40 QUESTIONS ABOUT
Pentecostalism

Jonathan Black

Benjamin L. Merkle, Series Editor

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To Richard Hasnip and Ollie Ward—
friends and colleagues,
gifts from the Lord both to me
and to our students

Contents

Part 4: Questions About the Gifts of the Holy Spirit

Part 5: Questions About the Church and the Second Coming

Abbreviations

AC	The Apostolic Church
ACC	Australian Christian Churches (formerly Assemblies of God, Australia)
ACVG	"The Vision Glorious: A Confession of the Faith of the Apostolic Church" (UK)
AdDDF	Déclaration de Foi des Assemblées de Dieu de France
AG	Assemblies of God (USA)
AoG	Assemblies of God (UK and elsewhere)
BFP	Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden (Germany)
Brazil DdF	Declaração de Fé das Assembleias de Deus no Brasil
CAC	Christ Apostolic Church
CoGiC	Church of God in Christ
CoP	Church of Pentecost
Elim SFT	Elim Pentecostal Church (UK) Statement of Foundational Truths
FDF	The Foursquare Declaration of Faith
IPHC	International Pentecostal Holiness Church
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PAOCSET	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Statement of Essential Truths
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
Romanian CF	Apostolic Pentecostal Church of God of Romania Confession of Faith
VPE	Verenigde Pinkster- en Evangeliegemeenten (The Netherlands)
WAGFSF	World Assemblies of God Fellowship Statement of Faith

Introduction

Pentecostalism is not always well understood, even by Pentecostals. It is my hope that this book will help bring clarity. I write it as a lifelong Pentecostal, yet I also write it as a lifelong conservative evangelical—for these are not opposing traditions. In other words, I'm writing for evangelicals, some of whom will be Pentecostals and some of whom won't. In these pages, I want to show both groups what we hold in common and what is distinct about Pentecostals among our fellow evangelicals.

Some of the questions in this book will focus more on showing you *what* Pentecostals believe. This is especially the case on topics where there is confusion, and here I'll give plenty of evidence from Pentecostals all over the world. Other questions will focus more on demonstrating *why* Pentecostals believe what they believe. In these questions you'll find fewer footnotes and more Scripture. I hope that the answers to both sorts of questions will benefit Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals alike.

Many books on Pentecostalism focus on the United States. However, Pentecostalism is not an American movement but a global one. Therefore, I've sought to bring in voices from every continent. I've tracked down Pentecostal confessions of faith and doctrinal writings from as many countries as possible and have tried to include a good representation of the global movement. A few non-English language Pentecostal movements have produced English translations of their confessions of faith (notably the Creed of the Pentecostal Movement in Iceland and the Main Articles of Faith of the Pentecostal Church of Finland). For most confessional documents beyond the Anglosphere, however, you will have to make do with my translations.

Finally, not every Pentecostal will agree with everything I've written. As I'm sure will become clear as you read, there is considerable variety among Pentecostals in various areas. Furthermore, many people in Pentecostal churches have been influenced by the later charismatic and neo-charismatic movements (and can even, at times, be more familiar with the beliefs of those movements than the beliefs of classical Pentecostalism). I have endeavored to represent the mainstream of classical Pentecostalism while also giving you a glimpse of some of the major variants. Hopefully, from all this you will gain a good idea of the heart of the movement.

PART 1

Introductory Questions

SECTION A

Historical Questions

QUESTION 1

What Is Pentecostalism?

