on a charge of sodomy. Though the accusations were later dropped without explanation, enough mud had been thrown, and stuck, to effectively thwart any further aspirations of leadership he might have entertained. The fact that Parham even became embroiled in such unsavoury charges is undoubtedly the reason most Pentecostal historiography minimises, or even ignores, his contribution to the movement. Quite apart from the sodomy charges, he is cast in an unfavourable light through his membership of the Ku Klux Klan, and the racist overtones of his comments on the desegregation characteristic of early Pentecostal meetings.³⁰ Historically, however, he stands as the first exponent of the doctrine of tongues as "initial evidence" of Spirit baptism, a tenet that is still held by the majority of classical Pentecostals throughout the world.³¹

The unlikely candidate for Parham's mantle was William Seymour, a negro holiness

preacher who had accepted Parham's theology of Spirit baptism while attending the Houston Bible school – where, because of his colour, he had to listen to lectures from the hallway. In 1906 Seymour was invited to preach in a Nazarene³² church on Sante Fe Street, Los Angeles. It should be remembered that the Nazarene movement was a secessionist group from within the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had broken away in 1895 to propagate the holiness viewpoint, especially the doctrine of entire sanctification. The founder, Phineas Bresee, had laboured with some success in Los Angeles for several years.³³ Seymour's text in the Nazarene chapel was Acts 2.4 – the classical Pentecostal proof text of tongues as "initial evidence" of Spirit baptism. His sermon upset the pastor, Miss Julia Hutchins, and she locked Seymour out of the church for the next evening. However, some of the congregation had been convinced by his exposition, and the hapless preacher was invited to lodge with a Richard Asbury at 214 Bonnie Brae Street.³⁴ For several days, prayer services were held in the Asbury home until 9 April 1906, when Seymour and seven others received Spirit baptism with the sign of tongues.³⁵

Not unnaturally, this event caused considerable commotion and excitement, and the large crowds who flocked to the Asbury home had to be moved to a larger building, where the revival could continue unabated. Eventually a derelict two-storey livery stable was located at 312 Azusa Street, and for the next three years this became the epicentre of the world-wide Pentecostal revival, with services continuing day and night around the clock. Once again, the secular press were quick to spot a hot story, and despatched reporters from coast to coast to cover the news. As might be expected, first into print was the local paper the *Los Angeles Times* – its front cover on 18 April read:

New sect of fanatics is breaking loose . . . breathing strange utterances and mouthing a creed which it would seem no sane mortal could understand, the newest religious sect has started in Los Angeles . . . devotees of the weird doctrine work themselves into a state of mad excitement in their peculiar zeal . . . and the night is made hideous by the howling of the worshippers . . . they claim to have the "gift of tongues" and to be able to understand the babel.³⁶

The pejorative tone of this report is characteristic of the press accounts at the time, but rather than weakening interest it actually served to arrest attention, as the Pentecostal journalist Frank Bartleman admitted: “the press wrote us up shamefully, but that only drew more crowds”.³⁷

Outside the secular press, news of the movement spread through a plethora of religious publications, principally through Bartleman’s reports in *The Way of Faith*,³⁸ *God’s Revivalist*, *Christian Harvester*, *The Bridegroom’s Messenger*³⁹ and— most important of all — *The Apostolic Faith*,⁴⁰ which was published by Seymour and a small team from the scene of the revival itself in Azusa Street.

The role of these early publications in disseminating the Pentecostal message is crucial. Both the secular and religious press tended to be hostile to the new movement, and without a means of effective reply and defence, it is probable that the Pentecostal awakening would have been written off as the antics of an eccentric coterie.⁴¹ Within the socially and culturally limiting *milieu* of Seymour and his supporters, oral tradition alone could never have achieved the effective propagation of Pentecostal tenets that the published word did.⁴² The sheer size, and demographic distribution, of the American populace demanded the use of a mass medium, and the coast to coast distance was so great as to render anything less than mass media totally ineffectual.⁴³ Fortunately, by the turn of the century, the USA had developed a highly efficient system of rail communications, which proved propitious in distributing Pentecostal literature throughout the whole country. By 1890, the USA boasted some 166,700 miles of railroad track, (more than the whole of Europe), with five transcontinental trunk lines connecting east and west coast. Ten years later, 180 million acres of land had been ceded to the independent railway companies, and it was possible to cross the nation by rail in about eight days.⁴⁴

Equally impressive developments had taken place on the oceangoing liner system.

The first transatlantic steamship service was established in 1838, and Cunard began the New York–Liverpool route ten years later. In the same year a New York–Southampton line was inaugurated by the Ocean Steam Navigation Company of New York. International distribution of mail was facilitated by Congress voting to give mail subsidies to steamship companies, so the infrastructure of a fast, efficient travel and distribution system to Europe, and world-wide, was already in place by the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁵ All of these factors aided the spread of the Pentecostal message throughout the globe, on a hitherto unprecedented scale in terms of speed and efficiency.⁴⁶

At the same time, advances in printing technology, particularly the invention of mechanised typesetting represented by the new Linotype and Monotype systems,⁴⁷ meant that publications could be produced much more quickly and cheaply than by the labour-intensive cold metal handsetting of type. It was, therefore, by a combination of propitious circumstances that the emergence of Pentecostalism coincided with newly created opportunities to exploit the published medium to the full. The early Pentecostals were not slow to grasp these opportunities, and very quickly a plethora of new magazines began to reflect the distinctive tenets of the movement. By this means, news of the the revival spread to Britain, and indeed all parts of the world.

2:2. The birth of Pentecostalism in the British Isles

Seymour's magazine *The Apostolic Faith* played a seminal role in the spread of Pentecostalism to the British Isles. The free four page broadsheet, published by faith from the Azusa Street mission, first rolled off the press in September 1906. Five thousand copies were printed, and one of these fell into the hands of a Cornish Methodist minister living in Oslo, T. B. Barratt.⁴⁸ He seems to have been possessed of an unusually spiritual mind, writing in his diary at the age of 26, "Lord, baptise me fully in the Holy Ghost and fire".⁴⁹ That was in 1888, and the imagery of the

prayer is significant. Strongly influenced by reports of the Welsh revival, he wrote to Evan Roberts in 1905, "I want a fuller baptism of fire".⁵⁰

In 1906 Barratt visited America in an abortive attempt to raise funds for his Oslo City Mission. While there he read the first issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, and wrote to a Mrs May Throop concerning his own spiritual need.⁵¹ She exhorted him: "We are praying the full Pentecostal baptism upon you so that you may be equipped for His service as you never have been".⁵² By 16 November 1906, in what appears to have been a two-stage experience, Barratt entered fully into the Pentecostal baptism, "speaking in a foreign language as loud as I could . . . I am sure that I spoke seven or eight different languages – they were clear and plain".⁵³

He returned to Norway on 8 December, and through his magazine *Byposten*, (founded in 1904), spread both his testimony and news of the Pentecostal revival.⁵⁴ While Barratt was fanning the Pentecostal flames in Norway, news of his activities had reached the Anglican minister of All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth, Sunderland – the Rev. A. A. Boddy. Reference has already been made to the impact of both the Keswick convention and the Welsh revival on Boddy's thought, and doubtless he was earnestly longing and praying for similar scenes to visit England.⁵⁵ Accordingly, Boddy visited Barratt in Norway in March 1907 to gain an eye-witness account of the scenes. Boddy writes:

Much prayer went up at the close of 1905 and the beginning of 1906. We heard of the new Pentecostal outpouring . . . in different parts of the world. I made a journey to Norway to enquire into the movement of the Blessed Holy Spirit.⁵⁶

What Boddy witnessed in Oslo surpassed even the scenes he had seen in the Welsh revival. In a comment picked up by several English newspapers he wrote:

My four days in Oslo can never be forgotten. I stood with Evan Roberts in Tonypany, but have never witnessed such scenes as those in Norway.⁵⁷

Boddy's indebtedness to the Welsh revival seems to be that he regarded it as a precursor, or a forerunner, of even greater blessings that would be poured out in a Pentecostal awakening. Writing in 1910 he explains the relationship more fully:

The Welsh revival was a time of 'conversion' and was intended by the Lord as a preparation for the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, as on the Day of Pentecost, and at Caesarea.⁵⁸

There is no doubt that Boddy regarded his Oslo visit as an epochal spiritual experience – describing it variously as “a wonderful anointing of the Holy Spirit”,⁵⁹ “a blessed and wonderful baptism of the Holy Ghost”⁶⁰, and “a great inflow of his Spirit”.⁶¹ Boddy remained in Oslo for only four days, addressing eight meetings. His precipitate return to England was probably due to a desire to circulate news of the Norwegian revival, and to prepare for a visit to Sunderland by T. B. Barratt. He also visited Keswick later in the year, circulating thousands of copies of a pamphlet he had written, *Pentecost for England*, but it was coolly received.⁶²

Boddy continued to pressure Barratt for a Sunderland visit, but Barratt vacillated over fears about “language problems”⁶³ and the over-high expectations of English friends.⁶⁴ This suggests that perhaps Boddy had been circulating rather exaggerated accounts of Barratt's ministry in Oslo, and that Barratt was unsure as to whether his success in Scandinavia could be transplanted into a totally different *milieu*, such as that represented in British Evangelicalism. But by 9 July 1907 he had conquered his fears, and confirmed the visit. Boddy was ecstatic, writing:

Praise be to God . . . hungry folk from all parts of the land will flock to Sunderland hoping that God may permit you to be a channel of blessing to them.⁶⁵

Barratt arrived at Sunderland on Saturday 31 August, and was immediately plunged into a heavy schedule of meetings. The evening meeting of the following day proceeded in very un-Anglican style, lasting till 4 a.m. on Monday, with the first wave of Spirit baptisms taking place. Boddy was not among those receiving

tongues – in fact he was the last in his family to do so⁶⁶ – but he described the events of that evening thus:

On the night of September 1st two who were seeking Him entered right in and went right through into Pentecost with signs following; to encourage others, God allowed them to be dealt with tenderly.⁶⁷

Barratt remained in Sunderland for seven weeks, during which the usual Pentecostal phenomena were manifested – visions, prophecies, exorcisms, trances, singing in the Spirit, and of course, glossolalia. Curiously, the number of people speaking in tongues remained small; Barratt mentions 17,⁶⁸ and even by December – when Boddy received the gift – it was no more than 50.⁶⁹ Consequently, Barratt's visit can only be regarded as a qualified success. Its true significance lies once again in the way that news of the meetings was picked up and analysed by the secular press. Ironically, the religious press was strangely muted – Harper even suggests there was a kind of censorship operating.⁷⁰ This is unlikely for several reasons. Firstly, censorship is notoriously difficult to impose, even in wartime conditions. Secondly, the religious press in Britain at that time reflected very disparate views on the nature of Christianity, and it is unlikely that they could all have been persuaded to take a monolithic line of fierce opposition to the movement. It is much more likely that the movement was ignored because it was seen to represent a minority fringe of eccentric believers, and therefore deemed not worthy of serious attention.⁷¹ Numbers involved were very small at first, and localised in the relatively obscure backwater of Sunderland. On the other hand, the secular press, much more interested in the sensational and the deviant, found in Sunderland the type of behaviour that appealed to the curiosity of their readers.

The first press report was carried by the *Sunderland Echo* on 30 September. Two days later the national press carried reports in both the *London Morning Leader* and *Daily Chronicle*. On 6 October *Lloyds Weekly News* printed two articles on the movement, and the *Edinburgh Evening Despatch* had two articles, on 9 and 11 October.



Generally, the articles were written at a facile level, emphasising the more extreme aspects of the movement. An excerpt from the *Daily Chronicle* illustrates the genre:

The Welshman shrieked. He yelled out 'Glory' in long protracted yells until the neighbours must have turned in their beds and wondered what kind of rack could be extracting such agony. He writhed like an animal in pain, but nothing came of his raving.⁷²

Whilst the interest of the press attracted nationwide attention, and put the phenomena in Sunderland firmly on the spiritual map, Boddy seems to have regarded the overall result of the press attention as deleterious. Speaking of the visits of the London newspaper reporters he says:

We did not want them, but could not help it, and so prayed the Lord to over-rule. The reports while often grotesque, raised deep interest. Crowds flocked to our meetings. Many came out of curiosity, some deliberately to oppose and cause division, others travelled long distances to meet God . . . but cranks and mischiefmakers and people who sought to live on others came to the meetings and caused the writer much pain and anxiety.⁷³

What pained Boddy even more than the hostility of the secular press was the growing volume of vitriolic criticism from religious publications, particularly those of the Holiness movement. Reader Harris, founder of the League of Prayer and a prominent exponent of entire sanctification, was the sternest critic. His magazine *Tongues of Fire* denounced the Pentecostal movement as a "satanic counterfeit",⁷⁴ and other leading British Evangelicals were equally excoriating about the movement.⁷⁵ Throughout the storms of invective, Boddy responded with exceptional graciousness, and undertook three further steps that were to confirm Sunderland as the pre-eminent centre of Pentecostalism in the British Isles.

The first step was to inaugurate an annual Whitsuntide convention at All Saints, the first of which was held in 1908, continuing till the outbreak of war in 1914. These conventions, always chaired by Boddy, attracted the cream of Pentecostal preachers from around the globe, and became a kind of spiritual pilgrimage for virtually all the subsequent leaders of the movement. A roll call of conferees includes

such redoubtable Pentecostals as Stephen and George Jeffreys, Smith Wigglesworth, T. B. Barratt, Jonathan Paul, Stanley Frodsham, Cecil Polhill, John Tetchner, John Leech, A. S. Booth-Clibborn, G. R. Polman, W. H. Sandwith and J. H. King.⁷⁶ Amongst prominent Pentecostal ladies were numbered the Mrs Crisp, Palmer, Cantel, Beruldsen, Boddy (and daughters Mary and Joanna), Dr Florence Murcutt, Miss Kathleen Polhill, Miss Doelong and Baroness von Brasch.⁷⁷ During the war years and thereafter, the convention met in London, not Sunderland, a factor that was to prove crucial in weakening Boddy's subsequent control and leadership of the movement.⁷⁸

The second factor consolidating the pre-eminence of both Boddy and Sunderland in the early years of Pentecostalism was the formation, in January 1909, of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU). The president of the Union, Cecil Polhill, was a wealthy landowner, educated at Eton and Cambridge. In 1885 he had gone as a missionary to Tibet as a member of the famous "Cambridge Seven". Returning from a trip to China, he visited the scenes of revival in Los Angeles, and was baptised in the Spirit early in 1908. Polhill's consuming passion was missionary work, especially in China and Tibet. It will be seen from the evidence later adduced that Polhill's wealth was the mainstay of both early Pentecostal missionary work and the magazine *Confidence* – rescuing the latter from financial collapse on a number of occasions.⁷⁹ Polhill published and edited his own missionary magazine, *Fragments of Flame*, which became *Flames of Fire* in 1911, and ended with the dissolution of the PMU in 1925.⁸⁰

The third, and certainly the most important, factor in promoting the spread of Pentecostalism from Sunderland world-wide was Boddy's decision to publish a monthly magazine, *Confidence*. The publishing history of this journal will be dealt with fully in its own right later in this thesis. At this juncture it is simply sufficient to indicate the immense contribution this magazine made to the propagation of distinctive Pentecostal teaching and experience. The point is well made by Gee:

For several years it was the authoritative voice of British Pentecostal leadership. A rare anointing rested on those early issues . . . and God honoured *Confidence* in a special way, and was pleased to make it one of his principal channels at that time through which to bring many in touch with Pentecostal blessing.⁸¹

2:3. The beginnings of Pentecostal denominationalism in Britain

This brief survey of the historical background to Pentecostalism concludes with a situation that proved highly germane to the development of a distinctively Pentecostal publishing scenario. The early vision of Boddy, Polhill and indeed most of the leaders of the nascent movement was that Pentecost should represent a unifying spiritual experience among Christians of all denominations.⁸² *Confidence* regularly published articles from the whole spectrum of Christian belief, including at times ones from Christian leaders who actually opposed the movement.⁸³ Boddy always enjoyed cordial relationships with Nonconformist ministers, and the respect appears to have been mutual.⁸⁴ Boddy believed that there were grave dangers inherent in forming yet another denomination based on charismatic gifts. As early as 1911 he was warning:

The editor of "Confidence" does not feel that the Lord's leading in these days is to set up a new church, but to bless individuals where they are. There is just as much danger sooner or later, for a 'Pentecostal Church'(so called) as for any of the churches that have risen or fallen.⁸⁵

The above quotation shows that Boddy recognised the fissiparous nature of Evangelical sectarianism, but another reason for his opposition to Pentecostal denominations must lie in his exceptional loyalty to the Anglican Church. Boddy's daughter, Jane, recalls that a degree of pressure had been put upon him by leading Pentecostals, notably Smith Wigglesworth, to start a Pentecostal denomination in 1922, "but he was firm in his allegiance to the Church of England and felt he could not conscientiously leave it".⁸⁶

It is an imponderable of history as to what the subsequent direction of British Pentecostalism might have been if men of the calibre of Boddy and Polhill had

thrown their weight behind such a movement. Certainly, the lack of trained leadership in its early years gave the movement a certain degree of indirigibility, as even Donald Gee admitted.⁸⁷ Robinson draws attention to the fact that by this time, (1922) Boddy was 68, and too old to lead a new movement. Also he was nursing his wife through acute arthritis,⁸⁸ and had officially 'retired' to a quieter parish in that same year.⁸⁹ But none of this changes the fact that Boddy's views on a new denomination had been formed much earlier – at least eleven years before Wigglesworth's visit – and, at 57 years of age, Boddy could still be considered in his prime as a spiritual leader. Robinson's argument is further weakened by the fact that even up to the age of at least 60 years, Boddy's health was robust enough for him to continue travelling around the world on extensive preaching itineraries. In fact, he made a seventh journey to America as late as June 1914, when he preached for three months coast to coast. Details of this trip were printed in *Confidence*.⁹⁰ We also know from his daughter's recollections that he was fit and strong enough to cycle regularly until the age of "nearly 70".⁹¹

However Boddy's reservations were not shared by a number of other Pentecostals, and the years 1913–1924 saw the emergence of three major Pentecostal denominations, two of which still dominate classical Pentecostalism in Britain. The first of these, the Apostolic Church, was a direct consequence of the Welsh revival of 1904. Its founder, D. P. Williams, a Pen-y-groes miner, first had contact with the Pentecostal movement in Aberaeron in 1909, and received his baptism of the Spirit as a result of this encounter:

As they were praising God, Daniel fell flat on his face, weeping, sobbing and groaning, and he received the mighty baptism of the Holy Spirit. Ecstasy overwhelmed his soul and he spoke with tongues as the Holy Spirit gave him utterance.⁹²

Through the ministry of the 'spoken word' movement, Williams received a call to "apostleship" in 1913, while his brother William was established as a "prophet". Within three years the brothers had established a nucleus of Welsh assemblies into

their movement, the Apostolic church.⁹³ The doctrine of the movement was propagated in its official organ, *Riches of Grace*.⁹⁴ The denomination has only around 5,000 members in Britain, but is strong in West Africa, particularly Nigeria.⁹⁵

Almost simultaneously, two other Welsh brothers were holding fruitful revival campaigns throughout Britain. George and Stephen Jeffreys – whom Hollenweger reckons were the most naturally talented pair ever produced by Pentecostalism⁹⁶ – were converts of the Welsh revival. Both had received Spirit baptism and George Jeffreys was a speaker at the Sunderland Convention.⁹⁷ Through contacts there he was asked to lead a campaign at Monaghan, Ireland, and in January 1915, as a result of those meetings, founded the Elim Evangelistic Alliance (re-named in 1919 as the Elim Pentecostal Alliance).⁹⁹ The Jeffreys brothers travelled extensively throughout the world, combining great evangelistic skills with a stress on divine healing that, according to contemporary reports, saw thousands of miraculous cures. As a result, dozens of Elim churches were established in the UK. Today the movement has about 400 churches, and an official monthly organ, *Direction*, previously the *Elim Evangel*.

In contrast to the Elim pattern of centralised control, the third, and largest, Pentecostal denomination adopted the principle of local autonomy for each church. The Assemblies of God was formed in 1924 from a coalition of some 37 independent churches throughout England, and one in Ireland.¹⁰⁰ The purpose of the new movement was to foster fellowship between like-minded assemblies, and to protect them from false teaching.¹⁰¹ It is also obvious that the Welsh Apostolic assemblies were encroaching on the independent assemblies, and that many Pentecostals wanted a tighter doctrinal stress on the importance of glossolalia as evidence of Spirit baptism.¹⁰² This tenet is enshrined in the constitution of Assemblies of God, but not in that of the Elim church. The Assemblies of God began publishing an official organ, *Redemption Tidings*, in July 1924.¹⁰³ It continued in similar form until 1985, when

it became a full-colour monthly called *Redemption*.¹⁰⁴ W. O. Hutchinson's magazine *Showers of Blessing*, founded in 1910, and *Riches of Grace*, *Elim Evangel* and *Redemption Tidings* had, of course, a different publishing philosophy to Boddy's *Confidence* magazine. They existed to propagate a denominational viewpoint and there was therefore a narrowing of focus from wider Pentecostal matters, and an accentuation of items dealing with denominational, parochial concern. At the same time, censorship began to be imposed either by or on the editors, and this practice has continued to the present day in the case of *Redemption*.¹⁰⁵ At present, therefore, it is merely sufficient to point out that Boddy's non-denominational journal was competing for readers in a highly specialised, limited field. This, together with other factors of a technical and financial nature which will be fully discussed, led to the ultimate demise of *Confidence* in 1926.

2:4. The distinctive doctrines and practices of Pentecostalism

It has already been observed that Pentecostalism stands in an Evangelical continuum that stretches back at least to the Puritans of the seventeenth century,¹⁰⁶ and is in essence a synthesis of insights gained from Wesleyan holiness teaching, American Evangelicalism, and the Welsh revival. A logical corollary of this syncretism is that many of the teachings and practices of the movement will simply reflect those found within these strands of thought, plus one or more additional ideas that make it distinctive. Horton Davies clearly understates his case when he avers:

Pentecostalism is not a heretical group within Protestantism. Its articles of belief are indistinguishable from those of any conservative Protestant group.¹⁰⁷

If this statement were true, there would be no justification whatsoever for Pentecostal belief to exist as a separate entity. It simply would not be needed. It is only because Pentecostals believe in an additional insight into traditional Christian belief that the movement can claim a *raison d'être*. This point is clearly put in a pamphlet explicating Pentecostal doctrine:

Their only distinctive doctrines and practices centre around being Pentecostal in that they believe in the baptism in the Holy Spirit, as a definite experience for Christians, received subsequent to conversion, accompanied by the manifestations of the Spirit as inaugurated by the grace of God on the day of Pentecost, and still possible to the Church.¹⁰⁸

What this statement reduces to in essence is that the events described in Acts 2.4 are normative Christianity. The key point to be made in this connection is that Pentecostals were the first group to make a causal connection between Spirit baptism, and the charismatic gifts – especially glossolalia. This is the only tenet that distinguishes them from other Christians, and it is this view alone that has brought such obloquy upon the movement.¹⁰⁹

It is, however, outside the ambit of this thesis to evaluate the legitimacy of this view from a theological or exegetical standpoint. The strengths and weaknesses of the doctrine have already been fully presented in a number of works.¹¹⁰ It must be mentioned, moreover, that the doctrine underwent a considerable amount of change and development within early Pentecostalism and was rejected by many of the early leaders of both the British and American movements – principally Boddy, Polhill, Barratt, F. F. Bosworth, G. R. Polman, Jonathan Paul, and George, Stephen and Edward Jeffreys.

2:5 Pentecostal teaching on receiving the Spirit

Since Pentecostals believe and teach that Spirit baptism is not coterminous with conversion, it follows that certain preparatory steps can be pursued in order to receive the experience. Hollenweger says:

Innumerable writings give instructions how to prepare for the baptism in the Spirit, and what conditions have to be fulfilled for it to be received. In the older Pentecostal denominations . . . these writings are of increasing importance.¹¹¹

If the various theories about pre-requisites for Spirit baptism are conflated, it produces a list comprising prayer, faith, repentance, confession, restitution for past sins, obedience to God's word, and thirsting for the experience. The one constant

factor that appears in all the lists so far published on this matter is 'faith', and no further unanimity subsists between the six authors cited by Bruner.¹¹²

In connection with receiving the Spirit, some Pentecostal churches hold special "waiting" or "tarrying" meetings where seekers for the experience can have hands laid on, be prayed for, and receive other spiritual counsel,¹¹³ At times this procedure has veered near to auto-suggestion and has therefore been trenchantly criticised by respected authors such as Gee, who regrets that:

In order to make people speak with what are claimed to be "tongues" there have been methods adopted for which we make no excuse.¹¹⁴

A similar criticism has been made in a perceptive letter to *Redemption* magazine.¹¹⁵

2:6 The results of Spirit baptism

Pentecostals teach that the Baptism in the Spirit results in greater power for Christian service.¹¹⁶ This is in contradistinction to the Wesleyan view that saw holiness as the main concomitant of the experience. A parallel is usually drawn between Jesus delaying his earthly ministry until he was anointed by the Spirit,¹¹⁷ and the disciples tarrying in the upper room before Pentecost.¹¹⁸ It is then inferred that if *they* needed to wait for the Spirit's power and presence, how much more should Christians do so today. It is a classic *a fortiori* argument. A distinction is usually made between the 'sign' and the 'gift' of tongues – the former occurring possibly only at the reception of the Spirit, the latter a permanent endowment for the benefit of the whole church.¹¹⁹

This teaching raises what is probably the most significant contribution that Pentecostalism has made to Evangelicalism in general. Once the basic premise is accepted that all Christians can share in the charismata, the distinction between laity and clergy is virtually eroded.¹²⁰ All members of the Body of Christ are therefore free to minister their gift, and the pastor/elder/minister becomes simply *primus*

inter pares. Pentecostalism offers therefore, an opportunity for Christian ministry and service that is generally closed to those without the requisite academic and theological training, and, as Bruner concedes, this must rank as a main factor in the movement's rapid world-wide expansion: "the discovery and application of this truth no doubt explains in large measure the world-wide appeal of the Pentecostal movement".¹²¹

2:7 The style of Pentecostal worship

The distinctive features of Pentecostal worship are congregational participation, spontaneity, exuberant praise and emotional preaching. Obviously, the charismata are present, and the putative pattern of New Testament worship is followed, especially 1 Corinthians 14.26–31. Surprisingly, a departure from that paradigm comes in the stress on female participation, which has been a feature of Pentecostalism from its earliest days, despite the Fundamentalism of the movement in other ways.¹²² Both major denominations have accredited female ministers, though none has yet risen to any position of executive leadership in either movement.

The actual structure of Pentecostal services is very diverse, and there are marked differences in the practices of Classical and neo-Pentecostals.¹²³ Both would always contain some prayer, Bible reading, congregational praise, and a time for the use of charismatic gifts, which would usually be tongues and/or prophecy. Classical Pentecostals tend to favour the older hymnody, and longer sermons, than their neo-Pentecostal brethren, who are much more informal and unstructured in style. Dancing, drama and rock music – in a Christianised form – would often be present in such gatherings. Sermons in both types of churches would be straightforward expositions of Scripture, interpreted in a literalistic, and what some would regard as simplistic, manner. Comment is rarely made on social or political issues except in an oblique and tangential manner. The sacraments of baptism and communion are generally observed.

It is towards the end of such services that the most distinctive features of Pentecostalism tend to occur. Members of the congregation will be called forward for a variety of reasons – to receive counselling for salvation, Spirit baptism or physical and spiritual healing. The laying on of hands, or anointing with oil, or both, may be carried out for the healing purpose.¹²⁴ If a member is too sick to be present physically at church, some Pentecostal churches will ‘pray over’ a handkerchief, and place it in contact with him at home.¹²⁵ From the earliest days of Pentecostalism, divine healing has played a prominent part in evangelistic outreach, and the early issues of *Confidence*, *Elim Evangel* and *Redemption Tidings* abound with testimonies of those who had been healed. However, Walker is undoubtedly correct when he claims: “the healings were seemingly authenticated in a way not typically seen in Pentecostal circles today”.¹²⁶

During the prayers for divine healing or Spirit baptism it is quite common to see the recipient fall backwards, or crumple to the floor, in a trance-like swoon. This is known as “being slain in the Spirit”.¹²⁷ The practice was common in the ministries of Maria Woodworth-Etter, Kathryn Kuhlman and Kenneth Hagin, but has also been criticised as having no direct biblical support in its contemporary provenance. Linked to this phenomenon is perhaps the most striking visual and aural practice likely to be witnessed in Pentecostal churches. This is called “deliverance ministry”, virtually a euphemism for the exorcism of demonic spirits with or without the laying on of hands. Pentecostals believe that much mental and physical illness is caused by demons attacking the spirits and bodies of humanity. Exorcism, often accompanied by violent conflict as the evil spirits do battle with the Holy Spirit, is a subject causing much division and debate within the Pentecostal movement, and the biblical rationale for much contemporary practice has been strongly and seriously challenged.¹²⁸

Finally, mention must be made of a few peripheral practices that characterise some

minority Pentecostal groups. The first of these, congregational foot washing, is held to be a divinely ordained sacrament, and is practised by both the Church of God of Prophecy and the Church of God, within the UK. It is based on a literal interpretation of John 13.1 ff.¹²⁹

A second, highly controversial practice still current in some states is that of snake handling and poison drinking. These practices are posited as an act of faith and spirituality, based on the literal exegesis of Mark 16.18.¹³⁰ A third practice within the “Oneness” (non-trinitarian)¹³¹ house church groups is that of re-baptising believers who have previously been baptised using the trinitarian formula of Matthew 28.19. That baptism is declared to be invalid since the name of “Jesus only” was not invoked. Such groups exist within British Pentecostalism, notably in Chard, Somerset, and in the Afro-Caribbean churches, but they represent minority groupings and are therefore generally eschewed.¹³²

This brief consideration of Pentecostal distinctives elucidates the reasons why a specifically Pentecostal publishing movement was needed. In a number of important ways the movement represented new insights and ideas that deviated from classical Evangelicalism. As such, it needed a vehicle for disseminating those views as widely as possible, and at minimum cost. The twin factors of intense chiliasm and proselytising zeal, that characterised the movement, led to the adoption of the published word as the most effective way of reaching the masses with the good news. The beginnings of that publishing industry will now be examined.

NOTES – CHAPTER TWO

1. D. W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, pp. 75–78.
2. W. G. McLoughlin, Jnr, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, New York: The Ronald Press, 1959, p. 168.
3. Two classic studies on this subject are A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, (Constable, 1896) and J. Macquarrie, *Twentieth Century Religious Thought: The Frontiers of Philosophy and Theology*, London: SCM, 1966.
4. Quoted by Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, p. 50. A similar point is made by Liston Pope in *Millhands and Preachers*, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. 133-135.
5. It is for this reason that it would be rejected by most classical Pentecostals, who generally resent the reductionism implicit in much sociological analysis of religion. Neo-Pentecostals and the House Churches adopt a less absolutist view of the matter c.f. A. Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, p. 13.
6. Early Scandinavian Pentecostalism was dominated by T. B. Barratt (Norway) and Lewi Pethrus (Sweden), who favoured a congregationalist ecclesiology, and rejected Parham's "initial evidence" theory of glossolalia. Bloch-Hoell has a major section on the Scandinavian movement in *The Pentecostal Movement* (1958 edition only).
7. The growth of Brazilian Pentecostalism was documented in the BBC 2 TV programme 'Battle for Souls', *Assignment*, 15 October 1991.
8. Neither Gee, *Wind and Flame*, or Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, mention Parham by name. Bloch-Hoell reports that he once questioned Frodsham about Parham's life and ministry. Frodsham replied: "I never met Mr Charles Parham and I know very little about him". Yet Frodsham had been a Pentecostal since 1908, and in America as an observer of Pentecostalism since 1910. Embarrassment caused by Parham's fall must be the reason for this reticence. (c.f. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, p. 192, n. 11).
9. Publication of Parham's *Apostolic Faith* was erratic. It was published from 1899–1900 in Topeka, 1905–1906 in Melrose and Houston, and from 1910–1917 and 1925–1929 from Baxter Springs, Kansas.
10. Sandford's commune operated on faith lines, and by 1904 had attracted 600 residents. His career was ruined when a missionary ship owned by the commune, the *Kingdom*, was wrecked off the African coast in June 1911. All the passengers were transferred to a schooner, the *Coronet*, but nine had died by the time it docked at Portland. Sandford was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for manslaughter. The standard work on Sandford is W. C. Hiss, "Shiloh: Frank W. Sandford and the Kingdom: 1893–1948", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tufts, 1978.
11. No successful attempts at evangelising via xenoglossolalia have yet been authenticated, though claims to have done so are frequently made (c.f. R. M. Harris, *Spoken By the Spirit*, Gospel Publishing House, 1973).
12. Parham's Bible school, operated by faith, only ran for one year (Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, p. 100).
13. Synan, *ibid.* p. 101.
14. The biblical passages involved were: Acts 2.1–4, 10.46, 19.6. The students did not comment on two Acts accounts that did *not* mention tongues on Spirit baptism; viz. Acts 8.14–17 and 9.17–19.
15. This belief still of course underpins traditional Pentecostal theology, particularly with regard to Spirit baptism.

16. Redaction Criticism ('Redaktionsgeschichte') was applied to the gospel sources in an attempt to trace the theological slant imposed by the writer as editor. The standard work on Luke/Acts is H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, London: Faber, 1960 (first English edition).
17. Ozman had recalled that apostolic laying on of hands always preceded the post-Pentecost baptisms in Acts.
18. There are contradictory accounts of her experience. Synan's assertion that she spoke only in Chinese for three days is incompatible with Frodsham (*Signs Following*, p. 20) which clearly states that the next day, 2 January, Miss Ozman "offered prayer in English". It is extremely unlikely that any of the students at the school could have identified the Chinese language, even if she had spoken it.
19. I have not been able to locate any authenticated instance of the practice of writing in a hitherto unknown language (xenographology). Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, reproduces a facsimile of Agnes Ozman's "inspired" handwriting in other languages (p. 144 ff.). A report in *Confidence* claims that a believer called to evangelise in many nations was given the gift of "speaking to them in their own language and . . . the gift of writing the interpretation". ("Mrs Woodworth-Etter's meetings" *Confidence* vol. 6, no. 4, April 1913, p. 76) W. J. Seymour's magazine *The Apostolic Faith* also carried similar claims (vol. 1, no. 1, September 1906, p. 1).
20. Synan, op. cit., p. 102.
21. Articles from all these journals were reprinted in Parham's work *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, Joplin, Missouri, 1944, pp. 29-38.
22. Both Bartleman in the USA, and Boddy in Britain, regarded the unfavourable publicity as a blessing in disguise. cp. *Azusa Street*, p. xvii, and Boddy's comment "the reports, while often grotesque, raised deep interest. Crowds flocked to our meetings . . . others travelled long distances to meet God and to be helped by His servants". A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 195.
23. The Topeka school had collapsed in 1901.
24. The standard, and most exhaustive, work on Seymour is D. J. Nelson's "For Such a Time As This", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981.
25. *The Apostolic Faith* was now published from Melrose.
26. Parham had already named himself as "projector" of a small federation of assemblies holding Pentecostal-type views, and was therefore in an ideal position of influence to head the nascent movement.
27. These issues are discussed fully in the only major work on Parham, J. Goff's *Fields White Unto Harvest*, University of Arkansas Press, 1988, passim.
28. Dowie had enormous influence through his publishing interests, especially the magazine *Leaves of Healing*, which by 1898 was circulating 750,000 copies annually. Dowie's extreme views on divine healing led him to regard all medical aid as "lack of faith". In 1901 he announced he was Elijah the Restorer. In 1912, A. A. Boddy visited Zion City, and was highly critical of some aspects of the work there. c.f. A. A. Boddy, "Transatlantic Experiences", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 2, February 1913, pp. 33, 36-38. On Dowie, c.f. P. L. Cook, "Zion City, Illinois: Twentieth Century Utopia", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Colorado, 1965.
29. *Leaves of Healing*, XV, p. 433.
30. Though it should be remembered that at this time many Fundamentalists saw nothing incongruous with membership of the Klan. Niebuhr has an illuminating com-

ment on the dogma of white superiority: "The white churches have taken it for granted and have come to regard it as not incompatible with the remainder of their beliefs", (R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, 1929, pp. 236–237).

31. This view is not held by the Elim churches, a reluctance traced back to their founder George Jeffreys. Speaking in Stockholm in 1939 he said: "I am as Pentecostal as any of you, but I cannot stick to speaking in tongues as the only evidence". (c.f. W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 335).
32. The standard works on Nazarene history are: T. L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness. The Story of the Nazarenes. The Formative Years* (Kansas, 1962) and J. Ford, *In the Steps of John Wesley, The Church of the Nazarene in Britain*, (Kansas, 1968). Nelson claims the church involved was not Nazarene, but a member of the Southern California Holiness Association (op. cit. p. 100, n. 2).
33. Bresee's life is documented in E. A. Girvin, *Phineas F. Bresee: A Prince in Israel*, Kansas Pentecostal Nazarene Publishing House, 1916.
34. Synan incorrectly states the address as 312 Bonnie Brae Street, doubtless confusing it with the number at Azusa Street. (c.f. Synan, op. cit. p. 106, and *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1906, p. 1, giving the number correctly as '214').
35. Nelson puts Seymour's Spirit baptism three days later, on 12 April. (Nelson, op. cit., p. 191).
36. *The Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1906, p. 1.
37. F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, Bridge Publishing, 1980, preface p. xvii.
38. Published continuously from south Carolina by J. M. Pike from 1890–1931. The magazine was of the holiness genre, but sympathetic to the Pentecostal revival. Pike also published Frank Bartleman's autobiography, *My Story: "The Latter Rain"*, in 1908.
39. Published from 1907 in Dunn, Carolina, by the holiness evangelist G. B. Cashwell.
40. The first issue of *The Apostolic Faith* was published in September 1906. Chapter Three of this work gives a full introduction to the history of the journal.
41. This was true of the press in both Britain and the USA.
42. Seymour was not an impressive orator, and spent much of each service at Azusa Street with his head hidden in an empty shoe box. (c.f. Frodsham, op. cit., p. 36).
43. The USA census figures for 1900 show that 90% of black people lived in the 14 southern states. Of the other 10%, half were concentrated in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cleveland. The total population for that year was 76 million.
44. P. W. English, *A Question of Place*, Harper and Row, 1977, p. 531.
45. G. R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951, p. 119.
46. Transatlantic steamship crossings in 1906 took between eight and ten days. By 1912 the *Lusitania* had reduced this to five days.
47. Both systems were developed in the USA; Linotype by Ottmar Mergenthaler in 1886, and Monotype by Tolbert Lanston in 1887. Both systems revolutionised the printing industry, especially in terms of absolute speed and productivity rates.
48. Barratt had moved to Norway in 1866.
49. Quoted from Harper, *As at the Beginning*, p. 30.

50. Ibid.
51. Barratt remained in New York and did not actually visit the Los Angeles scenes.
52. Harper, op. cit., p. 31.
53. Ibid.
54. Barratt's testimony appeared in *Byposten*, in November 1906.
55. Boddy had already received a "Pentecostal-type" experience on 21 September 1892 (c.f. A. A. Boddy, "Born from Above", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 4, April 1909, p. 98, in which he describes this experience as "when I received the fulness of the Holy Ghost"). Also his wife had been miraculously healed of asthma on 23 February 1899 c.f. "The Testimony of a Vicar's Wife", *Pentecost at Sunderland*, p. 2.
56. A. A. Boddy, "Some Sacred Memories", *Confidence*, vol. 7. no. 2, February 1914, p. 24.
57. Harper, op. cit., p. 37.
58. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 194.
59. A. A. Boddy, "Spade Regen", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 6, September 1908, p. 20.
60. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 194.
61. *The Record*, 28 March 1907, p. 275.
62. Harper, op. cit., p. 37.
63. Barratt had lived in Norway since he was four, but was still fluent in English, which makes this statement somewhat strange. Gee confirms that Barratt was "thoroughly bilingual" and also says "we could find no fault with his English, although he became unnecessarily sensitive for public speaking in later years". But this still would not account for his reticence as early as 1907. c.f. Donald Gee, *These Men I Knew*, Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1965, p. 14. For further confirmation of Barratt's linguistic powers c.f. *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 3, March 1909, p. 59; and vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 195.
64. 'My visit to England', *Diary of T. B. Barratt*, p. 1ff.
65. A. A. Boddy, *Letter to T. B. Barratt*, 12 July 1907.
66. Boddy's family received Spirit baptism in the following order: Mary Boddy (wife) 11 September 1907, Mary and Jane (daughters) 21 September 1907, A. A. Boddy 2 December 1907.
67. A. A. Boddy, *Leaflets on Tongues*, no. 9, p. 1, n.d.
68. 'My Visit to England', *Diary of T. B. Barratt*, p. 2.
69. A. A. Boddy, "Some Sacred Memories", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 2, February 1914, p. 25.
70. Harper, op. cit., p. 70.
71. A notable exception was *The Christian Herald and Signs of our Times*, with reports from October 1907 – 26 December 1907, by Miss E. Sisson. She was later to become a regular contributor to *Confidence*.
72. "Revival Scenes", *Daily Chronicle*, 8 October 1907.

73. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 195.
74. Reader Harris, *Tongues of Fire*, vol. 17, no. 11, November 1907, p. 1ff.
75. Especially F. B. Meyer, G. Campbell Morgan and Graham Scroggie.
76. Both the Jeffreys brothers, and Smith Wigglesworth, were prominent in holding revival and divine healing campaigns world-wide throughout the 1920s and 30s, c.f. D. Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, and S. Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth: Apostle of Faith*. No major study exists on Polhill. Hollenweger, op. cit. pp. 218–243 contains information about Jonathan Paul, and F. Campbell's *Stanley Frodsham, Prophet with a Pen*, is the fullest treatment of that historian of the movement.
77. Pentecostalism differed from Fundamentalism in the place it allowed for female ministry. Mrs Cantel was present at the formation of the Assemblies of God in Birmingham, 1 February 1924. For her influence on the fledgling movement see Massey, "A Sound and Scriptural Union", pp. 133–134 and Gee, *These Men I Knew*, pp. 31–33.
78. Cecil Polhill chaired the London convention from 1914–1924, except in 1919 when A. E. Saxby was convener.
79. Polhill's generosity – often with gifts of up to £500 – was always anonymous but can be traced by the letter 'P' in the printed list of donors appearing in *Confidence*.
80. The work of the PMU was absorbed into the missionary activities of the AOG in 1925.
81. D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, pp. 41ff.
82. This is still the view adopted by most charismatic leaders today. c.f. Robinson, "The Charismatic Anglican", pp. 208–211.
83. Notably Graham Scroggie, pastor of Bethesda Baptist Church, Sunderland, and therefore a close neighbour of Boddy.
84. This point is specifically brought out in tributes to Boddy printed in "Rev. Alex A. Boddy. F.R.G.S.", *YMCA Flashes*, vol. 11, no. 8, April 1895, p. 85.
85. A. A. Boddy, "Unity, not Uniformity", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 3, March 1911, p. 60.
86. Jane Boddy, "Alexander Alfred Boddy. 1854–1930", unpublished MS, n.d. but c. 1969.
87. Gee admitted: "For many precious years the movement floundered for lack of strong, inspiring, distinctive leadership." D. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, London, 1967, p. 88.
88. Mary Boddy died in 1928. She never received healing for her severe arthritis and spent the last 16 years of her life as an invalid.
89. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 119–123. cp. Massey, "Sound and Scriptural Union". pp. 297–300.
90. A. A. Boddy, "Westward Ho!", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 12, December 1914, pp. 223–227.
91. Jane Boddy, op. cit., p. 8.
92. The "spoken word" movement was an aberrant section of early Pentecostalism which taught that "apostles" and "prophets" could communicate personal revelations to other Christians. Boddy strongly deprecated such teaching. c.f. E. Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904*, p. 193.
93. Although a year earlier, William Hutchinson had founded the Apostolic Faith Church in Bournemouth. Differences over church government led to the schism with Williams.

94. *Riches of Grace* began publication in March 1925.
95. Walker suggests the movement flourishes in areas holding to strong messianic belief, coupled with a disadvantaged socio-economic structure, (Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, pp. 251–252).
96. Hollenweger, op. cit., p. 199.
97. George Jeffreys gave three addresses at this convention, but does not appear to have exerted any unusual impact on the gathering. c.f. “The Sunderland Convention,” *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 6, June 1913, pp. 114–117.
98. Jeffreys’s main contact was William Gillespie, of Belfast, who sent him three ten shilling notes for his fare to Ireland.
99. It was re-named again in 1922 as the Elim Evangelistic Band, and again in 1929 as the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance.
100. For a full scholarly study of the origins of the British AOG c.f. R. Massey, “A Sound and Scriptural Union.”
101. The main false teachings causing particular concern to the AOG leaders were universalism, the spoken word movement, the deeper death teaching, the bride teaching and British Israelism. Massey, op. cit., discusses these fully (pp. 270–291).
102. c.f. Massey, op. cit., pp. 220–221, n. 35 and pp. 222–232.
103. The first editor of *Redemption Tidings* was J. Nelson Parr, who resigned from this post (and all other offices in the AOG) after false accusations of financial impropriety had been laid against him by Howard Carter in 1933.
104. *Redemption* was edited by Brian Hewitt from November 1985 to April 1990.
105. Hewitt was voted out of the editorial chair because he published a number of articles critical of denominational standpoints, even though all copy had to pass two ‘censors’.
106. There is no unanimity among scholars as to exactly when Evangelicalism *qua* Evangelicalism actually begins. Bebbington’s *terminus ad quo* is 1730; others argue for the Puritan era to be subsumed within the definition.
107. Horton Davies, *Christian Deviations, The Challenge of the Sects*, London: SCM, 1961, p. 83.
108. *What is the Purpose of the Pentecostal Movement?*, pamphlet, British Pentecostal Fellowship, London, n.d., p. 5.
109. This opposition was anticipated by perceptive Pentecostal leaders such as Gee, who predicted: “I know that if there is one point where the teaching of Assemblies of God is going to become offensive, it is here”. D. Gee, “Spiritual Gifts”, *Redemption Tidings*, vol. 1, no. 8, August 1925, p. 7.
110. A review of the literature is given by W. Mills in *A Guide to Research on Glossolalia*, Paternoster, 1986, *passim*.
111. Hollenweger, op. cit., p. 110.
112. cp. Massey, “Pentecostalism”, pp. 54–55 and Bruner, *Theology of the Holy Spirit*, p. 92.
113. “Waiting meetings” are based on the command of Jesus found in Luke 24.49.
114. D. Gee, *Pentecost*, September 1953, p. 17.

115. Letter from the Rev. Nigel James, *Redemption*, November 1989, p.41
116. The motif of "power for service" is derived from texts such as Acts 1.8 and Luke 24.49. The concept of receiving power is inextricably linked with the Pentecostal view of Spirit baptism.
117. Luke 3.21-23, Matt. 3.11-17, Mark 1.9-11.
118. Acts 1.3-8.
119. This distinction circumvents objections to glossolalia based on passages such as 1 Corinthians 12.30, where St. Paul's rhetorical question obviously demands an answer in the negative.
120. The distinction between laity and clergy never existed in groups such as the Society of Friends, or the Plymouth Brethren.
121. Bruner, op. cit., p. 149.
122. c.f. note 77.
123. Cultural diversity is very apparent in the style of worship indigenous to West Indian and African Pentecostals.
124. This practice is based on James 5.14, 15.
125. Following the apostolic precedent of Acts 19.11,12.
126. Walker, op. cit., p. 256.
127. None of these expressions is found in the Bible. J Buckingham, *Daughter of Destiny*, (1976), presents a rationale for the practice in Katherine Kuhlman's ministry (pp. 224-229).
128. Leading Evangelical exponents of demonology include Derek Prince and Bill Subritzky, both of whom teach the possibility of demon possession ("demonisation") within the Christian. Subritzky's *Demons Defeated* was parodied in *Redemption* magazine as "a farrago of wild exaggeration and ludicrous speculation". (*Redemption*, April 1990, p. 43).
129. Foot washing was practised as a sacrament from the earliest days of the Pentecostal movement in the USA. c.f. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 10, September 1907, p. 2.
130. Snake handling was introduced into Pentecostalism by G. W. Hensley in 1910. Most states had prohibited the practice by 1940, but it continued as part of normal worship in many Appalachian sects. Between 1934 and 1978, 61 deaths were attributed to the practice, and five from drinking strychnine. (H. D. Hunter, "Serpent Handling", in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Zondervan, 1988, p. 777).
131. "Oneness" (non-trinitarian) Pentecostalism arose in the early years of the American movement. It teaches a form of Sabellianism that subordinates the Father and Holy Spirit to 'modes' of the being of Jesus. The teaching originated with J. G. Scheppe in April 1913, and led to a serious schism in the movement. It was condemned as a heresy by the AOG in 1914. The most thorough work on the subject is D. Reed, "Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Boston, 1978.
132. Walker, op. cit., claims that the adoption of "oneness" theology was a key factor in the declining influence of Chard on the House Church movement. (pp. 34-35). For a major discussion of the influence of "oneness" theology in British black-led churches, c.f. R. Gerloff's *A Plea for British Black Theologies, The Black Church Movement in Britain in its Transatlantic, Cultural and Theological Interaction*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992 (2 vols).

CHAPTER THREE

The beginnings of Pentecostal publishing in the USA

For reasons already adduced, the emergence of a distinctive publishing genre to represent the beliefs and practices of the fledgling Pentecostal movement was both necessary and sudden. In this respect, the subsequent foray into Pentecostal publishing of the British movement was greatly facilitated by the experiences of their American counterparts. The various strands of Pentecostal belief in the USA had not been slow to realise the effectiveness, and relative cheapness, of the printed page as a medium of evangelism and catechisation.¹ Low postage charges, a highly developed transport system and an efficient production and distribution infrastructure all combined to make the printed word an excellent medium of mass communication. This situation obtained even when the use of radio and television was later popularised, because both these media were eschewed by many fundamentalist Christians, and in any case were often outside the means of the average believer. This antipathy has continued right down to the present day in the case of some extreme fundamentalist sects such as the Exclusive Brethren and various holiness churches.

Other reasons, however, helped the Pentecostal movement gain a flying start in the publishing world. Many Evangelical periodicals were respected and well-established Christian journals before the revival of 1906 in Los Angeles. In a number of cases, when their editors received the Pentecostal experience they simply incorporated their new views into the existing magazine, which effectively subsumed it into the Pentecostalist genre. In a number of cases, this led to a complete *volte face* on behalf of the publisher – the magazine *Live Coals of Fire* being a classic example.²

Charles Parham's *Apostolic Faith* (1897), J. M. Pike's *The Way of Faith* (1890), S. G. Otis's *Word and Work* (1879) and C. J. Montgomery's *The Triumphs of Faith* (1881) are all examples of magazines that substantially changed their editorial viewpoint into that of firm support for Pentecostalism once their editors had themselves become glossolalists.

By 1908 – just two years after the Azusa Street phenomena – J. Roswell Flower listed 21 Pentecostal magazines in his *Apostolic Faith Directory*.³ Of these 21, 14 were published in the USA, one in Holland, one in Japan, one in South Africa, one in Hong Kong, one in Bombay and two in Britain – A. A. Boddy's *Confidence*, published in Sunderland, and W. L. Lake's *The Spirit of Truth*, published in Emsworth, Hampshire. This profusion of literature suggests a rapid world-wide penetration of the Pentecostal message,⁴ and confirms the intense proselytising zeal that characterised the movement in its early days. Whatever motivated the publishers of these journals, it was certainly not that of financial gain. Most were published free, on what became known as “faith lines” publishing. The modern origins of this practice of “living by faith” are traced by Bebbington to developments within Evangelicalism at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Edward Irving, already noted as a prototypical Pentecostal, regarded faith as essential to the discernment of the supernatural. Bebbington says of Irving's view:

Faith entailed reliance on God for material as well as spiritual needs. Today's missionaries should therefore imitate the apostles in going out 'destitute of all visible sustenance, and of all human help'.⁵

This concept of complete and utter dependence on God was especially prevalent in the circles of the Plymouth Brethren sect, an Evangelical group that eschewed clericalism and denominationalism, and sought to return to the simplicity of New Testament life and worship.⁶ A. N. Groves, George Müller and J. Hudson Taylor, all Brethren devotees, sought to exemplify the desire to rely on God for all financial and material need, Müller successfully running five Bristol orphanages from 1835

to 1898, and raising just under one and a half million pounds, “given solely as the result of prayer to God”.⁷

The same spirit – a desire to prove God’s faithfulness and care for his children – obviously permeated Pentecostal thought. “Faith lines” publishing was an established pattern within early Pentecostalism because it vindicated the origins and development of the genre. It could of course be argued that a certain disingenuousness pervades the policy; if the venture succeeds, God approved of the journal. If it fails, the subscribers did not show enough faith to make it a success. Many of the early publications did in fact fold very quickly, and lack of funds clearly bedevilled most publications throughout their life. The British magazine *Confidence* – the first Pentecostal magazine in Britain – was constantly in the red and was saved from demise time and time again by the intervention of Cecil Polhill. Other magazines were less fortunate, and, when facing collapse, tended to blame their readers for lack of support. The phrase usually used was that the readers had “missed God”. Looked at from another angle, it is clear that a degree of tension exists between the idealism implicit in publishing by faith, and the harsh economic realities of business life. What was actually happening in the efflorescence of Pentecostal journals published in the early years of the movement was that the market – by definition narrow and highly specialised – was becoming supersaturated with works of a similar genre. In that fierce and competitive climate, only the best and most efficiently produced journals could hope to survive. Early Pentecostal publishing in the USA represented therefore, a classic case of over-expansion on too narrow a readership base.

Pentecostal magazines that tended to be more secure in a marketing sense were those that were given to the emerging Pentecostal denominations as a going concern. *The Christian Evangel* (1913) and the *Word and Witness* (1911) were donated to the newly formed Assemblies of God denomination in 1914. Nevertheless, among

those publications that did survive the vicissitudes of the nascent revival, many went on to become long-running successes. G. B. Cashwell's *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (founded 1907) is still being published by the International Pentecostal Church of Christ, a Wesleyan Pentecostal church that merged the magazine *Pentecostal Witness* (founded 1923) with *The Bridegroom's Messenger* in 1974. Similarly, *The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel*, founded in 1910 in Cleveland, Tenn., (now known as *Church of God Evangel*) continues to be published by the Church of God; and the *Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (founded in 1917 by G. F. Taylor) is still published by the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

Many other periodicals originated as local church publications – a factor which made their survival far more tenuous. The *Latter Rain Evangel*, which was started by W. H. Piper and his Stone Church in Chicago in 1908, continued as a church publishing organ for more than 30 years. Piper showed considerable business acumen in hiring Anna C. Reiff, former secretary to the publisher of the quality magazine *Leaves of Healing*, J. A. Dowie. Under Reiff's expertise, this magazine, published monthly, circulated Pentecostal teaching and news to a wide and far-flung readership. It carried news of mission work, revival meetings, sermons and evangelistic articles. The magazine merged with the *Gospel Call* in 1939.

Pentecostalism's most famous female evangelist – Aimee Semple McPherson – very early saw the value of the printed page.⁸ "Sister" Aimee, as she was called, was a highly gifted, yet controversial and flamboyant, evangelist within the American Assemblies of God. In 1917 she began to publish *The Bridal Call*, a monthly magazine in which she wrote many articles elucidating her particular brand of Pentecostalist teaching. This magazine, which merged with the *Crusader* to become the *Foursquare Magazine* after her death in 1944, was influential in building up a huge constituency of followers along the Eastern Seaboard. This influence continued unabated despite the scandal surrounding her divorce in 1921, and subsequent

disappearance, feared drowned, off Venice beach, in May 1926. When she surfaced in Mexico a month later, with stories of an alleged kidnapping (but which the press interpreted as an affair with her radio operator, Kenneth Ormiston), she became an international celebrity. By a curious irony, the subsequent legal charges of obstruction of justice and perjury, far from damaging Aimee's reputation, acted as a powerful catalyst in spreading the teachings of Pentecostalism world-wide.⁹

Any study of the plethora of literature emanating from the nascent Pentecostal movement in the USA must attempt an account of exactly why so much diverse, and apparently autonomous literature was published. The explanation is both sociological and theological.

Pentecostalism has always been a fissiparous movement, and prone to schism.¹⁰ Many of the early divisions centred around the personalities of leaders.¹¹ Their social mores were easily transmitted to their followers, who tended to accept them as part of 'divine' revelation, on a par with the essential truths of the Gospel.¹² The racial issue is a case in point.¹³ At the very beginning of the Azusa Street revival, interracialism had been the order of the day. The Negro preacher W. J. Seymour was the first to propagate distinctive Pentecostal beliefs, though, as we have already noted, he learnt Parham's theology by standing outside the all-white classroom of the Bible School at Houston. Parham once criticised the Azusa Street meetings because of "their disgusting similarity to Southern darkey camp meetings". In a celebrated speech to the Ku Klux Klan, of which he was a member, Parham said in 1927:

Only by being saved can the Klan realise their high ideals for the betterment of mankind, and so I am making a general call to all the members of the invisible empire of the Ku Klux Klan . . . to the restoration of the old-time religion.¹⁴

By 1924 the interracial period that began in 1906 came to an end. The ultimate division of the movement into Negro and white branches followed a pattern that had already been set by the established Protestant denominations.¹⁵

Pentecostalism therefore ultimately accepted the institutionalised societal patterns around it, and worked within the constraints that such parameters imposed. Ultimately, though, this proved a blessing in disguise to the black-led churches, as they were able to evangelise far more effectively in the mission fields of Africa and Latin America – not being encumbered with the charge of preaching a “white man’s religion”. Divisions such as this within the movement accelerated the demand for separate literature, and this in turn was needed because of the generally lower educational and literary training of the Negro population. Indeed, this was a key factor in attracting Negro entrants to the ministry of the Pentecostal churches – a door effectively barred by educational prerequisites in most other denominations.

These sociological factors – aided of course by the inevitable personality clashes (Parham versus Seymour being a typical case)¹⁶ – were compounded by serious differences of opinion over doctrinal issues. The protagonists in these disputes tended to use their literary influence in demonstrating the untenability of other views. The very first dispute that arose over such doctrinal niceties concerned the theory of sanctification.¹⁷ Parham and his protege Seymour taught that nobody received Spirit baptism until they had been through the two-fold stages of conversion and sanctification, the latter being conceived of as an instantaneous bestowal of heart purity.¹⁸ This view was opposed by William H. Durham, a Baptist from Kentucky who had spoken in tongues at Azusa Street on 2 March 1907. At that time, Seymour had prophesied that wherever Durham preached, the Holy Spirit would fall on people. When Durham returned to his Chicago North Avenue Mission Church, “a thick haze . . . like blue smoke”,¹⁹ often rested on the mission. When this haze was present, those entering the building would fall down in the aisles. Ewart writes about Durham’s preaching, “Thousands came to hear Durham preach, and all went away with the conviction that he was a pulpit prodigy”.²⁰

At one point, 25 ministers were said to be seeking God for the experience of Spirit

baptism in Durham's church; on other occasions his excited devotees would shriek and bellow in a trance-like experience that came to be known as the 'Durham jerks'. Through his magazine *The Pentecostal Testimony* (founded in 1907), Durham taught that sanctification was a continuing and progressive work of the Holy Spirit, beginning at conversion but continuing throughout the whole of the Christian life. Parham and Seymour countered this teaching through their respective magazines, both of which were entitled *The Apostolic Faith*. At the height of the controversy the language was excoriating. Parham called Durham's teaching "diabolical" and "a spiritualistic counterfeit".²¹ Durham was locked out of the Azusa Street mission by Seymour, and received further pointed opposition when he was attacked with a hat pin by a former prostitute, who had converted to the 'holiness' view of sanctification.²² The dispute culminated in the July 1912 issue of Parham's *Apostolic Faith* with the asseveration that either Durham or Parham was wrong. Parham prayed that God would smite the one who was in error. Six months later, Durham was dead.

Another instance of the polemical effectiveness of early Pentecostal publications came three years later with the recrudescence of the controversy concerning the correct formula to apply during water baptism.²³ The proponents of the "oneness" view (baptism in the name of Jesus only), employed three magazines to promote their belief – G. T. Haywood's *Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (1910), Frank Ewart's *Meat in Due Season* (1914), and David Floyd's *Blessed Truth* (1915). The traditional trinitarian view (baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit),²⁴ was promulgated in J. Roswell Flower's *Christian Evangel* (1913) and M. M. Pinson's *Word and Witness* (1911).

Doctrinal disunity raged unabated over several peripheral teachings for the next five years. The issues involved give an insight into the curious *milieu* of that era in Protestant Fundamentalism – factors such as snake handling, eating pork,

washing of the saint's feet, pacifism,²⁵ healing²⁶ and the propriety of female preaching.²⁷

In all of these disputes, literature was the key weapon in securing tactical victory, and this in spite of the generally low circulation of most of these early publications. In fact, the only magazine that lays any credible claim to a reasonable press run is William Seymour's *The Apostolic Faith* (1906–1908), which was printing 40,000 copies by February 1907.²⁸ Doubtless many of these were given away, and not even read by the recipients. However, even allowing for a 'wastage' rate of about 50% we are still left with a probable readership level of about 60,000 persons for each issue of *The Apostolic Faith*.

This brief overview of the American publishing scene shows it to be dynamic and disparate. Headed by leaders who could justly be described as 'charismatic' – in both senses of the term – and who commanded huge personal followings on the basis of their distinctive teachings and ministries, it is not perhaps unfair to say that occasionally the spectre of 'vanity publishing' was a factor in the plethora of printed matter available. However, it was only a matter of time before the highly individualised and inchoate sub-culture of Pentecostal publishing was sucked into the vortex of institutionalised and monolithic publishing programmes. This situation arose with the advent of specialised Pentecostal publishing houses among the larger movements formed on denominational lines after 1910.

The inevitable corollary of the shift away from charismatic individualism to denominational institutionalism was that the Pentecostalist genre assumed completely new features. The publications emanating from the leading denominations – such as the Assemblies of God and the Church of God²⁹ (which opened its first publishing house in 1913 through the pressure of A. J. Tomlinson,³⁰ its first overseer), now took on the role of 'official organs' of a particular viewpoint. The dynamic fiery zeal of the

earliest broadsheets was subsumed into a more authoritarian structure that stressed denominational allegiance and conformity to party tenets. Simultaneously, the practice of editing and censorship became widespread within the movement – a practice that has continued right down to the present day, with some highly deleterious results.³¹ But before we look at the implications of these factors for British Pentecostal publishing practice, we need to examine in some detail the role of the prototypical Pentecostal publication at the turn of this century – *The Apostolic Faith* – and discuss its influence on the British genre that followed.

When we come to look for the crucial and fundamental link between the American publishing scene and its British counterpart, that connection is unquestionably found in the publishing history of William Seymour's magazine *The Apostolic Faith*.³² This publication is important for a number of reasons. It was the first magazine to carry news of the Azusa Street revival world-wide; it carried authentic first-hand reports of the Pentecostal phenomena; it had the largest circulation of all the early Pentecostal publications, and it inaugurated the policy of publishing on 'faith lines' i.e. carrying no subscription price in the belief that God would supply all the financial needs for the production of the paper.

Of particular importance to researchers of British Pentecostal publications is the fact that *The Apostolic Faith* was read by the harbinger of Pentecost to Britain – T. B. Barratt, and through his subsequent ministry in Sunderland, led to the publication of A. A. Boddy's magazine *Confidence*, the first Pentecostal magazine in Britain. The role of *Confidence* was virtually subsumed in the denominational magazine *Redemption Tidings*, from 1924, and the reasons for this will engage our attention in the case study that follows.³³

Until a recent doctoral study by Nelson, the role of William Seymour in early Pentecostalism was obscure.³⁴ Suffice it to say that, from a human standpoint, it

would be difficult to envisage a less likely leader, writer and publisher in a major religious awakening.³⁵ Seymour's parents were slaves, and he was raised as a Baptist in Centreville, Louisiana. He worked as a waiter in Indianapolis, where a smallpox attack left him without the use of his left eye. Hungry for theological education, he enrolled in Charles Parham's Houston Bible School; Seymour accepted Parham's theology *in toto* and on 9 April 1906, received the gift of tongues. Within days, he had secured the use of 312 Azusa Street – formerly a Methodist mission – and turned it into the crucible of the Pentecostal movement. The Pentecostal fire burned night and day; however, Seymour had the prescience to realise that the key factor in publicising this new work of God was literature. He therefore built a team of mission advisers around him, several of whom had experience in the editing and printing field. The chief input in this direction came from his business manager Glen Cook, a Baptist printer who had previously worked on daily newspapers in Los Angeles, and Clara Lum, a stenographer who had apparently turned her hand to editing and writing in previous employment. It was Lum who subsequently transcribed many of the messages in tongues that were reproduced in *The Apostolic Faith*.³⁶

Seymour was also ably assisted by Jenny Moore (later to become his wife), George Berg as secretary, James Alexander, Reuben Clark and Louis Osterberg as trustees, Lucy Farrow, Ophelia Wiley, Hiram Smith, Phoebe Sargent, R. J. Scott and fatefully for Seymour, the charismatic but dominant Florence Crawford. This disparate team, under the implicit leadership of Seymour, set about the publishing of a magazine that would reflect “a revival of Bible salvation and Pentecost as recorded in the book of Acts”.³⁷ The first issue of *The Apostolic Faith* was published from the Mission headquarters, 312 Azusa Street, in September 1906. Amid glowing testimonies of miraculous healings and exorcisms – including the deliverance of a spiritist who had been on the verge of suicide – Seymour hints at the satanically-inspired opposition of the local press:

The secular papers have been stirred, and published reports against the movement, but it has only resulted in drawing hungry souls who understand that the devil would not fight a thing unless God was in it. So they have come and found it was indeed the power of God.³⁸

Seymour does not identify a specific case, there being numerous ones to cite, but the most vitriolic early opposition came from the *Los Angeles Times*, who first broke the news of the revival on 18 April 1906, under the title "Weird Babel of Tongues".³⁹ Nonetheless, the role of press ridicule and opposition ironically served to advertise the movement, for both good and ill. An eye-witness of the Azusa Street phenomena records that "the newspapers began to ridicule and abuse the meeting, thus giving us much free advertising."⁴⁰ We will have cause later to return to the unprecedented interest that the secular and religious press took in these happenings, with an assessment of its impact on the subsequent growth and development of Pentecostalism.⁴¹

The Apostolic Faith was sent out entirely free. Seymour believed that God would finance the paper. There is a touching naivety in his comment:

When Pentecostal lines are struck, Pentecostal giving commences . . . no man's silver or gold is coveted. The silver and the gold are His own to carry on his own work. He can also publish his own papers without asking for money or subscription price.⁴²

After explaining that the paper was not entitled to second class postage rates (there being no paid subscription), Seymour continues "papers will be sent to any address in quantities needed, as the Lord furnishes the means".⁴³ There is no doubt that this policy took daring faith. There is a sense in which it was a test of the divine will as to whether the magazine should be published. Everything was thrown on to God. Under the heading "The Lord leads", Seymour explains:

We earnestly invoke God to manage the publication of this sheet and He is editor-in-chief and business manager. We publish it with the clear leading of the Lord. Hundreds of workers and missionaries will be represented in it. We wish no human writer to receive any honour but that it might be all to the glory of God, and that it might voice the power and presence of Almighty God . . . we start with not a cent in sight, but in the little upper room office above the mission on Azusa Street, we

dropped on our knees and asked him to send the means to publish the paper. In a short time the money began to be sent in. No debt will be incurred. The paper will only be published as the money comes in advance.⁴⁴

Clearly, the money did come in advance and the faith of the team was honoured. In fact, enough money came in to publish 5,000 copies,⁴⁵ with the proviso added “the money came in answer to prayer . . . the next issue will come out as he permits”.⁴⁶

In visual and typographic terms, the appearance of *The Apostolic Faith* was unattractive. Not only was it poorly printed (no imprint was given) but the four page issue was filled with solid text in four columns, in a type so small that it was difficult to read. Obviously the publishers were more concerned with the message than the medium. However, it was the message that people wanted to hear, so much so in fact, that Seymour considerably underestimated the likely circulation figure. When the next issue was printed, in October 1906, he lamented:

The last issue of 5,000 was sent all over the United States and the world and was soon exhausted, so that we had to refuse a good many requests for papers. This time we publish 10,000. We could have used several thousand more last time, to good advantage. We do not find it at all necessary to advertise the paper, because the news of the work has gone far and wide already. The people are rejoicing to hear this wonderful outpouring of old time gospel salvation. Never mind what the preachers say or anyone else, go in for Pentecostal salvation.⁴⁷

The second issue of *The Apostolic Faith* retained the original format; it contained a melange of testimonies to supernatural healings (from blindness, epilepsy, cancer, insanity), plus news of missionaries en route to Africa and Palestine. What is striking about these early issues is the almost complete lack of editorial comment. But a fascinating insight into the *raison d'être* of the new magazine can be gleaned from the masthead of issue 2:

We are not fighting men or churches, but seeking to displace dead forms and creeds and wild fanaticisms with living, practical Christianity. “Love”, “faith”, “unity” are our watchwords and “victory through the Atonement” our battle cry.⁴⁸

The tone of this editorial comment – apart from perhaps the hint that it ‘doth protest too much’ – probably reflects a growing awareness of the increasingly bitter

opposition to the Pentecostal movement from the traditional churches. There is some poignancy in the paper's comment: "In California, where there has been no unity in the churches, they are becoming one against this Pentecostal movement."⁴⁹

There were also, however, encouraging words from other sources. These indicated that *The Apostolic Faith* was filling a spiritual vacuum. Seymour writes:

We thank you dear brothers and sisters, for your letters of appreciation of the paper, showing that God has made it a blessing. . . . We thank you for the lists of money you have sent and the offerings which enable us to send the papers to other hungry souls. If there are some who want the paper sent regularly, please state it and we will put your names on the permanent list. To the others we will simply send one or two copies till we hear from them.⁵⁰

The above mention of a "permanent list" is highly significant. Seymour was compiling a mailing list of supporters and subscribers to ensure the continued viability of the magazine. As we shall see later, this action led to Seymour's loss of control of the paper when it was seized by two of the mission helpers; he found, to his cost, that efficiency can be a double-edged sword.

The third issue of *The Apostolic Faith* was published in November 1906. It is evident from the leading article – 'Bible Pentecost' – that the scenes at Azusa Street were continuing unabated, and that the influence of the mission was extending far beyond Los Angeles. The report describes how:

Travellers from afar wend their way to the headquarters at Azusa Street . . . in the vicinity of a tombstone shop, stables and lumber yard (a fortunate vicinity because no one complains of all-night meetings) you find a two storey white washed old building. You would hardly expect heavenly visitations there, unless you remember the stable at Bethlehem. But here you find a mighty Pentecostal revival going on from ten o'clock in the morning till about twelve at night. Yes, Pentecost has come to hundreds of hearts and many homes are made into a sweet paradise below.⁵¹

The reference to Bethlehem's stable is a popular *leitmotif* in much Pentecostal literature; it attempts to anchor the contemporary Pentecostal phenomena firmly within the *milieu* from which Pentecostals believe their movement emanated –

direct from the pages of the New Testament itself. Indeed, as one reads the news reports in *The Apostolic Faith*, it is very much akin to reading accounts in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The third issue describes the release of a young man from mainline addiction, the restoration of sight to a blind man after his hearing a message in tongues, and a "Sister Lemon of Whittier", who had been bed-ridden for years, was supernaturally healed by "laying on of hands and the prayer of faith".⁵²

The publishers of this issue introduced, without comment, a small change in the mast head title. It now read "published by the *Pacific* Apostolic Faith Movement", followed by a new explanatory note:

The Pacific Apostolic Faith Movement stands for the restoration of the faith once delivered unto the saints – the old time religion, camp meeting, revivals, missions, street and prison work, and Christian unity everywhere.⁵³

The insertion of the word "Pacific" into the publisher's title was short-lived – it lasted for only three issues – and the reason it appeared was an attempt to dissociate the work from the magazine and mission of Charles Parham. He was using identical titles for his paper and church. By now, relations between the two groups were far from cordial. Towards the end of 1906 Parham was engaged in an abortive attempt to wrest control of a religious community at Lake Michigan called Zion City, founded by the prominent faith healer J. A. Dowie in 1900.⁵⁴ Dowie controlled a successful publishing empire, based on his magazine *Leaves of Healing*, but by 1905 was more or less deranged, claiming to be Elijah the Prophet among other things. Parham's attempt to gain control of the lucrative publishing movement was thwarted by Dowie's successor, Wilbur Voliva. Even while all this was going on, Seymour and Parham were still having a certain amount of fellowship; indeed *The Apostolic Faith* had hoped in October 1906:

Before another issue of this paper we look for Brother Parham in Los Angeles . . . he with other workers will hold union revival meetings and then expects to go on to other towns and cities.⁵⁵

Parham arrived at Azusa Street at the end of October 1906. But he was shocked at what he saw. He denounced the "holy roller"⁵⁶ aspects of the services and accused Seymour of having "a spirit of leadership".⁵⁷ This is a surprising yet revealing comment from a man who was himself trying to control virtually the whole of the Pentecostal revival single-handed. A total break with Seymour was now inevitable, and Parham set up a rival mission at the junction of Broadway and Temple streets. It had no adverse effect whatsoever on Azusa Street, which Parham denounced to his dying day as "spiritual power prostituted to the awful fits and spasms of the holy rollers and hypnotists".⁵⁸

Thereafter, *The Apostolic Faith* made no mention of Parham's activities, and he was a prophet without honour in his own movement. Meanwhile, Seymour's magazine was going from strength to strength. By this time, readers' letters were being received from around the world, and one of them enquired about the costs of publishing *The Apostolic Faith*:

I wish in your next number you would state what the papers cost per hundred copies post paid, to issue and mail them. I want a bundle of each issue.⁵⁹

The reply gives an interesting glimpse into the publishing policy of the paper:

This is the Lord's paper and it is published free, and we are glad for interested friends to distribute them to hungry souls. It costs in the neighbourhood of \$1.00 to issue and mail 100 copies . . . Our first issue was 5,000. These were taken so eagerly and brought in so many replies from hungry souls, that we made our next issue 10,000. This issue was as eagerly sought as the first, so we have concluded that we will publish 20,000 this issue, the means being provided. The future issues will depend upon how the Lord supplies the means. We would consider it a great honour if God shall supply us with sufficient means to send out as many as 50,000 each issue . . . the Lord is using the paper.⁶⁰

This editorial comment proves that *The Apostolic Faith* had found a fruitful publishing niche; it also demonstrates the rapid penetration of Pentecostal literature into all parts of the USA, and indeed the world. The projected circulation of 50,000 (which must have exceeded the wildest dreams of Seymour at the beginning) was not in fact reached while the paper remained under his control, but by the

February/March 1907 issue, the press run had soared to 40,000 copies.⁶¹ Many of these were circulating outside the USA, and some had reached the British Isles early in 1907 through the ministry of the Oslo-domiciled Cornishman T. B. Barratt. The significance of this contact for the subsequent development of British Pentecostal publishing will be evaluated later.

Meanwhile, money for the production of *The Apostolic Faith* continued to pour into the Azusa Street Mission. The production costs of around \$1.00 per hundred (later reduced by printing double issues), must mean that by February 1907 some \$400 were being donated by a grateful public for every issue. The actual amount must in fact have far exceeded this figure, because the entire operation of the Mission was run on 'faith lines', and thus had to be financed somehow. We know from a subsequent report⁶² in the magazine that the mission leaders were able to raise a \$4,000 deposit to purchase the property at 312 Azusa Street, and that the outstanding balance (\$11,000) was repaid two years early, by May 1908.⁶³ At least for the time being, the policy of publishing 'by faith' was working.

Another area of significant importance for the growth of Pentecostal publishing was recorded in *The Apostolic Faith* in November 1906. Under the heading 'Editors receive the Pentecost' a report was given of how two prominent Evangelical publishers had entered into a Pentecostal dimension:

Rev. T. G. Atterbury, who has for years been the publisher of *The Evangelist*, has received his Pentecost. His wife and a number of his congregation have also received the Holy Ghost, and the church is a centre of fire.⁶⁴

The report continued:

Rev. M. L. Ryan, a holiness evangelist and editor of *Light*, Salem, Oregon, hearing the good news from Los Angeles, suddenly dropped in at the Azusa Street publishing office. After a few words of greeting, he went into the upper room meeting and in about two hours . . . he was baptised with the Holy Ghost and spoke and sang in the power of the Spirit.⁶⁵

The significance of such 'conversions' to the Pentecostal experience lay in the immense influence and prestige that writers and editors held in the Evangelical sub-culture of that era. Their columns were read by tens of thousands of readers and anything positive they had to say about the burgeoning movement was a healthy counterbalance to the plethora of anti-Pentecostal publications that flooded the market after 1907.⁶⁶ In fact M. L. Ryan, whose experience is described above, had founded the magazine *Light* in 1904, in Yokohoma, Japan.⁶⁷ After his Pentecostal experience, he re-named it *The Apostolic Light*, abolished the 50 cents a year subscription, and made it a free paper on Pentecostal 'faith lines'. Commenting on this, Seymour wrote:

Rev. M. L. Ryan of Salem, Oregon, who received his Pentecost in Los Angeles, has now put his paper "Light" on the free subscription line, and it is full of Pentecostal news and truth. Send for it if you want to keep in touch with the work being done in the north . . . though it is free now, we would suggest that those who can will put in an offering for the work there, for he is depending on God alone . . . Bro. Ryan is a true man of God and filled with the Holy Ghost.⁶⁸

This is the nearest that *The Apostolic Faith* ever got to carrying an advertisement. There was a belief, in fact, that to carry advertising space would be a negation of the principle of publishing 'by faith'. Apart from that, there was simply no room to print anything other than the flood of news concerning the conquests of the Pentecostal Spirit. Every available inch of space was dedicated to carrying reports such as:

Some who learned of the Pentecost in Los Angeles through reading this paper have come to Los Angeles and received the Baptism with the Holy Ghost . . . one received the gift of tongues while reading the first number of the paper . . . we expect the Spirit to accompany this paper to the heart of each reader.⁶⁹

Correspondence poured into the mission from around the globe – "we are receiving letters from all over the world, requesting prayers that they might receive their Pentecost and healing."⁷⁰ Not only were readers writing to the mission in droves, but visitors flooded from around the world to get a first-hand account of the revival, "People from thousands of miles have been coming to Los Angeles to get into the rivers of salvation."⁷¹

FOLLOWING PAGE

The first issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, published by Seymour and his editorial team from the scene of Pentecostal revival in Azusa Street, Los Angeles, dated September 1906.

THE APOSTOLIC FAITH

"Fervently contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."—Jude 3.

Vol. 1, No. 1

Los Angeles, Cal., September, 1906

Subscription Free

Pentecost Has Come

Los Angeles Being Visited by a Revival of Bible Salvation and Pentecost as Recorded in the Book of Acts

The power of God now has this city agitated as never before. Pentecost has surely come and with it the Bible evidences are following, many being converted and sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost, speaking in tongues as they did on the day of Pentecost. The crowds that are daily enacted in the building on Acorn street and at Missions and churches in other parts of the city are beyond description, and the real revival is only started, as God has been working with His children mostly, getting them through to Pentecost, and laying the foundation for a mighty wave of salvation among the unconverted.

The meetings are held in an old Methodist church that had been converted in part into a tenement house, leaving a large, unplastered, barn-like room on the ground floor. Here about a dozen congregated each day, holding meetings on Beanie time in the evening. The writer attended a few of these meetings and being so different from anything he had seen and not hearing any speaking in tongues, he treated the teaching on stored blessing heresy and thought that settled it. It is needless to say the writer was compelled to do a great deal of apologetics and humbling himself to get right with God.

In a short time God began to manifest His power and soon the building could not contain the people. Now the meetings continue in a hall on the corner of Acorn and Beanie streets, and is binding all over the city and surrounding towns. Proud, well-dressed preachers come in to "investigate." Soon their high looks are replaced with wonder, then conviction comes, and very often you will find them in a short time wallowing on the dirty floor, asking God to forgive them and make them as little children.

It would be impossible to state how many have been converted, sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost. They have been and are daily going out to all points of the compass to spread this wonderful gospel.

BRO. SEYMOUR'S CALL.

Bro. W. J. Seymour has the following to say in regard to his call to this city: "It was the divine call that brought me from Houston, Texas, to Los Angeles. The Lord put it in the heart of one of the saints in Los Angeles to write to me that she felt the Lord would have me come over here and do a work, and I came, for I felt it was the leading of the Lord. The Lord sent the means, and I came to take charge of a mission on Santa Fe Street, and one night they locked the door against me, and afterwards got Bro. Roberts, the president of the Holiness Association, to come down and settle the doctrine of the Baptism with the Holy Ghost, that it was simply sanctification. He came down and a good many holiness preachers with him, and they stated that sanctification was the baptism with the Holy Ghost. But yet they did not have the evidence of the second chapter of Acts, for when the disciples were all filled with the Holy Ghost, they spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance. After the president heard me speak of what the true baptism of the Holy Ghost was, he said he wanted it too, and told me when I had received it to let him know. So I received it and let him know. The beginning of the Pentecost started in a cottage prayer meeting at 214 Beanie Street."

LETTER FROM BRO. PARHAM.

Bro. Chas. Parham, who is God's leader in the Apostolic Faith Movement, writes from Tongueville, Kansas, that he expects (D. V.) to be in Los Angeles Sept. 18. Hearing that Pentecost had come to Los Angeles, he writes, "I rejoice in God over you all, my children,

though I have never seen you; but since you know the Holy Spirit's power, we are baptized by one Spirit into one body. Keep together in unity till I come, then in a grand meeting let all prepare for the outside fields I desire, unless God directs to the contrary, to meet and see all who have the full Gospel when I come."

THE OLD-TIME PENTECOST.

This work began about five years ago last January, when a company of people under the leadership of Chas. Parham, who were studying God's word, tarried for Pentecost in Topeka, Kas. After searching through the country everywhere, they had been unable to find any Christians that had the true Pentecost's power. So they laid aside all commensurate and notes and waited on the Lord, studying His word, and what they did not understand they got down before the bench and asked God to be wrought out in their hearts by the Holy Ghost. They had a prayer tower from which prayers were ascending night and day to God. After three months, a sister who had been teaching sanctification for the baptism with the Holy Ghost, one who had a sweet, loving experience and all the carnality taken out of her heart, felt the Lord lead her to have hands laid on her to receive the Pentecost. So when they prayed, the Holy Ghost came in an unknown tongue. This made all the Bible school hungry, and three nights afterward, twelve students received the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, and eleven tongues could be seen upon their heads. They then had an experience that measured up with the second chapter of Acts, and could understand the first chapter of Ephesians.

Now after five years something like 13,000 people have received this gospel. It is spreading everywhere, until churches who do not believe heretofore and lose the experience they have. Those who are older in this movement are stronger, and greater signs and wonders are following them.

