

Christianity *without* the Cross

A History of Salvation in Oneness Pentecostalism

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Parkland, Florida • Universal Publishers • 2003

Christianity without the Cross: A History of Salvation in Oneness Pentecostalism

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Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com
USA • 2003

ISBN: 1-58112-584-4

www.uPUBLISH.com/books/fudge.htm

Dedicated to the memory of C.H. Yadon (†1997)

Who in an age of softness taught us by living example
that the kingdom of Christ is not in word or doctrine but in deed

and to Reverend James G. Fudge

Father, example, inspiration

Soldiers, in their own way, who rode by the cross



Table of Contents

Abbreviations	v
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 Currents and Confluence in Pre-Oneness Pentecostal Theology	9
Charles Parham, Topeka, Kansas, 1901	9
Historical and theological trajectories	12
A third work of grace	13
Restoration of the New Testament Church	16
The eschatological impetus	22
Personal revelation and private interpretation	26
Azusa Street, 1906	29
William H. Durham and the ‘finished work of Calvary’	36
The institutionalizing of Pentecostalism	41
Chapter 2 The ‘New Issue’ Controversy	43
Birth of the ‘new issue’	45
The role of E.N. Bell	49
Showdown at St. Louis, 1916	54
Durham’s influence on the new theology	58
Return of the Oneness Pentecostals	60
Doctrinal development of the ‘new issue’	64
Implications for the doctrine of salvation	71
Chapter 3 A Oneness Pentecostal Doctrine of Salvation	75
Two churches and two concepts of salvation	75
How prevalent was the ‘water and Spirit’ doctrine in 1945?	80
An alternative view	83
The problem of the new birth at the time of the merger	95
Why the merger succeeded in 1945	100
The promise and the problem of Howard A. Goss	103
Contending for the faith	110
The soteriological significance of Acts 2.38	112
Repentance	114
Water baptism	115
Spirit baptism	117
John 3.5 as hermeneutical principle	119
The forgiveness <i>and</i> remission debate	126
The cross	135
Holiness and salvation?	143
Chapter 4 Development of the Doctrine of Salvation	148
‘Full’ salvation	150
Water baptism ‘for the remission of sins’	155
Triumph of the ‘water and Spirit’ doctrine	164
Affirmation of faith resolution	182

	Holiness: <i>sine qua non</i>	182
	A summary of Oneness soteriological development	187
Chapter 5	<i>The Resolution: Defending Truth or the Voice of a Stranger?</i>	200
	Conception of a resolution	201
	Convocation at Salt Lake City, 1992	208
	Reactions to the resolution	221
	Amending the resolution	230
	Arguments against the resolution	236
	Problems in the preamble	241
	Answering the objections	242
	Assessing the defence of the resolution	247
	The James Kilgore connection	251
	Westberg against history: situating the resolution	259
	Did the resolution change the United Pentecostal Church?	261
	Soteriology and the resolution	268
Chapter 6	Preaching and Practising Salvation	276
	Preaching in the United Pentecostal Church	277
	Soteriological themes in Oneness Pentecostal preaching	279
	A comparative analysis of sermons	286
	Hymnody and ritual worship	299
	Songs of the ‘name’	302
	The doctrine of the new birth in song	309
	Water baptism in popular hymnody	313
	Music of the Holy Ghost	316
	Other soteriological themes in worship and hymnody	322
	Theologically incorrect songs	325
	Doctrinal symbolism and its uses	326
Chapter 7	Christianity without the Cross?	329
Appendices		
	Water and Spirit foundations in New Brunswick	345
	Leadership in New Brunswick, Tennessee and the Pacific Northwest	346
Bibliographies		
	Printed sources	348
	Interviews	372
	Correspondence	377
Index		378