A little more than a century ago, there was no such thing as Pentecostalism. Today, some hail it as the second largest grouping of Christians in the world, with more than 500 million adherents. Of course, this number depends very much upon the definition of Pentecostalism. Whatever the precise number of Pentecostals in the world might be (for it has to be admitted that it is not a simple thing to count), it is clear that Pentecostalism has become a significant and growing part of Christianity around the world, with Pentecostals now outnumbering Baptists, Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Reformed believers.[1]

Difficulties with Defining Pentecostalism

One of the reasons why counting Pentecostals is so difficult is that there are many different definitions of Pentecostalism. Some scholars use the word to refer to anyone who believes that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit are still available in the church today, including not only churches traditionally known as Pentecostal but all charismatic and continuationist (those who believe that "sign gifts" such as tongues and prophecy are still in operation today) Christians, whether or not they would call themselves Pentecostal. For them, the 500-million statistic includes not only people who attend Pentecostal churches but also charismatics in the Roman Catholic Church; members of Oneness churches (who deny the doctrine of the Trinity); empowered evangelicals (like the Association of Vineyard Churches, where people might believe in the present supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in signs and wonders but reject the Pentecostal idea of baptism in the Holy Spirit);

1. With a careful distinction between "Pentecostals" and "renewalists," the number of classical Pentecostals in the world in 2010 was 178 million, with an annual growth rate of 2.6 percent. See Jason Mandryk, *Operation World*, 7th ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2010), 3.

and many, many more. Many of these "renewalists" would not call themselves Pentecostal, nor would they be considered Pentecostals by most Pentecostal churches. Although they share a common emphasis on the present-day miraculous work of the Holy Spirit, they do not share the same theology. The only people who call all these groups Pentecostal are scholars, and even they do not all agree with the label.

While many academics have adopted such broad phenomenological and sociological definitions of Pentecostalism, others have pointed out problems with this approach. Robert Menzies writes, "As a Pentecostal, when I read sociologically-oriented books about Pentecostals, even those that contain many significant and helpful insights, I feel that something is lacking. I often feel that the picture presented of what it means to be a Pentecostal is a caricature, an image that, while partially true, contains many exaggerations and distortions."[2] Simon Chan argues that these broad phenomenological definitions of Pentecostalism are actually "a redefinition of Pentecostalism itself." The choice, Chan tells us, is between defining Pentecostalism "in terms of actual historical links with a movement which calls itself Pentecostal" (and thus history and theology will be key to the definition) or "in terms of a cluster of religious experiences understood phenomenologically" (in which case the focus will be practice rather than theology).[3]

Yet, theology is essential to identity. After all, both Roman Catholics and Southern Baptists receive Communion, yet their theological understanding of what happens when they receive Communion is a major dividing line between the two communities. With the emergence of Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century, it was not the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit that was new but the theological explanation of that experience. As Chan concludes, "I do not think that it is legitimate to call a movement Pentecostal solely on the basis of common experiences. There is, after all, no such thing as a religious experience without any theological interpretation."[4]

A Theological Approach to Pentecostalism

So, if we are not going to redefine Pentecostalism but, rather, portray it in a way that corresponds to the faith of Christians who call themselves Pentecostals and churches that recognize one another as part of the Pentecostal movement, we need to define Pentecostalism theologically. Pentecostal worship looks very different around the world; yet, despite this wide variety of styles and practices, there is a common theological core. Part

2. Robert P. Menzies, *Pentecost: This Is Our Story* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2013), 16.
3. Simon Chan, "Whither Pentecostalism," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, eds. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Oxford: Regnum, 2005), 577.
4. Chan, "Whither Pentecostalism," 579.

of this theological core is shared with other orthodox Christians in many other traditions, while some of it is unique to Pentecostalism, but both the similarities and differences are important. If it were possible to hold to the aspects of Pentecostal faith that are distinctive without holding on to what's held in common with other orthodox and evangelical Christians, it would no longer be classical Pentecostalism. Classical Pentecostalism is a faith rooted in the authority of Scripture and the centrality of Jesus Christ and his saving work, not merely in a spiritual experience.