The meetings in Los Angeles started in a cottage meeting, and the Pentecost fell there three nights. The people had nothing to do but wait on the Lord and praise Him, and they commenced speaking in tongues, as they did at Pentecost, and the Spirit sang songs through them.

The meeting was then transferred to Acorn Street, and since then multitudes have been coming. The meetings begin about ten o'clock in the morning and can hardly stop before ten or twelve at night, and sometimes two or three in the morning, because so many are coming, and some are slain under the power of God. People are seeking three times a day at the altar and row after row of seats have to be emptied and filled with seekers. We cannot tell how many people have been saved, and sanctified, and baptized with the Holy Ghost, and healed of all manner of sicknesses. Many are speaking in new tongues, and some are on their way to the foreign fields, with the gift of the language. We are going on to get more of the power of God.

Many have laid aside their glasses and had their eye sight perfectly restored. The deaf have had their hearing restored.

A man was healed of asthma of twenty years standing. Many have been healed of heart trouble and lung trouble.

Many are saying that God has given the message that He is going to shake Los Angeles with an earthquake. First, there will be a revival to give all an opportunity to be saved. The revival is now in progress.

The Lord has given the gift of writing in unknown languages, also the gift of playing on instruments.

A little girl who walked with crutches and had tuberculosis of the bones, as the doctors declared, was healed and dropped her crutches and began to skip about the yard.

All over this city, God has been setting homes on fire and coming down and melting and saving and sanctifying and baptizing with the Holy Ghost.

Many churches have been praying for Pentecost, and Pentecost has come. The question is now, will they accept it? God has answered in a way they did not look for. He came in a humble way as of old, born in a manger.

The secular papers have been stirred and published reports against the movement, but it has only resulted in drawing hungry souls who understand that the devil would not fight a thing unless God was in it. So they have come and found it was indeed the power of God.

Jesus was too large for the synagogue. He preached outside because there was no room for him inside. This Pentecostal movement is too large to be confined in any denomination or sect. It works outside, drawing all together in one bond of love, one church, one body of Christ.

A Mohammedan, a Hindoo, by birth, a man who is an interpreter and speaks six or seven languages, came into the meetings at Acorn Street and the Lord gave him messages which none but himself could understand. He identified, interpreted and wrote number of the languages.

A brother who had been a spiritualist medium and who was so possessed with demons that he had no rest, and was on the point of committing suicide, was instantly delivered of demon power. He then sought God for the pardon of his sins and sanctification, and is now filled with a different spirit.

A little girl about twelve years of age was sanctified in a Sunday afternoon children's meeting, and in the evening meeting she was baptized with the Holy Ghost. When she was filled these standing near remarked, "Who can doubt such a clear case of God's power?"

In about an hour and a half, a young man was converted, sanctified, and baptized with the Holy Ghost, and spoke with tongues. He was also healed from consumption, so that when he visited the doctor he pronounced his lungs sound. He has received many tongues, also the gift of prophecy, and writing in a number of foreign languages, and has a call to a foreign field.

Many are the prophecies spoken in unknown tongues and many the visions that God is giving concerning His soon coming. The heathen must first receive the gospel. One prophecy given in an unknown tongue was interpreted, "The time is short, and I am going to send out a large number in the Spirit of God to preach the full gospel in the power of the Spirit."

About 150 people in Los Angeles, more than on the day of Pentecost, have received the gift of the Holy Ghost and the Bible evidences, the gift of tongues, and many have been saved and sanctified, nobody knows how many. People are seeking at the altar three times a day and it is hard to close at night on account of seekers and those who are under the power of God.

When Pentecostal lines are struck, Pentecostal giving commences. Hundreds of dollars have been laid down for the sending of missionaries and thousands will be laid down. No collections are taken for rent, no begging for money. No man's silver or gold is coveted. The silver and the gold are His own

to carry on His own work. He can also publish His own papers without asking for money or subscription price.

In the meetings, it is noticeable that while some in the rear are opposing and arguing, others are at the altar falling down under the power of God and feasting on the good things of God. The two spirits are always manifest, but no opposition can bill, no power in earth or hell can stop God's work, while He has concentrated instruments through which to work.

Many have received the gift of singing as well as speaking in the inspiration of the Spirit. The Lord is giving new voices, he translates old songs into new tongues, he gives the music that is being sung by the angels and had a heavenly choir all singing the same heavenly song in harmony. It is beautiful music, so instruments are needed in the meetings.

A Nazarene brother who received the baptism with the Holy Ghost in his own home in family worship, in trying to tell about it, said, "It was a baptism of love. Such abounding love! Such compassion seemed to almost kill me with its sweetness! People do not know what they are doing when they stand out against it. The devil never gave me a sweet thing, he was always trying to get me to scourging people. This baptism fills us with divine love."

The gift of languages is given with the communion. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The Lord has given languages to the unlearned Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu and languages of Africa, Hindi and Bengali and dialects of India, Chippewa and other languages of the Indians. Equilibrium the Lord's mute language, in fact the Holy Spirit speaks on the languages of the world through His children.

A minister says that God showed him twenty years ago that the divine plan for missionaries was that they might receive the gift of tongues either before going to the foreign field or on the way. It should be a sign to the heathen that the message is of God. The gift of tongues can only be used as the Spirit gives utterance. It cannot be learned like the native tongue, but the Lord takes control of the organs of speech at will. It is emphatically, God's message.

During a meeting at Menouvia, a preacher who at one time had been used of God in the Pentecost Bands under Vivian Dobb, but had cooled off, was reclaimed, sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost. When the power of God came on him his eight year-old son was kneeling behind him. The boy had previously sought and obtained a clear heart, and when the Holy Ghost fell on his father, he also fell on him and his hands began to shake and he sang in tongues.

Bro. Campbell, a Nazarene brother, 83 years of age, who has been for 53 years serving the Lord, received the baptism with the Holy Ghost and gift of tongues in his own home. His son, who was a physician, was called and came to see if he was sick, but found him only happy in the Lord. Not only old men and old women, but boys and girls, are receiving their Pentecost. Viola Price, a little orphan colored girl eight years of age, has received the gift of tongues.

Mrs. Lucy F. Farrow, God's sanctified handmaid, who came some four months ago from Houston, Texas, to Los Angeles, bringing the full Gospel, and whom God has greatly used as she laid her hands on many who have received the Pentecost and the gift of tongues, has now returned to Houston, en route to Norfolk, Va. This is her old home which she left as a girl, being sold into slavery in the south. The Lord, she feels, is now calling her back. Sister Farrow, Bro. W. J. Seymour and Bro. J. A. Warren were the three that the Lord sent from Houston as messengers of the full gospel.

To cope with the increased demands on space within the magazine, Seymour introduced an important typographical change to *The Apostolic Faith* in the issue of December 1906. Whilst retaining the same printed sheet size (a type area of 337 x 225 mm) the typeface was reduced in size from eight point to six point. This enabled five columns of type, each 43 mm, to replace the previous four columns of 54 mm width. The margins were reduced from 4 mm to 3 mm, and while this format is undoubtedly hard to read, and certainly unattractive, it increased the coverage space by about 32 per cent, with similar production costs except a slight increase in typesetting charges. With no income from advertising, and carrying no illustrations,⁷² Seymour made yet another reference to the financial publishing policy of the magazine in December 1906:

The Lord showed us before starting this paper that it was to be free . . . it was to be a Holy Ghost paper and it was to be free indeed. No subscription price. No begging for money in it or through it. It costs a cent a copy to send it anywhere in the world, and the Lord can afford that . . . We have no advertisements – nothing to advertise but this wonderful salvation that is free to all. The writers and workers in the office live by faith outside of what comes for the paper and we publish no names of editors. All work for the honour and glory of God . . . we get out the paper when the means comes in and not before. No debt will be formed . . . We preach and publish this gospel freely. We praise the Lord for enabling us to send out 5,000 of number 1; 10,000 of number 2; 30,000 of number 3 and 30,000 again of this issue. We send out every one with a prayer.⁷³

By December 1906, despite the headline of that month's *The Apostolic Faith* heralding "seven months of Pentecostal showers",⁷⁴ ominous signs began to appear that all was not well within the fledgling movement. In a signed editorial comment, Seymour laments the fact that:

Wherever we find the real, we find the counterfeit also . . . in our meetings we have had people come in and claim that they had received the baptism with the Holy Spirit, but when they were put to the test by the Holy Spirit, they were found wanting. . . . And again people have imitated the gift of tongues, but how quickly the Holy Spirit would reveal to every one of the true children that had the Pentecostal baptism and give them a heavy spirit until the counterfeits were silenced or condemned.⁷⁵

It was unfortunate for Seymour and his team that the city of Pentecostal revival, Los Angeles, was also a hot-bed of occultic and satanic practice, and he goes on to

record that the mission meetings acted like a magnet for Spiritualists, Christian Scientists, and other persons “full of demons”.⁷⁶ However, many of these people were exorcised by the Holy Ghost, and went away “clothed in their right minds and filled with glory and power”.⁷⁷

Seymour's struggles to defend the movement against satanic infiltration were coterminous with his attempts to control the movement from within – particularly from an over-emphasis on glossolalia. Considering his very limited education, Seymour's treatment of spiritual gifts, especially the place of tongues, is remarkably perspicacious. He claimed:

We should not get puffed up and think because one does not speak with tongues he has not as much religion as we have. . . . The Lord wants us to seek the Giver and the Blessor instead of the gift and blessing.⁷⁸

Despite being embroiled in these battles to protect the movement, the work of the revival under Seymour continued to flourish, and the circulation of *The Apostolic Faith* was rising. By January 1907, the magazine was boldly proclaiming the “beginning of world-wide revival”.⁷⁹ Demand for the magazine is reflected in the comment:

We are receiving hundreds of names and addresses for the paper . . . those who ask for it regularly are enrolled on the books. We are sending out thousands of sample copies to friends whose names are sent in by others . . . the Lord is enabling us to publish another issue of 30,000 papers for the fifth number of *The Apostolic Faith*. He has greatly blessed us in getting it out. Though it is somewhat late, we trust it will be the greater blessing.⁸⁰

We are given no hint as to why this issue of the paper was delayed. The most likely reason is that the mission lacked the finances for printing and mailing the issue in advance. It was Seymour's publishing policy not to print until all necessary expenses could be covered; it was the practice of subscribers to mail money to the mission direct, and we know from other sources that on at least one occasion a train crash and subsequent fire left many letters scorched and damaged, but that eventually the money arrived at the mission unscathed.⁸¹

Publishing 'by faith' was a policy fraught with risk, as other Pentecostal magazines were to find to their cost. *The Apostolic Faith*, like its counterparts, was at the mercy of subscribers. This feature, and the refusal to levy a charge or take advertising, was a key factor in the demise of so many publications around this period – a conspicuous example being the collapse of W. H. King's *Apostolic Evangel* in 1908 after he had flooded the market with free but unwanted literature.⁸² This problem did not yet face *The Apostolic Faith* because it still had the field to itself, and by virtue of its history, could be sure it was viable while the Pentecostal revival was at full flood. However, the seeds for a possible publishing disaster were there for all to see, and the obvious fact that the market could only support a limited number of Pentecostal papers was all but ignored.

But for the present at least, Seymour continued to rejoice in the impact of his magazine. In January 1907 he wrote, "Our office at 312 Azusa Street has been almost snowed under by letters, sometimes as many as fifty a day."⁸³ The same issue drew attention to yet another publication spreading the Pentecostal distinctives:

The "Pentecostal Wonders" published by the Union Gospel Mission, Akron, Ohio, is one with us in this movement. It is in the centre of a great awakening in Ohio where workers went from Los Angeles. It is a blessed, sweet-spirited paper, published free. God bless it and use it.⁸⁴

The origins of this magazine are yet another example of how Pentecostal publications gained success on the back of previously existing, respected journals. The Union Gospel Mission at Akron was not a Pentecostal organisation, but an Evangelical relief agency, specialising in social concern and evangelism. It was founded in 1900 by C. A. McKinney. He was baptised in the Spirit on 5 December 1906 through the ministry of Ivey Campbell, a Pentecostal evangelist. The revival at McKinney's Akron mission had attracted the attention of an Ohio evangelist, Levi R. Lupton. He was deeply involved in the work of foreign missions, and to further that work had founded a magazine called *The New Acts* in 1904. Lupton received his Spirit baptism on 30 November 1906,⁸⁵ and subsumed McKinney's

Pentecostal Wonders into *The New Acts*. Until it went defunct in 1910, it was a thoroughgoing Pentecostal publication, issued free on faith lines.⁸⁶

There were important changes in the next issue of *The Apostolic Faith*. In February/March 1907 the publishers issued an eight-page double edition, reverting to the original four-column format. Once again, it was published late, with no explanation being given for the delay. It is possible that production difficulties were to blame, because for the first time the magic press run of 40,000 copies – Seymour's dream – was achieved. An editorial comment explained:

The number six of *The Apostolic Faith* has been enlarged. It is a double paper, the February/March number. We have no stated time of publication but expect to get it out every month, the Lord willing. This time it has been unavoidably delayed. Many have been looking for it and wondering why it did not come before. We praise God for the privilege of sending it out now to hungry souls and pray God that it will be a double blessing. The Lord has been greatly enlarging the work. Stacks of letters come in which we have not been able to answer, but may our correspondents take this paper as an answer, as our hands are so full of the precious work . . . many precious letters had to be left out for lack of space.⁸⁷

We find here, of course, yet another clue to the lateness of the magazine. The mission team were literally snowed under with work, and simply could not cope with the pressure of publishing to a monthly schedule.⁸⁸ The change to a bi-monthly format would gain two important advantages for the team – it would relieve the pressure of a monthly deadline, and cut production costs by about 25 per cent. Fortuitously, the jump in circulation to 40,000 copies seems to have allayed the problems of the team workers. Sufficient money came in from the extra readers to enable the magazine to revert to a monthly issue in May 1907, and sufficient extra cash was in hand to place the \$4,000 deposit on the building. *The Apostolic Faith* recorded:

The lot and buildings of 312 Azusa Street have been purchased by the Apostolic Faith Mission . . . through papers published here there has been raised up a mighty host. Praise God! The property was purchased for \$15,000 and \$4,000 has already been paid down on it.⁸⁹

With the purchase of the mission buildings now secured, the publishing interests of *The Apostolic Faith* were assured. That consideration was undoubtedly an impor-

tant factor in deciding to purchase the building outright; a subsidiary reason was to secure a building sufficiently distant from other property and neighbours “where no one will be disturbed by prayers or shouts going up sometimes all night.”⁹⁰

It was during this period of frenetic Pentecostal activity, and signs that the work was consolidating into a ‘movement’ as well as a revival, that the magazine carried news of a complete *volte face* by another publication. Under the heading “Publishers receive the Pentecost and it transforms a paper”,⁹¹ *The Apostolic Faith* printed what was in effect a press release from the magazine *Live Coals*:

The position of *Live Coals* has been completely changed. God unmistakably revealed to the editorial staff the unscripturalness of the views they entertained, and entire renunciation of the same took place. . . . Henceforth this paper will be unqualifiedly committed to the truth that Pentecost is evidenced by speaking in tongues, and will forever defend against all opponents of same, and will publish nothing contrary thereto. All articles, contributions and testimonies in harmony with this view will be published, and all contrary thereto will be rejected. It will be purely a Pentecostal organ.⁹²

In keeping with this radical and uncompromising change in editorial stance, the publishers decided to break completely with the past memories of *Live Coals*, and announced a change of name to *The Apostolic Evangel*. The one tenuous link that was maintained was simply “the paper will be kept free from all advertising, as heretofore. We propose to issue a clean paper or none”.⁹³

This ‘conversion’ of *Live Coals* (its full name was in fact *Live Coals of Fire*) illustrates how quickly and effectively the Pentecostal teachings were being absorbed into the eclectic and heterogeneous sub-culture of nineteenth-century holiness theology. *Live Coals of Fire* was the official organ of a body called the Fire Baptised Holiness Association, founded by Benjamin Irwin in Iowa in 1895. The church taught a third experience after sanctification called “the fire”, an idea based on the writings of the English clergyman John Fletcher,⁹⁴ a contemporary of John Wesley. By October 1899 Irwin had raised sufficient cash to purchase a printing plant in

Lincoln, Nebraska; with the help of a Canadian printer, A. E. Robinson, the first issue of *Live Coals* was published the same month. Its importance as a publishing tool vis-a-vis the emergent Pentecostal movement is that it was the first magazine to teach that Spirit baptism was an experience distinct from sanctification; of even greater importance, perhaps, was the fact that Charles Parham, the originator of the Pentecostal movement, was a reader of *Live Coals* and witnessed some of Irwin's meetings firsthand. This makes the Fire Baptised Holiness Church⁹⁵ a direct precursor of the modern Pentecostal churches, and again highlights the crucial role played by Evangelical publications at the beginning of this century, not least in preparing the way for the teachings and practices of Pentecostalism.⁹⁶

Within months of opening his publishing work, Irwin's church was devastated by the disclosure that he had fallen into "open and gross sin".⁹⁷ The dénouement to the ghastly saga was that Irwin stepped down from all office in the FBHC and handed control to Joseph H. King on 5 June 1900; at that time King was leading a congregation in Toronto, but although he had been a founder member of the FBHC, he made little headway in leading the movement into expansion until a chance contact with a Pentecostal preacher, Gaston B. Cashwell in January 1907. Cashwell was then holding a month-long campaign in a tobacco warehouse in Dunn, where many of King's publishing team received Spirit baptism. Significantly King was not among them, as he confesses in a report from Dunn to *The Apostolic Faith*:

Two of those working on the force have at this time received the baptism, and the others are earnestly seeking, and is hoped that they will have obtained their Pentecost ere this reaches the eye of the reader.⁹⁸

King's prophecy was correct; in February 1907 he received his Pentecost through Cashwell's ministry, and the FBHC entered fully into the Pentecostal movement. The significance for this dissertation in observing these defections to Pentecostalism lies not so much in the personal experiences of the men involved – though obviously they were important to the people concerned – but in the subsequent influence these men

wielded through their strategic positions in the publishing world. When, in its initial stages, the Pentecostal movement spoke with virtually a lone voice through journals such as Seymour's *Apostolic Faith*, it was easy – though perhaps facile – to dismiss it as a fringe or even lunatic aberration. We have already noted that the secular press was generally hostile, even vicious, towards the work at Azusa Street.⁹⁹ But it was less easy to sustain such criticism when some of the most prestigious and well-respected Christian journals were endorsing the Pentecostal viewpoint.

Even periodicals and editors that did not fully accept the Pentecostal teachings sprang to the defence of the movement. The Baptist scholar and writer Adolphus S. Worrell, editor of the Kentucky Baptist paper *Western Recorder* during the 1890s (and later publisher of his own journal *Gospel Witness*) wrote:

The writer has not a single doubt but that Brother Seymour has more power with God, and more power from God, than all his critics in and out of the city . . . we tremble for some of our friends who claim that God has revealed to them that 'this whole work is of the devil'. We have never known Christ more magnified than in Azusa mission. To ascribe this work to Satan appears to us to be very much like ascribing the work of Christ, done in power of the Spirit, to Beelzebub.¹⁰⁰

It was within this ethos of growing polarisation between literary figures that, in April 1907, *The Apostolic Faith* carried its first reports of Pentecostalism in England. Reverting to a monthly publication date for this, the seventh issue, the magazine gave prominence to a news report from London. Under the heading "Many witnesses to the power of the blood and the Holy Ghost",¹⁰¹ it printed a letter saying:

Words fail to express our gratitude to God for pouring out so wonderfully his blessed spirit . . . a dear sister here, a mother of three little ones, yielded herself fully to God and sought the baptism with the Holy Ghost. One night she waited upon God and at midnight the Holy Ghost came down upon her and gave her the witness of tongues.¹⁰²

The letter was dated 18 March 1907, signed by a J. Hinners, from an address given as Allerman Road, Brixton, London, SW. This address was a mis-print. The correct road name was Ackerman Road and the lady referred to was Mrs Catherine Price,

who then lived at number 14. The event described can be dated to Tuesday 8 January, and its significance is that the unknown Mrs Price became the first person to speak in tongues in the modern Pentecostal movement in Britain. Thereafter, *The Apostolic Faith* published regular reports of Pentecostal activities within the British Isles. Its next issue, in fact, dated May 1907, published news of a tract written by Rev. A. A. Boddy, vicar of All Saints' Church, Monkwearmouth, Sunderland. We have already noted Boddy's epochal contribution to the formation of the British Pentecostal movement – a contribution that seems to be still not fully recognised in the classical Pentecostal denominations.¹⁰³ Boddy's tract, entitled "Speaking in Tongues, is this of God?" was referred to by Seymour under the heading 'Pentecost in England'. He reported:

The brother who went from England to investigate the work in Norway, Bro. A. A. Boddy, sent out the following in tract form: "In the Spring and Summer of 1906 God began to answer the very prolonged cry of some of his hungry children, a cry for a Pentecost with Scripture evidences. One after another became at last conscious, as the mighty power of God came upon them, that they were speaking in divine ecstasy with a voice that was not their own, and in a language whether of men and angels they knew not . . . they were speaking mysteries to God for their own strengthening".¹⁰⁴

Boddy continued with the claim that he had personally witnessed numbers of men, women and children speaking in tongues, and expressed the wish that "greater things are yet to happen".¹⁰⁵ Boddy's tract functioned as a gentle precursor of his own initiation into the world of Pentecostal publishing.¹⁰⁶ Within less than a year of the above words appearing in print, he had launched the first issue of his magazine *Confidence*, which ran to a total of 141 issues until its demise in 1926.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, within the USA, new Pentecostal publications were springing up all the time. In May 1907 *The Apostolic Faith* reported:

Every few weeks we hear of another paper starting on this line among the Pentecostal people . . . there is now a free Pentecostal paper in Calcutta, India. It is called "Pentecostal Power" . . . We also received another new Pentecostal paper published free in Homestead, Pa. It is called "The Latter Rain" and contains wonderful reports. Just as this paper goes to press we receive a "Call to Faith", another precious Pentecostal paper published free at Martinburg, W.Va. This makes at least seven new papers heralding free this Pentecostal outpouring.¹⁰⁸

Seymour actually underestimated the number; there were at least ten such magazines by this time, if we include both his and Charles Parham's *Apostolic Faith* within the genre. What does not seem to have occurred to Seymour's mind as he exulted in the multiplicity of publications flooding the market was that, from a purely human standpoint, the literary market was fast approaching super-saturation. Since nearly all of these magazines were free, and took no paid advertising, they were utterly dependent on voluntary donations for their survival. The publishing costs involved could certainly be adequately recouped if the Pentecostal revival continued to flourish and expand, particularly as outside the USA its penetration was still desultory. But once the movement peaked, it invoked the virtual certainty of the collapse of a large sector of the specialist Pentecostal publishing industry.¹⁰⁹ For the time being, however, it looked to the participants within the movement that it would sweep all before it, and that it was indeed the very last outpouring of God's Spirit before the end of the world. Considerations of failure or marketing collapse would not therefore rest heavily on minds with such an exalted and rarefied *Weltanschauung*. In any case, of course, publications such as Seymour's *Apostolic Faith* were market leaders, and well established in public esteem. We have already noted the rapidity with which it reached a print run of 40,000 copies, and gifts for its continuation continued to pour into the Azusa Street Mission. In May 1907 the editors were glad to announce:

The money has been freely donated for this paper without collection or charging for it. All expenses are met in advance. This is the most blessed way of running a paper we ever saw. It is the Pentecostal way. Every few weeks we hear of another paper starting among the Pentecostal people . . . the cost of publishing the last paper was about \$200 for 40,000 papers. . . . they are being scattered all over the world.¹¹⁰

It is instructive to reflect on the didactic, as well as evangelistic, role that *The Apostolic Faith* assumed throughout its history. While the early editions were devoted largely to news reports of spiritual blessings throughout the USA, and later world-

wide, it increasingly began to deal with a wide range of social and ethical issues that were obviously of topical importance to its readers. We find, for example, that *The Apostolic Faith* expounds the biblical teaching on matters such as whether Pentecostals can eat pork, their attitude to other denominations, marriage and divorce, living without sin, the problems caused by doubt and fear, the Pentecostal attitude to medicine, jewellery, feet washing, polygamy and exorcism of evil spirits.¹¹¹

The usual editorial policy was not to print the name of the author of such writings, but exceptions were sometimes made when the topic treated was particularly important. Matters dealt with in depth were usually designated 'W. J. S.' or occasionally 'W. J. Seymour'. He had a particular predilection for matters of sexual morality; though he was himself unmarried at this time, he nevertheless shows insights and maturity quite beyond his marital state, as well as an unusually limpid style for that era.¹¹² Seymour's writings on ethical issues reflect a fairly typical fundamentalist approach in theology – typified above all by a literalistic approach to the text of the Bible. But the real importance of his editorial contributions lies in the evidence they give us of the gradual transition from an essentially pneumatic, even primitive, religious awakening into the seminal stages of an established Christian movement, complete with its very own accretions and accoutrements.¹¹³ In other words, through Seymour's publishing influence, Pentecostalism was developing into a distinctive sect, complete with its own corpus of doctrinal and ethical beliefs. This transition would probably never have taken place so quickly, if at all, without the power of the *The Apostolic Faith* behind it.

In June 1907 the journal changed its format once again. Accordingly, the ninth issue was dated 'June to September 1907', which was the first time it had been published as a four-monthly edition. An editorial describing it as "a double paper for the four months"¹¹⁴ (although it was still only four pages) hints at the pressures on the production team:

Instead of sending a list of names, why not send for a roll of papers, as many as you need, and send them out yourself? This will save work and expense at the main office. We need your help, dear ones.¹¹⁵

After a further note explaining how subscribers could support the magazine through sending money orders or United States stamps, *The Apostolic Faith* announced the compilation of a printed list of subscribers' names. Readers were asked to complete and return a printed slip, supplied with the magazine, with the explanation:

The reason we do this is because our mailing list is so large that we want to get it set up in print, and we do not want to print any names who do not really care for the paper.¹¹⁶

We can deduce a number of things from the two preceding quotations. It is obvious that the team were working flat out to produce a monthly paper, and simply could not cope with the success its high circulation had engendered. The reference to "expense" suggests that perhaps money had been tight, a factor that could only but be exacerbated by the presence of other free Pentecostal magazines, all making perfectly valid claims for support. The compilation of the mailing list was an excellent logistical idea, as it confined the magazine to serious readers. Its subsidiary purpose would be to create an accessible register of cohorts who could be relied upon to donate to future funds should the need arise. However, by a perverse twist of fate, the mailing list ultimately proved to be a curse to Seymour. In a dispute with two mission workers, Florence Crawford and Clara Lum, the list was later stolen and used to finance a pirate edition of *The Apostolic Faith*, published from Oregon after June 1908. We return to the reasons for this dispute later.

From June 1907 the matter of greatest interest to this study is the increasing frequency with which reference is made to Pentecostal blessings in the British Isles. In that month a news report was printed from "Rev. A. A. Body (*sic*) of Sunderland"¹¹⁷ and another letter from "J. Hinson, 14 Ackerman Road, Brixton".

Hinson had told *The Apostolic Faith*: “three have received the Baptism with Bible evidence here.”¹¹⁸ The British connection was taken up again in the next issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, another four-monthly edition published for October 1907 – January 1908. Under the heading “Witnesses in England – Children receive Pentecost”, the paper carried a report from the Oslo-domiciled Cornishman T. B. Barratt, who was staying at Boddy’s Sunderland vicarage for a series of revival meetings during September 1907. The children in question were the two daughters of Boddy, Jane and Mary. *The Apostolic Faith* reported:

The nine or ten persons present will never forget the scene. Janie received the interpretation for each sentence. Her childlike simplicity and joy, her beaming face, I shall never forget. Her message was ‘Jesus is coming’.¹¹⁹

These events took place on 21 September 1907. Writing about them in an unpublished report more than 60 years later, Jane Boddy’s account differs in some details from that given by Barratt.¹²⁰ She says that she was alone with Barratt when the tongues experience occurred, and that the interpretation (in Chinese) was given by a missionary to that land, not by herself. It is possible that time had blunted the memory of Jane Boddy, but this is not likely when we consider the extremely vivid nature of the experience she describes. She shows remarkable recall in other details in the same report, which can be corroborated independently.¹²¹ The likeliest explanation is that Barratt or the editorial team of *The Apostolic Faith* telescoped the chronological sequence of events, thereby conflating two separate accounts of the same event.

However, what we do know from the same issue of *The Apostolic Faith* is that ten days earlier her mother, Mary Boddy, had a similar experience. It was Mrs Boddy’s Spirit baptism that proved the decisive watershed in spreading the Pentecostal message throughout the land. The note of joy in her account is almost palpable:

I am launched out into the fathomless ocean of God’s love, joy and peace. It is ‘joy unspeakable and full of glory’. I thank God for the

Pentecostal sign of tongues. I did not ask for tongues but for the Holy Ghost . . . the joy of praising God in the Spirit is truly wonderful.¹²²

The same issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, after mentioning yet another Christian newspaper that had converted to the Pentecostal viewpoint,¹²³ carried a report from an itinerant Pentecostal missionary, Ansel Howard Post, who was staying at the Brixton home of Mrs Catherine Price. Writing from the now-familiar 14 Ackerman Road, Brixton, Post said:

Praise our God, the 'latter rain' is falling in England . . . I do greatly rejoice in Him for this blessed privilege of carrying this wonderful salvation to other nations.¹²⁴

Post's optimism was fully justified, for subsequent issues of *The Apostolic Faith* were to report fully on the impact of the Azusa Street revival in Britain. In May 1908, under the banner headline "Fires are being kindled by the Holy Ghost throughout the world", the paper reported, "News comes that probably 500 people have received the Pentecost in England."¹²⁵ Not that Scotland was excluded of course; Pentecostalism has traditionally been weak north of the border, but the same issue of *The Apostolic Faith* brought news that:

Pentecost has fallen in Scotland at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dunfermline, Sterling (*sic*), Clydebank, Falkirk, Tarbert, Toll Cross, Barton by Kilsyth, Kirkintilloch, Coatbridge and other places.¹²⁶

The penultimate issue of Seymour's *Apostolic Faith* was published in January 1908, and once again drew attention to the 'faith policy' of the editorial team:

We started this paper when we had not a dime in sight, and the means has always been freely donated. If not, we would not publish it . . . the reason we put no name of editor at the head of this paper is because we want Christ exalted.¹²⁷

However, this curious desire for anonymity (Anderson wrongly claims Charles Parham was listed as 'founder and projector' in the magazine's masthead),¹²⁸ cannot conceal the fact that internal power struggles and dissension were rocking the editorial team. There are no primary sources extant recording the origins of this

conflict, but the internal evidence points strongly to a battle between Seymour and Florence Crawford, with Clara Lum playing a subsidiary role. Reasons for asserting this hypothesis are as follows. In January 1908 *The Apostolic Faith* did something quite unusual for a Pentecostal publication, then and since. It published a correction. The correction was concerned with a news report of a Pentecostal camp-meeting held at Portland, Oregon, in June 1907. The news report was printed in the ninth issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, dated June-September 1907. The anonymous reporter was given to extreme hyperbole:

One of the mightiest revivals that Portland ever knew has taken place in that city . . . 100 souls were baptised with the Holy Ghost . . . people brought their dear ones from the asylum and God healed them . . . the saints are leaving off their glasses and their eyes are being instantly healed.¹²⁹

Six months after this glowing account was printed, an anonymous correction was published in *The Apostolic Faith*:

We want to correct some errors that were in the last published report from Portland. The Christian Alliance did not come into the work or discontinue their meetings, as might have been understood. It was stated that one hundred were baptised at the camp-meeting. The saints believe there were not so many. No record was kept. The insane persons that were brought for healing were not fully healed or else through lack in our faith and through weakness lost their healing. The saints want the simple truth stated about the work. Amen! May no one from any place send in a report that is overstated but rather let it be understated.¹³⁰

This correction contradicts virtually everything in the initial report. Obviously, therefore, two important questions present themselves – who wrote the first report, and who corrected it? All the evidence points to Crawford as the writer of the first report. We know that she was conducting mission services in Portland on Christmas Day, 1906, and that during the summer of 1907 she had held revival services in Oakland, San Francisco, Atlanta, Dayton, Memphis, Durant, Winnipeg and Portland. News of her tour was printed in *The Apostolic Faith*.¹³¹ Portland was Crawford's home town, and as subsequent events proved, she was looking for a property suitable for conversion to a publishing business and a rival mission to

Azusa Street. The exaggerated report in *The Apostolic Faith* would prove a perfect fillip in preparing the ground for a permanent follow-up in Portland itself.

But if that report came from the pen or hand of Crawford, it is equally likely that the correction came from Seymour himself. Relationships between the two colleagues had deteriorated for three reasons. Firstly, Crawford wrongly accused Seymour of unorthodox views on holiness. Synan has shown, however, that as late as 1911 Seymour still held a view similar to Crawford on this subject.¹³² Secondly, Crawford disapproved of Seymour's courtship and eventual marriage to Jenny Moore, a co-worker on the mission. The pretext for this was that it showed a lack of faith in the imminent return of Jesus Christ to earth. Thirdly, and closely related to the above reason, Seymour was strongly critical of Crawford's decision to separate from her husband Frank M. Crawford in 1907, on the grounds that he could not share her faith. Seymour had used the columns of *The Apostolic Faith* to criticise such actions in September 1907. After warning against divorce and polygamy (obviously a contemporary problem for early Pentecostals) Seymour concludes "death is the only thing that severs the marriage tie".¹³³ He returned to the attack even more strongly in an editorial expounding the teaching of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 7. In *The Apostolic Faith*, January 1908, he wrote: "The wife has no authority of herself to live separated without the husband."¹³⁴

In Seymour's view, Crawford was living in open defiance of the clear teaching of Scripture, and his views, so openly expressed in the magazine, could only exacerbate the friction between them. Between January and May 1908, Crawford, in collusion with Clara Lum, was making plans to transfer the entire publishing operation of *The Apostolic Faith* from Los Angeles to Portland, Oregon, where she had now secured land and property to house a rival Apostolic Faith Mission. Her expropriation of *The Apostolic Faith* must have been completed before the May 1908 issue went to press; this is because that issue carried a cryptic announcement in the

masthead that read simply: "For the next issues of this paper address The Apostolic Faith Camp-meeting, Portland, Ore."¹³⁵

Crawford's seizure of the publishing operation of Seymour's *Apostolic Faith* was made possible by a single factor – she had possession of his mailing list containing addresses and names to reach 40,000 subscribers world-wide. It is difficult to imagine a more effective or useful tool in the hands of a tyro publisher. With the loss of his list, Seymour's fall from publishing power was as sudden as his rise. He had built up a movement dependent on literary, rather than oral, tradition. Stripped of access to a publishing medium, his was literally a voice in the wilderness. It also meant the end of his dream of an inter-racial Pentecostal movement, and by 1914 the mission at 312 Azusa Street was a local black church with only an occasional white visitor.¹³⁶ The same year brought the outbreak of World War 1, and with it came a crushing blow to the apocalyptic hopes and dreams of the nascent Pentecostal movement. Seymour died in virtual obscurity in 1922, but not before his vision of the power of the printed word had sown the seeds of a subsequent harvest that even he would have found it difficult to believe or predict. By one of those curious ironies that seem to permeate the history of Pentecostalism, just as Seymour was being dispossessed of his publishing empire by Crawford and Lum, a British successor that took on the mantle and spirit of *The Apostolic Faith* was being launched in Britain.

Confidence, founded in April 1908 by Rev. A. A. Boddy, was a publishing enterprise destined to revolutionise the nature of British Evangelicalism. It was the first Pentecostal publication to be issued in Britain; it had direct historical links with Seymour's *The Apostolic Faith*, as we have previously noted, and it played a formative part in the transitional years when Pentecostalism graduated from a movement into denominationalism. When and as this transition occurred, important and significant changes arose in the nature of Pentecostal publications, not least being

that they adopted the role of official organs of distinctive denominations. Magazines such as the Elim church's *Elim Evangel*,¹³⁷ *Riches of Grace*¹³⁸ (Apostolic Church), *Showers of Blessing*¹³⁹ (Apostolic Faith Church) and *Redemption Tidings*¹⁴⁰ (Assemblies of God) constitute a totally different genre to magazines such as *Confidence* and its counterparts. We now turn to examine that publishing transition in more detail.

NOTES - CHAPTER THREE

1. The divisions within Pentecostalism were a direct result of the fragmentation caused by the secession of various holiness sects from the older denominations throughout the USA. For example, between 1880 and 1923, at least 200 sects used the name 'Church of God'.
2. *Live Coals of Fire* printed a full explanation of its change in editorial stance, and was thereafter published under the new name *Apostolic Evangel*, c.f. "Transformed by the Holy Ghost", *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1. no. 6, February-March 1907, p. 5.
3. Flower's list was incomplete; at least 34 magazines can be traced by this date.
4. A. A. Boddy estimated that by this date, there were 50,000 Pentecostal believers worldwide. (A. A. Boddy, "Pentecost with Signs", *Confidence*, vol. 1. no. 3, June 1908, p. 3).
5. D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, Unwin Hyman, 1989, p. 94.
6. The standard history of Brethrenism is H. H. Rowdon's *The Origins of the Brethren*, Pickering and Inglis, 1967.
7. The exact figure raised was £1,381,170 19s 5½d. Sales of tracts and Bibles added another £48,000. For Müller's life, c.f. G. F. Bergin, *Autobiography of George Müller*, J Nisbet and Co. Ltd, 1905. The figures above are found on page 693 of that work.
8. Mrs McPherson was unusual for a Pentecostal preacher in that she disavowed denominationalism, worked with other churches, and was actively involved in a variety of social reforms during the grim era of the Depression.
9. The charges against her were eventually dropped for lack of evidence. Mrs McPherson gave her own account of the saga in her book *In the Service of the King*, published in 1927 and in *The Story of My Life*, especially pp. 208-221. The author has acquired some rare video footage of Mrs McPherson preaching in Angelus Temple on 6 July 1938. Her powerful oratory, and striking beauty, were probably key factors in her continuing popularity among the faithful.
10. However, it shares this tendency with Evangelicalism in general. Some of the reasons for this trend are explored by Robert Amess in *One in the Truth?*, Kingsway, 1988, *passim*.
11. For example, the clash between Watson Sorrow and Hugh Bowling versus F. M. Britton and G. F. Taylor. The issue was over the legitimacy of using medical aids. Vinson Synan gives other examples in *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans, 1971, pp. 192-193.
12. It is an interesting sociological point that, whereas Pentecostals are radical in their theology, they are usually "conservative" in political persuasion. The dangers inherent in giving blind obedience to cult leaders have been recently, and tragically, illustrated by events within the Branch Davidian movement in Waco, Texas. After a 51-day siege by the FBI, 87 followers of cult leader David Koresh submitted to self-immolation by fire, on 21 April 1993. For a thorough and illuminating discussion of the mental attitudes prevalent in such groups, c.f. D. Enoch and W. Trethowan, *Uncommon Psychiatric Syndromes*, PSG Publishing Co., 1986.
13. The major work dealing with racial attitudes in early Pentecostalism is Iain MacRobert's, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA*, Macmillan Press, 1988.
14. Quoted from Synan, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

15. Synan, op. cit. pp. 165–184 gives the reasons for this division.
16. c.f. pp. 83–84 of this work, for fuller details of the clash.
17. ‘Sanctification’ means ‘to set apart’ and is used in the Bible to connote the process whereby a Christian is made holy.
18. Parham and Seymour were therefore teaching a three-stage process of salvation.
19. T. W. Miller, “The Significance of A. H. Argue for Pentecostal Historiography”, *Pneuma*, no. 8 (1986) p. 123.
20. Frank Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, World Aflame Press: Missouri, 1975, p. 99.
21. Synan, op. cit. p. 149.
22. Ibid.
23. c.f. pp. 62 and 69 (f.n. 131/132) for fuller details of this controversy in Britain and the USA.
24. Based on the biblical formula in Matthew 28.19.
25. The literature of the early Pentecostals generally adopted a firm pacifist line. In Britain, conscientious objectors to the 1914 call-up met varying fates. Howard Carter was imprisoned, whereas his brother John was exempted. Donald Gee was ordered to do farm labour. Gee continued to push the pacifist viewpoint long after public (and Pentecostal) opinion had swung full circle. Both Boddy and Polhill supported Britain’s war effort.
26. Belief in divine healing has been an integral and universal tenet of all Pentecostal movements. The controversies have arisen over the *extent* of the healing promises; put another way, it is the role of medical aid that is controverted.
27. The ministry of women had been prominent in the Holiness movement that preceded Pentecostalism, Phoebe Palmer and Hannah Whital Smith being prominent examples. The earliest days of the Pentecostal revival brought similar opportunities to females, but the growing institutionalism within the movement, and pressure from Fundamentalists, saw this freedom eroded after 1920.
28. It first reached this figure in February–March 1907, c.f. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 6, February–March 1907, p. 2.
29. This refers to the Church of God, Cleveland, Tennessee, which began in August 1886 through the ministry of a Baptist preacher, R. G. Spurling.
30. Tomlinson was impeached for financial impropriety in 1923. He promptly founded another movement, The Tomlinson Church of God (from 1952 known as The Church of God of Prophecy). Its official organ, *White Wing Messenger*, is a bi-weekly with 21,000 subscribers.
31. c.f. chapter 2, n. 105, for evidence of censorship in contemporary Pentecostal publications in Britain. A similar situation existed in the USA with an independent journal called *Agora*. Its demise after a five-year run (1977–1982) was attributed to threats of loss of denominational credentials against contributors.
32. The text of *The Apostolic Faith* available to the author was a photofacsimile reprint collected by F. T. Corum, entitled *Like as of Fire*, Wilmington, (1981). It contains every issue produced by Seymour and his team, dating from vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1906) to vol. 2, no. 13, (May 1908) –13 issues in all.
33. *Confidence* ceased publication in 1926, after 141 issues.

34. D. Nelson, "For Such A Time As This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981.
35. The most cutting criticisms of Seymour came from Alma White, in *Demons and Tongues* (Zeraphath, New Jersey), 1949, especially pp. 68-69. It should be remembered that White's most successful ministry was taking place in Los Angeles when the Pentecostal revival occurred, and was doubtless threatened by the new awakening.
36. The tongues messages were transcribed to give personal direction thought to be equivalent to prophecy. Seymour later discouraged this practice, although it was common in early Pentecostalism.
37. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1. no. 1, September 1906, p. 1.
38. Ibid.
39. "Weird Babel of Tongues", *The Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1906, part 2, p. 1.
40. Frank Bartleman, *What Happened at Azusa Street?*, Northlands, California, Voice Publishing, 1962, p. 26.
41. D. W. Cartwright argues that "The movement owes as much to the attention of the secular press as it does to any other human source for the widespread interest in its early beginnings". ("From the back streets of Brixton to the Royal Albert Hall, British Pentecostalism 1907-1926" typescript MS, 1981, p. 4).
42. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1906, p. 1.
43. Ibid., p. 2.
44. Ibid., p. 4.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 2, October 1906, p. 3.
48. Ibid., p. 4.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 1906, p. 1.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., p. 2.
54. Dowie's rejection of medical aid and strong belief in divine healing make him an interesting precursor to modern Pentecostals. He also held a 'Restorationist' theology similar to some contemporary Charismatics.
55. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 2, October 1906, p. 1.
56. Synan, op cit., p. 112.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.

59. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1. no. 3, November 1906, p. 3.
60. Ibid.
61. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1. no. 6, February–March 1907, p. 2.
62. Ibid.
63. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 2, no. 13, May 1908, p. 1. Documentary evidence that has only recently come to light proves that it was Cecil Polhill who paid off most of this outstanding debt, early in February 1908. One day later, he was baptised in the Spirit.
64. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 1906, p. 3
65. Ibid.
66. c.f. Synan, op. cit., pp. 141–147 for a list of the chief antagonists.
67. It had transferred publication to Tokyo by 1907.
68. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 1906, p. 4.
69. Ibid.
70. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 4, December 1906, p. 1.
71. Ibid.
72. It did carry a musical score for the hymn 'Jesus is Coming' in vol. 1, no. 9, June–September, 1907, p. 4.
73. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 4, December 1906, p. 2.
74. Ibid., p. 1.
75. Ibid., p. 2. On this occasion it was signed as 'W. J. Seymour', and not the usual 'W.J.S.'
76. Synan, op. cit., p. 110.
77. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 4, December 1906, p. 1.
78. Ibid.
79. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 5, January 1907, p. 1.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*, New York: OUP, 1979, p. 52.
83. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 5, January 1907, p. 4.
84. Ibid.
85. This was recorded in *The Apostolic Faith* in vol. 1, no. 6, February–March 1907, p. 5.
86. The magazine, and Lupton's ministry, ended disastrously in 1910 following his admitted adultery. His followers questioned the sincerity of his repentance. The situation was similar to Jimmy Swaggart's fall from the Assemblies of God in 1987.

87. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 6, February–March, 1907, p. 2.
88. They were doing extensive mission itinerary work as well as producing the magazine.
89. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 6, February–March 1907, p. 2.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., p. 5.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, taught an experience of ‘Christian Perfection’ whereby the heart was cleansed of all sinful propensities by the “Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire”. Unlike Wesley, Fletcher claimed to have had the experience himself.
95. The word ‘church’ replaced ‘association’ in the title in 1902.
96. Irwin had also written a booklet, *Baptism of Fire*, in 1896 in which he expounded the “third experience”. It sold for two cents a copy.
97. Irwin’s sin was sexual immorality.
98. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 6, February–March 1907, p. 5.
99. Azusa Street was not the only mission to be pilloried in the press. The work at Spokane, Washington was given similar treatment. “The newspapers . . . have printed some very misleading and bitter things” ran a report in *The Apostolic Light* (quoted in *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 7, April 1907, p. 4).
100. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 6, February–March 1907, p. 5.
101. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 7, April 1907, p. 1.
102. Ibid.
103. Boddy’s death, on 10 September 1930, was mentioned briefly in *Redemption Tidings*, but his name was mis-spelt as ‘Body’. Such was the obscurity into which he had sunk in the eyes of classical Pentecostals. (*RT*, November 1930, p. 18).
104. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 8, May 1907, p. 1;
105. Ibid.
106. Though he had published several small works before this, chiefly on Holy Land travel themes.
107. The first issue of *Confidence* was dated April 1908.
108. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 8, May 1907, p. 2.
109. In terms of new publications, the peak year was 1908, when nine new titles were added to the market.
110. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 8, May 1907, p. 2.
111. These topics were dealt with in the following issues of *The Apostolic Faith*: vol. 1, no. 4, December 1906, p. 2; vol. 1, no. 5, January 1907, p. 2; vol. 1, no. 10, September 1907, p. 3; vol. 1, no. 7, April 1907, p. 3; vol. 1, no. 9, June–September 1907, p. 2; vol. 1, no. 11, October 1907–January 1908, p. 2.

112. Seymour married his colleague Jenny Moore on 13 May 1908.
113. These stages are fully delineated in works on the sociology of religion, e.g. B. R. Wilson, *Sects and Society*, London: Heinemann, 1961, pp. 1-11.
114. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 9, June-September 1907, p. 2.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., p. 1.
118. Ibid.
119. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 11, October 1907-January 1908, p. 1.
120. Jane Boddy, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
121. Jane Boddy's recall is accurate on details such as her father's early travels and publications. However, she does make two mistakes in dating - her brother James was shot down in 1917, not 1916, and *Confidence* was published until 1926, not 1918.
122. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 11, October 1907-January 1908, p. 1.
123. M. L. Ryan's *Apostolic Light*
124. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 11, October 1907-January 1908, p. 1.
125. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 2, no. 13, May 1908, p. 1.
126. Ibid.
127. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 12, January 1908, p. 2.
128. Anderson, op. cit. p. 257, n. 15.
129. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 9, June-September 1907, p. 1.
130. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 12, January 1908, p. 2.
131. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 10, September 1907, p. 1.
132. Synan, op. cit. pp. 148-149.
133. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, No. 10, September 1907, p. 3.
134. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 12, January 1908, p. 3.
135. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 2, no. 13, May 1908, p. 2.
136. Quoted from *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Michigan: Zondervan, 1988, p. 781, under article on W. J. Seymour by H. V. Synan.
137. First published in December 1919.
138. First published in March 1925.
139. First published in January 1910.
140. First published in July 1924.

CHAPTER FOUR

The beginnings of Pentecostal publishing in Britain – the Rev. A. A. Boddy and the launch of the magazine “Confidence”

In view of his undoubted status as the pioneer of British Pentecostalism, it is surprising that A. A. Boddy has received so little attention from Pentecostal historians. Reference has already been made to the obscurity in which he died, and it is only recently that his life and work has become the subject of scholarly review. Prior to the work of Robinson,¹ only a few scattered references to Boddy can be located in popular Pentecostal historiography.² Even the leader of Britain's charismatic wing of the Anglican church – Michael Harper – mis-spells the name of Boddy's final living as “Piddington”, a sad sign of the obscurity into which Boddy fell among both classical and neo-Pentecostals.³

Several reasons can be adduced for this ignorance. In the first place, Boddy never founded a denomination or movement. He was content to preside over a supra-denominational outpouring of the Spirit, the purpose of which would be to unite Christians, not divide them into yet more sects and schisms. The basis of their unity would be an experience – the Baptism of the Spirit – with its concomitant sign of tongues, rather than a formal denominational adherence. Secondly, early Pentecostal theology developed a distinctly anti-clerical stance, which still remains in some quarters to this day.⁴ Boddy was not only ordained, he was an *Anglican* priest, and as such felt to be within a movement and ethos that was generally inimical to the distinctive tenets and experiences of Pentecostalism.⁵ Thirdly, part of the early mythology that surrounded first-generation Pentecostals was the belief that

the movement had no human genesis, and that it was therefore *ex nihilo*; an early history of the movement by Carl Brumback, entitled *Suddenly . . . from Heaven*, aptly encapsulates the spirit of that belief.⁶

Finally, the eclipse of Boddy needs to be seen in the light of his refusal to dogmatise on the importance and inevitability of the sign of tongues, particularly in its relationship to Spirit baptism. There is evidence, especially within the pages of *Confidence*, that Boddy gradually weakened his earlier stress on the sign of tongues.⁷ Though he himself had received and used the gift, he did not finally regard it alone as conclusive proof of Spirit baptism, and this brought him into conflict with leading Pentecostals such as Smith Wigglesworth, who insisted on tongues as the *sine qua non* of the Pentecostal experience. It was in fact the clash with Wigglesworth that indirectly led to the formation of the Assemblies of God – now Britain's largest Pentecostal denomination, though this point is overlooked in David Allen's recent history of that movement.⁸

The paucity of biographical information about Boddy is accentuated by the fact that all his personal papers were burnt on the death of his only son, James, in 1954. However, Boddy's daughter Jane, herself an eyewitness of the Sunderland revival in 1907, did supply some further biographical reminiscences in an interview with Martin Robinson, later used as part of his M.Litt. dissertation on Boddy, "The Charismatic Anglican". The author of this work is in possession of a typescript MS of this interview, which is undated but circa 1969.⁹ The centenary edition magazine of All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth, which was the epicentre of the Pentecostal movement in Britain from 1907 to 1914, contains not one word about Boddy's Pentecostal activities, though it does speak of him in terms of the highest praise. Apart from these inchoate sources, and some scattered references in newspapers from the Sunderland area of that period, most of the other biographical detail known about A. A. Boddy is gleaned from the pages of *Confidence* magazine, of

which only one original set is known to exist world-wide. This set was built up by the Assemblies of God Bible teacher and pastor, Donald Gee, who knew Boddy personally. The complete set of 141 issues, with only a few pages missing, are now deposited in the Assemblies of God Bible College at Mattersey, near Doncaster. The author has obtained a copy of the entire set, dating from 1908–1926, and it constitutes a unique and indispensable primary source of information about the background and achievements of the leading personalities within the movement, and on the development of Pentecostalism itself.

In view of the strategic importance of *Confidence*, it is surprising that only one original set is known to exist world-wide, and even the British Library does not contain a set. Desmond Cartwright, the official historian and archivist of the Elim denomination, and probably the most knowledgeable Pentecostal in Britain, confesses that this fact is “a mystery”.¹⁰

There are a number of possible explanations for this lack.

1. Reference has already been made to the fact that all Boddy's personal papers were burnt on the death of his son, James, in 1954. These must have included a complete set of *Confidence*, though there is evidence of some hand-written emendations on the cover of four extant issues that closely resemble Boddy's handwriting.
2. We know from internal evidence that Boddy quickly disposed of old copies of *Confidence*. Writing in January 1910 he said: “We do not keep old numbers for long, but would advise readers to take care of their copies.”¹¹
3. The ethos of early Pentecostalism was imbued with the belief of Christ's imminent parousia, and therefore what would normally be treasured for historical and antiquarian purposes would be regarded as virtually superfluous.

4. On the whole, the level of interest within classical Pentecostalism towards the study of church history is very low, and this must be taken into account when viewing the scarcity of *Confidence*. On the other hand, the very extreme rarity of the magazine only serves to accentuate its value as a tool of primary historical interest for the academic study of Pentecostalism.

4:1. The background to A. A. Boddy's conversion and Spirit baptism

The spiritual pedigree of A. A. Boddy was impeccable, and has been extensively delineated by Robinson.¹² He was a great grandson of John Wesley's wife, Mary Vazeille. Boddy's father, James Alfred, was a Cambridge graduate and rector of St. Thomas' Church, Manchester. Alexander had two elder brothers, one a doctor in Manchester, the other an ordained Anglican priest. Even as a child, Alexander possessed an unusually spiritual mind. He narrowly escaped death as a newborn babe, later commenting dryly, "the Lord raised me up again when death seemed certain".¹³ Another event made a profound impression on him:

The earliest religious impressions I had were brought to me by a vivid dream or vision when I was a small child of four or five in a rectory sleeping in a cot with very high sides. I saw the Lord and some of the disciples, and I thought he spoke to me or about me. It was very real to me and I never forget it.¹⁴

Boddy was educated at Manchester Grammar School, and initially trained as a solicitor, in which career he seems to have prospered. But another spiritual experience dissuaded him from pursuing a legal vocation:

I was offered a partnership, but I refused as at that time I passed through a spiritual crisis which altered my career.¹⁵

Boddy does not himself throw any light on exactly what transpired, but his daughter Jane is certain it arose through his contact with the Keswick Convention, an annual meeting established in 1875 for "the deepening of the spiritual life" among Christians.

He had been a nominal Christian in his youth, but a change came when he went to a convention at Keswick. Then he decided to prepare for ordination.¹⁶

Jane Boddy's estimate of the importance of Keswick in her father's spiritual pilgrimage is probably correct, and is supported by Boddy's later comment, "many of us thank God for Keswick in the past".¹⁷

Financial pressures on the family precluded Boddy from study at Cambridge, so he read for the Durham Licentiate in Theology instead, graduating in 1880. Boddy was ordained in 1881 by Bishop Lightfoot, a redoubtable Biblical scholar and preacher, whose charges revelled in the soubriquet "Lightfoot's lambs." His first curacy was under his father at Elwick Hall, Durham, who had moved to that parish after thirty years of stressful ministry in a hard, run-down area of Manchester.

After further brief curacies at Gateshead and Auckland, in 1884 Boddy assumed the curacy of All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth, which was to be the scene of his pre and post-Pentecostal labours for the next 28 years. A delicate situation existed at All Saints because the vicar, the Rev. B. C. Kennicott, was debarred from preaching because of his habitual drunkenness. But he refused to resign, so Boddy had to wait another two years before taking full charge of the congregation's activities. However, during this time he endeared himself to the people, becoming highly respected for his championing of worker's rights, in particular his support of the miners during several skirmishes with the pit owners, clashes which culminated in the Durham miners' strike of 1892.

Although at this time still only a parish priest, Boddy was already showing signs of the leadership qualities and literary ability that were to make him the leader of the fledgling Pentecostal movement. He held many successful missions at All Saints, and began to indulge a passion for world-wide travel. Unusually for a clergyman, he became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and of the Imperial

Geographical Society of Russia – an honour conferred on him after a personal meeting with the Czar. Simultaneously, Boddy was honing his writing skills with the publication of a number of travel and devotional books, six of which are extant, and a devotional book based on his journeys in Israel.¹⁸ The significance of these travels in Boddy's later leadership role cannot be exaggerated. They brought him into contact with virtually every kind of Christian group – Catholics, Copts, Eastern Orthodox – as well as the major non-Christian religions such as Islam and Hinduism. His catholicity of spirit and breadth of vision doubtless sprang from such personal interactions, though ironically it was his ecumenicity that ultimately led to his slide into obscurity, at least within Pentecostal circles.

From a publishing and literary viewpoint, the other crucial advantage accruing from Boddy's extensive travels was his careful documentation of the itineraries involved. These were scrupulously recorded and subsequently published. Many years before the magazine *Confidence* rolled off the presses, Boddy had therefore acquired extensive practical experience of the writing, editing and publishing process. Probably few men in spiritual leadership in Britain at the turn of this century could therefore equal Boddy's ecumenicity of spirit, extensive foreign travel, and practical writing and publishing experience – natural factors that coalesced to make Boddy singularly fitted for the task of spearheading the imminent Pentecostal awakening.

A valuable corollary of this editorial work was that, accordingly, Boddy's name had become well-known and trusted as a Christian writer and leader, long before his distinctively Pentecostal views began to emerge. When they eventually did so, in the pages of *Confidence* and other articles, the public were dealing with something of a known quantity, a tried and trusted leader, rather than the views of a mere neophyte. This factor must have helped *Confidence* in the initial days of its circulation. Yet even his natural gifts, great as they were, were incomplete without a cor-

FOLLOWING PAGES

Samples of A. A. Boddy's pre-Pentecostal publications, all issued in the period 1885-1900.



TO KAIRWÂN THE HOLY:

SCENES IN MUHAMMEDAN AFRICA.

BY

ALEXANDER A. BODDY.

ILLUSTRATED BY A. F. JACASSEY.

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1885.

FROM THE EGYPTIAN RAMLEH:

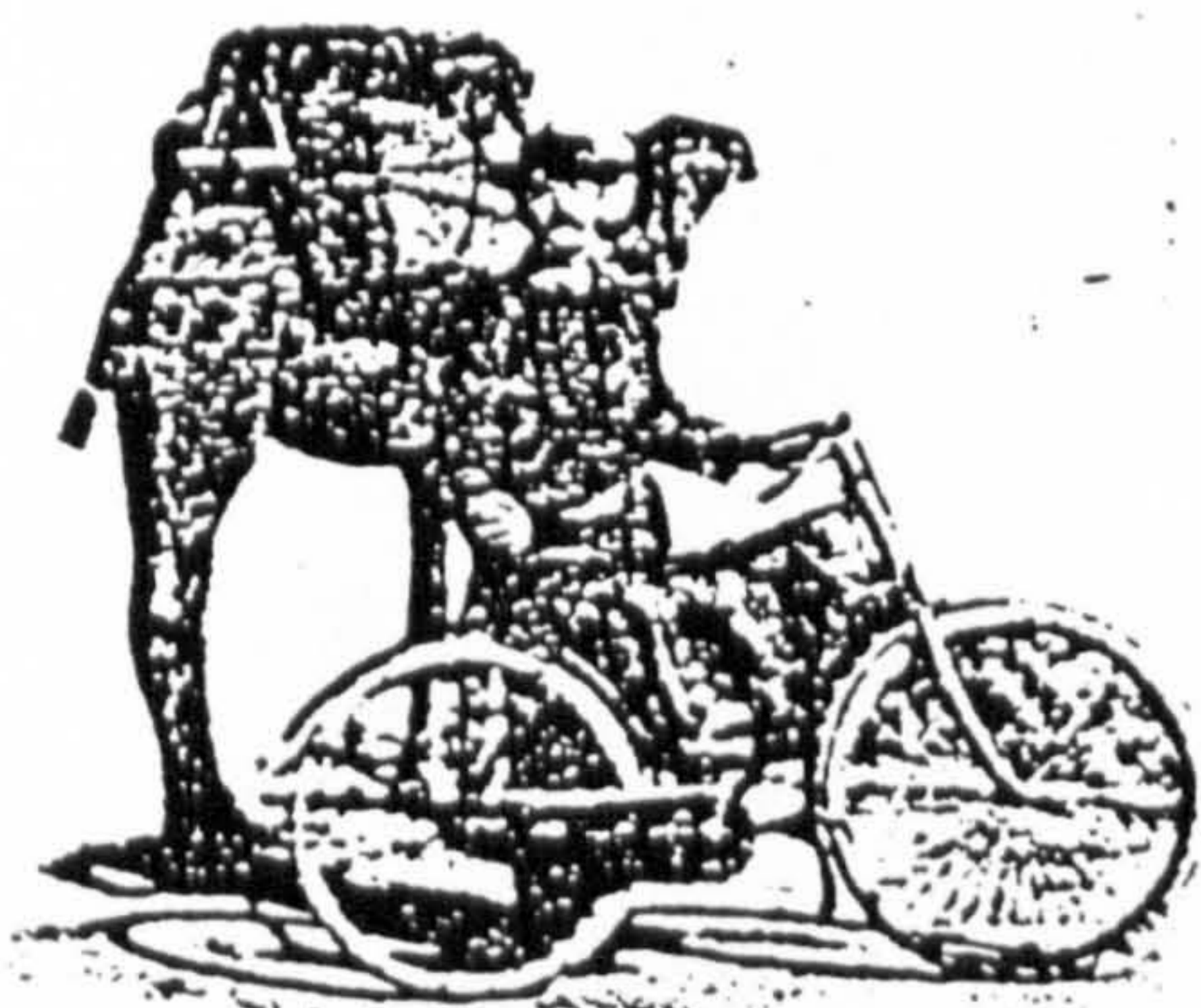
SKETCHES OF DELTA LIFE
AND SCENES IN LOWER EGYPT.

BY THE REV.

ALEXANDER A. BODDY, F.R.G.S.,

and Member of the Imperial Geographical Society of Russia;
Vicar of All Saints, Monkwearmouth, some time Chaplain at Ramleh.

Author of "To Fairwán the Holy: Scenes in Muhammedan Africa"; "With
Russian Pilgrims at the White Sea Monastery"; "By Ocean, Prairie,
and Peak: Visits to British Columbia, &c.", "Christ in His Holy
Land"; "The Laying on of Hands"; "Days in Galilee."



Illustrated by some 270 of the Author's Photographs, together with others.

London: GAY & BIRD.
Newcastle-on-Tyne: MAWSON, SWAN, & MORGAN.

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Christ in His Holy Land.

A LIFE OF OUR LORD,
*WRITTEN DURING AND AFTER A JOURNEY
THROUGH THE HOLY LAND.*

BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER A. BODDY, F.R.G.S.,

VICAR OF ALL SAINTS, MONKWEARMOUTH;
MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF RUSSIA;

AUTHOR OF "BY OCEAN, PRAIRIE, AND PEAK,"
"THE LAYING ON OF HANDS, CONFIRMATION TALKS AND TESTIMONIES."

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C. ;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.
BRIGHTON: 129, NORTH STREET.
NEW YORK: E. & J. B. YOUNG AND CO.

1897.

Days in Galilee

and Scenes in Judæa

TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF A
SOLITARY CYCLING JOURNEY IN
SOUTHERN PALESTINE

BY THE REV.

ALEXANDER A. BODDY,

F.R.G.S.,

Member of the Khedivial Geographical Society of Egypt; Member of the Imperial
Geographical Society of Russia; Licentiate in Theology, Durham University;
Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England;
Vicar of All Saints, Monkwearmouth.

Author of

"To Kairwân the Holy: Scenes in Muhammedan Africa." Etc., etc.



GOING DOWN TO EGYPT.

(From a photo by the Author).

LONDON :

GAY & BIRD.

—
1900.

All rights reserved.

responding personal knowledge and experience of an enduement of the Spirit in Pentecostal power.

Boddy in fact had three separate experiences of vivid spiritual power before the Pentecostal phenomena at Sunderland in 1907. Describing events that occurred 15 years before that date, Boddy confesses that he was aware of a spiritual vacuum in his life:

I could not honestly say that I knew my sins were forgiven, though in a way I did seek to preach Christ.¹⁹

After seeking counsel from a visiting missionary he continues:

We knelt together and I arose with full assurance that my sins were forgiven for His Name's sake. I now had a real message to give, and had not much need of my old manuscript sermons.²⁰

Boddy proceeds to recount yet another vivid spiritual experience, this one so profound that he can recall it to the nearest minute:

On the 21st September 1892, at about 8.40 in the morning, in All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth, . . . the Holy Spirit in infinite love came when I was taking part in the communion service . . . it overwhelmed me. My voice broke and tears were in my eyes. I knew he had come and that I was "fulfilled" with his grace and heavenly benediction. The longing of my heart was satisfied; my constant prayer answered.²¹

The significance of this experience is of course found in its timing, pre-dating as it does the beginnings of Pentecostalism by 15 years. It is noticeable that Boddy makes no reference at all to the charismata, still less the gift of tongues, and his experience is described more in terms of inner brokenness and deep emotion than Pentecostal epiphenomena. However, it is obvious that Boddy's subsequent Pentecostal experiences, theology and writings were formulated against the background of previous deeply felt spiritual encounters with God, and did not originate from a *tabula rasa*. One other event – the supernatural healing of Boddy's wife Mary from asthma in 1899 – created in him an intense interest in spiritual healing and prayer. Subsequently it became family practice to dispense with medical aid,

and to seek spiritual healing after anointing with oil and prayer, Jane Boddy commenting some sixty years later: “In our family we rarely saw a doctor.”²²

It is therefore clear that a number of natural factors, as well as supernatural ones, were conflating to prepare Boddy for his unique contribution to the leadership of the Pentecostal movement. His legal training, wide travel experience, breadth of vision, cultured background – coupled with a keenly sensitive spirituality – were key factors in his pioneering role. Yet even these qualities taken together would have proved of ephemeral worth had it not been for the influence that Boddy wielded through his writing and publishing ministry, particularly through the pages of *Confidence* magazine. It is the thesis of this chapter that *Confidence* was the major factor in the propagation and preservation of the distinctive tenets of primitive Pentecostalism. Further, it will be argued that the world wide influence of the magazine under Boddy’s editorship was crucial in spreading the Pentecostal *experience*, in contradistinction to the spread of the Pentecostal denominationalism that Boddy in fact deprecated. Boddy’s role as a leader in the movement was actually in inverse proportion to the growth of incipient sectarianism within the revival, and this partly accounts for the ignorance in which he is now held by large sections of the modern Pentecostal movement.

4:2. The origins and importance of “Confidence”

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of *Confidence*. We have already noticed Gee’s estimate of the role of *Confidence*, and his view was endorsed by T. B. Barratt, the Cornish Methodist who brought Pentecostal fires to Sunderland in August 1907. Barratt spoke in glowing terms of *Confidence* thus, “this paper was the first of its kind in England, and for years the back-stay of the Pentecostal movement in Great Britain”.²³ Boddy’s vision in publishing the magazine was that it would strengthen and encourage the growing numbers of young Pentecostals, who by virtue of their experience of Spirit baptism and charismatic gifts were often

ostracised, or even persecuted, by other Christians. There was also the problem of doubt and Satanic attack to face – an issue brought close to Boddy personally when his brother in law, the Rev. J. C. Pollock, reneged on his own experience of tongues as being a demonic counterfeit.²⁴

Boddy's decision to publish *Confidence* was therefore taken on pastoral grounds, and in this sense was unlike later Pentecostal publications whose purpose was to propagate denominational viewpoints, or specific tenets of distinctive belief. Boddy seems to have had no interest whatsoever in pursuing a merely doctrinaire line, and the topics and writers represented in *Confidence* are amazingly eclectic.²⁵

Although the first issue of *Confidence* was not published until April 1908, the idea for the magazine must have been floated widely by Boddy some time before this. This fact can be deduced by a letter from Pastor T. M. Jeffreys of the Tabernacle Congregational Church, Waunlwyd, Monmouthshire, which appeared in the first issue of the magazine:

I am very glad to learn that you have been led to issue the "Confidence". Its pages will provide a meeting-place where many of us who are separated by wide distances, but truly joined in one Spirit, can unite in mutually distributing our experiences, and thus greatly encourage each other in this blessed struggle to regain the lost gifts of the Church.²⁶

The latter sentence – with its clues to a 'Restorationist' view of church history so prevalent in most revivalist sects – is a recurring theme in the early issues of *Confidence*.²⁷

Alexander Boddy, in common with his American counterparts, published *Confidence* as a 'faith lines' magazine. In the first issue of April 1908, issued from All Saints Vicarage, Sunderland, he writes:

In absolute faith that this is the Lord's own work we send out this first number of "Confidence" . . . It is meant to be a means of grace and mutual encouragement. Encouragement to lonely ones . . . to those who

are attacked by doubt and difficulty . . . They will find from these columns that they are not alone, as regards even human fellowship, but that . . . His Pentecostal blessing is spreading all the time.²⁸

Boddy's reference to the rapid spread of the movement is timely, since he goes on to claim that "at the time of printing there are probably more than 500 persons in Great Britain who are in this experience".²⁹ This contrasts vividly with his own figure of "five or six persons" a year previously, which of course antedates the Sunderland outpouring by about five months. These figures suggest a steady, if not spectacular growth of Spirit baptised glossolalists in Britain; but even these figures were to pale into insignificance as the influence and circulation of *Confidence* increased. Of these 500 to whom Boddy refers, it is also known from the first issue of the magazine that about 70 had received Spirit baptism, accompanied by tongues, at Boddy's own church in Sunderland.³⁰

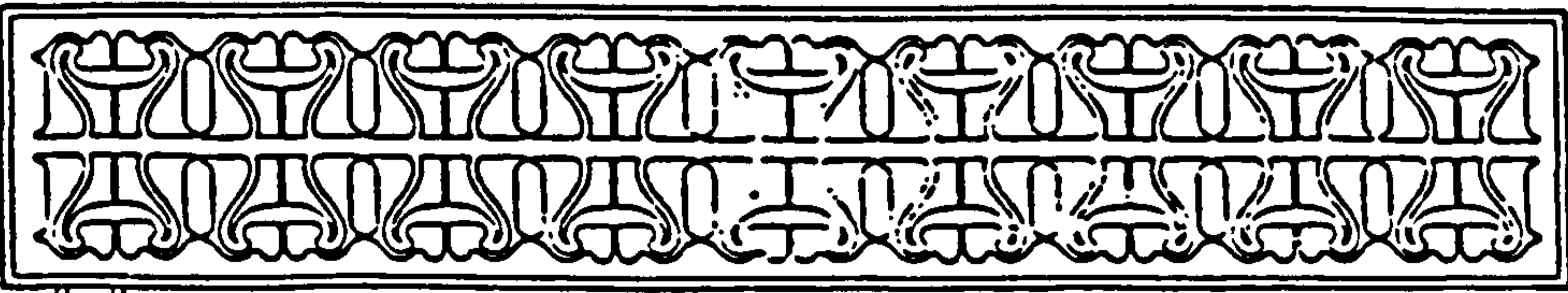
However, given these figures in relation to the number of readers needed to support the magazine on a regular basis, it is clear that Boddy must have had considerable faith in the venture to even contemplate its beginnings. Certainly the magazine's title (taken from two biblical quotations)³¹ was a portent of what would be needed to support Boddy and his small team of helpers through some obviously severe financial embarrassments. More detailed reference to these trials of faith will be made later. For the present, it should be noticed that the launch of *Confidence* in April 1908 was printed with the circumambulation:

Confidence will be issued (God willing) just as the voluntary help received from time to time justifies its further issue.³²

Boddy adopted the practice of publishing the printing and distribution costs of each issue, and printing the initials of donors, and the value of their gifts. Using these data it is possible to trace just how closely to the wind the magazine sailed throughout its 18-year life; sadly, financial loss was a key factor in the magazine's decreasing regularity, especially in the period 1925–26, when only two issues were pub-

FOLLOWING PAGE

Volume 1, number 1, of A. A. Boddy's magazine *Confidence*, the first Pentecostal magazine to be published in Britain.



APRIL 1908.

No. 1.

"CONFIDENCE"

A Pentecostal Paper for
Great Britain.

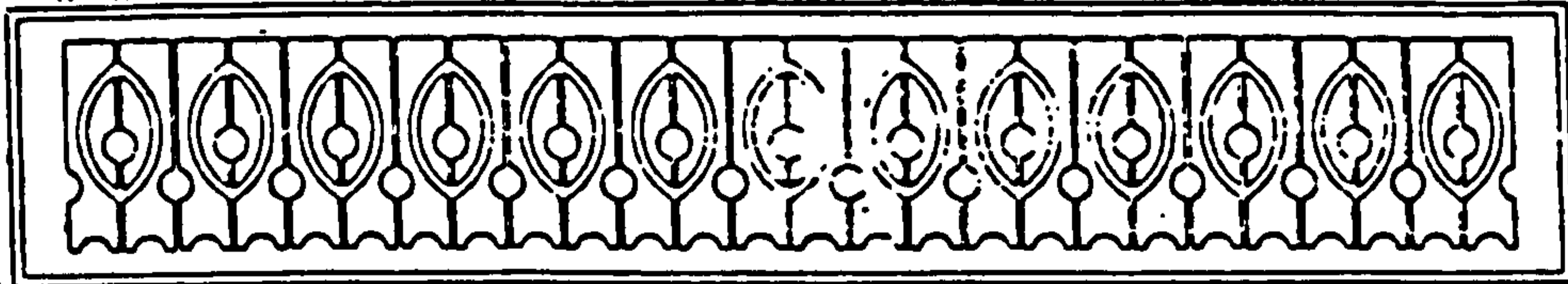
"This is the CONFIDENCE that we have in Him, that if we ask anything according to His will He heareth us: And if we know that He hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired from Him."

—1 John v., 14-15.

"The Lord shall be thy CONFIDENCE, and shall keep thy foot from being taken."

—Prov. iii., 26.

• MONKWEARMOUTH, SUNDERLAND,
ENGLAND.



FREE.

Envelope to the Editors, 11, Park Lane, Sunderland.

lished. The policy of issuing the magazine monthly and without any cover charge was maintained without a break until October 1911, when a charge of 3d. was introduced. This was later reduced to 1d., at a time when the direct donation level appears to have increased considerably.³³

The circulation and distribution of *Confidence* was extensive. Robinson's assertion that "Boddy nowhere tells us actual circulation figures" is erroneous.³⁴ There are at least three clear indications of the circulation. The first appears in issue number two (May 1908), where Boddy says the first issue printed 3,000 copies. Production costs and postage totalled £15. 0s. 0d., but the entire bill was paid by "one of the Lord's stewards, T.B.W."³⁵ We must assume this refers to T. Brem Wilson, leader of a small mission at Bethel Hall, Camberwell, and already a prominent helper in spreading the Pentecostal message throughout the UK.

By January 1910 the circulation had jumped to 4,000, with a readership estimated by Boddy to be about 20,000.³⁶ By July 1911, the print run had risen to "5-6,000 copies", and a photograph of the freshly-printed bundles of that issue was printed in the following month's issue of *Confidence*.³⁷ This indicates the circulation had virtually doubled in a three-year period. While this rise is perhaps not spectacular, it must be evaluated in the light of intense opposition to Pentecostalism from within and without the churches. Cartwright has shown the highly deleterious effects of the damning journalism directed at the movement,³⁸ and it must be remembered that the pre-war period in Britain was a time of declining interest in religion in general, exemplified in falling church attendances, increasing secularism, and the effects of the rise of anti-supernaturalism spawned by the growth of liberal theology and the popularity of works such as R. J. Campbell's *The New Theology*, first published in 1907.

Early Pentecostalism, therefore, was born in an era wholly inimical to its presuppositions. Its growth and development must be viewed against this unsympathetic

background, and when this is taken into account the impact of *Confidence* is even more remarkable than the bald circulation figures would suggest. Of even greater strategic importance than the actual press-run is the fact of *where* the magazine circulated. Boddy had initially conceived of the magazine as a vehicle for British readers, as its sub-title "a Pentecostal paper for Great Britain" clearly shows.³⁷ But within two years of its launch he could write:

It travels to almost every part of the world where English is understood, and grateful letters constantly assure us that it is blessed in speeding the good news of a full salvation and a Pentecost for all.⁴⁰

Boddy's assertion is supported by letters printed in *Confidence* from readers around the globe. As early as May 1908 the first issue of *Confidence* had been received by an American missionary working in Somaliland, East Africa, who wrote to Boddy:

We received a copy of "Confidence" which you sent us a short time ago . . . I hope you will send us a copy of each issue henceforth, and also other papers of that class if you can. It cheers our hearts and does us much good to hear what the dear Lord is doing for His people in other parts of the world.⁴¹

In similar vein, a letter from Minnie Abrams, a missionary working in the Poona district of India, thanked Boddy for: ". . . Sending me your paper "Confidence", I suppose it is the first of its kind in the British Isles."⁴²

By July 1908 – the fourth issue of the magazine – foreign readers were subscribing generously to the support of *Confidence*. Boddy's practice was to print receipt numbers for gifts, together with the initials of donor, amount, and town. In that issue, gifts from abroad were credited to readers living in Los Angeles, Italy and Capetown. The following month saw gifts received from Australia, Holland, Oklahoma, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Seattle, Amsterdam, Paris, Johannesburg and Sweden. It is this aspect of international penetration, within a relatively short time, that marks *Confidence* off from most of its competitors. The practice of printing donors' initials and towns was an excellent idea because thereby Boddy was shrewdly reminding his readers that the magazine would only appear if they

supported it by their practical gifts. The question naturally arises as to why Boddy did not initially levy a small cover charge on the magazine, thus enabling him to publish regularly without the worry and stress of waiting for sufficient funds to come in. There appear to be a number of reasons for Boddy's reluctance to do this.

Firstly, he was undoubtedly aware of the American experience of faith publishing – principally Seymour's magazine *The Apostolic Faith*, and he was probably impressed that it had reached a circulation of some 40,000 without the editorial team ever asking for a cent in advance. For a man of his culture and education, Boddy had a remarkably simple faith, almost at times seeming to border on the edge of naivety.⁴³ Publishing 'by faith' would entail a certain risk and challenge that that type of mindset would readily rise to.

Secondly, given the very low number of glossolalists in the UK and the generally hostile attitude of other Christians to the movement, a magazine founded on purely secular marketing lines would run counter to the Pentecostal ideal of absolute trust in God. Throughout the whole of its 18-year life, *Confidence* never once published any paid advertising. Boddy was imbued with the childlike belief that if God wanted the magazine to succeed, he would provide the means to do so. Later, as we shall see, Boddy was forced to compromise on this absolutist view of faith, but he clung doggedly to it for the first three years of the magazine's existence.

Thirdly, there is the strong possibility that Boddy had discussed the launch of *Confidence* with Cecil Polhill, who was a staunch proponent of living by faith, and who had himself exemplified the practice whilst a missionary in China from 1885 to 1900. Within months of receiving his Spirit baptism early in 1908, Polhill had spent "thousands of pounds" in propagating the Pentecostal message.⁴⁴ Certainly the two men had not met personally until the first Whitsuntide Convention, held at

Sunderland from 6–11 June 1908. But given the subsequent prominence of Polhill in the movement, and the large amounts of space in *Confidence* devoted to his activities, he could have indicated very early in the magazine's history, possibly by correspondence with Boddy, his own support and encouragement of the project. We know from internal evidence that he did not fund the first issue, but his later generosity proved the main financial mainstay of the magazine until it ceased publication in 1926.⁴⁵

A fourth reason why Boddy was reluctant to charge for the journal is possibly linked to his knowledge of the publishing process gained from his earlier writings. Boddy's business acumen must have been considerable, as evinced by the offer of a legal partnership when he was still only 23 years of age. He must have been aware that it would be only a matter of time before other Pentecostal magazines would flood onto the UK market. Boddy therefore needed to capture his own readership sector, in what was necessarily a small market, and establish reader loyalty before competition from other sources made this less likely. Also of course, if he was charging a cover fee and the other journals were issued free of charge, that in itself would jeopardise the success of *Confidence*.

As was to be expected, in time other magazines did enter the market, but none possessed the staying power of *Confidence*. Stanley Frodsham's *Victory*,⁴⁶ H. E. Cantel's *Overcoming Life*,⁴⁷ E. W. Lake's *The Spirit of Truth*,⁴⁸ and Polhill's own missionary magazine *Fragments of Flame*⁴⁹ were quickly on to the market, but only the latter proved more than a publishing fiasco – Polhill's personal wealth again being the factor that saved it from the inglorious fate of its ephemeral cousins.

W. O. Hutchinson's journal *Showers of Blessing* ran from 1910 to 1926, and according to Worsfold, reached a circulation of 10,000 monthly.⁵⁰ However, it had the

FOLLOWING PAGES

First issues of the magazines *Victory* and *Showers of Blessing*, early Pentecostal publications that rivalled *Confidence*.

VICTORY!

"Victory is of the Lord."—Prov. 21. 31. R.V.

"Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."
I. Cor. 15. 57.

No. 1.

APRIL, 1909.

Free Circulation.

Victory! Victory!
Precious Blood-bought Victory!
Victory! Victory!
Victory all the time!
As Jehovah liveth,
Strength Divine He giveth,
Unto those who trust Him
Victory all the time!

Dear Reader, please don't destroy his paper after you have read it, but pass it on to a friend. There is so much of the Word of God in it that it may be life to some hungry soul. If you could like any more copies, let us know. It is as free as the Gospel which it sets free.

It is published with the idea of rectifying much of the misrepresentation and misunderstanding that exists regarding the great things God is now doing on the earth. There is no doubt that we are approaching the end of this age, and in these last days, God the Holy Ghost is doing the same things as He did at the beginning of this dispensation, as described in the Acts of the Apostles.

When the Second Person of the Trinity manifested Himself on this earth, He came of lowly parents and dwelt in a modest home in a despised village. When He started His ministry, He chose His disciples, not from the scholars and cultured men of the schools and colleges, but from the humble fisher folk and peasant class of "heathenish Galilee" as it was called. And so the learned, wise and prudent men of that day did not recognise the Messiah of God. They said He had a devil, and at last they crucified Him.

And now the Third Person of the Trinity is choosing a few foolish, weak, base, despised nobodies; is teaching them, and is using them to cast out demons in the name of Jesus, is speaking through them in new tongues, is causing them to lay hands on the sick in order that they shall recover. And the great and clever people in the Churches are not recognising the Spirit of Truth. They are saying it is demonism and spiritualism and everything else but God. And so His Spirit-baptized ones are sharing in the rejection of their

Master. "If they have called the Master of the House Beelzebub, how much more will they slander His servants." (Matt. 10. 25, Weymouth).

He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches. "Thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works." What are the first works? The answer is, the Acts of the Apostles. In the days of the first love, the disciples preached the full Gospel without money and without charge, while God corroborated their testimony by signs and marvels and various miracles, and by gifts of the Holy Spirit distributed in accordance with His own will (Heb. 2. 4, Weymouth).