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Apostolic Accent</i> (official paper of the Oregon District)
ABI	Apostolic Bible Institute (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1937–)
AC	<i>The Apostolic Call</i> (1936–, edited by A.D. van Hoose. Originally <i>Apostolic Radio News</i>)
ACOP	Apostolic Church of Pentecost (Calgary, Canada, 1921–)
AF	<i>The Apostolic Faith</i> (various publications edited by Charles Parham, William Seymour, Florence Crawford, E.N. Bell, et al.)
AG	Assemblies of God (Springfield, Missouri, 1914–)
AH	<i>The Apostolic Herald</i> (official organ of the PCI, 1925–45)
ANF	<i>The Ante–Nicene Fathers</i> , 10 volumes. Eerdmans, 1985.
ApC	<i>Apostolic Contender</i> (1974–, edited by Paul Dugas)
AS	<i>Apostolic Sentinel</i> (official paper of the Texas District)
CBC	Conquerors Bible College (Portland, Oregon, 1953–83)
CE	<i>Christian Evangel</i> (1913–15, later <i>WE</i>)
Clanton	Arthur L. & Charles E. Clanton, <i>United We Stand: A History of Oneness Organizations</i> . Word Aflame Press, 1995.
Ewart	Frank J. Ewart, <i>The Phenomenon of Pentecost</i> . Hazelwood: Word Aflame Press, 1975.
FC	The Fudge Collection (private collection of documents to be deposited eventually in a public archive)
<i>Forward</i>	official bi–monthly publication for UPC ministers (1969–)
GAAA	General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies (1916–17)
Goss	Ethel E. Goss, <i>The Winds of God: The Story of the Early Pentecostal Movement (1901–1914) in the life of Howard A. Goss</i> . Hazelwood: Word Aflame Press, 1977, rev. edition.
GT	<i>The Gospel Tidings</i> (official paper of the Western District)
HN	<i>Historical News</i> (publication of Historical Center, UPC, 1981–)
HT	<i>Herald of Truth</i> (1945–, edited by W.E. Kidson)
Howell	Joseph H. Howell, ‘The People of the Name: Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States’. PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1985.
IBC	Indiana Bible College (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1981–)
JCM	Jackson College of Ministries (Jackson, MS, 1974 –)
JPT	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology</i>
JSSR	<i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i>
Larden	Robert A. Larden, <i>Our Apostolic Heritage: An Official History of the Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada Incorporated</i> . Calgary: Kyle Printing & Stationery, 1971.
<i>Manual</i>	<i>Manual of the United Pentecostal Church International</i> (2002)
MDS	<i>Meat in Due Season</i> (1915–20, eds. Frank Ewart & Glenn Cook)
MGCAG	Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God

MOP	<i>Melodies of Praise</i> , ed. Edwin P. Anderson. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1957.
NECC	Northeast Christian College (from 1993 new name of UPBI)
NIDPCM	<i>The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements</i> , eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van der Maas. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002.
PAJC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ (1931–45; 1947–)
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Toronto, 1919–)
PAW	Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (Indianapolis, 1907 –)
PBI	Pentecostal Bible Institute (Tupelo, MS, 1945–74, thereafter JCM)
PCI	Pentecostal Church, Incorporated (1932–45)
PE	<i>Pentecostal Evangel</i> (1913–)
PH	<i>Pentecostal Herald</i> (official organ of the UPC, 1945–)
PG	Jacques Paul Migne, ed., <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , 163 vols. Paris, 1857–1861.
PL	J.P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , 217 vols. Paris, 1843–1873.
PM	<i>The Pentecostal Messenger</i> (official paper, Atlantic District)
PMA	Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance (1925–32, later the PCI)
PNWN	<i>Pentecostal Northwestern News</i> (1946–1965)
PO	<i>The Pentecostal Outlook</i> (official organ of PAJC, 1932–45)
PP	<i>Pentecostal Profile</i> (official paper of the Kansas District)
PPH	Pentecostal Publishing House
PT	<i>The Pentecostal Testimony</i> (1907–12, ed. William H. Durham)
Pneuma	<i>Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies</i>
Reed	David A. Reed, ‘Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States’. PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1978.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SUL	<i>Sing Unto the Lord</i> , eds., Marvin Curry, et al. Hazelwood: Word Aflame Press, 1978.
TBC	Texas Bible College (Houston, 1962–)
UPBI	United Pentecostal Bible Institute (Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1955–1993, since then NECC)
UPC	United Pentecostal Church (1945–)
UPCI	United Pentecostal Church International (after 1972)
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> , 114 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1883–1999.
WABC	Western Apostolic Bible College (Stockton, California, 1953–80, from then, Christian Life College)
WE	<i>Weekly Evangel</i> (1916–19, later PE)
WG	<i>Witness of God</i> (1917–, edited by Andrew D. Urshan)
WW	<i>Word and Witness</i> (1911–1915, ed. E.N. Bell, later merged with WE)