One of the earliest Pentecostal leaders, the Norwegian minister Thomas Ball Barratt, tried to come up with a definition of Pentecostalism to help people understand what this new movement was about:

> [Pentecostals] all believe in the authority of the Word of God, in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, Head and King. They are mostly baptised in water since believing, they all believe in the necessity of a clean heart and a holy life, in the possibility of being baptised in our day, as on the Day of Pentecost, in the Holy Ghost, and the greater number believe, that tongues, in connection with the baptism, is a proof of the presence of the Holy Ghost, and are to be expected now as at first in Jerusalem, or at least prophetic utterances and worship in the Spirit. . . . All the great truths of any importance, held by the evangelical denominations, are to be found in the tenets of this Movement, as well as this great truth concerning the Baptism in the Holy Ghost, and the signs following.[5]

Here, one of the pioneers of Pentecostalism insists that both the Pentecostal distinctive of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the great truths of evangelical Christianity (including the Trinity, the authority of Scripture, Christ's atoning work, and salvation through faith in Christ) are essential to Pentecostal identity.

Writing in the twenty-first century, the British Pentecostal scholar William Kay makes the same point: "Pentecostalism is the marriage of a spiritual experience called 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' with evangelical doctrines."[6] The authority of Scripture, the centrality of Jesus Christ and his atoning work, the need for personal repentance and faith in Jesus, and the necessity of holiness in life are all just as important as the baptism and gifts of the Holy Spirit for a true understanding of Pentecostalism. Robert Menzies sums up this Pentecostal emphasis on evangelical doctrine:

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5. Thomas Ball Barratt, *In the Days of the Latter Rain*, rev. ed. (London: Elim Publishing, 1928), 149.
6. William K. Kay, *Pentecostalism* (London: SCM, 2009), xvii.

> It is impossible to understand Pentecostals apart from these core Evangelical convictions. At its heart, the Pentecostal movement is not Spirit-centered but Christ-centered. The work of the Spirit, as Pentecostals understand it, centers on exalting and bearing witness to the Lordship of Christ. . . . Pentecostals are often pictured as extremely emotional and experientially driven, but this is a caricature of the real image. In reality, Pentecostals are "people of the Book." . . . The Christ-centered and Bible-driven nature of the Pentecostal movement should not be missed.[7]

The Biblical Foundation of Pentecostalism

Pentecostals do believe in distinct spiritual experiences (including the baptism and gifts of the Holy Spirit). Yet the very reason they believe in these experiences is because they see them in the Bible. The Pentecostal approach is not *the Bible plus experience* but rather *biblical experience*. Pentecostals want their experience to line up with what they see in Scripture. Therefore, for Pentecostals, experience is not in any way supposed to be an authority competing with Scripture. All Christian experience must be tested by and measured against God's Word, for God's word in Scripture is always our ultimate authority. As Thomas Zimmerman, former general superintendent of the Assemblies of God in the United States, put it, "The Holy Spirit is the river, but the Spirit will only flow within the banks of Scripture."[8] The common slogan used by the Elim Pentecostal Church in the UK proclaims Pentecostalism to be a movement that stands "foursquare upon the Word of God,"[9] summing up this Pentecostal view of Scripture's authority over spiritual experience.

Confidence in the authority of the inerrant Scriptures is a hallmark of classical Pentecostalism. Donald Gee, highly regarded around the world as a great Pentecostal teacher and leader, emphasizes that "the Scriptures are our infallible guide."[10] Back in Azusa Street, William Seymour wrote of Scripture as "the only and the sufficient rule of faith and practice." He emphasized, "God

7. Menzies, *Pentecost*, 14.
8. Quoted in George O. Wood, foreword to Anthony D. Palma, *The Holy Spirit: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Springfield, MO: Logion, 2001), 10.
9. This slogan was emblazoned on banners at Elim conventions, such as those at the Royal Albert Hall in London, and frequently used in Elim publications. "Foursquare" refers to the experience of Christ as Savior, Healer, Baptizer in the Spirit, and Soon Coming King, but this experiential knowledge of Christ rests solidly upon the Word of God in Scripture.
10. Donald Gee, "To Seekers After the Baptism in the Holy Ghost," *Elim Evangel* (May 1923): 87. British writers tend to use "infallible" in the same sense that Americans use the word "inerrant."