Apart from a deep contrition, a sincere humbling of ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and a getting back to an active and living faith in Jesus Christ, in Whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, the works of the early Church will not be repeated. But where earnest souls are repenting of their lukewarmness, and are seeking the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, they are finding that the Lord Jesus Christ is answering to the promise of His own words:—"And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." (Mark 16. 17 and 18).

The new tongue seems to be a stumbling block to many. We so often hear the question, "Cannot I be baptized with the Holy Ghost without the new tongue?" The Lord gave the sign of the new tongue at Jerusalem (Acts 2), at Caesarea (Acts 10. 44 to 46), and at Ephesus (Acts 19. 6), and we do not read of anyone in the Word being baptized without signs following. Even at Samaria (Acts 8. 17), the signs must have followed, or Simon would not have offered money for Apostolic power. For our part, we are very grateful to the Lord that in these days when critics are trying to strip the Word of God of all the super-

natural element, He is still giving the Scriptural evidences to those who receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.

Beloved Reader, do not let it be said of you: "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you." (Acts 13. 41). Isaiah wrote: "For with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak to this people. To whom He said: "This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest; and this is the refreshing: yet they would not hear." Do not disbelieve or criticise, even though you may not understand it. Let us rather labour therefore to enter into that rest." (Heb. 4. 11). "It is found in the One who says: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The Pentecostal Baptism of the Holy Spirit brings a deeper and clearer revelation of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. It gives a new power in prayer, and it is a delight for a baptized person to spend two or three hours at a time on his knees, where once it might have been considered a nuisance. It always means a far greater love for God's Word, and a stronger conviction as to its verbal inspiration. Instead of indifference, there comes a passion for winning souls for the Kingdom. Instead of a life of failure, it brings a life of Victory, through the precious Blood of Jesus. We have never yet met a baptized person that had any desire for smoking, drinking, theatres or doubtful amusements; these unclean desires fall off like leaves in Autumn. The fruits of the Spirit, love, joy, peace, etc., invariably follow the Baptism. There is a deep unity and love amongst Pentecostal people we have never seen elsewhere. Some are selling their possessions and laying the money at the feet of those whom God has chosen to lead. They are so full of the joy of the Spirit, that some of the long-faced type of Christians are accusing them of frivolity, because they are always smiling. No one can help being happy, when Jesus has done so much for them.

advantage of denominational backing, and therefore reader loyalty, from members of the Apostolic Faith Church. It does not therefore bear a strict comparison with the other supra-denominational magazines mentioned above. In later years, a number of leading Pentecostals would try to publish their personal journals – Donald Gee's *The Pentecostal Witness* and J. Nelson Parr's *The Faith Herald* surviving only two and one issues respectively. A. E. Saxby's *Things New and Old* proved more durable, lasting from 1921–25,⁵¹ but it took the emergence of denominational publishing houses, with their centralised control and vastly greater resources, to finally dislodge *Confidence* from its pre-eminent role in Pentecostal publishing. But until 1926 – when the last issue appeared – *Confidence* was the authoritative voice of British Pentecostalism, a fact conceded by even those Christians who vigorously opposed its teachings, such as the Brethren Bible teacher G. H. Lang, who admitted:

. . . It became the chief early organ of the movement for the English-speaking world. To go through this collection is to gain a comprehensive view of the whole Movement, and knowledge of its chief leaders in many lands.⁵²

A brief overview of the publishing history of *Confidence* is as follows. The journal was issued every month from April 1908 to December 1916. It was then published bi-monthly until November–December 1917, then quarterly until November–December 1924. Only one issue appeared in 1925, in May, and the final copy, number 141, was published in 1926, undated. However, internal evidence proves it must have been printed prior to 9 October, as a special 10-day mission starting on that date is advertised as a future event.⁵³

No charge was made for the magazine until October 1911, when a 3d. fee was levied. This lasted until May 1912, when the price was reduced to 1d; it remained at this level until the demise of the magazine in 1926. In the early years of the Pentecostal revival, the magazine ran to a full 24 pages, on all issues up to January 1913. It reduced to 20 pages from February 1913 to March 1916, when it fell again

to 16 pages. This volume was maintained until the April–June issue of 1923. From July 1923 to the 139th issue, in October–December 1924 it fell again to 10 pages, and the final two issues printed only eight pages.

This reduction in content mirrors both the declining influence of *Confidence* within mainstream Pentecostalism, and the rise of rival magazines such as *Showers of Blessing*, *Riches of Grace*, *Elim Evangel* and *Redemption Tidings*, which were all pushing denominational viewpoints. However, another way of looking at this phenomenon would be to suggest that *Confidence* had acted as the scaffolding on which the emergent Pentecostal denominations were built, and, once they were secure, the underpinning work of the magazine had been completed, and was therefore no longer needed. Nevertheless, within that vital embryonic period of 1908–1926, Boddy's magazine had functioned as the major organ of British Pentecostalism, seen off all its rivals, and established Boddy and Polhill as the *de facto* leaders of the movement. Simultaneously, it had established the relatively obscure backwater of Sunderland as the epicentre of British Pentecostalism, to which and from which all the notable leaders of international Pentecostalism ministered.

It is for these reasons that a detailed case study of *Confidence* should be undertaken by researchers into Pentecostal history and theology. It is the primary source for tracing the origins and development of the movement in Britain. Its pages show that, contrary to popular belief, Pentecostalism is in fact a movement that has undergone considerable development, even metamorphosis, since its beginnings at the turn of this century. Of possibly even greater significance than this developmental process, and in part a corollary of it, is the fact that contemporary Pentecostalism in Britain has deviated in a number of fundamental ways from the teaching and practices of its founders. The nature and importance of these changes will be elucidated at the relevant points in the text, but it needs to be made clear at

the outset of such a study that Pentecostalism, even the British forms, is not simply a coherent, monolithic or uniform manifestation of an Evangelical sub-culture. It is against this background of process and development that a more detailed look at the history of *Confidence* can now be taken.

4:3. A. A. Boddy and pre-Pentecostal publishing

By the time Boddy had edited and published the first issue of *Confidence*, he had gained valuable experience of the processes involved in his role as publisher of a number of works that were germane to his specifically Pentecostal views. The most important of these were *When the Fire Fell* (T. B. Barratt's personal experience of Spirit baptism); *A Call to Pentecost*; *Pentecost with Tongues, Not of the Devil*; *Pentecostal Signs and Visions*; *Pentecost for Tram-Car Men*; *Tongues in Norway*; *Tongues at Caesarea*; *The Testimony of a Vicar's Wife* (Mary Boddy's experience of Spirit baptism); and *A Vicar's Testimony* (Boddy's personal account of Pentecost). He had also edited a number of testimonies of other British Pentecostals, and issued these in leaflet form. These included *A Lancashire Builder's Testimony* and *A Trained Nurse's Testimony*.

In addition to these distinctively Pentecostal-type works, Boddy had previously consolidated his Evangelical thinking into a series of thirteen *Roker Tracts*, all of which had been written and disseminated world-wide long before the first issue of *Confidence* was published in April 1908. They must, in fact, have been circulating since at least 1902, since Boddy relates in *Confidence* in 1912, "Many many thousands, by God's mercy, have in the past 10 years travelled to earnest seekers after God all over this earth."⁵⁴

The first issue of *Confidence* carried a complete list of the *Roker Tracts* then in print, which were available free of charge, "on receipt of a large SAE". They were entitled:

	<i>price</i>
1. <i>Born from Above</i>	1d.
2. <i>Forgiveness of Sins</i>	1d.
3. <i>Heaven upon Earth</i>	1d.
4. <i>Satan's devices, and the wonder-working blood</i>	1d.
5. <i>The Holy Ghost for us</i>	1d.
6. <i>Health in Christ</i>	2d.
7. <i>Identification with Christ</i>	1d.
8. <i>Spiritualism denounced</i>	2d.
9. <i>Christian Science: A soul danger</i>	1d.
10. <i>Systematic Prayer</i>	1d.
11. <i>The New Creation</i> (by Mary Boddy)	2d.
12. <i>Divine Necrosis: or the deadness of the Lord Jesus</i>	1d.

At this time the thirteenth *Roker Tract*, entitled *Faith in His Blood*, price 1/2d., was apparently out of print, but all the tracts were available again by March 1912.

The content of these tracts reveals an average fundamentalist-type Anglican Evangelicalism, of the older holiness school. There are traces of the influence of C. G. Finney and Andrew Murray, and, of particular interest to this thesis, occasional adumbrations of Boddy's later Pentecostal leanings. It seems evident that Boddy's progress to full-blown Pentecostalism was a long pilgrimage, and that the seeds of that theology had been germinating in his mind for some considerable time. We find, for example, this early stress on the Holy Ghost in *Divine Necrosis*:

O Holy Spirit of God, I need thee just now . . . I love the promise 'how much more will the Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him'. I ask thee O God to give the Holy Spirit for this very purpose, and I accept thee by faith Lord the Holy Ghost now to make real to me this truth. Thy fulness, O blessed Spirit!⁵⁵

The Roker Tract *The Holy Ghost for Us* was even more explicit:

The disciples on that Easter eve were born of the Spirit – Christ’s Spirit – but on that first Whit Sunday they received a further blessing: they were filled with the Spirit, immersed in the Holy Ghost, endued with power from on high. He “fell” upon them.⁵⁶

In this quotation Boddy is of course simply reflecting the classic new birth/spirit endowment theology long espoused by teachers such as Finney, Murray, Torrey and the holiness school in general. It is in his next comment that we find his distinctive personal addition to that theology, in that he now links the sign of tongues to that Spirit-endowment:

... Of the Lord Jesus, John the Baptist said “He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire”. (Matt.3.11). The sign of the “Tongues” given first at Jerusalem as an evidence of the supernatural indwelling of the Holy Ghost, was repeated at Caesarea and Ephesus, and again was fulfilled the word “they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake in other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance”.⁵⁷

The Roker Tract *Health in Christ* similarly delineates Boddy’s developing views on divine healing, views he appears to have held from at least 1900. Writing in *Confidence* in 1910 he asserts:

There was a time in the writer’s experience when it was harder to stand for this truth than it is today. Ten years ago he was very much alone.⁵⁸

Boddy’s reference to “this truth” is explained by his further comment:

There are “gifts of healing” given to some by the Holy Spirit . . . they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover” (Mark 16.18). We thank God that in these latter days there are, here and there in the Christian church, Elders, both men and women, to whom the Lord has given these gifts of healing, channels of the quickening Spirit.⁵⁹

There is one striking instance where Boddy reprints a *Roker Tract* in *Confidence*, but explicitly points out that it was written before he received his “Pentecost with the sign of tongues”. The tract in question was *Born from Above*, and the implication in Boddy’s footnote is that the teaching therein is an incomplete representation of the position he later came to hold. At the end of the tract, Boddy advises the reader “to read ‘A Vicar’s Testimony’ for a record of further blessing”.⁵⁶ Although

there is nothing in *Born from Above* that is incompatible with any of Boddy's later writings, he clearly felt that it laid insufficient stress on the work of the Holy Spirit, even though his added testimony at the end of the article refers to his September 1892 experience as being "when I received the fulness of the Holy Ghost",⁶⁰ though it was to be another 15 years before Boddy personally spoke in tongues.

The republication of these *Roker Tracts in Confidence* suggests a number of important factors. They show the continuity of theological thought that existed in the pre and post-Pentecostal Boddy, yet simultaneously highlight the crucial ways in which his understanding had developed beyond that of classical Anglican Evangelicalism. In a number of important ways – especially in relation to divine healing, tongues and Spirit baptism – Boddy had launched out into fairly uncharted seas of theological thought. It was the wide dissemination of these novel teachings via *Confidence* that bestowed on Boddy an authority and legitimacy as a trusted Bible teacher that was to be unparalleled by any of his contemporaries. This point of trust between Boddy and his readers – a trust forged through his previous writings – was vital in establishing *Confidence* as the forerunner in Pentecostal journals. Boddy explicitly makes the point:

The Lord had, through the Roker Tracts, on "Identification" etc. and through the booklet "Health in Christ", brought the writer in touch with a very large circle who trusted the teachers in All Saints Vicarage, because they had been helped by the messages given. Many also had been helped by the writer's dear wife, who had ministered to them, especially in the healing of the sick.⁶¹

It is these factors, particularly the evident trust and reputation that Boddy had built up over a number of years, that established his magazine in the forefront of that genre for many years. Coupled with his keen mind, business acumen, literary skills and pastoral gifts, Boddy was ideally equipped to pioneer Pentecostal publishing in Britain. When we add his own personal experience of Pentecostal tongues and Spirit baptism, the equation is complete, and we find in Boddy a man who is fully prepared for that task.

4:4. Sunderland, “Confidence” and Pentecostal literature

Evidence that Boddy had been planning the launch of *Confidence* for some considerable time before it actually appeared may be gleaned from the news reports that dominate the first issue of the magazine. Sunderland was early established as the British centre for Pentecostal revival, despite its awkward geographical location. Boddy was to record:

In the great goodness of God, and through his mercy in Christ Jesus, he began the larger work for Great Britain at Sunderland, and he has continued to work here ever since.⁶²

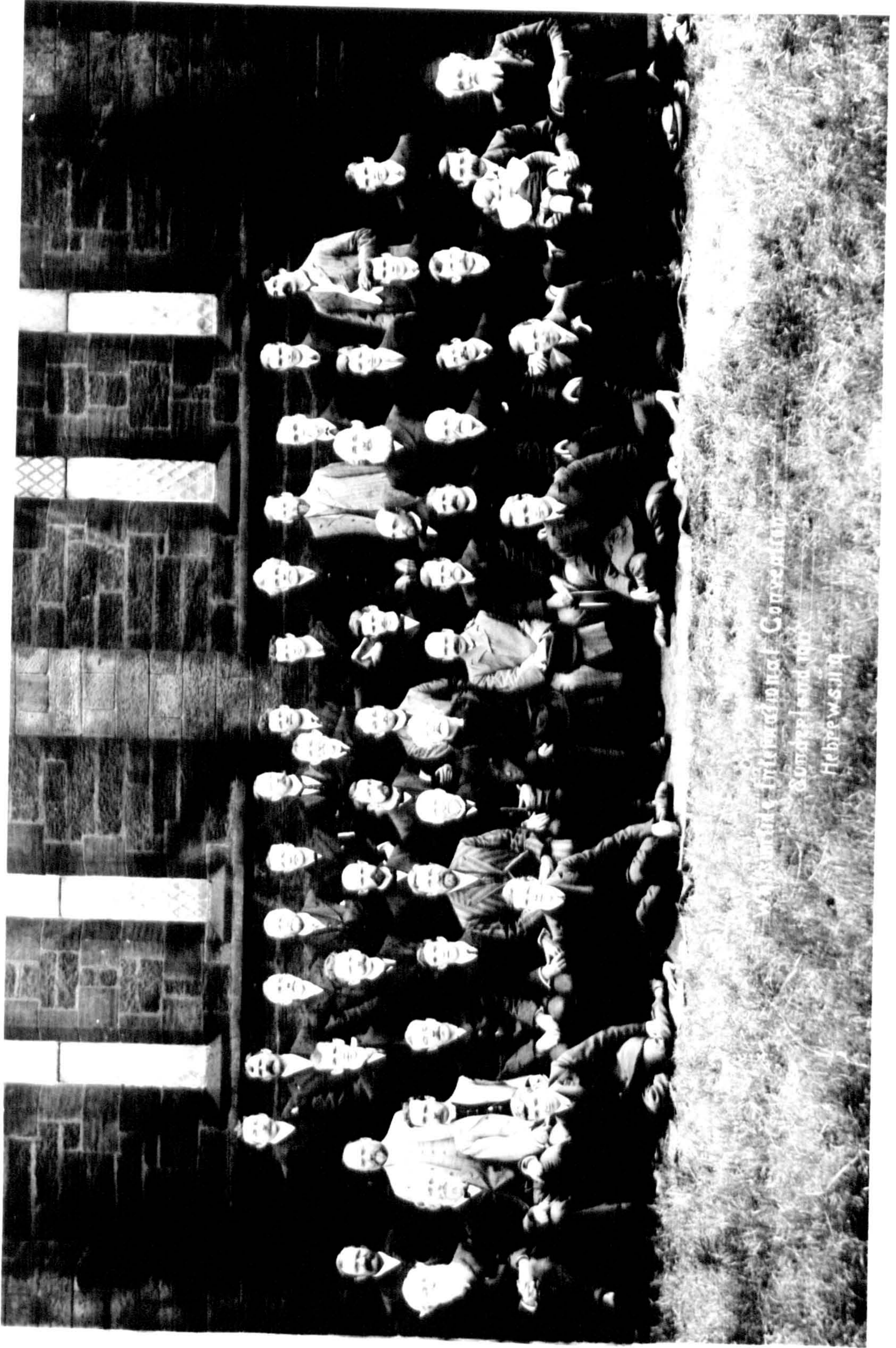
The dominance of Sunderland was to continue until the outbreak of World War I, when the focus of interest shifted to London. The annual Whitsun Conventions held at All Saints Church from 1908–1914 attracted massive media interest, even *The Times*⁶⁴ and the *Daily Mirror*⁶⁵ covering the 1910 and 1911 conferences respectively. The Sunderland conferences, always chaired by Boddy, provided an opportunity for Pentecostals from around the world to converge on the town for five to six days of Bible teaching, worship and evangelism.⁶⁶ All of this helped to confirm Sunderland’s leadership role, but the main factor keeping the town as the epicentre of the revival is hinted at by Boddy along the lines of its role in the distribution of Pentecostal literature; writing in the first issue of *Confidence*, Boddy claimed:

The Lord has graciously used Sunderland also as a centre for free literature, and when we visit any other centre we receive very grateful thanks for blessings received through this channel.⁶⁷

The literature referred to by Boddy obviously predated *Confidence* magazine, and we must assume it refers to the Pentecostal and *Roker Tracts* already adverted to above. So great was the demand for Pentecostal literature that Boddy employed two full-time secretaries, the Misses Margaret Howell and Mabel Scott, to handle these demands, writing of them: “Two faithful secretaries are at daily work, and at times very hard work, letter writing and despatching literature”.⁶⁸ The total amount of literature thus circulated must have been considerable, for writing just two years later Boddy was to claim:

FOLLOWING PAGE

Plate no. 2 – Pentecostal brethren photographed at the Sunderland Convention, Whitsun 1911. Boddy and Polhill are shown seated in the centre (Boddy in clerical collar with left hand on Polhill's shoulder). A separate photo was taken of the ladies present.



Ministry International Convention
Congregation
Hebrews 11:19

The amount of literature on Pentecost which the writer has been able to issue and circulate these three years must have been some tons in weight.⁶⁹

It should be remembered that at this time Boddy was personally acting as writer, editor and publisher of these works, in addition to his duties as vicar of All Saints Church. When to that is added the considerable demands made upon his time by itinerant preaching throughout the whole of the UK, and later world-wide, we have the impression of a man possessed of great energy and dynamism, even though by this time he was in his middle fifties, and the greater part of his life work still lay ahead. A crucial part of that work lay in the launching of *Confidence* magazine, and this was the final, and most important factor in securing and maintaining Boddy's central position within British Pentecostalism.

4:5. A. A. Boddy's view of the role of "Confidence"

By April 1908, when the first issue of *Confidence* rolled off the presses, Boddy had a clear idea of the strategic role the magazine would play:

It is meant to be a means of grace and of mutual encouragement. Encouragement to lonely ones and to scattered bands, to those who are attacked by doubt and difficulty, but longing to be loyal to the Almighty Deliverer.⁷⁰

He goes on to explain that probably about 500 persons in Britain had now received their Spirit baptism compared to only five or six a year earlier. This rapid growth must have been a key factor in Boddy's decision to launch a Pentecostal magazine. He was aware of the intense opposition such Christians received, both within their own churches and from satanic attack. However, he hoped that from within the pages of the journal, such would find that "they are not alone . . . but that this work is of God, and who will be rejoiced to know that his Pentecostal blessing is spreading all the time".⁷¹

It was, therefore, from within this pastoral context that *Confidence* was first published. This emphasis is borne out by the fact that, although no official statement of

belief was printed until April 1911, the magazine began at once to publish articles propagating the distinctive tenets of Pentecostal doctrine.⁷² Together with news reports of Pentecostal blessings from around the world, these low-key didactic articles by prominent Pentecostals, and Boddy and his wife Mary, proved to be the vital factor that underpinned the subsequent development of a corpus of Pentecostal belief and practice. Mary Boddy was in fact to prove a regular contributor to *Confidence* throughout its entire life, and her public ministry in the Sunderland conventions, together with that of other Pentecostal ladies, was another feature in which Pentecostal practice differed from that of most Fundamentalists in Britain – the classic exceptions being of course Methodism and the Salvation Army.

The first issue of *Confidence* is important in that it proves the emergence of a number of Pentecostal centres long before any of these coalesced in the mainline Pentecostal denominations. These centres were scattered around Britain, chiefly in the north, and appear to have originated as house groups meeting in the homes of prominent Pentecostals. A centre at Southsea, Hampshire, had started as early as 1902 in the home of E. W. Moser, a Pentecostal solicitor later to gain prominence from his work in the Pentecostal Missionary Union. Up to 25 believers met in the home of Henry Mogridge, a builder from Lytham, Lancashire, and in the Bowland Street Mission, Bradford, the illiterate plumber Smith Wigglesworth was already exercising a ministry of healing and exorcism that was later to take him all around the world. *Confidence* also reports house groups meeting at Bracknell, Carlisle, Cudworth, Derby and Shrewsbury. In Scotland, centres had been established at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dunfermline, Motherwell, Stirling, Clydebank, Falkirk, Tarbert Toll Cross, Banton, Kirkintilloch and Coatbridge. In Wales, Pentecost had reached Waunlwyd, Bridgend and Port Talbot, and in northern Ireland, Bangor and Belfast.

It is in the light of this rapid geographical spread of Pentecostalism in the UK

that another clue is found for the origins of the magazine *Confidence*. These inchoate groups were highly susceptible to the influence of false teachings and other divisive factors. In the main, the groups were led by persons of strong spiritual gifts and personality, but of no theological training. Boddy's keen mind, itself theologically trained in a secular university, must have been fully cognisant of the dangers inherent in such assemblies. Indeed, this is borne out in the very first issue of *Confidence*, in an article that hints at the dangers of itinerant preachers:

We ask leaders and others to be very careful *whom* they invite to address their meetings. They should make careful enquiries, and especially as to those coming from foreign lands. They should possess strong letters of commendation from *well-known* leaders and these should be verified.⁷³

Boddy went on to offer personal advice from the bank of Pentecostal international contacts he had built up, "for so many write to us from all parts of the world".⁷⁴

It is in this type of personal warning that we detect again the nature of Boddy's pastoral concern for the movement he had done so much to birth. Negatively, his concern was to avoid the reproach of other Christians and unbelievers, but positively it was to promote and build up the Pentecostal movement in sound doctrine and biblical faith. It is for this reason that *Confidence* is replete with doctrinal articles specifically relating the Pentecostal experience to wider Christian issues, while simultaneously warning against the execrations and excesses that Boddy knew would bring obloquy upon the movement, and possibly cause its demise. In this connection it is perhaps indicative of Boddy's concern for sound doctrine and balanced behaviour that he was frequently warning in the pages of *Confidence* against what he called "imitation fruit tacked on by Satan".⁷⁵

The enemy is doing his best to mystify and perplex by sending along self-seekers and religious cranks. He does this in every great spiritual movement. Or he works through earnest, emotional hysterical people who are truly longing after God yet have little control over themselves.⁷⁶

Writing in the same vein just over a year later, Boddy recalled that amid the earliest days of the Sunderland revival, fanatical and extreme behaviour from other Christians had threatened to disrupt the real work of God:

The enemy made these times for us very trying. "Crank" and mischief makers and people who sought to live on others came to the meetings, and caused the writer much pain and anxiety. His own inner circle as a whole remained true to the Lord and to his truth, but these strange people with strange spirits brought great trials of faith to simple souls.⁷⁷

It is therefore from within Boddy's acute awareness of the possibility of demonic forces, counterfeit spirits, or at least psychological delusion entering the Pentecostal movement, that we must see a major reason for the emergence of *Confidence*. Boddy used the organ as a means of doctrinal instruction and ethical exhortation, as well as propagating news of world-wide Pentecostal phenomena. In the highly fluid ethos of incipient Pentecostalism, when its distinctive doctrines and practices were still in a nascent and developmental stage, *Confidence* was to assume an increasingly dominant role in influencing and shaping that movement of the Spirit. The ways in which the magazine fulfilled that role will now be examined in more detail.

4:6. The launch of "Confidence" magazine

For reasons already adduced, the idea of publishing a Pentecostal magazine was germinating in Boddy's mind for some considerable time before its actual appearance in April 1908. Because Boddy had already taken the decision to publish "by faith", there could obviously be no prior appeal for funds to underwrite the project. Nor was Cecil Polhill involved in funding the first issue, though his generosity in later issues became legendary. Boddy therefore had to take a number of important marketing decisions in establishing the likely circulation of *Confidence*, the length of print run, when and how often to publish, the volume and contents, and how to fund the first issue.

From slender sources, it is possible to reconstruct a number of answers to these

points. The first issue of *Confidence* must have been printed in the week 11–18 April 1908. There are two reasons for this dating:

- a) The magazine contains notice of the death of a Pentecostal sister, Bertha Oakes, at 5.00 pm on 9 April.⁷⁸ It would have taken at least one day for Boddy to have written his 27-line appreciation, get copy to the printers, and for them to set the type by hand for inclusion in the April issue. That brings the earliest possible date to 11 April, which was a Saturday. It is virtually certain that no work would have taken place on the next day, a Sabbath, and so the earliest machining would begin on Monday 13 April.
- b) It cannot have been printed after 17 April because in the second issue Boddy acknowledges gifts received from 18 April and this date would not have been arbitrarily selected.⁷⁹ Probably by then the first readers of *Confidence* had received their copies, and were sending in gifts of appreciation, which, allowing for postal times means they would have been reading the magazine at least two days earlier. Therefore the most probable publication date is 13–15 April 1908.

We now face the question of how Boddy came to determine the initial print run. The factors that Boddy considered are an amalgam of common sense and far-sighted vision; he was realistic enough to know that there was no point in flooding the market with unwanted and unread literature. On the other hand, the initial print run had to be pitched at a level that would satisfy demand among UK glossolalists, but also act as a proselytising tool among Christians of other persuasions. At this time, Boddy envisaged the magazine solely for a British market – as his mast-head on the first issue indicated:

A PENTECOSTAL PAPER FOR GREAT BRITAIN

Boddy was aware that, in March 1908, there were “probably more than 500” Spirit baptised persons in Great Britain, and that that number had been achieved from an

almost zero base just 12 months before.⁸⁰ Whilst it was obvious this kind of dramatic growth could not possibly continue indefinitely, Boddy clearly believed that Pentecostalism was the “coming of the Latter Rain in our midst”,⁸¹ and that *ipso facto* it would be the last great revival of religion on earth before the second coming of Jesus Christ. It was probably, in part, in the light of this fervent hope of world-wide revival that Boddy conceived of the role of *Confidence*; therefore the initial print run of 3,000, rising within three years to just over 5,000, must be seen to be an attempt to capture an audience that both shared that hope, and experienced the same charismata.

After August 1911, no further indication of the circulation of *Confidence* is given by Boddy. It is nevertheless possible to trace the declining circulation of the magazine by comparing the printing, postage and distribution costs from month to month and year to year. These show a steady downward spiral, caused by large increases in paper costs, wartime restrictions, increased competition from other magazines, and the rise in independent Pentecostal groupings that owed no particular allegiance to Boddy or Sunderland.

Boddy’s decision to publish *Confidence* by faith, and to depend on freewill offerings for its support, was contingent on raising sufficient practical means for its production. The very first issue made clear that it would only appear “just as the voluntary help received from time to time justifies its further issue.”⁸² Accordingly, from May 1908 and for every subsequent issue, Boddy printed a complete list of donor’s initials (surname), with their town, value of gift, and receipt number. Quite apart from the value of these lists in tracing the financial vicissitudes of the magazine, these lists reveal two other important factors crucial to an understanding of the publishing history of *Confidence*:

- a) The geographical spread of the magazine, both in the UK and abroad, and
- b) The chief benefactors that enabled the magazine to survive, albeit precarious-

ly, for 18 years in an economic and spiritual climate that had witnessed the collapse of so many similar enterprises.

It is for these reasons that a more detailed look at the financial basis of *Confidence* is now given.

4:7. The funding of “Confidence”, 1908 –1926

A fairly full reconstruction of the financial state of *Confidence* during its 18-year life is made possible by a study of two main sources: the scattered references within the magazine itself to specific financial needs; (these always came from the pen of Boddy and their tone suggests he only made such appeals when absolutely necessary) and the primary source, the donor lists, printed in every issue.

From July 1908 Boddy also inserted a receipt against expenditure column, showing therefore a debit/credit balance from month to month. These figures have been converted into the tables shown in appendix one, to which the reader is now referred. These figures constitute the total gifts received for *Confidence* throughout its entire 18-year life, offset against the expenditure involved in producing the magazine. These two figures can therefore be represented as an entry in surplus or deficit columns, as shown.

Even a cursory glimpse of these figures reveals the precarious financial state in which *Confidence* laboured for most of its life; out of 139 issues for which figures are available, 103 (74%) were published under a running deficit. As might be expected, these deficits increased during the war years, when financial support for *Confidence* virtually evaporated, the cost of paper soared, and Government restrictions on the pagination allowed took their toll. From the period October 1914 to December 1918 the magazine reached its nadir of support, with only 4 out of 37 issues (11%) being

in credit. For its final 26 issues (January 1919–1926), the journal made a slight recovery, with a credit balance on four occasions (15%).

The continuing economic instability of *Confidence* can be seen dramatically when these figures are expressed in the graphical form that follows in appendix two. The figures above and below the dotted zero line represent the actual credit/deficit involved in producing each issue, as obtained from figures printed in each issue by Boddy. A study of these graphs indicates that for most of its life, *Confidence* was published at a loss, and that it only continued as long as it did because of periodic infusions of large sums of money from a single donor. This benefactor, who proved the salvation of the journal for most of its life, was Cecil Polhill, and his involvement in this publishing enterprise will be looked at in more detail later.

The other factor that must be considered when interpreting the erratic financial history of *Confidence* is the question of whether Boddy's policy of publishing "by faith" was actually vindicated in practice. Or to pose this question in another way, did the largely unfavourable financial state under which *Confidence* was produced in any way invalidate the concept of faith publishing? It could be argued that the temporary phase of a totally free publication, which lasted until October 1911, coincided with the period when the magazine ran heavily into debt, reaching its highest-ever deficit of £36 12s. 4½d. in November 1909. The introduction of the 3d. charge in October 1911 brought *Confidence* into several months of unprecedented prosperity, during which it achieved its highest ever level of surplus, £18 10s. 10d. in February 1912. When Boddy subsequently lowered the charge to 1d. in June 1912, the knock-on effect was quickly felt, but this cannot have surprised Boddy for he had previously conceded the benefits of charging for the magazine. In an editorial comment entitled "The New Method" he wrote:

We are thankful for the encouragement received this last month from readers of "Confidence". It seems to be a seal to the wisdom of placing a price upon this paper. In the earlier days of the Pentecostal work in

Great Britain, the paper had its special opportunities as a free paper, and now the time seems to have come for it to become a regular paper with its regular subscribers. Gifts will be welcomed for some time yet – they help to make the paper more effective and to pay for free copies.⁸³

Boddy goes on to announce the appointment of a well-known Christian publisher as the London agent for *Confidence*, Mr Samuel Roberts, of Zion House, 5a Paternoster Row, London E.C. This appointment was a significant step forward in the publishing history of the magazine. It meant that large numbers of the journal could be distributed at trade terms within the capital, where a distinctive Pentecostal witness was sorely needed. Also, the importance of London as a spiritual centre for religious activity far exceeded the somewhat awkward geographical location of Sunderland, a fact reflected in the gradual shifting of the Pentecostal axis from the north east coast to the capital, after World War 1 had put a premature end to the famous Sunderland Conventions.

However, within nine months, Boddy was rethinking the 3d. charge, and by June 1912 announced that *Confidence* would be reduced to a cover charge of only 1d. In that issue an explanatory note appears; Boddy says:

1. To extend the circulation of "Confidence" we reduce the price now from threepence to one penny.
2. We ask our friends to do all they can to recommend it and extend its sale. The Lord graciously blesses it everywhere.
3. We ask the kind subscribers and donors . . . to help us as before.⁸⁴

Boddy's *volte face* on pricing policy compels the question as to why he should now risk the financial security of the magazine by reducing the cost to 1d. The first hint of an answer comes in the quotation above concerning its circulation figures. It is highly likely that the 3d. charge adversely affected sales, and that an increase in circulation would merely be recovering lost ground. Or conversely, sales figures remained static and Boddy wanted an absolute increase, possibly in the hope that more subscribers would donate more generously to the costs involved in producing *Confidence*. Even when the magazine was still free, not all copies were being disposed of, as is proved by a short advertisement offering "bound volumes of Confidence for 1911".⁸⁵

Another possibility that must be considered here is that Boddy reduced the price because he felt the 3d. charge was pitched at a level too high for the average Pentecostal, the vast majority of whom were drawn from the working classes. Accurate comparative costs are difficult to establish, but as an example, popular newspapers of that era were priced at 1 – 2d., and the average weekly wage of a working class person was still only 29s. for men, and 10s. 6d. for women.⁸⁶

If this latter reason was uppermost in Boddy's mind, he traded-off a possibly greater penetration into working class areas with increasing financial insecurity that jeopardised the future of *Confidence* for the rest of its life. It must also be considered here what effect the plethora of newer Pentecostal magazines was exerting on the role of *Confidence*. Around 1910 a number of smaller magazines, published by individuals, began to circulate in Britain. In March of that year, Boddy advertised the existence of *Fragments of Flame*, *Victory*, *Showers of Blessing*, *Spirit of Truth*, *Abundance of Grace*, *Omega* and *The Overcoming Life* (the last two subsequently merged into a single magazine). Boddy welcomed the presence of these journals, but his note proves he was fully cognisant of the need to maintain a marketing edge in the face of so much competition. He writes:

We gladly commend these papers to readers of "Confidence". May our Lord graciously use them and bless them to many. They contain much helpful matter. We hope that, while some of our readers will help all or some of these papers, that they will continue to remember their debt to "Confidence", which has had its special share in spreading the blessing in our land and elsewhere. We are sure that none would like "Confidence" to suffer. For a long time it was alone in the field. We hope that the multiplication of papers may not bring difficulties to the old friend that has stood through stress and storm in the endeavour to spread Pentecostal truth in Great Britain.⁸⁷

In the light of Boddy's evident vacillation over a firm pricing policy, it is clear that his concept of "faith publishing" is full of tension. On the one hand, he appears to adopt a position of absolute trust in God alone for funds, and yet, when *in extremis*, is not averse to ask outright for his readers' support to keep the magazine afloat. Clearly, one answer to this enigma is to argue that Boddy believed God supplied

need *through* the readers, and that their generosity was as much divine provision as would be a totally supernatural intervention. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine what such an event would actually be, and how it could be recognised. What are quite easy to discern are the variations in tone and urgency that accompany some of Boddy's appeals for help. Writing as early as 1910 he says:

Three shillings a year including postage if *everyone shared the expense* is roughly speaking the cost. If the very large number who had never thought of this would send a gift each twelve months toward the costs of printing it would relieve us from anxiety.⁸⁸

Boddy's italicised comment clearly indicates another reason he later opted for the "subscription-gift" system of support for *Confidence*. He obviously felt that a small minority of loyal supporters were subsidising a majority of readers who were well able, but unwilling, to donate practical help to the magazine. However, at the same time he did want to continue to supply free copies of *Confidence* to those readers who, for genuine reasons, simply could not afford to buy their own issues. He explains:

Any who are really quite unable to help, might like to write to the Hon. Secs. to explain this, and their copies of "Confidence" will be continued as before.⁸⁹

Boddy had already shown himself well aware of the need to trim production and distribution costs of the magazine; from the November 1909 issue the copies for mailing were printed on thinner paper, with the explanation "by printing Confidence on thinner paper we reduce the cost of despatching parcels".⁹⁰ For a magazine whose geographical distribution depended almost exclusively on the postal system, this was a shrewd and obvious step to take. Boddy nowhere tells us what proportions were printed on thick or thin paper, but the figures can in fact be reconstructed from three interesting clues found on the covers of *Confidence*. In March 1910, October 1910 and April 1911 a handwritten note, in ink, appears at the top left corner of the front covers of those issues of the magazine. The note is a simple breakdown of the ratios involved for each of those print runs. The figures state:

March 1910 –	1800 thick 2800 thin
October 1910 –	3100 thin <u>2000 thick</u> 5100
April 1911 –	2150 thick <u>2950 thin</u> 5100

In December 1911, another cover note records the total print run as simply “4200”, without a breakdown into thin/thick substrates.

In each case, the handwriting was from the same person. These figures could only have been written by someone with close inside knowledge of the production details of *Confidence*, and the first assumption is that they emanate from Boddy himself. This theory was then tested by obtaining samples of handwriting known for certain to belong to Boddy. Although all his personal papers were burned in 1954, what still survive are letters and information sent by Boddy to other people. The author located two such sources; the first was a copy of Boddy’s work *To Kairwan the Holy*, given to a Charles Green “for his work in marking attendances” at All Saints Choir, August 1893. Boddy inscribed the flyleaf.

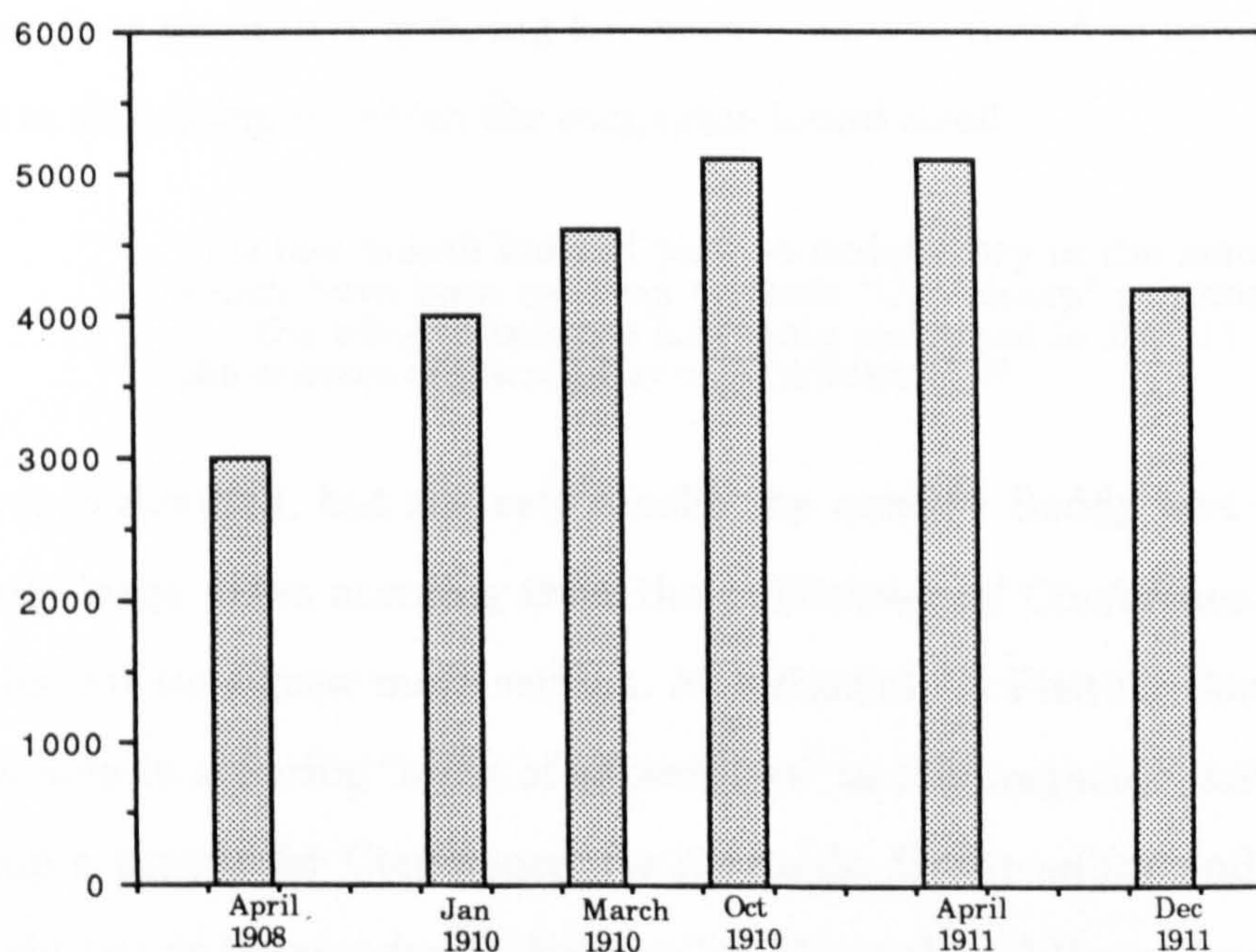
The second source consisted of two letters that Boddy wrote, one to an unknown person dated 27 June 1928, and the second to George Jeffreys, dated 19 July 1927. The numerals involved in these letters have been photographically enlarged, and shown to be very similar to the print run figures found on the covers of *Confidence*. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Boddy himself added these glosses, and that at some time, therefore, the set of *Confidence* found in Mattersey Bible College passed through Boddy’s hands. Its particular interest for this study is that once again, it confirms the circulation of *Confidence* at that time as being “5–6,000 copies”, but falling. Between April and December 1911, therefore, the circulation of *Confidence* fell by some 900 copies, and a drop of this magnitude must have worried Boddy greatly, and contributed to his decision to reduce the cover charge to 1d.

Using figures obtained from these sources, it is therefore possible to make an accurate reconstruction of the circulation of *Confidence* during the first four years of its life. The table below indicates the figures deduced from Boddy's actual printed figures in *Confidence*, and also from the handwritten clues found on the covers of the March 1910, October 1910, April 1911 and December 1911 issues.

<i>Date of issue</i>	<i>Circulation figure</i>
April 1908	3,000
January 1910	4,000
March 1910	4,600 (1,800 on thick paper, 2,800 on thin)
October 1910	5,100 (2,000 on thick paper, 3,100 on thin)
April 1911	5,100 (2,150 on thick paper, 2,950 on thin)
December 1911	4,200

These figures have been transferred to the following bar chart for easy visual comparison.

**GRAPH SHOWING KNOWN CIRCULATION FIGURES OF
CONFIDENCE FROM 1908-1911**



In spite of the rising circulation of the journal, economic problems continued to worry Boddy, and by December 1910 he was once again forced to bring the question of financial support before his readers. On this occasion he tacitly admitted that competition from other free Pentecostal magazines was threatening the future of *Confidence*.

We wish to supply "Confidence" free to all who cannot help, and therefore we are very thankful to friends who send more than the actual cost. Many free papers . . . have come into existence since "Confidence" was first issued in April 1908. Some say "why give anything to "Confidence" when we can get so much free now?" But we believe that as "Confidence" was the first British Pentecostal paper and has had a very unmistakable influence under God in the past, it still has a special and almost unique work before it, until the Lord comes.⁹¹

Boddy goes on to explain the increasing demand for the magazine, indicating that the circulation was still rising, and outlined its increasing geographical penetration throughout the whole world. But he then presses again the need for more financial support:

We need about £350 a year to meet the expenses of printing and posting the present issue. This can be raised without difficulty . . . if all Pentecostal friends who *can* would feel it a privilege to send at least three shillings a year. We only receive *gifts*, not subscriptions. We will print until the Lord shown us unmistakably that we cannot go on.⁹²

That these were times of severe trial and testing for Boddy cannot be doubted. Within just four months of penning the above, he was forced to again warn of the fragile state of funding in which the magazine found itself:

This last month has not been so satisfactory in the amount of the gifts which have been received towards "Confidence" printing and expenses . . . the adverse balance has again increased to £20. 11. 10. We ask for the prayers of the readers of "Confidence".⁹³

The tone is restrained, but scarcely masks the anxiety Boddy was feeling at the increasingly large debts accruing from the publication of *Confidence*. But within a few months, his tone grew more serious. An editorial, "A Plea for Confidence", asks readers to help in securing "a list of subscribers" to the magazine, and asking them to "send up a prayer for Confidence, for its funds, for its editor and kind helpers. There ought not to be an adverse balance".⁹⁴ There then follows the strongest hint

yet given within the magazine of how gravely Boddy regarded its precarious financial state:

The Editor had thought of suspending one number or two numbers until the balance was on the right side. He may possibly have to do it in the Autumn, but he trusts not.⁹⁵

It is possible to discern in the above statement something of Boddy's dogged determination to publish *Confidence* at all costs, yet simultaneously his recognition that the magazine should not be continually in debt. As to how he resolved this apparent clash of ideology, and the tensions it indubitably provoked, can only be conjectured. He seems at times to be operating in two worlds, far apart in their mindset. There was the world of absolute faith and trust in God, and the world of harsh economic realities involved in any publishing enterprise. This rare blend of faith and common sense is of course one of the factors that made Boddy so singularly well equipped to pioneer and lead the Pentecostal revival, and evidence has already been adduced of how he exhibited these qualities in his early professional and clerical career.

Meanwhile, the finances of *Confidence* showed no sign of improvement, and Boddy faced the possibility of merging issues:

It is possible that the August number of "Confidence" may be suspended, or combined with the September issue, in order to reduce the adverse balance.⁹⁶

The deficit referred to had accumulated to a sum of £22 13s. 11d, and had been caused by a gradual diminution of offerings for printing, increased postal charges and increased production costs incurred by the inclusion of the first halftone printing block in January 1911.⁹⁷

In spite of Boddy's reservations, the next issue did appear on time, rescued by an anonymous donation of £20. 0s. 0d. from 'P' of Bedford, which obviously refers to Cecil Polhill. Thereafter, a short period of stability was enjoyed by the journal, with its *annus mirabilis* coming in 1912 when it retained a healthy surplus for the first

nine months of the year. This reason for this dramatic turnaround must lie with the introduction of the 3d. charge in October 1911. This fee must have its genesis in the huge deficit that had built up in that July, followed by Boddy's reservations as to whether an August issue could ever be published. He had also come to the painful realisation that the vast majority (85%) of his readers were making no contribution whatsoever to the viability of the magazine.

The new charge was announced without warning in a terse editorial note, "An Important Change":

"Confidence" has hitherto been printed and sent out with the aid of offerings, but *less than one-sixth of its readers* have taken a share in helping the good work. The editor proposes from this issue, and onwards, to ask for 3s. 6d. or 4s. per annum (one dollar from USA) for the twelve months issue, post free (to any part of the world). He will cease to send to those who do not help, unless they apply to be supplied with free copies, when each case will be considered . . . packages for Pentecostal centres will be sent at half price (thin paper copies).⁹⁸

This attempt to put *Confidence* on a stable marketing basis was strengthened by Boddy's further decision to appoint what in effect were sales representatives for the magazine, "agents for its sale will be needed in different places at home and abroad".⁹⁹ This move was anticipatory of boosting circulation both in the UK and abroad until *Confidence* became "established as a self-supporting paper".¹⁰⁰

The effect of the 3d. charge was dramatic and immediate. Within two months the journal was back in credit, a position it retained for the whole of its period under that charge. Nevertheless, almost inevitably, an unwanted concomitant of the increase was that the circulation of the magazine began to fall. Boddy nowhere admits to this, or gives any actual comparative figures to prove the point, but a very strong argument can be adduced to support the case. This argument is based on a careful scrutiny of the production and distribution costs of *Confidence*, both before and after the imposition of the 3d. charge in July 1912.

The following table is a breakdown of production and postage costs for *Confidence* from January 1911 to December 1912. It therefore encompasses the three vital phases of the marketing policy adopted by Boddy throughout the entire life of the magazine:

- a) phase 1, when it was issued free of charge from April 1908 to September 1911
- b) phase 2, from the beginning of the 3d. levy in October 1911 until it was dropped in July 1912.
- c) phase 3, the adoption of a 1d. cover charge in July 1912, a price that remained unchanged until *Confidence* went defunct in 1926, after 141 issues (figures are given for the first six months of this period only).

We therefore have three discrete phases of reasonable time (9, 9, 6 months respectively) in which to compare and contrast the effect of varying subscription costs vis-a-vis postage and production costs, which must of course be themselves indexed to the circulation of the magazine. The figures given are taken from the financial statement always printed on page two of each issue of *Confidence*, and each one is monthly in arrears, so refers to the costs of the previous month's issue.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Postage (£. s. d.)</i>	<i>Printing</i>
January 1911	£7-14- 2	£19- 0- 0
February	£8-18- 3	£19- 0- 0
March	£8- 9- 3 ¹ / ₂	£19- 0- 0
April	£7-15- 8	£19- 0- 0
May	£8-15- 0	£19- 0- 0
June	£7-10- 1	£19- 0- 0
July	£6-13- 0	£19- 4- 5
August	£7-11- 4	£20- 3- 6
September	£6- 2- 8	£19-15- 0
* October	£7-14- 1	£19- 0- 0
November	£7- 2- 5	£18- 5- 0
December	£7- 7- 4	£18- 0- 0

January 1912	(Page missing)	
February	£3- 7- 6	£16-10- 0
March	£4-18- 2	£15- 7- 6
April	£4-12- 0 ¹ / ₂	£15- 7- 6
May	£3-19- 3	£15- 7- 6
** June	£3-11- 0	£15-13- 7
July	£5-10- 1	£15- 7- 6
August	£5- 8-11	£17-17- 6
September	£5-12- 7 ¹ / ₂	£17-17- 6
October	£4-15- 0	£18-11- 0
November	£4-19- 9	£18-11- 0
December	£5- 7- 7 ¹ / ₂	£17-17- 6
* 3d. charge introduced		
** charge reduced to 1d.		

An analysis of these figures suggests the following trends:

1. The 3d. charge led to a rapid reduction in mailing costs, which suddenly dropped to about half of their previous average level. This represented an average monthly saving of about £3 10s. 0d. on postage costs. Since we know from internal evidence that each copy of *Confidence* cost 1/2d. to post in 1911/1912, the total postal savings represent a reduction in mailing of some 3.5 X 240 X 2 copies, which equals 1,680. This equation assumes that all such copies were mailed out individually, and this is unlikely to be the case. In fact, we know from internal evidence that in July 1911, "about 2,000 single copies" were posted out individually,¹⁰¹ and bulk mailing to churches and groups of Pentecostals would attract preferential rates, and some allowance must be made for this. However, the very scattered and diffuse distribution of *Confidence* abroad suggests that probably

most of these were mailed individually, thus offsetting to some extent the savings of bulk mailings to groups in the UK. If the effect of an increase in cover charge was to reduce mailed circulation, there is no reason why this same effect should not also be evident in non-mailed subscriptions, but this cannot be demonstrated either way. What is beyond doubt is that *Confidence* suffered a large drop in circulation, probably of the order of at least 1,000 copies.

2. Further corroboration of this effect may be gauged from the drop in production costs of the magazine; from January 1911 to September 1911 these were fairly constant at £19. 0s. 0d. monthly. After the 3d. charge was levied in October 1911 these costs began to fall, in line with the fall in mailing costs and roughly commensurate with the reduction already postulated. By June 1912, the production costs were only 80% of the pre-3d. charge level., i.e. £15 7s. 6d. compared to £19. 0s. 0d.

If we then convert this ratio to the known circulation figure of 5,100 in April 1911, we are left with a figure of 4,080 copies. This correlates closely with the assumed reduction of about 1,000 copies deduced from the mailing costs. Slight discrepancies can be accounted for by the well known fact that printing costs decrease with increasing print runs and the major price component arises from typesetting and “make ready”, irrespective of the actual press run.

3. When the 3d. charge was dropped in July 1912, the circulation began to climb again, as is evident from the sudden rise in postage and production costs, though they never again reached the level of the halcyon days when *Confidence* was published freely.

It would of course be too facile to suggest that these figures simply bear out the obvious fact that when a thing is given away freely, one can dispose of lots of copies.

Boddy was clearly struggling to strike the right balance between marketing a magazine at a level that would not invite personal financial disaster, and yet keeping it at a level that was accessible to most Pentecostals. He obviously felt he had struck the right balance eventually, as the 1d. charge remained unaltered to the final issue of the magazine, even though the circulation continued to plummet. The price reduction did have two immediate effects, both of which were predictable. Firstly, the circulation of *Confidence* began to pick up, as seen in increased postage and production charges. This increase must be partly attributable to Boddy's decision to allow trade terms of 8d. per dozen, sale or return, carriage free to Pentecostal assemblies taking at least 12 copies.¹⁰² The journal made further significant penetration into the strategic North American market, and by the end of 1912 Boddy could list eight sales agents scattered around the USA handling orders and subscriptions for the magazine.¹⁰³

Secondly, the price reduction once again plunged *Confidence* into its familiar spiral of debt. The gains in circulation were not sufficient to offset the rise in production and distribution costs, so clearly Boddy had failed to find the crucial formula that would balance income against expenditure. By August 1913 the once-familiar pattern of earnest pleas was again heard:

The Editor has, during these years, borne the responsibility of adverse balances, and has gone on all the time in faith, but he asks the readers who receive blessing to share with him this burden (in part).¹⁰⁴

After pointing out that *Confidence* was sold "below cost price", Boddy continues:

The Pentecostal people are limited in number, and mostly not well off. We cannot hope for a great increase in our circulation, but we shall be thankful for gifts from our readers from time to time, especially whenever the balance is an adverse one.¹⁰⁵

These comments confirm the mainly proletarian background of most Pentecostals, and the fact that Boddy believed the circulation of *Confidence* had more or less peaked. But once again his fears were quickly allayed by the decisive generosity of

Cecil Polhill, who wired a gift of £24. 0s. 0d. from New York, which instantly wiped out the deficit. Boddy's relief was almost palpable:

A beloved well-wisher of "Confidence" has sent a gift which wipes out the adverse balance. For this we praise God with thankful hearts.¹⁰⁶

Thereafter, for the first time for twelve months *Confidence* went into a small surplus (2s. 6d.) and it now seemed possible that, despite being sold at below cost price, it could break even and continue its market penetration. It remained in continuous credit from February 1914 until September of that year, and then came the great reversal in its fortunes that ultimately meant it would be in more or less perpetual trouble until its demise in 1926.

This decisive turning point was of course the outbreak of World War 1 in August 1914. The magazine quickly suffered a large reduction in direct giving, no doubt due to re-appraisal of financial priorities by its readers; this is clearly reflected in the operating deficit that soared to £22 13s. 3d. within 12 months of hostilities being declared. By November 1915 Boddy was again pleading for help in reducing a deficit of £19 10s. 6d. He writes:

We should be glad if more of our kind friends could help us reduce our debt. This sad war time has diverted generous gifts which used to help us so much. "Confidence" is supplied below cost price. We trust to the generosity of those whom God blesses through its columns. Many are poor but all can pray, and some of the least likely are sometimes the most generous givers.¹⁰⁷

Coupled with the disastrous effect of reductions in direct giving were other factors directly related to the outbreak of war. The cost of paper soared, and the Government placed restrictions on the number of pages allowed in each issue. This forced Boddy to both reduce the pagination, and the frequency of publication, of *Confidence*. Boddy makes two direct references to the deleterious effects of war on his publishing effort. In April 1918 he warned:

The cost of issuing "Confidence" has greatly increased. The paper alone has risen very much in price. More gifts are needed.¹⁰⁸

In the next issue he returns to the same theme thus:

Paper is very difficult to obtain, and the price is very, very high. The printer of "Confidence" sends this message to the Editor. Men are being "called-up" so that the work of printing is increasingly difficult and more expensive.¹⁰⁹

The printer Boddy refers to was Ralph W. Williams, who printed every issue of *Confidence* throughout its 18-year life. Originally established in 1868 as a book-seller, stationer and newsagent business, Williams ran the company from two sites in Monkwearmouth, 46 Howick Street and 7 North Bridge Street – the latter being the site where *Confidence* was printed. Williams specialised in commercial and general printing and at the turn of the century his firm was described as "the most flourishing business of its kind in the district".¹¹⁰

The magazine was printed by the letterpress process, and the effect of conscription on the company was twofold. Firstly, there was a severe lack of trained manpower, the skills shortage being exacerbated by the seven-year apprenticeship then prevailing in that sector of the industry. Many printers were being called upon to do work of national importance in print production, as well as active service. Secondly, the dearth of skills meant excessive overtime rates, and eventually some clamour by the printers for higher notional rates as well.¹¹¹ Both these factors conspired to increase in actual terms the cost of printing, and *Confidence* obviously was affected by this trend.

Another, more indirect, corollary of the war years was the enforced ending of the annual Sunderland Conventions, which had been held without a break at All Saints Church since 1908. These Whitsuntide meetings had been a powerful force in establishing Boddy's influence and leadership role within the movement, which inevitably waned once the meetings transferred to a London base. As if to compound the problem, Boddy and Polhill were fiercely patriotic and declared their support for the war in no uncertain terms.¹¹² On the whole, incipient

Pentecostalism adopted a pacifist position, many of its earliest leaders registering as conscientious objectors, and meeting varying fates for their pains. The war therefore precipitated a clash of ideology among Pentecostal believers, causing a certain degree of polarisation that weakened the esteem of both Boddy and *Confidence*. Boddy's enforced decision to reduce the frequency of *Confidence* must also be regarded as vitiating its appeal as an organ of Pentecostal news; the lack of topicality in a bi-monthly and then quarterly publication meant it adopted a much more didactic and weighty tone, while the erstwhile news reports were replaced with advance notices of important events such as the London Whitsuntide Convention.

A final blow necessitated by wartime conditions was a new government order compelling all those subscribers in neutral European countries and the USA to have their copies forwarded by a London clearing agent, in this case by W. H. Smith and Sons of 186 Strand, WC. This obviously involved extra postage costs, amounting to £1 15s. 6d. in December 1916.¹¹³ Boddy was again forced to bring this need before his readers, "we shall have to ask for more help from all to keep 'Confidence' going in this war-time".¹¹⁴

It seems that a combination of these pressures finally forced Boddy to reduce the frequency of the magazine, initially to a bi-monthly from January–February 1917. He explains why he did this in an editorial for that issue:

For 106 months without a break the Editor has been able to bring out "Confidence" punctually and regularly. But owing largely to the war, he has to announce that the next issue of "Confidence" will not be in February, but (D.V.) in March . . . war conditions probably largely account for a heavy adverse balance which does not get completely wiped off. The expense of the issue of one number will be a saving to some extent . . . the copies despatched to neutral countries are now a heavy expense.¹¹⁵

However, even this move did not entirely allay Boddy's fears about the fragile finances of his magazine. There is some evidence that at this time his whole philos-

ophy of faith publishing was being seriously and strenuously challenged; indeed the very principle itself seems at stake in an editorial, "The Future of Confidence":

For the present we shall not issue oftener than once in two months . . . we probably will in future issue *only if funds are in hand for so doing*. The intervals may become greater if expenses increase and gifts do not come in in sufficient quantity.¹¹⁶

This warning brought the magazine a short respite, with an influx of large gifts reducing the January–February 1917 deficit of £30 1s. 11d. to just £4 10s. 8d. by September 1917. But Boddy's relief was short-lived, and by the end of 1919 the magazine was again seriously in debt, to the tune of £17 0s. 8d.

These fluctuating fortunes show the increasing tension in Boddy's concept of faith publishing. The desire to keep *Confidence* within the reach of all Pentecostals was the very factor that threatened the survival of the magazine, and that kept it in a constant spiral of debt and despair. Boddy was rarely outrightly pessimistic, but he comes as close to that mood as he ever does in an uncharacteristically gloomy editorial note in April 1920:

This is my 121st issue of "Confidence" . . . I have however to prepare my readers and friends for the *possibility* of its cessation. Printing and paper are extremely expensive, and our balance often stands on the adverse side.¹¹⁷

This juncture must be viewed as Boddy's blackest moment in the whole publishing history of *Confidence*, for he proceeds with what is virtually a swan-song for the magazine:

The editor realises however that increasing work in his church and parish . . . make it altogether more difficult for him to go on with "Confidence" and the correspondence it involves. Mrs Boddy also finds it difficult to do what she would like in this matter.¹¹⁸

Mary Boddy's deteriorating health – she was crippled with arthritis – meant not only that she could contribute less to her role as a leading writer and teacher within the movement, but added to Boddy's anxiety and evidently pressurised lifestyle.

These factors must have coloured his mood when he wrote the above, and there is the further possibility that his views on divine healing – by then a central tenet of Pentecostal theology – were being seriously undermined by Mary Boddy's continuing sickness, from which she was never healed. But if, indeed, this experience was Boddy's 'dark night of the soul', he emerged triumphant, for as he ends his comments, on almost an afterthought, he was much more positive:

Having written the above, the Editor must ask his readers to bear with him. He is not able to say whether the next issue will be the last, or whether it will go on as before. He must be guided by the leading given through various conditions.¹¹⁹

The response to Boddy's pleas was as immediate as it was predictable. With characteristic generosity, Cecil Polhill donated the sum of £25. 0s. 0d., which brought the magazine back into profitability and a surplus of £6 16s. 11d.¹²⁰ Boddy's attitude was completely transformed by this and other tokens of help, writing:

Referring to the mention of the possibility of discontinuing "Confidence", very helpful appreciations have reached the editor from many at home and abroad. He thanks those encouraging friends very warmly. He now intends to continue to issue "Confidence" as he is able, and unless the means to do so fail.¹²¹

With this minor crisis out of the way, a period of relative tranquillity followed, although the magazine continued to publish in almost permanent debt, showing a small surplus in only three of its next 18 issues.¹²² In fact, more than two years passed before Boddy made any further appeal for funds – in October 1922 – and it needs to be considered why such a long period elapsed without any further appeals, even though the magazine was publishing at a heavy loss. Boddy's more relaxed attitude was probably due to his continuing links and friendship with Cecil Polhill, who may have given personal undertakings to offset any losses incurred by the publication of *Confidence*. Although Polhill's main area of interest was foreign missions, especially in China and Tibet, to which he had donated £8,450 between 1920 and 1924,¹²³ he cannot have been unaware of the strategic importance of keeping *Confidence* afloat, even though he was editing and publishing his own missionary magazine, *Fragments of Flame*, a four-page news-sheet, from 1908.

An indication of the crucial role Polhill's wealth played in sustaining *Confidence* can be demonstrated from the large sums of money he subsequently contributed to offset the adverse balances of the magazine. Between January 1921 and November 1924 Polhill made 14 donations, totalling £169 10s 0d. The level and regularity of these gifts suggests a firm commitment on Polhill's part to keeping *Confidence* viable, and helps to explain why Boddy made no further appeal for funds until October 1922, when he simply records:

The Editor regrets that shortage of "Confidence" funds has compelled him to leave over much valuable matter. This issue is reduced in consequence by four pages. He hopes that special gifts will enable the next issue to go back to the original size.¹²⁴

The necessity for printing this smaller 16-page issue can be traced to the large current deficit of £23 9s. 2d., and also the fact that, unusually, there had been no gift from Polhill recorded in the period from July to October 1922. The reason for this omission almost certainly lies in the fact that in July 1922 Polhill had begun a long journey to China, via Canada and Japan, to visit his daughter Kathleen (then Mrs Funnel) and PMU missionaries working on the field.¹²⁵ Polhill was out of the UK until May 1923,¹²⁶ and it is possible that he was so absorbed in his travel plans, and problems arising *en route*, that he simply forgot the needs of the magazine, or was unable to cable money back to the UK.

That this period was proving one of severe financial embarrassment for the Pentecostal cause generally is further evidenced in the enforced closure of the PMU's Women's Training Home in July 1922. Boddy noted:

The Council of the PMU much regret that, owing to a serious deficit in their income, they are compelled to close their Women's Training Home (which has been carried on in London together with the Men's Training Home since 1909), and for the same cause they are unable to continue the maintenance of the Men's Training Home.¹²⁷

The PMU had, in fact, witnessed a catastrophic fall in its income, from £5,098 2s. 0d. in 1921 to £3,780 10s. 1d. in 1923. Accordingly, the Men's Training Home was transferred, contents and all, to the superintendency of Howard Carter, who purchased

all the furniture outright for the sum of £125. Thereafter, the school became his personal property, and played a significant role in the training of ministers for the Assemblies of God denomination for many years.¹²⁸

The PMU's missionaries on foreign fields were clearly suffering similar financial stringency. In January 1923 they were receiving only two-thirds of their usual allowances,¹²⁹ and a plaintive letter in *Confidence* from one of the PMU's workers in China, D. F. Williams, indicated the scale of their problems:

We still need much more to meet or cope with the demands of this work . . . funds are needed to do this . . . if we could only present to you the need as we see it I am sure you would not willingly withhold from giving and praying.¹³⁰

The reasons for this radical fall-off in support for *Confidence* and the work of the PMU in general must be linked to a number of causes, some of which have already been delineated. The main one was the evident weakening of Boddy's and Polhill's influence within the revival. Polhill was spending long periods abroad supervising missionary activities, and was therefore to some extent out of touch with grass roots activity. Both his and Boddy's Anglicanism was causing problems, specifically their practice of infant baptism, and their fiercely patriotic stand during the war had alienated many Pentecostals.

Furthermore, it is not inconceivable that Boddy resented the registration of many Pentecostals as conscientious objectors, particularly as his own son, James, had been shot down in action over France in 1917. The resulting leg amputation severely blighted his subsequent career, and he hovered between life and death for several months.¹³¹ Also, during the 1920s Boddy's hitherto robust health was weakening, and the strain of nursing his wife through severe arthritis must have been exacting a heavy toll. Eventually these factors, compounded by the insalubrious surroundings of his parish, necessitated a move to the quieter and healthier parish of Pittington, about six miles from Durham, in 1922.¹³²

FOLLOWING PAGE

Plate no. 3 – A. A. Boddy (left) and Cecil Polhill, partners and pioneers in Pentecostal publishing in Britain, 1908–1926. Photograph taken in May 1911.



Meanwhile, the formation of Pentecostal denominations such as Elim and Assemblies of God, which had their own magazines, and the conviction in some quarters that Boddy and Polhill were not Pentecostal enough, inevitably led some readers to transfer support to other movements and publications. By 1924, when the Assemblies of God movement was officially constituted, the role of *Confidence* was virtually otiose. Boddy had obviously anticipated the imminent demise of his journal, based on its continuing uneconomic situation and the emergence of other rival publications. Writing in 1923 he warns the readers of *Confidence*:

This may be the last issue of "Confidence". The reason will be seen in the balance sheet above with its adverse balance . . . if a handsome gift of £20 had not come at this time, the present issue could not have appeared. Friends are asked to pray about the continuance of "Confidence".¹³³

The £20 gift referred to above was sent direct from China by Cecil Polhill, suggesting he had heard or read of the serious plight of the magazine, and underlines once again how the fortunes of *Confidence* were inextricably linked to Polhill's generosity. But even that gift did not completely allay Boddy's fears that the ministry of *Confidence* was drawing to a close, for in the same issue he writes:

At the present there are Pentecostal papers published by Pastor Saxby, and by Elim workers at Belfast, and by American friends. It may be that the time is approaching when "Confidence" shall have completed the special work which it was raised up to fulfil.¹³⁴

Boddy worried needlessly about the effect of A. E. Saxby's *Things New and Old*. First published in April 1921, its influence within Pentecostalism waned when Saxby, a former Baptist minister, adopted the teaching of Universalism – the belief that ultimately all men would be saved.¹³⁵ But things were quite different with the official organ of the Elim church, the *Elim Evangel*. First published from Belfast in December 1919, it transferred to the first Pentecostal printing site in the UK, the Elim Publishing House, at Park Crescent, Clapham, London, which opened on Easter Monday, 1924. The *Elim Evangel* posed a significant threat to Boddy's dominance in the world of Pentecostal publishing because of its close links with the out-

standing leaders of the revival – men of the calibre of George and Stephen Jeffreys, Thomas Hackett, John Leech, E. C. Boulton, E. J. Phillips and William Henderson, to name but a few. The establishment of Elim's publishing house must be seen therefore, as a significant factor in the subsequent decline of influence of Boddy's own publishing enterprise, *Confidence*.

To a person of Boddy's evident acumen, it must have been painfully obvious that the magazine would soon be defunct. Between July 1923 and December 1924, it held on by a slender thread, and the three appeals for help during this period became ever more muted, the final one simply stating:

LAST ISSUE OF "CONFIDENCE". This may be the last issue of "Confidence" or the last for a long time. The subscription gifts are not now sufficient, and we do not wish to run into any heavy debt. No money is returned, as it is all expended as it comes in, and no future issue is guaranteed.¹³⁶

Despite Polhill's continuing support, the magazine was printing ever-shortening lists of subscribers names, and further evidence that the circulation was plummeting is given in a comparison of the postage and despatch costs printed by Boddy. For the whole of 1923, the postage and despatch rates for *Confidence* were £6 15s. 0d. per issue. In January 1924 this figure fell to £3 10s. 0d., and for the rest of the year to £3 per issue. For the penultimate issue in May 1925 the postage figure fell again, to just £2, and for the final undated copy of 1926 no separate figure is stated, but we are told the combined costs of printing and despatch were "between £10 and £11".¹³⁷

Since the equivalent combined figure for the penultimate issue was £16 it follows that a direct comparison can be made between the total costs involved in producing the final two issues. From this cost comparison, a reasonable approximation of the corresponding drop in circulation can be estimated, and this is calculated as follows. In 1925 the postage rate for *Confidence* was still 1/2d. per copy, which means that at least 960 copies were being mailed out if assumed to be all at the single rate. Any

reductions for bulk mailing would of course increase the figure. By the final issue of 1926, the total despatch and production costs had fallen to about 65% of the 1925 issue. Taking into account the disproportionate effect of printing costs, this figure converts to about 75% of the actual circulation in 1925. On the assumption that most copies were mailed out rather than distributed locally or by hand, say 75%, we can postulate a circulation of about 1,250 copies in May 1925, and around 940 in 1926. At these levels it must have been operating at a massive loss, and could not therefore be sustained in the face of continually decreasing financial support. In a gesture characteristic of his generous spirit, Boddy advertised the publication of the two magazines that undoubtedly killed off his own journal. In May 1925 he noted:

“THE ELIM EVANGEL” The first May issue is very thrilling . . . readers should send 3d. in stamps for a copy.¹³⁸

However, there was a more terse welcome for the Assemblies of God magazine:

“REDEMPTION TIDINGS” is issued quarterly. Editor, Mr J. Nelson Parr.¹³⁹

Redemption Tidings had in fact commenced publication in July 1924, and the difference in tone may be attributable to Boddy’s disapproval of the way the PMU had been absorbed into the Assemblies of God denomination. He had also clashed with leading AOG members such as Smith Wigglesworth on the setting up of denominations within the Pentecostal revival as early as 1922, whereas his relationship with both the Jeffreys brothers had always been cordial.¹⁴⁰

It was well over a year before Boddy could produce his final issue, and even then there is no hint that he regarded the magazine as defunct. Only £9. 5s.10d. in gifts had trickled to his new vicarage at Pittington between May 1925 and issue no. 141, undated but certainly prior to 9 October 1926.¹⁴¹ Even this minuscule amount seems to have galvanised Boddy’s faith, leading him to write:

The editor of “Confidence” affectionately greets his readers near and far. He has been encouraged by the gifts entrusted to him to venture upon another issue of this paper. It goes forth with the prayer that again it may be a blessing to many.¹⁴²

FOLLOWING PAGES

First issues of the denominational magazines *Elim Evangel* (Elim) and *Redemption Tidings* (AOG), publications which probably accelerated the declining circulation of *Confidence* magazine.

THE
ELIM — EVANGEL
 A
 QUARTERLY RECORD
 of
 SPIRITUAL LIFE AND WORK.

Vol. 1.

December, 1919.

No. 1.

Contents.

SELECTION FROM "ST. PAUL." EDITORIAL AND NEWS FROM THE CENTRES. THE UPLIFTING SPIRIT, by Mrs. Crisp. AN OPEN DOOR, by James Salter. THE POWER OF STILLNESS. "WHILE PETER YET SPAKE." NEWS FROM INDIA. SIGNPOST BIBLE STUDIES, by Pastor A. E. Saxby. "WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT!" WHY WE BELIEVE IN DIVINE HEALING. TIDINGS FROM THE LAND OF SONG. "THESE FEEBLE JEWS." PRESS REPORTS. GOSPEL SECTION.—TIME IS FLYING.



AND THEY CAME TO ELIM
 WHERE WERE TWELVE
 WELLS OF WATER, AND
 THREESCORE AND TEN
 PALM TREES. — EX. XV 27.

THREEPENCE.

REDEEMED
BY THE
PRECIOUS BLOOD OF CHRIST.

Redemption Tidings

A FULL GOSPEL
MAGAZINE FOR
ALL BELIEVERS.

PUBLISHED BY THE
ASSEMBLIES OF GOD
IN GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.



Vol. 1. No. 1.

JULY, 1924.

JUDGE NOT

W. I. Lively.

Judge not ; thy finite mind is weak ;
Thou canst not balance justice's scales,
Nor weigh the inanimate universe ;
Much less, then, judge thy fellow man.
How canst thou read the motives of
His heart, or separate his errors
And his blundering mistakes
From evil purposes and acts ?
That which seemed a withering curse
May have left his lips a blessing,
Breathed upon the wings of prayer.

Or if thou knewest that his deeds
Were wrong, shouldst thou judge hastily ?
How canst thou tell the battles fought,
Or 'gainst what odds he met defeat,
Or sound temptation's fiery flood,
Or count the legions which encamped
In dread array against his soul ?
Thou who hast never met the tempter
Face to face, and felt the floods about
Thy feet, if thou hadst wrestled with
The powers of night, as he has done,
Perchance thou, too, had fallen.

Judge not ; thou art so liable to err ;
The mists of time so blur thy sight
Thou seest dimly at the best,

And that which seems so clear to thee,
Viewed from thy point of vantage ground,
If seen within thy brother's sphere
Might prove to be so different.

Judge not : or if you judge at all,
Then judge in love and charity.
Judge with the heart, and not the head ;
The impetuous heart is often
Truer than the calculating mind.
Thy heart doth plead against thy will ;
Thy heart is right, thy judgment wrong.
Judge others as you judge yourself ;
Or as you would that others should,
The measure of your judgment
Give again. Judge as you would when time,
Has Sundered far and continents
Have come between. Judge as you would
When on the pulseless breast the
Silent hands are folded, and Death
Has sealed the past and Charity
Keeps silent vigil o'er the tomb.

Why will you judge ? Life is so short ;
And soon before the "bema" of the Christ
We all shall stand, to judgment called.
Forgive and love, 'tis better far ;
Leave judgment to Omniscient God.—Sel.

Once again, Boddy drew attention to the existence of the rival *Redemption Tidings* magazine, but the chief purpose in that was probably simply to draw attention to the fact that it “gives reports from the PMU missionaries”.¹⁴³ Even to the last issue then, Boddy retained his pastoral care and concern for those who had sailed to different lands via an organisation he had helped to create. Although publication of *Confidence* then ceased abruptly, its final issues still testify to the indomitable, dogged spirit of faith and vision, plus pastoral care, that had been evident since the halcyon days of April 1908, when *Confidence* began publication.

Given the vicissitudes through which the magazine passed, it is amazing that it survived as long as it did. Beset by almost perpetual financial problems, it does of course raise questions as to the soundness of Boddy’s philosophy of “faith publishing”, and as to whether his somewhat sanguine view of that enterprise was fully vindicated. Boddy seems to have under-estimated the harsh realities of economic life, the increasing competition from other magazines, and the shift in focus within British Pentecostalism from highly gifted individualised charismatic leadership to the less flexible but economically sounder publishing basis of the emerging Pentecostal denominations.

However in the final analysis it is perhaps fairer to judge the success of *Confidence* by criteria other than the purely economic, and it is to a consideration of those other equally vital features that we now turn.

NOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

1. M. Robinson, "The Charismatic Anglican, Historical and Contemporary, a comparison of the life and work of Alexander Boddy (1854-1930) and Michael C. Harper", M. Litt. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1976.
2. Notably in Donald Gee, *These Men I Knew*, Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1965.
3. Michael Harper, *As at the Beginning*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1965, p. 36. Harper also errs in asserting that Boddy's work *The Laying on of Hands* was "his only religious book" (ibid).
4. For example, the Assemblies of God Constitution disavows clerical titles, priestly attire, and the display of academic qualifications. These recommendations are largely flouted throughout the movement, even at the highest level.
5. Controversy over issues such as infant baptism and pacifism loomed large in the early clashes between Anglicans and Pentecostals.
6. Carl Brumback, *Suddenly . . . from Heaven*, A History of the Assemblies of God, Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1961.
7. Although R. D. Massey, uncritically following Robinson, errs in asserting that Boddy came to repudiate the doctrine of initial evidence. The quotation adduced by Massey does not come from Boddy, but from W. T. Dixon. c.f. Massey, "Sound and Scriptural Union", p. 229 with "About Tongues", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 2, February 1914, pp. 26-28.
8. This evidence is given in more detail in Massey, op. cit. pp. 229-230.
9. Jane Boddy, "Alfred Alexander Boddy, 1854-1930", typed MS, n.d. (c. 1969), passim.
10. Letter from D. W. Cartwright to author, 13 August 1992.
11. A. A. Boddy, "The Third Volume of Confidence", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 12.
12. Robinson, op. cit., especially pp. 14-37. I am indebted to Robinson's dissertation for much of the background detail on Boddy in this work.
13. A. A. Boddy, "Some Sacred Memories", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 2, February 1914, p. 23.
14. Ibid. p. 24.
15. A. A. Boddy, "From Sunderland to Pittington", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 132, January-March 1923, p. 66.
16. Jane Boddy, op. cit. p. 1.
17. A. A. Boddy, "Brief Items", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 5, August 1908, p. 14.
18. The only missing book is *By Ocean, Prairie and Peak* (1896) the sole UK copy of which was destroyed in a bombing raid on the British museum in World War 2 (Robinson, op. cit. p. 9). However, the Library of Congress does have a copy of that work.
19. A. A. Boddy, "The Writer's Testimony", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 4, April 1909, p. 98.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.

22. Jane Boddy, *op. cit.* p. 5.
23. *The Works of T. B. Barratt*, New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985, pp. 159–160.
24. G. H. Lang, *The Earlier Years of the Modern Tongues Movement*, Florida: Conley and Schoettle Publishing Co. Ltd, 1985, p. 50. Pollock's repudiation of his experience came after Reader Harris had delivered a blistering attack on the gift of tongues, calling it "a satanic counterfeit" (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 63).
25. Boddy even invited well-known opponents of Pentecostalism, such as Graham Scroggie, to write for the magazine. c.f. G. Scroggie, "Is the Bible Inspired?", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 4, April 1909, pp. 82–84. Scroggie was the minister of Bethesda Baptist Church, Sunderland, and doubtless his congregation was affected by the activities at All Saints Church.
26. T. M. Jeffreys, "News from Monmouthshire", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 13.
27. Early Pentecostal literature posited a strong link between the restoration of long-lost charismatic gifts and the imminent return of Jesus Christ to earth.
28. A. A. Boddy, "Our First Number", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 3.
29. *Ibid.*
30. A. A. Boddy, "News of Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 5.
31. The texts were Proverbs 3.26 and 1 John 5.14, 15.
32. *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 20.
33. The 1d. charge was first levied in May 1912.
34. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
35. "Offerings for Printing", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, p. 19.
36. A. A. Boddy "The Third Volume of Confidence", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 12.
37. "Ready for the Post Office Van", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 8, August 1911, p. 192.
38. D. W. Cartwright, "Everywhere Spoken Against", *passim*.
39. Boddy dropped the geographical limitation in November 1911 when *Confidence* was announced as "a Pentecostal paper for Great Britain and other lands", (front cover).
40. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 196.
41. S. Slingerland, "East Africa", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 23.
42. M. Abrams, "India", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 4 (of supplement).
43. e.g. Boddy admits he was completely duped by two young soldiers over the famous Angels of Mons appearances, c.f. A. A. Boddy, "On the side of the angels", *Confidence*, vol. 12, no. 2, April–June 1919, pp. 21–22.
44. Lang, *Earlier Years*, p. 45.
45. No major study exists on Polhill. He is included briefly in John Pollock's *The Cambridge*

Seven London: IVF, 1955, pp. 35–50, 109) but no mention whatsoever is made of his Pentecostal activities. Some fuller biographical detail is given by Peter Hocken in “Cecil H. Polhill – Pentecostal Layman”, *Pneuma*, vol. 10, no. 2, Fall 1988, pp. 116–140.

46. *Victory* was published from Bournemouth, and ran for 16 issues from April 1909–1916. The first six issues totalled 25,000 copies. (*Victory*, no. 7, May/June 1910, p. 7). By the tenth issue the circulation had risen to 10,000 copies, but the magazine was already heavily in debt. (“Important Notice”, *Victory*, no. 10, p. 12, n.d. but c. 1911).
47. *The Overcoming Life* (Later re-named *Omega and the Overcoming Life*) was issued from January 1909 to July 1910, when the untimely death of H. E. Cantel left a large debt to the printer. Cantel died, aged 45, after refusing medical aid for peritonitis. c.f. A. A. Boddy, “Pastor Cantel at Rest”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 9, September 1910, pp. 204–208 for fuller details.
48. *The Spirit of Truth* was published irregularly from Emsworth, Hants, from 1908–1910.
49. *Fragments of Flame* (in October 1911 renamed *Flames of Fire*) was first published by Polhill early in 1908, and appeared irregularly until the dissolution of the PMU in 1925, c.f. *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 7, October 1908, p. 90 for the first mention of this paper.
50. J. E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991, introduction p. xxvi.
51. This is probably due to the fact that Saxby was already a well-known Baptist minister and Bible teacher when he launched his magazine. The articles in *Things New and Old* are pitched at a much deeper theological level than most rival magazines. The journal had reached a circulation of 2,500 copies by June 1922 (c.f. *Things New and Old*, vol. 2, no. 2, April 1922, p. 12).
52. Lang, op. cit. p. 4.
53. A. A. Boddy, “Pittington News”, *Confidence*, no. 141, 1926, p. 170.
54. A. A. Boddy, “The Lighthouse at Roker”, *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 12, March 1912, p. 66.
55. A. A. Boddy, “Divine Necrosis”, *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 9, December 1908, p. 7.
56. A. A. Boddy, “The Holy Ghost for Us”, *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 1, January 1912, p. 11.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
58. A. A. Boddy, “Faith Healing”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 15.
59. A. A. Boddy, “Health in Christ”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, pp. 177–178.
60. A. A. Boddy, “Born from Above”, *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 4, April 1909, p. 95.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
62. A. A. Boddy, “The Pentecostal Movement”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 195.
63. A. A. Boddy, “News of Pentecost”, *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 5.
64. “Ecclesiastical Intelligence”, *The Times*, 18 May 1910, p. 4.
65. “General Booth’s brother in law at the Pentecostal Convention”, *Daily Mirror*, 8 June 1911, p. 6.