Introduction

Strangely, the theology of Oneness Pentecostalism has been ignored in the academic study of theology in general and in the study of American religion specifically. Scholars have examined Pentecostalism as a general religious phenomenon or have been more interested in exploring the social and psychological origins of its various dimensions.¹ Previous studies have shown that Oneness Pentecostalism over the past eighty–five years has become a ‘third force’ within American Pentecostalism.² Numerically, the Oneness Pentecostal groups in North America have been progressive.³ The most recent study refers to Oneness Pentecostal movements as a ‘rapidly expanding’ force and conservatively estimates that there are fifteen to twenty million Oneness Pentecostals in the world today.⁴ The paucity of theological reflection is striking. From among a number of distinctive Oneness Pentecostal teachings this study takes up the doctrine of salvation in an effort to understand the historical development of the United Pentecostal Church. The UPC claims to be the largest Oneness Pentecostal body in the world today.

The bulk of academic attention given to Pentecostalism has been focused in one of two areas: classical Pentecostalism, particularly the Assemblies of God, or on extreme fringe groups like snake handling sects, which are of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists. Historically, Oneness Pentecostalism, despite its importance, has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. When the doctrinal distinctives of Oneness Pentecostalism are examined, frequently the lion’s share of attention falls on their non–Trinitarian explanation of the Godhead. This study reexamines Oneness Pentecostal soteriology; the doctrine of salvation. Because of the doctrinal diversities within Oneness Pentecostalism this study is concerned with the larger of the American Oneness Pentecostal denominations, the United Pentecostal Church and its immediate predecessors. By limiting this investigation to the United Pentecostal Church it is possible to arrive at a situated knowledge of salvation historically and theologically while maintaining a useable sense and scope of referentiality. The situated knowledge of salvation within this trajectory of Pentecostalism can be understood by establishing its content and implications in relation to historical development and theological articulation.

This study proposes to break new ground in several areas. There are six principle contributions wherein originality is claimed. First, the heart of the book, developed in chapters three and four, constitutes at the very least a recovery of a vanishing past. Hitherto, the dimensions of the doctrine of salvation associated with sectors of the

¹ For a general overview see Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide*, trans., R. W. Wilson, reprint (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1997) and on specific causal factors, Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

² Joseph H. Howell, ‘The People of the Name: Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States,’ unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1985, 11 and *passim*.

³ David A. Reed, ‘Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States,’ unpublished PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1978, v.

⁴ Talmadge L. French, *Our God is One: The Story of the Oneness Pentecostals* (Indianapolis: Voice & Vision, 1999), 13–17.

Pentecostal Church, Incorporated have never before received academic exploration or sustained scholarly attention. The present official doctrine of salvation as taught by the United Pentecostal Church is not necessarily the same as that endorsed by the Pentecostal Church, Incorporated. This part of Oneness Pentecostalism can be referred to as a vanishing past because within a decade or so, that past will be largely forgotten and perhaps irretrievable. According to some observers within the United Pentecostal Church, that vanishing past has been deliberate in some instances. ‘We have let men die historically as though they never lived.’⁵ If one does not know what is omitted, one can neither see nor understand what is being promoted. This underscores the second significant contribution which is the utilisation of oral sources. Curiously, writers within the United Pentecostal Church dealing with their denomination’s history and doctrines seem not to have accessed many of the primary sources of living memory. Oneness Pentecostals, like so many other movements within American religious history, were not men and women who committed much to paper. The discipline of oral history is most helpful in this connection but the past is vanishing. Three months after a lengthy interview in relation to this project C.H. Yadon died in his ninetieth year. Six months after he gave an insightful interview filled with penetrating and shrewd observations and comments, W.M. Greer died in his ninety-fourth year. While this research project was unfolding, John Paterson died in his one hundredth year. Several other ministers, including Ralph Reynolds and Raymond Beesley, died not long after interviews. Two hundred men and women associated with Oneness Pentecostal history have been interviewed, many tape-recorded, in connection with this study. Their insights and reflections have been recorded and many appear in these pages. David Reed conducted some interviews in the 1970s in connection with his research and David Bernard seems to have paid some limited and selective attention to one side of his tradition, but these are exceptions.