calls us to follow the Bible."[11] Seymour was criticized for his "protestant orthodoxy," yet he was not swayed from it. For Seymour, this orthodox Protestant approach to the Bible was essential to Pentecostalism. He warned strongly against any temptation to let spiritual experiences take the place of Scripture's authority: "When we leave the word of God and begin to go by signs and voices we will wind up in Spiritualism. God's word is God's law. The Holy Spirit came to give us power to stand on the infallible word."[12] Pentecostals must never "pin our faith on outward manifestations. We are to go by the word of God. Our thought must be in harmony with the Bible or else we will have a strange religion."[13] So, Pentecostals share with our other evangelical brothers and sisters this understanding of the authority of Scripture, along with a central role for Scripture in our worship and piety.

The Evangelical Heart of Pentecostalism

The Pentecostal expectation of experiences in line with Scripture, however, does not begin with the baptism in the Holy Spirit. It begins with salvation. When William Seymour described what was going on in the Azusa Street Revival in a letter in July 1906, he wrote, "People are getting saved. . . . Praise [the] Lord, Amen."[14] Taking the gospel to people all over the world so that people would be saved by Jesus has always been much more important to Pentecostals than enjoying spiritual experiences. In fact, in the very same letter, Seymour writes of how missionaries had already been sent out from Azusa Street to India, Jerusalem, Africa, and China (and this was only a few months after the beginning of the revival). Even the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit is understood by Pentecostals in connection with evangelism and mission. So, salvation in Jesus (and telling others of that salvation in Jesus) stands at the heart of Pentecostalism.

The salvation of which Pentecostals want to tell the world has been accomplished by Christ through his death on the cross in our place and his resurrection from the dead. Pentecostals are "messengers of this precious atonement," for "salvation lies in the Blood of Jesus."[15] Early Pentecostals saw their unity not only in the experience of the baptism of the Spirit but also in Christ's blood.[16] Therefore, the blood of Jesus has always been central to Pentecostal preaching, worship, and piety.

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11. William J. Seymour, *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission*, reprinted in Gastón Espinosa, *William J. Seymour and the Origins of Global Pentecostalism: A Biography and Documentary History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 223–24.
12. Seymour, *Doctrines and Discipline*, 219.
13. Seymour, quoted in Espinosa, *William J. Seymour*, 141.
14. Seymour, "Letter to Warren Faye Carothers," in Espinosa, *William J. Seymour*, 161.
15. William J. Seymour, "The Precious Atonement," in Espinosa, *William J. Seymour*, 166; see also Seymour, *Doctrine and Discipline*, 219.
16. Barratt, *In the Days of the Latter Rain*, 217.

Pentecostals, then, not only emphasize the experience of the baptism and gifts of the Spirit, but root their faith and piety in the Bible, proclaim a salvation accomplished by Christ on the cross, desire to see people come to personal faith in Jesus, and so send (and go as) missionaries all over the world to tell people of the salvation found in Christ alone. In other words, Pentecostals are evangelicals, for these are the four aspects of David Bebbington's definition of evangelicalism (biblicism, crucicentrism, conversionism, and activism).[17] Therefore, as Robert Menzies shows, "The term, Pentecostal, is not only compatible with the adjective, Evangelical, but incomprehensible apart from it. Thus, to be Pentecostal is, by definition, to be Evangelical."[18]

But among evangelicals, Pentecostals are also distinctive. While their evangelical identity is essential, so is their emphasis on the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as something distinct from being born again. That is, after all, how they get the name "Pentecostal"—from their belief that the baptism of the Spirit which the disciples received on the day of Pentecost is still available for believers today.[19]

Summary

So, how can we sum up what Pentecostals believe? Pentecostals are orthodox, evangelical Christians who believe that the Scriptures encourage every believer to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit, understood as an experience distinct from regeneration and marked by "signs following" (including the gifts of the Holy Spirit listed in 1 Corinthians 12:8–10).[20] The faith of Pentecostals is founded upon the word of God in Scripture and is centered upon Christ and him crucified, who now pours out from the Father's right hand the Holy Spirit of promise upon his church, just as he did in the book of Acts.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. Do you think doctrine is essential to identity?