66. The early issues of *Confidence* record the attendance of such notables as the Jeffreys brothers, Smith Wigglesworth, Stanley Frodsham, John Leech, Thomas Myerscough and John and Howard Carter. From abroad came T. B. Barratt (Oslo), and Pastors Polman (Amsterdam), Paul (Berlin) and Meyer (Hamburg).
67. A. A. Boddy "News of Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 5.
68. Ibid.
69. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 196.
70. A. A. Boddy, "Confidence – Our first number", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 3.
71. Ibid.
72. The short doctrinal statement was first carried as a preface to *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1911, p. 75.
73. A. A. Boddy, "Words of Warning", *Confidence*, vol. 1 no. 1, April 1908, p. 3.
74. Ibid.
75. A. A. Boddy "A Tree of the Lord's Planting", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 5, May 1909, p. 112.
76. Ibid.
77. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 195.
78. A. A. Boddy, "Sister Bertha Oakes", *Confidence*, vol. 1. no. 1, April 1908, p. 16.
79. "Offerings for Printing", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, p. 19.
80. A. A. Boddy, "Confidence – Our first number", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 3.
81. A. A. Boddy, "Gertie's Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, p. 18. The imagery of the "Latter Rain" is taken from Joel 2.28ff. The Latter Rain movement of the mid-1940s was an important precursor of the present Charismatic renewal. c.f. R.N. Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948", *Pneuma* 4 (Spring 1982) pp. 32–45 for fuller details.
82. *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 20.
83. A. A. Boddy "The New Method", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1911, p. 252.
84. A. A. Boddy "Price of Confidence Reduced", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 6, June 1912, p. 135.
85. "Bound Volumes of 'Confidence' for 1911" *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 1, January 1912, p. 12.
86. A. H. Halsey, *Trends in British Society Since 1900*, (1972), p. 121.
87. "Other Pentecostal Papers in Great Britain", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 3, March 1910, p. 61.
88. A. A. Boddy, "The Cost of Confidence", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 174.
89. Ibid.
90. "On Thinner Paper", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 11, November 1909, p. 254.
91. "Three Shillings a Year", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 12, December 1910, p. 284.
92. Ibid. p. 285.

93. "Pentecostal Items", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1911, p. 89.
94. "A Plea for Confidence", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 6, June 1911, p. 133.
95. Ibid.
96. "Pentecostal Items", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, p. 164.
97. This was printed on page 24 of that issue .
98. "An Important Change", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 10, October 1911, p. 218.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. "Ready for the Post Office Van", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 8, August 1911, p. 192.
102. "Confidence reduced to one penny per month", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 6, June 1912, p. 122.
103. A. A. Boddy, "Confidence in USA", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 11, November 1912, p. 258.
104. "Needed gifts for 'Confidence' funds", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 8, August 1913, p. 163.
105. Ibid.
106. "Gifts for 'Confidence' fund", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 9, September 1913, p. 180.
107. A. A. Boddy, "About Confidence", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 11, November 1915, p. 211.
108. "Confidence subscription gifts from January 12th to April 12th", *Confidence*, vol. 11, no. 2, April–June 1918, p. 18.
109. "Pentecostal Items", *Confidence*, vol. 11, No. 3, July–September 1918, p. 55.
110. *An Illustrated Guide to Sunderland and District*, Macdonald, 1898, p. 40.
111. I am indebted for this information to Mr Sidney Higgins, who worked in the Sunderland printing industry for over fifty years, and knew the printing site and company where *Confidence* was produced.
112. Polhill had served as a 2nd Liet. in the Bedfordshire Yeomanry in 1880, and in the 2nd Dragoon guards in 1881. He invariably ended his Sion Hall Conventions with the singing of the National Anthem. (Hocken, op. cit. p. 117). Boddy's son, Flight Liet. J. A. V. Boddy, was invalided out of active service after being shot down over France in November 1917 (*Confidence*, vol. 11, no. 2, April–June 1918, p. 33). Note that Jane Boddy wrongly gives the year as '1916' – doubtless due to the large time gap between the event and her recollections to Martin Robinson.
113. "Pentecostal Items", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 12, December 1916, p. 196.
114. Ibid.
115. "No 'Confidence' issued until March", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 1, January–February 1917, p. 6.
116. "The future of 'Confidence'", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 2, March–April 1917, p. 22.
117. "The future of 'Confidence'", *Confidence*, vol. 13, no. 2, April–June 1920, p. 24.
118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.
120. " 'Confidence' Subscription gifts for last Three Months", *Confidence*, vol. 13, no. 3, July–September 1920, p. 34.
121. Ibid., pp. 43–44.
122. These were in October–December 1921, January–March 1922 and May 1925.
123. Hocken, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
124. "Pentecostal Missionary Union", *Confidence*, Vol. 15, no. 4, October–December 1922, p. 58, (issue no. 131).
125. Details of Polhill's journey were given in *Confidence*, vol. 15, no. 130, July–September 1922, p. 44.
126. "The Whitsuntide Convention", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 133, April–June 1923, p. 83.
127. "The Pentecostal Missionary Union", *Confidence*, vol. 15, no. 130, July–September 1922, p. 44.
128. These figures are given by Massey, "Sound and Scriptural Union", pp. 245, 264, (n. 19).
129. "The Pentecostal Missionary Union", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 132, January–March 1923, p. 74.
130. Ibid., p. 75.
131. Ibid., p. 62.
132. Ibid., p. 63.
133. Ibid., p. 62.
134. Ibid.
135. Donald Gee, who sat under Saxby's ministry during the war years, retained a strong affection for him, although writing against his views c.f. "Human Destiny – An Open Letter by Pastor Donald Gee", *Elim Evangel*, vol. 5, no. 2, February 1924, pp. 35ff, and his "Seven reasons for rejecting the doctrine of Ultimate Reconciliation", *Redemption Tidings*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1927, p. 2. For details of the influence of Saxby, c.f. J. Carter, *Donald Gee–Pentecostal Statesman*, Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1975, pp. 20–22, and C. Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers*, Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1983, p. 85.
136. "Items of Interest", *Confidence*, vol. 17, no. 139, November–December 1924, p. 150.
137. "Subscription gifts since last issue", *Confidence*, vol. 19, no. 141, 1926, p. 170.
138. "Items of Interest", *Confidence*, vol. 18, no. 140, May 1925, p. 162.
139. Ibid.
140. Although Boddy continued to publish Wigglesworth's articles right up to the penultimate issue. c.f. Smith Wigglesworth, "Ever Increasing Faith", *Confidence*, vol. 18, no. 140, May 1925, pp. 163–166.
141. The reason for suggesting this date is adduced on p. 128.
142. "Pittington News, etc", *Confidence*, vol. 19, no. 141, 1926, p. 170.
143. "The PMU", *Confidence*, vol. 19, no. 141, 1926, p. 176.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Theology of “Confidence” – The New Birth and Spirit baptism

The previous chapter highlighted the publishing history of *Confidence* throughout its eighteen-year life, indicating that the main reason it survived so long was the undoubted financial generosity of Cecil Polhill. In this respect its fortunes were absolutely parallel with so much other missionary-type activity based on “faith-lines”. Ultimately, these types of activity turn out to depend for their very existence on the magnanimity of supporters, and so it could be argued that there is a certain degree of tension implicit in the concept.

However, even if it is conceded that in this respect Boddy’s vision for a self-supporting magazine proved to be an *ignis fatuus*, in other more important respects his vision was entirely vindicated. This chapter therefore looks at the ways in which *Confidence* influenced the theological thinking of early twentieth century Evangelicalism. In so doing, the journal challenged existing concepts about the Spirit, and developed a specifically ‘Pentecostal’ viewpoint on a number of ethical, moral and religious issues.

A number of preliminary issues need to be considered when evaluating the overall contribution of *Confidence* to Christian life and thought in Britain, and indeed further afield. Firstly, because *Confidence* was the first of its genre in Britain, it broke new and unfamiliar ground in a way that none of its successors could do. It has already been shown that Boddy’s pilgrimage to Pentecostalism was a long and tortuous route, and that his was very much a “voice crying in the wilderness” for several years both before and after the events of 1907 in Sunderland. In the sense of

being a precursor, therefore, he aroused controversy and dissent in a way that is typical of any trail-blazing activist.

A corollary of this originality is that one should expect to find, within the pages of *Confidence*, a high degree of development and doctrinal flux in the early years of the movement. It is imperative to bear in mind that Pentecostalism *qua* Pentecostalism originated from within the framework of spiritual experiences, rather than theories, of the Spirit. The theological formulations arose later, indubitably shaped by the nature of the experiences themselves, and to some extent these *gestalten* were interpolatory rather than extrapolatory. Even though it will be shown that Boddy had been veering towards a 'Pentecostal' outlook for at least 10 years prior to his Spirit baptism, his own views were liable to a good degree of change and flexibility, and he appears to have been very open to argument on a number of important tenets of Pentecostal doctrine. He was also very susceptible to the views of Continental Pentecostals, especially in Germany and Holland, and their own contribution to the doctrinal positions adopted in *Confidence* needs adequate evaluation and acknowledgement.

It should not be surprising, therefore, that it took some three years before an agreed doctrinal position could be printed in *Confidence*, and that even that statement was essentially a brief delineation of doctrines found in most contemporary holiness sects, apart from a brief reference to "divine healing and health". The complete statement of belief first appeared in April 1911, and reads:

"Confidence" advocates an unlimited salvation for Spirit, Soul and Body; the honouring of the Precious blood; identification with Christ in Death and Resurrection etc.; Regeneration, Sanctification; the Baptism of the Holy Ghost; the Soon-Coming of the Lord in the air (1 Thess. iv.14); Divine Healing and Health, (Acts iv.13).¹

The absence of 'tongues' from this list must be regarded as significant, especially as it was the one original contribution of the Pentecostal movement to earlier holiness

theology. Its absence is perhaps best explained by reference to the fact that at this time there was still considerable diversity of opinion within the fledgling movement as to both the nature and purpose of glossolalia, particularly with regard to its relationship to Spirit baptism. The leaders of Continental Pentecostalism – particularly Pastors Barratt, Paul, Polman, Humburg and Friemel – had divergent views on the subject, and it seems highly likely that Boddy and his European counterparts had reached no definitive conclusion on the matter. Possibly for the sake of unity, therefore, different views were accommodated in the interests of brotherly love, and a desire to propagate the Pentecostal message more widely. If this scenario is correct, Boddy's statement of belief must represent the irreducible minimum of consensus found amongst the Pentecostal founders. Accordingly, it is from within that theological framework that the didactic and polemical ministry of *Confidence* should be evaluated.

The methodology adopted in this chapter is therefore to take Boddy's statement of belief as a framework for outlining and discussing how *Confidence* expounded the emerging Pentecostal doctrines. There are several reasons why this approach has been adopted:

1. It allows the material presented in *Confidence* to be abstracted conceptually and systematically, and therefore able to speak for itself in its contemporary *Sitz im Leben*.
2. It prevents the imposition of false or contrived interpretive grids upon the activities and beliefs of the early Pentecostals.
3. The exposition of basic doctrines also allows for a full discussion of other tangential and peripheral beliefs that, taken alone, would lack coherence and congruity. For example, although Boddy's statement of belief lacks any reference to speaking in tongues, it would be inconceivable to discuss the teaching of Spirit baptism without recognising the integral role of that practice within Pentecostal

theology. Similarly, any discussion about the teaching of *Confidence* regarding divine healing and health would inevitably throw up issues regarding the role of medical aid, even though this would not be the intention of the article.

4. Following the taxonomy of *Confidence* itself allows due proportion and weight to be given where the magazine itself chooses to give it, and so helps to reduce the risk of bias and distortion in the selection of material.

The following sections, therefore, concentrate on delineating the theological stance of *Confidence* on the doctrines of its statement of belief, with especial attention given to its teachings on:

1. Salvation and the New Birth.
2. The baptism of the Holy Ghost and its relationship to holiness, sanctification, and glossolalia.
3. Divine Healing and Health.
4. Prophecy and eschatology.

5:1. The teaching of “Confidence” on Salvation and the New Birth

A full and clear outline of Boddy’s teaching on the New Birth is found in the *Roker Tract*, “Born from Above”, which was reprinted in the April 1909 issue of *Confidence*. All the features of classical Evangelicalism are present in that tract, as can be seen from the following extracts:

Adam, the father of us all forfeited that God-life which had been breathed into him . . . Adam could henceforth only pass on that which was left – a nature which had yielded to Satan . . . we have been born once but we must be born twice. A new nature is waiting for all who will accept it and hold it - and all by simple faith in him who is the Life.²

These excerpts indicate the usual features of Evangelical Fundamentalism – the literal acceptance of the Adam and Eve creation, the reality of Satan and the primacy

of faith rather than works, as the means of salvation. But by far the most detailed exposition of primitive Pentecostal soteriology came not from the pen of Boddy but from his wife, Mary. Her *Roker Tract*, "The New Creation", was reprinted in a seven-part series in *Confidence* from December 1909 to July 1910. The publication of this tract in the magazine is important for a number of reasons, not least being that it shows the attitude of the early Pentecostals towards the teaching function of females in the church.² Not only did Mary Boddy write extensively in *Confidence*, but she also ministered at the famous Sunderland Conventions and had a widely-respected ministry of the laying on of hands for healing and Spirit baptism – in the latter respect being the human agent involved in bringing Smith Wigglesworth and G. R. Polman into Pentecostal blessing.

"The New Creation" was essentially an exposition of the three tenets implicit in the Evangelical concept of original sin, or as Mary Boddy put it: "1) The Fall – its effects on spirit, soul and body, 2) the utter failure of fallen man to keep the righteousness of the Law, and 3) God's judgment on the "Old Man" and the absolute impossibility of the old or natural life ever "evolving" into the New and Eternal Spiritual Life."⁴ Moreover, even within this tract, with its principal theme being the New Birth, there are adumbrations of the theology of "subsequence" so characteristic of holiness and Pentecostal theology:

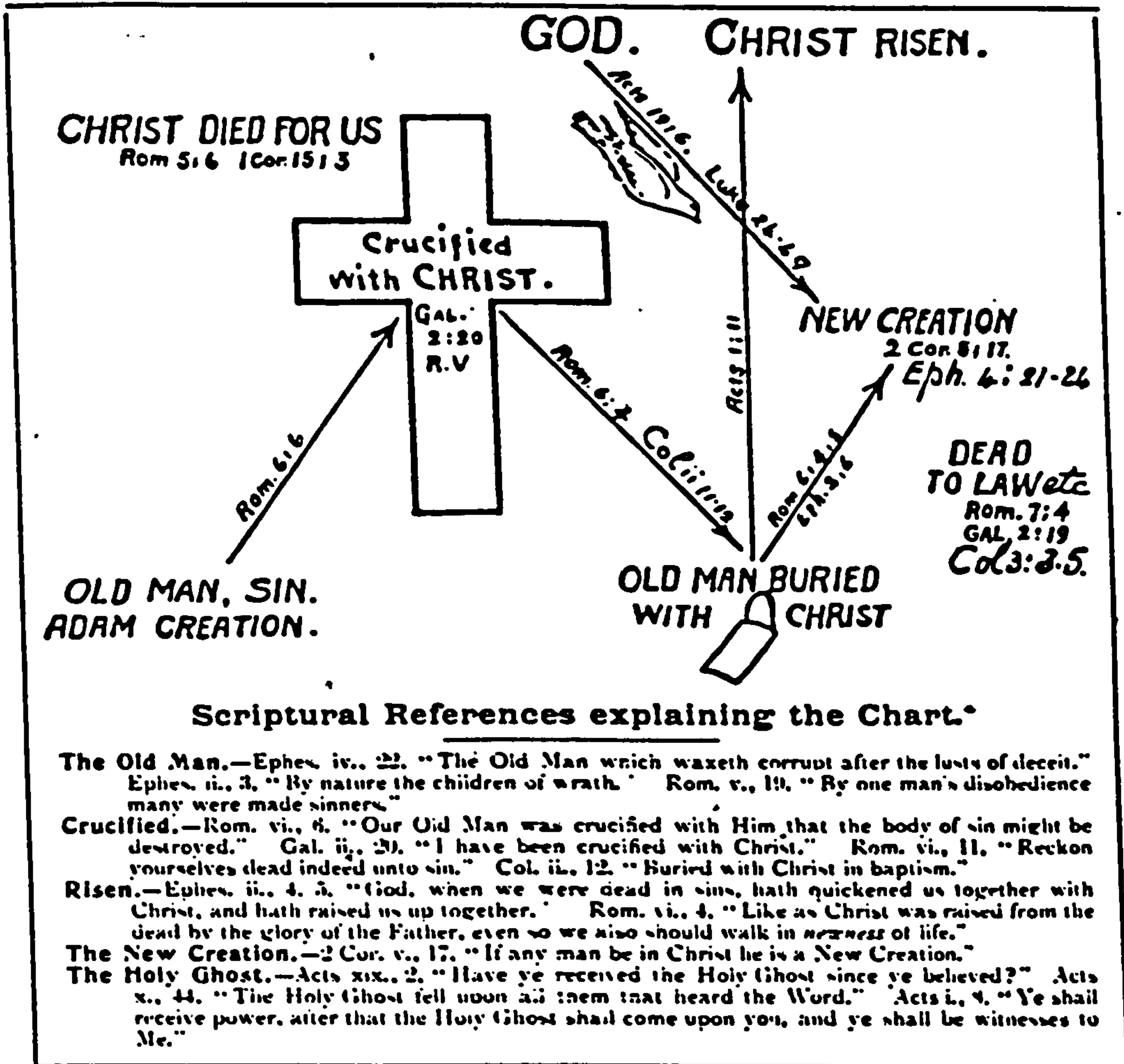
As we keep "beholding Jesus" the Holy Spirit transforms us into the same image (2 Cor.iii.,18) . . . this is the grace of God. It has been accomplished. If so, having received the "gift of Eternal Life", receive the "promise of the Father". Tarry or wait for the Holy Ghost to quicken "or make to live" your mortal body, so that all your members shall be energised with Divine power.⁵

In general, Mary Boddy's soteriology, as unfolded in "The New Creation" series, rarely adds any original insights to classical Evangelicalism, and there is a good deal of repetition, as well as heavy reliance on a proof-text type of exegesis. But what is not lacking is the element of passion and pathos, difficult to convey in cold print but surely evident in passages such as this:

FOLLOWING PAGE

Chart printed in *Confidence*, February 1910, p. 37, to illustrate Mary Boddy's series "The New Creation".

The diagram was abstracted from A. S. Copley's free monthly magazine *Pentecost*, published in Kansas City, USA.



Scriptural References explaining the Chart.

The Old Man.—Ephes. iv., 22. "The Old Man which waxeth corrupt after the lusts of deceit." Ephes. ii., 3. "By nature the children of wrath." Rom. v., 12. "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners."

Crucified.—Rom. vi., 6. "Our Old Man was crucified with Him that the body of sin might be destroyed." Gal. ii., 20. "I have been crucified with Christ." Rom. vi., 11. "Reckon yourselves dead indeed unto sin." Col. ii., 12. "Buried with Christ in baptism."

Risen.—Ephes. ii., 4, 5. "God, when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, and hath raised us up together." Rom. vi., 4. "Like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

The New Creation.—2 Cor. v., 17. "If any man be in Christ he is a New Creation."

The Holy Ghost.—Acts xix., 2. "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" Acts x., 44. "The Holy Ghost fell upon all them that heard the Word." Acts i., 4. "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost shall come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses to Me."

He ransomed us, he redeemed us, he bought us – and with what a price!! Shall we ever know what it cost Him? What He suffered? Never! Perhaps as we gaze into His face in the glory we shall know a little of the awfulness of sin, and of how impossible it would have been for us to be with Him, if it had not been for His loving sacrifice. “O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!” (Rom.xi.33).⁶

The distinctiveness of the Pentecostal concept of New Birth and its inseparable relationship to Spirit baptism is clearly set forth in Mary Boddy’s fifth article in the “New Creation” series, published in April 1910. She writes:

This Risen Christ, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily . . . could now, as the Christ, the Anointed One, send forth his redeemed ones who were shortly to be endued with the same power and with the same authority as their Head; indeed, greater works were to follow, “because I go to My Father”.⁷

The final few sentences above are crucial in that they illustrate clearly the attempt to dissociate Pentecostalism’s view of Spirit enduement from the earlier holiness concept linking it primarily with sanctification and heart purity, rather than the spiritual power and authority necessary to perform the *erga meizona* of John 14.12.

It is interesting to then observe how Mary Boddy proceeds to interrelate the two stages of her *ordo salutis*:

We put on Christ Jesus and we believe that very speedily should follow God’s seal, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost – this time the water of life, that out of us should flow rivers of living water . . . we thank God we may have the same definite experience *if* we believe God’s Word.⁸

She then contrasts the effects of the Holy Spirit’s quickening of our bodies – which she regards as Spirit baptism – with the entry of Christ by faith into the life of the believer – the conversion, experience – which “is not merely new habits of life, nor new thoughts, but New Life producing new habits and thoughts”.⁹

Mary Boddy is at pains to differentiate these experiences carefully, going so far as to claim that:

This is such a wonderful experience that many think it is the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, but . . . we need not only to have Christ in us as our life, but we need the body “quickened or made to live by the Holy Ghost”

coming upon us . . . taking possession of every member of our body, even that important and unruly member, – the tongue. Then begins a life in the school of the Holy Ghost.¹⁰

The final two sections of “the New Creation” were reprinted in the May and July 1910 issues of *Confidence*. The stress in these articles reflects the more pietistic strands of nineteenth century holiness teaching, especially the theme of continually walking by faith, the emptying of self, and complete trust in God. She writes:

The Blessed Holy Spirit will convince us of sin as never before – its reality, its hideousness. . . . Are we willing to have such “faith in the operation of God” that we will “absolutely cease from our own works”? . . . What at first may be successive acts of the will in a short time will become a habit, as natural as breathing.¹¹

In the final section of “The New Creation”, Mary Boddy draws together the disparate strands of her teaching, illustrating how the emerging Pentecostal movement posited a two-fold schema of salvation – conversion and Spirit baptism – that differed in time and nature but stemmed equally from the one indivisible work of Christ upon the cross. She says:

The whole man is included in the plan of redemption. It includes the incarnation, Death and Resurrection, and Baptism of the Holy Ghost, to end in glorification . . . by His resurrection we have become a new creation, with a new life – His Life – by his Ascension and glorification we receive the promise of the Father.¹²

Before concluding this outline of the teaching in *Confidence* on the New Birth, it is pertinent to observe the final published contribution of A. A. Boddy himself on this subject, coming as it does some 13 years after his previous major article on the topic was written for *Confidence*. In the October–December issue of 1922 Boddy published the article “The Heavenly Birth”. Close study of the wording reveals that apart from a short section near the end, it is virtually a verbatim reprint of the *Roker Tract* “Born from Above”, first issued well before December 1907, and reprinted in the April 1909 issue of *Confidence*.

The significance of this reprint is that it proves Boddy’s views on the subject had

remained substantially unchanged for the whole of the period from 1907–1922, and probably by that time they were unlikely to change subsequently. It will also be remembered that the earlier publication of “Born from Above” had been printed in *Confidence* with the addendum by Boddy, “written before he received his Pentecost with the Sign of Tongues. Read ‘A Vicar’s Testimony’ for a record of further blessings”.¹³ There then followed an article by Boddy entitled “The Writer’s Testimony” in which he described his own new birth experience as occurring on 21 September 1892, “when I received the fulness of the Holy Ghost”.¹⁴

Curiously, he makes no mention of his reception of the gift of tongues on 2 December 1907. The same enigma occurs with the reprint of “Born from Above”, in that Boddy adds “A Personal Testimony” which is an exact repetition of “The Writer’s Testimony” and again omits any reference to glossolalia. It must remain a matter of conjecture as to why Boddy did this. We know from his other writings that he gave clear and definite testimony to speaking in tongues, so its omission here is even more striking. It is possible that he had some difficulty in categorising his spiritual experiences in the nomenclature of later Pentecostalism, and there does seem some evidence that he was ambivalent on certain issues relating to tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism. It is also conceivable that he felt his story was already so well known that there was no need to repeat it, although this would of course also apply to his New Birth experience, so the force of the argument is somewhat vitiated. Another possible explanation could lie in the fact that Boddy was aware of his part in formulating a novel pneumatology, and that therefore a certain degree of creativity, and dynamic tension, would be inherent in such a process.

However, while *Confidence* offered practically no original insights into the theology of Christian initiation, the situation was totally different with regard to the doctrine of Spirit baptism – the cardinal tenet of Pentecostalism. Under Boddy’s editor-

ship, the articles appearing in *Confidence* covered virtually the whole spectrum of belief concerning the nature and purpose of Spirit baptism, its relationship to spiritual power and holiness, its link with the crucial sign of tongues, and the nature, scope and purpose of the gift of tongues in the life of the believer.

Given the centrality of these issues for the very existence of the movement, it is not surprising to find that they dominate the early issues of the magazine. The articles published in *Confidence* were submitted by a wide range of authors, both national and international, and they undoubtedly played a key role in confirming the leading role of the magazine within mainstream Pentecostalism, and in maintaining Boddy's authority and pre-eminence as a respected expositor of Pentecostal belief.

Simultaneously, a study of these articles facilitates the emergence of subtle nuances in the historical development of Pentecostal belief and practice. Some of these nuances can be traced to personality, and even geographical, origins. When viewed as a whole, they throw vital light on the important question of why, ultimately, there could be no *rapprochement* between the vision of men like Boddy and Polhill, who regarded Spirit baptism as a unifying spiritual experience among all Christians, and that of the earliest Pentecostal denominations. The founders of the latter saw the virtual impossibility of "Pentecostalising" the orthodox churches, and so seceded for the sake of their distinctive testimony. In this respect, their actions reflect the practice of a long line of worthy antecedents such as the Montanists, Donatists, Luther, Wesley, and in our own day, Restorationist House Churches. Whether this belief is itself chimerical is, of course, another matter entirely.

However, one unfortunate corollary of this secessionist mindset is that it can result in a somewhat caustic and critical attitude to those not disposed to follow the same

path. Subsequent Pentecostal historiography has adopted a rather bitter attitude to men like Boddy and Polhill. For example, Missen claims that:

It was easy for Mr Boddy and Mr Polhill, from the shelter of parsonage and country mansion, to suggest that their followers should be baptised in the Holy Spirit and remain in their churches. It was by no means so easy . . . to follow this advice. The movement met with almost universal ridicule and hostility . . . fierce fires of opposition were to test the validity of this new-found blessing.¹⁵

Missen's statement, however, lacks objectivity. Both Boddy and Polhill suffered obloquy and persecution by being identified with the Pentecostal movement. Boddy was warned by his bishop, Handley Moule, that he could expect no preferment within the church, and he was shunned by most of his fellow clergy for his stand on Pentecostal principles.¹⁶

Missen's statement is also untenable from the viewpoint that he completely fails to realise that it was *because* of Boddy's status as an Anglican clergyman that his Pentecostal stand brought so much persecution. This point is specifically corroborated by independent observers of the situation in Sunderland in 1907. Writing in *Confidence* in 1910, A. W. Frodsham explicitly raises the point as to how "clergymen and ministers, if they were to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the despised Sign of 'Tongues' would fare in regard to their parish or congregation". He answers his own question thus:

I understand that Mr & Mrs Boddy had, at first, a severe time of great difficulty and testing when they received the Baptism of the Spirit with the Scriptural Sign, yet they would not compromise their position, but stood up boldly for the full Baptism of the Holy Spirit as a distinct and subsequent work of grace, and accompanied with the Sign of "Tongues", as on the Day of Pentecost. God has rewarded them for being faithful . . . A minister can (and should) receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit . . . and yet be able to continue to minister to his flock.¹⁷

Cecil Polhill's wealth enabled him to pursue a more or less independent line on most issues, but it is known that some close members of his family strongly deprecated his involvement in the movement, and felt he was being "used" simply because of his money.¹⁸

Moreover, the reluctance of the early leaders to support the emergence of independent Pentecostal groupings (that later assumed all the features of denominationalism) needs to be viewed against the background of their concept of Spirit baptism as an experience that was just as consistent with a high or low-church ecclesiology. Indeed, Boddy explicitly brings out the point that Spirit baptism makes Anglicans better Anglicans, claiming that:

He can bless anywhere, and when we church people receive the Baptism we become better church people, and attract others not to ourselves, but to the Lord Jesus.¹⁹

Boddy's view of Spirit baptism went even further than this, in that he had seen the practical outworking of the breaking down of denominational barriers at Sunderland. The Pentecostal experience wrought unprecedented ecumenicity among its recipients, so that he could write:

The Lord . . . has brought together at Sunderland Friends, Brethren, Methodists, Salvationists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Church-folk, and they have all been one in spirit and one in trusting the precious Blood. Denominationalism has melted away and the barriers disappeared as the Holy Spirit came into full possession.²⁰

Both Boddy and Polhill retained their love for the Anglican church until they died, and even in old age Polhill did not attend his local Pentecostal assembly in Bedford, even though he had helped to fund its inception. It is, therefore, against a subsequent background of growing tensions and doctrinal division that the earliest articles in *Confidence* can be regarded as forming a bedrock of embryonic Pentecostal belief. The first of those beliefs to now be looked at in more detail is the teaching of *Confidence* on the nature and purpose of Spirit baptism.

5:2. The teaching of "Confidence" on the nature and purpose of Spirit baptism

A clear delineation of the teaching of *Confidence* regarding Spirit baptism was given in a chart using the "question and answer" style, printed in the magazine in

May 1909. The article is anonymous, but its style and content make it almost certain to come from the pen of Boddy himself. It begins by posing the question that is pivotal to the whole Pentecostal movement, "What is the Baptism of the Holy Ghost?" The answer reveals the spatial and physical concepts of the Spirit then prevalent in primitive Pentecostal pneumatology:

It is God coming upon us and into us. A jar plunged into a river is not only surrounded, but filled with the water.²²

A further 16 questions (making 17 in all) elucidate various other aspects of the nature and purpose of Spirit baptism. The most important ones to concern us at this point are those that describe the baptism of the Holy Ghost as being linked to a bestowal of supernatural power upon the recipient, evidenced initially by the sign of speaking in tongues.

The first disciples felt that they needed "Power from on High." Their master promised that they should receive it supernaturally after he had gone back to heaven.²³

Up to this point the author simply reflects the theology of Spirit baptism then prevailing in most holiness circles, that had been promulgated by teachers such as Finney, Torrey and Moody. The crucial departure from their pneumatology is teased out in question four, "How did the first Christians know he had come into them?" The answer was clear and unequivocal:

When the Holy Ghost first came in, He announced his arrival and His Presence by speaking through these disciples in other tongues as He gave them utterance.²⁴

As if to anticipate the possible objection that the above phenomena were uniquely related to the inauguratory nature of Pentecost, the author goes on to pose the question "Is there the same need today? Does the Holy Ghost still speak in Tongues?" He avers:

Today there is the same need of the Presence and power of the blessed Holy Spirit, and He is coming in the same way. He also announces his arrival by speaking in other Tongues.²⁵

These extracts show the early Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism to be inextricably linked to: a) a bestowal of spiritual power upon the Christian, and b) the initial evidence of that incoming power to be glossolalia, and c) that it was an experience of permanent validity, and intended to be appropriated by all Christians.

The same point, the paradigmatic nature of the Pentecostal events as recorded in Scripture, is also brought out by other writers. In the article “A Greater Pentecost”, Pastor Edel of Brieg asserts that:

We have a people who say that Pentecost only came once, and that we have no authority in the Bible for expecting another Pentecost . . . I do not believe it. There is enough in this fountain for all London (and all the world).²⁶

A slightly different angle on Spirit baptism was presented in *Confidence* by another Continental Pentecostal leader, Pastor Jonathan Paul of Berlin. His article “The Scriptural Baptism of the Holy Ghost and its Results” clearly posits a three-stage schema of salvation, separating out the initial conversion experience into two discrete strands – the forgiveness of sins, followed by entire sanctification. Paul writes:

Regeneration is the gift of a New heart, but it is not the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire . . . The Holy Ghost wishes to take possession of our BODIES . . . power went out of the body of Jesus. But no power went out until after his Baptism in the Holy Ghost on coming out of Jordan . . . ye shall receive *power* after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.²⁷

Using a passage from the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel as his *gestalt*,²⁸ Paul then adds the third criterion for a full Pentecostal experience:

It is possible to have great Baptisms and anointings, yet not like Pentecost. Verse 27 was fulfilled on the Day of Pentecost, when Fire-Tongues fell upon them and they spoke with other Tongues as the Spirit gave utterance. . . . when my eyes were opened to this I determined to receive all that God had for me – that is the full Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Scriptural signs.²⁹

In common with several other early Pentecostal leaders, Jonathan Paul later weakened this absolutist view of glossolalia, as we shall subsequently observe. However, in the earlier days of the movement he shared the consensus view that the baptism

of the Holy Ghost bestowed spiritual power upon believers, and that this indwelling was initially evidenced by the recipient speaking in tongues. Moreover, in an article on the same subject barely a year later, Paul brought out other “moral” aspects of the baptism. These included the abasing nature of the experience – “The Baptism of the Holy Ghost brings us down”, and the need to make restitution and repentance for past wrongs. But he still closes on the characteristic note:

The Pentecostal Baptism has that wonderful efficacy, that we may mete to men and women after receiving from above. . . . “they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance”. It is a wondrous thing to “speak with other tongues”.³⁰

Even more explicit support for Paul’s soteriological trichotomy came from the Rev. Thomas Hackett, of Dublin. Writing in *Confidence* in July 1912, he expounds the passage Acts 15.7–9 with reference to Spirit baptism. He says of the experience:

Heart purity was a preliminary and absolutely necessary antecedent condition. . . . now to what extent are we believing today for this heart cleansing? If we want the Baptism of the Holy Ghost we must measure up to God’s standard in this matter.³¹

Hackett was therefore enunciating a threefold experience of Christian initiation with the second stage – entire sanctification of the Wesleyan stamp – as an essential pre-requisite for the third blessing of Spirit baptism. He continues:

How may we receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost? What are the previous conditions to fulfil . . . surely God is teaching us that once that point of heart purity is reached through simple faith in the name of Jesus, then, and not till then, are we ready for the reception of the Holy Ghost.³²

However, not all writers in *Confidence* reflect this same emphasis. Others are equally emphatic that the baptism is received *sola fide*, and this appears to be the dominant emphasis within contemporary Pentecostalism. A point but rarely made in *Confidence* is that the agent of Holy Spirit baptism is Christ himself; an American writer, Kate Knight of Jamestown, New York, brings out the point that:

It is Jesus therefore who baptises in the Holy Spirit . . . He himself never baptised in water . . . but the only baptism Jesus Himself ever gives is the Baptism in the Spirit.³³

Nevertheless, Knight posits the usual view of the purpose of Spirit baptism as being “to make powerful witnesses of all the Lord’s people in all the world”.³⁴ This *leitmotif* – power for service – characterises virtually all the articles on this subject published in *Confidence*. But according to Knight, this truth has been hidden from most of Christendom and was only rediscovered in the Pentecostal awakening:

For this reason many in the past have prayed for the baptism in the Spirit not at all realising what it was . . . until nine years ago very few people now on earth knew just what the real baptism in the Spirit was.³⁵

Knight’s reference to 1906 – the Azusa Street revival – obviously raises the question as to why it took so long for Christendom to realise the full importance of Holy Spirit baptism. Her answer is that it was a long-lost truth:

It was abundantly manifest among the early Christians, but the church gradually drifted away from it and sank into the “dark ages”. Since the days of Luther, God has been lifting the remnant of the Church up again into truth.³⁶

It must be conceded that this type of response is absolutely characteristic of nearly all revivalist-type movements, who see in their own emergence a special, even unique, destiny within the divine plan.³⁷ Unfulfilled hopes, and the passage of time, eventually serve to blunt and dilute this sense of heavenly avocation, but the feeling was particularly strong within early Pentecostalism because the emergence of the movement coincided with momentous portents on a world-wide scale.³⁸ This apocalypticism was accentuated by many prophecies (later of course invalidated) that the birth of the movement presaged the imminent personal return of Christ to earth; some of these prophecies, with actual dates, were published in *Confidence*.³⁹

Knight ended her article by making the now familiar link of Spirit baptism with glossolalia, stating that “the speaking in Tongues is therefore the one manifestation which God has clearly shown belongs with the baptism in the Spirit”.⁴⁰

However, the most concise and detailed exposition of the doctrine of Spirit baptism ever to appear in *Confidence* arose as a result of fierce opposition to the movement in Germany. The resulting controversy embroiled most of the leading Continental Pentecostals for several years, and opened up wounds that have never yet been fully healed. Problems finally exploded when the German Evangelical Movement, the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* published the "Berlin Declaration" on 15 September 1909, signed by 56 leaders. In a now-celebrated *obiter dictum* the document asserted that the Pentecostal movement was "nicht von oben, sondern von unten" (not from on high, but from below). The main criticism levelled against Pentecostalism by the Berlin Declaration was that evil spirits were at work in the movement, causing deception through satanic cunning and leading souls astray. The serious nature of these charges made conciliation very difficult, and deep divisions (plus a certain degree of persecution) arose against Pentecostal believers, as is evident from a long letter published by Boddy in *Confidence*.⁴¹

In the ensuing controversy, the polemical and apologetic powers of T. B. Barratt and Jonathan Paul were stretched to the limit. By a strange coincidence, Barratt was at this time preparing for publication a book about the Pentecostal movement, *In the Days of the Latter Rain*. Boddy seized the opportunity to pre-empt some of the most damning criticisms in the Declaration by printing a preview of Barratt's first chapter. This was published within a month of the Berlin Declaration, in the October 1909 issue of *Confidence*, and once again illustrates the prominent role that the magazine fulfilled as a respected propagator of Pentecostal doctrine. Barratt had posed the rhetorical question, "What is the Baptism of the Holy Ghost?", and he answered:

We would say that the baptism of the Holy Spirit means being "FILLED WITH THE SPIRIT". That is what took place on the Day of Pentecost, in Jerusalem when the fire fell.⁴²

Barratt, in contradistinction to the then contemporary holiness theology, denies that this baptism is synonymous with sanctification; rather it is a bestowal of spiritual *power* for service. He argues:

There are Christians who have not merely experienced the sanctifying power (through the Blood) of the Holy Ghost, but they have in a special way received Him as their POWER FOR SERVICE . . . Now this again is a NEW AND DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE of the Holy Spirit's operation within. The third person of the Trinity has taken FULL Possession of body, soul and spirit . . . it does not therefore mean power merely for holy living, but especially for performing *holy works*.⁴³

Even up to this point, Barratt's concept of Spirit baptism could still be accommodated within the framework of a doctrine of "subsequence" as taught by Finney, Mahan, Torrey, Simpson and other exponents of the Keswickian school of holiness theology. What sets his teaching apart from those exegetes is his third main point, that of the "evidence of the Spirit's presence". Barratt claims that:

The Spirit cannot possibly take possession of our whole being – *body, soul and spirit* – but what we know it . . . There will be *no doubt left* as to His indwelling Presence in Pentecostal Power and grace . . . The immediate outward sign in Jerusalem, Caesarea and Ephesus was SPEAKING IN TONGUES. The "tongues" were not the baptism . . . but they were *clearly an outward evidence of it*.⁴⁴

Barratt goes on to discuss other evidences of the Spirit's presence and coming – such as physical manifestations and the fruits of the Spirit – but his main argument is that glossolalia was the only sign that followed *immediately* in *all* the descriptions of Spirit baptism recorded in the Scriptures.⁴⁵ Barratt's understanding of the nature and purpose of Spirit baptism must be regarded as both authoritative and normative, given his pioneering role in the movement and the extensive coverage it received in *Confidence*. Boddy's publication of this lengthy article must indicate both how seriously the Berlin Declaration was being regarded, and the increasingly didactic status of *Confidence* within European Pentecostalism. Even though the circulation of the magazine never exceeded 6,000 copies, its influence was out of all proportion to its sales; this must be accounted for by the eminence of the contributors, Boddy's editorial skills, and his unparalleled knowledge of and contacts within, the movement.

Also plunging in to the maelstrom of controversy surrounding the Berlin Declaration was Jonathan Paul, who had been personally accused by the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*

of teaching a number of heresies, including sinless perfection and a doctrine of celibacy within marriage. Paul had no difficulty in disposing of these accusations in a public statement issued from the second Pentecostal Conference held at Mühlheim an der Ruhr, 28 September–1 October, 1909. His “Answer to the Declaration of Berlin”, printed in *Confidence* in October 1909,⁴⁶ highlights once again how the European Pentecostal leaders were standing unitedly against strong opposition, and that the magazine *Confidence* was widely regarded as an authoritative voice for the movement in circles far outside its domestic *milieu*.

It is also obvious that the Berlin Declaration was causing consternation among British Pentecostals; Boddy deprecated the reprinting of the statement in several English religious papers,⁴⁷ and he believed that by its publication “many have been stumbled”.⁴⁸ In particular, *The Life of Faith*, still maintaining its anti-Pentecostal stance, published the declaration in full on 10 November 1909, eliciting a spirited defence of the movement from the Lytham builder, Henry Mogridge.⁴⁹

The response of the British leaders was to issue a contrapuntal statement, “A London Declaration”, issued after seven prominent Pentecostals had met in Regents Park, London, in November 1909, seeking “earnestly in prayer the Mind of the Master as to the Baptism of the Holy Ghost”.⁵⁰ Boddy does not tell us who the seven present were, but he must have been there because he refers to “seven of *us* thus able to come together”.⁵¹ It is highly likely, given his mobility (he owned a car) that Cecil Polhill was also present, and of the other five, it is reasonable to assume those who lived in or near London were most likely to participate in the gathering. This would have included Messrs Cantel, Mundell and Niblock, plus the redoubtable Mrs Price of Brixton, the first glossolalist in Britain.⁵²

The “London Declaration” was a delineation of the “evidence and results” of the Baptism in the Holy Ghost. The main thrust of the statement was to identify the

“promise of the Father” of Acts 1.4 with the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, which “was and is evidenced by the speaking in ‘Tongues’ AS THE SPIRIT GIVES TO UTTER”.⁵³ However, having postulated the inseparability of Spirit baptism and the sign of tongues, the statement goes on to list “seven results” of the Baptism, all of them related to the deepening of spiritual life through the experience. Significantly, the statement ends with the assertion that “the Baptism of the Holy Ghost is the ‘Gate’ into, and not the ‘Goal’ of a true and full Christian life”.⁵⁴ Presumably, this codicil was added to pre-empt any allegations that Spirit baptism was synonymous with sinless perfection (with which Jonathan Paul had been charged) and also to remind Pentecostals themselves of the need to wed spiritual power to holy living.

The style and content of the “London Declaration” gives every impression that it was framed largely by Boddy. Of the 31 co-signatories, only Boddy had received any formal theological training, though several other professional men were present. But given Boddy’s status and ability as a writer, and the respect in which he was evidently held by colleagues, he was probably given *carte blanche* to frame the resolution as he saw fit. Even before the “London Declaration” was published, Boddy had written extensively in *Confidence* on the subject of Spirit baptism.⁵⁵ However, his main interest appears to have been to establish the inseparable link between Spirit baptism and the sign of tongues, rather than to discuss the nature of the baptism *per se*. Another way of putting this point would be to suggest that, at times, Boddy seems to come very close to actually *equating* the two experiences, so that they become almost two expressions for the same thing.

However, he also published articles that evinced a much broader understanding of the subject. An item of this genre was his “Seven Hall-Marks of Heaven upon the Pentecostal Baptism with the Sign of Tongues”.⁵⁶ The article is unashamedly polemical, written to defend the movement against an excoriating attack by an eminent preacher who had alleged that Pentecostalism had upon it “the hall-mark of

Hell”.⁵⁷ It is of some interest that Boddy did not defend the movement on grounds of biblical exegesis alone, but took a more pragmatic, common-sense approach that enabled him to draw out the *fruits* that accompanied the experience of Spirit baptism.⁵⁸ Boddy listed seven of these “fruits”, that to him proved the movement divine since they all accentuated the highest traits of Christian character and experience.

In a tone that was highly eirenic and conciliatory, Boddy conceded that some people within the movement had discredited the work – “strange cranks and hysterical people and self-seekers and people like Ananias and Saphira”⁵⁹ – but argued that these deviants were also present in apostolic days, and indeed that counterfeits and hypocrites could be found “in churches and chapels and among professors of religion in every denomination”.⁶⁰ Yet, even allowing for these caveats, Boddy was firm in his conviction that the *true* experience of Spirit baptism greatly enhanced the quality of Christian living. He writes:

In humble homes . . . the Lord Jesus has wonderfully satisfied by His presence, and the cry has risen “How can I thank the Lord sufficiently for Pentecost? Jesus is so real now”. This is the first and greatest feature of the Pentecostal Blessing as the writer has seen it both at home and abroad.⁶¹

Boddy concludes by confirming his observation of others by his own personal testimony to the effects of Spirit baptism:

We whom the Lord is blessing must see to it that these Hall-Marks of Heaven are ever upon *our* lives and work . . . this the writer must again solemnly assert, “That when he is consciously nearest to his Lord, *Then* for him this blessed Pentecostal Baptism with the sign of Tongues is most assuredly the Lord’s own blessed gift direct from his loving, pierced Hands”. Hallelujah.⁶²

A full decade later, Boddy was still writing on this subject, and his views appear to have changed hardly at all. He was still linking glossolalia to Spirit baptism, as seen in his comments on those who are “immersed” or “baptised” in the Holy Ghost:

He will feel himself praising God in strange, joyful words in the Spirit, as the 120 did on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii) or at Caesarea (Acts ix)

(sic) . . . if at Caesarea those Gentile believers had the joyful experience of the Holy Ghost Himself speaking through them because they believed in Jesus and his salvation, we may expect the same.⁶³

At the time of penning these words, Boddy had had some twelve years of intensive personal experience in observing Pentecostal phenomena – longer than anyone in Britain – but his experience therein had also led him to warn:

“Tongues” have not always been genuine. Real lovers of Christ have been sickened by the behaviour of many who set themselves up because they thought they had spoken in tongues. Many, alas, have gone back because of the totally inadequate character of those who “professed” to have had a Pentecostal baptism. Let us honour the Holy Ghost. Let us allow Him to glorify Jesus to us and through us. This should be the fruit of the Baptism in the Holy Ghost.⁶⁴

In these words Boddy reveals once again his intense pastoral side, and his concern for the progress of the movement he had done so much to birth. It would be interesting to know exactly what Boddy regarded as the *source* of the tongues he describes as “not genuine”. Certainly his comment above reveals a degree of disillusionment with some putative glossolalists who seem to have offered *no other* evidence of Spirit baptism. In this sense it could therefore be argued that Boddy was subtly shifting from a glossocentric to a hagiocentric view of Spirit baptism – at least in terms of its final, rather than initial, evidence. The more complex issue as to whether Boddy ever actually repudiated the doctrine of tongues as initial evidence – as alleged by Robinson⁶⁵ and denied by Kay⁶⁶ – will be dealt with fully in the next section.

In recapitulation, this brief survey of the major strands in early Pentecostal teaching about the nature of Spirit baptism has established the following points:

- 1) Spirit baptism is a definite, identifiable experience, chronologically subsequent to conversion, but an integral part of it.
- 2) The purpose of the experience is to endue the recipient with spiritual power.
- 3) The normal, immediate evidence of Spirit baptism is glossolalia.
- 4) The centrality of the doctrine is seen in its prominence within the pages of

Confidence, and that the magazine assumed a position of great influence and importance in propagating this doctrine, both in the UK and abroad.

We must now examine the equally crucial and closely related issue of how, according to the teachings in *Confidence*, the experience of Spirit baptism is received.

5:3. The teaching of “Confidence” on how to receive Spirit baptism

In view of the importance of this doctrine as virtually the *raison d'être* of Pentecostalism, it is only to be expected that the early literature of the movement would be replete with articles on how to receive the experience.

In the first year of its publication, Boddy printed in *Confidence* two keynote articles on the subject by A. S. Copley, a Kansas City Bible teacher, editor and publisher of the magazine *Grace and Glory*.⁶⁷ Both articles were abstracted from the magazine *A Call to Faith*; the first, published in August 1908, was entitled “The Way to your Pentecost”, and poses the question:

Do you desire to be consciously baptised in the Holy Spirit? It is the will of the Father for you. He commands his children to be filled with His Spirit, and no one should rest satisfied until so filled. There are three steps into it – Repentance toward God; Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; Yielding to the Holy Ghost.⁶⁸

Copley proceeds to amplify each of these points in turn, but his main argument is that Spirit baptism must come in answer to believing prayer and faith:

It is certainly God’s will for you to have the baptism in the Holy Ghost. Therefore, when you ask, believe that you received right there and then. Mark xi.24 . . . rejoice that God hears and grants your request, your need, your right as His child. When faith is found real and stands the test, the heavenly seal will come with overrunning joy.⁶⁹

We must assume Copley’s reference to “the heavenly seal” refers to speaking in tongues, though it is not explicit, and he had himself received the gift at one of Levi Lupton’s Ohio camp-meetings in 1907. This assumption is strengthened by a further point he makes on “yielding to the Holy Ghost”. He says:

Yield to Him in body. Let go into the Spirit's control and care your physical frame, every member of your body and every appetite. Now yielding is not trying to help the Holy Spirit out, but it is to get out of His way . . . we are to yield, to let go, to cease, to step aside, to stop trying, and at all times and in all things rejoice in Christ and believe in the almighty and ever-present Spirit of God within you.⁷⁰

Copley's teaching about the passivity of self in preparation for Spirit baptism is highly germane in that it is borne out by actual descriptions of the experience by the recipients themselves. For example, Mrs Carrie Judd Montgomery, a prominent Pentecostal pioneer and prolific writer – she edited *The Triumphs of Faith*⁷¹ from 1881–1946 – describes her experience as an explicit negation of the mind:

I . . . burst into a language and came pouring out in great fluency and clearness. The brain seemed entirely passive, the words not coming from that source at all, but from an irresistible volume of power within.⁷²

T. B. Barratt confirms this aspect of passivity in his own testimony:

The power came so suddenly and powerfully that I lay on the floor speaking in tongues incessantly for some time . . . it seemed as if an iron hand laid over my jaws. Both jaws and tongue were worked by this unseen power.⁷³

A. A. Boddy's daughter, Jane Vazeille, gives her account in words almost identical to Barratt. She testifies that:

. . . The Holy Ghost fell upon me in great power, causing me to shake very much and praise His Holy Name. This went on for some time, until a wonderful power seized my tongue and jaws, and I spoke in an "unknown tongue". Great joy and peace came to me, and power seemed to be passing through my body and shaking it very much. Several messages were given, but it was not me at all, but Christ in me. I was powerless.⁷⁴

Frank Bartleman, an eyewitness of the Azusa Street revival, corroborates exactly the same point in his testimony to Spirit baptism thus:

Nothing hinders faith and the operation of the Spirit so much as the self-assertiveness of the human spirit . . . this must be crucified and here is where the fight comes in . . . In the experience of "speaking in tongues" I had reached the climax in abandonment . . . I never sought tongues. My natural mind resisted the idea. This phenomena (*sic*) necessarily violates human reason. It means abandonment of this faculty for the time . . . the human mind is held in abeyance fully in this exercise.⁷⁵

This aspect of mental quiescence in seeking the baptism has led some critics of the movement to suggest that it opens up the recipient to demonic possession, rather than the work of the divine Spirit. The most penetrating criticism of this kind came from Jesse Penn-Lewis's broadside on Pentecostalism, *War on the Saints*, first published in 1912. She claims that:

The primary cause of deception and possession in surrendered believers may be condensed in one word, PASSIVITY; that is, a cessation of the active exercise of the will in control over spirit, soul and body, or either. It is, practically, a counterfeit of "surrender to God". The believer who "surrenders" his "members" – or faculties – to God, and ceases to *use* them himself . . . enables evil spirits to deceive and possess any part of his being which has become passive.⁷⁶

But Copley anticipates this objection in his advice to earnest seekers:

Do not fear that the devil will possess you; it is impossible under the blood. Yield to the Holy Spirit as love yields to love. Yield to all the Word. The Spirit would have you do this. . . . Forget yourself and turn in adoring worship to Him . . . singing and making melodies in your heart as never before. Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost!⁷⁷

In his second article on this subject, Copley looks at the reception of Spirit baptism from another angle, that of those factors that inhibit the reception of the experience. In his "Hindrances to Seekers" he lists seven reasons why seekers after this blessing may fail to receive it. His main argument is that the experience is so vital to full Christian living that all else must be put aside in the quest for it. He writes:

You are wanting enduement with power from on high. Let that alone be the object of your search . . . you should not admit another interest until your heart believes that you do receive the baptism . . . hence let go, let go and pray only and definitely for the Baptism in the Holy Ghost and fire until you obtain the divinely wrought certitude that your prayer is answered.⁷⁸

Moreover, another interesting point to emerge from Copley's articles is that within little more than a year of the Azusa Street awakening, considerable divergence of opinion as to how to enter the experience of Spirit baptism was emerging in the nascent movement. This is evident from his comment on "confusion of teaching"⁷⁹ as a hindrance to seekers:

One person declares that you must pray right through to the baptism; another affirms that you receive it by faith; still another contends that you must praise yourself into Pentecost; and yet another insists that you just tarry and wait until the Holy Ghost falls . . . This is the scriptural method, "ask and ye shall receive".⁸⁰

These disparate approaches to a pivotal doctrine of the movement reveal that, in primitive Pentecostalism at least, considerable freedom and flexibility was enjoyed by its leading teachers and exponents. This creativity, and dynamic tension, allowed men such as Boddy to assume such strategic importance within the movement, and while this developmental process was in full swing, both *Sunderland* and *Confidence* were acting as sounding-boards for the embryonic corpus of doctrine gradually taking shape. Indeed, the relative importance of *Confidence* as an organ of international Pentecostal teaching can be partly gauged from the very wide variety of articles appearing in it. Another way of putting this argument is to say that *Confidence* was clearly a non-sectarian journal, untrammelled by doctrinal strait-jackets or rigid confessions of faith. It was therefore in a unique and favoured position, able to arouse discussion and engage in dialectic in a way that became impossible in later denominational magazines.

Boddy personally wrote very little on *how* to receive Spirit baptism. His main interest appears to have been the actual outworking of the experience, and particularly its relationship to the "sign" of tongues. However, there is some evidence within *Confidence* that he too believed certain conditions had to be met before the baptism was given. Speaking at a conference in Amsterdam in September 1908 he said:

Ye are the temples of the Holy Spirit. We must first be cleansed and purged before we can seek the baptism. We must obey. Obedience comes before the fire. Then we must praise the Lord. If we praise the Lord, glory will fill his temple. Sin and all self must disappear and Christ must enter in.⁸¹

This element of prior cleansing – which the earlier exponents of holiness theology would have called sanctification – was also stressed by Pastor Jonathan Paul of

Berlin. In an article published in *Confidence*, "How to get the Baptism", he explicitly makes the point that, "There are certain conditions. If the Holy Ghost is to come in and dwell in us, then we should be prepared for His indwelling".⁸² According to Paul, the first pre-requisite is heart-cleansing. He asserts:

I think that the first thing we should teach to anyone seeking the Baptism is that he should have a real heart-cleansing . . . you may have forgiveness of sins and no idea of a clean heart.⁸³

Paul's comments show how difficult it was for most of the early Pentecostals to divest themselves of their holiness background and roots. His teaching on heart cleansing (in reality, sanctification) implies a three-stage schema of salvation, with the third blessing being Spirit baptism itself. He continues:

Depend upon it you are able to take by faith this wonderful cleansing. The cleansing power of the Blood will be manifested in your heart and life, and you will be blessed. Then the Holy Ghost will testify.⁸⁴

His last sentence is certainly ambiguous. It could mean that the Holy Ghost would testify *with the sign of tongues* to the reality of the work already wrought (the heart cleansing), but it could also mean that full Spirit baptism would then be bestowed as another experience, with the concomitant attestation of tongues. At any rate, what is clear is that Paul was differentiating various aspects of Christian initiation, with their subsequent conditions, in a manner rarely ever found in contemporary Pentecostalism.⁸⁵

Before leaving this vital topic, one other problem that is repeatedly referred to in *Confidence* concerns the practice known as "pleading the blood". The frequent references to it prove it must have been both prevalent, and regarded as dangerous, by Pentecostal leaders. In his history of the Apostolic Faith Church, *The Word of God Coming Again*, Kent White claims that the practice goes back to scenes of revival activity in the assembly at Westport Hall, Kilsyth, in January 1908.

John Reid, sitting in the midst, leaned back in his seat and raised his hand, and cried, "Blood, Blood, Blood!", a few times, and the Spirit of

God descended on the congregation, and thirteen young persons went down on their knees and got their baptism, and spoke in tongues that night. The seal of God was on this meeting; great victory followed the Blood cry.⁸⁶

White then gives several other examples of Spirit baptism following on from “pleading the blood”, but then makes the very surprising and unsubstantiated assertion that Boddy himself approved of the practice. He claims:

Rev. A. A. Boddy, of Sunderland, came and saw them pleading the Blood, falling under the power, and speaking in tongues; he was so overcome he lay on the platform on his face, unable to speak . . . then he and Mrs Boddy pled the Blood in their meetings in Sunderland. In Sunderland, the baptisms they had at first, without pleading the Blood, had practically ceased, and John Martin was sent down there, and commenced pleading the Blood; the power of the Spirit was manifest anew, and many were baptised.⁸⁷

White’s account, which has been repeated uncritically in Worsfold’s recent history of the Apostolic Church,⁸⁸ is contradicted by many explicit references in *Confidence*, which prove that nearly all the established leaders of British Pentecostalism, including Boddy, abhorred the practice.⁸⁹ T. B. Barratt was scathing about the practice, and made four trenchant criticisms of it in *Confidence*. He argues that:

1. It looks much like a *trick* to help forward the tongues.
2. There is a danger of *self-suggestion* in it.
3. Many might be led to speak in tongues that way (by human influence or worked-up sounds) and *not have the real baptism*.
4. If a man keeps his mind centred on Christ, and makes over the use of his tongue to God, the *Holy Spirit will know how to use it* without any mechanical help on our parts. They spoke “as the SPIRIT gave utterance”.⁹⁰

Despite these caveats, however, the practice continued to be widely followed, chiefly it seems under the influence of W. O. Hutchinson at Bournemouth,⁹¹ and was accordingly the subject of reproof by later responsible and perceptive leaders. Donald Gee, describing the practice as “this revolting habit”, explained that:

When pressed upon others in an entirely mechanical way there arose a vain supposition that the purely physical effect of the rapid repetition of one word was “speaking with tongues”. To such folly can unbalanced zeal become liable when it departs from the sanctification of the truth.⁹²

The very existence of the practice does, of course, suggest that there is often some difficulty and delay in seekers "praying through" to the baptism – and certainly when it is held that the evidence must be in the form of glossolalia, this tension cannot but be exacerbated.

In conclusion, then, it has been shown that very soon after the birth of Pentecostalism, various theories arose as to how to help seekers receive the experience of Spirit baptism. These viewpoints were widely promulgated in the pages of *Confidence*, and the magazine must have been instrumental in bringing scores of people into Pentecostal blessing. Whilst Boddy gave wide coverage and support to the complete spectrum of views on this subject, he also used his influence and considerable authority to warn readers of the dangers in auto-suggestion, and other mechanical methods of gaining the blessing.

NOTES – CHAPTER FIVE

1. *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1911, p. 75.
2. A. A. Boddy, "Born from Above", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 4, April 1909, p. 95
3. For the attitude of early Pentecostals to the role of female ministry, c.f. "The Place of Women in the Church", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 11, November 1914, pp. 208–213. Reader Harris's booklet "Female Ministry" was advertised in *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 2, February 1911, p. 44, and it seems likely that Boddy endorsed its views.
4. Mary Boddy, "The New Creation", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 12, December 1909, p. 276.
5. Mary Boddy, op. cit., vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 14.
6. Mary Boddy, op. cit., vol. 3, no. 3, March 1910, p. 62.
7. Mary Boddy, op. cit., vol. 3, no. 4, April 1910, p. 84.
8. Ibid., p. 85.
9. Ibid., p. 86.
10. Ibid.
11. Mary Boddy, op. cit., vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, pp. 108–109.
12. Mary Boddy, op. cit., vol. 3, no. 7, July 1910, pp. 162–163.
13. A. A. Boddy, "Born from Above", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 4, April 1909, p. 95.
14. Ibid., p. 98.
15. A. Missen, *Sound of a Going*, Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1973, p. 6.
16. Jane Boddy, "Alfred Alexander Boddy, 1854–1930", p. 7.
17. A. W. Frodsham, "Pentecost and the Churches", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 6.
18. Polhill's daughter Kathleen, (later a PMU missionary) opposed his involvement for at least two years. c.f. "From Opposing to Receiving", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 1, January 1914, p. 3. She subsequently gave her testimony at the Sunderland Conventions in 1913 and 1914. Polhill's sister-in-law, Annie Marston, wrote a particularly acerbic attack on his part in the revival. Her views are printed in G. H. Lang, *The Earlier Years of the Modern Tongues Movement*, Conley and Schoettle, 1985, p. 44.
19. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 104.
20. A. A. Boddy, "A Year of Blessing", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 6, September 1908, p. 5.
21. c.f. P. Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill – Pentecostal Layman", *Pneuma*, vol. 10, no. 2, Fall 1988, p. 137, n. 128.
22. "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Sign of Tongues", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 5, May 1909, p. 122, Q.1.
23. Ibid., A.2.
24. Ibid., Q.4.

25. Ibid. Q.7.
26. Eugen Edel, "A Greater Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 3, March 1911, pp. 58–59.
27. Jonathan Paul, "The Scriptural Baptism of the Holy Ghost and its Results", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1910, pp. 141–142.
28. The passage cited was Ezekiel 36.25–27.
29. Paul, op. cit., p. 142.
30. Jonathan Paul, "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 6, June 1911, pp. 136–138.
31. Thomas Hackett, "Heart Purity as a Necessary Preparation for Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 7, July 1912, p. 156.
32. Ibid., p. 157.
33. Kate Knight, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 6, June 1915, p. 112.
34. Ibid., p. 113.
35. Knight, op. cit., vol. 8, no. 7, July 1915, p. 133.
36. Ibid.
37. This stance is especially apparent in works such as E. H. Broadbent's *The Pilgrim Church*, (Pickering and Inglis, 1931) and D. J. Beattie's *Brethren: the Story of a Great Recovery*, (John Ritchie Ltd., 1939).
38. A series of natural disasters in the USA in 1906, and the outbreak of World War 1, accentuated this belief.
39. Predictions of a world-wide revival were published in *Confidence* in June 1908, p. 11, and February 1910, p. 31. A prophecy that New York would be destroyed by an earthquake was printed by Boddy in July 1909, p. 145. Probably the most daring and speculative prophecies published by Boddy were concerned with the date of Christ's second coming to earth. c.f. chapter 9 for details of these prognostications.
40. Knight, op. cit., vol. 8, no. 7, July 1915, p. 133.
41. The letter was from Pastor Emil Meyer of Hamburg, and was printed under "Pentecostal News", in *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 11, November 1909, p. 258.
42. T. B. Barratt, "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost – What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 10, October 1909, p. 222.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Barratt did not deal with the question of why tongues were not mentioned in two other Lukan accounts of Spirit baptism (Acts 8.14–17 and Acts 9.17–19).
46. Jonathan Paul, "Answer to the Declaration of Berlin", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 10, October 1909, pp. 228–229.
47. A. A. Boddy, "The Mulheim Declaration", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 11, November 1909, p. 254.
48. A. A. Boddy, "What We Teach", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 12, December 1909, p. 286.

49. H. Mogridge, *Pentecost and the Gift of Tongues*, 16pp. booklet, n.d.
50. A. A. Boddy, "What We Teach", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 12, December 1909, p. 286.
51. Ibid.
52. A full list of the 31 co-signatories, and their addresses, is given at the end of the statement (op cit., p. 288).
53. "A London Declaration", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 12, December 1909, p. 287.
54. Ibid., p. 288.
55. His earlier articles on this subject were printed in *Confidence* in April 1908 (p. 18), May 1908, (pp. 4-5), June 1908 (p. 3), October 1908 (pp. 22-23), November 1908 (pp. 9-10).
56. A. A. Boddy, "Seven Hall-Marks of Heaven Upon the Pentecostal Baptism with the Sign of Tongues", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 8, August 1909, pp. 180-183.
57. Ibid., p. 180.
58. The seven evidences adduced were: Jesus is glorified; Calvary was honoured; the Bible is loved; souls are saved; missions to heathen; love for prayer; readiness for the second coming of Christ.
59. Ibid. p. 182.
60. Ibid. p. 183.
61. Ibid. p. 180.
62. Ibid. p. 183.
63. A. A. Boddy, "The True Baptism in the Holy Ghost", *Confidence*, vol. 12, no. 2, April/June 1919, p. 19 (note: the reference to 'Acts ix' should read 'Acts x').
64. Ibid., p. 20.
65. Martin Robinson, "The Charismatic Anglican", p. 81.
66. William Kay, "A History of British Assemblies of God", Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1989, pp. 24-25.
67. *Grace and Glory* was originally published under subscription by J. Roswell Flower, using the title *The Pentecost*. Copley took over the magazine in 1910 and immediately made it a free publication. It was still being issued in 1989.
68. A. S. Copley, "The Way to Your Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol 1, no. 5, August 1908, p. 23.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 24.
71. *The Triumphs of Faith* was subtitled "A Monthly Journal Devoted to Faith Healing and to the Promotion of Christian Holiness". It became increasingly Pentecostal in stance after Mrs Montgomery received Spirit baptism, in Chicago in 1908. For fuller details of her ministry, c.f. D. Albrecht, "The Life and Ministry of Carrie Judd Montgomery", graduate research paper, Western Evangelical Seminary, 1984, and her autobiography, *Under His Wings* (1936).
72. Carrie Judd Montgomery, "The Promise of the Father", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 8, November 1908, pp. 3-6.

73. A. A. Boddy, "How The Fire Fell", quoted in G. H. Lang, *The Earlier Years of the Modern Tongues Movement*, Conley and Schoettle, Miami, 1985, pp. 28–29.
74. Jane Vazeille Boddy, "Testimony of a Vicar's Daughter", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, p. 7.
75. Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, Bridge Publishing, New Jersey, 1980, pp. 72–75.
76. Jesse Penn-Lewis, *War on the Saints*, Diasozo Trust, 1987, p. 69, c.f. also Lang, *Earlier Years*, pp. 30–32, and Budgen, *The Charismatics and the Word of God*, p. 186, for similar comments.
77. A. S. Copley, op. cit. p. 24.
78. A. S. Copley, "Hindrances to Seekers", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 6, September 1908, p. 18.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. A. A. Boddy, "Spade Regen", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 6, September 1908, p. 18. (translated from the report in Dutch of G. R. Polman).
82. Jonathan Paul, "How to get the Baptism", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 2, February 1914, p. 30.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., p. 31.
85. W. Hollenweger, in discussing these two-stage and three-stage concepts of salvation in early Pentecostalism, argues that the modern movement has "betrayed" its original teaching by conflating Spirit baptism and sanctification. (W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, London: SCM, 1972, p. 23). But whether a modification is necessarily a betrayal is surely open to argument.
86. Kent White, *The Word of God Coming Again*, Apostolic Faith Church, Winton, n.d. (c. 1919), p. 83.
87. Ibid., p. 86.
88. J. E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, Julian Literature Trust, Wellington, NZ, 1991, p. 46.
89. A. A. Boddy, "Across the Atlantic", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 8, August 1909, p. 174.
90. T. B. Barratt, "Pentecostal News", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 8, August 1909, p. 187.
91. Worsfold, op. cit., pp. 47–48.
92. Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame*, Heath Press Ltd, 1967, p. 59.

CHAPTER SIX

The teaching of “Confidence” on ‘Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost’

The centrality of the doctrine of Spirit baptism and its concomitant sign, glossolalia, within early Pentecostal pneumatology can be easily gauged from the frequency with which the topic is treated in *Confidence*. In the first few years of its life, hardly an issue was published that did not include some teaching on this topic. In fact, the very first issue carried a robust yet eirenic defence of the doctrine in an article by Boddy entitled “Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost”. He began by stating his belief in the recovery of the sign and experience of Spirit baptism thus:

God is wonderfully giving back the Sign of Tongues to sincere seekers after the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. I am glad that He has given me this supernatural sign. I could not have rested content without it.¹

After carefully distinguishing the “seal” of tongues from the continuous “gift” of the same – a nuance that was to prove crucial in later developments of the doctrine – Boddy provides a most illuminating comment regarding the inseparable connection of Spirit baptism and tongues:

One is often asked, “Do you think anyone can have had the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and not have had the Sign of Tongues?”. I cannot judge another, but for me, “Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of the Tongues”.²

We will have occasion later to observe that Boddy’s views on this matter shifted to a more ambiguous and less dogmatic stance. But at this juncture his teaching virtually mirrors that of Parham, Seymour and other transatlantic exponents of the doctrine – with one important difference. Charles Parham taught – and believed to his dying day – that the gift of tongues was a genuine missionary gift, xenoglossolalia. As such it could be used for the conversion of the heathen, simply by a glossolalist

sailing to their lands and preaching in the native languages.³ Boddy always rejected this view; in a ringing endorsement of an article by the leading Anglican divines Conybeare and Howson, Boddy quoted in *Confidence* their belief that:

It was not a knowledge of foreign languages, as is often supposed; we never read of its being exercised for the conversion of foreign nations nor (except on the day of Pentecost alone) for that of individual foreigners.⁴

Having denied the missionary function of tongues, the question could obviously then be put as to what was the point of the gift at all? The extract continues therefore:

This gift was the result of a sudden influx of supernatural inspiration, which came upon the new believer immediately after his baptism . . . the understanding was suspended, while the spirit was rapt into a state of ecstasy by the immediate communication of the Spirit God. In this ecstatic trance the believer was constrained by an irresistible power to pour forth his feelings of thanksgiving and rapture in words; yet the words which issued from his mouth were not his own; he was even (usually) ignorant of their meaning.⁵

This extract appears to encapsulate Boddy's own views on the subject, though it is evident there is some tension in the concept of tongues as "ecstatic speech" and the idea of "irresistibility" implied by the writers. Boddy clearly held the view that the speaker in tongues was in full control of the gift, as is evident from the number of occasions when he cut short certain utterances in public when he felt they were out of order.⁶ He was always adamant that, at least in public, no more than three messages in tongues, with interpretation, should be given.⁷

But having acted to correct such abuses, another much more subtle difficulty soon arose over the question of the actual status that should be accorded to "messages" in tongues. Certain Pentecostals came to believe that speaking in tongues was an infallible channel for communicating the mind and will of God, and that such utterances should have an authority at least equivalent to Scripture.⁸ As early as June 1908 Boddy was warning of the dangers of equating such "messages" in tongues with the *ipsissima verba* of God:

We would strongly urge the importance of the care needed in this matter of messages . . . speaking from Scripture, we see *no warrant* for expecting a message in "Tongues" for details of daily life and guidance.⁹

That this type of practice – an uncritical reliance on tongues for guidance – was widespread in the early days of the movement, is evident from the repeated allusions to it in *Confidence*.¹⁰ Mary Boddy believed that many of such messages were induced psychologically. She wrote:

We would appeal lovingly and earnestly to all those who have received the “gift of tongues” with interpretation to pray much over this . . . we are glad to think that many false “messages” were produced by their “own heart” or subconscious mind, therefore it is a relief to find it is not demon possession, though undoubtedly it is one of the “snares of the devil”.¹¹

As if anticipating the objection that this type of guidance was common in the early church, she continues:

Nowhere can we find in the Word of God, in *this* dispensation, any suggestion that guidance in the affairs of daily life for ourselves, and especially for others is to be given thus . . . the great difference between hypnotic, mesmeric or demon power and that of the Holy Spirit is that the former *control* us, causing people to act against their will.¹²

The outstanding leader of Norwegian Pentecostalism, T. B. Barratt, was equally dismissive of such claims to divine guidance through tongues. In a letter to Boddy, printed in the November 1908 issue of *Confidence*, he warns:

I am afraid that many are making a mistake . . . some people I find cannot do any little thing unless they enquire of some or other to know if they shall or not. This is surely not the Biblical way . . . I always feel, if anything very important is stated in prophecy concerning myself that I cannot **BLINDLY** be guided by that statement unless it has foundation in the Word of God, or God impresses me in a similar way.¹³

That this abuse of tongues and prophecy, which ultimately culminated in the “spoken word” movement, continued to dog the progress of the Pentecostal movement is evident in Boddy’s subsequent references to the matter. Throughout the first ten years of the publication of *Confidence*, he returns again and again to warn of the practice. A keynote article written in 1911 sounds an imperious note thus:

He has ever warned against the abuse of the gift, and the attempt to work up or produce “Tongues” by unscriptural methods. He cannot believe they were intended for guidance in matters of daily life. Disaster has followed again and again where this has been the practice. Alas, warnings continue to be unheeded by some, and at last their faith is almost wrecked, and the faith of others.¹⁴

We can assume from the tone of such warnings that this practice was not only widespread within the movement, but that it led to some very serious errors of belief and behaviour. Boddy, ever the pastor as well as biblical teacher, could see that not only were personal issues at stake for individual believers, but that the whole testimony of the Pentecostal movement was endangered by acts of such egregious folly. He continues:

The "Pentecostal Movement" is very unpopular today, and most of all so because of unscriptural extravagances. These things make it hard for those who determine to walk in the way of faith and of Scripture.¹⁵

Boddy's rejection of supra-biblical revelation, and his commitment to *sola scriptura*, is seen in his continuing disavowal of the claims of the spoken word movement. After noting that, through this practice, "difficulties have occurred in every centre throughout the world",¹⁶ he warns in another article in *Confidence*:

We must not expect personal guidance through prophecy or "Tongues" with interpretation . . . as to personal messages, I do not remember ever being guided by such, nor that they have made any beneficial change in the actions of any I have known.¹⁷

By 1914, the situation was so serious that the International Advisory Council, convening in Sunderland for the Whitsun Convention, felt compelled to issue an official warning "to all who are with us in this precious faith". It concerned the circulation of "Books of Messages" among Pentecostal assemblies, and warned:

Concerning Spurious Literature
Attempts are being made to spread a kind of literature among Pentecostal circles, which claims to be given by direct inspiration, equal to the Infallible Word. We refer to the "Leaves of Healing from Jesus", "Fragrance from Heaven", "In School with the Holy Ghost", "Honey out of the Rock", "Letters from Jesus", and all books of like character. Jesus himself is being introduced as sending forth these messages to His loved ones . . . we feel it our duty to earnestly and lovingly point out the danger of this kind of literature.¹⁸

The warning went on to indicate the "spiritualistic and soulish" origins of such messages, and that their reception would inevitably "draw away from the Bible". The coupling of messages in tongues with a vernacular interpretation to give what were, in effect, oracular statements equivalent to prophecy, deeply troubled Boddy.

Certainly he saw the possibility of Satanic deception via this practice, with all the confusion that that would inevitably cause to young or weak Christians. He therefore gives certain tests for validating these messages:

The enemy has in some places got in with false prophecies and stumbled many who were not very strong in the faith. The workings of the unconscious mind are very, very deep and while those prophesying may have been honest, they would do well to consult other Spirit-filled leaders before acting upon them. Long fruitless journeys for instance have been taken, and God's money spent in vain, or largely in vain, in such cases. The prophecies, when of God, will surely be fulfilled. We must not accept messages (especially important messages) unless tested by the Word and confirmed by the Spirit in others, and also by providential circumstances.¹⁹

Even as late as 1917, Boddy was still fulminating against the practice of personal messages, writing of "the havoc they have wrought".²⁰ It must be conceded, however, that there is something of a disjunction in Boddy's attitude in this matter. He had no qualms about publishing transcriptions of tongues and interpretations in the pages of *Confidence*, and such appear regularly.²¹ Why should these be regarded as authoritative, and the personal messages viewed with such suspicion? The answer appears to lie in Boddy's view of the nature of revelation. He believed that tongues and interpretation could be *confirmatory* of truths already implicit in the Bible, so that the Spirit was simply calling attention again to the prior revelation of God in Scripture. What Boddy could not accept was the concept of specific, individualised guidance on, often, quite trivial aspects of personal life. As we have already seen, in this he had the support of Barratt, who averred "I have never allowed myself to be guided thus in daily details".²²

Boddy's reference to the "unpopularity" of the Pentecostal movement may also be attributable to another phenomenon, also arising directly out of the operation of the gift of tongues. This concerned the unruly behaviour of some glossolalists in public meetings, where they would interrupt the sermon in order to deliver a message in tongues. This would probably pass unnoticed in small Pentecostal gatherings, but in the setting of vast conferences such as the Sunderland Convention, such behav-

our could easily lead to uproar. Boddy had envisaged possible problems of this kind as early as 1909, writing in *Confidence*:

The enemy is doing his best to mystify and perplex by sending along self-seekers and religious cranks. He does this in every great spiritual movement. Or he works through earnest emotional hysterical people who are truly longing after God yet have little control over themselves.²³

Attempts to control the execrations of such folk had been made by making entry to the Sunderland Conventions a ticket-only affair, with each holder having to sign this undertaking:

I declare that I am in full sympathy with those who are seeking 'Pentecost'. I also undertake to accept the ruling of the Chairman.²⁴

Since the chairman at these Conventions was always A. A. Boddy, and we know from independent sources how efficient he was, this precaution should have proved adequate defence against the antics of cranks and immature exhibitionists.²⁵ But by 1910, two years after the ticket rule was introduced, it is evident that its provisions were being circumvented. In that year, even stronger warnings were printed on the tickets, "the Convener reserves the right to exclude any whom he considers might be a hindrance to the Meetings".²⁶ This wording suggests that the leaders of the movement were actually able to identify possible trouble makers, and this is corroborated by the fact that the names of known miscreants were indeed circulated by Boddy and his contemporaries. The process also indicates that, from a sociological perspective, Boddy and Sunderland were beginning to act with charismatic authority in the early movement. But despite these precautions, there is evidence that the Conventions in 1913 and 1914 were marred by unseemly and unscriptural behaviour, at one point the Chairman having to threaten the interrupters with ejection by the stewards. As might be expected, the local press, who were always in attendance at the Convention, made much of such behaviour, giving the meetings an unwanted notoriety and doubtless much pain to Boddy and his helpers.²⁷

In relation therefore, to Boddy's own admission of the evident abuses to which the gift of tongues was liable, we need to examine how he could regard (and even defend) its use as the *sine qua non* of genuine Pentecostal experience. Another way of putting this point is to ask how, given the evident and obvious abuses of this putative charisma, it could infallibly provide the initial evidence of the incoming of the Holy Ghost. This issue has undoubtedly caused much heart searching and controversy in both primitive and contemporary Pentecostalism, especially within those denominations who enshrine the teaching of "initial evidence" in their official constitutions.

The situation in contemporary Pentecostalism on this issue is that most of the older, classical denominations still place great stress on the central role of tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism. The historical roots for this belief can be traced back of course to both Parham and Seymour. The declaration of faith of the Apostolic Faith Movement asserts:

The Baptism with the Holy Ghost is a gift of power upon the sanctified life; so when we get it, we have the same evidence as the Disciples received on the Day of Pentecost, in speaking in new tongues.²⁸

The doctrinal basis of the Church of God includes the statement:

We believe in speaking with other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance, and that it is the initial evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.²⁹

The statement of fundamental truths published by the Assemblies of God in Britain and Northern Ireland states "We believe in the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking with other tongues",³⁰ whereas its American counterpart has a similar statement but refers to tongues as "the initial physical sign" of Spirit baptism.³¹ Similarly, the fundamentals of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain state "the coming of the Spirit to a person should be evidenced by the sign of speaking in tongues".³² The Church of God (Cleveland) similarly affirms that "speaking with other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance is the initial evidence of

the baptism of the Holy Ghost".³³ By contrast however to those bodies, the Elim denomination, doubtless reflecting the hesitancy of their founder George Jeffreys on this issue, simply state:

We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the baptiser in the Holy Ghost, and that this baptism with signs following is promised to every believer.³⁴

Within the Charismatic and House Churches, the importance given to tongues is far less rigid, and opinion seems to run the whole gamut. In general, it is perhaps accurate to say that most second and third "wavers" still look for and expect the sign of tongues to accompany (or at least follow) Spirit baptism, but there is less dogmatism as to its status as the *sine qua non* of the experience. However, even up to the present time, the issue is still hotly debated within those circles ostensibly committed to a definitive view of the matter.³⁵

However at present, we shall now look at the formation and development of this doctrine through the eyes of the pioneers of Pentecostalism in the UK and Europe, and observe the way in which *Confidence* was the major source in propagating the initially inchoate and disparate views that prevailed on this issue. The starting point for a survey of the British dimension is, of course, the views of Boddy on the matter. It is interesting to observe a discernible chronological shift in Boddy's pneumatology throughout his editorship of *Confidence*. We have already noticed his early and important statement, "for me Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of Tongues".³⁶ That statement fairly summarises his views for the first few years of the Pentecostal movement, and he returns to the theme very frequently.

In a reprint of his booklet "Tongues at Caesarea", which was re-printed in *Confidence* in October 1908, he asserts that when the Christians at Caesarea began to speak in tongues (Acts 10.44–46) "at once it was taken by the Christians present as a sign that they had become possessed by a Divine power, even the Holy Ghost

Himself".³⁷ Boddy then proceeds with a comment that highlights the difficulties he obviously has in identifying a two-stage schema of salvation in the case of the Caesarean believers:

These people at the moment of their conversion received the Holy Ghost in power. The Holy Ghost chose to manifest His incoming and His indwelling – His divine possession – by overflowing through the mouths of these new converts in ecstatic praise.³⁸

The following month he returned to the same theme with a robust defence of glossolalia, stating that during his 1907 visit to Norway he heard “numbers of Spirit-filled men and women and even children magnify God in Tongues . . . they are all strengthened by this evidence that the Holy Ghost has come into fuller possession.”³⁹

However it was not long before the indissoluble link between tongues and Spirit baptism was seriously challenged. The first signs that the ‘initial evidence’ dogma was open to discussion and debate came during the deliberations of the Pentecostal German Conference, held at Hamburg, 8–11 December 1908. Britain’s first glossolalist, Mrs Catherine Price, had already rejected the dogma, stating:

Neither must we allow it to be said that no one has received the Spirit except those who have spoken in tongues. The blessed fellowship we have had with some of the Lord’s Spirit-filled children would contradict this statement.⁴⁰

Price’s disclaimer is an important concession, coming as it does so soon after her own experience of Spirit baptism, and so early in the infancy of the Pentecostal movement. However, not too much importance should be placed upon her caveat since, although she led a Pentecostal house-group, she was in no position of recognised leadership within the movement *per se*. It was men like Boddy and Polhill, both of whom were present at the Hamburg conference, who were formulating the beliefs and practices of the movement, and who were propagating those beliefs via *Confidence*. Their attendance at this conference was crucial because the issue of tongues and initial evidence was repeatedly brought up.