There will perhaps be objections to the reliance upon oral sources as evident in parts of this study. Precautions have been taken to avoid the potential pitfalls of oral history. Nowhere in the arguments developed in this study has an assertion been made on the basis of a single unsubstantiated and uncorroborated source. The same principle has been applied to written sources and documents, including Biblical pericopes. The dictum, in the mouth of two or three witnesses let all things be established has been followed consistently. Moreover, contextual corroboration has been pursued to compensate for testimonies given to events now more than a half century ago. Wherever possible, cross-examination of various principals concerned has been undertaken and the weight of evidence and testimony apparent at various junctures in the footnotes is deliberate.

The third contribution is the detailed explication of the doctrine of salvation held within the Pentecostal Church, Incorporated and the historical parameters of its influence. This dimension of Oneness Pentecostal history and theology has received very

⁵ Kenneth V. Reeves, interview with Ruth (Goss) Nortjè and Mary Wallace, 1982, St. Louis, audio recording. FC, inv.doc.no.0707-2669-19. Reeves’s comments were in relation to Howard A. Goss and Reeves looked with disfavor on these ‘historical deaths’.

short shrift from those who have examined this aspect of doctrinal history. This study shows that current histories and doctrinal reflections being written within the United Pentecostal Church are either laboring in ignorance or are deliberately engaging in historical and theological revision. There is a not inconsiderable amount of evidence yet to be mined from the quarry of historic Oneness Pentecostalism.

Fourth, the book contributes to the articulation of doctrine within the scholarly study of Oneness Pentecostalism by explicating the doctrine of salvation in its fully-orbed dimensions for the first time. No one outside the movement has applied themselves to a similar study and the limitations of UPC writers have already been underscored. Beyond a theological explication of a doctrine, this study makes further contribution exploring the development of that doctrine thus demonstrating that soteriology in Oneness Pentecostalism is a study in the history of ideas.

The fifth contribution lies in the consideration of soteriological themes in the preaching and ritual worship of the United Pentecostal Church. In terms of the latter, this has been done to a certain degree by Joseph Howell. However, where Howell is theoretical this study is intensely practical. Where Howell is concerned with doctrine in a general sense, this study considers salvation in a specific way. Where Howell focuses on general church worship practices and ‘Pentecostal liturgies’, this study concentrates on preaching and popular hymnody.⁶ The objectives in this study are quite different from the aims adopted and pursued by Howell. Commensurate with the two aspects comprising this contribution is the consideration of preachers not widely known and sermons delivered in ordinary local churches as opposed to conferences, conventions and camp meetings. The popular hymnody under consideration here, drawn from obscure oral sources in some instances, constitute aspects of popular Pentecostalism which can be usefully analysed and their preservation is therefore essential.⁷ Many of these songs are products of oral history with little or no documentation heretofore in literary sources.

The last contribution to be noted has to do with the General Conference resolution of 1992, concerning annual affirmation, which this study argues must be situated in the development of the United Pentecostal Church. I was asked by Raymond Beesley in early 1998 to write something about this matter. It required eighteen months of subsequent research before I was able to determine what, if anything, could be written about it and also to conclude that it did relate to the wider theme of this study. Initially,

⁶ On the validity of Pentecostal oral liturgies see Walter J. Hollenweger, ‘Social and Ecumenical Significance of Pentecostal Liturgy’ *Studia Liturgica* 8 (1971–2), 207–15 and Cheryl Bridges Johns, *Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy among the Oppressed* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 100.

⁷ Examples of popular songs in the study of American religious movements include, Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp Meeting Religion, 1800–1845* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974); Charles A. Jones, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion’s Harvest Time*, second edition (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985); Elaine Lawless, *God’s Peculiar People: Women’s Voices and Folk Tradition in a Pentecostal Church* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1989) and Ellen Eslinger, *Citizens of Zion: The Social Origins of Camp Meeting Revivalism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

this is the first assessment of that resolution apart from Oneness Pentecostal ministers arguing for or against it. Second, it interprets the document from a perspective no one else has considered seriously. Third, it introduces hitherto unacknowledged or unknown data and documents to substantiate the claims advanced. Fourth, this contribution shows that the resolution of 1992 functions as a benchmark in the doctrinal development of the United Pentecostal Church.