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17. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 2–3.
18. R. P. Menzies, *Christ-Centered: The Evangelical Heritage of Pentecostal Theology* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2020), 146.
19. Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Victory Press, 1941), 7–8; see also Tony Richie, *Essentials of Pentecostal Theology* (Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2020), 2.
20. This definition deliberately draws upon and adapts the definition given by R. P. Menzies; see *Christ-Centered*, 145. The main difference between my definition and that of Menzies is that he specifically includes "speaking in tongues" as the sign of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, whereas I have only referred to "signs following." This reflects geographical and denominational differences that will be explained more in question 20.

2. How would you define Pentecostals, in your own words?

3. How do you think your own history with Pentecostals, charismatics, and other continuationist Christians will affect your interaction with the material in the rest of this book?

4. On what is the faith of Pentecostals centered?

5. Do you agree with William Seymour's warning that if we "pin our faith on outward manifestations [rather than Scripture] . . . we will have a strange religion"?

QUESTION 2

What Were the Precursors to Pentecostalism?

Many movements and families of churches can trace their origins back to a single person or event in the history of Christianity. Lutherans can look back to Martin Luther in the sixteenth century for their beginnings; most Methodists can trace their history back to the ministry of John Wesley in the eighteenth century; and Anglicans cannot deny that a series of acts of Parliament under King Henry VIII and then under Queen Elizabeth I established the Church of England (and its daughter churches) as a distinct tradition. Yet, for Pentecostals there is no clear equivalent. While there were some very significant and influential figures at the beginning of the movement, there was no single founder of Pentecostalism; nor was there a single place where Pentecostalism began.

Historians have given much consideration to questions surrounding Pentecostal origins. Some trace the movement to events in Kansas in 1901. Others see the origins in Los Angeles in 1906. Yet, as Allan Anderson has argued, this "'made in the USA' assumption is one of the great disservices done to worldwide Pentecostalism."[1] Instead of looking solely to the United States, we should recognize that Pentecostalism has origins in multiple countries. These arose together and influenced one another (often quite quickly), further reinforcing one another. As such, the histories we will consider in this and the next few chapters will overlap.

This perspective is not new. If anything, it is the original understanding of Pentecostal origins, especially outside of the United States. The great early British Pentecostal leader Donald Gee, who had traveled extensively around the Pentecostal world (and probably knew its variety better than nearly

1. Allan Anderson, "Revising Pentecostal History in Global Perspective," in *Asian and Pentecostal*, eds. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Baguio City: Regnum, 2005), 152.

anyone else of his generation) took this multiple-origins view of the beginnings of the movement: "The Pentecostal Movement does not owe its origin to any outstanding personality or religious leader, but was a spontaneous revival appearing almost simultaneously in various parts of the world. . . . The outstanding leaders of the Pentecostal Movement are themselves the products of the Movement. They did not make it; it made them."[2] In the United States, Frank Bartleman, who was present at Azusa Street, wrote that Pentecostalism "was rocked in the cradle of little Wales. It was brought up in India following, becoming full grown in Los Angeles later."[3] If even a participant in the Azusa Street revival points us to other parts of the world, it would be remiss of us not to turn to Wales and India over the course of these next chapters, as well as to Los Angeles—along with Topeka, Toronto, Oslo, London, Sunderland, and elsewhere. Yet first, we need to consider some earlier developments that were important precursors to the rise of the movement.