On the first morning, Boddy was asked an explicit question by Evangelist Reimon of Pritzwalle, "Do all who so receive their Pentecost at Sunderland and elsewhere speak in Tongues?".⁴¹ Boddy's reply was unequivocal, "Yes, in this movement we have only called that a 'Pentecost' which is attested by the speaking in Tongues".⁴² Leaving aside for a moment the obvious circularity of both question and answer, it should be noted that not all the conferees were so dogmatic on the issue. Pastor Jonathan Paul, of Berlin, cast doubt upon the authenticity of some experiences when he claimed:

There are some who have received 'Tongues' as to whom I am somewhat doubtful . . . I believe the Gift of Tongues may be received when one is *regenerated* according to the Scriptures.⁴³

Boddy appears to be rather perplexed by Paul's twofold caveat, and adds his own explanatory note thus:

The Editor of "Confidence" would here note (1) perhaps in Germany attention has been directed more to the Gift of Tongues than the 'Sign'. In Great Britain we have been very thankful when we have received with the baptism of the Holy Ghost the *sign* of speaking in tongues, if only on a single occasion. But if it afterwards continued as a clear language we would consider *that* the Gift of Tongues (2) Evidently some of our German brethren think of the Gift of Tongues as possible apart from the *Baptism* of the Holy Ghost, and this may be so. But if a seeker has humbly looked to God to give him *this* sign . . . God would not allow him to be deceived.⁴⁴

Boddy's distinction between the 'sign' and 'gift' of tongues is crucial, and remains to this day an important aspect of Pentecostal pneumatology, not least because it explains why so many Spirit-baptised believers fail to go on to manifest the practice of glossolalia on any regular basis. It also circumvents the apostolic rhetorical question, "do all speak in tongues?" (1 Corinthians 12.30) with an explanation that Paul was thinking only of the gift, not sign, of tongues.⁴⁵

A further twist to the way in which divergent views on the tongues phenomenon were emerging was given by the Dutch Pentecostal, Pastor G. R. Polman, who had received his Spirit baptism at All Saints, Sunderland, on 4 June 1908. Polman claimed:

In Holland none are satisfied unless they have the sign of Tongues. They all go in for the full Pentecostal baptism; not all continue to speak in Tongues, but perhaps half when the Holy Spirit works in meetings begin again to speak.⁴⁶

Polman gives no explanation as to why about half those receiving Spirit baptism, and who were evidently blessed with the *gift* of tongues, should allow it to fall into desuetude. But his statement certainly supports the commonly-expressed view that many Pentecostals fail to sustain the initial dynamism of their Spirit reception, a factor that is causing increasing concern among the more perceptive leaders of contemporary Pentecostalism.⁴⁷

The Hamburg Conference, providing as it did a platform for the expression of a wide variety of viewpoints on Pentecostal doctrine, must be regarded as a watershed. Perhaps the most authoritative statement on the issue of tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism came from the harbinger of Pentecost to Britain, T. B. Barratt, yet even he seems ambivalent on the matter. He says:

The Tongues are the Sign of His Presence. It is the flag waving over the Palace, telling that He is at home. If not the flag of Tongues, then the Blood Red flag of Love or the White flag of Purity. But the special flag for these days is the Tongues. The Tongues will as a rule come with the Holy Ghost's power. Yet for some reason or other there are cases where they have not immediately come, or come at all. Man by his will-power may resist the Holy Ghost at any point.⁴⁸

Barratt's crucial concession – “tongues will as a rule come” – must be regarded as vitiating the absoluteness of tongues as the *sine que non* of Spirit baptism, as does his later admission that tongues were not always inspired by the Holy Spirit:

Tongues may be produced by an illness of the brain. Doctors of insane asylums tell us that patients sometimes speak in Tongues. Probably demons get in as well as diseases. This all proves that there is a channel in the human brain through which such work may be done.⁴⁹

Barratt's concessions amount to an admission that glossolalic utterances must be judged and tested for spiritual authenticity, and that they have no *de facto* legitimacy. He continues:

Some messages are of such an inferior order that they are not worthy of interpretation. There is a danger of treating anyone who has given out a message as an infallible oracle . . . we must remember that the oracle is a frail human being, and liable to make mistakes . . . the channel is fallible.⁵⁰

Barratt's point was endorsed by Jonathan Paul, who urged the need for critical evaluation of the content of tongues messages:

There is a danger of "Tongues" being looked to as an oracle. The subconscious mind may resign itself unto God or unto self . . . everyone who receives a gift should be responsible, and others should judge.⁵¹

Paul obviously has in mind here the practice already referred to of "messages" in tongues being relied on for guidance in the affairs of daily life, but his comment, and that of Barratt, is included because it indicates a growing attenuation of the significance of glossolalia in the fledgling movement. It appears that Boddy's crucial shift on this subject arose through his contact with German Pentecostals during the Berlin Conference of September 1910, and especially his discussions with Jonathan Paul.

In May 1910, Boddy was still enunciating the view that tongues were "conclusive evidence to these people (the Jews of Caesarea) that the Holy Ghost had come".⁵² However, during the weekend 24–26 September 1910, Boddy lodged with Jonathan Paul in Berlin, and naturally took the opportunity to discuss at length various issues pertinent to the Pentecostal revival. After explaining that Paul's views on the Baptism in the Holy Ghost "should be seriously considered, though they are a little startling to us",⁵³ Boddy tells the readers of *Confidence* that, according to Pastor Paul:

There are those who have received the Baptism but have not spoken in Tongues. I know personally those who have undoubtedly received the Baptism. Their lives and power and love show this and I could not say that they were not baptised with the Holy Ghost. I myself received the Baptism twelve years ago and had all the evidence which I have today, though I did not speak in Tongues.⁵⁴

Boddy was clearly surprised at this apparent weakening of the significance of tongues vis-à-vis Spirit baptism, and pressed Jonathan Paul for further elucidation thus:

But Pastor Paul, I said, “do you not think that it is most desirable that we should have today the same sign as was given on the great day of Pentecost?”

“Yes my beloved brother, I agree with you, and no one having the Baptism of the Holy Ghost should ever say one word against true ‘Tongues’ where there is also Love and the other graces.”⁵⁵

The significant addition of “love and the other graces” in Paul’s statement probably has its origin in the fact that he had apparently observed glossolalia in ungodly and carnal Christians, leading to his later comment that “speaking in tongues, together with an unholy life, may best be characterised with this one word: ICHABOD: the glory has departed”.⁵⁶

We may also note the similar reservations on the evidential value of tongues as expressed by Prediger Edel of Hamburg, who conceded:

We must admit that there are some foolish people amongst the Pentecostal brethren, and also some wise folk among our opposers. Brother Edel dare not say that no one is baptised with the Holy Ghost that does not speak with Tongues.⁵⁷

We must conclude that exposure to, and contact with, these views of his German counterparts seriously challenged Boddy. Writing in the next issue of *Confidence*, he still defends the place of tongues as “the normal seal or sign in the early Church”,⁵⁸ but concedes, in words almost identical to Jonathan Paul’s, that:

There are and have been some who perhaps have never spoken in Tongues, of whom the writer cannot say that they have not been Baptised into the one Body.⁵⁹

Boddy then looks at this issue from the other way round, from the viewpoint of those persons who *do* speak in tongues. Of these he asserts:

He could not say of a stranger who came to him “speaking in Tongues” – this man is baptised in the Holy Ghost because he speaks in Tongues. He would have to see also DIVINE LOVE.⁶⁰

Both Robinson and Kay, in dealing with this apparent shift of emphasis in Boddy’s pneumatology, draw different conclusions. Robinson regards it as a weakening of the earlier stress on tongues as *the* crucial evidence of Spirit baptism, whereas Kay argues

that the addition of love actually tightens up and consolidates Boddy's view of tongues.⁶¹ There is a sense in which both writers are correct. Whilst Boddy nowhere actually repudiates the status of tongues in relation to an evidence of Spirit baptism, the very fact that he does not allow it to stand alone as *the* evidence for this experience must indicate a significant attenuation of his earlier view. The significance of Boddy's shift in this matter does not appear to be sufficiently recognised by Kay, committed as he personally is to the view of tongues alone as initial evidence of Spirit baptism.

There now arises of course the important question of why Boddy shifted his stance on this matter, so that he could actually claim, "divine Love is always and absolutely a necessary and only certain evidence accompanying the true Baptism".⁶² We have already adverted to his contact with other German Pentecostals, and their stature and success must have been a factor to be reckoned with. Boddy would not easily have dismissed their opinions on this issue, given as he was by nature and training to careful and balanced judgment. On the other hand, he was sufficiently his own man to form minority views on a number of other subjects, so there is no reason why this matter should be an exception. It seems highly likely that the main reason underlying his weakened view of tongues was the simple pragmatic one of observing its abuse and misuse among ostensibly Spirit-baptised believers. He had been sounding warning notes on this subject as early as May 1910, when he wrote in *Confidence*:

We have to admit that in the case of unsanctified people, there is a danger of putting the Tongues forward too prominently. Possibly we at Sunderland may inadvertently have done so at first.⁶³

The reference to "unsanctified people" was made even more pointed as Boddy continued to deal with the vexed problem of possibly counterfeit spirits simulating the gift of tongues within Pentecostal meetings. He warns:

Let us not forget that there are distinct dangers to soulish, psychic natures who seek signs rather than to exalt Jesus in their hearts and lives. This is not for the unsanctified.⁶⁴

That Boddy was well aware of instances of demonic spirits counterfeiting the gift of tongues is obvious from previous references to the subject in *Confidence*.⁶⁵ He had also been given problems by the behaviour of people with “strange spirits” during the Sunderland Conventions, and it is reasonable to assume that this same type of behaviour was in his mind.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, the widespread diversity within European Pentecostalism of the evidential value of glossolalia was nowhere more clearly delineated than by T. B. Barratt. His keynote address, “An Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity” was published in *Confidence* in February 1911. Barratt urged the setting up of some kind of spiritual organisational union between Pentecostal centres, along the lines of the Scandinavian Free Missions. In floating this suggestion Barratt does not minimise the doctrinal differences that existed between the centres of European Pentecostalism, especially on the issue of tongues. Barratt admits:

Even in the matter that interests us all so greatly – the tongues – there is some difference in the way in which their value and importance has been stated by teachers within the Revival. Some say that none have received the Spirit, as an in-dwelling being, unless we have spoken in tongues; some do not consider them as a necessary sign of Pentecost at all; but that they are one of the special gifts to be sought for, *all* evidently agree that when they are genuine they are brought about by the Holy Spirit *and are a sure evidence of His presence*.⁶⁷

Barratt’s proposal for union concluded with a statement containing a ten-point “Standards of Truth Taught in this Revival”, point eight of which stated:

Where tongues, in a Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, are bestowed, we have a *special* and *gracious evidence* of the Holy Spirit’s in-dwelling presence (Acts x.46).⁶⁸

This statement clearly falls far short of the earlier insistence on tongues as *the* evidence of Spirit baptism, and was probably a concession on the part of Barratt to ensure the support of the German leaders, and Boddy, in establishing a united Pentecostal alliance. Certainly, its contents illustrate once again the wide diversity of doctrine that existed in early Pentecostalism, even on a subject so fundamental to the revival’s very existence. Nevertheless, Barratt’s plea fell on deaf ears; in the UK it had the support of Cecil Polhill, but not that of the influential German Pastors, or of Boddy, who wrote against it thus:

The Editor of *Confidence* does not feel that the Lord's leading in these days is to set up a new Church, but to bless individuals where they are. There is just as much danger, sooner or later, for a "Pentecostal Church" (so-called) as for any of the churches that have risen and fallen.⁶⁹

Not to be dissuaded, Barratt presented his arguments again at the International Pentecostal Consultative Council, held in Amsterdam, 4–5 December 1912. But it was in a somewhat diluted form that the "Declaration" of the Council agreed that:

. . . We believe that the Holy Spirit seeks to bring about true unity among all the people of God, according to the valedictory prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ (John xvii). Not a unity in which uniformity prevails as to methods of work and doctrines that have long divided the Church, but a unity in spiritual fraternity which recognises the vital doctrines of Christianity.⁷⁰

There then followed a brief but highly significant statement about the relationship of glossolalia to Spirit baptism:

The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire we hold to be the coming upon and within of the Holy Spirit to indwell the believer in his fulness, and is always borne witness to by the fruit of the Spirit and the outward manifestation . . . we do not teach that all who have been baptised in the Holy Ghost, even if they should speak in Tongues, have already received the fulness of the blessing of Christ implied in the Baptism.⁷¹

This statement has all the hallmarks of a compromise agreement, presumably thrashed out after much discussion between the eight co-signatories, who represented Pentecostal leadership in England, Holland, Norway, Germany and Switzerland.⁷² The reference to "the outward manifestation" – not specified as exclusively tongues – and the concessive phrase "even if they should speak in Tongues" – indicate the hesitancy that the council clearly felt in dogmatising on *the* evidence of Spirit baptism. This reluctance is even clearer when the statement is coupled with yet another warning about spurious manifestations of the Spirit:

While we encourage all believers to seek the same full baptism as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, together with its manifestations, yet we would earnestly warn against merely seeking soulish experiences or fleshy demonstrations, which not a few have mistaken for the work of the Spirit.⁷³

The pages of *Confidence* continued to carry teaching articles about the nature of tongues, and its relationship to Spirit baptism. Boddy's wife, Mary, took on an

increasingly pedagogic role in the movement. But, although her ministry of “laying on of hands” had helped many into the Baptism, she held grave reservations about the value of tongues alone as evidence of the experience. She averred:

The “Baptism” is TO BE FILLED WITH GOD, and “Tongues” will follow; but to speak in Tongues only is not, I can see, a sufficient sign of the Baptism . . . As soon as a person is truly “born of God” and has CHRIST in their life, then the Holy Ghost *will fall* and they *will* speak in “Tongues” if they expect to do so, but I do believe that merely speaking in Tongues is not necessarily a convincing sign that a person has got God in them.⁷⁴

This cautionary note, which had been more or less endorsed by the Amsterdam Declaration, fairly reflects the tone of most articles appearing in *Confidence* until February 1914. Then, in that issue of the magazine, two articles appeared that can be considered as virtually antithetical in their estimate of glossolalia. The first article was written by Boddy himself, and was a biographical sketch of his early life and ministry. Boddy describes his reception of the gift of tongues on 2 December 1907, and recounts what happened on the following day thus:

I found my way down to the sea. The tide was out and I walked on the sands towards Whitburn near the edge of the water. There I praised God in unrestrained tongues . . . He gives me wonderful opportunities of witnessing for Him, of preaching full salvation, and of testifying to His goodness in baptising with the blessed Holy Spirit, and speaking through us in the Tongues.⁷⁵

The curious thing about Boddy’s ringing endorsement of his post-1907 view of tongues is that, in the same issue of *Confidence* there appeared another article that was highly critical of this stance. This article, wrongly attributed by both Robinson and Massey to Boddy, was in fact penned by the Californian Bible teacher W. T. Dixon.⁷⁶ He made a number of damning criticisms of both Pentecostal doctrine and practice, saying:

The blessed harmony of soul and spirit . . . which went out from Jerusalem to fill the world with blessing, has not followed, in the main, the teaching of Pentecost with signs following in this our day . . . that there is something vitally and essentially wrong is self-evident.⁷⁷

Dixon goes on to concede that the Pentecostal movement has brought to the Church “an overwhelming display of Divine authority and power”, but argues that

Pentecostalism has also brought three errors concerning glossolalia into their pneumatology. He argues firmly against the initial evidence view of tongues, saying:

There is not one word of teaching to that effect in all the Scripture . . . every manifestation of tongues is not an evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost. It must be accompanied by all the other Scriptural evidence.⁷⁸

Dixon does not elucidate what the other “evidences” of Spirit baptism are – presumably he has in mind the moral aspects – and goes on to argue against the use of tongues and interpretation for giving personal guidance in prophetic “words”, which we know was a practice that Boddy also deprecated. His final point is to reproach the Pentecostal churches for their extravagant estimate of the use of tongues, claiming that:

How carefully have most of the leaders of Pentecostal assemblies avoided the Word of God at this point . . . had the word of the Lord been followed on this point, there is no comprehension of the extent to which this work might have grown before now. But . . . places where the most open violence to the Scripture was practised with a high hand, and where confusion and bedlam reigned with wildest zeal, have been pointed to as the centres of greatest power . . . is it any wonder that thousands of hungry-hearted Christians have turned away in disgust?⁷⁹

It is not clear, and Dixon does not tell us, which “centres” he had in mind for the above censure. It is unlikely to refer to Azusa Street as we know from several independent sources that by this time it was but a shadow of its former self.⁸⁰ It is more likely that he had in mind the activities of George and Carrie Judd Montgomery, who were close neighbours of his in California and had run a large three-storey house in Oakland, Beulah Heights, as a centre of evangelistic outreach since 1893. In 1914, the year of Dixon’s article, Mrs Montgomery was running Pentecostal camps in California – Dixon’s home state – one of which A. A. Boddy attended. His report in *Confidence*, though containing the caveat that “Mrs Carrie Judd Montgomery’s name was a guarantee against fanaticism or wild fire,”⁸¹ seems to be contradicted by his account of her meetings:

The scenes at the evening meeting were sometimes almost amazing. The people . . . flung themselves on their knees round the platform. The

whole meeting seemed to rush for the "altar", general prayer went up all over the gathering, there was strong crying often merging into praise. Then the Heavenly Anthem till all arms went up and nearly every throat was thrilling with melodious notes.⁸²

This account was of course published some ten months after Dixon's article had appeared, but that this type of behaviour was characteristic of these camp meetings in general is shown by a further comment of Boddy about religious life in the USA:

I noticed that in the USA there is a love of physical "manifestations". Many find them stimulating and strengthening. That which shocks some does not seem irreverent at all to others who wish to be very true to God.⁸³

Boddy found a marked contrast in the approach of English Pentecostal preachers, and their American counterparts, writing:

The preachers here from my point of view, seem to preach with tremendous vehemence and to work up the congregation to unrestrained demonstrations of appreciation. Unfriendly reporters of the Sunderland Convention have once or twice written of "Pandemonium in Prayer", but words would fail an English reporter if he dropped in when the dear Pentecostal people here were really warmed up . . . I must confess I rather like such a scene just now and again, but it should come spontaneously, and not be worked up.⁸⁴

Another flavour of the type of scene Boddy was cautioning against is given in his account of a visit to a camp meeting in Philadelphia, in July 1914:

One brother . . . had turned somersaults the night before, in excitement . . . I heard in another place of a brother standing on his head, or trying to do so. These strange antics and religious buffoonery keep earnest seekers away from the Pentecostal blessing and the Pentecostal people.⁸⁵

Even some two years later, Boddy was still warning about extremist behaviour, writing in *Confidence* in 1916:

It is blessed to have good times if scriptural. (I have seen people having "good times" in America and in England. I have seen a coloured lady, also a white gentleman, dancing in a meeting, and I wished they would confine it to their private rooms). It is a better thing to get much on our knees.⁸⁶

Boddy's apparent ambivalence on these issues seems to be an inevitable concomitant of his holding together two seemingly irreconcilable aspects of spiritual wor-

ship – the need for spiritual order and discipline, and the equally important biblical injunction to “quench not the Spirit”. How to maintain these opposite poles in creative tension has regularly occupied the attention of many Pentecostal leaders, and this may well have been part of Boddy’s pastoral concern when he published Dixon’s counterblast. Boddy was astute enough to see the dangers inherent in extravagant behaviour, and Dixon’s warnings would act as a healthy check to immature believers. It could of course be argued that Boddy could have achieved the same effect by writing such an article himself, but by carrying the endorsement of an independent and respected Bible expositor such as Dixon, additional weight would accrue to Boddy’s own views.

It is also conceivable that around this time Boddy was himself re-thinking certain aspects of the Pentecostal revival, and that the passage of time and his exposure to all shades of belief and practice within the movement was leading to a greater degree of objectivity. This possibility would certainly help to explain why he continued to publish articles that were virtually contradictory in their estimate of fundamental Pentecostal doctrine. The most striking example of this occurs in the period 1914–1916, and once again it concerns the evidential value of speaking in tongues. That this issue was causing great concern, and some degree of dissension among the leaders of the pioneering assemblies, can be gleaned from the notes of an important discussion on glossolalia held at a conference of leaders during the Sunderland Convention in 1914. A very full report of these discussions was printed in *Confidence*, and the contents reveal potentially damaging and divisive trends within the movement.

Henry Mogrige of Lytham began by pointing out that the gift of tongues was being widely abused in some assemblies, particularly when it was used to interrupt a sermon in the vernacular. Moreover, he continued with even more serious charges, claiming that:

FOLLOWING PAGE

Handbill advertising the last Pentecostal Convention to be held at Sunderland under A. A. Boddy's chairmanship, and during which the discussions on tongues related in this section arose.

Copies of this "List of Meetings," free from Hon. Secs.

**SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL
PENTECOSTAL
CONVENTION**
at **SUNDERLAND,**
WHITSUNTIDE, 1914.

(May 30th to June 5th)



* *THE FIRST PENTECOST.—Acts, ii. 3-4.*

The Monthly Pentecostal Paper, "CONFIDENCE," 1d. Send post card to the Hon. Secretaries, All Saints' Vicarage, and a specimen copy will be posted free to any address.

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He had been much grieved by the way the gift of tongues had been exercised in his hearing. When they heard a message in tongues, and it was in the same words over and over again, and interpreted in a dozen different ways, he felt sure there was something wrong.⁸⁷

Mogridge then made the startling suggestion that, since tongues were “mysteries” spoken to God, they should be confined to the private closet, and not used in the public assembly. These comments must have dropped like a bombshell in that company since they challenged at a deeply fundamental level the beliefs and practices of virtually all Pentecostals. Boddy, who was taking the chair on this occasion, obviously realised the potentially divisive nature of Mogridge’s remarks, and, ever the diplomat, sought to pour oil on troubled waters:

The Rev. A. A. Boddy said they would all agree with the Scripture that Mr Mogridge had quoted. In his zeal, perhaps, he had stated the case from one side only. Perhaps they might have others now on the other side. Then they all might balance the statements somewhat.⁸⁸

A number of conferees then adduced alternative concepts of the use of tongues. Mrs Marie Brown of New York, claimed to have interpreted her own glossolalia in “German, Swedish and other languages”, and that she found “the message or prophecy in tongues with the interpretation had had a greater power over the people than prophecy in their own language”.⁸⁹ Several other speakers – among them an Anglican clergyman – confirmed the value of tongues and interpretation as an edificatory and evangelistic tool, Prediger Humburg of Mühlheim stating that he had known occasions when up to thirty conversions had occurred in that way.⁹⁰

Mogridge’s remark about the folly of interruptions in tongues was flatly contradicted by J. Tetchner of Sunderland, who argued that such an event was a “confirmation in his own heart that the Holy Ghost was speaking through him”, and he expressed the hope that “they would never get to the place where they grieved the Holy Spirit by going contrary to the Word of God and forbidding to speak in tongues”.⁹¹ A similar point was made by J. Walshaw of Halifax, who argued that if a message in tongues and interpretation was genuinely given by the Holy Spirit,

the same Spirit would refrain the leaders from interrupting it. This was of course basically the same argument originally raised by Mogridge but viewed from the other way round, that of the *preacher* recognising the spirituality of the glossolalist and not vice versa.

This wide-ranging discussion as reported in *Confidence* then moved on to the central issue of Pentecostal pneumatology – the function of tongues as the *sine qua non* of Spirit baptism. Robert Brown of Glad Tidings Hall, New York, admitted that “he had seen many things on the line of speaking in tongues and interpretation that didn’t witness with his spirit”.⁹² Brown argued that part of this confusion arose because people failed to differentiate between the *gift* of tongues and the *seal* of tongues (in Spirit baptism). Brown then put to the conference the crucial question, “as to what they considered the evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. In the United States they believed that when they were baptised they would speak in tongues as a supernatural sign there and then”.⁹³

Boddy’s response to this vital question highlights once again the divergent thinking on this subject within the nascent Pentecostal movement:

Mr Boddy remarked that among those present they might not all see eye to eye on the various questions connected with tongues, and they did not want to shut out some of the children of God from fellowship because they might have other views. Especially was this so with reference to tongues being the supreme “Bible Evidence” as to the Baptism in the Holy Ghost.⁹⁴

This quotation from Boddy proves that he was fully cognisant of the potentially divisive nature of teaching tongues as the inseparable corollary of Spirit baptism, and it also illustrates again the considerable diversity of opinion that that teaching had engendered in the movement. It was left to his staunch ally, Cecil Polhill, to posit a mediating position on the matter by saying:

As to Brother Brown’s question, they had no absolute Word in Scripture saying they should receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost in tongues.

They should receive indeed the baptism of the Holy Ghost with power, but no direct statement that he should be received with tongues.⁹⁵

However, it is also clear that Polhill still regarded tongues as the *normal* sign of Spirit baptism, as he goes on to argue:

But they might conclude that, as such did occur in former days when people received the Holy Spirit, and that as in these days tongues were found to accompany the gift of the Spirit, the gift was almost always accompanied by speaking in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance . . . it was a sign of baptism, but it was not the evidence. The evidence was the life of the baptised, and the sign was different from the seal.⁹⁶

Polhill's evident hesitancy, and the fatal concessive phrases "almost always", "a sign", "not the evidence", was shared by the leaders of the Pentecostal movement in Germany. Pastor Jonathan Paul, of Berlin, was quite explicit in stating that:

Some taught that everyone must have spoken in tongues if he had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. They did not teach that in Germany, and they had their reasons for it. But they agreed on this, that . . . the baptism was given in order to make them witnesses for Christ, and so they needed the manifestations.⁹⁷

Support for Paul's view came from another German leader, Pastor Humburg, whose objection to the linking of tongues and Spirit baptism was based on its deleterious effects on Christian unity. He urged:

If they were to lay down a rule that the sign of tongues was necessarily implied in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they would disturb many children of God, and he feared they would be against the Holy Spirit.

This response was virtually identical to that of Boddy, previously alluded to, but Humburg went further and imparted what was almost a novel and original twist to the exact nature and purpose of Spirit baptism. He argued that the experience was essentially a corporate, not an individual, blessing, and that therefore the phenomena accompanying the experience were only a part of the whole, corporate paradigm.

He did not think it was right according to the Scriptures to say that if a man had spoken in tongues as the Spirit giveth utterance, that was a sure evidence that he had received the full Pentecostal blessing . . . The full baptism in the Holy Ghost had not been received by a single indi-

vidual, but by the whole church . . . so they must not limit the Holy Spirit by saying that he that spoke in tongues had received the full baptism, and he that did not speak in tongues had not received the full baptism.⁹⁹

It is interesting to here observe how quickly the original arguments presented by the early Pentecostals in favour of glossolalia, and the charismata generally, were now being completely reversed. This resulted in the curious inversion that those who were now “limiting the Holy Spirit” were those who insisted on tongues as the supreme Bible evidence of Spirit baptism! Nevertheless, the full significance of Humburg’s view appears to have gone unnoticed by his fellow conferees; but if it had been taken seriously it would have led to a more ‘sacramental’ view of Spirit baptism than has ever yet been predicated within the Pentecostal movement, though hints of that view also appear in *Confidence* as early as 1910. E. Beyerhaus, a Berlin architect, wrote:

Therefore the gift of healing or any other one, is only . . . a gift of Pentecost if that person . . . is baptised with the Spirit and Love of the risen Christ. Therefore the proof lies not in one single gift, but in being united by one Pentecostal baptism with *one* body in which all the different gifts and fruits of the Spirit are manifested.¹⁰⁰

This wide-ranging and comprehensive discussion, as reported in *Confidence*, reveals once again the disparate nature of embryonic Pentecostal theology, with some of its leading personalities taking virtually antithetical positions on pivotal doctrines.¹⁰¹ Boddy, via his publishing interests, was in a unique position to encourage *rapprochement* and unity among believers, and his counsel in matters that were potentially divisive was a model of balance and sagacity. Concluding the above discussion, he advised:

Whilst the “Tongues” bring untold blessing, there are dangers running close beside the blessing for those who do not keep close to the Word of God . . . We thank God for the “Tongues”. But let us be loyal to His Word.¹⁰²

This type of statement is typical of Boddy’s attempts to pursue a *via media* in controversial matters, and perhaps one of his greatest legacies to the fledgling Pentecostal movement was his ability to reduce polarisation and schism. On the

other hand, and arising directly out of that approach, is the fact that he often appears inconsistent, ambivalent and even contradictory in some of his statements. To a certain extent this is perfectly understandable when we consider the *milieu* in which *Confidence* was published. Pentecostalism was still in the embryonic stages of developing its own distinctive theology, and there was bound to be a good deal of creative tension, even syncretism, in the emergence and development of what eventually came to be regarded as the corpus of “orthodox” Pentecostal belief.¹⁰³ Most of its early leaders lacked any form of theological training, and its early emphasis on the participation of the laity – the “priesthood of all believers” – encouraged the formation of belief through a consensual process rather than by diktat.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile, Boddy continued to publish articles in *Confidence* that reflected the evident divisions of opinion about glossolalia. One of these writings contained statements that appeared to be internally inconsistent. In September 1915 a two-part article on tongues by “a well known missionary” contained the following assertions:

Please do not imagine that I have taken up the absurd and unscriptural position . . . that nobody is possessed of the Pentecostal Spirit, or filled with the Spirit, who has not given utterance in a tongue.¹⁰⁵

If taken alone, this statement appears to be a clear and unequivocal rejection of the initial evidence view of glossolalia. However, it is followed immediately by the caveat:

. . . Utterance in a tongue is, according to the New Testament standard, the true Scriptural sign of the Pentecostal Baptism. This must be taught; where there is no such teaching, tongues will be absent.¹⁰⁶

This type of concession – the introduction of additional criteria to the connection of glossolalia and Spirit baptism – presages the growing attenuation of the place of tongues within the early Pentecostal movement. The pages of *Confidence* from 1915 onwards reflect a diminished stress on tongues, although Boddy was still personally defending the “signs following” view of Spirit baptism in November of that year.¹⁰⁷ One area in which there is clear evidence that the connection between Spirit baptism and tongues was being seriously investigated by Pentecostal leaders can be

found from a perusal of the deliberations of the Council of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU).

At a meeting in May 1916, its members issued a statement intended to minimise the controversy surrounding the doctrine. The PMU *Minute* read:

The question of speaking in tongues in connection with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit having been considered, the Council expressed their unanimous opinion that while all who are now being so baptised do speak in tongues, more or less, yet this is not the only evidence of the Baptism, but the recipient should also give clear proof by his life and "magnify God". (Acts x.46)¹⁰⁸

The phrase "more or less" is ambiguous, and could refer to either the recipients themselves, or the extent to which they spoke in tongues. But without any further clarification, this statement was circulated for discussion, and the Council met again to discuss the matter on 24 July 1916. From the contents of that second meeting it seems clear that a certain amount of 'behind the scenes' intrigue was going on, and probably members were being canvassed to tighten up the statement. This can be deduced from their amendment to the statement of May 23, which was altered to now read:

That the Council expresses their unanimous opinion that all who are baptised in the Holy Spirit may speak in Tongues as the Spirit giveth utterance, but the recipient should give clear proof of their life and "magnify God". Acts x.46¹⁰⁹

This revised declaration was printed by Boddy in *Confidence*, with him adding an explanatory note that differentiated the "sign" and "gift" of tongues.¹¹⁰ It is likely that this revision arose as a result of a good deal of wrangling, tension and, ultimately, compromise, on the part of the Council. Evidence for this comes from the fact that although the declaration was said to be "unanimously agreed"¹¹¹ by the Council, at least one – and possibly two – members were actively campaigning for a tighter and more dogmatic stance to be taken on the evidential value of tongues.¹¹²

The prime agitator for a more absolutist position was undoubtedly Smith

Wigglesworth. His extensive healing and revival campaigns throughout the country put him in an unparalleled degree of contact with "grass roots" opinion among Pentecostal assemblies, and it is clear that he was able to gauge such opinion from the wide circulation the statement had received in *Confidence*. Accordingly, when the PMU Council next met, on 7 November 1916, its *Minutes* noted:

Mr Wigglesworth reported that the recent decision of the Council as published in *Confidence* was considered very unsatisfactory by several of the Assemblies.¹¹³

The issue was not discussed fully at that meeting, but there must have been some initial disagreement among the Council members present because Boddy was to report in that month's issue of *Confidence*:

Nearly all the members of the PMU Council when assembled on November 7th in London, felt that one word in their Declaration, as recorded in our issue of September, had, by inadvertence, not been recorded quite accurately. They therefore decided to issue a further statement . . . as soon as they have carefully considered the subject together.¹¹⁴

It is obvious that the offending word in the earlier statement was "may" (speak in tongues), and that the Council now wanted this strengthened to read "should" or "must" to resolve the ambiguity. Wigglesworth's part in this *contretemps* is both curious and interesting. Massey suggests that he was using his influence among local churches to overturn the earlier decision of the Council,¹¹⁵ but this argument is vitiated by the fact that he had himself been present at the earlier meeting, and had assented to the declaration as recorded in the Council *Minutes*. Since Wigglesworth's ability to speak his mind in a tough, no-nonsense manner is well-attested, his apparent change of mind on this issue must be due to powerful external forces. At this distance in time, it is impossible to be certain what these reasons were; it is highly likely that Wigglesworth was receiving a good deal of unfavourable feedback from several local assemblies. Probably these were expressing fears that the distinctive *raison d'être* of Pentecostalism would vanish if their position on tongues was relinquished. In any event, the next PMU Council meeting

convened on 5 December 1916, and yet another position on the tongues issue was adopted, this one completely contradicting the earlier two statements. It read:

The members of the PMU Council hold and teach that every Believer should be baptised with the Holy Ghost and that the Scriptures show that the Apostles regarded the speaking with Tongues as evidence that the Believer had been so baptised. Each seeker for the Baptism with the Holy Ghost should therefore expect God to give him a full measure of his sanctifying grace in his heart, and also to speak with Tongues and magnify God as a sign and confirmation that he is truly baptised with the Holy Ghost.¹¹⁶

This *volte face* by the PMU Council cannot be attributed to Boddy's absence from the meeting, as Massey suggests.¹¹⁷ Boddy tells us in *Confidence* that he was conducting a mission in Northumberland on 5 December, and this, together with "other circumstances", made his attendance impossible.¹¹⁸ Crucially, however, he indicates that he did not dissent from the Council's opinion when he writes of it, "the editor of *Confidence* also accepts the above".¹¹⁹ Another factor diluting Massey's argument is the fact that in that same issue of *Confidence* Boddy reprinted the "London Declaration", first issued in November 1909, the first point of which clearly states:

The "Promise of the Father" was and is evidenced by the speaking in "Tongues" AS THE SPIRIT GIVES TO UTTER.¹²⁰

Then, as if to remove any vestige of doubt as to his own viewpoint, Boddy adds a concluding editorial note:

This Declaration is printed again after seven years as being still the teaching for which this paper is responsible.¹²¹

Boddy's reference to "this paper" shows once again the important role that *Confidence* had assumed in the early Pentecostal movement. Not only was the organ acting as a more or less official mouthpiece of the revival, but its views had remained constant throughout the whole period of its existence. It is true that this must have been largely due to the fact that it only ever had one editor, Boddy, but it nonetheless also shows how, imperceptibly, the magazine began to act with charismatic authority within the movement, and that its teaching was regarded as repre-

sentative of mainstream Pentecostal “orthodoxy” long before such a corpus was officially enshrined in the major Pentecostal denominations.

Having therefore established evidence that Boddy was still committed to his original view of tongues as “signs following” the baptism in the Spirit, it has to be asked who, within the PMU Council, was agitating for a more moderate view of glossolalia? It is highly likely that it was Cecil Polhill, not Boddy, who was fighting for a compromise position. Polhill had already criticised the doctrine of initial evidence as going beyond the Word of God,¹²² and we know from other independent sources that he was very uneasy about glossolalia when it occurred in public meetings.¹²³ Hocken has adduced other evidence that suggests Polhill gradually became disillusioned with the Pentecostal movement – for example in old age he never attended his local Pentecostal church in Bedford, and he left no money to Pentecostal causes when he died.¹²⁴ Even though he was the Chairman of the PMU Council and his views would have been given due weight, he could easily be out-voted if it came to a fight with men of the tenacity of Wigglesworth, who in virtually every respect imaginable was the exact opposite of Polhill.

Polhill would normally look to Boddy for support, but with Boddy absent on this occasion, and in any case still committed to his earlier view, a public disagreement with Polhill was diplomatically avoided. The possibility must also be considered that, since Boddy was so heavily dependent on Polhill for funding *Confidence* magazine, he was reluctant to be drawn into an open disagreement on this matter.¹²⁵ These are the much more likely reasons for Boddy’s absence from the crucial meeting, but we also know from other sources that, in any case, he did not attend the PMU Council meetings regularly, so perhaps too much should not be read into his absence on this occasion.¹²⁶

Further supporting evidence that it would not have been Boddy who was urging the

compromise position on tongues can be gleaned from an article he wrote some three years after the PMU's declaration. In "The True Baptism in the Holy Ghost" he states that those experiencing Spirit baptism will "find himself praising God in strange, joyful words in the Spirit, as the 120 did on the day of Pentecost, or as at Caesarea."¹²⁷ As if to reinforce this point, Boddy goes on to caution that:

This marvellous sign is an encouragement, but let it not be a snare, as it was to the Corinthians . . . Tongues have not always been genuine. Real lovers of Christ have been sickened by the behaviour of many who have set themselves up because they thought they had spoken in tongues.¹²⁸

It is in this type of statement that we find the clue to Boddy's apparent ambivalence on tongues and related charismatic gifts. It was not so much that Boddy ever hardened his position against glossolalia, as both Robinson and Massey have suggested,¹²⁹ but that he came to regard tongues *per se* as insufficient evidence of an exalted spiritual state. He must have reached that decision after long and painful exposure to the pastoral problems that the abusers of the gift had created, as well as the moderating theological influence of his European counterparts. What is beyond dispute is that, after 1919, the subject of tongues rarely came up in the pages of *Confidence*. The final issue of the magazine, published in 1926, did carry an article by Boddy – "The Holy Trinity in Us" – where the subject matter might have lent itself to at least a passing reference to glossolalia. Instead, however, Boddy describes the infilling of the Holy Ghost purely in terms of physical feelings, not tongues. He writes:

The Holy Ghost comes to our bodies. That perhaps is one reason why we may also receive by the laying-on of Hands. . . . Many of us have felt the thrill as of divine electricity tingling through our bodies as the Holy Ghost thus manifested himself.¹³⁰

It is of course possible to argue that the lack of mention of tongues in this context suggests that Boddy now viewed them as a less crucial doctrine, or conversely, that he felt his beliefs and teachings on the subject were already so well known via his articles in *Confidence* that there was simply no need to reiterate them. By this time,

in any case, the Assemblies of God denomination had existed in the UK for two years, and had enshrined the dogma of initial evidence in its own constitution. Boddy's championing of this cause could therefore be regarded as virtually otiose, and this also could explain the paucity of references to it in the later years of *Confidence*.

In summary, therefore, this section has outlined the vital contribution of the magazine *Confidence* to the formation and propagation of the distinctive tenets of early Pentecostalism. It has been shown that Pentecostal teaching on the fundamental doctrines of Spirit baptism and tongues was initially characterised by diversity and variety, and that the later creation of official dogmas was part of the degenerative process of denominationalism. In that process, many of the original and creative insights of the pioneering Pentecostals were ignored or minimised. It has been argued also that the guidance of Boddy, and the influence of *Confidence*, steered the movement away from many false teachings and extremist behaviour, which otherwise could have wrecked the revival.

NOTES – CHAPTER SIX

1. A. A. Boddy, "Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 1., no. 1, April 1908, p. 18.
2. Ibid.
3. *Xénoglossie* was the French term first coined by Charles Richet in 1905. I have used the longer term xenoglossolalia throughout for accuracy and consistency. Some scholars prefer the term heteroglossolalia. For Parham's views on the missionary function of this phenomenon, c.f. J. R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, pp. 133, 173.
4. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. 1, pp. 401–402, (reprinted in *Confidence* as "The Gift of Tongues", vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, pp. 4–5).
5. Ibid.
6. For Boddy's attitude to fleshly manifestations, c.f. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Baptism", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 1, January 1911, p. 7.
7. Ibid., p. 6.
8. This view of prophecy is also held by some contemporary charismatic leaders, e.g. J. David Pawson, in "Prophetic Foundations", *Today*, October 1990, pp. 8–11. Pawson's views were vigorously rebutted by two readers, G. Hallam and S. Jebb ("Talkback", *Today*, December 1990, p. 46).
9. A. A. Boddy, "The Sunderland Conference", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, pp. 12–13.
10. Donald Gee, in *These Men I Knew*, criticises Southsea solicitor E. W. Moser for keeping a written record of such messages, (p. 65).
11. Mary Boddy, "Messages and Manifestations", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 9, December 1908, p. 14.
12. Ibid.
13. T. B. Barratt, "Difficulties as to Messages", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 8, November 1908, p. 21.
14. A. A. Boddy, "Where We Stand", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 8, August 1911, p. 180.
15. Ibid.
16. A. A. Boddy, "Prophetic Messages and their Trustworthiness", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1909, p. 43.
17. Ibid., p. 42.
18. "Books of Messages" etc., *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, pp. 108–109.
19. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Baptism", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 1, January 1911, p. 6.
20. A. A. Boddy, "Scottish New Year Conferences", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 1, January–February 1917, p. 7.
21. e.g. in *Confidence*, March 1910, p. 69; August 1912, pp. 181/186; September 1913, p. 177; October 1913, pp. 197/200; November 1913, pp. 221/223; January 1914, pp. 6/9; May 1915, p. 85; September 1916, p. 14.

22. A. A. Boddy, "Prophetic Messages", p. 43.
23. A. A. Boddy, "A Tree of the Lord's Planting", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 5, May 1909, p. 112.
24. "Declaration", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 2.
25. Boddy's chairmanship of these conventions was held in almost universal esteem (c.f. Gee, *These Men I Knew*, p. 21 and *Wind and Flame*, p. 39).
26. "The Third International Convention", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 120.
27. Press coverage of these events was recorded in "Pentecostal Convention", *Sunderland Echo*, 12 May 1913, p. 5; 14 May 1913, p. 5; 3 June 1914, p. 6 ("Gift of Tongues").
28. W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, London: SCM, 1972, p. 513.
29. Always printed on the inside cover of *Church of God Evangel*.
30. AOG *Fundamentals*, always printed in *Redemption*, p. 3.
31. Hollenweger, op. cit., p. 515.
32. *Fundamentals of the Apostolic Church*, n.d., p. 18.
33. Hollenweger, op. cit., p. 517.
34. Ibid., p. 519.
35. For a recent debate within the AOG on the link between tongues and Spirit baptism, c.f. J. Tebboth and D. Petts, "A Matter of Evidence", *Redemption*, December 1989, pp. 10-11.
36. A. A. Boddy, "Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 18.
37. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues at Caesarea", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 7, October 1908, p. 22.
38. Ibid.
39. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues. Is this of God?", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 8, November 1908, p. 9.
40. Catherine S. Price, letter to editor, *Confidence* vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 3 of supplement.
41. "The Conference in Germany", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1909, p. 5.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 6.
44. Ibid.
45. Though this argument is of course rejected by many other Evangelicals.
46. "The Conference in Germany", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1909, p. 7.
47. Some of the many pastoral problems this presents are discussed in the letter of Rev. N. James to "Yours Sincerely", *Redemption*, November 1989, p. 41. For evidence of the non-use of glossolalia among later Pentecostals, c.f. D. Gee, *After Pentecost*, AOG Publishing House, Springfield, Mo., 1945, p. 53.

48. T. B. Barratt, "Tongues as a Sign", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1909, pp. 34–36.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
52. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 101.
53. A. A. Boddy, "Germany. Some experiences by the Editor", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 10, October 1910, p. 233.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*, p. 239. Ichabod was the son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli. c.f. 1 Samuel 4.21; 14.3.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
58. A. A. Boddy, "Tongues: The Pentecostal Sign", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1910, p. 260.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
61. M. Robinson, "The Charismatic Anglican", pp. 60/81, and W. Kay, "A History of the British Assemblies of God", pp. 24–25.
62. A. A. Boddy, "Tongues: The Pentecostal Sign", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1910, p. 261.
63. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 104.
64. *Ibid.*
65. e.g. in vol. 1, no 2, May 1908, p. 9; vol. 2, no. 9, September 1909, p. 211; vol. 2, no. 5, May 1909, p. 122.
66. Boddy's use of this phrase suggests he was aware of Spiritists infiltrating the convention meetings, probably with disruptive intentions.
67. T. B. Barratt, "Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 2, February 1911, p. 31.
68. *Ibid.*
69. A. A. Boddy, "Unity not Uniformity", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 3, March 1911, p. 60.
70. "Declaration, International Pentecostal Consultative Council, Article 1, *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 12, December 1912, p. 277.
71. *Ibid.*
72. It was signed by Messrs Boddy, Polhill, Barratt, Humburg, Paul, Voget, Reuss.
73. *Ibid.*, Article 5.

74. Mary Boddy, "The Real Baptism of the Holy Ghost", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 11, November 1909, p. 260.
75. A. A. Boddy, "Some Sacred Memories", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 2, February 1914, p. 25.
76. Robinson, op. cit., p. 60/81, and Massey, op. cit., pp. 229/240.
77. W. T. Dixon, "About Tongues, A Word in Season", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 2, February 1914, p. 26.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., p. 28.
80. For evidence of the decline of Azusa Street, c.f. F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, pp. 68-70; A. A. Boddy, "In Southern California", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 11, November 1912, p. 244.
81. A. A. Boddy, "Westward Ho!", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 12, December 1914, pp. 223-227.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., p. 226.
84. A. A. Boddy, "Westward Ho!", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 9, September 1914, p. 173.
85. A. A. Boddy, "Westward Ho!", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 8, August 1914, p. 147.
86. A. A. Boddy, "The Power of Prayer", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 10, October 1916, p. 168.
87. "Tongues in the Public Assembly", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 12, December 1914, p. 233.
88. Ibid., p. 234.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., p. 235.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., p. 236.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. "Tongues in the Public assembly", Part 2, *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 1, January 1915, p. 13.
98. Ibid., p. 14.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. This situation was perpetuated in later Pentecostalism, with leaders such as Donald Gee and Howard Carter, both AOG ministers, taking opposite views on the nature of glossolalia.

102. "Tongues in the Public Assembly", p. 14.
103. The term "orthodox" is used loosely, in recognition that there are many important differences within world-wide Pentecostalism.
104. Early Pentecostals adopted a generally anti-clerical stance; ministerial titles, and academic degrees, are still officially disavowed in the AOG constitution. One of its best evangelists, Fred Squire, was lost to the movement because, among other things, he wore a clerical collar and called himself "Pastor". Both practices were common in the Elim denomination.
105. "A Well-known Missionary on Tongues", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 9, September 1915, p. 175.
106. Ibid.
107. c.f. A. A. Boddy, "God's Temples", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 11, November 1915, p. 210.
108. *PMU Minutes*, vol. 1, 23 May 1916, Minute 5.
109. Ibid., 24 July 1916.
110. "The PMU", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 8, August 1916, p. 137.
111. Ibid.
112. Massey suggests that E. W. Moser played a subsidiary role in this intrigue (op. cit., p. 227).
113. *PMU Minutes*, vol. 1, 7 November 1916.
114. "Pentecostal Items", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 11, November 1916, p. 187.
115. Massey, op. cit., pp. 277-278.
116. *PMU Minutes*, vol. 1, 5 December 1916.
117. Massey, op. cit., p. 229.
118. "The PMU", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 12, December 1916, p. 197.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid., p. 193.
121. Ibid., p. 196.
122. c.f. note 95 for evidence of this.
123. A first hand witness to this was Donald Gee, in *These Men I Knew*, p. 75.
124. P. Hocken, *Streams of Renewal*, p. 137.
125. c.f. chapter 4 for details of Polhill's generosity to *Confidence*.
126. Hocken, op. cit., p. 135, n. 118.
127. A. A. Boddy, "The True Baptism in the Holy Ghost", *Confidence*, vol. 12, no. 2, April-June 1919, p. 19.
128. Ibid., p. 20.
129. c.f. note 61 for citations.
130. A. A. Boddy, "The Holy Trinity in Us", *Confidence*, vol. 19, no. 141, 1926, p. 171.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The teaching of “Confidence” on the nature, purpose and operation of glossolalia

This chapter includes a more detailed examination of the main strands of thought underlying the teaching of *Confidence* about the precise nature of speaking in tongues. A number of points have already emerged in dealing with glossolalia in relation to other aspects of Spirit baptism. Firstly, it has been seen that the early Pentecostals distinguished between the “sign” and “gift” of tongues, the former being given simultaneously with, and as an evidence of, Spirit baptism. The latter was regarded as the continuing ability to speak in tongues, and not necessarily possessed by all Spirit baptised persons. Secondly, we have observed the tendency to couple tongues and interpretation to equate with the gift of prophecy. Having this status, it was regarded by many as being of a similar genre to biblical prophecy and therefore equivalent to the voice of God for the hearers. A. A. Boddy and most leaders of European Pentecostalism strongly deprecated this function of the gift, whose use in this manner does of course presuppose that in glossolalia God is speaking to man, rather than man speaking to God.

Thirdly, the earliest forms of Pentecostalism assumed speaking in tongues to have a missionary value, conveying the ability to speak at will in foreign languages without having learned them. This phenomenon – xenoglossolalia – was a central tenet of Charles Parham’s theology, but was seriously challenged, and later abandoned, by most Pentecostals.

A survey of the teaching of *Confidence* about the nature and purpose of glossolalia

indicates once again a good deal of diversity within early Pentecostalism. The magazine reveals a wide spectrum of opinion about the phenomenon, with, naturally, Boddy's views being given a good deal of prominence. It is likely that he saw himself as having a leading teaching role in enunciating the biblical doctrine on tongues, and his thorough and extensive treatment of the subject pervades *Confidence* throughout most of its formative years of publication. An insight into Boddy's views can be gleaned from an article he published in October 1908. Using the "question and answer" technique to good effect, he asks:

Was not the gift for preaching to the heathen the complete gift of a foreign language?

Answer: It seems primarily to have been for the edification of the Spirit-possessed person himself. There were no heathen present at Cornelius' gathering after they received the Holy Ghost. Today most of those who are seeking the Baptism of the Holy Ghost . . . are seeking that they may first be strengthened themselves and then afterwards used to others.¹

The important question that naturally arises here is how, in Boddy's view, this non-cognitive practice could be described as self-edificatory. He gives a further clue to this problem in another article published in *Confidence* later that year; speaking of the earliest (1906) recipients of the modern gift of tongues, he says:

They were speaking in divine ecstasy with a voice that was not their own, and in a language whether of men or angels they knew not, for until some received the gift of interpretation it was not known what was said. They were speaking mysteries to God for their own strengthening.²

The reference to languages of "men or angels" is derived explicitly from Scripture (1 Corinthians 13.1) and suggests Boddy believed in the possibility that tongue-speech could be heavenly languages. As Samarin, in a comprehensive socio-linguistic analysis of tongues, has pointed out, such assertions are predicated on the basis of faith alone, and therefore are not liable to the normal methods of scholarly investigation.³ However, it still leaves unanswered the question as to how the practice, in Boddy's view, could "strengthen" believers. He gives a further clue to both this question, and the issue of xenoglossolalia, in some reflections published after he had undergone a preaching tour to Scandinavia in March 1907. Boddy had been asked,

“why should Spirit-filled Christians speak with tongues in Norway, where there is no great gathering of divers races as at Jerusalem on the first day of Pentecost?” He admits that the question had sent him back to search the Scriptures thoroughly, especially the Lukan accounts of Spirit-reception, and the Pauline directions on tongues.⁴ His reply was therefore carefully considered, and it elicited four clear aspects of the value of speaking in tongues. He says:

1. It is not a complete language that is given, but ecstatic prophesying, sometimes in a known language, sometimes in an unknown language, as the Spirit gives utterance. Sometimes there is an interpretation with it, sometimes not.
2. To the Spirit-filled persons so speaking it gives indescribable joy, for it is a witness to them that the Holy Ghost has graciously taken possession.
3. It produces the deepest love for Christ and for souls.
4. Speaking in tongues makes the meetings strangely “attractive” to saints and sinners.⁵

Boddy’s first point is the one that is most germane here, since it was further developed throughout *Confidence*, and shows that the concept of glossolalia as some form of language was part of a developmental process. However, Boddy continued to disclaim a xenoglossolalic value for tongues, writing in August 1909 of Pentecostal evangelists and “the disappointment when they found they could not preach in the language of the people”.⁶

Nevertheless, he continued to use *Confidence* as a means of propagating the view that glossolalia could be “heavenly” languages. In a thorough and penetrating discussion of tongues Boddy asks:

Now what is this “speaking in Tongues”? It is an almost involuntary outpouring of divine worship in a Tongue or language (often unknown to the worshipper) caused by the Holy Spirit as he takes full possession of the Body – and therefore of the Tongue – of the Believer . . . The Lord knows what the words thus spoken mean. Often they express heartfelt adoration of the Lamb. The person often knows the general meaning. Sometimes the interpretation in his own language is also spoken involuntarily by the same Holy Spirit taking possession of the yielded tongue.⁷

Boddy goes on to list five concomitants of this incursion of the Spirit into the body of the believers, culminating in glossolalia, but his main one is that of the joy it gives, lifting the life of the recipient on to a new plateau of blessing and victory:

I have seen such transports of heavenly joy at the moment when the Holy Ghost has come, that the face of the person has become like the face of an angel, and the life afterwards has been lived on a different plane.⁸

It appears, therefore, that during the actual exercise of this gift, the mind of the glossolalist was generally quiescent. Boddy claims that, on the day of Pentecost, the disciples were “magnifying God in words they probably did not understand”,⁹ a point corroborated by Carrie Judd Montgomery’s testimony to Spirit-baptism, “the brain seemed entirely passive, the words not coming from that source at all”.¹⁰ Boddy proceeds again to deny the xenoglossolalic purpose of this gift, claiming that:

I do not think that we find any suggestion in the Acts or the Epistles that the apostles or others received a supernatural gift of speaking or understanding languages for the spread of the Gospel, though such a gift has been known to be miraculously given even in our times.¹¹

He then turns to the issue of how this non-cognitive tongue-speech can edify the whole church, and his answer is found in the practice of the early Corinthian churches:

At Corinth we find they went a stage further. Many of them who had spoken once *continued to speak* and some had a spiritual gift given them called “Interpretation”. When someone under the power of the Spirit gave utterance to rhapsodic ecstatic expressions . . . the others prayed for the interpretation, and then there was flashed upon their mind or through their mouth the thoughts or words in a language understood of all.¹²

The exact mechanism of how tongues are “interpreted” – a process technically known as *ermeneglossia* – is not fully understood, and is rarely dealt with in any depth by Pentecostal writers. T. B. Barratt certainly addressed the question, giving four possible ways in which interpretation could function, but the only in-depth treatment of the subject found in *Confidence* was written by the Texan attorney W. F. Carothers, and abstracted from the magazine *Latter Rain Evangel*.¹³ Nowadays, it is clear that the vast majority of interpretations encountered in Pentecostal meetings appear to have a “manward” direction, which does not of course reflect the “Godward” aspect implicit in rhapsodic, ecstatic utterances to God. Even the transcriptions of tongues messages published by Boddy in *Confidence* reflect this

anthropocentric *milieu* that seems to run counter to what Boddy personally envisaged tongue-speech to be. It is possible this disjunction arose because, in the infant days of the movement, a certain lack of rigour and precision was inevitable in understanding the operation of what were, essentially, totally supernatural, unusual, gifts. Nevertheless, within a few years, some sceptical voices were being raised about the genuineness of many instances of both glossolalia and interpretations, these doubts being recorded from time to time in *Confidence*.¹⁴ These doubts are still occasionally raised by leaders within contemporary Pentecostalism.¹⁵

Boddy concluded his lengthy article by quoting various examples of successful evangelism via the practice, including languages as complex as Hungarian, Serbo-Croat, Greek and Hindustani being spoken in the power of the Spirit, leading to definite conversions.¹⁶ He also refers to cases where the language was not only spoken supernaturally, but the message included details particularly specific to the individual hearing it. In this case, the coupling of tongues and interpretation would approximate in practice to the function of prophecy, that is, God speaking to man directly. Boddy asks:

The question arises, "Is the Speaking in Tongues ever used to advance the Gospel today?" I heard when in America of a number of cases where some careless persons of foreign nationality had wandered into a Mission Hall and suddenly heard someone saying solemn awe-inspiring words in their own language. These were messages suited to their need and in many cases the result was that they yielded their lives then and there to God. In all those instances they found that the person speaking did not know their language, but were moved they believed by the Holy Ghost to utter words which were unintelligible to them.¹⁷

However, not too much weight should be placed on even these marvellous portents, for it is also clear that Boddy regarded them as exceptions rather than the rule. Writing just eight months later, he warns of the folly of relying on such incidents for on-going, regular evangelistic work. Speaking of potential missionaries who believed they already had the power to speak "Chinese, Indian or African languages", he advises:

Before leaving home they should take steps to verify the fact that they really have a complete language in which at all times to preach the Gospel . . . From among the very many who have gone abroad after the Pentecostal blessing we have not yet received one letter stating that they have this miraculous gift in any useful fulness.¹⁸

Boddy, who by virtue of his editorship of *Confidence*, and regular foreign preaching tours, had contact with Pentecostals world-wide, was clearly in a strong position to judge such matters, and we can fairly assume that if xenoglossolalia was authenticated to any degree on foreign fields, he would know about it. However, other Pentecostal leaders did accept, with Boddy, the possibility of known languages occurring from time to time. T. B. Barratt posed the question:

What language or languages are spoken in Tongues? The language often seems as real as any other . . . languages quite clear cut, with clear interpretation, are often heard, and some known languages recognised from time to time.¹⁹

Barratt then makes the very interesting observation that tongue speech may in fact originate from deep within the subconscious mind – the process of cryptomnesia – but that even so it would still be the activity of God in bringing the words to the surface:

The human mind may use expressions stored up by previous experiences, but God brings them out and uses them . . . no one knows how many languages and dialects there will be in heaven, but all will be easily understood so there will be no difficulty.²⁰

It is possible that Barratt's support for xenoglossolalia can be traced back to his own experience of Spirit baptism, when he testifies to speaking "in a foreign language as loudly as I could . . . I am sure that I spoke seven or eight different languages".²¹ Barratt's account of this experience does not indicate how he knew he was speaking so many languages. We do know for certain that he was fluent in both English and Norwegian, and, having lived in Scandinavia since he was four, he probably knew part of several languages of that area.²² Also, his numerous foreign preaching tours would have made him familiar with other cultures and expressions, and it is possible his own polyglotic experience was in fact cryptomnesia. It is impossible to dogmatise on that issue, but we do know that the subject of xenoglos-

solalia frequently arose for discussion at International Pentecostal Conferences, and its frequent mention in *Confidence* proves the phenomenon was of particular interest to the early Pentecostals.

At a conference in Germany in December 1908, the subject of xenoglossolalia again surfaced. *Confidence* reported:

The subject of Speaking in "Languages" was referred to. Cases were asked for which those present could vouch for. Pastor Barratt said that in the south of India a young woman, deaf and dumb, began to speak under the power of the Spirit. She began to speak in Hindustani, and testified to Mohammedans. Afterwards she lost Hindustani and got Telugu, her native language.²³

The triple miracle involved in this event appears not to have drawn undue comment from the conferees, and Barratt made no mention of whether the woman lost the power of speech after the Spirit departed, or whether she received permanent healing.²⁴ Others present added cases of glossas in Welsh, Swazie and English, all of course emanating from non-native speakers of the language. The factor that unifies most of these testimonies in *Confidence* is the *effect* that they have on the hearers, generally leading them to repentance and faith in Christ. Three particularly unusual cases recorded in *Confidence* also mention the power to identify the *person* a tongues message is intended for, and also the power to *write* in other languages (xenographia) and the power to *hear* a different language to that being spoken (akuolalia).²⁵

The question naturally arises at this juncture as to what significance the early Pentecostals placed upon such unusual phenomena. The answer seems to be inextricably bound up with their eschatology of imminence, and their belief that they were truly living "in the last days". Such miracles were awesome adumbrations of the near return of Christ to this earth, and the spectacular nature of such events lent weight and credibility to the preaching and missionary work of Pentecostals. Such manifestations of supernatural power gave their ministry a divinely-attested

status which it would otherwise lack, especially in view of the low esteem in which they were held by the world. For the Pentecostal then, success in God's work would come not by human ordination and lengthy theological training, but by the direct manifestation of the Spirit on peoples' lives.

An outstanding example of the missionary value of xenoglossolalia occurred in July 1914. A Swiss French-speaking professor of linguistics attended a Pentecostal convention in Ohio, and claimed to have heard a message spoken in perfect Hebrew. Not only was the speaker totally ignorant of that language, but she spoke out specific directions for his life. On another occasion, he heard a simple washer-woman, acquainted only with English, speak in perfect French, with a Swiss accent, and this led to his conversion.²⁶ It is in this type of incident, with its very powerful effect upon the hearers, that we can understand the Pentecostal belief that God was truly "confirming his word with signs following", as in apostolic days.

Before leaving the subject of xenoglossolalia, it is relevant at this point to ascertain the contemporary Pentecostal understanding of the practice. W. Hollenweger begins his magisterial survey of Pentecostal belief and practice by recounting an incident very similar to the one above. In 1960 a Jewish rabbi drifted into a Pentecostal meeting in Pasadena, Texas. There he heard an Irish immigrant deliver a message in perfect Hebrew, containing specific details of the rabbi's life and background that could not possibly have been known to an outsider.²⁷ In *Spoken by the Spirit*, R. W. Harris claims to have found evidence for "more than 60 languages – from Arabic to Zulu" in his search for cases of xenoglossolalia.²⁸ However, his documentation is sketchy, and the paucity of cases able to be authenticated is shown by the fact that when he trawled the readers of *The Pentecostal Evangel* for cases of this phenomenon, only about 50 responded. The circulation of the magazine is 225,000, so the readership would be about three times that figure.

This low level of response suggests that, even if xenoglossolalia is a contemporary event, it is but rarely authenticated and identified. Samarin, for example, rules out the practice on *a priori* grounds, claiming that “contrary to common belief, it has never been scientifically demonstrated that xenoglossia occurs among Pentecostals: people just do not talk languages they are unfamiliar with”.²⁹ C. G. Williams also dismisses such claims, writing “no case of xenoglossia in current Neo-Pentecostalism has been verified by competent linguists”,³⁰ and R. M. Anderson is even more dogmatic, claiming that:

Simple xenoglossy – the ability to speak a language with which one has had absolutely no prior acquaintance – is, of course, utterly incredible. That scholars should have to deal seriously with this claim is a tribute to the abiding strength and contemporary resurgence of pre-scientific modes of thought . . . we must conclude that Pentecostal speaking in tongues is simply glossolalia, that is, unintelligible, non-linguistic utterance.³¹

Pentecostals would probably respond to this objection by pointing out that Anderson’s criteria would also exclude the veracity of the biblical accounts, and that in any case, an insistence on so-called “scientific” methods of inquiry is not appropriate for investigating this type of phenomenon. However, it is certainly true that, for a variety of reasons, including the above, xenoglossolalia is rarely presented as a useful function in contemporary Pentecostalism with all missionaries now having to undergo regular language training before being sent to foreign fields. Moreover, the declining stress on xenoglossolalia within the modern movement must also be seen within the context of a greatly attenuated belief in an imminent parousia, a tenet held so dearly by the early Pentecostals. With the weakening of this belief, a major *raison d’être* for the practice is obviated.

But apart from its xenoglossolalic value, one other aspect of speaking in tongues that is constantly stressed in the early issues of *Confidence* is its usefulness in expressing the ineffable, of speaking “mysteries unto God”. Writing in the magazine in January 1909, Pastor Lettau of Lichtenstein says:

Like a poet struggling for an expression, the human vessel cannot express in words that which God has given it. Yet there is power and meaning in these strange words. 1. Cor. xiv., 7–11. There seem to be stages in the Speaking in Tongues from the first and simplest, where it is easily translated into a human language, up to a stage at last where it would take an angel's tongue to translate the deep thoughts of God. The speaking in Tongues may cover whole regions of thought. The human soul is as it were being caught in an ecstasy.³²

Lettau again brings out the point previously observed in other articles in *Confidence*, that the direction of tongues is usually man speaking to God, and not vice versa as in most contemporary utterances. He says, "Tongues are mainly God-ward, but other workings are not excluded".³³ This same theme, of tongues being rhapsodic ecstasy directed to God, is elicited by the Dutch Pentecostal, Mrs Polman. Writing in *Confidence* in August 1913, she says "it is speaking to God in sounds not to be understood by others",³⁴ and precisely because it is God-ward, no human language can fully express the depth of feeling involved.

Human words are too poor to describe the blessedness and the glory which one feels in one's innermost being in those moments. One is lost in God, swept up to heavenly places, and our spirit, impelled by the Eternal Spirit of God, gives utterance in strange sounds, in an unknown tongue.³⁵

Mrs Polman goes on to claim that the speaking of these "mysteries" in tongues edifies the speaker because "the Holy Spirit uses this gift of tongues to bring us into closer communion with God . . . so speaking in tongues promotes our growth in Christian wisdom, grace, holiness etc."³⁶ Her final point in this article is perhaps the most original and controversial comment ever to appear in *Confidence* regarding the spiritual value of speaking in tongues. Using a passage in John's gospel as a basis (6.53–56) she attaches a sacramental value to the experience, saying:

He gave us the gift of tongues to receive spiritual food . . . and we experience how we are fed, when we, being driven by the Holy Spirit, are speaking in new tongues, and are in Communion with our Saviour . . . Then we also feel the depth of blessing which is eating His flesh and drinking His blood . . . so when we are edifying ourselves by speaking in tongues, we are at the same time fed by His flesh and by His blood and this . . . brings us into closer communion with him.³⁷

It is extremely unlikely that the full implications of this novel viewpoint were ever fully grasped by the readers of *Confidence*, and no subsequent articles challenged or

developed the nuance. Its inclusion here is yet one more example of the highly variegated approaches to the subject that were published in *Confidence*. Mrs Polman's views are even more striking when viewed against the background of her previous church affiliation – the Salvation Army – which denied sacramental status to even the two ordinances regarded as such by most Evangelicals, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Before concluding this section, it is interesting to note the ways in which later Pentecostalism built on, and deviated from, the earliest understanding of glossolalia. There has been general agreement among later Pentecostal writers and commentators that speaking in tongues is a divinely-provided mechanism for speaking mysteries to God. The prominent AOG minister Howard Carter says, "the purpose of speaking with other tongues is to commune with God . . . it is the only manifestation of the Spirit that has a direct aspect of worship".³⁸ Harold Horton, writer of the classic *The Gifts of Spirit*, claims that tongues "sink a well into the dumb profundities of the rejoicing spirit, liberating a jet of long-pent ecstasy that gladdens the heart of God and man. Blessed fountain of ineffable coherence, of inexpressible eloquence".³⁹

Nevertheless, one of the practices of the early Pentecostals that *was* later seriously challenged was that of coupling utterances in tongues with vernacular interpretations to give "messages" in tongues. Donald Gee deprecated this practice strongly, saying:

One of the interesting phenomena of the Pentecostal movement has been the development of the habit of frequent messages in tongues. The scriptural basis for this is extremely meagre.⁴⁰

However, whether the scriptural rationale was "meagre" or not, the practice has continued unabated right up to the present time, and the vast majority of Pentecostal services would regularly have demonstrations of this charisma. Another teaching that was later challenged by the emerging Pentecostal denominations was the earlier differentiation of the "sign" and "gift" of tongues. Horton states

that “when tongues are first employed . . . the utterance is the sign of the baptism in the Spirit; every subsequent use . . . is the gift of tongues in operation”.⁴¹ Carter confirms this point, claiming, “we would not call it a separate gift. It is another manifestation of the same gift”.⁴² Aaron Linford also argues that the gift of tongues is always a corollary of the sign of tongues but that with the former, the direction is always “manward”, that is, equivalent to prophecy, whereas the latter is “Godward”. He writes: “As the private use of tongues is a speaking from man to God, so the public use of this gift is a speaking from God to men”.⁴³

If Linford’s view is correct, it would imply also a complete inversion of the nature of the glossa involved in each case. The person speaking in private would utter the ineffable “mysteries” to God that no human tongue could express, yet the same person could speak in public with the same gift and give forth a message for human edification. Since the latter glossa would be capable of being interpreted, it would necessarily be couched in a different linguistic style – possibly that of an idiolect – than it would be if spoken only to God. Indeed it is virtually self-evident that any glossa, by virtue of it being capable of interpretation, must convey thoughts and concepts that can at least be “scaled down” to mortal level; this being so, the question obviously arises as to why it could not be delivered in the vernacular *ab initio*.

The Pentecostal riposte to this objection would be to point out that a) the interpretation is not a *translation*, and conveys merely the gist of the glossa, and b) the effect on the hearers is much greater if the message comes via the supernatural agency of tongues and interpretation. It is for these reasons, then, that the practice of giving and interpreting messages in tongues both began, and continued to be, an important aspect of Pentecostal worship and practice.

Before concluding this chapter, one final point that needs to be discussed is the extent, if any, to which the glossolalist was in control of his gift. It has already been

noted that, in relation to the actual experience of Spirit baptism, most of the recipients mention the irresistibility of the tongues coming upon them. According to the teaching in *Confidence*, did this factor continue to be dominant in the subsequent exercise of the gift? Boddy was quite definite that, in public, the use of tongues should be strictly controlled, and he permitted no more than three of such messages in any one service.⁴⁴ This restriction obviously suggests he believed the glossolalist was in full control of the gift, and in this he had the support of T. B. Barratt, who claimed:

Tongues may be man's own will directed by the Holy Spirit. The will may decide when to speak or when to stop . . . utterance in tongues may be from God but not in opposition to the teachings from God's word . . . the oracle is a frail human being and liable to make mistakes . . . the channel is fallible.⁴⁵

Jonathan Paul of Berlin, pointed out the possible role of the sub-conscious in glossolalia, "there is a danger of tongues being looked to as an oracle. The sub-conscious mind of a man may resign itself unto God or unto self".⁴⁶ Other writers in *Confidence* also highlight the possibility of non-divine messages arising from tongues. Daniel Awrey, leader of a Pentecostal mission in Doxey, Oklahoma, claimed that:

Even in the use of the Gift of Tongues there is a real difficulty. We can use the gift ourselves . . . it may (unknowingly) come from our "own hearts" . . . the gift of Tongues may be used in two ways, under the anointing of the Spirit, and without the Spirit, when it may be purely human.⁴⁷

Pastor Lettau made a similar point in writing that:

Men should see that the Holy Spirit works on the Human fallible Spirit. It must allow itself to be tested by the Scriptures and by the sound mind of those who have the Spirit themselves. No objective tokens can be relied upon to test the Spirit.⁴⁸

All of these writers stop short of attributing false messages in tongues to demonic spirits, preferring instead to see the human "self" at work. Nevertheless, Awrey did concede, in the case of false teaching, the possibility of it emanating from Satan, claiming that:

There are people who have been baptised in the Spirit, but in time of temptation . . . they yielded. The devil then placed a spirit there in place of the Holy Spirit. This is where the false doctrines come. Some who are baptised are teaching things absolutely unscriptural, and they tell us that the Spirit is telling them these things.⁴⁹

It is possibly this type of person that Boddy had in mind when he warned:

He has known some cases where persons have sought Tongues from some other motive than the highest, and human Tongues were worked up "in the flesh", or through the soulish nature, and there was no real Baptism of the Holy Ghost, no entrance of the Comforter. There seem to have been "premature Baptisms" by the use of "methods" and . . . many have gone back who thus received.⁵⁰

Even T. B. Barratt had to admit the possibility that, in cases of extreme mental illness or insanity, demons could counterfeit the genuine gift of tongues, "doctors of insane asylums tell us that patients sometimes speak in Tongues. Probably demons get in as well as diseases".⁵¹ This point was corroborated by another leader of the Pentecostal work in Germany, Pastor Friemel, who warned of the dangers of waiting for "voices" that gave messages purporting to be from God. He counsels:

When there are many voices there is much danger. I have heard 'tongues' which came from demon sources. He that follows voices may come under a strange spirit. *The desire for voices is not divine: it is human.*⁵²

It was for these reasons then – the possibility of the subconscious mind obtruding into the exercise of tongues – that the early leaders of the Pentecostal movement refused to give any *de facto* legitimacy to tongues messages as such, and insisted on the process of "weighing" the utterances by Scripture and other external norms. In this respect at least, modern Pentecostalism virtually unanimously concurs with the insights of its founders.

NOTES – CHAPTER SEVEN

1. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues at Caesarea", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 7, October 1908, p. 23.
2. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues. Is this of God?", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 8, November 1908, p. 9.
3. W. J. Samarin, *Tongues of Men and of Angels*, Macmillan: New York, 1972, p. 122, n.7.
4. Boddy mentions in particular the passages Acts 2, 10, 19; 1 Corinthians 12–14.
5. A. A. Boddy, "March Memories", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 3, March 1909, p. 60.
6. A. A. Boddy, "Seven Hall-Marks of Heaven", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 8, August 1909, p. 181.
7. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 99.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
10. Carrie Judd Montgomery, "The Promise of the Father", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 8, November 1908, pp. 3–6.
11. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 101.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
13. W. F. Carothers, "The Gift of Interpretation", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1910, pp. 255–257. (Originally printed in *Latter Rain Evangel*, (1,1910,7–10).
14. c.f. especially the comments of H. Mogridge and R. Brown, "Tongues in the Public Assembly", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 12, December 1914, pp. 233–235.
15. Warwick Shenton, the general superintendent of the largest Pentecostal denomination in Britain, criticised the tendency of some glossolalists thus: "They say the same words as they did last week, and it always is amazing that the interpretation is different . . . it's a load of baloney when it comes out like that". (Tape recording of sermon preached on Isaiah 60, "The Glorious Prospect of the Church", North West Celebration, Lancaster University, 29–31 August 1992).
16. A. A. Boddy, "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1910, p. 102.
17. *Ibid.*
18. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Baptism", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 1, January 1911, p. 8.
19. T. B. Barratt, "The Pentecostal Conference in Germany", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1909, p. 37.
20. *Ibid.*
21. T. B. Barratt, *When the Fire Fell*, New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985, pp. 129–130.
22. For confirmation of Barratt's fluency in both English and Norwegian, c.f. chapter 2, n. 63.

23. "Experiences and Observations", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1909, p. 7.
24. Samarin, op. cit., gives accounts of deaf-mutes speaking in tongues and then returning to their former impediment (p. 65), J. L. Sherrill in *They Speak with other Tongues* also reports the same phenomenon (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964, p. 105).
25. e.g. in *Confidence*, vol. 8, no 10, 1915, p. 193; vol. 6, no. 4, April 1913, p. 76; vol. 15, no. 130, July–September 1922, p. 47. Samarin errs in asserting of Pentecostal literature on xenographia, "the subject is not even mentioned as far as I know". (op. cit., p. 185) He overlooks both this case and the well-known one of Agnes Ozman writing in Chinese letters on receiving Spirit baptism. c.f. Agnes N. Laberge (née Ozman), *What God Hath Wrought*, New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1985, p. 29.
26. "Brought to God through Tongues", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 1, January 1916, pp. 15–16.
27. W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, London: SCM, 1972, pp. 3–4.
28. R. W. Harris, *Spoken by the Spirit*, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1973, p. 6.
29. Samarin, op. cit., p. 227.
30. C. G. Williams, *Tongues of the Spirit*, University of Wales Press, 1981, p. 36.
31. R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, OUP, 1979, p. 19.
32. Pastor Lettau, "The Pentecostal Movement in the Light of Scripture", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1909, p. 9.
33. Ibid., p. 10.
34. Mrs Polman, "Speaking in Tongues", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 8, August 1913, p. 151.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 152.
37. Ibid.
38. Quoted from Brian Hewitt, "A Message in Tongues – is it Scriptural?", *Redemption*, June 1986, p. 14.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. A. A. Boddy, "The Pentecostal Baptism", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 1, January 1911, p. 6.
45. T. B. Barratt, "Tongues as a Sign", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1909, p. 36.
46. Ibid., p. 37.
47. "Sunderland International Pentecostal Conference", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 8, August 1909, p. 178.
48. Pastor Lettau, "The Pentecostal Movement in the Light of Scripture", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1909, p. 10.

49. Sunderland International Pentecostal Conference", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 8, August 1909, p. 179.
50. A. A. Boddy, "Tongues: The Pentecostal Sign", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1910, p. 260.
51. T. B. Barratt, "Tongues as a Sign", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1909, p. 36.
52. Pastor Friemel, "At the Mulheim Conference", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 9, September 1909, p. 211.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The teaching of "Confidence" on divine healing and health

8:1. Historical Introduction

Historically and theologically there has always been a close link between Pentecostalism and belief in divine healing. Within a year of the movement beginning in Britain, A. A. Boddy was to remark about divine healing that "wherever the Pentecostal baptism is received, this question becomes prominent".¹ However, in contrast to the rather desultory and inchoate historical tradition regarding glossolalia before Pentecostalism, several scholars have shown that belief in divine healing stands in a firm historical continuum stretching back at least two centuries before the movement began.

Chappell has demonstrated that as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, various pietistic sects were acting on the literal instructions of some New Testament passages that were later to prove central to Pentecostal practice and belief in this matter.² George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, documented at least 150 healings under his ministry in the *Book of Miracles*, published posthumously. The *Journals* of John Wesley record dozens of cases of putative healing miracles, including some cases of persons raised from the dead.³ In the USA, such radical groups as the Shakers, Noyesites, Mormons, Adventists and Dunkers also held firmly to a strong belief in supernatural deliverance from sickness and pain.⁴

During the nineteenth century this belief became ever more prevalent. Edward Irving's congregation were aware of the miraculous healing of Mary Campbell in

1830, and his church in Regent Square, London, became something of a mecca for those seeking physical deliverance through prayer. Irving was also a powerful influence on the celebrated American healer John A. Dowie. In Germany and Switzerland the healing ministries of Johann Blumhardt, Dorothea Trudel and Otto Stockmayer achieved widespread attention, and the latter's book *Sickness and the Gospel*, together with his ministry at the famous Keswick Conventions, popularised the message of divine health across the whole of Britain.⁵

Largely due to the efforts of such pioneers as Ethan Allen and Charles Cullis, the last part of the nineteenth century saw an efflorescence of published works that proved seminal in the defence and propagation of the healing message. Works such as Cullis's *More Faith Cures; or Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick* (1881); Carrie Judd Montgomery's *The Prayer of Faith* (1880); R. Kelso Carter's *Miracles of Healing* (1881); W. Boardman's *The Lord that Healeth Thee* (1881) and A. J. Gordon's *The Ministry of Healing* (1882) all proved highly influential in bringing before the Christian public the biblical rationale for coupling a healing to a kerygmatic gospel.

On a practical level, in 1882 Boardman, C. C. Murray and Mrs Michael Baxter opened a faith home in London, "Bethshan", especially for the use of those seeking divine healing. No drugs or medicines were allowed on the premises, and healing services were conducted several times a week. Mrs Baxter edited a magazine, *Thy Healer*, which carried testimonies of those healed, and doctrinal articles on the subject. Among notable successes in "Bethshan" was the cure (from a serious throat disorder) of Andrew Murray, one of the leading Evangelicals in South Africa and a one-time moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church there. Murray, A. J. Gordon and A. B. Simpson brought their theological acumen to bear on the doctrine of divine healing, and by the end of the nineteenth century it was no longer a peripheral part of the Christian creed.⁶

That this doctrine quickly assumed, and has continued to hold, a central place within most Pentecostal denominations can be easily gauged from the place it is given in the various “declarations of faith” of such movements. For example, the Apostolic Faith Movement states of the one seeking healing, “He must believe that God is able to heal – Exodus 15.26 “I am the Lord that healeth thee”.⁷ The creed of the American Assemblies of God claims that “deliverance from sickness is provided for in the atonement, and is the privilege of all believers”,⁸ whereas its British counterpart states simply “we believe in the deliverance from sickness by divine healing”.⁹ The Church of God (Cleveland) affirms that “divine healing is provided for all in the atonement”,¹⁰ and the Elim Pentecostal churches state “we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Healer of the body, and that all who will walk in obedience to His will can claim Divine healing for their bodies”.¹¹

Consequently, when *Confidence* began publication in 1908 it was within an ethos already acclimatised to the doctrine of supernatural healing, and we also know from internal evidence that Boddy had himself practised a form of anointing with oil and “laying on of hands” for healing from at least 1892 – some fifteen years prior to his Pentecostal experience.¹² The next section of this work therefore looks at the ways in which the implications of this doctrine of health and wholeness were explored, and disseminated, in the pages of *Confidence*.

8:2. The background to A. A. Boddy's teaching on healing and health

A clear delineation of Boddy's pre-Pentecostal views on healing can be gleaned from his *Roker Tract*, number six. Entitled “Health in Christ”, it was reprinted in *Confidence* in August 1910, and contains all the main motifs of his later writings on the subject.¹³ It therefore provides a valuable insight and model of the early Pentecostal understanding of the complex inter-relationship between sin, sickness, deliverance and wholeness.

Boddy begins by pointing out that salvation means to be “made whole”, and that this wholeness must include physical as well as spiritual aspects. He writes:

Surely men are quite as much justified in saying “Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be made whole” as in reading in the authorised version, “Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved”. It is all of Grace.¹⁴

Boddy explains that all Christians share the new life and nature of Christ, who, though he was human, “lived His life on earth in such unbroken communion with his Father in heaven that disease had no power to lay hold on Him”.¹⁵ This kenotic christology is even clearer when Boddy goes on to link the freedom from sin and sickness that Christ experienced to his conditional acceptance of the victory of the Holy Ghost.

His was, I believe, the representative human life lived under our conditions. He was tempted and really tempted in all points like as we are, but without sin and without disease. He touched the fever-stricken and the leper, but he did not receive fever or leprosy.¹⁶

Following the views of Origen, Augustine, Cyprian and other church fathers, Boddy taught that sickness and death came into the world as a result of human sin, and was therefore primarily a satanic attack on humanity. A logical corollary of this view is that therefore the work of Christ is to release mankind from that bondage. Boddy continues:

Disease came into this world with sin, and both followed the yielding to Satan's temptation to unbelief. The Divine Nature died in our first parents with the FALL (Gen.ii.,17) and their fallen, tainted, sin-stricken nature has been handed down to us . . . Christ our Saviour came to undo the Fall (and its consequences) in those who join themselves by continuous and persevering faith to Him in whom they were crucified.¹⁷

Boddy finds support for these assertions within the framework of a literal understanding of various Old Testament scriptures, especially Isaiah 53 and the New Testament redactor's comment on this passage in Matthew 8.16,17, “he himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses . . . by his stripes we are healed”.

In Boddy's view, therefore, the key to obtaining health and healing was to share, by

faith, the Divine health and life of Christ, but that this step of faith would be strenuously opposed by the devil. He counsels:

If we believe this with our whole heart . . . we shall be made whole and kept whole . . . Satan often makes insidious attacks and apparently terrific onslaughts on those who get so near to Christ as to share by Faith His Divine Health. But He who is for us is greater than all which are against us.¹⁸

He concedes that there are various problems implicit in this doctrine, not least being the apparent failures often encountered, writing:

We even see some whom we thought had trusted Him thus not getting better, but worse, and at last called away. We do not know as the Lord knows where the faith failed, or what was the real reason.¹⁹

These words were given added poignancy within days of being penned when Harry Cantel, a prominent Pentecostal leader and editor of *The Overcoming Life*, died aged 45, from peritonitis after refusing medical aid for a burst appendix. A group of his supporters prayed through the night for his return to life, but to no avail. It is interesting to note that Boddy did not universalise Cantel's stand against medical intervention, but argued that it was a purely personal matter:

Others, however, must in such a difficult position be individually guided. Each *must* judge for himself, and not by the action of anyone else. The Lord will guide His people.²⁰

Regarding the actual role of medical aid for the Christian, Boddy does not rule it out of court completely, but seems to regard it as a lower way, a concession to weak faith and trust in God. He says:

We are pointed to the noble army of brave doctors and devoted nurses, to the wonderful advances of medical science, and are asked if this is not a "good" gift of God, and we gratefully acknowledge it is, while we believe that there is a higher way (a "perfect" gift) for those who know they are in Christ, and know that he can SAVE to the uttermost.²¹

We will have occasion later to observe how Boddy was ultimately forced to renege on this low view of medicine, when close members of his family were near to death and would certainly have died without the intervention of doctors and nurses.

However, at present it needs simply to be noted that, in inculcating a high view of divine healing, Boddy by juxtaposition inevitably gives the impression of holding a low view of medical aid, though he is often at pains not to give this impression. Writing in 1913 he issues this caveat:

It should be stated here how profoundly grateful the writer of this paper is to all good doctors . . . and to the thousands of nurses who assist them. They will be needed until the Millenium comes, but for some we believe that even now there is a better way. I wish to say nothing to disparage modern medical skill or medical missions. They have their special use, but theirs is not the method of the Apostolic Church.²²

Boddy admitted that sometimes sickness and suffering does have a positive value in that it *may* bring out more noble qualities in mankind, and even turn their thoughts Godwards as death approaches. However, he rejected the view that this was the preceptive will of God, arguing instead that:

Sickness as a rule is considered even by religious people, as so little a blessing that *every effort is made to get rid of it* as soon as possible, or to counteract its influence. If it is really "the will of God", how dare they attempt by any means to get rid of it?²³

In contradistinction to the teachings of Christian Science, which he strongly opposed, Boddy held firmly to the reality of physical matter, and suffering and sickness, though he denied it was causally linked to the sufferer himself, saying that "disease is not by any means the index of the sin of the diseased person".²⁴ Christian Science was condemned because "it ignores the existence and power of Satan, and the work of the Atonement . . . Christian Science means a loss of the true Christ who saved us by his Death on the Cross".²⁵

At times, however, Boddy comes close to simulating certain aspects of Christian Science teaching, particularly in his teaching that faith alone brings victory over sickness, through praising God, regardless of the presence or absence of the symptoms of sickness. He elucidates his theory thus:

Imagine now that a very bad cold is coming on . . . you are sure that this cold is not the will of God. It can in no way bring glory to Him,

whereas deliverance from it will be a help to others and may induce them to trust Him also. You recognise that this cold is from Satan. Nay that it is a counterfeit from the “father of lies” . . . then though you may be made by the enemy to sneeze, or cough . . . you hold on to the truth that you are whole because you are in Jesus Christ, and you show your belief by *really* “praising God” for Victory. As you do this unflinchingly, you will find that Satan has to go.²⁶

Boddy’s statement here is remarkably similar to the outright denial of physical symptoms found in the writings of the founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy. She says:

When the illusion of sickness or sin tempts you, cling steadfastly to God and His idea. Allow nothing but His likeness to abide in your thought. Let neither fear nor doubt overshadow your clear sense and calm trust . . . when the first symptoms of disease appear, dispute the testimony of the material senses with divine Science.²⁷

It is outside the ambit of this dissertation to engage in a sustained critique of this view of sickness, except to say that Boddy’s views on “counterfeit symptoms” (elsewhere called “Satan’s lies”) have been, and are, remarkably influential in the so-called Positive Confession Movement, now a major wing within the American Charismatic churches. Whilst these views are generally traced by scholars such as McConnell, Hunt and McMahon to E. W. Kenyon, who is claimed as the father of the movement, it is clear that Boddy was enunciating these concepts long before Kenyon, whose first book was not published until 1916.²⁸ Boddy in fact makes frequent references to the teachings and writings of Christian Science, and it is reasonable to assume that, not only was he familiar with its nuances regarding sickness and symptoms, but that by a kind of theological osmosis some of its key ideas had penetrated his mind.

It is clear that an important question now arises relative to claiming healing “by faith” and ignoring the continuing symptoms of the disease as “counterfeits”. Would not this teaching encourage people to lay aside medical aid, when they had not in fact received a genuine healing from God? Several contemporary cases within the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements have led to the deaths of persons having acted thus, and Boddy was well aware of the danger.²⁹ He counsels in *Confidence*:

WARNING – No one should give up the doctor or medicine unless fully convinced that the Lord not only can, but *has* healed. Giving up taking medicine, or dismissing the painstaking, skilful doctor, does not necessarily show perfect trust in Christ. You may ask God to bless the medicine and the skill of the doctor, and trust to that, but this is altogether different from trusting Christ for His Spiritual Health. It is the way however for *you* until you are sure of the better way.³⁰

“Health in Christ” continues with an exposition of the function of “gifts of healing” within the Church, with Boddy’s clear conviction that there were even yet in the Christian community, “Elders, both men and women, to whom the Lord has given these gifts of healing, channels of the quickening Spirit”.³¹ As to the conditions for healing, he lays down two main prerequisites – faith and total honesty before God.

Faith is needed, however, where it is possible, on the part of the sick one . . . and faith in His messenger, that he is indeed sent of God and that he is his instrument . . . there must be no unbelief . . . if the sick person fails to perseveringly act out his faith . . . or if there is any deception or keeping back on the part of the sick person, God will not heal.³²

The reprinting of this *Roker Tract* concludes by anticipating some of the objections likely to be raised against its teaching. Boddy admits that there are cases of unhealed sickness in the New Testament itself, and that there were many failures in his own day. But his main point is that it is vital to cling on to the promises of God in absolute faith; in other words, God’s promises could not be negated or falsified by apparent failures. He says:

If there was not a single case of healing in our own times, or within your own experience, yet we ought to believe that Christ has borne our sickness . . . if case after case *seems* utterly to fail, yet his Word is everlastingly true, and his own people should be glad to trust Him for their bodies as for their souls.³³

Boddy also warns the readers of *Confidence* that those who do receive healing may later become discouraged or confused “by subsequent attacks of Satan, either in the form of a return of the old trouble or something quite different”.³⁴ Nevertheless, he suggests that this is, in any case, analogous to what happens to most believers after their conversion experience, when “Satan sought to get us into darkness of soul”. He advises those struggling with doubt thus:

But if the victorious union with the Life-giving Christ is now maintained, even through a fierce – even a prolonged struggle, then the reward is there in increased proof of the power of Christ over Satan, disease and Sin . . . attacking demons of disease should be rebuked in the Name of the Triumphant Jesus.³⁵

The “Health in Christ” tract is the fullest single delineation of early Pentecostal teaching on this subject ever published in *Confidence*. Its initial publication brought at least two discernible benefits to the movement. Firstly, its wide circulation led to many readers “in all parts of the world”, experiencing physical healing through its teaching, according to a subsequent report in *Confidence*.³⁶ Secondly, “Health in Christ” had served to establish Boddy as a respected authority on the subject. He tells us:

The Lord had, through the Roker Tracts . . . and through the booklet “Health in Christ”, brought the writer in touch with a very large circle who trusted the teachers in All Saints Vicarage, because they had been blessed by the messages given.³⁷

Consequently, the result of this prior preparation by Boddy and his wife, (obviously one of the “teachers” in All Saints) was that these views fell on to fertile soil when they began to promulgate a specifically Pentecostal view of health and healing in the pages of *Confidence*. That the movement was particularly receptive to this teaching can also be explained against the background of its belief in its own destiny as part of the “Latter Rain” – the last great spiritual revival on earth that pre-saged the imminent parousia, and the bringing in of the reign of God upon earth.³⁸ Boddy’s comment on this aspect is pertinent:

We are expecting the Gifts of healing to be largely bestowed in these days of the latter Rain. The disciples certainly healed before their Pentecost as well as afterwards, yet not less but more after Pentecost. (Mark 16.17–18)³⁹

It is then from within this eschatological framework that the early Pentecostal stress on healing evolved, not that this is surprising since virtually all the sects and movements previously adverted to as emphasising healing *per se* shared a similar “adventist” position. But the Pentecostal movement was seen by its devotees as the pinnacle of such hopes, and healing miracles authenticated both the apostolic kerygma and the message of the healers themselves. Boddy avers:

God is doing Wonders, Marvels, in these last days . . . the Lord is restoring the Gifts of the Church, and many in this land have, in measure, the gift of Healing. Yet let us look up to the Lord of Life Himself, and breathe in His quickening Spirit.⁴⁰

8:3. The development of a specifically 'Pentecostal' view of healing

Even though "Health in Christ" was written and published long before Boddy received his Spirit baptism, his views on the subject of healing appear to be relatively unchanged for the rest of his life. His other writings continually draw attention to the close link between sickness and Satan, and the role of demons in afflicting believers with disease. Speaking on "Divine Healing" at the Sunderland Convention in June 1908, he advised the elders who prayed for the sick about the "laying on of hands in accordance with Mark 16.18 . . . preceded by a rebuking of the disease and the demons which bring it".⁴¹ According to Boddy's teaching, natural factors alone could not explain the prevalence and universality of sickness and disease in the world, and he points to the example of Jesus thus:

The Lord, when on earth, detected Satan and his emissaries, where others would have put everything down to the natural. We read, Luke xiii., 16 "Ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond?". . . . Jesus of Nazareth went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed with the devil. (It was Luke . . . a physician, who wrote these words).⁴²

The belief in a personal devil, and demons, is of course a central tenet of Pentecostal belief, and underpins language such as "rebuking Satan". Believers must recognise in the onset of sickness the activity of Satan, the arch-enemy of God, and Boddy advises those thus attacked:

So we, if we are to have power over disease, must recognise the enemy, and strong in the victory of the Cross . . . must in the power of the Holy Ghost and by the finger of God, rebuke Satan . . . and cast him out into the abyss, he and his underlings . . . it may be of a legion goes out into the abyss.⁴³

He makes virtually the same point elsewhere when he writes, "supernatural healings are to be sought because sickness is generally from Satan or his emissaries . . . disease, we believe, came in not before the Fall but after it".⁴⁴ This clearly primeval

view of sickness helps us to understand the relatively low esteem in which medical science was held by many early Pentecostals. Once it is conceded that sickness originates from spiritual causes, and the nefarious activity of Satan, its cure must lie in the operation of faith in God as opposed to trust in doctors. Hence a divine/human dualism was posited in the treatment of sickness, which Boddy explains in relation to the activities of Christ the healer thus:

When the Lord Jesus saw disease, He saw beyond the disease the power that brought it on. When he found Peter's wife's mother suffering from fever He rebuked the fever. We do not rebuke a thing that has no life. We do not rebuke a table or a chair; or a house, but we can rebuke a dog or a horse, and especially an intelligent being like a child or a man, so the Lord Jesus . . . was rebuking the demon which brought the fever. This also shows us that disease is from Satan.⁴⁵

If rebuking Satan constituted the outward act in healing ministry, the corresponding internal act was obviously faith and trust in God, especially on the part of the one seeking healing. Boddy recognised, however, that there would always be those whose faith could not rise to this challenge, and for such he advised:

Christian Doctors and Nurses are a great blessing to those who have not faith enough to go to Headquarters. They, with hospitals and scientific appliances will be necessary until the end of the Great Tribulation for all who cannot go direct to the Lord of Life for help.⁴⁶

It is obvious that even in his own day, very few people could, when *in extremis*, put their faith totally in God for deliverance. Boddy tells us that "only a few patients out of hundreds have faith enough to lean only on the Lord",⁴⁷ and he admitted that he personally had reason to be grateful to the medical profession, writing, "I am much indebted to skilful Doctors and Nurses".⁴⁸ It is not clear from the context whether this statement refers to Boddy's own health, or that of his family. We have already noticed from the testimony of his daughter Jane Vazeille that "we rarely saw a doctor in our family",⁴⁹ and we also know from internal evidence in *Confidence* that Boddy had been trusting God for divine health since at least 1900 – seven years before his Pentecostal experience. He testifies of this:

The Lord of Life and Health has been very good to the writer of this paper during the ten years or so in which he has trusted Him for Divine health . . . there was a time in the writer's experience when it was hard-

er to stand for this Truth than it is today. Ten years ago he was very much alone, but today, Bishops and Christian leaders are sympathetically examining into it.⁵⁰

The above reference to "Bishops" was timely, since in that same year the Anglican Church Congress meeting at Cambridge was addressed by the Bishop of Durham, G. Handley Moule, on the subject of faith healing. The *London Chronicle* carried a long report of the Bishop's speech, during which he said:

We will not limit the virtues of the hidden life, the indwelling Christ to our spiritual experience only . . . I for one cannot doubt that normally the soul's health is at least friendly to that of the body, which, glorified at last, is to be its inseparable partner and vehicle for ever.⁵¹

These comments are important in that they show Handley Moule – Boddy's bishop – to have been sympathetic to his teaching on this subject, and this must be one reason why Boddy's Pentecostal activities flourished so long without episcopal resistance, even though most of his fellow clergymen opposed his stand.⁵² Possibly this antipathy can also be traced to Boddy's occasional denunciations of his own denomination; he excoriated their unbelief thus:

The Church today with its formalism, its love of dignity, its unapostolic methods of raising money, has need to confess that it is poor and blind and naked. It has endowments and cathedrals and costly Churches of stone, but when a sick one would send for the elders of our Church to come with the prayer of faith that shall save the sick, he often cannot find such . . . the ministry of one of the most powerful churches on earth has yet to repent and do the first works.⁵³

The main problem concerning the churches in England, as Boddy saw it, was simply unbelief in the power of God to heal the sick. He asserts:

The English-speaking people especially lie under the power of demons of unbelief on this point . . . Those who are used to heal the sick in the Name of Christ in other lands, find the work far more difficult in this land. This unbelief is owing to the defective teaching of centuries.⁵⁴

Just three months after penning these words, Boddy was addressing his local branch of the Church Missionary Society on "The Missionary's Supernatural Outfit". His fellow clergy were doubtless much discomfited to hear him declare:

England is very full of unbelief. The Christians as a rule do not expect the Lord to heal in the same manner as at the beginning. Centuries of

unbelief on this point influence us greatly. I believe that there are actually demons of unbelief attacking in this land those who long to be loyal to the promises of God. It means a fight of faith.⁵⁵

In a manner redolent of Edward Irving's attack on the methods of missionary societies in his own day, Boddy contrasted the simplicity and effectiveness of the apostolic methods of healing, "in the name of Jesus", with the:

Tabloid foods and condensed soups, ant-proof packing cases and camping out necessaries to which might be added medicine chests and supplies of insect powder – these things come up before us as being a part in the outfit of the modern itinerating missionary, and we sometimes wonder how St. Paul and his fellow workers . . . did without some of our modern appliances.⁵⁶

In this address Boddy proceeded to reiterate his belief that "the Lord's healings were not done through medicines", but that the apostles "simply used the mighty name of the Lord Jesus Himself". The peroration was striking and trenchant:

Is it possible that our Lord has a controversy with some of the great Missionary Societies on the point of the Gifts? Are they encouraging their representatives in heathen lands to expect and use the Nine Gifts of the Spirit which the Lord is giving today wherever he finds faith on the earth? We often hear of adverse balances and shortage of income – is not the Lord speaking to His people because some of them limit the Holy One of Israel?⁵⁷

There can be no doubt that, particularly in that august company of hearers, these words must have sounded strident and controversial. There is a sense in which Boddy himself also shared the limitations he denounced above, and none more obvious than the almost continuous debt under which *Confidence* laboured for most of its life.⁵⁸ But also on a more personal level, Mary Boddy was stricken with arthritis so badly that for years her sermons at the Sunderland Convention were delivered while she was seated, and she never received complete healing from the condition. In 1917, Boddy's son James, a lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps, was shot down in active war service over France, necessitating a leg amputation. He spent more than two years convalescing at St. Thomas' Hospital, London, and after 27 operations was able to resume City life with an artificial limb.⁵⁹

The situation was equally serious among PMU missionaries serving abroad. Amos Williams, serving the PMU in Ping-Liang, China, died of blood poisoning in December 1915.⁶⁰ Frank Trevitt, also working in China, died in April 1916,⁶¹ and Mrs. J. H. Boyce, a PMU worker in India, died of influenza in November 1918.⁶² Mr and Mrs A. Richardson, who worked in the Belgian Congo, were forced to return to Britain in September 1923 when he suffered serious complications following an attack of Blackwater fever. His condition must have been acute since they required some ten months in the UK, not returning to Kalembe Lembe until July 1924.⁶³

In the light of these apparent failures, it is difficult to see how Boddy could cling so tenaciously to his absolutist view on divine healing. One possible escape from this dilemma is that Boddy did occasionally concede a corrective purpose to sickness and suffering, but even then it was aimed at those who were not fully following the Saviour. Writing in 1910 he says:

The Lord allowed Satan to try Job through his body, and he allows sickness to act as a snapping wolf or cruel sheep-dog to drive into the fold. He may allow us to be chastened for a season for our profit, but when we apprehend the reason and obey our Father, then he will not continue to allow the enemy cruelly to punish us when we are truly penitent and when we accept health in Christ.⁶⁴

However, even this theodicy would presumably not be applicable to cases such as the PMU missionaries, and in any case their premature deaths could hardly be described as being “chastened for a season”. Speaking elsewhere to a reporter from the *Newcastle Chronicle*, Boddy accepted that “we do not believe that sickness is of God, but it may be permitted at times by him”.⁶⁵ It would seem, therefore, that the cases referred to above would have to be subsumed within the examples that Boddy spoke of when he admitted:

We have known some severe trials of faith, and some apparent failures, though we believed that behind such, unknown to us, there was a good reason for the delay, or what seemed to be failure.⁶⁶

Regarding the actual *form* a healing service should take, Boddy consistently argued that only one pattern fulfilled the biblical criteria, that of “the anointing with oil

and laying on of hands” paradigm found in James 5.14–16. This passage became the cornerstone of his teaching and practice, and he argued that:

The only directions in the Word of God in case of sickness are found in James v., 14–16 – “Is any among you sick, let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall heal the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him”.⁶⁷

It seems that Boddy had been implementing this procedure since “about 1892”.⁶⁸ In a simple service usually held at the vicarage, the sick person would be anointed with about six drops of olive oil on his head and forehead. The leading elder would then place both hands on the sufferer’s head, and pray for deliverance. Boddy emphasised two conditions that had to be met if a full healing was to follow – the patient must confess any fault or sin that might “hinder the healing”,⁶⁹ and also he should have “confident faith in Christ as the Great Healer”.⁷⁰ There was no expectation that full healing would necessarily occur instantaneously in all cases, and Boddy records that very frequently the recovery was gradual, “we have known many cases where the full healing was not manifested at once, yet gradually but surely the healing came. Such grateful ones have returned to give thanks for ultimate recovery and victory”.⁷¹

His counsel to those who had been healed was to glorify God for his mercy, but, speaking on “Divine Healing” at the Sunderland convention in 1908, he sounded a note of caution in that he:

Warned against any temptation to exaggerate in giving testimony to Divine Healing. In order to give God glory, His people sometimes may be tempted to go a little beyond their experience. So also in writing and speaking of his great work of “Pentecost”, let us be sober and careful.⁷²

Although Boddy placed great emphasis on the laying on of hands method, he also recognised other equally effective types of healing, such as “sovereign grace”, “believing prayer”, and the “laying on of a handkerchief”, all of which methods he says have proved successful, and all of which are still practised in contemporary

Pentecostalism. As to healing from other sources, such as clairvoyance and Christian Science, Boddy conceded that these sometimes occurred, but that they were *ipso facto* counterfeits of the devil. He warns:

Some turn to clairvoyant or semi-spiritualistic Healing. This is most dangerous, and especially for one who believes in and trusts the Christ of God. It opens a way for demons to enter that which should be the Temple of the Holy Ghost . . . Many in these days follow the fascinating and strange teachings of Christian Science. They often get wonderful results, but the price is the loss of the real Christ, who redeemed us by his blood.⁷³

So far, it has been clear that the articles on healing published in *Confidence* reflect a holistic view of man, stressing the indissoluble link between spiritual health and physical wholeness, *mens sana in corpore sano*, or as Mary Boddy put it, “all this wondrous vitality expressing itself through a healthy body, for health is wholeness, holiness”.⁷⁴ However, having boldly posited this link, it was clearly only a matter of time before questions were raised about the spiritual state of those who remained unhealed and sick. Did their continuing affliction necessarily indicate a lack of faith on their part, or possibly some secret sin, or the judgment of God on some less than satisfactory aspect of their lives? These questions had serious pastoral implications, and Boddy was anxious to assuage any fears about them, lest guilt should be added to pain in the experience of sick believers.

Accordingly, many of these issues were addressed in an anonymous article, probably by Boddy, printed in *Confidence* in August 1911. There are three clues that point to Boddy’s authorship of this article:

1. The literary style – especially the vocabulary and extensive quotations from Scripture – closely resemble many of his named articles.
2. The author says, “I was in Dresden some months ago”. As this was published in August 1911, and probably written some months before that date, it fits in with a known visit of Boddy to Germany in September 1910. Certainly he was in Berlin that month, and could easily have visited Dresden in the same period.

3. The writer's reference to a period of "for twenty years that the Lord is the healer of my body" gives a date of around 1891, and we have already noted that Boddy's claim to a healing ministry goes back to around 1892. Admittedly, it was not his usual practice to submit unsigned articles, but this may well have been an exception, for reasons that are not immediately obvious, however.

The anonymous author of "The Fight of Faith in Divine Healing" points out the folly of directly linking suffering to personal sin:

If we have not this *Love* we cannot pray in faith for these suffering ones, for so often their sickness is attributed to disobedience, going out of God's will etc; Friends, shall we remember that many of these dear ones are devoted Children of God, who would rather die than willingly go out of God's will . . . we are putting them under the bondage of law again.⁷⁵

Virtually exactly the same point regarding legalistic approaches to sickness was made by the German Pentecostal leader Jonathan Paul, and the striking similarities between his views and that of the previous article quoted suggest the two authors had probably discussed the issue together. Paul says:

Of course sin is a hindrance to the experience of the healing of the Lord . . . but we have no right to say that a man has sinned because he is sick. There are men who speak something like this – they say: "if you had not sinned you would not have been sick now". He that makes an assertion like this introduces a law again. You can make a sick person fearfully depressed by such talk.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, Paul does accept that there *may* be a connection between personal sickness and sin, because he goes on to advise:

When therefore a sick person desires to be healed by faith we must, first of all, point out to him that he must separate himself from every sin . . . so that there shall be no hindrance in this respect between him and the Lord. For it is the case that sin separates from God.⁷⁷

It appears from the tenor of Paul's remarks that extreme views on healing were already prevalent in some sections of the Pentecostal movement, and certainly we know from other evidence that certain celebrated healers such as Wigglesworth and Dowie did stress strongly the link between sickness and sin.⁷⁸

Both men also rejected medical aid *in toto*, the latter's famous sermon "Doctors, Drugs and Devils" being a classic repudiation of medicine.⁷⁹ Not surprisingly, within that *milieu*, other extreme views quickly gained ground, one of them being that not only should a believer never become sick, but that if he did supernatural healing was available for every disease. Jonathan Paul had no patience with this theory, and using the Old Testament character of Job as a paradigm, argued:

Job's example is very instructive here. It shows us that a righteous man who has not sinned against God can yet fall ill . . . the Bible does not prove that we can pray or believe every sickness away . . . in every case of sickness we can come to Jesus; indeed the redemption of our bodies is already completed by the death and resurrection of Jesus, but the *full* redemption of our body can only become our possession when our Saviour comes again.⁸⁰

This "now/but not yet" motif, so common in the inaugurated eschatological schemas of classical Evangelicalism, was not fully appreciated by all Pentecostals, many of whom still clung to mechanistic views of healing and sickness, including the untenable theory that the gift of healing gave its possessor infallible powers. Paul disputed this vigorously, arguing:

Not seldom one hears the opinion expressed "If you have the gift of healing, every sick person you pray with must become well, and if you pray with a sick person the healing must come at the same instant. If this does not happen, it is thereby certain that you have not really the gift of healing."⁸¹

His riposte was to point to the example of Christ himself, obviously the healer *par excellence*, who worked conjointly with the sick "yet could not use it (the gift of healing) in the face of unbelief".⁸² Moreover, as Boddy had also done, Paul does accept that there may be a positive, corrective, aspect to sickness and suffering, which he describes as:

. . . Receiving grace to suffer when in one way or another our mortal body shall endure testing from God; and this last is not to be despised.⁸³

Virtually the same point is brought out by Mary Boddy, who also using the example of Job, and probably thinking of her own trials of faith, wrote:

FOLLOWING PAGE

Plate no. 4 – Mrs Mary Boddy, wife of A. A. Boddy, and a leading exponent of Pentecostal doctrine in the early years of the movement (c. 1912).



You may wonder why your healing is delayed. You may long like Job for the days in which you were so active . . . now it all seems so different, no light comes, prayer *seems* unanswered. What is the meaning of it? . . . “whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and *scourgeth* every son whom he receiveth”. It is child discipline. Do not worry and think that because of your faith in divine healing you ought to be healed quickly. This conflict is for a higher prize . . . the victory will be manifested.⁸⁴

A similar exhortation to hold fast in faith was presented in *Confidence* by Mrs Carrie Judd Montgomery, of Buffalo, New York, who had published her own testimony to divine healing in *The Prayer of Faith*, issued in 1880. Writing in May 1915, she makes the usual point of sickness being a “curse” from which God wanted his people to be free. She counsels seekers after healing thus:

“Faith is the evidence of things not seen”, and we must believe God upon the authority of His Word, without reference to our physical feelings . . . if we believe without evidence, God will surely reward our faith sooner or later by a most glorious manifestation of His healing power and presence.⁸⁵

Of course, another way of looking at these caveats is that they unwittingly confirm the fact that, in very many cases, no apparent relief from sickness was granted to these sufferers. If healings were always instantaneous and complete, this type of counsel would obviously be superfluous. Nevertheless, the problem of unhealed Christians is perplexing and discouraging to many contemporary Pentecostals, and rarely receives an adequate apologetic.⁸⁶ But that occasionally a delay in healing did lead to a greater good (presumably its only justification) is clearly elicited by Mary Boddy, who testifies:

It is with joy that I believe the Lord will now allow me to write of the “way” in which He has led me during the past three years. Many dear ones have not understood why the Lord did not deliver me from severe physical temptation. For a time I did not understand it myself, for after being graciously and wonderfully kept in full health and vigour for years after being healed I expected to be again delivered in a similar manner by the grace and mercy of God.⁸⁷

Mary Boddy’s previous experience of healing had been in 1899, when she was delivered from severe asthma. Her present problem was acute arthritis, probably exacerbated by living on the cold, damp north east coast of England, and adjacent to the

large foundry of Samuel Tyzack, which Boddy believed had impaired the health of all his family.⁸⁸ Mary Boddy goes on to tell of her relief, saying:

Up to a certain point the severest symptoms of rheumatoid arthritis were allowed, but His life was manifest in a wonderful way . . . then came a point when the tide began to turn, and since then, slowly but surely, the arthritis has been giving way before the life of Jesus . . . I can see now quite clearly why God allows our faith to be tried. A quick deliverance is beautiful and is often necessary, but the lesson of patient endurance which perfects and strengthens the faith in God is not exercised in a short trial.⁸⁹

These words were written in January 1914, and independent corroboration of her improvement can be gleaned from the fact that, at the Whitsun Convention in May 1914, *Confidence* records that “Mrs Boddy stood up to speak for the first time for three years”.⁹⁰

Throughout her writings, Mary Boddy continued to place spiritual healing at the apex of all healing, saying:

Spiritual healing is Life . . . Life that can only be given by Christ . . . as that mighty power of God passed from him into the sick, that Life killed the germ of disease. At his command the demons left those possessed . . . this places spiritual healing on a much higher plane than any other healing, for it permeates the whole man – spirit, soul and body.⁹¹

It is interesting to note at this point how, over the space of just a few years, the Pentecostal movement polarised over the issue of medical aid. Smith Wigglesworth, the Bradford plumber who circumnavigated the globe with the message of healing, was resolutely anti-medicine until his dying day, even though his daughter was profoundly deaf and never received healing for her impediment. Wigglesworth’s words, “Get the Devil out of you and you will have a different body. Get disease out and you will get the Devil out”,⁹² contrast sharply with a view that gradually accommodated the assistance of medical aid, expressed so clearly by Mary Boddy in her last article for *Confidence*, who claimed that “there is no reason why the doctors and those who are ‘called’ and obey the ‘urge’ to help their fellow-sufferers, should not work together”.⁹³

It is probable that this concession was made on pragmatic grounds; we know from

internal evidence in *Confidence* that Mary Boddy had spent a long period of rest and convalescence at Milford-on-Sea, Hampshire, in February 1923, accompanied by a nurse/companion, a Miss Newton. The latter returned to live with the Boddys at Pittington vicarage, presumably as a resident nurse for Mrs Boddy.⁹⁴ It appears that Mary Boddy spent the whole of 1923 in some pain, because she tells the readers of *Confidence* in January 1924, “the past year has not been a year of tremendous power, but a year of tremendous weakness – a year of helplessness”.⁹⁵ Presumably this refers to her arthritic condition, and explains why she needed the nursing services of Miss Newton. Yet still she found the appeal of divine healing an ineluctable reality, averring that:

We must get our views of Divine Healing changed. Praise God for every relief from pain but it is *Life* that we need. Spiritism, Science and Theology cannot give that. The Word of God will be life in us and as we speak the Word boldly, He will stretch forth his hands and heal, in the name of Jesus only. Not one word Jesus has ever said to me has failed.⁹⁶

At first glance it seems difficult to reconcile this positive affirmation of healing power with Mary Boddy’s own continuing sickness, but a tentative solution may be found in her last sentence above. It may be the case that at no time did Mrs Boddy ever receive a specific promise from God that she *would* be healed, and therefore, the promise not having been given could not be said to have failed. Certainly we know that she continued to be a channel of healing to others, in cases where we must assume she received definite promises from God that the sufferer would be healed. What makes Mary Boddy’s case especially poignant is that, in a rare surviving letter of A. A. Boddy, dated 27 June 1928 to an unknown recipient, he says of his wife, “My beloved one to the last expected to be healed”.⁹⁷ Such were the tensions and frustrated hopes often engendered by Pentecostalism’s emphasis on health and wholeness.

Before leaving this crucial area of the early Pentecostal understanding of health and sickness, which has been gleaned from a survey of all the major articles on the

subject printed in *Confidence*, it is germane to investigate the empirical results of the doctrine. It is almost axiomatic that a doctrine possibly involving a good deal of self-denial, and pain, could not easily survive for long unless supported by tangible results. However, particularly in the early days of the movement, claims to healing by divine intervention are manifold. Many of the early issues of *Confidence* record cases of putative healing, either in answer to specific prayer, or through the laying on of hands, or for no apparent external reason. It is from within this profusion of physical deliverances that the doctrine of health and wholeness flourished in early Pentecostalism, and the role of *Confidence* in publishing such cases throughout the world must have been an important factor in engendering faith on the part of other readers to trust God for their own healing. The contents of each report about healing in *Confidence* usually regard such events as having at least a two-fold spiritual significance – they were a sign from God as to the authenticity of the Pentecostal message and messenger, and they carried also eschatological significance, confirming the nearness of the days of the “Latter Rain” and the final consummation of all things on earth.

Two distinct phases emerge in the development of the practice of divine healing in early British Pentecostalism. The first phase involves those healings that occurred to individuals in the context of normal church life, or as a result of prayer, or anointing with oil, or the laying on of a “prayed for” handkerchief after the pattern in Acts 19.12. Most of such healings seem to have occurred without the ministrations of persons professing to exercise a healing gift *per se*, took place in a random fashion, and covered the whole spectrum of diseases then prevalent. Such healings also involved many patients who had been given up by the medical profession as hopeless or *in extremis*.

Articles in *Confidence* also throw light on a second phase of healing activity, the rise to prominence of Pentecostal evangelists who coupled their preaching ministry with

a strong emphasis on physical health and wholeness. In Britain, this would include men like Smith Wigglesworth (who had practised healing since at least 1897) and the famous Jeffreys brothers, George and Stephen.⁹⁸ Their evangelistic campaigns throughout the UK and abroad saw hundreds of healings take place, though of course there were also many failures. In the USA, the practice of healing flourished under the ministries of Finis Yoakum, John Dowie, Frank Sandford, John Lake, Maria Woodworth-Etter, Carrie Judd Montgomery, and – certainly the most celebrated Pentecostal of that era and the originator of the “Foursquare Gospel” message – Aimee Semple McPherson.

A striking fact that unites many of these proponents of the healing message is that they had themselves received supernatural healing before they began their subsequent ministries. Wigglesworth had been healed of a ruptured appendix and been “raised from the gates of death” several times;⁹⁹ Mary Boddy had been healed of asthma in 1899, and George Jeffreys was healed of a speech disorder and facial paralysis in 1911. In 1880 Mrs Montgomery had been healed of the results of a childhood accident that rendered her crippled; John Lake’s wife was healed of tuberculosis in 1898, and Finis Yoakum was healed in 1895 of near-fatal injuries he received when knocked down by a buggy.

As most of these healings took place long before the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement in 1906, it highlights once again the widespread belief in, and practice of, this doctrine among Evangelical Christians in the late nineteenth century. It is also very likely that this element of intense personal participation – the actual experience of healing – must have played a major part in galvanising the faith of these evangelists when faced with bitter opposition from a cynical public and lukewarm churches, as well as the debilitating effects of apparent failures in their ministry.

Right down to the present day, few aspects of Pentecostal belief and practice have

evoked as much controversy and division as divine healing, both from within and without the movement.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, if the reports in *Confidence* are taken at face value it seems incontrovertible that the early days of the movement were characterised by many striking cases of providential deliverance from sickness. Further, many of these cases were authenticated in a manner, as Walker points out, “not typically seen in Pentecostal circles today”.¹⁰¹ Whilst due allowance must be made for the usual and well-known causes of remission, and the possibility of psychosomatic “cures”, a hard core of cases that defy naturalistic explanation do seem to be evident in *Confidence*, and some of these received medical attestation by, for example, radiographic examination. In order therefore to indicate the eclectic nature of these healings, and their apparent non-dependence on any particular mode of ministry, the following chart has been constructed from a trawl of all the major articles and testimonies appearing in *Confidence* relating to *individual* healings i.e. before the advent of mass healing campaigns, when such data would be difficult to collect.

Date and page of report in <i>Confidence</i>	Name of patient	Type of illness	Ministry received	Result	Any witnesses?	Medically confirmed?	Notes
November 1908 pp. 16-17	M. Wilson	Arthritis	Laying on of hands	Partial healing	Yes	Doctor saw "slight improvement"	Mentions return of "counterfeit symptoms"
March 1909 pp. 55-58	Elizabeth Sisson	Asthma, catarrh, gastritis	Prayer and handkerchief	Total healing	Yes	Not known	Felt electric current go through body
November 1909 p. 248 and April 1909, pp. 87-90	C.E.D. Delabilliere	Shortened leg (2 cms)	Prayer alone	Total healing	Yes	Yes	felt "current of life" galvanising limb
March 1910 pp. 57, 58	L. Hook	Cancer, T.B., weak heart, bad eyesight	Prayer and handkerchief of Dr Yoakum	Total healing	Not known	Yes	"My body felt as though filled with electricity"
June 1910 pp. 123-124, and July 1910, pp. 158-159	Young lady aged 22	Dead for 2½ hours	Prayer alone, commanding death to depart	Raised to life	Not known	Not known	
November 1910 pp. 259, 261-262	Annie Freeman	Muscular paralysis	None - heard the voice of God	Total healing	Yes	Not known	"it seemed like an electric shock"

Date and page of report in Confidence	Name of patient	Type of illness	Ministry received	Result	Any witnesses?	Medically confirmed?	Notes
February 1912 pp. 44-45	James Day	Stomach cancer	anointing with oil and prayer	Total healing	Yes	Yes	
March 1912 pp. 65-66	Lady about 50 years	Cancer	none - healed at moment of conversion	Total healing	Yes	Yes	
January 1913 pp. 8-10	Dorothy Kerin	Blindness, deafness, T.B.	None - saw a vision of the Lord	Total healing	Yes	Yes	Story published in London papers, e.g. <i>Daily Mirror</i>
June 1914 pp. 109-110	Walter Martin	Blindness	Self-prayer	Gradual healing	Yes	Not known	blind 31 years
July 1914 p. 135	Widow of 71 years	Crippled, heart disease, poor eyesight	Prayer and anointed	Total healing	Yes	Not known	ill for 47 years
August 1914 pp. 152-153	Alice Smeatham	Angina	Prayer and laying on of hands	Total healing	Yes	Not known	mentions "one or two returns of the symptoms"

Date and page of report in Confidence	Name of patient	Type of illness	Ministry received	Result	Any witnesses?	Medically confirmed?	Notes
August 1914 pp. 154-155	Nurse (unknown)	Heart pain	None - healed while listening to sermon in All Saints Church in 1906	Total healing	No	Not known	"Though not seeking healing the Holy Ghost had brought it."
August 1914 pp. 154-155	Nurse (unknown)	Asthma	Prayer	Total healing	Yes	Not known	
August 1915 pp. 143-144	Dorothy Kerin	Fever and delirium	Prayer and vision of Jesus	Partial healing	Yes	Not known	
October 1915 pp. 195-196 and November 1915 pp. 213-214	Ludwig Monsen	Blind and crippled	None	Total healing	Yes - about 2,500	Not known	Had no expectation of healing
April 1916 pp. 66-67	Arthur Johnson	Pleurisy, rheumatism, back pain	laying on of hands and anointing with oil	Total healing	Yes	Not known	Healer "rebuked the devil in the name of Jesus".
October/Dec 1920 pp. 57-58	Ada Balderstone	Dislocated spine	Prayer and anointing with oil	Total healing	Yes	Yes	Had also been healed of cancer four years earlier

A study of this chart reveals a number of significant points.

1. The range of diseases apparently healed is very diverse, and includes a claim to such stupendous miracles as raising of the dead.
2. The sick persons were frequently in a chronic or acute condition over many years, when natural remission was extremely unlikely, and moreover they had often been regarded as hopeless cases by physicians.
3. Most of the healings were witnessed by at least one person present, usually by many more. Such cases were normally instantaneously and totally cured.
4. A high proportion of these healings received medical corroboration, such as X-ray testing etc. In one notable healing, that of Dorothy Kerin, her physician, Dr Ash (a Harley Street Consultant), published a book about her recovery.¹⁰²
5. No particular pattern emerges regarding the actual *agency* or method of effecting the cure. Normally, at least the patient had received prayer, but occasionally the healing was totally unexpected and apparently random. This suggests that the role of "faith" in such healings is perhaps not as central as some Pentecostals had claimed.¹⁰³

With the later gradual emergence of Pentecostal ministries that combined proclamation of the gospel with a specific healing emphasis, the reports of putative healings became ever more numerous and spectacular. For example by as early as 1912 Smith Wigglesworth claimed to have been involved in "hundreds of cases of divine healing", and afflictions as intractable as epilepsy, blindness, a severed tongue, a foot hanging off and displaced hips, were all cured by his touch.¹⁰⁴ A year later, Mrs Woodworth-Etter was to claim that "thousands have been made whole of every disease known at this age of the world, including one case of leprosy".¹⁰⁵

By 1920, Wigglesworth was claiming that one of his campaigns in Switzerland had yielded "not less than 1,000 healed", including cases of diabetes, paralysis, blind-

ness and consumption.¹⁰⁶ Two years later the figures had risen again, a three-month mission in Sweden and Denmark reported that “thousands were healed from all kinds of diseases”.¹⁰⁷ Coterminously, the famous Welsh evangelists George and Stephen Jeffreys were seeing similar scenes throughout Britain, with crowds often so large that they queued all night for admission to the meetings.¹⁰⁸

It is quite clear that the success of these healings and evangelistic campaigns was a major factor in spreading the Pentecostal message throughout the UK, and that large numbers of conversions took place as a result of people witnessing such demonstrations of divine power. The role of *Confidence* in promulgating biblical teaching about divine healing had a threefold effect. Firstly, by printing such prominent testimonies of those who had experienced healing, it must have inspired and encouraged many others to seek, and pray for, their own miracle of healing. This is borne out by the fact that the pages of *Confidence* are replete with intimations of how reading about the healing of others helped to inspire similar faith in the reader.

Secondly, *Confidence* was effectively acting as a powerful publicity agent for the leading healing evangelists, bringing attention to their multifarious activities around the globe, highlighting their successes, and keeping the topic of healing well to the fore of public attention. It is likely that without Boddy's editorial co-operation in this matter, the activities of the healers would have assumed a much lower profile than it did.

Thirdly, Boddy's balanced outlook and natural sagacity was to prove the perfect foil to the very real possibility of exaggerated and distorted accounts of healing being circulated. We have already noticed his strong warning against hyperbole on this topic, and one of his publishing counterparts in the USA, William Seymour, had already felt compelled to print in *The Apostolic Faith* a lengthy correction of an obviously exaggerated account of a healing mission.¹⁰⁹

FOLLOWING PAGE

Handbill advertising a divine healing campaign held by Stephen Jeffreys in Derby, March 1928. The scope and nature of putative cures is noteworthy.

DIVINE HEALING CAMPAIGN

AND EVANGELISTIC SERVICES,

MONDAY, MARCH 5th to WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21st,

1928, in the

Temperance Hall, Derby

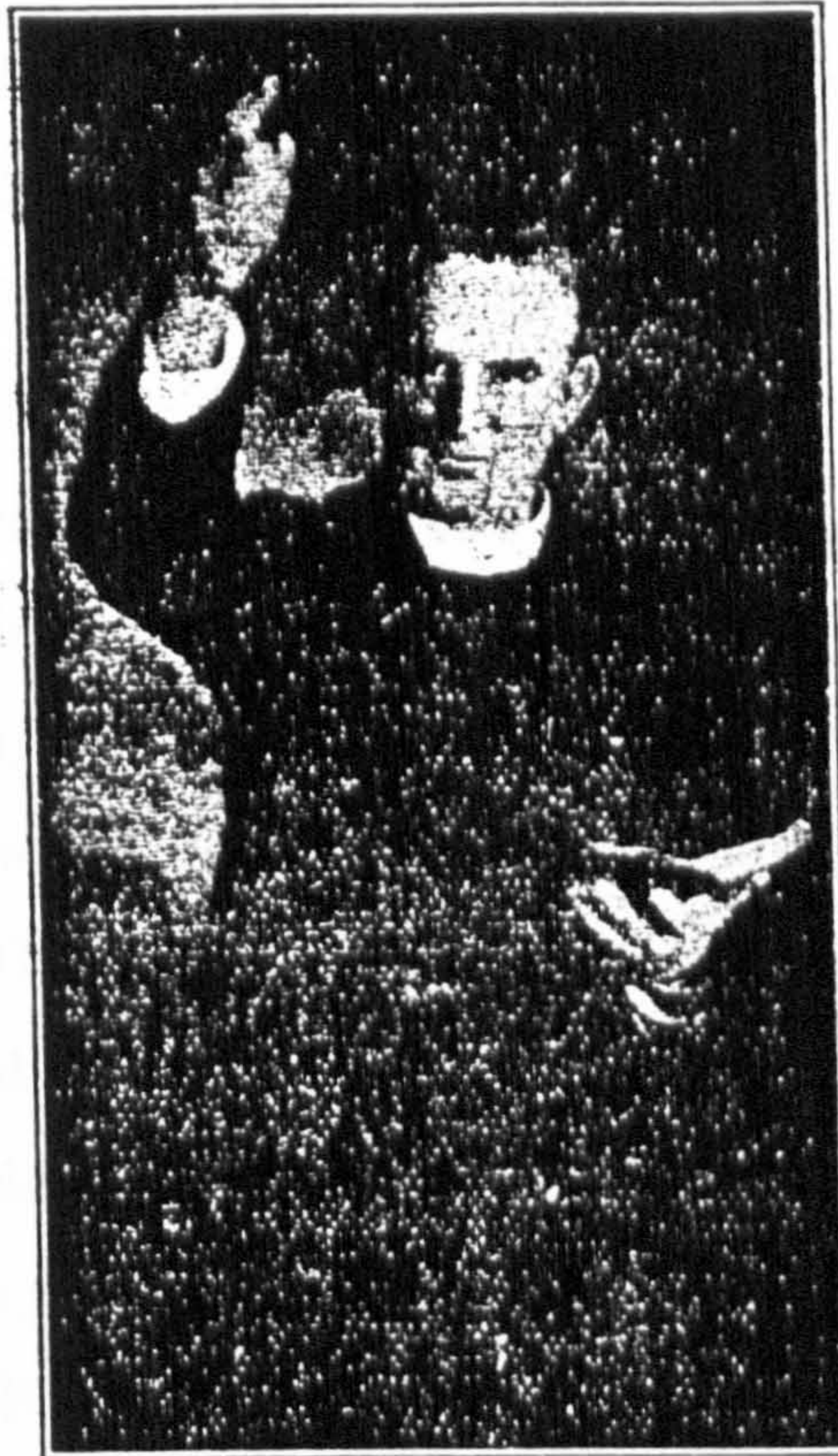
(Except Saturdays and Sunday Afternoons) Conducted by

PASTOR STEPHEN JEFFREYS

(World Renowned Evangelist),

**The Blind See.
The Lame Walk.
The Deaf Hear.
The Dumb Speak.**

All manner of
sickness and
afflictions
Prayed for.



Pastor Jeffreys believes that Jesus Christ is just the same to-day.

His touch has still its Ancient Power.

*Mark 16.
Verses 15, 16, 17
and 18.*

They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

Times of Meetings :—SUNDAYS, 10.30 a.m. and 6.30 p.m.

WEEKDAYS, 3 p.m. (except Friday) and 7.30 p.m.

**Saturdays at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., and Sundays at 3 p.m. in
Brook Street U. M. Church.**

Do not miss hearing how God has worked in Signs and Wonders all over the Country.
WELCOME TO ALL.

After the demise of *Confidence* in 1926, and Boddy's death four years later, the healing activities of Pentecostals became much more diffuse and variegated. But by then such colourful personalities as "Sister Aimee" had ensured both the prominence and perpetuity of the healing message in her "Foursquare Gospel" of Jesus as "Saviour, Healer, Baptizer and Coming King". Her International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, founded in Los Angeles in 1923, was based on a "revelation" she received in an Oakland crusade in July 1922. Preaching from Ezekiel 1.4–10 she declared the four cherubim with four faces to represent aspects of the ministry of Christ – Jesus the Healer being one of these cornerstone truths. In 1929 the Elim Evangelistic Band changed its name to the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance, this nuance again confirming that physical deliverance from sickness was to remain a cardinal facet of orthodox Pentecostal belief.

8:4. Subsequent developments in the Pentecostal understanding and practice of healing

In Britain, the halcyon days of healing success reached their zenith in the 1920s and 30s. Thereafter there was a clear decline, partly due to the deteriorating health of the Jeffreys brothers – George with diabetes and Stephen with arthritis. George Jeffreys was also embroiled in constitutional battles with the Elim denomination he had founded in 1915.¹¹⁰ No other evangelists in the UK possessed their stature, although less well-known figures such as Frederick Squire and his Full Gospel Testimony Revival Party, Percy Brewster of Elim, and J. Nelson Parr of the AOG, kept the issue alive.

In the USA, the post-war years saw a remarkable resurgence of healing activity in the ministries of such redoubtable evangelists as William Branham, Oral Roberts, Jack Coe, Gordon Lindsay, A. A. Allen, T. L. Osborn and Kathleen Kuhlman. These preachers all proved skilful manipulators of the mass media during the middle decades of this century, most launching their personal publishing enterprises with

journals such as Branham's *Voice of Healing*, Osborn's *Faith Digest*, Coe's *Herald of Healing* (which attained a circulation of some 300,000), and Oral Roberts's literary blockbuster, *Healing Waters* (in 1956 renamed *Abundant Life*), that peaked at a circulation of one million. Most also forayed into radio and TV productions, using their vast mailing lists to finance the very heavy sums involved. Thousands of miraculous cures were claimed during these campaigns, though subsequent medical investigation by qualified surgeons and physicians tended to impugn the more extreme claims. For example, William Nolen's *Healing: A Doctor in Search of a Miracle*, could not verify any one of twenty-six putative healings under Kathleen Kuhlman's ministry.¹¹¹

In *Vision of the Disinherited*, Anderson confirms that the issue of divine healing has brought many problems to the Pentecostal movement. He alleges:

So grossly exaggerated and often fabricated were the reports of divine healing that Pentecostal editors eventually refused to print them without substantiation, which usually meant the testimony of some Pentecostal whose word was accepted at face value by the editor in question . . . Stanly H. Frodsham accepted as valid the report of a newspaper man who followed up fifty cases of alleged healings and concluded that only two were in fact authentic . . . again Frodsham reported that a mail survey of one thousand persons "healed" in Pentecostal meetings produced only one respondent.¹¹²

However, probably more damaging to the healing cause even than this was the devastating exposé of James Randi's *The Faith Healers*, which proved conclusively that some of the fringe charismatic healers were involved in massive deception in their claims to recognise diseases by divine revelation – one husband and wife team, for example, using a two-way radio transmitter and receiver to communicate information about the afflictions of their congregation.¹¹³

Currently, leading contemporary Pentecostal and Charismatic healers such as Don Stewart, Morris Cerullo, Reinhard Bonnke and John Wimber preach to capacity crowds around the world, but in turn also receive a good deal of unfavourable publicity, especially on their visits to Britain. Cerullo's campaign in Earls Court, London, in June 1992 was heavily criticised for its insensitive publicity, and a BBC

TV “Heart of the Matter” documentary on the visit cast Cerullo in a fraudulent role.¹¹⁴ Another unfortunate dénouement to his London campaign was the death of a 25 year-old epileptic woman, Audrey Reynolds, who, thinking she had been healed at the rallies, stopped taking medication and had a fatal seizure six days later.¹¹⁵ However, two important works have recently been published which give substantial documentation in support of some healing claims – one written by a social anthropologist analysing the results of a John Wimber campaign, and the other by a consultant obstetrician and gynaecologist.¹¹⁶

In Britain, it has generally been the neo-Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, rather than the classical Pentecostals, who have kept interest in healing at a high level over the past two decades. The “Power Healing” emphasis of Wimber, Trevor Dearing, Peter Horrobin, Don Double and Melvin Banks, and the more restrained cerebral approach of Anglicans such as John Gunstone, are obviously meeting different levels of need – both on a physical and intellectual plane. Occasionally, a healing takes place which is so spectacular that it compels nationwide attention. Such occurred in 1991 when Mrs Jennifer Rees-Larcombe, confined to a wheelchair for eight years with viral encephalitis, was totally and instantaneously cured through the simple prayer of a young fellow-Christian. BBC TV broadcast a documentary about her case, “Unexpected Healing”, in November 1992.¹¹⁷

One feature of modern healing ministries that is totally lacking in primitive Pentecostalism is the belief that the healer can receive “revelation” of the sickness, and its causes, afflicting the patient. This is then spoken out publicly in a “word of knowledge”. The display of this supernatural *gnosis* is intended to engender greater faith in both the giver and recipient. Sometimes this gift was used to remarkable effect, as in the case of William Branham, who claimed to receive supernatural insight through the guidance of an angel. Hollenweger testifies of the effect this produced thus:

The angel gave him signs to help him in his task. The most important was Branham's ability to name with astonishing accuracy the sickness, and also often the hidden sins, of people whom he had never seen. The author, who knew Branham personally and interpreted for him in Zurich, is not aware of any case in which he was mistaken in the often detailed statements he made.¹¹⁸

The same phenomenon, but with far less accuracy, was also evident in the preaching of Oral Roberts, A. A. Allen, Kathleen Kuhlman, and in our own day, John Wimber. However, the writer has not been able to trace any report of this practice in any of the issues of *Confidence*, or any other contemporaneous magazine.¹¹⁹ There are however, other issues in which the influence of Boddy and the articles in *Confidence* appear to have strongly impacted (if not actually determined) subsequent Pentecostal and Charismatic belief and practice. In concluding this section, the main areas are highlighted as follows.

8:5. The links between the teaching of "Confidence" on divine healing, and subsequent developments in Pentecostalism

The main areas of influence can be summarised as:

a) The denial of sense perception – Boddy's teaching on "counterfeit symptoms" has strong links with the metaphysical dogmas of New Thought and its founder P. P. Quimby, and through him, on Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy.¹²⁰ Boddy may have arrived at his teaching independently, but his frequent references to Christian Science and its teachings strongly suggest he had thought deeply about its main tenets. The modern Positive Confession (Faith) Movement has, like Boddy, adopted the theory of distinguishing the actual disease from its symptoms. This dualistic theory allows a sick person to "confess" (i.e. assert) their healing even if all the symptoms are present. The symptoms are not the real disease, but a satanic illusion to cast the believer into doubt and despair, and to delay "the manifestation" of the healing. The fact that this type of dichotomy was never encountered in cases of biblical healings, where the recovery was always immediate and complete, was never seriously discussed by Boddy, or other writers in *Confidence*, or their succes-

sors in the modern movement. Many recent writings have drawn attention to the highly dangerous, and possibly fatal, aspects of this teaching, and a number of deaths are known to have occurred through it.¹²¹

b) Healing is in the atonement of Christ – this belief has passed via *Confidence* into virtually all streams of Pentecostal thought, and must be regarded as a tenet that more or less underpins all the other accoutrements of the healing gospel. Nonetheless, this is not regarded as an *ex opere operato* mechanism, and in contemporary Pentecostalism there is some dubiety as to exactly how the healing benefits of the atonement can be appropriated by the sick believer.¹²² A corollary of this belief is the equally prominent teaching of *Confidence* that spiritual healing is the highest form of healing – an idea that surfaces repeatedly in much “Faith Theology”.

c) The close link between demonic activity and sickness – this important *leitmotif* in *Confidence*, and the concomitant stress on the place of exorcism, has been taken up and developed to a much greater degree in subsequent Pentecostal and Charismatic writings. Whilst Boddy, and other writers published in *Confidence*, strongly denied that a Christian could be demon-possessed, this stand has been repudiated by many contemporary Pentecostals.¹²³ On the basis of this belief, which has strongly divided the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements world-wide, their healing ministries are usually “deliverance sessions”, a euphemism for casting out demons. Since most demons exit through the mouth, a supply of paper bags and handkerchiefs is always at hand in such meetings, a process described contemptuously by one classical Pentecostal as “a farce”.¹²⁴

d) Christians can take authority over sickness – this point follows on logically from the previous one, in that if the ultimate source of suffering and pain is satanic, it must be regarded as an intrusion in the body of a Christian. Therefore, on the

authority of the scriptures it can be commanded to depart. Once again, the teaching of *Confidence* and early Pentecostal writers has been transmogrified to a point where some Pentecostals and Charismatics now claim that no Christian should ever be sick, or die before they are seventy years old.¹²⁵ This teaching has been pushed even further in the “Manifest Sons of God” movement, which asserts that Spirit-filled believers do not even have to die at all.¹²⁶ What these later distortions actually reveal is of course contradicted by empirical facts, but it confirms once again the essentially biblical anthropology and cosmogony adopted by Boddy and the early Pentecostal movement.

e) The disparagement of medicine – we have already referred to Boddy’s ambivalent stand on this issue, and the way in which there was also a subtle chronological shift towards medical aid when circumstances forced it on him. Similar ambiguity exists in contemporary Pentecostalism, with opinion running the whole gamut from outright rejection to total acceptance. Indicative of the more sceptical pole is Kenneth Copeland, who claims that “the world has a system of healing which is a miserable failure”.¹²⁷ Similarly, Frederick Price likens medicine to a “crutch” for the weak in faith, “if you need a crutch or something to help you get along, then praise God, hobble along until you get your faith moving to the point that you don’t need a crutch”.¹²⁸ It is noticeable that this type of approach always blames the lack of faith on the patient, never on the healer – and this in spite of the fact that the New Testament contains examples of healing by proxy faith.¹²⁹ In the same vein, Kenneth Hagin boldly declares that “God’s medicine is His Word”, and claims that he has had no recourse to any medical aid since 1933.¹³⁰

Representing the opposite pole are all the classical Pentecostal denominations, who regularly send out medical missionaries to all parts of the world, by implication accepting the legitimacy of human therapy. In 1981, Oral Roberts, probably the best-known Pentecostal in the world, opened a 250 million dollar ‘City of Faith

Medical and Research Centre' in Tulsa, Oklahoma, consisting of a 30-storey hospital and 60-storey medical centre.¹³¹ This two-fold approach to healing is also exemplified in the teaching of an Anglican clergyman in the mainstream of Charismatic renewal in Britain, Colin Urquhart. After telling his readers that God wants to heal them, he argues:

In which case you have every right to pray; to ask, believing His promise; to seek the good offices of the medical profession. To believe God not only to alleviate the pain, but remove the disease . . . and to give you the healing you seek in the way He chooses.¹³²

Hence, after a period of some eighty-five years during which Pentecostalism has flourished in Britain, its shades of belief in divine healing have come almost full circle. There is still the expectation that God can, and sometimes does, heal supernaturally, but that this in no way precludes the use of medical means as well. The magazine *Confidence* represented all these gradations of belief during its eighteen-year existence, and its final conclusion on the subject could not be better expressed than by the pithy comment of the great Huguenot physician Ambroise Paré – the father of modern surgery – who inscribed on the walls of the *École de Médecine* in Paris, “je le pansay et Dieu le guarit” (I dressed the wound and God healed it).

NOTES – CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Mary Boddy, "Health and Healing in Jesus", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, p. 16 (footnote by A. Boddy).
2. Paul Chappell, "The Divine Healing Movement in America", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1983, *passim*.
3. Chappell, *op. cit.*, p. 89, n.4.
4. For general background information on pietistic sects in the USA, c.f. F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, William B. Eerdmans, 1976, pp. 87ff.
5. For information on the European influences on healing theology and practice in Britain, c.f. Chappell, *op. cit.*
6. A. B. Simpson founded the Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1897, and coined the phrase "Foursquare Gospel", using the word "Sanctifier" for the later "Baptiser" in relation to the work of Christ. He was friendly with Boddy, and the two met several times, both in Sunderland and the USA. Boddy preached at Simpson's Gospel Tabernacle in New York, (*Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 4, April 1913, p. 70).
7. W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, London: SCM, 1972, p. 513.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 515.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 520.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 519.
12. A. A. Boddy, "The Anointing With Oil", *Confidence*, vol. 15, no. 129, April–June 1922, p. 21.
13. A. A. Boddy, "Health in Christ", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, pp. 175–179.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
19. *Ibid.*
20. A. A. Boddy, "Pastor Cantel at Rest", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 9, September 1910, pp. 204–205.
21. A. A. Boddy, "Health in Christ", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 176.
22. A. A. Boddy, "Faith Healing in Scripture and Experience", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 12, December 1913, p. 232.
23. "Health in Christ", p. 176.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*

26. Ibid., p. 177.
27. Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures*, Boston, Mass., 1875, pp. 495/390.
28. For the alleged influence of Kenyon on the Positive Confession Movement, c.f. Dan McConnell, *The Promise of Health and Wealth*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990, pp. 3–14, 21–24; and Dave Hunt, *Beyond Seduction*, Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 1987, pp. 63–70. McConnell adduces conclusive evidence that Kenneth Hagin, the putative “granddaddy” of the movement, extensively plagiarised Kenyon’s works. (pp. 6–14).
29. c.f. note 117 for fuller details.
30. “Health in Christ”, p. 178.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 179.
36. A. A. Boddy, “Faith Healing in Scripture and Experience”, *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 12, December 1913, p. 232.
37. A. A. Boddy, “The Pentecostal Movement”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 8, August 1910, p. 195.
38. For background information on the Latter Rain movement, c.f. chapter 4, n. 81.
39. Mary Boddy, “Health and Healing in Jesus”, *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 2, May 1908, p. 17, (footnote by A. A. Boddy).
40. A. A. Boddy, “Divine Healing”, *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 18.
41. Ibid.
42. A. A. Boddy, “Faith Healing”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 10.
43. Ibid.
44. A. A. Boddy, “Faith Healing in Scripture and Experience”, *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 12, December 1913, p. 232.
45. A. A. Boddy, “Our Victory over Demons and Disease”, *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 11, November 1916, p. 181.
46. A. A. Boddy, “Faith Healing”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 8.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Jane Vazeille Boddy, “Alfred Alexander Boddy, 1854–1930”, p. 5.
50. A. A. Boddy, “Faith Healing”, *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 15.
51. “The Bishop of Durham on Faith Healing”, *London Chronicle*, 1 October 1910. (quoted in *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 10, October 1910, p. 236).

52. Handley Moule's interest in the Spirit can be traced to his work *Veni Creator: Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), although there is nothing specifically "Pentecostal" in the book. When Moule died in 1920, Boddy described him as "a man filled with the Holy Ghost" (*Confidence*, vol. 13, no. 3, July–September 1920, p. 37).
53. A. A. Boddy, "Faith Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 11.
54. Ibid.
55. A. A. Boddy, "The Missionary's Supernatural Outfit", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 3, March 1910, p. 71.
56. Ibid., p. 69.
57. Ibid., p. 72.
58. c.f. chapter 4, passim, for details of this on-going situation.
59. In response to readers' questions, Boddy frequently reported on his son's condition in *Confidence*. e.g. vol. 11, no. 1, January–March 1918, p. 6; vol. 11, no. 2, April–June 1918, p. 33; vol. 11, no. 4, October–December 1918, p. 71; vol. 12, no. 3, October–December 1919, p. 56; vol. 15, no. 128, January–March 1922, p. 2; vol. 16, no. 132, January–March 1923, p. 62.
60. "Kansu", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 12, December 1915, p. 239.
61. "Bro. Frank Trevitt", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 5, May 1916, p. 91.
62. "The Pentecostal Missionary Union", *Confidence*, vol. 12, no. 1, January–March 1919, p. 11.
63. "The Pentecostal Missionary Union", *Confidence*, vol. 17, no. 138, August–September 1924, p. 145.
64. A. A. Boddy, "Faith Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 11.
65. A. A. Boddy, "Christian Science", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, p. 166.
66. A. A. Boddy, "Healing by Faith", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, p. 113.
67. A. A. Boddy, "Faith Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1910, p. 9.
68. A. A. Boddy, "The Anointing With Oil", *Confidence*, vol. 15, no. 2, April–June 1922, p. 21.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 22.
71. Ibid.
72. A. A. Boddy, "Divine Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 18.
73. A. A. Boddy, "Faith Healing in Scripture and Experience", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 12, December 1913, p. 231.
74. Mary Boddy, "Spiritual Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 18, no. 140, May 1925, p. 167.
75. "The Fight of Faith in Divine Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 8, August 1911, p. 181.
76. Jonathan Paul, "What Shall we Preach to the Sick?", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 3, March 1915, p. 48.

77. Ibid.
78. Wigglesworth, who left school at the age of six, was almost illiterate but his views on healing can be gleaned from sermon notes recorded by his followers. These were subsequently published in two volumes, *Ever Increasing Faith* (1924) and *Faith that Prevails* (1938).
79. Its full title was "Doctors Drugs and Devils; or the Foes of Christ the Healer". Dowie published testimonies of successful cures in his magazine *Leaves of Healing*.
80. Jonathan Paul, "What Shall We Preach to the Sick?", (part 2), *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 4, April 1915, p. 73.
81. Ibid., p. 74.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Mary Boddy, "With Patience Wait for It", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 2, February 1916, p. 31.
85. Carrie Judd Montgomery, "A Message to the Sick", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 5, May 1915, p. 88.
86. One of the few Pentecostals who did tackle this subject was Donald Gee, in his *Trophimus I Left Sick: Our Problems of Divine Healing*, London: Elim Publishing House, 1952.
87. Mary Boddy, "A New Year's Message", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 1, January 1914, p. 11.
88. Boddy makes this point specifically, in "From Sunderland to Pitlington", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 132, January–March 1923, pp. 64, 66.
89. Mary Boddy, "A New Year's Message", p. 12.
90. "Sunderland Convention", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, p. 106.
91. Mary Boddy, "Spiritual Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 18, no. 140, May 1925, pp. 166–167.
92. Smith Wigglesworth, "Divine Life and Divine Health", *Confidence*, vol. 17, No. 137, April–June 1924, p. 129.
93. Mary Boddy, "Spiritual Healing", p. 167.
94. "Personal Jottings", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 132, January–March 1923, p. 62.
95. Mary Boddy, "The Word of God", *Confidence*, vol. 17, no. 136, January–March 1924, p. 118.
96. Ibid., p. 119.
97. I am grateful to Desmond Cartwright for a copy of this letter. Boddy was presumably replying to a correspondent sending condolences on the death of Mrs Boddy.
98. "Brother Smith Wigglesworth's visit", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 3, March 1912, p. 64.
99. Ibid.
100. A comprehensive survey of problems endemic in the modern healing revival is given by D. E. Harrell in *All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America*, Indiana University Press, 1975, pp. 99–116.
101. Andrew Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p. 256.

102. A. A. Boddy, "London's Modern Miracle", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 4, April 1913, p. 71. It was published by Herbert and Daniel, London.
103. For a recent discussion of the place of personal faith in effecting healing, c.f. "A Question of Healing", *Redemption*, March 1988, pp. 12–15 and "Is Healing in the Atonement?", *ibid.* pp. 45–47.
104. "Brother Smith Wigglesworth's Visit", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 3, March 1912, p. 64.
105. "Maria Beulah Woodworth-Etter", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 2, February 1913, p. 31.
106. "Brother Wigglesworth's Mission of Healing", *Confidence*, vol. 13, no. 4, October–December 1920, p. 60.
107. Anna Lewini, "The Very Same Jesus", *Confidence*, vol. 15, no. 129, April–June 1922, p. 22.
108. c.f. D. Cartwright, "Stephen Jeffreys", *DPCM*, p. 480.
109. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 12, January 1908, p. 2.
110. The story of George Jeffreys's declining influence has been told from a number of rival perspectives. Desmond Cartwright, the official Elim Church archivist and historian, has given his view in *The Great Evangelists: The Lives of Stephen and George Jeffreys*, (Marshalls, 1986). His view is strongly contested by Albert Edsor in *In Defence of a Man of God Falsely Portrayed*, privately published booklet, (1986). Edsor had intimate personal knowledge of Jeffreys for 34 years, but of course it could be argued that this clouds his objectivity.
111. William Nolen, *Healing: A Doctor in Search of a Miracle*, New York: Random House, 1974.
112. R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, p. 94.
113. James Randi, *The Faith Healers*, Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1987, pp. 139–182. This particular couple were Mr and Mrs Peter Popoff.
114. Cerullo's publicity posters showed discarded wheelchairs, white sticks and crutches, and claimed many Londoners would witness "miracles" for the first time.
115. The coroner at Miss Reynold's inquest said "it was a tragedy she went to this meeting and thought she was cured of everything". However Cerullo was able to respond to media attacks by producing twelve people out of 743 who had written to him, claiming to have been healed. ("Evangelist Attacks Coroner", *Daily Telegraph*, 30 July 1992, p. 6).
116. David Lewis, *Healing: Fiction, Fantasy or Fact?*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989; and Rex Gardner, *Healing Miracles*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986.
117. This healing was challenged as a case of mistaken diagnosis by a Christian GP, Dr. Peter May of Southampton. However, Dr. May was unable to refute the fact of Mrs Rees-Larcombe spending the previous eight years in a wheelchair. ("Doctor Challenges Charismatics", *Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 1991, p. 1).
118. Hollenweger, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
119. The Rev. Desmond Cartwright believes words of supernatural revelation can be traced back to at least 1916, when Margaret Streight, of the Elim Evangelistic Band, exhibited knowledge of other people's behaviour and conversations that she could not possibly have known. (letter to author, 15 March 1993).
120. For the connection between Quimby and Mrs Eddy, c.f. B. B. Warfield, *Counterfeit Miracles*, London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1972, p. 318.

121. For documentation of preventable deaths in the Faith Movement, c.f. Larry Parker, *We Let Our Son Die*, (Harvest House, 1980); Charles Farah, *From the Pinnacle of the Temple*, (Bridge Publications, N.J., 1979); Dan McConnell, *The Promise of Health and Wealth*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton), 1990, pp. 81, 96; Verna Wright, "A Medical View of Miraculous Healing", in Peter Masters, *The Healing Epidemic*, London: The Wakeman Trust, 1988, p. 224.
122. For a recent and thorough discussion of the relationship between healing and the atonement of Christ, c.f. David Petts, "Healing and the Atonement", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1993.
123. Boddy's denial of demonisation in Christians is found in "A Book about Demons", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 1, January 1913, p. 20, and the "Declaration of the International Advisory Pentecostal Council", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 7, July 1913, pp. 135-136. Influential works on demonology from the opposite school of thought include C. F. Dickason, *Demon Possession and the Christian*, Crossway, 1987, passim; Peter Horrobin, *Healing through Deliverance*, Sovereign World, 1991, pp. 298-310; Bill Subritzky, *Demons Defeated*, Sovereign World, 1987, passim.
124. Aaron Linford, "No Entry", *Redemption*, February 1990, p. 17.
125. Walker, in *Restoring the Kingdom*, claims that "a well-known Anglican Renewalist church had to be persuaded to withdraw a booklet which claimed that no true Christian need die before they are seventy". (p. 342, n.10). The author has not been able to locate a copy of this interesting literature!
126. These Christians constitute the so-called "Joel's Army", and will be a people "free from the curse, sin, sickness, death and carnality". (J. P. Eby, "The Battle of Armageddon", Part 4, (1976), p. 10.
127. Kenneth Copeland, *The Laws of Prosperity*, Fort Worth, Copeland Publications, 1974, p. 22.
128. F. K. C. Price, *Is Healing For All?*, Tulsa: Harrison House, 1976, p. 113.
129. e.g. in Matt. 8.5-13; obviously, all the cases of raising the dead in the gospels would be subsumed in this category of miracle.
130. Kenneth Hagin, *God's Medicine*, Tulsa: Faith Library, 1981, p. 5.
131. The centre faced financial collapse in 1987, when Oral Roberts warned the Christian public that God would "call me home" unless cash was raised to save the complex. The centre eventually closed in 1991, and is now rented out. The standard monograph on Roberts is D. Harrell, *Oral Roberts: An American Life*, Harper and Row, 1985.
132. Colin Urquhart, *Anything You Ask*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978 (quoted in Rex Gardner, *Healing Miracles*, p. 157)

CHAPTER NINE

The teaching of "Confidence" on the last things and the soon-coming of the Lord

The final section of this dissertation examines the importance of eschatological themes in the publishing history of the magazine *Confidence*. It will be shown that eschatology was a prominent motif in the journal, and indeed in early Pentecostalism generally, although there has recently been a divergence of opinion among scholars as to the precise emphasis this subject received in the primitive movement.

Bloch-Hoell, for example, claims that "eschatology in itself does not appear to have assumed any unusual importance",¹ though he subsequently vitiates this assertion by conceding that "we know that eschatology was not unimportant in the early years of the movement".² In contradistinction to this attenuation of eschatological themes, R. M. Anderson argues that the pioneering Pentecostals "accurately pinpointed the central theme of the early Pentecostal movement: 'Jesus is coming soon'".³ Hollenweger supports this assertion by pointing out the eschatological overtones present in the very titles of early Pentecostal magazines – *The Bridal Call*, *The Last Trump*, *I Come Quickly*, *Maranatha*, *The Midnight Cry*, *The End-Time Messenger*,⁴ to which could be added *The Bridegroom Cometh*, *The Latter Rain Evangel*, and *The Eleventh Hour* as literary representatives of the clamant urgency implicit in Pentecostal mission.

Another fruitful source for tracing the importance attached to end-time themes by the early Pentecostals is their hymnody, reflecting as it does a disillusionment with

the present world order, and a longing for release into a life of joy and victory “over on the other side”. The commemorative tickets to the first Sunderland Convention, held in 1908, were printed with the words “Behold, I come quickly” (Rev.3.11), again emphasising a recognition of the apocalyptic nature of the movement.⁵ There seems to be therefore, *pace* Bloch-Hoell’s assertion, clear evidence that eschatology was indeed a prominent theme in early Pentecostalism, even though it may have been presented in an unsystematic and unstructured manner.

The first issue of the first Pentecostal magazine, *The Apostolic Faith*, confidently declared:

Many are the prophecies spoken in unknown tongues and many the visions that God is giving concerning his soon coming. The heathen must first receive the gospel. One prophecy given in an unknown tongue was interpreted, “The time is short, and I am going to send out a large number in the Spirit of God to preach the full gospel in the power of the Spirit”.⁶

In highlighting the importance of eschatology in early Pentecostalism, Anderson has pointed out that the prevalence of a belief in the imminent return of Christ tended to overshadow even the more spectacular “Pentecostal” phenomena such as speaking in tongues and healing, simply because it provided an interpretive grid for a Pentecostal *Weltanschauung*. He says:

The Pentecostal belief in an imminent, apocalyptic return of Christ was itself part of a larger myth that provided a unified view of past, present and future – a myth that derived its validity from its correspondence to the real life experiences of those who accepted it. From the Pentecostal perspective, history seemed to be running downhill – at least for the Pentecostals – and the world seemed to be at the point of collapse – their world at any rate. The myth served to bring order out of the chaotic social experiences that gave rise to it.⁷

This devolutionary view of history, then, facilitated the Pentecostals’ belief that they were themselves living in “the last days”, and that the focus of history had now moved ineluctably to the Pentecostal movement as the last age of the Spirit. As such, it was the twentieth century, and final, counterpart to the first century era of the Spirit. This uncritical belief that the movement was the climax of 2,000 years of

apostolic church history led, naturally enough, to the expectation that Pentecostals would themselves experience all the extraordinary activities of the Spirit as recorded in the book of Acts, with Spirit baptism and its concomitant sign of tongues just one aspect helping to authenticate the nearness of the Lord's return. Anderson comments on this feature thus:

The early Pentecostals did not consider speaking in tongues the message of their movement, but rather a means by which the message was confirmed, legitimised and propagated. The message was "Jesus is coming soon".⁸

In a similar vein, Dayton has pointed out the very close connection between movements that emphasise the Spirit, and eschatology, in the history of the church.

We are led by history to expect a linking of eschatology and pneumatology in movements like Pentecostalism. Those movements most intensely experiencing the personal infusions of the Spirit seem to long most ardently for a return of Christ and a corresponding cosmic transformation of this world order . . . we find that the more Spirit-oriented movements in the history of the Church have had a particular fascination with prophetic and apocalyptic themes.⁹

Emil Brunner confirms this point, writing "the fulness of the possession of the Spirit and the urgency of expectation are always found together, as they were in the primitive community".¹⁰ A. A. Boddy also recognised the closely integrated character of Spirit and eschatology in writing:

Pentecostal people right around the world are looking as a body for the soon-coming of our blessed Lord, because they believe it is a fact . . . we thank God for the glorious news that the Lord is coming soon.¹¹

Although Hollenweger has claimed that "theologians in recent years have discovered the significance of eschatology",¹² for the early Pentecostals the subject always did have significance, it was "the glow that suffused everything here in the dawn of an expected new day".¹³ Boddy's claim that "there is no subject that appeals to the Christian more than the prospect of the coming of the Lord"¹⁴ must be regarded as absolutely typical of the approach to eschatology evident throughout the pages of *Confidence*.

In common with other Pentecostal magazines of this period, *Confidence* shared the same apocalyptic millennialism that had pervaded Evangelical thought in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Dayton has argued that, with the acceptance and rise of Premillennialism in the Holiness movement, by the turn of the century:

. . . The stage has been set for the emergence of Pentecostalism. Nearly every wing of late nineteenth century revivalism was teaching in one form or another all the basic themes of Pentecostalism except for the experience of glossolalia, or “speaking in tongues”.¹⁵

It is against this background that the teaching of *Confidence* on eschatological themes must be viewed. The magazine’s statement of belief in “the soon-coming of the Lord” simply reflects the *milieu* and Evangelical sub-culture from which *Confidence* and its contributors emanated. A devolutionary view of history, which imbued historical events with a pessimistic hue, tended to superimpose theories of apocalyptic doom on to the events of everyday life. Eschatological significance was then read into these events which thus acted as an interpretive framework to buttress and underpin pre-existing beliefs. Using this methodology, events such as the return of the Jews to Palestine, the outbreak of World War 1, the prevalence of natural disasters in the world, the upsurge in democracies, the amount of rainfall in Palestine, and even the physical measurements of the Great Pyramid, were invested with apocalyptic significance and then manipulated to “prove” the imminence of the parousia. The superficialities and inadequacies of this hermeneutic will become apparent as we now analyse in more detail the eschatological *leitmotifs* appearing in the pages of *Confidence*.

One of the most prominent and important themes given eschatological significance in *Confidence* is that of the typology of “The Latter Rain”. Not to be confused with a movement of the same name which arose in Canada in 1948 (though there are obvious parallels) the embryonic Pentecostal understanding of this subject arose through a comparative analogy of the physical rainfall levels in Palestine, with the

“spiritual” rainfall of Pentecost. Boddy enthusiastically endorsed this interpretation of the end-times in relation to the special significance of Pentecostalism. He had travelled widely in the Holy Land, and had clearly made close personal study of its meteorology. The fruit of this observation is evident in an article published in *Confidence* in 1913. Expounding texts found in the books of James and Zechariah, Boddy drew on his knowledge of Palestine to declare:

You realise, beloved friends, that we live in the days of the latter rain. Some of you have heard this often. I will tell you again that Palestine is not like Egypt. In Egypt they have a *sakiyeh* (wheel) to pump up the water. God said he was going to take His people out of Egypt to a country where the rain would come down from heaven. But there had been no latter rain. Now, for years, God has been restoring, he has been giving back, the latter rain. The former rain falls in November and December, but that prepares for the crops, but the latter rain is needed in spring-time to finish the work. Without the latter rain, crops would dry up, and now God in His wonderful providence . . . caused it to become normal again. Today is the day of the latter rain.¹⁶

According to Boddy’s theory, therefore, the “former rain” must refer to the day of Pentecost, and subsequent revivals, which constituted a time of preparation when the crops would be fully ripened by the “latter rain” of Pentecostalism. The latter rain represents plentitude, fecundity and fruitfulness and is the very acme of God’s redemptive power on earth, to be followed by the consummation of all things in Christ’s physical return in glory to earth. Boddy was certain that he and his audience were living in the last times. He continues:

We live in the days of the latter rain. God began to increase what he has been doing all along. We believe there has never been a time since the Day of Pentecost when there has not been some filled with the Holy Ghost. It is not a new thing. It is God’s old gift restored – an ecstasy of worship when the Holy Ghost takes possession of us and praises through us . . . we have come to the days of the latter rain. Praise be to His name!¹⁷

By thus juxtaposing the Pentecostal movement and the latter rain, Boddy was in effect investing Pentecostalism with a truly apocalyptic significance, since the writers of scripture linked the outpouring of the latter rain with “the coming of the Lord” (James 5.8). An article of similar stance in *Confidence* compared the actual physical levels of rainfall in Palestine over the forty-year period 1861–1900, to illus-

trate that the latter rain (physically and spiritually) was indeed falling upon the earth. The writer claimed that:

In Palestine as of old so now is once more falling the Latter Rain as well as the FORMER RAIN each year. It has only recently returned to that land (the average for the ten years 1861–1870, was 21 inches; the next ten years 24 inches; the next ten years, 28 inches; and the next ten years, 29 inches. We believe the return of the Latter Rain is a type also of an outpouring before the last Harvest. In the last few years the Lord has been pouring out His Spirit phenomenally in many lands right round the world . . . we have heard again and again those who were thus overwhelmed by the “coming upon” of the Spirit cry with the intensity of an inward forcing power, “JESUS IS COMING SOON”.¹⁸

Similar confirmation of the spiritual significance of the latter rain in relation to the imminence of Christ’s second coming was given in an article by Pastor Jeffreys of Waunlwyd. Writing in *Confidence* in June 1910, he argues:

I am fully persuaded that “the latter rain” is falling for no less a purpose than this: that the Husbandman may receive the fruit of the earth (Jas.v.7) He has had long patience for it – nineteen hundred years – and now the days are short. The midnight hour is come. The Holy Spirit is evermore insistently repeating: “Behold the Bridegroom cometh: Go ye out to meet Him”. This wonderful outpouring means nothing less than the Parousia of our blessed Lord. Hallelujah!¹⁹

There is undoubtedly a good deal of romanticism involved in such interpretations of scripture, and a curious blend of optimism and pessimism co-exist. There is pessimism inasmuch that the world is seen as running downhill to entropic doom and apocalyptic disaster, yet simultaneously a theology of hope pervades such writings because the very blackness of the scenario adumbrates a new era of victory and blessing under the coming reign of Christ on earth.