The American Holiness Movement

In the United States, a series of nineteenth-century revivals among Methodists eventually led to the emergence of the Holiness movement, which sought to restore the earlier Wesleyan emphasis on entire sanctification (or Christian perfection). Eventually this led to separate Holiness churches emerging outside of mainline Methodism in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[4]

The Holiness movement emphasized John Wesley's teaching on Christian perfection, understood as a second blessing of entire sanctification, distinct from justification, to be received at some moment in the Christian life.[5] They frequently referred to this sanctification experience as the "baptism in the Holy Spirit."[6] In reality, however, their teaching owed more to John Fletcher (1729–1785) than to John Wesley, for it was Fletcher who transformed Wesley's view of Christian perfection (as "the culmination of a life of holiness") into "a

2. Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Victory Press, 1941), 3.
3. Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street: An Eyewitness Account* (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 1980), 22.
4. Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 41–43.
5. Melvin E. Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins: As Mediated Through the Nineteenth-Century Holiness Revival," in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 59. In fact, Wesleyan Holiness teaching had moved quite far beyond Wesley's own view on Christian perfection. Geoffrey Butler suggests that comparisons between Wesley's teaching and what would emerge in Pentecostalism are in reality "due to surface level commonalities." See Geoffrey Butler, "Wesley, Fletcher, and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: A Pentecostal Analysis," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 30 (2021): 189.
6. Synan, "Pentecostal Roots," in *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal*, ed. Vinson Synan (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 15.

crisis experience . . . available to every Christian."[7] This would pave the way for the doctrine of subsequence (in which the baptism of the Holy Spirit is seen as an experience distinct from and subsequent to regeneration; chapter 19 outlines this doctrine more fully).

In the nineteenth century, this Holiness teaching—along with the language of baptism in the Spirit as a distinct, post-conversion crisis experience—was spread widely by Wesleyans such as Phoebe Palmer and Oberlin Perfectionists such as Asa Mahan.[8] Palmer in particular popularized an emphasis on the baptism of the Spirit as an instantaneous crisis experience through her teaching of a "shorter way" to perfection through placing "all on the altar."[9]

In the United States (although not always in other countries) the earliest leading figures in the emergence of Pentecostalism came from Wesleyan Holiness backgrounds, including both Charles Parham and William Seymour. Several Wesleyan Holiness denominations or groups of churches also became Pentecostal denominations as the revival spread through their ranks, including the Church of God in Christ, the Church of God, the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church (the last two merging in 1911 to become what is now the International Pentecostal Holiness Church).

Wesleyan Holiness teaching had a significant role to play in the development of an understanding of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a distinct experience from conversion. However, although some early Pentecostals came directly from a Wesleyan Holiness background, much of the influence of these teachings was mediated to Pentecostalism from other parts of the evangelical world.

Late-Nineteenth-Century Holiness and Revival Emphases in American Reformed Evangelicalism

In the late nineteenth century, an emphasis on the baptism in the Holy Spirit also emerged among non-Wesleyan evangelicals. Edith Waldvogel has argued that there were three general ways in which this differed from the emphasis given to the matter in Wesleyan Holiness circles. First, she writes, "The context in which Reformed evangelicals expressed their teaching was strongly doctrinal and primarily premillennialist." The conviction of the imminent return of Christ gave a strong incentive both for holiness and for evangelistic effectiveness. Second, they rejected the Wesleyan concept of a "second blessing"

7. Butler, "Wesley, Fletcher, and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," 189.
8. Synan, "Pentecostal Roots," 26–28; see also Donald W. Dayton, "From Christian Perfection to the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost,'" in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 41–53. Mahan's theology was essentially Wesleyan, although he himself was a Congregationalist minister, which may account for his influence beyond Wesleyan circles.
9. Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 17. See also Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects," 62.

of entire sanctification. Third, they incorporated (to a much greater extent than Wesleyans) "a practical emphasis on divine healing."[10]