In a book authored by D. Wesley Myland, *The Latter Rain Pentecost*, Boddy’s introduction includes the comment that “the author shows . . . the significant fact that the latter rain is falling upon Palestine, and the spiritual latter rain is falling upon God’s expectant people”.²⁰ In this work, Myland claimed to have been given a song by the Spirit in tongues, which he afterwards interpreted and wrote into English as “The Latter Rain Song”. Its stanzas and chorus make the usual connection between the latter rain and Pentecostalism thus:

Oh I'm glad the promised Pentecost has come
And the "Latter Rain" is falling now on some
Pour it out in floods, Lord, on the parched ground
Till it reaches all the earth around.²¹

It is interesting to observe how such writers make the virtually automatic assumption that the restoration of spiritual gifts to the church, via the Pentecostal movement, presages the imminent coming of Christ to earth. The key to understanding this connection is the function of such charisma as *semeia*, awesome portents that signified God was about to demonstrate something unusual and supernatural to the world.²² The point was well put by an article abstracted from the magazine *Trust*, which asserted:

Never since that Pentecostal outpouring of the "Early Rain" upon the early seed-sowing of the Gospel age, has there been granted to this world anything answering to the promised "Latter Rain", with its greater outpouring for the speedy ripening of the harvest until the marvellous and solemn visitations of the Spirit of God in the past three years, beginning with the revival in Wales, and moving mightily on in many lands unto this present hour.²³

This extract makes the usual assumptions concerning a linear view of church history – the gradual building up from the lesser to the greater, culminating in the Pentecostal movement itself as the supreme manifestation of "Latter Rain" blessing. Since there could, on this theory, be no greater manifestation of God's power left to be bestowed on the church, the only greater event to follow would be the final consummation of this aeon. Using the fact that the missionary movement in the churches was having substantial success in spreading the gospel, the writer continues:

. . . Each year speeds more intensely toward the predicted consummation. Never since that love message from our Lord in the glory to his waiting church "behold, I come quickly", have there been such sublime and supernatural preparations for that coming, as are girding the world at this moment.²⁴

The "supernatural preparations" referred to must include principally the charismata accompanying Spirit baptism, and in particular the sign of glossolalia, which was given special eschatological significance in primitive Pentecostalism. This point is

specifically brought out by Jonathan Paul of Berlin, who addressing the Sunderland Convention in 1911 said:

Never in my life was I so impressed with the thought of the soon coming of our dear Lord and Saviour as when I received the Pentecostal baptism. When the "tongues" came to me, and I was praising my dear Saviour in such a way I had never before experienced, it was as if I should be "raptured" . . . Since the Pentecostal movement I have thought that these tongues coming just now in these days of the latter rain are the midnight cry. It is not a time to slumber; it is a time to be awake. And now He comes, He comes.²⁵

Probably the most overt and explicit claim to the special and distinctive character of the Pentecostal movement as a harbinger of Christ's coming was made by Boddy himself, who averred at the Sunderland Convention in 1910:

We are more convinced than ever that this Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit is at least *one*, if not *the* last great call of God to the churches and world before the end of this age.²⁶

A second factor that convinced the primitive Pentecostal movement it was living in the last days concerns the destiny of the Jewish nation, and in particular the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. Although the pivotal role of the Jewish people had long held a particular fascination for large sections of the church, events at the turn of the century were held to be peculiarly significant.²⁷ Since Pentecostalism arose at the same time, it was not long before the two events were connected by some students of Bible prophecy. As early as 1908 a Miss Barbour of Wimbledon called the attention of the conferees at the Sunderland Convention to the mass migration of Jews to their land,²⁸ and other evidence in *Confidence* indicates that Boddy too attached special importance to this phenomenon.²⁹

In a lengthy article published in 1910, the author (anonymous, but probably Boddy), drew attention to the rapid growth of Zionist movements, and linked it to the near return of Christ to earth.

Quite recently movements have grown strongly among the Jews to aid their return to the Holy Land: the Zionist Movement, the Alliance Israelite, and the Jewish Colonisation Society. There are now at least

100,000 Jews back in Palestine (some 60,000 of these at Jerusalem). All the time they continue to increase . . . the Lord is causing them to return; He is going to come to them on the Mount of Olives . . . Things are moving now quickly; they are unconsciously fulfilling prophecy.³⁰

The biblical prophecy here referred to is found in the book of Zechariah, chapter 14, and indicates that when Christ returns again to earth his feet will split the Mount of Olives in two, from east to west, and the Jewish nation will "look on him whom they have pierced".³¹ This interpretation of Jewish history was given enormous impetus in the famous Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which the British government declared its intention to restore ownership of Palestine again to the Jewish race. Boddy viewed this event as heralding the end of the age, writing of it:

These events point to 1917 being very near to the end of the "Times of the Gentiles" (Luke xxi.24). The seven times (2520 years) if measured from the rise of Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of Jerusalem (604 BC) end with 1917, deducting a year for the change from BC to AD . . . prophecy is being wonderfully fulfilled . . . our redemption draweth nigh.³²

Boddy's insouciance on this issue later turned to dismay, but at least until 1920 he was still holding the view that the migration of the Jews to Palestine was a crucial portent in hastening the parousia, quoting with approval the *Jewish Christian Herald's* claim that "Christians should pray for the restoration of the Jews to their land, for thus, as well as by the saving of souls, we may help to hasten the day of the Lord's coming".³³ Whilst he recognised enormous difficulties in the equitable distribution of land between Arab and Jew, Boddy thought of the fulfilment of biblical prophecy as an inexorable force, writing:

There are great and difficult problems to be solved in the Land of Israel, but if Jehovah has said it is to belong to the descendants of Abraham, nothing can prevent it . . . Certainly a great step has been taken by the British nation towards the realization of this prophecy.³⁴

That Boddy expected a rapid fulfilment of this prophecy is clear from a later comment where he links a prophecy from the book of Daniel with the physical return of the Lord to earth . He argues:

This, with the apparent present fulfilment of Dan.ii,44 must mean an approach to the "Consummation of the Age" and the Return of the Lord . . . this event may take place in our lifetime, though the day and hour knoweth no man. But the (Jewish) fig tree is now putting forth its leaves (Matt.xxiv.32,33).³⁵

However, barely three years later Boddy was expressing strong disappointment that the provisions of the Balfour Declaration were not being fully enforced, and that to avoid clashes with the Syrian Arabs domiciled in Palestine (who constituted 78% of the population), Jewish immigration was to be restricted to 10,000 a year. Since Boddy implicitly linked the return of the Jews to Palestine with the chronology of the second coming, it was clear that the latter might be "delayed" if the Jews only trickled back to their homeland in small numbers. He lamented:

At the present rate of 10,000 immigrants a year it will take one hundred years for the land to receive even one million of the fifteen million Jews in the world. It will take fifty years for their numbers to equal the present Arab population.³⁶

Nevertheless, Boddy put a brave face on these events. Quoting with approval A. E. Thompson's belief that "the return of the Jews to Palestine is one of the certain signs of his coming",³⁷ he reminded the readers of *Confidence* that God's purpose and promise to Abraham and his seed was immutable.

Sooner or later, the literal fulfilment of the promise must come to pass, even if delayed from time to time. Small droppings of rock and earth often precede a great landslide.³⁸

That landslide, of course, never came. Yet to this day the migrations of the Jews to their homeland are noted with assiduous care by large sections of Evangelical Christendom, who share the early Pentecostal belief that a special eschatological significance attends such activity.³⁹ Moreover, two other aspects of Jewish history are appealed to in *Confidence* as indices of the soon-coming of Christ. T. H. Salmon adverted to the "miraculous preservation of the Jewish race" as a sign that "we are now in the last generation . . . the end *cannot* now be far off".⁴⁰ Similarly, in a doom-laden article on Armageddon, Paul Rader claimed that "the key to the true philosophy of history is the Jew . . . God promised Abraham to give him Palestine and his

seed for ever, and all history is made and shaped to put the Jew where he belongs".⁴¹ According to Rader, "conditions are fast heading up for the battle of Armageddon . . . but the Jew is still going to serve God . . . Jerusalem will become the ethical centre of the world".⁴²

The Pentecostal understanding of Judaism and Jewish history obviously underpins and influences eschatological theories within the movement, though it is now clear that their interpretations of such activity were over-simplified and lacking in exegetical rigour. Nonetheless, yet other factors were pulled into the prophetic equation to justify Pentecostal belief in a chiliastic eschatology. One factor repeatedly emerging in the pages of *Confidence* is the belief that the Spirit was giving *direct* revelation to Christians, via the charismata, that the Lord was returning soon. This extra-biblical view of revelatory activity did not square easily with the biblical fundamentalism endemic throughout the movement, yet it was repeatedly appealed to as evidence of the end of the world. The audience at the first Whitsun Convention held at Sunderland heard the speaker declare:

The Lord is also revealing *directly* to the hearts of his people that He is coming soon. He is now speaking through human personalities and in human language, and "soon" to us means a human "soon". The midnight hour is rapidly approaching.⁴³

The double-certainty expressed in statements such as the above obviously later proved highly embarrassing and can only be explained on the basis of a totally uncritical, although sincere, acceptance of messages purporting to be of divine origin. There is a tendency for later writers in *Confidence* to be more cautious about setting dates and seasons, and Boddy warned against the practice of being too specific, although he does not always take his own advice.⁴⁴

An anonymous article abstracted from the magazine *Word and Work* and published in *Confidence* in September 1910 compared the prophetic revelation given by God to Old Testament saints such as Abraham, Isaiah and Amos and claimed that:

We could scarcely be surprised at any prophetic revelation which God might give to any whom he might choose to make the confidant of His counsels. The Holy Spirit may give to some a truly heaven-born conviction that they shall "not see death" but be "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air . . ."45

Clearly, the important question that could then be posed concerns exactly *how* this revelation would be granted. Denying that it comes from "the written word of prophecy", the author claims that:

It is evidently something distinct from and in contrast with this. It is an inward illumination rather than an outward light. It arrives "in your hearts". May it not be, "the secret of the Lord," whispered to the hearing ear of the waiting Bride to tell her that her Lord is about to appear.⁴⁶

The problem with this concept of inward revelation was that many Pentecostals were intuiting totally different messages concerning the coming of the Lord, many of which were both conceptually and chronologically mutually exclusive. That the failure of these prophecies eventually led to dismay and in some cases, disillusionment, is clear from the tone of some articles in *Confidence*. Yet the pastoral problems caused by this type of activity were rarely adequately addressed by Boddy or other leading Pentecostals, and they still remain untackled in similar situations in contemporary Pentecostalism.

But apart from inward revelations of the Spirit, we know from other sources in *Confidence* that the experience of Spirit baptism frequently carried an endorsement, in tongues and in interpretation, of the imminent return of Christ. Boddy claimed that "the Pentecostal Blessing brings this message to us continually – 'the Lord is coming'. 'Jesus is coming soon'".⁴⁷ Virtually the same point was made by Emil Humburg to the Sunderland Convention in 1914, saying:

It is our conviction that God has given us this Pentecostal revival to prepare us to really look for the coming of the Lord. It has been said that, when the tongues had been given, the first message usually uttered points to the coming of the Lord – "Jesus is coming" . . . and many souls who are really in touch with the Bridegroom tell us He is at hand.⁴⁸

It is possible that part of these inward impressions arose as a sub-conscious reaction to some of the momentous events then shaping world history, and which were regarded as having special eschatological significance. Speaking on "The Coming of the Lord" at a time when war clouds were gathering over Europe, Boddy said:

. . . There is a general impression that the Lord was soon coming, and everything seemed to point to the idea that something was going to happen . . . the end of this age, the Pentecostal age is drawing near . . . and this Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Ghost is also pointing to a close of the dispensation, while the messages given by the Holy Spirit in all parts of the world have been: "Maranatha, Maranatha, Jesus is coming soon". This was not because people wanted to hear such a message, but because God prophesied it through them.⁴⁹

Long after the war had come and gone, this belief was still assiduously clung to, and as late as 1923, when all the popular "dates" for the coming of Christ had proved false, Boddy was still expecting the near-coming of Christ in the air.⁵⁰ It is, of course, another question entirely as to *why* the early Pentecostals felt obliged to specify dates and seasons for the coming of Christ. It must have been obvious that such prognostications were fraught with peril, and all the historical precedents had proved the folly of such a practice.

The great Augustine, for example, publicly expressed the conviction that the Lord would come in A.D. 1000, and even the normally cautious Luther was constrained to write, "I believe that the Gospel will become so despised that the Last Day cannot be far off, not over a hundred years".⁵¹ Edward Irving predicted the end of the world for 1868, and since then a succession of prophetic prognostications have come and gone, apparently with no ill effects on their proponents. In common with the early Pentecostals, possibly such people feel the need to warn others of approaching judgement, or to vindicate the correctness and orthodoxy of their own hermeneutic, or a mixture of both. By printing such prophecies, Boddy was taking a risk because, while such date setting would compel temporary attention to the movement, in practice this benefit would have to be weighed against the longer term losses due to nonfulfillment of the prophecies. However, since the early Pentecostals were so con-

vinced of the accuracy of their prophetic insight, there would not really be any "future" in which to invalidate their theories. Moreover, other factors were conjointly sustaining belief in an imminent parousia, which will now be discussed.

Throughout the pages of *Confidence* it is clear that considerable significance was attached to "signs" occurring in the natural world, particularly natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and tempests. Since Pentecostals generally espoused an Evangelical doctrine of creation, with the world order regarded as directly under the control and sovereignty of God, imbalances in the natural order were viewed as warnings of impending doom and judgement, as chaotic adumbrations which presaged the soon-coming of the Lord for his saints. An article in *Confidence* in December 1910 pointed out that just before massive earthquakes had ravaged the cities of San Francisco, Messina and St. Pierre, prophetic voices had been raised to warn each city of its sin, and impending judgement. In each case, the warnings went unheeded before the awful judgement fell. The writer attached eschatological significance to these events, saying: "the Lord's words come home with increasing force, 'As it was in the days of Noah, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be'".⁵²

Boddy himself certainly supported the idea that momentous events such as earthquakes, shipwrecks and even the growth of democracy were all portents of the end of the world. The tragic sinking of the *Titanic* in April 1912 was discussed at length in *Confidence*,⁵³ and was probably in Boddy's mind when he wrote:

Think of the wonderful discoveries and the terrible disasters, the earthquakes, shipwrecks, everything showing that we are living in a time when everything is hurrying on and heading up to a great climax. We believe that the meaning of it is that the end of this age, the Pentecostal age, is drawing near.⁵⁴

Another interesting fact that Boddy considered heralded the end of the world was the rise of democratic societies, particularly in Portugal, China and Turkey. He seems to have regarded this as a deleterious step (notwithstanding that he lived in

one of the oldest democracies in the world), and linked it to the demise of the Roman Empire. Referring to a vision in the apocalyptic book of Daniel, he says:

In this twentieth century we have very clearly come down to the democratic age, when the people (*demos*) are ruling . . . we have come indeed to the toes of the feet, history will not take us further, therefore the stone cut out without hands is just about to fall.⁵⁵

However, one factor above all eventually emerged to convince Pentecostals they were indubitably living in the last days. The outbreak of World War 1 in August 1914 plunged the world into a maelstrom of despair and disbelief. Mary Boddy caught the mood of the hour when she wrote in *Confidence*:

Surely we can no longer have any doubt in our minds that the end of this age is approaching rapidly, nay is already here. . . . our confidence is in God, who is at the helm. He has promised to keep us from the hour of temptation, that is to try the whole world. Just as surely as the call to arms is sounding forth throughout the length and breadth of the land, so surely is the call in the spiritual realm: "Be ye also ready", "Behold He Cometh".⁵⁶

Writing on the same theme six months later, her note was even more imperious, but once again the eschatological overtones are present:

The end of the age is at hand. We are about to enter into the realisation of the glorious hope of our Lord's appearing. Fierce is the conflict. The powers of hell are fighting . . . how grand it is to know that the Lord has told us all about it in his Word. His great name and honour must be vindicated. The mighty victory of Calvary over the hosts of evil must be shewn forth, that the universe may know that the Lord, he is God. Hallelujah!⁵⁷

Mary Boddy's fierce patriotism, and her defence of the war effort on the grounds of the "just war" arguments, was shared by her husband, and many other leading Pentecostals of that era.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the later breed of denominational Pentecostals tended to adopt a pacifist position, and this is undoubtedly one of the reasons Boddy's influence declined in such circles. Even though Boddy defended Britain's war effort, however, he was astute enough to recognise that this would cause some fracture of fellowship with his much-loved German brethren, who of course were reading the situation from the other way round. But the important point at this juncture is

to recognise the eschatological importance attached to this global war effort by the early Pentecostals; one writer even goes so far as to suggest that the prophetic purposes of God for the land of Israel were to be outworked via the war, writing:

Is it not possible that out of this great international war God means to fulfil this ancient covenant, and give the whole land from the Nile to the Euphrates to Abraham's seed, including the sacred part trodden by our beloved Lord during His sojourn on earth? . . . out of this war may we not expect to see the Jews gathered to their land . . . this great event must precede the second advent of our blessed Lord, and it may become a type of the redeemed Bride of Christ.⁵⁹

As the course of the war dragged interminably on, *Confidence* continued to abound with prophecies of the imminent return of the Lord. The magazine carried a prediction by a rabbi that Christ would return by 1920,⁶⁰ though 1917 was a favourite date for many, including Boddy himself.⁶¹ A letter from a soldier serving in France claimed that Christ would return "very soon",⁶² while J. Tetchner of Sunderland was a good deal more cautious in fixing the expiry of the "times of the Gentiles" to lie between 1915 and 1922.⁶³ Even the cautious and scholarly Bishop of Durham, G. Handley Moule, opined that the year 1920 was crucial for the end of the world, and that it was probable some of his hearers "would not see death".⁶⁴

This concept of escaping death had in fact been prominent from the first issues of *Confidence*, although it is present also in Pauline eschatology.⁶⁵ Boddy shared this hope, writing in 1909:

The Holy Ghost in these latter days is personally possessing his Temples and Jesus is being glorified . . . it may be that before another two years the Lord will have come, and we shall have heard the voice "Come up hither". Certainly the message will have come for some who read these words, "The Master is come and calleth for thee".⁶⁶

A similar point was made in an article printed in 1910, "most living people may reasonably expect to be alive when the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled".⁶⁷ After the war ended in November 1918, *Confidence* carried fewer speculative articles on prophecy. The parousia was still linked to Jewish migration, but the new wave of evangelism and healing activity spearheaded by men such as Wigglesworth and the

Jeffreys brothers seems to have pushed prophetic speculation to the sidelines of Pentecostal activity. The newer, healthier trend was instead to teach believers to be ready at all times for Christ's coming, rather than to predict specific dates and seasons. This more oblique approach to prophecy was epitomised by Boddy thus:

Live sane, useful, unselfish lives up to the last moment, however near we may believe that the coming of the Lord may be. Keep to your business! Keep to your household work; keep to your educational work . . . The Pentecostal blessing brings this message before us continually – "The Lord is coming". "Jesus is coming soon". We are to be ready, but best ready in doing our daily duty well, now and here.⁶⁸

This comment of Boddy logically leads us to a consideration of the final theme in this section. Having seen that the hope of the return of Christ to earth was a dominant motif in early Pentecostalism, and that this hope survived even the vicissitudes of war, the important question grappled with by the early Pentecostals concerned exactly what would happen in this momentous event. Early nineteenth century Evangelicalism had been dominated by the belief known as Postmillennialism, whereby the influence of the Christian church on society and the world in general was held to be so ameliorative that it would eventually bring about a Christian millennium, after which Christ would return to earth as king. This view was challenged by a Church of Ireland clergyman, J. N. Darby, later to gain fame as the founder of the sect known as Plymouth Brethren.⁶⁹

Darby posited a different eschatological schema, Premillennialism, whereby the return of Christ to earth would precede the millennium. On this view, the fulfilment of most biblical prophecies lay in the future, divided into various periods of dispensations characterised by specific activities of God. The main proponent of this doctrine, also known as Futurism or Dispensationalism, was C. I. Scofield, whose *Reference Bible*, first issued in 1909, had a profound influence on Pentecostal thinking and Evangelical thought in general. The subsequent rise of Premillennialism, and its eventual absorption into Pentecostalism, has been documented by Dayton.⁷⁰

There was, however, one important respect in which the early Pentecostals did not embrace Darbyite dispensationalism *in toto*. This crucial area concerned the relegation of the charismata, and other supernatural operations of the Spirit, exclusively to the apostolic age – the so-called “cessationist” position.⁷¹ What therefore emerges in the pages of *Confidence* is an eschatological schema heavily indebted to premillennial views, but tempered by the distinctive insights of Pentecostal pneumatology, especially the view that “the age of the Spirit” was upon the church in the form of the Pentecostal movement, the final harbinger of the end of the world.

A striking illustration of this linear view of history is found in “A Chart of the World’s Ages and the Coming of the Lord”, printed in *Confidence* in April 1914. The chart and its explanatory notes are reproduced in facsimile form below. The numbers 1–7 represent the ages or “dispensations” of the world chronological order, and the era from age 4 onwards is of particular interest at this juncture. It shows a premillennial, pre-tribulationist view of Christ’s coming, with both dead and living Christians being caught up to heaven, escaping tribulation on earth, and subsequently returning with Christ to Jerusalem to reign with him for 1,000 years.

The precise details in these cosmic events, and the chronology involved, seems to have held a curious fascination for early Pentecostals. It was recognised that some statements in the Bible appeared to be internally inconsistent regarding the actual fine detail of the events, but this was explained by Pastor Jeffreys on the grounds that the Spirit’s revelation was progressive even in the Scriptures, and that there was “a development of revelation in the Scriptures and the later teaching of the Spirit will be found to contain fuller details than the earlier and more general statements”.⁷² This caveat was unusual in a Pentecostal magazine in that it tended to furcate the unity of Scripture, normally held to be inviolable and indissoluble in its testimony. As to the actual date and time of the parousia, Jeffreys suggests it is not immutably fixed but is contingent on other factors. He says:

FOLLOWING PAGE

“A Chart of the World’s Ages and the Coming of the Lord”, printed in *Confidence*,
April 1914, pp. 70 and 71.

A Chart of the World's Ages and the Coming of the Lord.

1. (Note the seven figures for reference beneath the different sections.) We have in large letters at the top the word "HEAVEN," and at the foot, "EARTH." We follow the thick black line under the word "Heaven" right across the pages till we see at the other end the words "New Heaven." The open upright lines tell us of that which descended from Heaven and ascends upwards to Heaven.

Son of God to Earth. His life of doing good (Acts x., 38), the Victory of the Cross of Calvary, His Burial (we were buried with Him), His Resurrection (and ours), His Ascension to Heaven. (We were raised with Him also into the Heavenly Sphere, far above the principalities and powers of evil.)

3. The History of this present Pentecostal Age. The Lord is on the Throne,

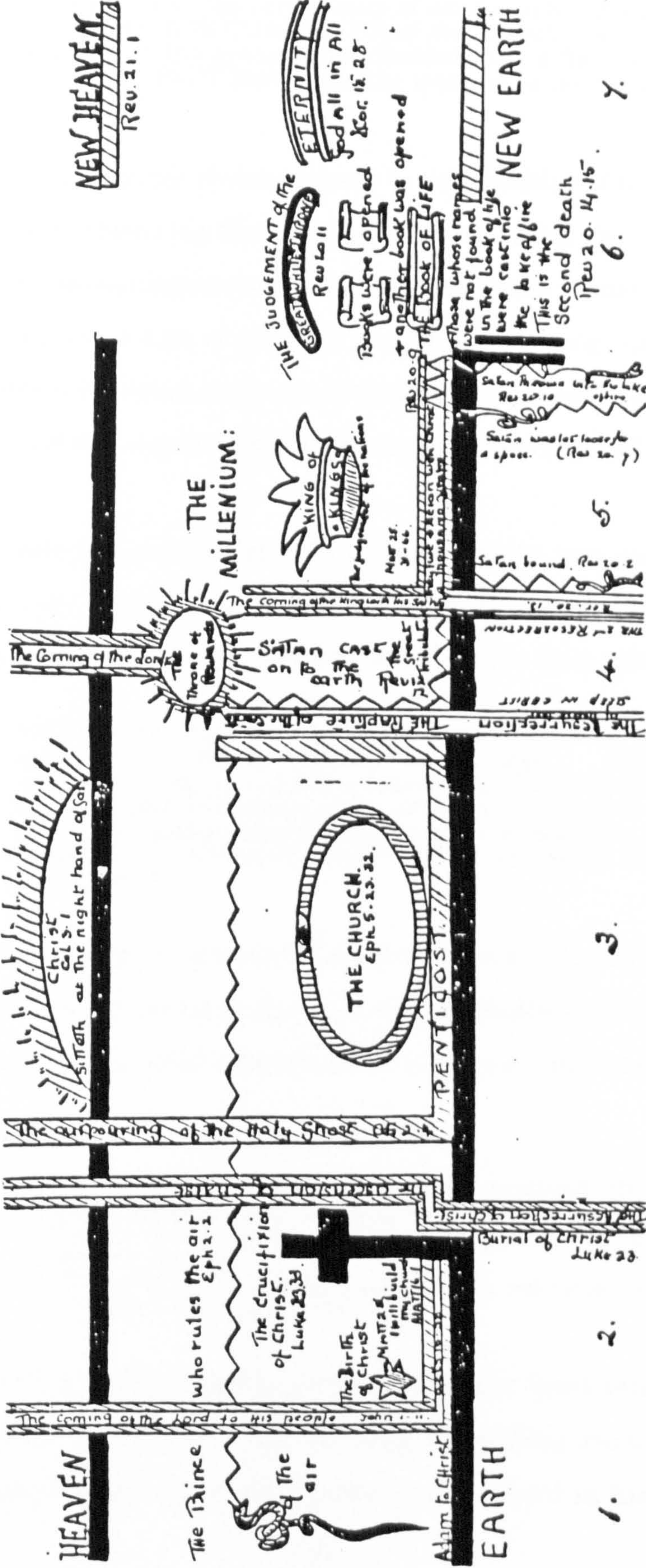
hour knoweth no man.

4. The Coming of the Lord (first part) as far as the Clouds, where He will sit on His Throne and reward His people (Rev. xxii., 12; 2 Cor. v., 10; 1 Cor. iii., 13-15). As to those who shall be caught up ("raptured") there will be two classes: (A) Those that sleep in Christ shall be raised; and (B) we who are alive and remain unto His Coming. We are to be

Resurrection as in Rev. xx., 4 (not 13).

5. The Millennial Reign of Christ (1000 years), and at some point the judgment of the nations as in Matt. xxv. Before its commencement Satan is bound by a Great Angel (Rev. xx., 2), and cast into the Abyss. Afterwards he is loosed for a short time, but finally cast down again, this time for ever, into the Lake of Fire.

6. The Great White Throne is now



The word "EARTH" is under a long black line indicating the spiritual history on Earth until at the end we read the words "New Earth." This section (1) reaches from Adam to Christ, and we see "The Old Serpent," "The Prince of the Air" commencing his crooked record just over the Earth. By following the zig-zag line through all the sections we have his earth-story.

2. Here we have the descent of the

at the Right Hand of the Father (Rev. iii., 21). He sent down the Blessed Comforter—the Outpouring of the Holy Ghost (Acts ii., 4). This is the Church-age (Eph. v., 22, 31). The number of the Elect is being made up. It may be completed any day. The Lord alone knows the exact number, but He does know, and when it is completed, the Church is ready for the Lord to come. The day and the

for ever with the Lord (1 Thess. iv., 15-17). At this time on the Earth is the GREAT TRIBULATION, for Satan descends from the Air-region. He is cast right down to dwell on the earth (Rev. xii., 9.) This period ends with the second part of the Coming of the Lord. This is the Coming with His Saints right down to the Earth (to Jerusalem). At the same time there is a second part of the First

set up (Rev. xx., 11-13), and the remainder of the dead rise and are judged.

7. Here we see set up the New Heaven and the New Earth (Rev. xxi., 1), regenerated, cleansed, purified. Better even than Paradise the Wonderful, the Portal of the Heavenly Home. Thus for the redeemed there are the glorious ages of Eternity. No Sin, no Devil, but God indeed, all in all. Hallelujah! Praise to the Lamb!

The "Parousia" is not an event determined in time (though the time of it is foreknown in the omniscience of our Lord) but AN EVENT DETERMINED BY THE CHARACTER *of the Church*. And the Holy Spirit is given in all His gracious distributions and gifts to bring the Church unto A PERFECT MAN, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.⁷³

Jeffreys did not raise or face the obvious riposte to this teaching of a moveable date – that a lukewarm and unbelieving Church could in theory delay the coming of Christ indefinitely. Part of the assumption implicit in his suggestion is that the Pentecostal movement was *ipso facto* a sign of spiritual growth and blessing unparalleled since apostolic days. Since it therefore represented the pinnacle of God's redemptive activity, its character would be a crucial factor in determining the return of the Lord.

From a slightly different angle, virtually the same point was made by another anonymous writer in *Confidence* in September 1910. Using the analogy of a wedding, with Christ as the Bridegroom and the Church as the Bride, the author asks:

Who then determines the marriage day? Among men, the bride, by common consent, fixes the time for the marriage . . . there is doubtless a very real sense in which the appointing of the day depends upon the readiness and willingness of the virgin "espoused to Christ" . . . Has He, in our day, and perhaps at other times, indicated His desire to come at an appointed season *on condition* that His Bride prepare herself to meet Him?⁷⁴

Not all Pentecostals, however, endorsed this explanation for the delay in the return of Christ to earth. In an extended study of the subject, Boddy linked the "tarrying of the Lord" not to any defects within the Church, but to three other causes. He argues:

The delay has been God's plan for us.

1. The number of His elect must be completed, that is the Body of Christ must be first fully formed.
2. The Scripture must be fulfilled (Dan.ii.34) We only recently have come to the "Toes".
3. The times of the Gentiles have to run out (seem to end about 1914 . . .) The Lord comes *before* this.⁷⁵

In this article Boddy also differentiated, on the basis of the Greek text, the "parousia" and the "epiphaneia", the former being the physical catching away or rapturing of true believers, and the latter the manifestation of the Lord in his descent to the

Mount of Olives. Since there is a time gap of unknown length between these events, the latter should, strictly speaking, be referred to as the *third* coming of Christ, though this nomenclature would be alien to nearly all Pentecostals and Fundamentalists. According to Boddy, during this time gap, the earth witnesses great tribulation for at least three and a half years, and the antichrist is revealed. In heaven, faithful Christians are rewarded at the “Bema” seat of Christ, and the “Marriage Supper of the Lamb” takes place. Meanwhile, Satan and the antichrist are cast into the lake of fire for 1,000 years, then Satan is set loose for a final short period before being cast into the lake of fire for ever. The remaining dead are judged according to whether their names are written in the “Book of the Lamb”, and the finally impenitent are cast into the lake of fire where they suffer eternal torment. This then ushers in a new heaven and new earth, and the final consummation of all things.

This eschatological scenario, with minor modifications, was accepted virtually *in toto* throughout British Pentecostal circles, and its premillennial, pretribulationist character was later enshrined in the official constitutions of many of the emerging Pentecostal denominations. Both the British and American statements of belief of the Assemblies of God specifically mention the premillennial return of Christ, and the latter also links it to “the salvation of national Israel”.⁷⁶ The Church of God (Cleveland), the Apostolic Church, and the Elim churches also enshrine this point in their official statements of doctrine.⁷⁷

There are three points that were always stressed in articles on this subject in *Confidence*, and which we can therefore regard as a normative framework for its teaching.⁷⁸ The early Pentecostals were convinced that the return of Christ to earth would be:

1. Personal
2. Visible
3. With dramatic suddenness

It is this last aspect that is constantly appealed to as the main incentive for holy and godly living, thus investing the eschatological teachings of the movement with a moral purpose and function. Handley Moule, the Bishop of Durham, described the practical results of belief in an imminent parousia as being:

. . . A profound concern for the missionary task of the church; a firmer witness to the Gospel's element of awful warning; a quest of conversions; appeals for holiness, that is, for the unreserved obedience of worshipping love.⁷⁹

Boddy confirmed the episcopal advice in his own inimitable style in a column of "advice" to Christians. Although Boddy stressed that "whilst He may come at any time we are not to live in an unwholesome state of panic, but to ever abide in Him",⁸⁰ Stephen Jeffreys expressed a more apocalyptic note, claiming that:

We are on the verge of great happenings . . . I expect the coming of Christ very shortly. The graves will open, the bones will form together in a new spiritual body, and will ascend into the air, for the living believers will follow. Immediately among those who are left there will be fearful revolution and bloodshed. What Russia has gone through the whole world will experience. The recent peculiar movements of the moon are a sign.⁸¹

Boddy's views on prophecy, and the teachings of *Confidence* generally, appear to have dominated Pentecostalism long after the demise of the magazine. Its tendency to read eschatological significance into world events was a characteristic trait of later Pentecostals also, who regarded the inauguration of movements such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, Nato, the EEC and the Warsaw Treaty with great suspicion. Such developments were often regarded as probable harbingers of a one-world government – a certain sign of the revealing of the antichrist. For similar reasons, virtually all mainline Pentecostals have been or are implacable opponents of the Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches, and have severely disciplined any of their ministers who have made any overtures to such bodies.⁸²

Among Evangelicals generally, interest in interpreting the "signs of the times" vis-à-vis biblical prophecy was maintained at fever pitch by the publication in 1970 of what

must be considered a literary blockbuster. Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* is a popularly-written attempt to show that ancient biblical prophecies about the second coming of Christ to earth are being fulfilled in our own time.⁸³ To date, the book has sold over 25 million copies, and been turned into a highly-popular feature film since 1978. Weber points out that the real significance of Lindsey's work is not the thesis, but the hitherto unprecedented distribution of such arcane views via drug-stores, supermarkets and "secular" bookstores – in a word, its penetration into the mass media markets.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, many of Lindsey's predictions have already been invalidated, and this may account in part for a discernible weakening of dispensational absolutism in some parts of the Pentecostal and Evangelical sub-culture.

Two recent works on eschatology by Pentecostal scholars have eschewed the dispensational system entirely, though still maintaining the premillennial view of Christ's rapture.⁸⁵ Probably of far greater significance when assessing the erosion of traditional eschatological theories within Pentecostalism has been the trend within Charismatic and Restorationist circles. These groups have almost totally rejected the traditional Pentecostal hermeneutic, usually because they have been influenced by the theology of the "Latter Rain" movement, which originated in Saskatchewan, Canada, in 1948.

Its leading personalities, George Hawtin, P. G. Hunt and Herrick Holt, retained the earlier emphasis on a premillennial coming of Christ to earth, but in contrast to earlier Pentecostal eschatology, stressed that this would occur after a period of worldwide revival. This new Pentecost, a "Latter Rain", would restore the Church to her original pristine splendour and glory, and make her a bride fit for the heavenly bridegroom, Jesus Christ.

The logical corollary of this teaching was therefore that, whereas the earlier Pentecostal concept of rapture was as a "catching away" of Christians from the

appalling spiritual darkness and apostasy on earth – in effect a divine rescue mission – the Latter Rain theory inverts the process and views the end-time era as preparation for global spiritual victory. This constitutes a radical shift of emphasis, and means that the Latter Rain henceforth creates:

. . . A company of overcoming Sons of God who have come to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ to actually dethrone Satan, casting him out of the heavenlies, and finally binding him to the earthlies bringing the hope of deliverance and life to all the families of the earth.⁸⁶

This novel twist has been aptly termed “an eschatology of victory” by a leading House Church pioneer, Arthur Wallis, who sees the Restorationist churches as God’s cutting edge in the “bigger wave of revival” coming to the UK. Wallis says:

We have rejected that eschatology of disaster called ‘dispensationalism’ – which the Brethren so warmly espoused and which deeply influenced Pentecostals – in favour of an eschatology of victory, the triumph of the kingdom of God . . . though it tarry, we wait for it – not just for the survival or enlargement of Restorationism, but for the blessing of the whole Church and the bringing in of God’s kingdom.⁸⁷

This eschatological viewpoint, therefore, provides the dominant *raison d’être* for the Restorationist churches, and their only legitimate justification for a schismatic and conversionist function within wider Christendom. This point is well expressed by Walker thus:

The significance of Restoration eschatology . . . lies in the vision of Church life and kingdom order that the eschatology inspires. The eschatological vision has not been added to Restorationism after it became established: it preceded the movement and provided the motivating force for the establishment of the Restoration kingdom(s).⁸⁸

One other point needs to be made in connection with this somewhat sanguine eschatology. It is that, although found in many Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal circles, it does in fact represent the very antithesis of what Boddy and his peers were enunciating. Indeed, it could even be argued that it represents almost a Pentecostalised version of C. H. Dodd’s “realised eschatology”.⁸⁹ In a recent work that has proved highly influential in (though critical of) the neo-Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, Hunt and McMahon point to the:

. . . Growing opposition from many quarters to the traditional fundamentalist view that the *only* hope for this world to be saved from destruction is miraculous intervention by Jesus Christ. Increasing numbers of Christian leaders and their followers are rejecting this view, and at the same time they are also rejecting the idea Christians are really citizens of heaven, not of this world, and that Christ is going to “rapture” His church out of this world. The whole idea of the rise of Antichrist to rule the world during a tribulation period, and the rapture of the church . . . is falling into disfavour.⁹⁰

The authors go on to argue that this fundamental cleavage in eschatological perspective has profound consequences for other derivative Christian activities such as mission, evangelism, social action and involvement in politics and similar activities. Contrasting the fundamentalist view of mission as “rescuing as many as we can before it is too late”, they claim that:

The other side . . . see the primary call of the church as solving social, economic and political problems . . . the conversion of the masses provides the means for taking over the world for Christ, taking dominion back from Satan, and thereby establishing the kingdom in order that Christ might return as king to reign at last.⁹¹

Since both of these approaches are present and easily identifiable in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches of every hue, it is interesting to observe that the earliest teachings of *Confidence* on eschatology are now largely out of favour, even in the movements that are indebted to the magazine. Hunt and McMahon go on to claim that:

From their increasingly isolated corner, the fundamentalists warn . . . the world is heading for a great tribulation climaxing in the Battle of Armageddon, which will involve the return of Christ to rescue Israel, to stop the destruction, and to set up his kingdom. There is a growing rejection within the church of this fundamentalist scenario as negative “gloom-and-doom” eschatology.⁹²

The current trend in charismatic circles is therefore one of an eschatology of hope, a “bringing in of the kingdom” here and now, on earth. Whether this viewpoint will also, in its turn, prove equally chimerical must await the verdict of history.

In summarising, therefore, the main contribution of *Confidence* to our understanding of early Pentecostal eschatology the area of most influence appears to be that of

doctrinal synthesis. The magazine adopted views that had already been long popularised in Evangelical circles, but added its own distinctive contribution in terms of equating the Pentecostal movement with the “latter rain”. As such, it was the herald of the last days, and the early Pentecostals lived in constant expectation, therefore, of an imminent parousia.

The frequent quotations made in *Confidence* from other contemporaneous Pentecostal literature, and its use of wholesale abstractions from them, indicates that a good deal of consensus must have existed between Pentecostal editors on this subject. The propensity of some earlier articles in *Confidence* to predict times and seasons for the coming of the Lord eventually gave way to the inculcation of a constant “readiness” for his appearing. This change in emphasis was probably mainly due to widespread disillusionment at the failure of such dates to prove accurate. These failures may well have caused some loss of credibility for Boddy and his magazine, and possibly were a factor in its eventual demise.

One other issue that merits discussion vis-à-vis the viewpoint adopted by Boddy and *Confidence* on prophetic themes has been raised by Massey, and it concerns the process by which the disparate Pentecostal groupings in the UK eventually formed into denominations. Massey poses the question as to whether the belief in an imminent parousia among early Pentecostals actually proved to be a disincentive to the formation of formal organisational groupings. He says:

A commonly recurring theme in the preaching and writing of the Pentecostal leaders in the 1920s was that of the Pentecostal Movement being the ‘latter rain’ swelling the crop before the final harvest of God’s judgment . . . Wilson has suggested that this awareness of being part of God’s eschatological *dénouement* undermined or at least delayed Pentecostal organisation into denominational groups.⁹³

This dissertation has already presented evidence of Boddy’s resolute opposition to the formation of separate Pentecostal denominations, believing, as he did, that “there is just as much danger, sooner or later, for a ‘Pentecostal Church’ (so-called),

as for any of the churches that have risen and fallen".⁹⁴ The question can fairly be asked, therefore, was Boddy using *Confidence* as a vehicle for effectively delaying this process of denominationalism, based on his eschatological concepts? Although Boddy was sounding the warning above as early as 1911, it appears that the burning hope of an imminent return of Christ to earth was so all-consuming among the early Pentecostals that that itself proved a restraint on the establishment of Pentecostal denominations. However, as this hope gradually receded, and the ravages of war had taken their toll, conditions in Britain became more settled in post-war euphoria.

Throughout this period, *Confidence* does not appear to have played any *active* role in delaying such denominational activities. In fact, on the contrary, Boddy maintained close personal contact with George Jeffreys, who had founded the Elim Evangelistic Band in January 1915. It is difficult to see why Boddy should support Jeffreys so actively if he disagreed with a fundamental aspect of his ministry. Boddy was still corresponding with Jeffreys in 1927, only a few years before he died, and long after he had taken any active role in the Pentecostal movement.⁹⁵ Additionally, it could even be argued that *Confidence* actually facilitated the eventual setting up of Pentecostal denominations by easing cross-cultural and spiritual fellowship among disparate groups scattered throughout the UK, who would otherwise have remained unlinked.

Against this, however, must be set the fact that after 1918 the circulation of *Confidence* fell dramatically, and Boddy no longer enjoyed the dominant role within British Pentecostalism that had been thrust upon him since the halcyon days of the Sunderland revival. Even if he had wanted to use *Confidence* to block the formation of denominations, it is unlikely that a man of his acumen would have failed to see that such developments were virtually inevitable, however much he may *personally* have disagreed with them.

NOTES – CHAPTER NINE

1. N. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1964, p. 88.
2. Ibid., p. 154.
3. R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*, New York: OUP, 1979, p. 79.
4. W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, London: SCM, 1972, p.415.
5. A facsimile of the tickets issued at this conference was reproduced in *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 22.
6. *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1906, p. 1.
7. Anderson, op. cit., pp.80, 81.
8. Ibid., p. 90.
9. D. W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Scarecrow Press, Metuchen and London, 1987, p. 144.
10. Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith, and the Consummation*, London: Lutterworth, 1962, 3:400, (quoted in Dayton, op. cit., p. 144).
11. A. A. Boddy, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, pp. 116–117.
12. Hollenweger, op. cit., p. 419.
13. Ibid.
14. A. A. Boddy, "Darkness and Light", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 5, May 1915, p. 87.
15. Dayton, op. cit., p. 167.
16. A. A. Boddy, "The Latter Rain", *Confidence*, vol. 6, no. 9, September 1913, pp. 172–173.
17. Ibid.
18. Anon., "Seven Signs of His Coming", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 12, December 1910, pp. 287–288.
19. Pastor Jeffreys, "The Parousia, or 'Appearing' of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1910, p. 150.
20. A. A. Boddy, "The Latter Rain Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1910, p. 258.
21. Ibid., p. 259.
22. For a conservative Evangelical view of the importance of *semeia*, c.f. D. Guthrie, "The Importance of Signs in the Fourth Gospel", *Vox Evangelica*, V (1967), pp. 72–83.
23. Anon, "The Bridegroom Cometh", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, p. 19 (abstracted from *Trust*, Elim House, Rochester, N.Y., n.d.).
24. Ibid.
25. Jonathan Paul, "The Bride and Her Heavenly Bridegroom", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, pp. 152–153.

26. A. A. Boddy, "The Whitsuntide Convention", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1910, p. 137.
27. An extensive bibliography confirming this point is found under T. McComiskey's article on "Israel", in *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, Paternoster Press, 1976, pp. 321–323.
28. "The Near Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 17.
29. c.f. Boddy's article, "The Latter Rain Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1910, p. 258.
30. Anon., "Seven Signs of His Coming", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 12, December 1910, p. 282.
31. Zechariah 12.10.
32. A. A. Boddy, "Prophetic Items", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 6, November–December 1917, p. 91.
33. A. A. Boddy, "The Return of the Jews to the Holy Land", *Confidence*, vol. 13, no. 4, October–December 1920, p. 52.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
35. *Ibid.*
36. A. A. Boddy, "The Return of the Jews to Palestine", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 135, October–December 1923, p. 107.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
39. Articles indicative of the interest about the "Second Exodus" of the Jews can be found in Clifford Hill's "The Significance of the Second Exodus", *Prophecy Today*, September–October 1991, pp. 12–13. A concerted effort to evangelise among Jews is carried out by the "Jews for Jesus" organisation. Ex pop musician Helen Shapiro, herself a converted Jewess, tours the country testifying of her belief in Yeshua.
40. T. H. Salmon, "The Last Generation", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 3, March 1916, pp. 49, 54, 55.
41. Paul Rader, "Armageddon", *Confidence*, vol. 11, no. 3, July–September 1918, p. 43.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
43. Miss Barbour, "The Near Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 3, June 1908, p. 17.
44. Boddy clearly recognised the dangers inherent in excessive dogmatism on date-setting. c.f. *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, p. 156.
45. "The Day Star", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 9, September 1910, p. 212 (abstracted from *Word and Work*, Russell, Mass., USA, n.d.).
46. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
47. A. A. Boddy, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, p. 156.
48. Emil Humburg, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 11, November 1914, pp. 210–211.
49. A. A. Boddy, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, p. 116.

50. "The Return of the Jews to Palestine", *Confidence*, vol. 16, no. 135, October/December 1923, pp. 108–109.
51. Quoted from Ian Macpherson, *News of the World to Come*, Prophetic Witness Publishing House, Eastbourne, 1973, p. 49. The practice of setting dates for the end of the world had long been discredited in other movements such as Seventh Day Adventism and the Jehovah's Witnesses, and it is surprising that a man of Boddy's evident ability should disregard these omens.
52. Anon, "Seven Signs of His Coming", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 12, December 1910, p. 287.
53. A. A. Boddy, "Across the Atlantic", and "Echoes of the Titanic Disaster", *Confidence*, vol. 5, no. 9, September 1912, pp. 196, 200–202.
54. A. A. Boddy, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, p. 116.
55. A. A. Boddy, "Seven Signs of His Coming", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 12, December 1910, p. 283. Other aspects of Boddy's curious view on democracy are found in his article "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1914, p. 116.
56. Mary Boddy, "Nearing the End", *Confidence*, vol. 7, no. 8, August 1914, p. 150.
57. Mary Boddy, "Stand Still – Go Forward", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 1, January 1915, p. 10.
58. Boddy printed a long defence of Britain's role in the war in his article, "The War", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 1, January 1915, pp. 3–6. The same article advertised a pacifist publication written by Boddy's friend, A. S. Booth-Clibborn, *Blood Against Blood*, but Boddy took the unusual step of dissociating himself from its arguments. This highlights the deep divisions the war was causing, even among Pentecostal brethren, and that there was no official "line" in the movement.
59. Alice M. Watt, "Signs of the Times", *Confidence*, vol. 8, no. 4, April 1915, p. 72.
60. Ibid.
61. c.f. "Pentecostal Items", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 2, March–April 1917, p. 28; "Prophetic Items", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 6, November–December 1917, p. 91.
62. Anon., "The Lord is Coming", *Confidence*, vol. 10, no. 3, May–June 1917, p. 39.
63. T. E. Hackett, "Echoes from Heathfield", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 11, November 1916, p. 177.
64. G. Handley Moule, "The Hope of the Approach of the Lord's Return", *Confidence*, vol. 12, no. 3, July–September 1919, pp. 39–40.
65. Evidence that Pauline eschatology posited an imminent return of Christ can be gleaned from several New Testament passages, e.g. 1 Thessalonians 4.13–18.
66. A. A. Boddy, "After Two Years", *Confidence*, vol. 2, no. 9, September 1909, p. 205.
67. Anon., "Seven Signs of His Coming", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 12, December 1910, p. 282.
68. A. A. Boddy, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, p. 156.
69. The standard works on the history of the Plymouth Brethren are H. H. Rowdon's *The Origins of the Brethren*, Pickering and Inglis, 1967, and F. R. Coad's *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Exeter: Paternoster, 1968.
70. Dayton, op. cit., pp. 143–167. For a very thorough discussion of the influence of American premillennialism from 1875–1982, c.f. T. P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, Michigan: Zondervan, 1983.

71. This view is fully delineated by B. B. Warfield in "The Cessation of the Charismata", *Counterfeit Miracles*, London: Banner of Truth, 1972, pp. 3–31.
72. Pastor Jeffreys, "The Parousia", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1910, p. 149.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
74. Anon., "The Day Star", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 9, September 1910, p. 214.
75. Anon., "The Second Advent", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 10, October 1911, p. 228.
76. c.f. Hollenweger, *op. cit.*, pp. 516, 520.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 517–519.
78. e.g. in "How Will Christ Come?", *Confidence*, vol. 9, no. 1, January 1916, pp. 8–12.
79. G. Handley Moule, "The Hope of the Approach of the Lord's Return", *Confidence*, vol. 12, no. 3, July–September 1919, p. 43.
80. A. A. Boddy, "The Coming of the Lord", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1911, p. 156.
81. "Remarkable Revival Meetings in London", *Confidence*, vol. 14, no. 127, October–December 1921, pp. 53–54.
82. The American Assemblies of God withdrew ministerial credentials from David du Plessis in 1962 because of his involvement in ecumenical activities with the WCC. They were restored in 1980. The British Pentecostal leader Donald Gee was forced to decline an invitation to the WCC's Third Assembly at New Delhi in 1960, in response to denominational pressure. However, du Plessis attended, reflecting the contrasting styles of the two ministers.
83. Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Michigan: Zondervan, 1970.
84. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.
85. Stanley Horton, *The Promise of His Coming*, Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1967, and R. H. Gause, *Revelation: God's Stamp of Sovereignty on History*, Pathway Press, 1983. The exegetical problems of dispensational teaching are discussed by G. T. Sheppard in "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship", *Pneuma*, Fall, 1984, pp. 5–31.
86. J. P. Eby, "The Battle of Armageddon", part 4, 1976, quoted by R. M. Riss in *DPCM*, p. 534.
87. Arthur Wallis, postscript to Andrew Walker's *Restoring the Kingdom*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, pp. 347–348.
88. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
89. Dodd argued that the idea of an imminent parousia had receded in the gospels, and therefore the writers present an eschatology which is a present reality rather than a future hope. For a full discussion of Dodd's views, c.f. F. F. Bruce, "C. H. Dodd", in P. E. Hughes (ed.), *Creative Minds in Contemporary Theology*, 1969, pp. 239–269. For a thorough discussion of eschatology in general, c.f. W. Pannenberg, (ed.) *Eschatology as History*, 1969, and J. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and Implications of a Christian Theology*, 1967.
90. D. Hunt and T. McMahon, *The Seduction of Christianity*, Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 1985, p. 215.
91. *Ibid.*

92. Ibid., p. 216.
93. R. D. Massey, "Sound and Scriptural Union", pp. 301-302.
94. A. A. Boddy, "Unity not Uniformity", *Confidence*, vol. 4, no. 3, March 1911, p. 60.
95. Desmond Cartwright kindly provided the author with a letter from Boddy to George Jeffreys, dated 19 July 1927. Its contents show the two men to have been on very close and cordial terms.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion and final reflections

In drawing this dissertation to a close, it is intended to now briefly recapitulate the main issues covered, and raise some final reflections and perceptions that a study of this nature inevitably elicits.

The first part of this work was an outline of the phenomenon of Pentecostalism *per se* – its history, character and distinctive doctrinal basis. It was argued that, in contradistinction to the romanticism and hagiography present in many accounts of the movement written by Pentecostals themselves, the movement did not –unlike the manna in the wilderness – fall “suddenly from heaven”. This assertion is not intended to deny or impugn those elements of the movement which can properly be attributed to remarkable divine activity, but simply to place Pentecostalism within its historical, theological and sociological locus.

It was shown that the use of Pentecostal-type phraseology, such as “baptism in the Holy Ghost” was popularised in literature many decades before the movement began, and that what was virtually a proto-Pentecostal publishing operation had long been acculturating Evangelical Christians to some of the tenets of Pentecostalism. The main exception to this process, which represented a quantum leap for the Pentecostal pioneers, was the linking of the experience of Spirit baptism to an outward, oral, physical proof that it had occurred – that of glossolalia.

The second part of this study looked at the ways in which the earliest Pentecostal pioneers in the USA quickly recognised the importance of the printed word as a cru-

cial means of spreading the movement. A plethora of magazines quickly arose, most destined to be transient and ineffective, but a few proving to be of more durable worth. Singled out for special attention was W. J. Seymour's *The Apostolic Faith*; this magazine was the most important of its genre, and was published from the epicentre of the revival in Los Angeles. It also proved to be the link with European Pentecostalism in that it was read by T. B. Barratt, the Cornish Methodist pastor who kindled revival fires in Sunderland in 1907.

The Apostolic Faith was important in another respect in that it proved the role model for the first Pentecostal journal to be published in Britain, *Confidence*, which was issued "by faith" from 1908–1926 by A. A. Boddy, the Anglican vicar of All Saints Church, Sunderland. The background to the launch of this magazine was traced, showing that it originated from a desire to encourage and strengthen those who had received the experience of Spirit baptism and glossolalia, but who had no recourse to fellowship with other like-minded believers.

The publishing history of *Confidence* was examined in some detail, indicating that although its circulation never went above about 6,000 copies, it exerted an influence out of all proportion to this figure. This was attributed to the quality of its contents, the skills of its one and only editor, and its international penetration. A. A. Boddy's policy of publishing the journal "by faith" was shown to be fraught with problems, and he was rescued from financial disaster time and time again by the intervention of the wealthy Bedford landowner, Cecil Polhill. Boddy and Polhill collaborated closely in a number of Pentecostal causes apart from *Confidence* – the formation of the Pentecostal Missionary Union and International Conventions being notable for their success. *Confidence* became the main organ for publicising these activities world-wide, and arguably became the greatest single factor in establishing Boddy and Polhill as *de facto* leaders of the early Pentecostal movement in the UK.

Confidence was extremely important in terms of the doctrines it propagated. As the unofficial voice of Pentecostalism in the UK for several years, its *imprimatur* would have carried considerable weight within the movement. It was argued that, in contrast to most other Pentecostal leaders, because Boddy had studied theology at a secular university (Durham) this, together with his prior legal training and extensive travel experience in the Middle East, brought to his writings a sagacity, balance and breadth of outlook rarely found in other publications of that era. His background proved to be a perfect foil to the extremism, fanaticism and wild excesses that could so easily have wrecked the movement in its infancy. Though always a fundamentalist in his attitude to Scripture, Boddy demonstrated an ecumenicity and catholicity of spirit that must have proved of inestimable benefit in his leadership role, and accounts for the almost universally high regard in which he was held.

In view of his position in the early movement, therefore, it has often been suggested that perhaps Boddy should have thrown his weight entirely behind the emerging Pentecostal movement, and become its official leader. Donald Gee, for example, even suggests some possible lack of vision on Boddy's and Polhill's part when he surmises:

Whether or not God laid his hand on these two men for dual leadership of the Pentecostal Movement in the British Isles as a separate entity, and whether they failed fully to recognise His purpose must now be left an open question. There can be no doubt that for many precious years the Movement floundered for lack of strong, inspiring, distinctive leadership such as might have welded it into a mighty spiritual force in the land.¹

At this distance in time it is virtually impossible to speculate on the likely outcome of such a dual leadership. We do know for certain that Boddy and Polhill were loyal Anglicans to the end, and loathe to leave the fold of their mother church. That they should do so to launch into the uncharted seas of a movement whose spiritual and sociological roots were so dissimilar to their own, or whether they in turn could have commanded the respect of such groupings, is a moot point. Another fact not fully recognised by Gee, or other writers who make the same point, is that many of

the manifestations of early Pentecostalism were virtually anarchic – doubtless a corollary of the claim to enjoy the “leading and freedom of the Spirit”. Boddy and Polhill were disciplinarians, the latter’s experience as a serving soldier and his privations in China giving him a somewhat austere and revered persona. This impression is confirmed from his appearance in photographs of that era. Even if Boddy and Polhill had agreed to lead the Pentecostal movement, it would have emerged as a very different organisation to that which it eventually became.

The other problem with Gee’s suggestion – and this becomes increasingly clear from the articles in *Confidence* – is that a theological gulf was gradually widening between Boddy, Polhill and the leaders of the emerging Pentecostal assemblies. If this breach had concerned merely minor points of doctrine, some accommodation may have been possible. It arose, however, over a doctrine that was to prove the bedrock of the new movement – the speaking with tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism. Both men gradually moved towards a diluted view of this tenet, and this would have made their leadership virtually untenable.

On a more natural level, Boddy in particular would have faced severe personal privations in relinquishing his living. Polhill was wealthy enough to pursue more or less any interest he wished, but when the first clamour for Pentecostal denominations to be formed surfaced in *Confidence* – around 1911 – Boddy was 57 years of age, and his wife was already being incapacitated by the arthritis that rendered her a cripple until she died. These issues may never, of course, have loomed large in Boddy’s thinking, but they deserve to be raised as possible hindrances to his emergence as a denominational leader.²

This dissertation has also shown that, from a literary stand-point, *Confidence* was acting as an organ for the dissemination of a wide variety of doctrinal viewpoints within early Pentecostalism. The statement of faith printed in *Confidence* was

essentially a synthesis of well-known and widely accepted nineteenth century Evangelical tenets of doctrine, supplemented by the one distinctive Pentecostal dogma of glossolalia as evidence of Spirit baptism. Within this framework, contributors to the magazine were given freedom to express a wide variety of views, and their writings evince a degree of creativity and originality rarely found in contemporary Pentecostal publications.

To a certain extent this freshness must be attributed to the fact that they were themselves treading on virgin soil, and were thereby the creators and shapers of their own dogmas. Also, they were living in the days when the revival fires of the Spirit were still burning brightly, and we can assume the same Spirit that engendered the charismata was simultaneously quickening the minds and faculties of his temples. It is a curious irony of church history that increasing organisation and denominational control seems to have a quenching effect on this aspect of the Spirit's operations, and this fact was patently clear to the early leaders, A. S. Booth-Clibborn for example, claiming that "were this revival to be organised or centralised, it would quickly go wrong, because carnal unity soon becomes dead uniformity".³

Accordingly, the vital role of *Confidence* was to bring these widely-variegated aspects of truth before its readers, simultaneously encouraging and maintaining a remarkable unity in diversity made possible by the *one* thing that destroyed artificial barriers to Christian fellowship – the experience of Spirit baptism and its concomitant sign of tongues. In this respect at least, it could be argued that *Confidence* was a remarkably effective agent of ecumenicity, inculcating Christian unity on the basis of an easily-identifiable irreducible minimum – the Pentecostal experience itself.

In relation to other important doctrines such as healing, demon possession and eschatology, the early Pentecostals did not enunciate fully-developed theologies.

The context of most articles printed in *Confidence* shows that their immediate concern was to concentrate on the apologetic or practical outworking of their doctrine. This fact must largely account for the apparent inconsistencies, lack of exegetical rigour, and prevalence of a 'proof text' type approach to theological issues. The early movement had few writers trained in theology, a fact that only serves to highlight Boddy's own contributions as being in a different class to most other writers in *Confidence*. His leadership in this field must once again be noted as a crucial and significant blessing to early Pentecostalism, without which it is doubtful if such significant progress would have been made.

In making an overall assessment of the significance of *Confidence* to Pentecostalism, and the wider Christian world, one way of evaluating its total contribution is to ask a number of questions about the magazine. A fundamental question must be as to whether *Confidence* achieved its stated aims. Boddy had written in the first issue that the magazine was intended "to be a means of grace and of mutual encouragement . . . to lonely ones and to scattered bands, to those who are attacked by doubt and difficulty, but longing to be loyal to the Almighty Deliverer".⁴ When Boddy penned these words, he knew of only about 500 Spirit-baptised believers in Britain. We also know from internal evidence that of these about 70 resided in Sunderland, and the rest were diffused in some 34 Pentecostal centres scattered around the country – two in Ireland, three in Wales, thirteen in Scotland and the rest in England, most of them north of Birmingham.⁵

By simple division, it is clear that these centres were small and struggling, averaging only some 13 to 15 glossolalists each. Many of these centres were held in homes, such as E. W. Moser's group in Southsea, and Catherine Price's in Brixton. There existed no mechanism for linking such groups together in mutual fellowship, no central organisation, and no leader of stature to unite their testimony. The question can therefore properly be raised, what would have happened to these believers

without the magazine *Confidence*? It seems that a number of tentative responses can be made to this hypothetical enquiry.

Firstly, it is of course conceivable that eventually someone other than Boddy would have stepped into the breach, and produced a Pentecostal journal. We know, in fact, that several others did eventually appear. Nevertheless, this study has adduced evidence that very few Pentecostals possessed the stature, experience or ability of Boddy to undertake such a publishing enterprise. This is corroborated by the fact that when other magazines did come onto the market – such as *The Spirit of Truth*, *The Overcoming Life*, *Victory* etc. they were all short-lived, and do not bear comparison with the status and influence of *Confidence*. That the Pentecostal movement eventually produced men certainly capable of such an enterprise is undeniable, but they were not evident in the crucial early days of the revival, whereas Boddy was.

A second possibility is that the various Pentecostal groups would have emerged into full-blown denominations sooner than they did, and that this in turn would have seen the rapid appearance of denominationally-controlled journals and literature. This possibility is bound up with the charge, sometimes levelled against Boddy, that he used *Confidence* to delay such a process. However, this allegation was considered in the text, and dismissed as lacking in substantive evidence.

A third possibility is that the movement would have continued to expand solely by word of mouth contacts. This is feasible where Pentecostal assemblies were located in densely populated urban areas (as many were), but much less likely in small villages and towns where poor communications made travel, and social contacts, difficult to establish.

A fourth possibility, and one that seems to the author to be the most likely scenario, is that without the ministry of *Confidence* the centres would have become increas-

ingly introverted, and eventually die. Indeed, we know from Gee's *Wind and Flame* that the house-group meeting in E. W. Moser's Southsea home never got past the stage of being of "a semi-private nature", even though it had existed since 1902.⁶ There were four factors that made introversionism highly likely in the inchoate days of early Pentecostalism. The first was the tremendous degree of persecution levelled against the movement, often from other Evangelical Christians. Persecution tends to make people "turn-in" on themselves and become sectarian in outlook.

The second factor was a danger from within, and one that the pages of *Confidence* constantly allude to. This was the danger of fleshly exhibitionism and carnality exhibiting itself through the relative freedom of the meetings. Boddy's constant references to cranks, faddists, extremists and even Spiritists, show him to have been painfully aware of the possibility of such persons infiltrating the movement. There is obviously a very fine gradation from that which is spiritual, through to the psychological, the human, and then even possibly to the demonic. Early Pentecostalism in common with all other revivals of religion, saw the whole gamut of such activities.⁷ Gee records that:

It would be foolish to deny the positive hindrance of cases of fanaticism. Although extreme instances were suppressed there remained crudities of behaviour in public meetings that were sufficient to frighten or repel even sincere seekers after truth.⁸

A third factor inhibiting early Pentecostal growth and evangelism was the generally low calibre of leadership in the assemblies. There were obviously exceptions, such as the Southsea solicitor Moser, but in general even Gee conceded that often the groups were:

... Hindered by crude and ungifted ministry. The necessary emphasis of the Movement upon spiritual power rather than natural ability, sometimes caused the pendulum to swing too far in the opposite extreme.⁹

Indeed from its earliest days, the Pentecostal movement tended to regard academic training – especially theological training – with some suspicion, and this antipathy has proved remarkably durable, even down to the present day.¹⁰

Nonetheless, it has to be asked whether this antagonism indirectly contributed to the fourth factor that delayed Pentecostal growth in the early years. This problem relates to the ease with which bizarre and unscriptural doctrines permeated the movement. This dissertation has already indicated areas where *Confidence* assumed the role of charismatic leadership, particularly in the elucidation of "orthodox" Pentecostal teaching. We have seen that Boddy stood resolutely against false teaching on the nature of prophecy and "messages", the abuse of tongues, extremist manifestations of the Spirit, the deeper death teaching and exaggerated views on healing and sickness. Subsequently, issues such as Universalism and British Israelism were to prove highly divisive and controversial within the movement.¹¹

Would, perhaps, these issues have been less prominent and damaging if early Pentecostals had been less prejudiced against academic training and scholarship, and had adopted a more balanced attitude to the Spirit-controlled use of the mind in Christian experience? We cannot now arrive at a definitive answer to this question, but it is interesting to observe that all the major British Pentecostal denominations eventually opened Bible schools or colleges, where prospective ministers could gain a reasonable grounding in the Bible and Christian theology. It is generally admitted, even by those who teach in such institutions, that the standard is not particularly high, but at least this is a step in the right direction.¹² It seems to be one area, therefore, where contemporary Pentecostals have learnt from the lessons of the past, and are attempting to reverse a trend that proved unhealthily negative and counter-productive.

In the light of these factors, in what sense, if any, was Boddy's vision of Pentecostal revival sweeping through the British Isles vindicated? The factors outlined above account for a good deal of the weakened influence and penetration the movement exerted in its early days. The inter-denominational stand adopted by *Confidence*, with its encouragement of a wide variety of views relating to the ramifications of

the outpoured Spirit, ineluctably gave way to the more monolithic approach of denominational journals such as the *Elim Evangel* and *Redemption Tidings*. These publications were controlled, via their editors, by committees of Pentecostal ministers. Whereas Boddy had exercised complete editorial control and freedom over *Confidence*, the newer trend, not unnaturally, was to promote denominational interests, viewpoints and activities. Not only did this reinforce the sense of denominational distinctiveness, but ultimately it aided and accelerated a process which was antithetical to the vision and purpose of the Pentecostal pioneers – the creation of sectarian and introversionist coteries. Doubtless these were all concerned to preserve “orthodoxy” as they saw it, and where there was a positive stress on evangelism and outreach – as in the campaigns of the Jeffreys brothers – genuine growth and impact was made.¹³

This situation may well have continued with even greater blessing if the major Pentecostal denominations had not missed a golden opportunity to unite together at the inception of the Assemblies of God, in 1924. With their combined strengths and qualities they might well have been the fulfilment of Gee’s vision, “welded into a mighty spiritual force in the land”.¹⁴ Having passed up that opportunity, the groups opted for separate identities and existence, often virtually duplicating effort and activity in the same small town. Consequently, overall growth was slow and irregular, and at present the total number of classical Pentecostals in the UK still does not exceed around 100,000. But this figure, which has taken more than seventy years of united Pentecostal activity to generate, pales into insignificance compared to the the growth rate of the Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal groupings in Britain, which have amassed all their gains in a period of only some thirty or so years.

It could of course be argued that the growth pattern of classical Pentecostalism has been decelerated and distorted by the effects of such recent moves of the Spirit,¹⁵

but even before those movements began to take root in the UK, the growth of classical Pentecostalism was no greater than it is today. If anything, the reverse is true, and it is only recently that we have seen hopeful signs of a new spurt of growth in the Elim and Assemblies of God denominations, particularly in large city centre churches. Kensington Temple, London (an Elim church that witnessed the ministries of the Jeffreys brothers), has seen phenomenal growth in the last decade, Sunday attendance having rocketed from 500 to 5,000 souls.¹⁶

For this expansion, however, a price has been paid in that such centres have gradually shifted away from the biblical concept of “body ministry”. Instead, there is a greater degree of authoritarian and ministerial control, and a stress on professionalism, education and excellence that would be alien to the early Pentecostals. Consequently, there is an attenuation of the role of the charismata by the laity in public services, and, perhaps most surprisingly of all, even glossolalia is rarely exhibited.¹⁷ Profound changes have therefore taken place in the public nature of some Pentecostal services, as the movement struggles to find and fulfil its God-given role in modern society.

Contemporary Pentecostal publications still tend to be rather conservative in outlook, shirking controversy, and maintaining a fundamentalist view of Scripture and the world that seems at variance with the changes made in Pentecostal meetings and services.¹⁸ These publications struggle by on barely viable circulation figures, saved from certain extinction only by advertising revenue and denominational subsidies. They are undoubtedly badly hit also by the encroachments of Charismatic and Restoration-type magazines such as *Renewal* and *Prophecy Today*. This new genre exhibit a prophetic cutting edge akin to the early issues of *Confidence*; they are much more radical than their Pentecostal counterparts, and seem to have effectively stolen their thunder, or to put it another way, made them appear virtually otiose. The future of the older-style Pentecostal publications certainly looks bleak,

and in the author's view it is doubtful if they will compete effectively with the plethora of newer magazines currently flooding the market. In any case, as denominational barriers continue to crumble and become increasingly meaningless, perhaps one "Pentecostal" magazine might exemplify the unity and oneness implicit in the ministry of the outpoured Spirit.

Finally, some concluding observations need to be made about the specifically publishing aspects of Boddy's life and work. The most controversial aspect of the history of *Confidence* is probably the issue as to whether it was truly an example of "faith publishing" – the concept on which it was originally founded. This dissertation has highlighted the editorial control exercised by Boddy, showing the magazine to be essentially his creation and therefore obviously reflecting a good deal of his own views and personality. *Confidence* was conceived, launched and operated by faith – Boddy's faith – yet clearly his faith alone was not enough to sustain the magazine during its precarious career. The history of this magazine shows clearly the truth of the biblical maxim "faith without works is dead". Boddy indubitably seriously misjudged the state of the market for magazines of this type, and his expectation of keeping *Confidence* afloat entirely by faith subscriptions proved naively optimistic. Possibly the fact that he had spent most of his working life as a clergyman had shielded him from the harsh realities of economic and business life, and therefore in one sense it could be argued that *Confidence* was never a good paradigm for a faith publication.

Accordingly, we must recognise that whereas Boddy brought the "faith" aspect to bear on the career of *Confidence*, Polhill brought the equally necessary "works" aspect into focus. Clearly, both these pioneers must receive equal credit for keeping the journal at the forefront of Pentecostal publications. If Boddy's memory has fared badly at the hands of the movement he helped to birth, Polhill has emerged with even less recognition. If ever a figure of the early decades of British

Pentecostalism has been consigned by history to oblivion, it is Cecil Polhill. His life, and contribution to the movement, cries out for a full biographical study. Yet not only is very little known about him but he is often disparaged, and even patronised, by those whose ignorance of his involvement is astounding. Even the earliest historian of the British movement, Donald Gee (who knew Polhill personally) made some uncharacteristically acerbic remarks about him thus:

With all his zeal and utter consecration, Cecil Polhill was a poor chairman. His continual repetition of "Beloved Friends" became a byword and a joke. Audiences that had come to hear Stephen Jeffreys squirmed with impatience as he inflicted on them his little homilies from the chair. Only his money secured his position, and could never last in a growing Pentecostal revival. A new generation arose, and Cecil Polhill faded out of the picture; yet not before he had helped with the foundations of a spiritual movement that contained dynamic qualities that I think he only dimly understood.¹⁹

This caustic and intemperate criticism of Polhill completely fails to recognise that, without his wealth, there would have been no Pentecostal movement as we now know it, at all. Not only was he the financial mainstay of *Confidence*, the PMU, the Sunderland and London Conventions and myriad other causes that would otherwise have foundered, but he gave direct support to those whose Pentecostal ministries later encircled the globe. It was Polhill who supported George Jeffreys through Preston Bible School, paid off the outstanding debt on the Azusa Street Mission in 1908 and whose own publishing interests via his magazine *Fragments of Flame* brought the attention of British Pentecostals to the activities of missions in the far-flung corners of China and Tibet.

The partnership of Boddy and Polhill was a classic case of symbiosis and interdependence. Boddy, by virtue of his public position and writing ministry, received much greater recognition from posterity, yet his relationship with Polhill was crucial and fundamental to his ministry. These two men were, in Longfellow's apt phrase, "useless each without the other". The Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Britain owe these two pioneers a tremendous debt, which even now has not

been fully recognised and discharged. It is the author's hope that works such as this will contribute in some small way to a fresh understanding and appreciation of what these pioneers achieved, and especially to a vindication of their belief that, in matters of the Spirit, the pen is indeed mightier than the sword.

NOTES - CHAPTER TEN

1. Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame*, Croydon: Heath Press Ltd, 1967, p. 88.
2. Both Robinson and Massey discuss other reasons why Boddy never became leader of a Pentecostal denomination. c.f. M. Robinson, "The Charismatic Anglican", pp. 120-123; R. Massey, "Sound and Scriptural Union", pp. 297-303.
3. A. S. Booth-Clibborn, "Salvation Conferences in London and Sunderland", *Confidence*, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1910, p. 145.
4. A. A. Boddy, "Our First Number", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1908, p. 3.
5. These statistics are gleaned from reports carried in "Pentecostal Centres in Great Britain and Ireland", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 4, July 1908, p. 2; "News of Pentecost", *Confidence*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1908, pp. 5 and 8.
6. Donald Gee, *These Men I Knew*, Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1965, p. 65.
7. Revivalist preachers such as George Whitefield, John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards have left ample testimony of the whole gamut of spiritual experiences prevalent in times of unusual spiritual power. c.f. also J. White, *When the Spirit Comes With Power*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, pp. 13-153 for confirmation of this point.
8. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 89.
9. Ibid.
10. The annual conferences of the Assemblies of God frequently contain complaints from the floor that the movement, and its Bible College, are becoming "too academic". c.f. also n. 12 below.
11. Massey, in "Sound and Scriptural Union", gives greater detail of the main doctrinal errors prevailing in early British Pentecostalism. (pp. 271ff).
12. David Allen, a tutor at the Assemblies of God Bible School in Mattersey, near Doncaster, concedes this point in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis "Signs and Wonders", University of London, 1990, pp. 238-239.
13. At the zenith of the Jeffreys brothers' popularity, crowds queued all night to gain admittance to their meetings. c.f. D. Cartwright, "Stephen Jeffreys", *DPCM*, p. 480.
14. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p. 88.
15. The Assemblies of God, in particular, have been badly hit by defections to Restorationism, losing some of their flagship assemblies (such as Lincoln and Slough) to the new movement.
16. Kensington Temple, or "KT" as it is always known, tends to underplay its roots in historic Pentecostalism. Though officially an Elim church, it always advertises itself as "London's International Charismatic Church" - sometimes to the chagrin of the Elim leadership!
17. The author has visited Kensington Temple on numerous occasions, but has never yet heard a *public* message in tongues from the congregation.
18. When Brian Hewitt, former editor of the AOG magazine *Redemption*, was ousted from the editorial chair in 1989, he recorded in print his view that he had been replaced for being too controversial. (B. Hewitt, "Beyond Redemption", *Redemption*, April 1990, p. 3).
19. Gee, *These Men I Knew*, pp. 75-76.

APPENDIX 1

***Income v. Expenditure involved in producing
“Confidence”, 1908–1926***

DATE OF ISSUE	SURPLUS (£. s. d.)	DEFICIT	
April 1908 (Volume 1 no. 1)	Nil	Nil	
May		*1-17-10	*estimated figure
June	8- 7- 6		
July		8-18-10	
August		8- 4- 0	
September		9- 4- 9	
October		1-11- 5	
November		29- 5-10	
December	10-18- 7½		
January 1909	3- 7- 5		
February		3-15- 5	
March		10- 6- 0	
April	9-19- 7½		
May		5- 3- 2	
June		11- 7- 3	
July		6-16- 7	
August		14-11- 7	
September		24- 8- 4	
October		21-16-10½	
November		36-12- 4½	
December	3-15- 7		

DATE OF ISSUE	SURPLUS (£. s. d.)	DEFICIT
January 1910	4- 9- 8	
February	2-17- 0	
March	0-15- 9	
April	0- 4- 4	
May		8-14- 5
June		7-15- 9
July		6-15-10 ¹ / ₂
August		5- 1- 9 ¹ / ₂
September		10-15- 0
October		21- 4-10
November		26- 6-10
December		26-18-11
January 1911		19-19- 3
February		15- 5-10
March		12-12- 7
April		20-11-10
May		9- 9- 4
June		16- 3- 7
July		22-13-11
August		2-19- 3
September		4-18- 3
October		9-14- 9
November		1-14- 4
December	4- 9- 5	

DATE OF ISSUE	SURPLUS (£. s. d.)	DEFICIT
January 1912	8- 0- 8	
February	18-10- 0	
March	15-15- 2	
April	11-10- 1½	
May	8- 8- 9½	
June	5- 0- 8½	
July	2- 7- 9½	
August	4- 3- 2½	
September	2- 1- 9	
October		2- 2-11
November		17-19- 0
December		19-11- 2
January 1913		23- 7- 4
February		12-13- 6
March		3-17- 5
April		7-11- 6
May		13-13- 8
June		14-14- 4
July		18- 2-10½
August		22-11- 2
September	0- 2- 6	
October		7- 7- 2
November		5- 3- 4½
December		0- 1-10½

DATE OF ISSUE	SURPLUS (£. s. d.)	DEFICIT
January 1914		3-13- 0 ¹ / ₂
February	7- 3- 4 ¹ / ₂	
March	10-14- 8 ¹ / ₂	
April	6- 5-10 ¹ / ₂	
May	3- 13- 9 ¹ / ₂	
June	1- 7- 8 ¹ / ₂	
July	1- 2- 7	
August	2-16- 3 ¹ / ₂	
September	2- 9- 7 ¹ / ₂	
October		0- 2- 5 ¹ / ₂
November		3-11-11
December		6-10-10
January 1915		12- 2- 4
February		3- 4- 8
March	3-19-10	
April		1- 9- 6
May		4-18- 4
June		9- 1-11
July		12-17- 1
August		14-19- 4
September		13-10- 0
October		22-13- 3
November		19-10- 6
December		13-15- 1

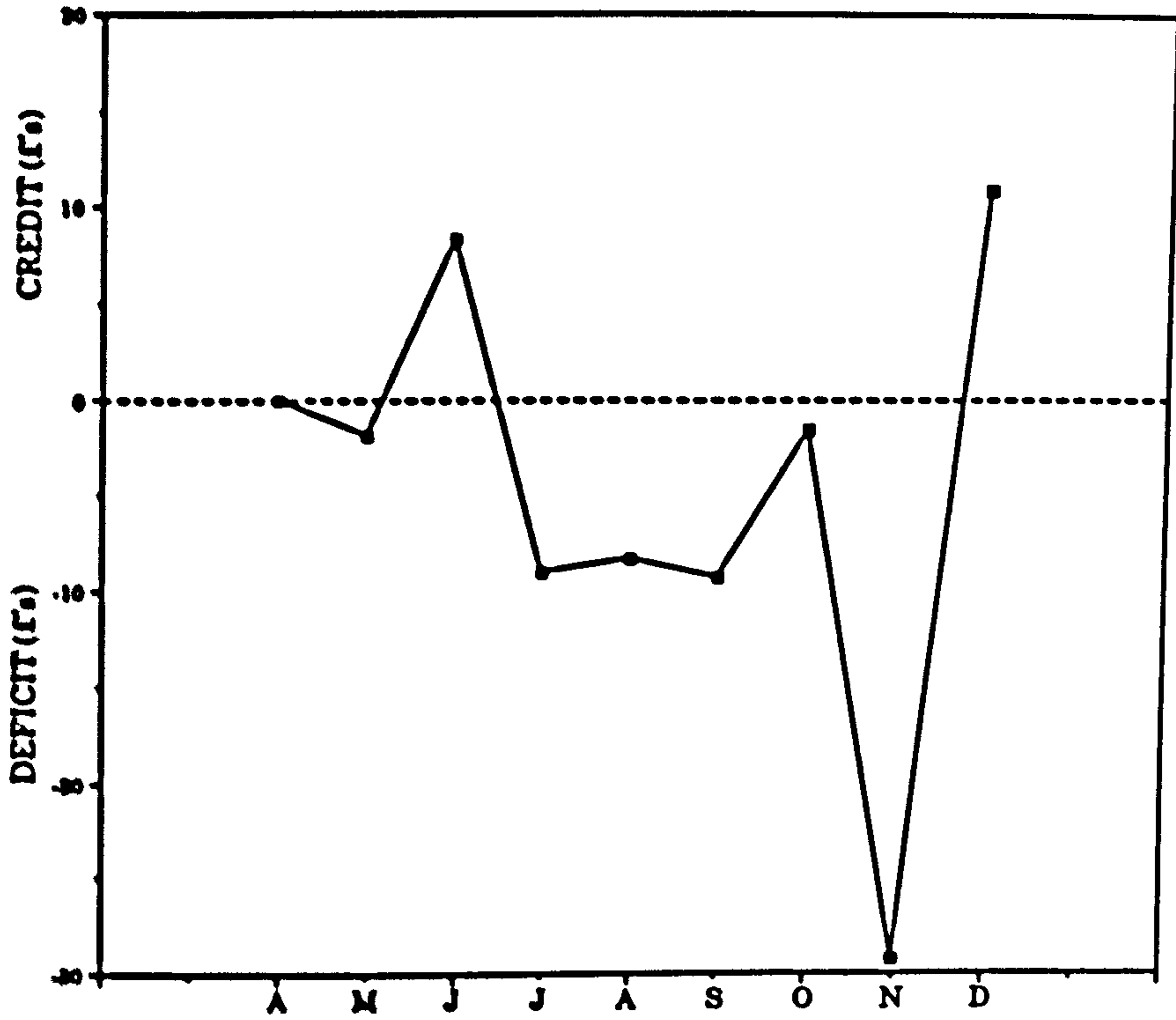
DATE OF ISSUE	SURPLUS (£ s. d.)	DEFICIT
January 1916		17- 0- 1
February		12- 6- 5
March	2- 7- 3½	
April		2-19- 2½
May		7- 0- 7½
June		12- 8- 5½
July		8-14- 9
August		8-13- 3
September		14-11- 6
October		25-13- 6
November		19-16- 8
December		20- 9- 5
January/February 1917		30- 1-11
March/April		24-14- 6
May/June		8- 9-11
July/August		9- 3- 9
September/October		4-10- 8
November/December		11-13- 3
January/March 1918		0- 7- 8
April/June	1- 5- 5	
July/Sept	2- 1- 7	
October/December		14- 7- 0
January/March 1919		16-13- 6
April/June		5- 5- 1
July/Sept		11-13-10
October/December		17- 0- 8

DATE OF ISSUE	SURPLUS (£ s. d.)	DEFICIT
January/March 1920		15-12- 1
April/June		5- 8-11
July/Sept	6-16-11	
October/December		4- 1- 1
January/March 1921		2- 3- 2
April/June		0- 1-10
July/Sept		4- 0- 7
October/December	0-19- 6	
January/March 1922	4-12- 6	
April/June		3-18- 9
July/Sept		14-17- 2
October/December		23- 9- 2
January/March 1923		16- 4- 1
April/June		17- 8- 8
July/Sept		26-11- 3
October/December		34-17- 2
January/March 1924		7- 7- 0
April/June		6- 0- 7
July/Sept		7- 2- 3
October/December		11-11- 0
May 1925	1- 2- 2	
1926 (undated)	no figures available	

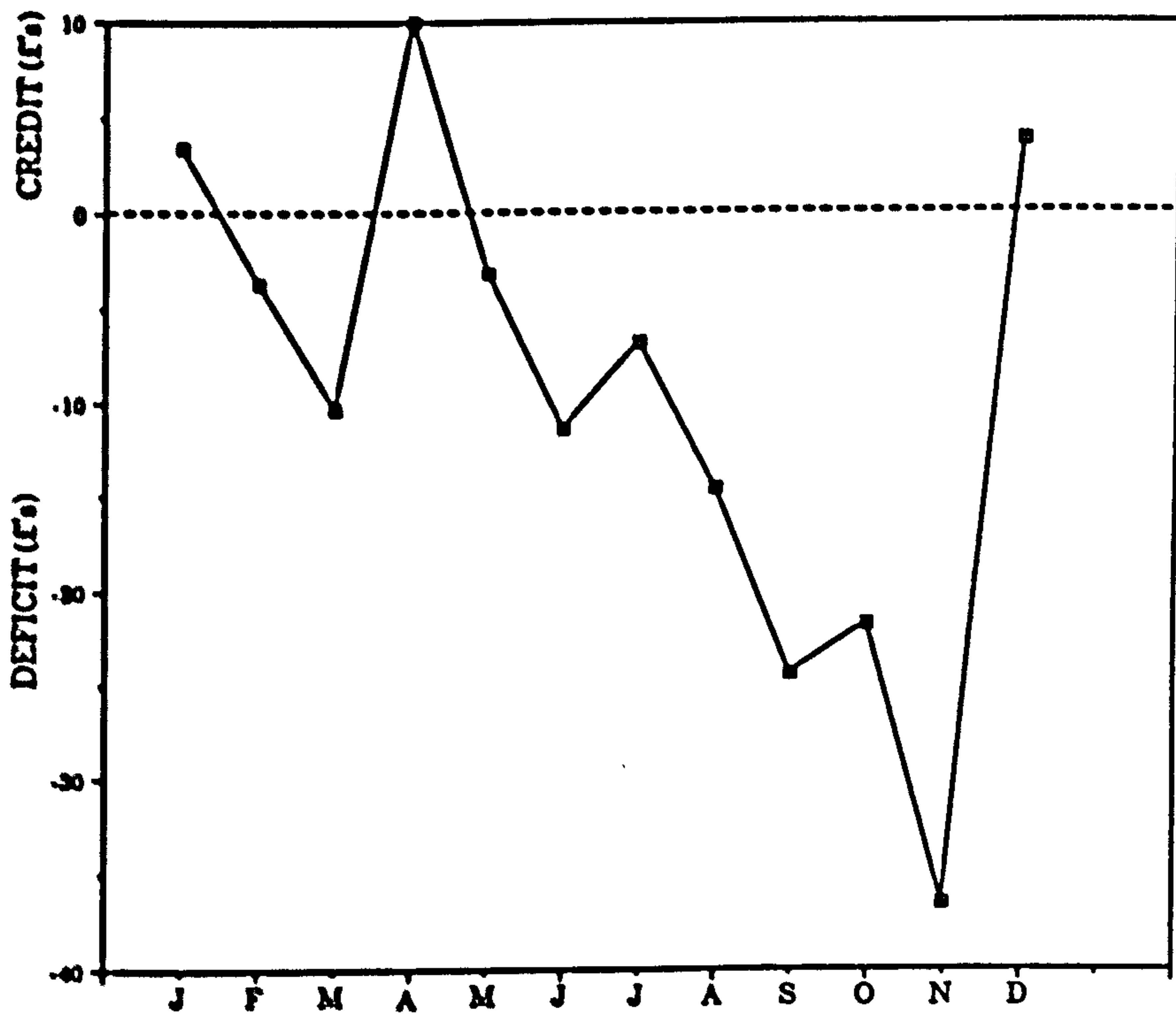
APPENDIX 2

Graphical analysis of credit /deficit figures for producing each issue of "Confidence", 1908-1926

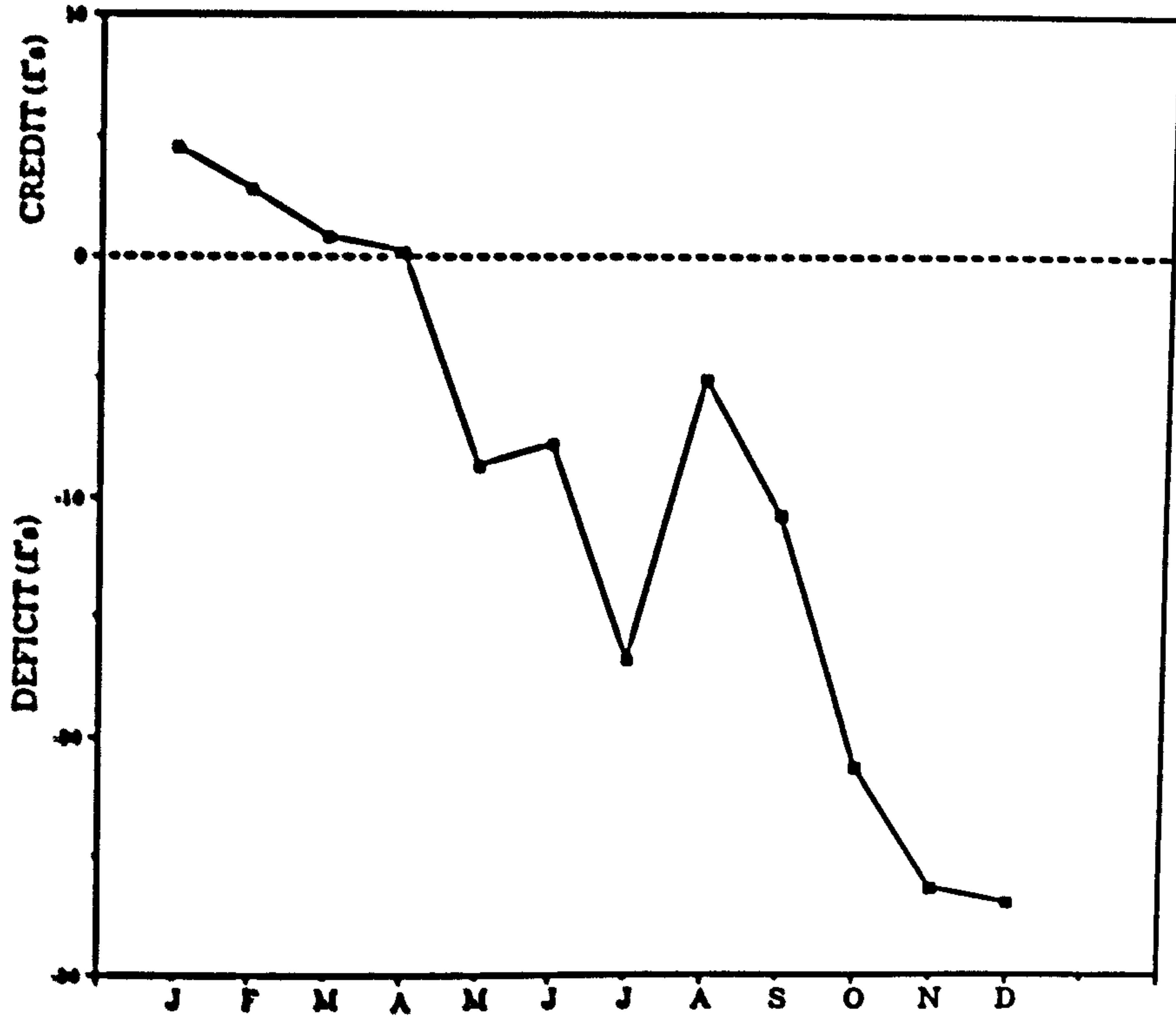
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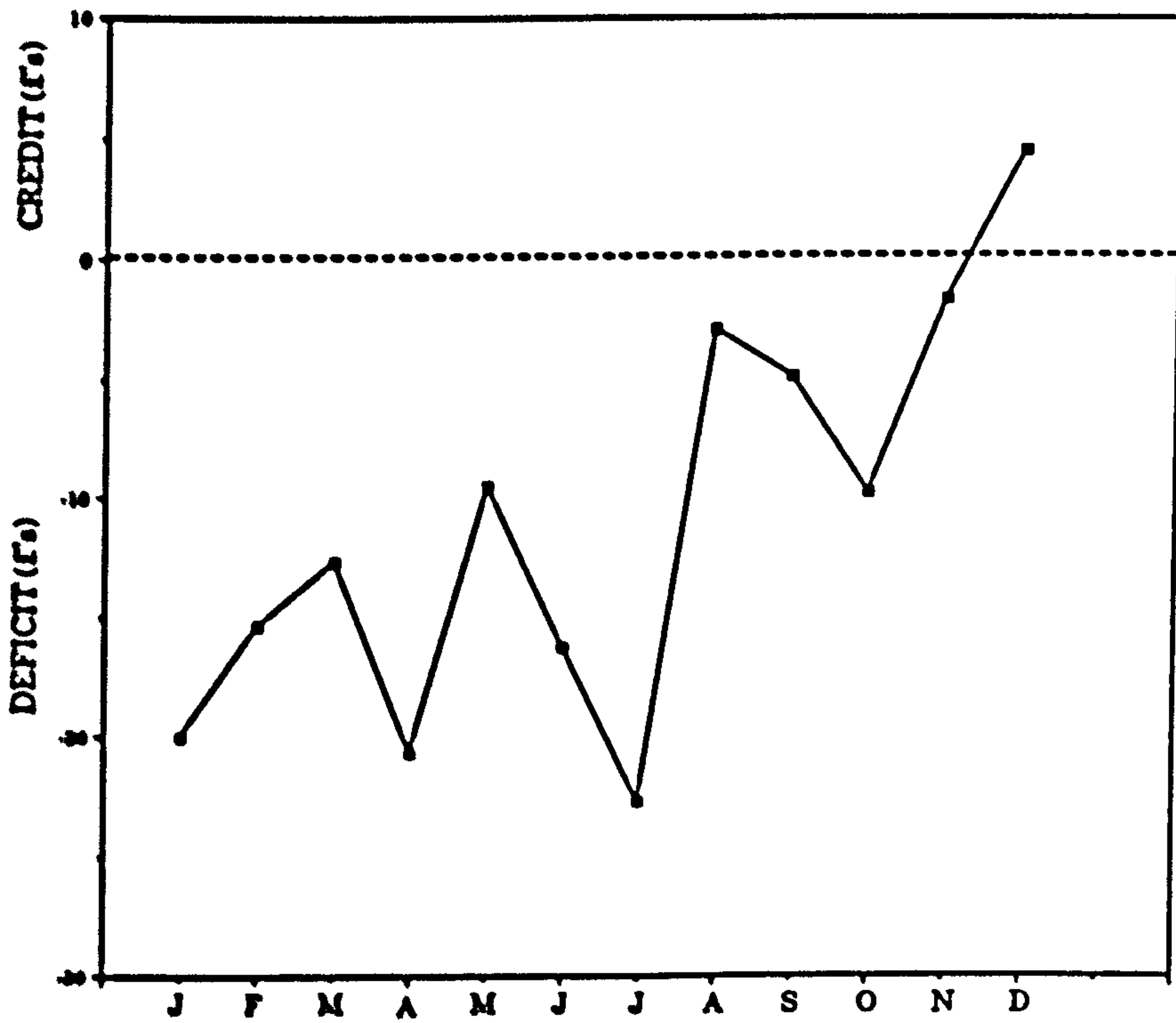
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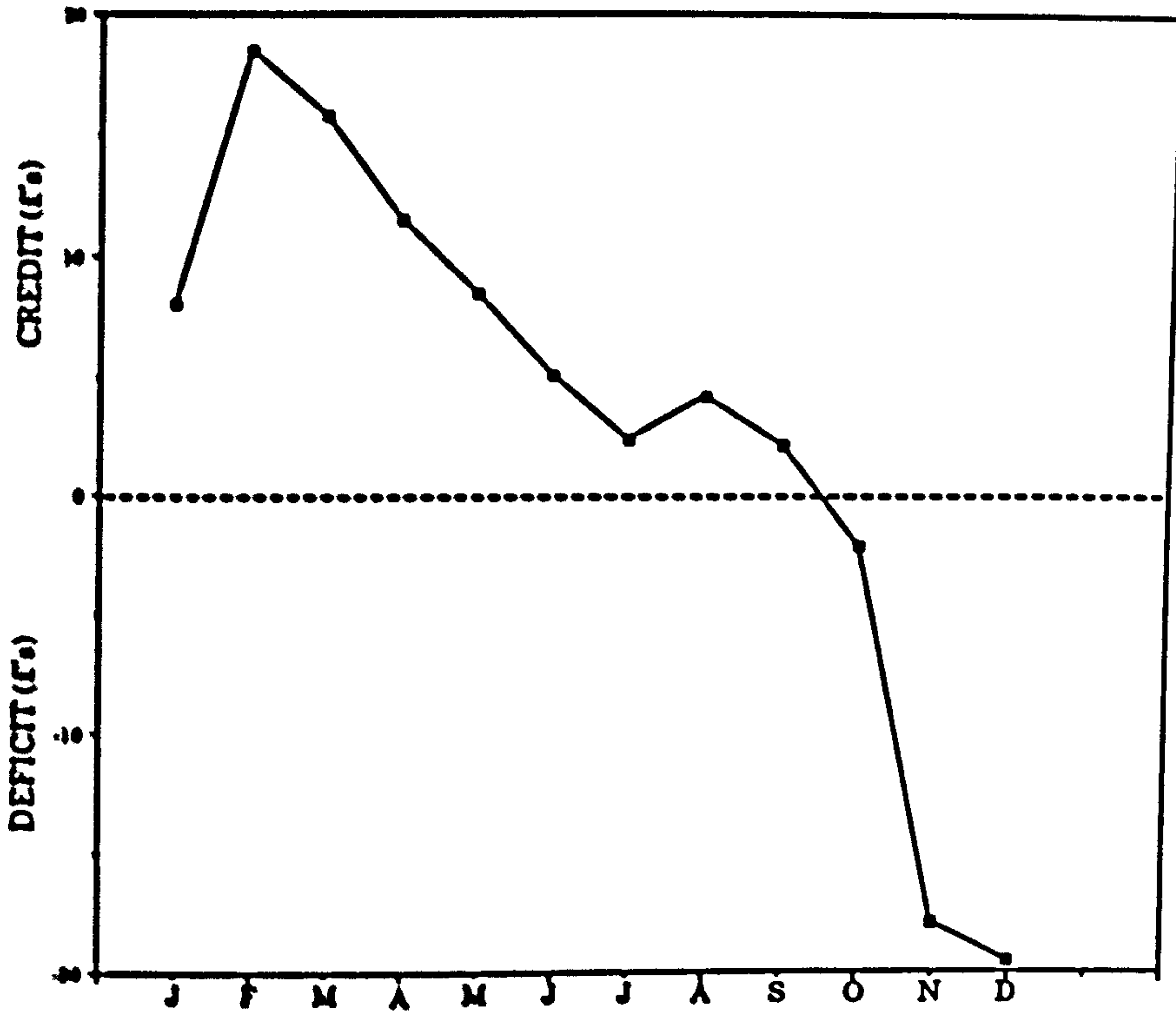
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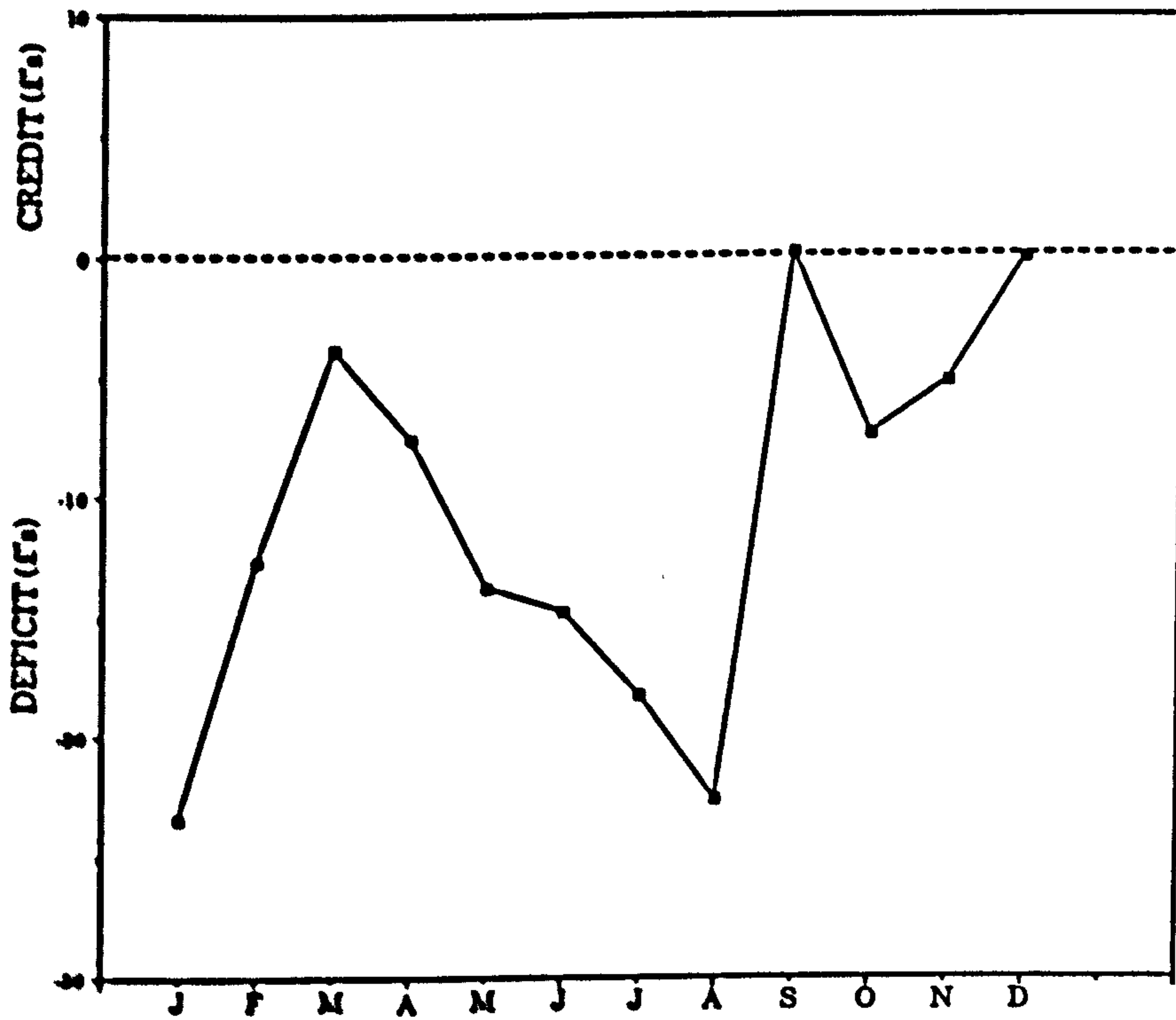
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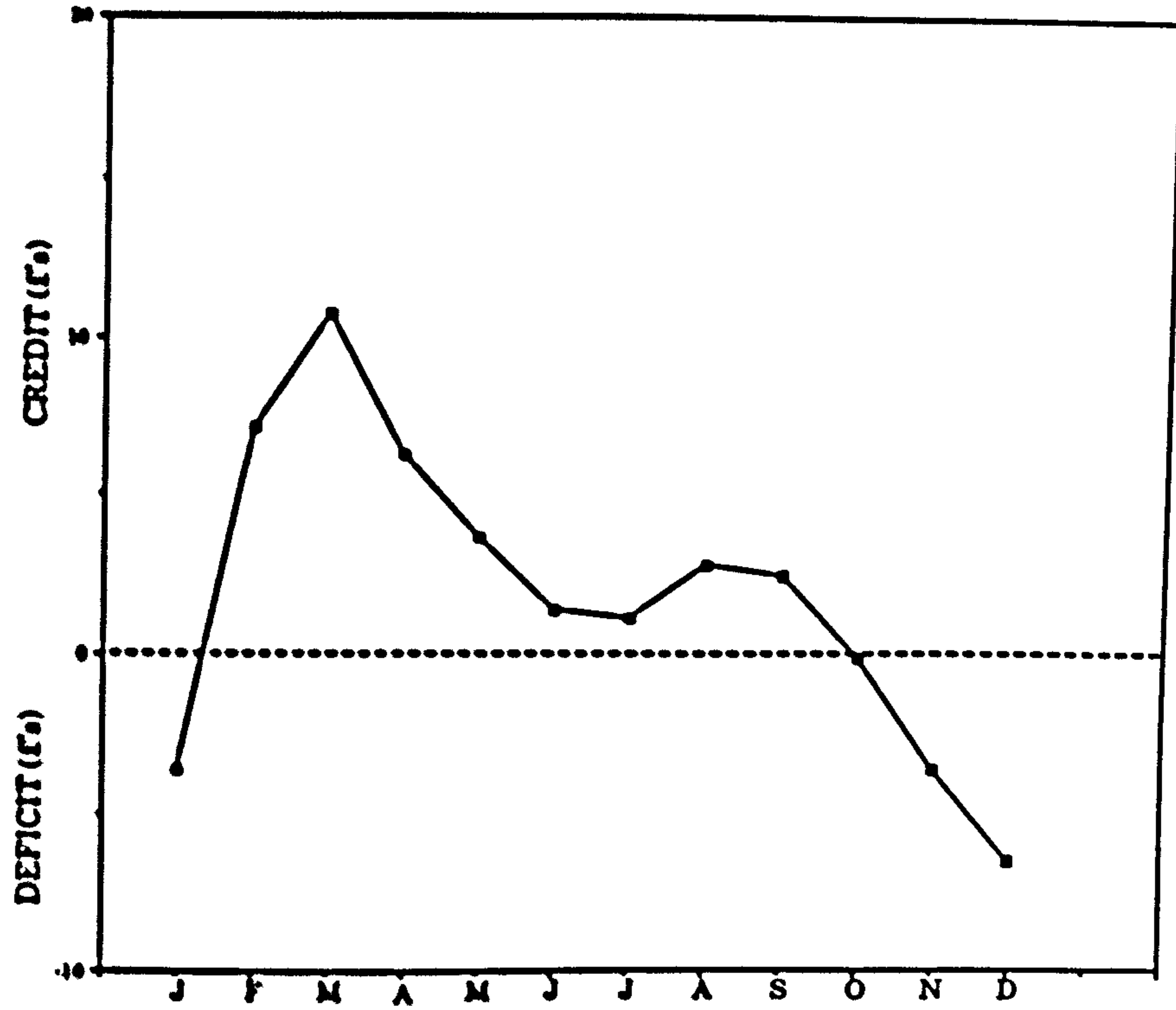
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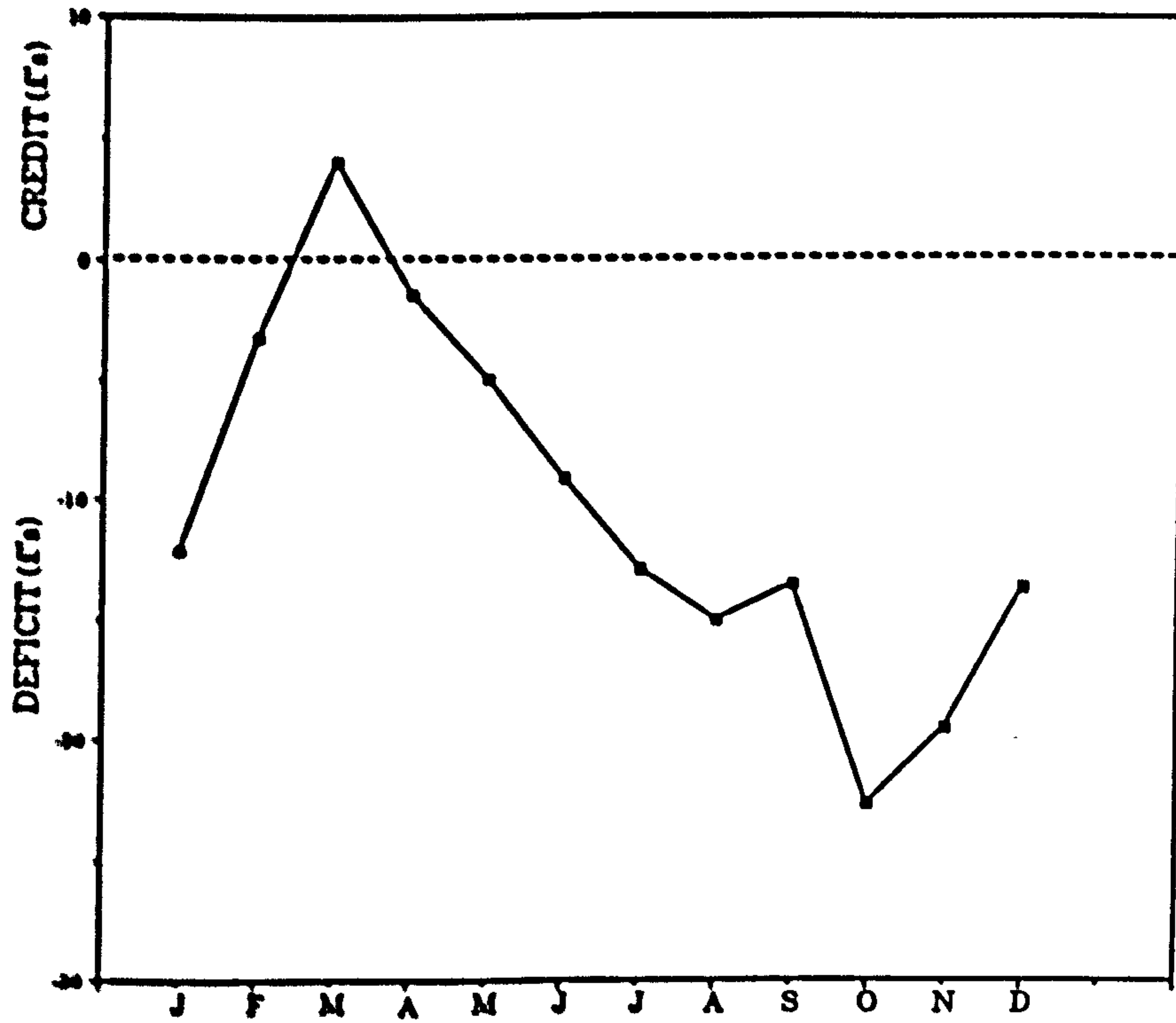
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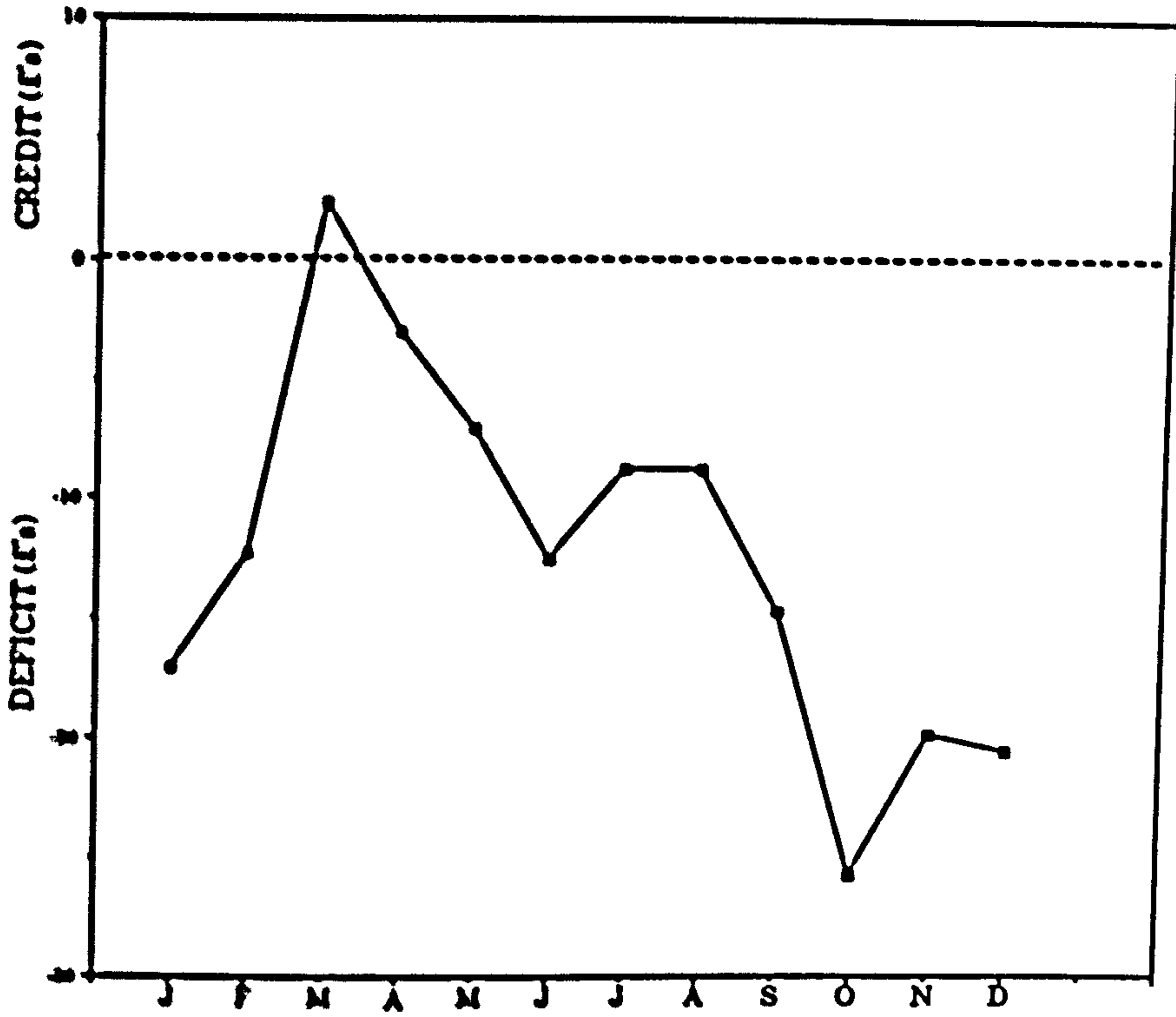
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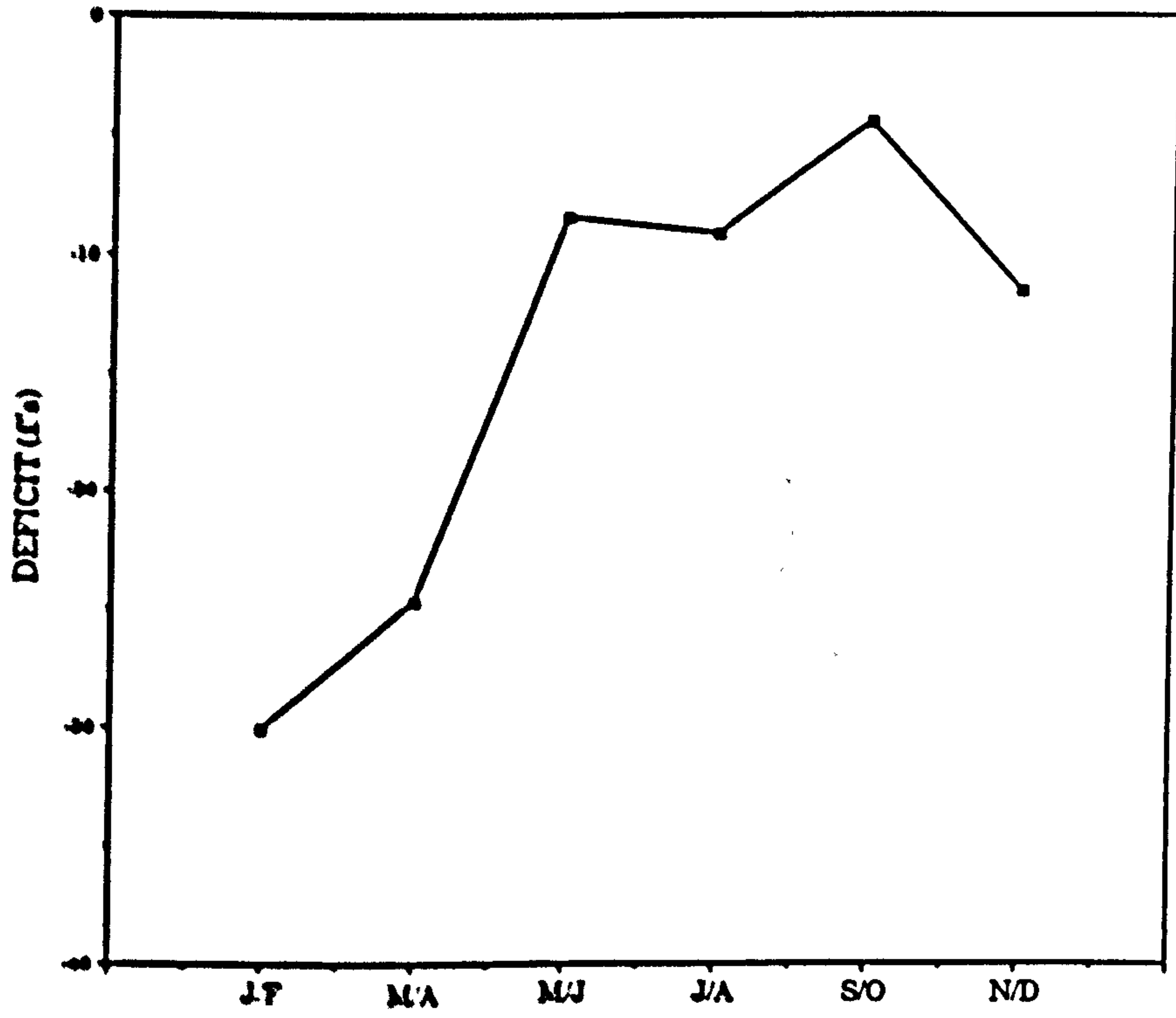
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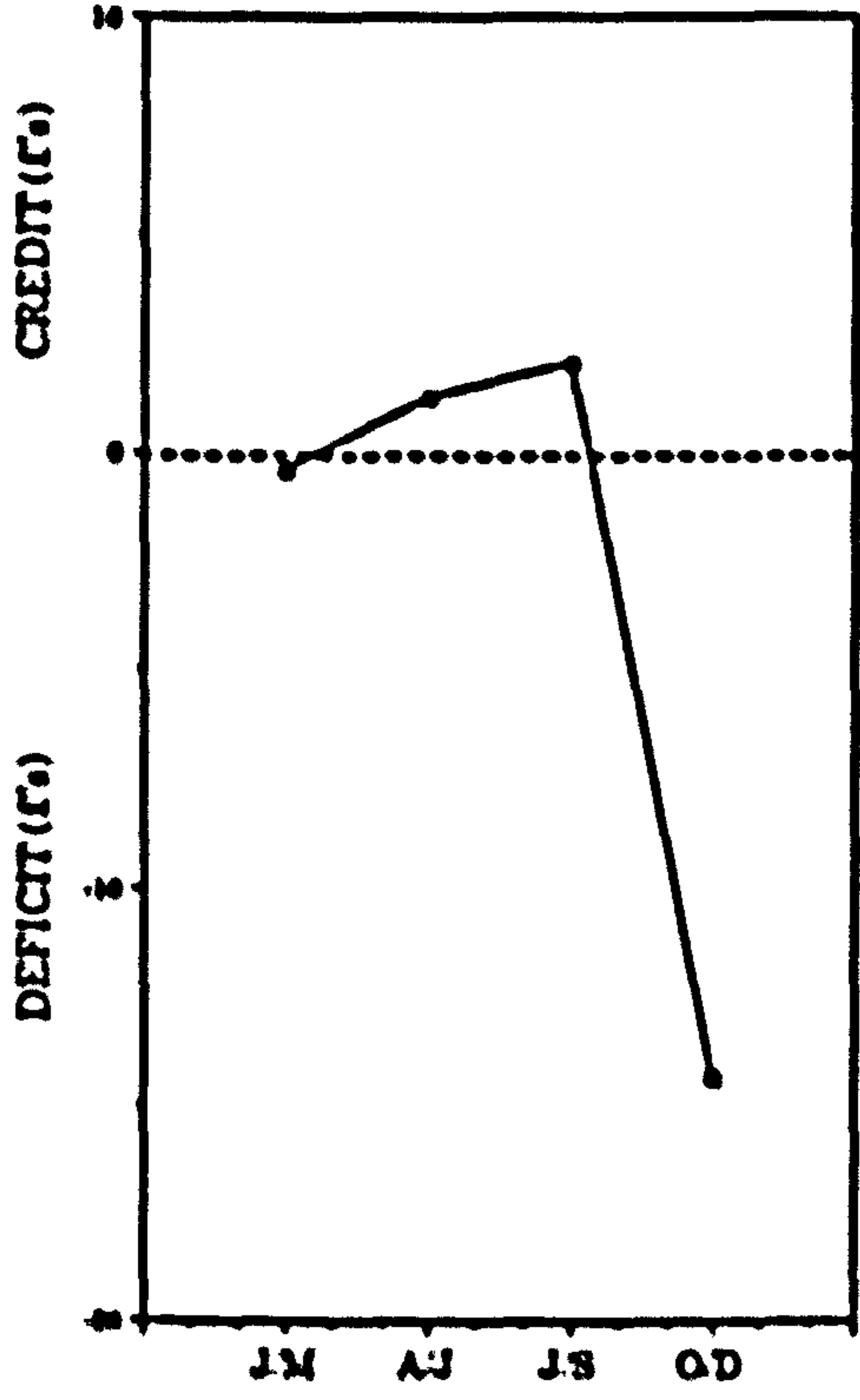
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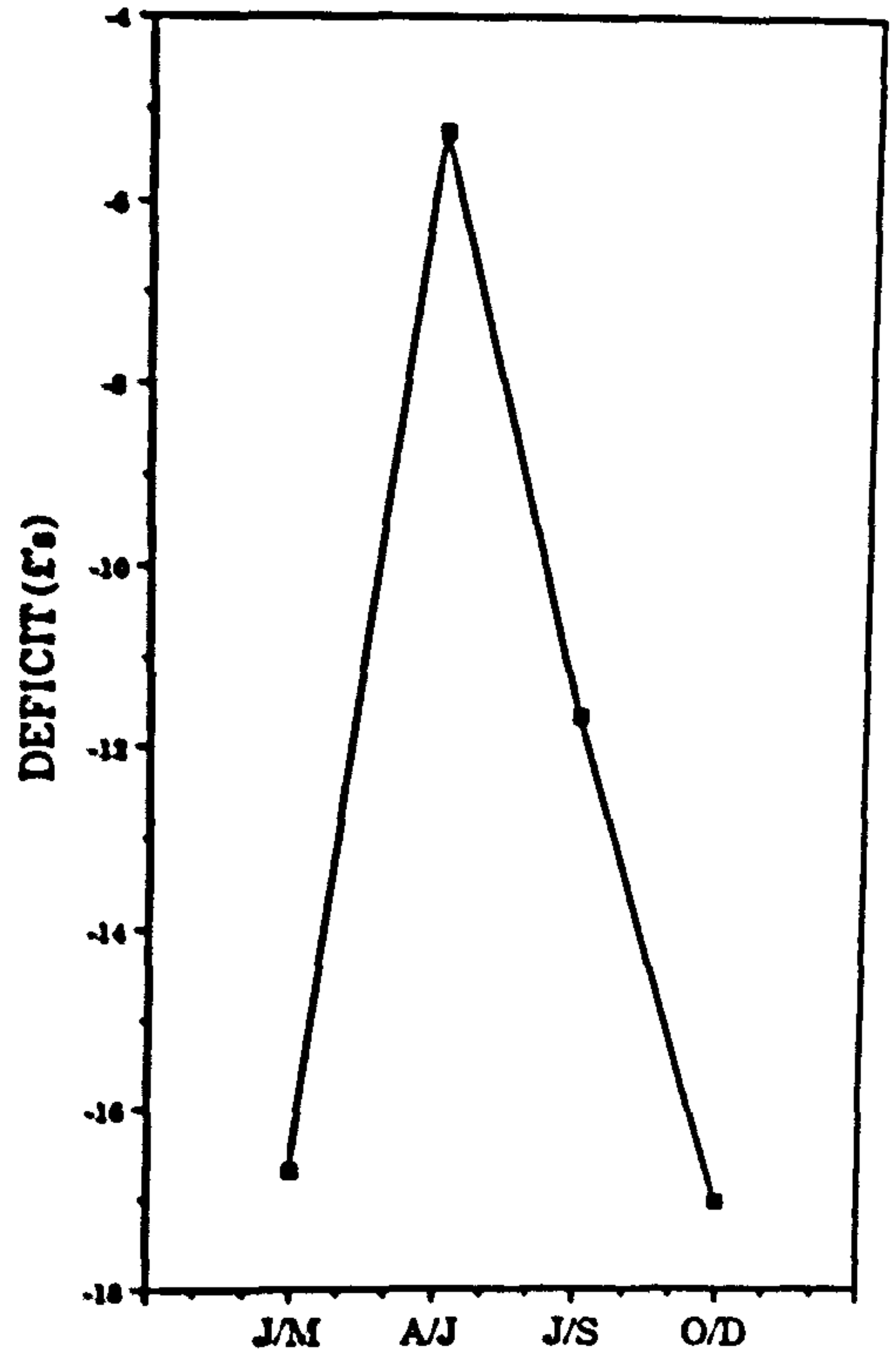
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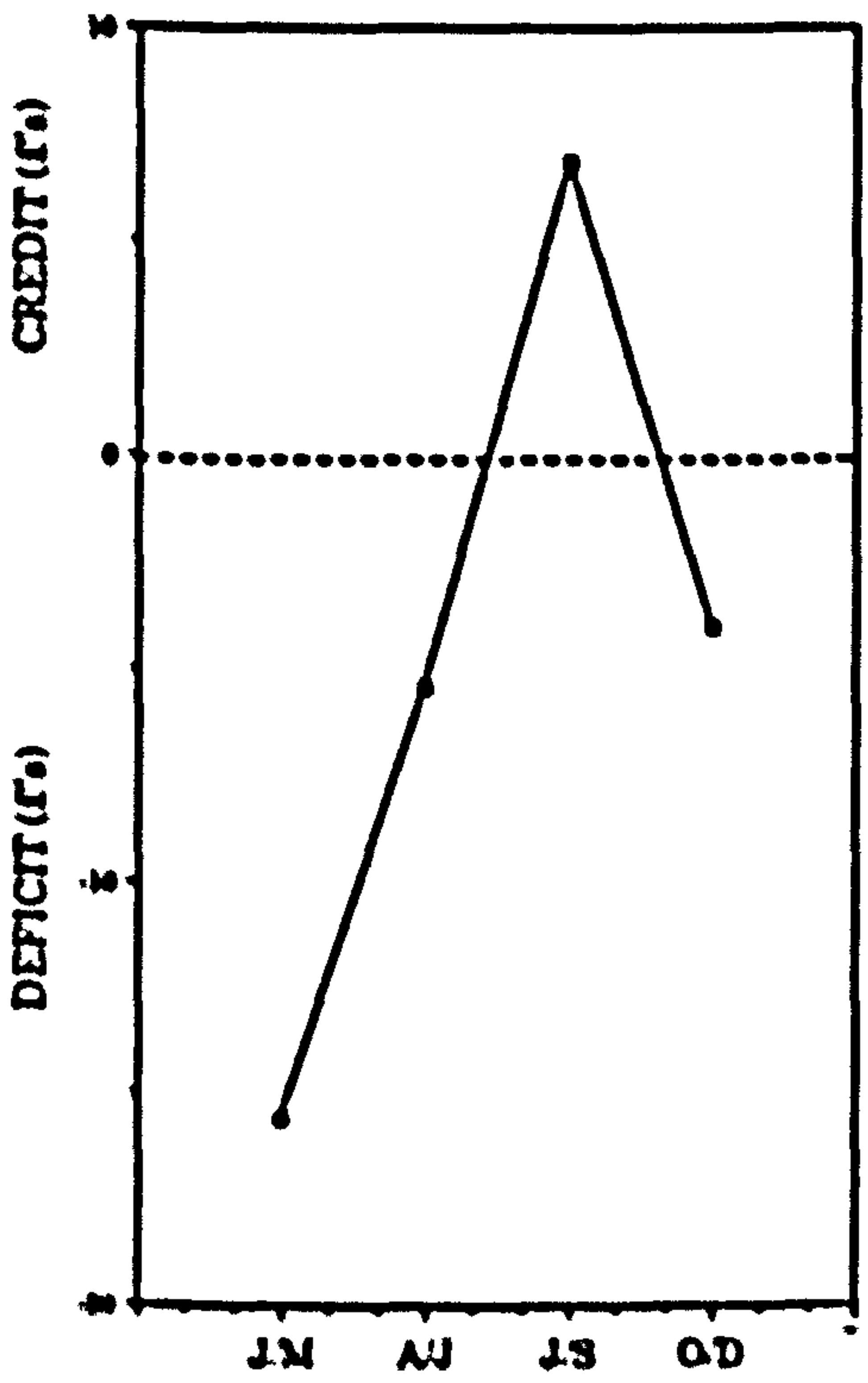
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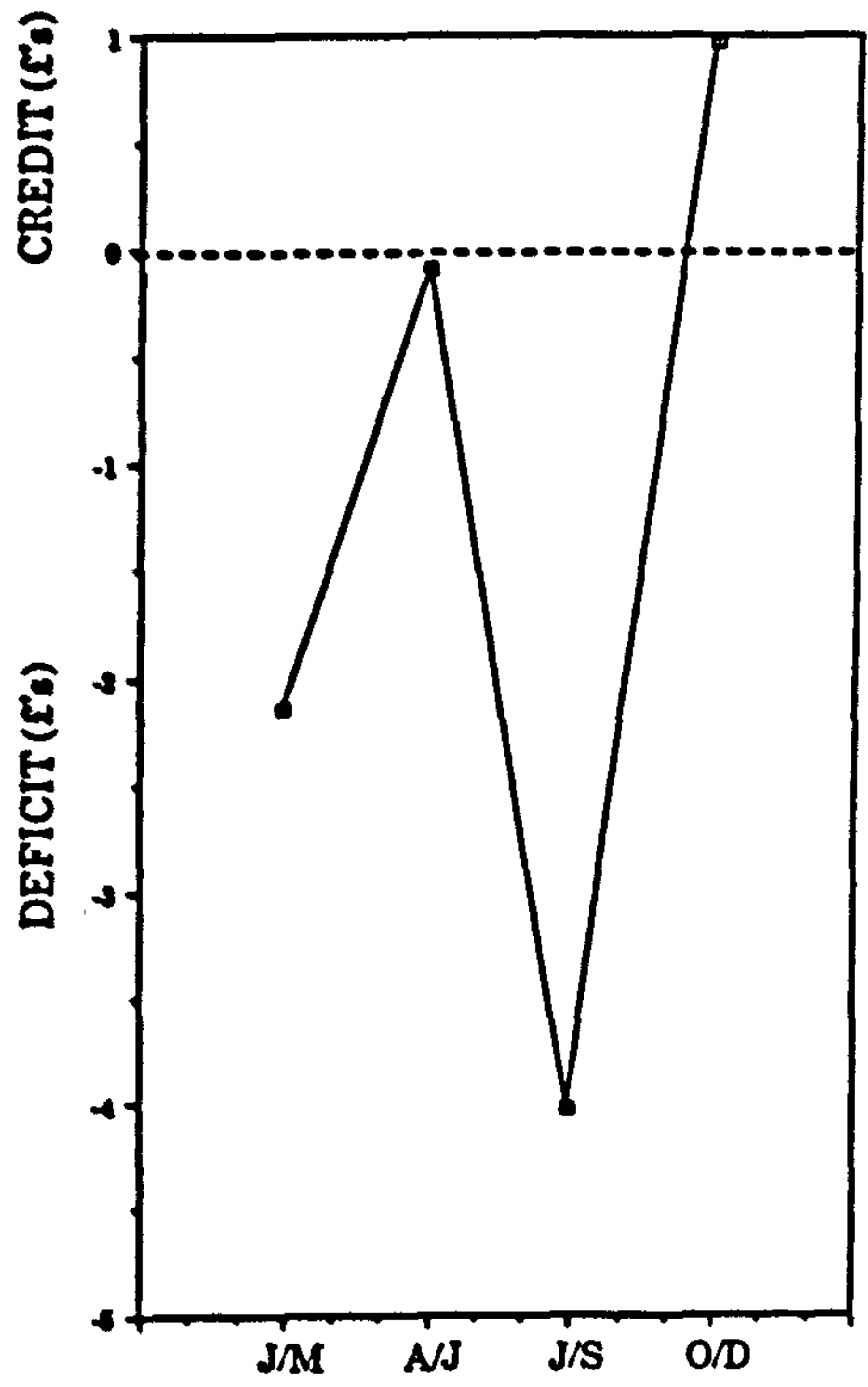
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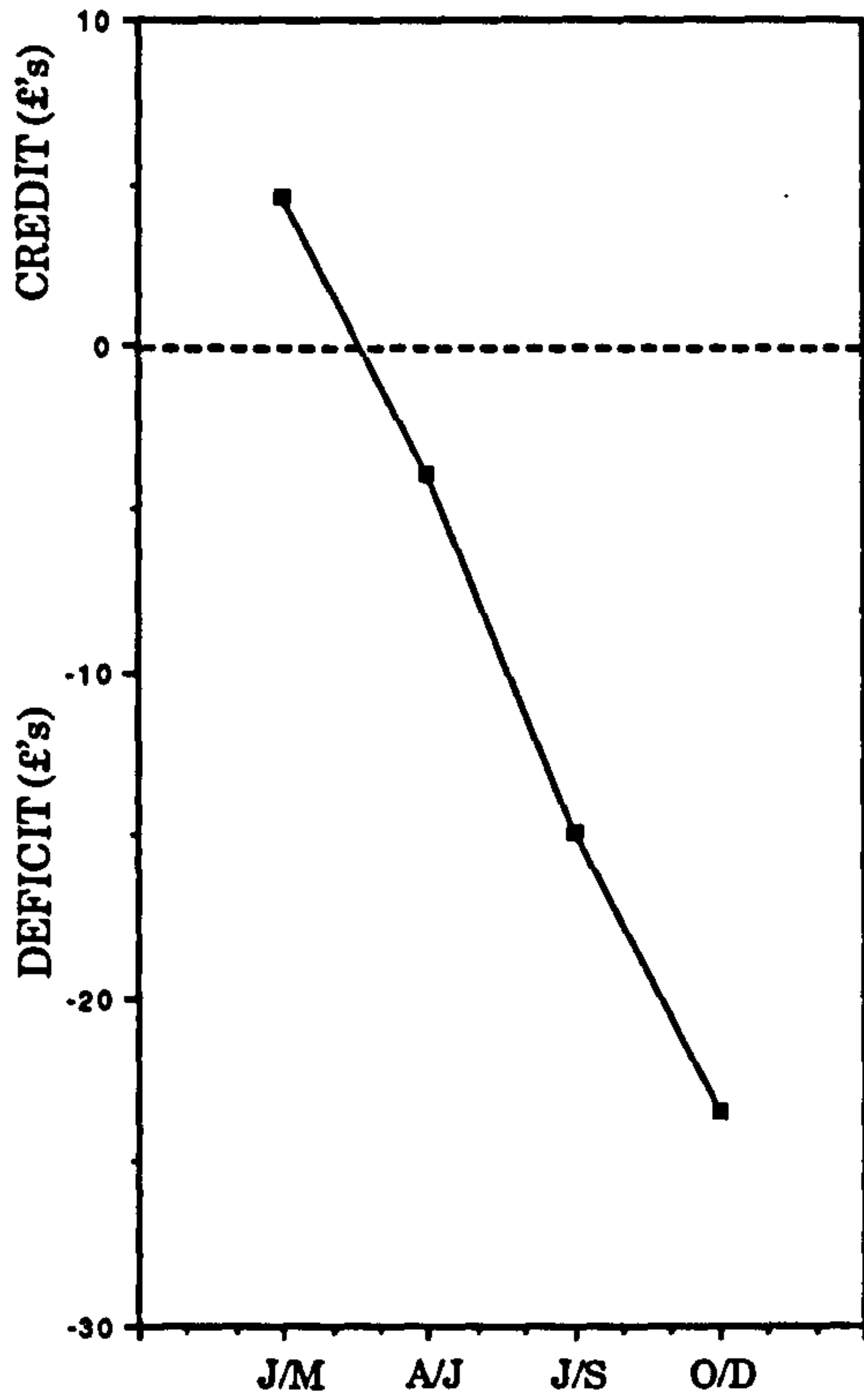
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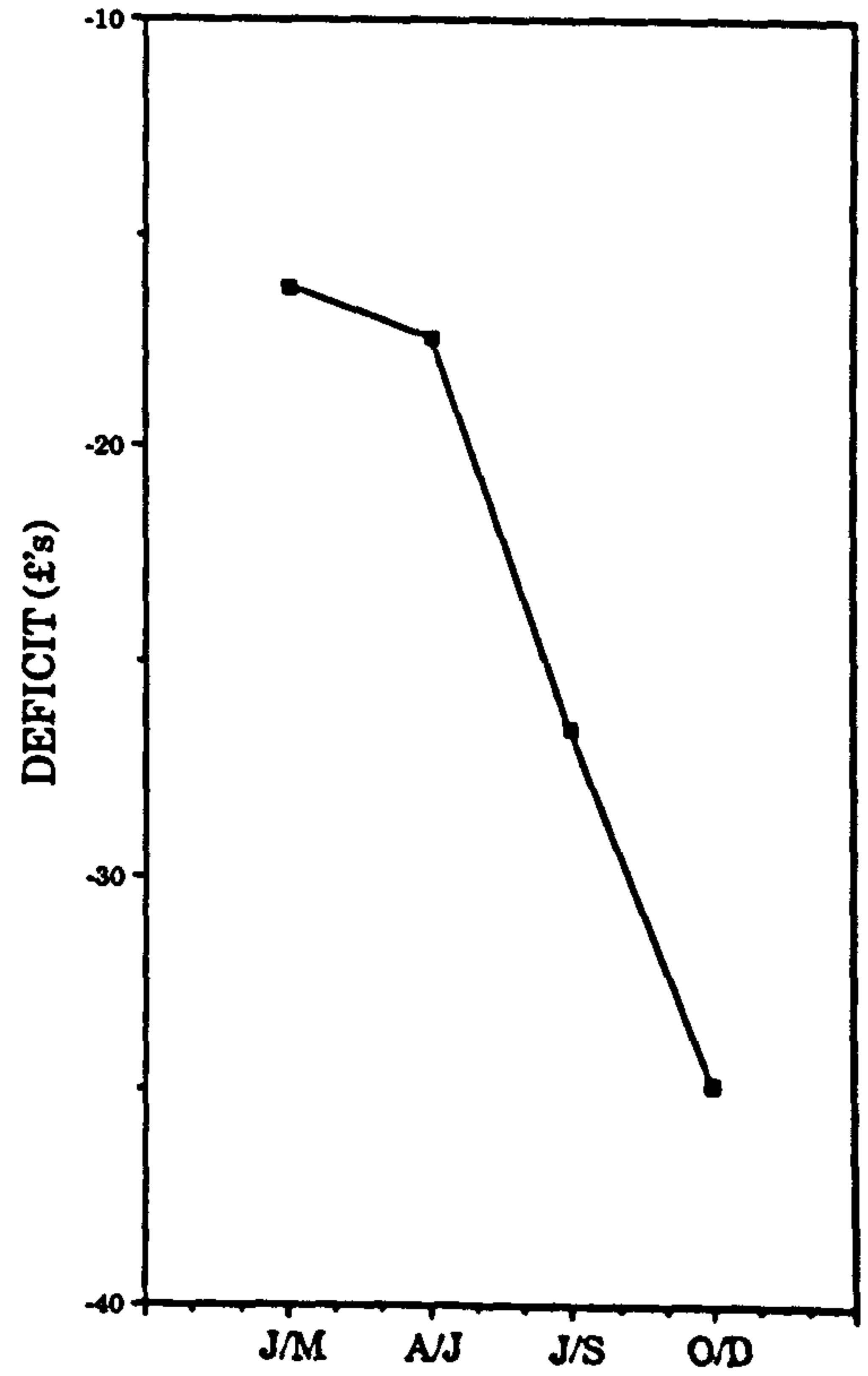
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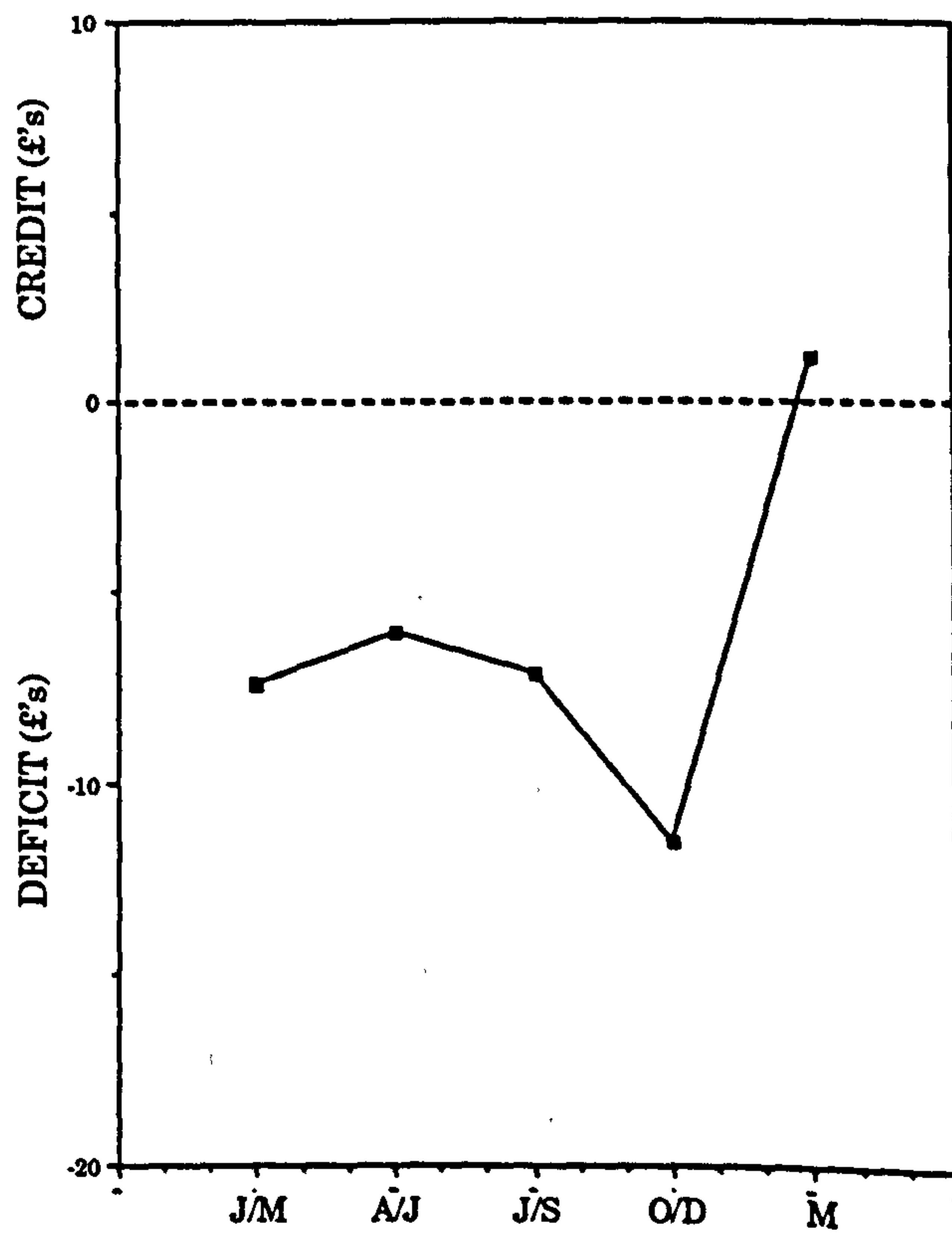
YEAR: 1922



YEAR: 1923



YEAR: 1924 and May 1925 (single issue only)



APPENDIX 3

Samples of other early Pentecostal publications

THE PROMISE

"The promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all."—Acts 2:39.

NUMBER 1.

TORONTO, CANADA, MAY, 1907.

FREE DISTRIBUTION.

"And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high."—LUKE 24:49.

"And being assembled together with them, commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me."—Acts 1:4.

"But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."—Acts 1:8.

"That the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith."—GAL. 3:14.

"That the Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel."—Eph. 3:6.

In sending the first number of THE PROMISE we desire above all things that God's name should be glorified, and that it may be the means in His hands of helping some to get a deeper knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, and that His Kingdom be extended and name glorified. That this work is of God we have no doubt, nor have we anything else to seek than His glory. We send out THE PROMISE trusting God to supply the means, as He desires us to print. Since November 17th God has been wonderfully blessing and baptizing His children with the Holy Spirit, and giving the gift of Tongues. We have often been asked the question since the work began here if no one was baptized who did not speak with "Tongues." We should not like to say that, but that all who have received their baptism here have spoken in Tongues. Paul says I wish you all to speak with tongues—1. Cor. 14:5 (L.T.) and do not forbid (v. 39). There is a tendency with the people to be seeking to speak with Tongues rather than seek the

Baptism, and the Baptism rather than the Baptizer. Above all things seek Him. He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and Fire, and ye shall be witnesses.

Some ask how long shall I tarry? Jesus said until ye be endued with power from on high.

Some have been baptized after waiting a few minutes, some in a few hours, some weeks, some months. God is the best judge as to when people are ready. Don't get discouraged, for "the PROMISE is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, as many as the Lord our God shall call." The work is spreading rapidly; workers are going out, trusting in God to supply their need through His own people, which we know He will do. We have trusted Him to supply our needs to carry on His work 12 years, taking nothing of the world, for His name's sake.

Lacked ye anything?"

"No, nothing."

Who are the people who get baptized? All classes; but they must be cleansed first. God does not white-wash but washes white. The Lord bless his people. The Lord bless you. This is the prayer of yours, J. H.

HOW PENTECOST CAME TO TORONTO.

On May 20th, 1906, we opened the Mission at 651 Queen Street East. The two upper flats of the building were at that time rented to other families at \$33 per month. From the first we intended taking the whole building and opening it as a Faith Home. Therefore, after a short time, we gave all the tenants notice to leave; and when they had all removed but two, we dedicated the place to God. It was a wonderful meeting, the spirit of prayer coming upon all present.

On Saturday, Nov. 17th, my husband had fasting and prayer, and that very night the last two tenants moved out of the building, and the peace of God filled the place. That same day I

FLAMES OF FIRE

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED
TIDINGS FROM TIBET AND OTHER LANDS

July, 1915.

No. 29.

Reapers or No Reapers : The Harvest.



WE who are responsible for the Gospel of the great Christ are coming to a situation in the world for which history affords no parallel. Conditions are bound to develop in the religious world to which the Church cannot address itself in the old way. Prophets are numerous, among the saintliest men, who believe that the present world conflict will end with the second coming of Christ. I have much fellowship for this hope. I look for the early advent of our Lord, but not quite so early. There is something yet for His people to do. A generation composed of innumerable millions lie prone and helpless under the darkness of error and sin. Despite the Master's command we have failed to publish the Gospel of the Kingdom among all people. He told us to do it—not to try—as if in His judgment we had the ability and wherewith to carry out the commission; yet we have been either too weak or too disobedient to do it. No use for us in the interest of a notion or a delectable excitement to say that the divine order to preach the Gospel for a witness to all people has been adequately carried out. It simply has not.

But to keep from being dogmatic we will say that the present world war may not be immediately followed with the second coming of Christ; and if it is not, it will be followed by the most marvellous period of evangelism that the world has ever known, provided it does not find the saints tranquillizing on the mountain tops and the Church marking time in the valley. But if the Church and its saints should thus make a flash of their vast opportunity, it still remains that we will have a new religious and moral upheaval as wide as the human race; but the religion will be filled with incurable error, and the morals will not be permeated with the saving health of Christ's Gospel.

Some days ago in our series of articles we made the following remarks: "A general cry for something better along religious lines is bound to follow wherever men are sane, for it has been proved that a Christianity divorced from true holiness cannot even avert a world calamity among its own membership, much less save men unto life eternal. At the end of the war Europe and the world will be ripe for a mighty army of evangelists of Christian holiness who can pray like Elijah; who can preach with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven; who can sing in the power of the Spirit. Who says that God will not raise them up? Oh, help me not to doubt."

It does not take a special illumination of the Spirit to see some things which are coming at the close of the war if our Lord delays His coming. Men with historic knowledge and breadth of vision can see it.

Whether we meet this situation depends on whether we have men and women spiritually qualified to meet it with sufficient acquired gifts. We need a few fire-baptized souls who are highly educated. We need a host of Spirit-filled men and women who know grammar and rhetoric, who have ordinary knowledge in general, good common sense, and who have a fine acquaintance with the Word of God. The schools where salvation is emphasized ought now to be full. There are young men and women with God's call upon them who are deferring their preparation until after the war that they

Things New and Old.

VOL. I.

LONDON, APRIL 1921.

No. 1.

"THESE SIGNS."

A sign may be defined as a visible manifestation of the invisible God: the means whereby not only the spirits, but the senses of men may apprehend the reality of the Almighty. God has always vouchsafed them, has ever been willing to give them as in Gideon's case, has even offered them as in the case of Ahaz. There has been no age without them. In the dawn of the first age, the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world were clearly seen in order that men might be "without excuse." "And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for SIGNS, and for seasons, and for days, and for years!'" The history of the children of Israel was ushered in by a series of signs, which Satan imitated up to a certain limit, as he always does. During seasons of backsliding their lament was, "We see not our signs, there is no more any prophet." And as surely as God returned in power to them and made bare His arm, miracles, signs and wonders demonstrated afresh His presence in their midst. And when the Lord Jesus, in the fulness of times, appeared to do His great work for men on behalf of God, His appeal for their confidence in Him was on the ground of the demonstration of Divine power amongst them, "Though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me and I in Him." Miracles were His Divine credentials. As Jonah was in the whale's belly, so should the Son of Man be in the earth, "For as Jonah was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of Man be to this generation." From His birth to His resurrection, Jesus was *the sign of God*: the supreme miracle. The close of this age is to have signs. There are to be "signs in the sun," and "great signs . . . from heaven"; and all this manifestation of Divine power is to be consummated by the "sign of the Son of Man in heaven."

Thus the past ages have each had their peculiar and special demonstration of God's might and majesty, and the close of the age—before the ushering in of the "age to come"—when the glory of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea—is to be thrilled with like manifestations. What of this intervening age? Is there any

Scriptural warrant for supposing that this period of time, known as the Church age, is to be quite bereft of these God-given signs? *There is no such warrant in the Word of God.* There may be in man's traditions by reason of the excuse man must give for his amazing unbelief. On the contrary rather, the New Testament expressly gives us from the lips of Jesus Himself the assurance that "These signs shall follow them that believe." The period to be covered by these manifestations of Divine power is the time when the Gospel is to be "preached to every creature." The people in whose wake the signs shall occur, are not the Apostles only, but "them that believe." The fact is, the words of Jesus are flatly denied to-day by many of His own people, and substitutes for signs are brought in by unbelief, which are a caricature of His doings. They may be good in their way and the best man can do, but in preferring them to His appointed signs, His people all unconsciously make Him a liar.

Notice the all round applicability of these provisions in Mark 16.15-20 to the needs of mankind. You will find six spheres of operation here, in every one of which man is powerless. There is first the spiritual sphere—v.16. We are all agreed that Jesus Christ has met all the problems of the spiritual sphere by His "simple Gospel." It is at once granted that the salvation of the spirit and soul is greater than that of the body, but in our ardour for that premise we must not lose sight of the provision made for the body too. The modern church claims that the salvation of the body is her legitimate work; hence her approval of the multitudinous schemes for the betterment of the physical welfare of men, her Hospital Sunday Collections, her advocacy of drink reform, her many fruitless schemes to bring in God's kingdom while "Man's Day" is in progress. Is the church not acknowledging the claim that Christ's salvation is for soul and body, yet seeking in her way, and not His, to effect it? Recently a great Nonconformist preacher in London said in his morning sermon, "We have made almost incredible advance in the history of healing." He was preaching on Mark 2.9. He further asked, "Have we made progress in mastering the secrets of the Spirit, similar to the advance made in the history of bodily healing?" In soliciting a generous

collection for hospitals, he admitted the healing of the body to be an integral part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But his claim of the demonstration of it was not in the sign of Mark 16, but in the advance of medical science, purely and simply the works of man. Did he mean that medical science is an advance on Christ's methods, which are detailed here in Mark? Is it possible that, in expounding what is called "the simple Gospel," we have simplified everything out of it, but the purely spiritual part of it, and in doing so have shelved the very accompaniments of the Gospel of Salvation, which were given for the express purpose of impressing the world with the evangel message concerning the unseen, because here in the visible before their eyes were the certificates of Christ's ability to bring man to God? "Whether is easier to say to the sick of the palsy, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee,' or to say 'Arise and take up thy bed and walk?'" According to Christ men are to *know* that He can save from sin, because He saves from sickness, that He can cure the soul, because He *does* cure the body. To call this fragment of the Gospel the "simple Gospel," is to admit an emaciation. There is no "simple Gospel" of this sort. The GOSPEL is contained in this whole passage, which begins with the chief sphere of man's need and conducts him through all the avenues of his fallen and pitiable state as a ruined man, spirit, soul and body. First of all Christ meets the sinner's *spiritual need*, but it is not the end.

He goes on in his magnificent lurch of undertakings to do something else—"In My name shall they cast out devils." According to this He is master now through His people of *the Satanic Sphere*. No wonder the Devil has gone about to persuade the people of God that these closing verses of Mark are not authentic. He wishes badly that they were not authentic, and has harnessed the unbelief of God's people to his wish. They can impress the "obsolescence" of these verses better than he can. Asylums and mental homes are Christianity's modern application of these words. They may be so, but they are not Christ's application. Without going into a long assertion of the tremendous power of the devil in many directions over men's minds and bodies, we can affirm, and our readers will agree, that a flood-tide of demonism is on us in these

CANADIAN PENTECOSTAL TESTIMONY

No. 6

Official Organ of the
Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

234 Florence St., Ottawa.

MAY, 1921.

Coming! Coming!! Coming!!!

READ ABOUT THE

RAILROADS

AEROPLANES

AUTOMOBILES

STREET CARS

SUBMARINES, ETC.

The information herein contained may prove of greater value to you than a **BANK ACCOUNT.**

Never did an unworthy Messenger bear a more important message, than that which this little pamphlet brings to you. Listen to these words. Think what they mean to you. **JESUS IS COMING SOON!**

You may ask, How will that affect me?—Read the following:

“For the Lord HIMSELF shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first;

“Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

“Wherefore comfort one another with these words.” 1 Thess. 4:16-18.

“And Enoch also the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of His saints.

“To execute judgment upon ALL, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.” Jude. 14, 15.

“Behold He cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall WAIL because of him. Even so. Amen.” Rev. 1:7.

There are two distinct classes of people in this world. Those who are ready for Christ's coming; and those who are not. In His second coming there are two appearings; the first appearing is to take those who are ready—the second appearing, to execute judgment upon the ungodly.

God's visitations to His own people are separate, distinct, and apart from His visitations upon sinners. This is shown in Genesis 6 and 7. God first visited Noah, and when Noah and his family were safely in the Ark, God visited the wicked world in wrath and fury, at which time it is estimated that 2,000,000 people perished in the flood. Also in Genesis 19, where the heavenly visitors came to God's servant, Lot, and after Lot, together with those few who would heed the warning, were brought to a place of safety. God rained fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah, and some 2,400,000 people were **BURNED ALIVE.**

So also when Christ has come and taken away to be with Himself, those who have made the preparation; the wrath of God will descend upon this corrupt, hell-bound, pleasure-loving, Christ-rejecting world, when, as

the scripture declares, “There shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time.” Daniel 12:1.

WHERE WILL YOU BE? Among those who are taken away, or among those who are left? The Bible says that He is coming as a thief in the night, and at a time when men think not.

This time of trouble which will break in upon this old world immediately after the catching away of the Bride of Christ, has been called

THE GREAT TRIBULATION

Imagine the confusion, distress, shrieks of the wounded and injured, as trains, automobiles, street cars, etc., go crashing into one another, the Engineers and Motormen, who were ready for the coming of the Lord, having been suddenly caught up to meet Him in the air. But this is just a small beginning of the horror and misery that will be experienced during this terrible tribulation, when the wrath of God descends upon the wicked Christ-rejectors. Then will be ushered in, the most frightful **REIGN OF TERROR** ever known, when the devil will be allowed full sway in the earth for a period of time, to bring upon the people plagues, pestilences, horrors, terrorism, frightfulness, etc., such as his Satanic mind has been able to plan and conceive of throughout the ages.

The climax to the groans of this old world in this time of trouble will be **THE GREAT WAIL** that will resound around the earth as the nations see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with ten thousands of His saints, and the wicked everywhere will realize that the hour of judgment has come.

Jesus uttered the solemn warning, “Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.” Luke 21:36. Let all who love righteousness, and desire to be on the side of Christ, heed the warning. **JESUS IS COMING BACK TO THIS OLD EARTH PERSONALLY.**

We have it from the sacred lips of the Son of God that he, himself, will come back again. “If I go—I will come again,” John 14:3. The messengers from the celestial world testified that, “THIS SAME JESUS—shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.” Acts 1:11. And the holy Apostle declared in 1 Thess. 4:16 that, “The Lord HIMSELF shall descend from heaven with a shout.” Oh, Glory to Jesus! I'm listening for that shout.

HIS COMING DRAWETH NIGH.

Have we reason to believe that the second coming of Jesus will take place soon?

In the 21st chapter of St. Luke, Jesus tells of many things which must first take place before He comes back again. Among other things, he tells of the destruction of Jerusalem, the dispersion of the Jews among all nations, then adding, “And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, UNTIL the times of the Gentiles be **FULFILLED.**” Luke 21:24.

VERSE 28—“And when these things **BEGIN** to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.”

Verse 32, 33—“Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled.

“Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.”

Of course, he could not mean the generation which was alive at the time he uttered these solemn, sacred words, as they have all passed away, so He must mean the generation that sees the wars, famines, pestilences, false Christs, earthquakes, preaching of the gospel to all nations, church apostasy, and the return of the Jews to Palestine, as prophesied by Jesus. Surely we must be the generation spoken of, for we cannot deny the existence of these very things on every hand.

Let us look at some of the signs Jesus mentioned.

“Many shall come in my name, saying, “I am Christ.” In the last few years, in almost every country in the world, individuals have arisen, claiming to be The Christ, and in some instances have obtained quite a following. But, oh, how very far short they come in comparison with our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS. There have always been wars, and the Lord must have been referring to something out of the ordinary. Surely the Great World War, would fill the bill. It was the combination of many wars all in one, wherein almost every nation in the world was involved. “When they shall say peace and safety, then sudden destruction.” The wonderful Peace Conference at the Hague had decided that there could be no more war, and that all international disagreements would be settled by arbitration, when suddenly the world was plunged into the bloodiest conflict ever known. The hounds of war have been chained again. The Peace Treaty has been signed. Indemnities are being exacted, and the people are saying, “Peace and Safety.” And yet this old world at the present time is one seething mass of unrest and dissatisfaction, and seems to be preparing for a bigger conflagration than ever. “Men's hearts are failing them for fear.” Oh, how these scriptures are being literally fulfilled before our eyes.

FAMINES. Have you heard of any famines? Everyone says, “Oh, yea.” The combined famines of China, India, and of Europe, including especially the countries of Belgium and Russia, on account of war conditions, have taken off millions of human lives. And yet the present famine in China. Winter of 1920-21, is said to be of such enormous proportions, that other famines are not worthy of comparison. Great headlines



The days of Heaven on the Earth

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An International Monthly Magazine

EARNESTLY CONTENDING FOR THE FAITH ONCE FOR ALL DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS

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TRUST



March, 1922.

VOL. XXI.

No. 1.

His Giving

*I asked one ray of light
When darkness overwhelmed
one lingering trace
Of day upon my tangled path;
He gave
The radiance of His face.*

*I asked a little strength,
As reinforcement in my
losing fight:
He gave a victory undreamed,
unwon,
Saved by His Spirit's might.*

*I asked a respite from the cross
That I was bearing blindly
and alone;
But lo, mine has no weight
Since He has shown
The meaning of His own.*

*And never have I brought
To Him, in humble faith
my little need,
But that His grace exceeded
all my thought,
And bowed my soul in praise.*

—Sel.

ELIM PUBLISHING HOUSE

ROCHESTER, N. Y., U. S. A.

A PAPER
Intended
Principally
for
SCOTLAND.

THE Pentecostal Witness

No. 1.
Edinburgh.

JULY,
1924.

THE "OLD-TIME POWER."

"Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto Me."

We love that phrase,—"the old-time power." It seems to have been on so many lips lately in prayer or praise or message. What a fulness of meaning it has for us all! What a message for the hour! What a testimony it can contain, by God's grace!

It is pardonable if for some readers of this little paper it may mean in the first place a return to the glorious, never-to-be-forgotten days when "the Fire fell,"—well nigh a score of years ago now. Thank God, we believe that all that was good, all that was mighty, all that was truly of God Himself in them can be experienced again, —and more! For we have no desire to live on past fires, even if that were possible, and it most emphatically is NOT. The fires of yesterday are but the ashes of to-day.

But the Living God can give, will give, and is giving fresh, up-to-date blessings that fully rival the glorious times it is inspiring to remember even yet. Hallelujah! And there is this advantage now: the experience of the intervening years, though dearly bought, has produced an invaluable ripening of spiritual character. The Fire of inspiration can burn now with the steady hand of a humbled, chastened understanding in the things of the Spirit that we believe will make, as never before, for solid results and lasting fruit to glorify the Beloved Giver of "every good and perfect gift."

"Old-Time Power." Ah! but what we really mean by the phrase is not a revival of twenty years ago, but well nigh 2,000.

"The Power that fell at Pentecost,
When in that upper room
Upon the waiting, watching band
The Holy Ghost had come;
Remaineth evermore the same,
Unchanging still, Oh! praise His Name."

The God of Pentecost still lives to-day. True spiritual power is always a Person in the final analysis,—the blessed Spirit of God Himself. And "He abides." We do not seek for gifts, or experiences, or feelings, or success, or even "power" in itself; we seek the Living God. The baptism of the Holy Ghost means GOD coming into the life, and conversely the life being lost in God, in a fuller, deeper way than ever before.

That such an experience and crisis in the spiritual life of the believer will be accompanied by some sort of manifestation is only what we would expect. One cannot conceive of the Day of Pentecost without its "rushing mighty wind" and "tongues of fire"; the whole event was so stupendous, so overwhelming. The great central fact that "the Comforter had come" shines through all the intervening centuries,—a fundamental, bed-rock fact on which to safely build Christian testimony and doctrine;—but manifestation of His coming and His abiding form an integral part of the New Testament revelation of the normal experience of the Church.

We are told so often that the normal experience for Gentile believers was not reached until Acts 10, when the Spirit was given under the preach-

ing of the Word. Be that as it may, it was a MANIFESTED experience even then, "for they heard them speak with tongues and magnify God."

But the Power was for a Purpose. The "mighty wind" subsides, the "tongues" are hushed,—their purpose as a sign of His coming into His temples was for that first Day of Pentecost fulfilled. They will still abide however to be Scriptural evidence to coming companies and generations of believers of receiving a like experience (Acts 11, 15-17); or through certain individuals to be a means of constant manifestation in the settled life of the Church of the presence of the Spirit of God (I. Cor. 12 and 14). But Peter is speaking now; speaking in his own familiar tongue, not to one isolated group of visitors from a foreign shore but to the whole assembled multitude; speaking soberly, yet under the mighty inspiration of the "Power" that in an instant had made him another man.

And the "old-time Power" that day was magnificently vindicated by magnificent results. The circumstances were exceptional, even the apostles had experiences afterwards very different from that first flush of success; but the principle remains and is unfolded in page after page that follows in our New Testaments, that the Power came for a Purpose.

Let us keep the vision and the testimony of that glorious Old-time Power undimmed and unabated; and earnestly seek under the Anointing of this Power from on High for an ever clearer vision of the heavenly purpose of this supreme gift from our Risen and Exalted Lord, until all Scotland feels the benefit of a band of men and women "emptied of self, and filled with God."

"I AM THE LORD THAT HEALETH THEE."

Sister McIlvain of Clydebank sends us the following testimony to God's healing power manifested to-day:—

The last Saturday in May we were visiting Lusset Glen in Old Kilpatrick enjoying a picnic with our Mission folk, when a brother in the Lord asked my husband if he believed in "faith healing." "If you mean 'Divine Healing,'—yes I do," he said. This brother, whose name is Mackie, then told us of a dear man, a believer, who was almost blind, who could not distinguish faces or see a path, and consequently had to be led about everywhere.

Now this brother had been told by the Lord to call for the Elders of the Church and ask to be anointed with oil in the Name of the Lord in obedience to James 5, 14, and also with laying on of hands as Mark 16, 18. Accordingly this dear Brother Townsley had sent for a bottle of olive oil, and had called for elders to anoint, but never having experienced such a request before these brethren seemed loth to take action.

And so it was that Brother Mackie came to ask my husband if he would be willing to thus anoint Brother Townsley, and on the Monday evening following I had the privilege of accompanying my husband and Brother Mackie to the house of this dear afflicted man. What a time of prayer and praise we had! It was just a simple matter of obeying the Lord, pouring on the oil, laying on hands, and claiming healing in the Name of the Lord in prayer.

The next day we had a message sent home to say that the brother was able to see his way about, all paths were clear, and immediately after he was able to say to my husband with SUCH joy, "Praise God, I can see and distinguish your face now and that of your dear wife's too" Oh, how marvellous is our God! Heb. 13, 8.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Kilsyth.

Brother Tee writes as follows:—"We do feel deeply grateful to the good hand of the Lord for the sustained spiritual blessing that has been the portion of our Assembly for these past weeks and months. Our pleasant task as Overseers has especially been during this period the confirming in the faith of a large band of young people who have recently professed faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The wave of revival which the Lord graciously gave us seems to have ebbed a little for the clear purpose of testing and consequently strengthening those who were the fruit of that work of the Holy Ghost in our midst. Nevertheless we are still rejoicing in seeing the ones and the twos coming to the Lord

"A few weeks ago the power of the Holy Spirit was specially realized in one of the Sunday evening prayer meetings, when three received the baptism of the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2, 4, and were filled with His joy unspeakable and full of glory. Brethren visiting from time to time are pleasantly surprised as they look down from the platform upon the seats full of youths and maidens all happily trusting the Lord.

"If we may venture a suggestion in explanation of how the Lord has been allowed to work thus successfully in our Assembly, we would say that in our judgment it has been the deep-rooted desire for reality, coupled with steadfast sincerity of purpose to proclaim a simple, clear and unadulterated full Gospel that has been the heart-experience of a brotherhood who feel at their best but most unworthy vessels in the Master's service."

Glasgow.

The recent Pentecostal Conference held in the Deaf and Dumb Institute, 158 W. Regent Street, Glasgow, on Saturday and Sunday, June 21st and 22nd, was a time that will be long remembered by all who were present. It was filled with "Revival,"—that truest revival that must always come first to the people of God before it can outflow and overflow to the hungry hearts around. One of the happiest and most striking features was the re-union of so many old friends, separated for some time, but now coming together again full of new hope, new joy, new enthusiasm, and best of all now love, kindled by the Spirit Himself. It was glorious to be there. On the first night of the Conference we were just too happy even to go to sleep

The attendance exceeded all our expectations. The room originally taken would only have seated about 60 folk, but it was fortunate that we found ourselves, on the Saturday, in the large splendid hall upstairs, for we should think twice that number must have been present.

Tea time brought anxious moments for the sisters, but everyone was satisfied, and all went off well.

The Apostolic Church

Dr Eglwys Apostolaidd

General Headquarters: Penygroes, Nr Llanelly.

Missionary Headquarters: Bradford, Yorks.

CYFOETH GRAS
"Un Gorlan ac Un Buzail"

RICHES & GRACE
"One Fold and One Shepherd"

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GOLYGYDD · D. P. WILLIAMS · EDITOR.

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