Prominent figures in these types of Reformed evangelical circles in the United States were Dwight Moody, R. A. Torrey, A. J. Gordon, and A. B. Simpson.[11] Waldvogel argues,

> Though these men did not function as a formal group or espouse a well-defined program, their remarkably similar spiritual odysseys formed a basis for a distinct understanding of the evangelical message: each ultimately accepted baptism by immersion, became convinced of Christ's premillennial advent, espoused divine healing and . . . became associated with foreign missionary efforts, and stressed the necessity of a close relationship between the believer and the Holy Spirit. The conservative evangelical doctrinal framework into which they incorporated their particular emphases was similar to that which would later characterize the Assemblies of God [and other Pentecostals who did not adhere to Wesleyan Holiness teaching].[12]

Like later "Finished Work" Pentecostalism (an expression which is often used to refer to the varieties of classical Pentecostalism which do not hold to Wesleyan Holiness doctrines), these evangelicals "rejected two central tenets of the contemporary Holiness message: (1) they denied that sanctification was instantaneous, and (2) they contended that sanctification was not the baptism with the Holy Spirit."[13] Instead, they saw sanctification as progressive and the baptism in the Spirit as an enduement of power for service.

In 1907, a significant number of leaders from A. B. Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance who had accepted the Pentecostal experience left the movement and became leaders of newly emerging Pentecostal assemblies. Several of these, including Frank Boyd, D. W. Kerr, William Evans, and J. Roswell Flower, went on to become figures of great importance in the early years of the Assemblies of God.[14] Thus, right from the beginning, there were significant non-Wesleyan voices and influences among Pentecostals.

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10. Edith L. Waldvogel, "The 'Overcoming' Life: A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Contribution to Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 1, no. 1 (1979): 8.
11. William W. Menzies, "The Non-Wesleyan Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 87–90.
12. Waldvogel, "The Overcoming Life," 9.
13. Waldvogel, "The Overcoming Life," 9.
14. Menzies, "Non-Wesleyan Origins," 89; Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 83–84.

British Evangelical Influences on Emerging Pentecostalism

The evangelical context from which British Pentecostalism emerged had many overlapping features with the United States, but even more significant differences. While both John Wesley and John Fletcher had ministered in England, there was not a distinct Wesleyan Holiness movement in the United Kingdom comparable to that in the United States. "What is striking," Ian Randall notes, "when the emergence of British Pentecostalism is compared with the development of Pentecostalism in North America, is the absence of strong Wesleyan holiness influences in Britain."[15] In fact, although a few small organizations (such as Reader Harris's Pentecostal League of Prayer) attempted to keep it alive, older Wesleyan sanctification teaching had largely died out in Britain—being "confined to the margins of English religious life"—by the beginning of the twentieth century.[16]

Holiness was a very important theme among British evangelicals, but in a non-Wesleyan way. Three (at times overlapping) movements had significant influence on the emergence of Pentecostalism in the United Kingdom: the Welsh Revival tradition (flowing from Calvinistic Methodism), the Keswick Conventions and their accompanying spirituality, and Brethrenism. We will give our attention to the impact of the Welsh Revival in the next chapter, but here let us consider the other two.

Keswick

The Keswick Convention has been held in the town of Keswick in the Lake District since 1875 and was instrumental in the development of an emerging non-Wesleyan holiness movement. Keswick had much in common with and was influenced by the North American Higher Life movement; yet it remained distinctively British in character and departed from its North American counterpart theologically in a number of respects.[17] Keswick and the smaller "Keswick" conventions held in various parts of the country (e.g., Welsh Keswick in Llandrindod Wells, and later Portstewart Keswick in County Londonderry) and empire (e.g., the Keswick conventions organized by Andrew Murray in South Africa) were significant influences upon British evangelical life and thought. Although the main Keswick Convention was, before the First World War, a largely upper-middle-class gathering, it "drew

15. Ian M. Randall, "Old Time Power: Relationships between Pentecostalism and Evangelical Spirituality in England," *Pneuma* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 59.
16. David Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 72. Even Reader Harris was, however, a member of the Church of England rather than part of a distinct Holiness denomination. Thus, even what remained of Wesleyan Holiness in the UK had significant differences from the Holiness churches in the United States.
17. James Robinson, *Pentecostal Origins: Early Pentecostalism in Ireland in the Context of the British Isles*, Studies in Evangelical History and Thought (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 10.

together a mix of British conservative evangelicals . . . and can properly be understood as representing the conservative evangelical mainstream."[18] Many of Britain's earliest Pentecostal leaders already attended the Keswick Convention or Keswick in Wales.[19]

Many Keswick teachers emphasized the need for a baptism in the Holy Spirit (distinct from and subsequent to conversion). A distinction was made between being "indwelt" by the Holy Spirit at conversion and being "filled" with the Holy Spirit at a later point. Unlike the American Wesleyan Holiness teachers, they did not equate the baptism of the Spirit with "entire sanctification." Rather, Andrew Murray taught that the experience of the baptism in the Spirit subsequent to regeneration was "specially given as power for work."[20] Thus, the understanding of the baptism of the Holy Spirit that spread through the influence of Keswick spirituality was that it was an empowering experience rather than a sanctifying experience.

Brethren Primitivism

Yet Pentecostalism was also a primitivist movement, seeking to restore what they saw as significant aspects of New Testament church life. In Britain, Brethren assemblies were already a significant feature of evangelicalism, and they too shared this desire to restore the New Testament pattern of church life. As Pentecostalism began to emerge there were some overlaps between these two movements. Occasionally an assembly would divide into two—one Pentecostal and one Brethren (as in Penygroes). At other times what had begun as a Brethren assembly would become Pentecostal, including an assembly in Manchester (of which J. Nelson Parr was a member) that went on to become Britain's largest Pentecostal church for many decades. For much of the twentieth century, the weekly British Pentecostal Breaking of Bread services looked almost identical to those in Brethren assemblies, except for the operation of the gifts of the Spirit (and the audible participation of women in Pentecostal worship). Ian Randall concludes that British Pentecostals were "indebted to Brethren sources for elements in their form of church life and at least in part for their simple belief in what was often called 'the old Book.'"[21]

Summary

Pentecostalism emerged through neither one event nor the influence of one significant person. Rather, a number of theological currents came together in various parts of the world, resulting in a strong anticipation of an

18. Randall, "Old Time Power," 55.
19. E.g., Alexander Boddy, J. Nelson Parr, D. P. Williams, George Jeffreys, W. F. P. Burton. See Randall, "Old Time Power," 59; and Chris Palmer, "Wales and Embryonic Pentecostalism," *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 34, no. 2 (2014): 176.
20. Andrew Murray, *The Spirit of Christ* (London: James Nisbet, 1888), 324.
21. Randall, "Old Time Power," 60.

experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit subsequent to conversion among many different groups of evangelical Christians. While much attention has been given to the Wesleyan Holiness aspects of Pentecostal origins, large parts of Pentecostalism were not direct descendants of the Wesleyan Holiness movement. Developments within the Reformed evangelical world in North America and among British evangelicals (including Keswick spirituality and Brethren primitivism) played important roles in the emergence of much of Pentecostalism.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. How did early Pentecostals like Frank Bartleman and Donald Gee understand the origins of the Pentecostal movement?

2. Why might it be a disservice to focus exclusively on events in the United States in telling the story of Pentecostal beginnings?

3. Why might so much attention have been given to the Wesleyan Holiness movement in considerations of the origins of Pentecostalism?

4. How did Reformed evangelicals in the United States contribute to the emergence of Pentecostalism?

5. Why is British evangelicalism significant for the beginnings of Pentecostalism?