In undertaking this study of Oneness Pentecostal theology I have endeavored to compensate for the numerous lacunae in printed materials by taking into account oral sources and accessing current opinion among ministers of the United Pentecostal Church with respect to various issues of doctrinal understanding, historical events and theological developments. In the course of this research project more than 1,800 pieces of correspondence passed between me and individuals (both ministers and laypeople) associated with the United Pentecostal Church. In order to obtain a balanced profile from these oral, 'unofficial' and unpublished materials, I have made every attempt to cast as broad a net as possible. I have investigated sources from the Pacific Northwest to Florida, New Brunswick to California, the Canadian Plains to southern Texas, Latin America to Australia, eastern Europe to South Africa. The bibliographies and footnote references will bear witness to those inquiries. Considerable time and effort has been expended in contacting no fewer than 360 individuals in sixteen countries related to the United Pentecostal Church, conducting 229 interviews, driving more than 35,000 miles in North America alone, collecting and cataloguing over 3,500 documents, many previously unpublished, unknown or unused. Forty-seven of the fifty states and eight Canadian provinces were visited, inquired into, or documents collected from. Most of the interviews were conducted on site where the person in question lives or works, some were at a neutral location, a few others were done by telephone. It is my keen regret that some ministers and organizational officials declined to comment on questions put to them, would not consent to an interview and in many cases did not reply to correspondence even after several attempts on my part. So that the informed reader can appreciate the scope of efforts made to obtain balance, the names of those UPC ministers contacted (but declining to participate) are listed: James Blackshear, Paul Mooney, Anthony Mangun, Fred Foster, O.R. Fauss, Albert Dillon, R. Keith Nix, James Lumpkin, Sr., Richard Gazowsky, Wayne Budgell, Paul R. Price, Ted Wagner, Allen Picklesimer, Wayne Huntley, Tommy Hudson, James Merrick, David Bradt, Daniel Mena, Johnny King, William Davies, David Walters, Edwin Harper, Geoff Holden, Jack Yonts, Wendell Myers, Corlis Dees, Francis Mason, O.C. Marler, Carl Lagow, John Kershaw, David Johnson, Jesse Williams, Gerald Grant and Raymond Sirstad. It should be pointed out, however, that I was able to correspond, interview, or interact, with no fewer than sixty current or past members of the General Board and 80% of my overall contact efforts were successful (see pages 372-77).

In conjunction with ministers named in the notes and bibliographies, informed readers once again will recognize not only broad geographical representation but very wide theological diversity as well. This was by deliberate design. These lists are provided not to disparage any one of those individuals declining to participate but rather to counter any suggestion that I deliberately limited the scope of my inquiry in order to achieve a preconceived aim and establish one particular argument with a minimum of distraction.

In light of certain ministers who declined either to be interviewed or to reply to correspondence, or the refusal of organizational officials to permit access to known documents or provide direction to other potential avenues of exploration, the nature of particular aspects of this research left me with no other alternative but to pursue relevant inquiries with former United Pentecostal Church ministers. This part of my research proved useful and productive in two areas. First, many of these ministers were more willing to speak about certain pertinent issues of history and theology which enabled me to fill in aspects of doctrine and its development in a more comprehensive fashion. Second, documents which were denied to me by members or representatives of the United Pentecostal Church were often obtained through these secondary sources thereby providing invaluable materials for aspects of this study. I regret that alternative avenues had to be explored in order to complete the research but these sources generally were worthwhile and rewarding. One anecdote will suffice to illustrate a prevalent attitude held by many of these ministers. Before the interview recorder was turned on, L.H. Hardwick made quite clear he had no interest attacking the UPC and would not take part in any way with a research project which included that objective. His posture was not anomalous. Consistent with Hardwick and others, I have attempted, where possible, to avoid polemics in this investigation.

In the same vein of inability to access certain historical sources and materials, parts of the study may appear to the reader to take a biased view toward certain individuals and perspectives. There are two reasons for this. First, in my historical reconstruction of the doctrine of salvation and its developments within the early United Pentecostal Church, I have attempted deliberately to articulate the position of the tradition associated with the Pentecostal Church, Incorporated. This decision, rather than predetermined, emerged in the course of the research when it became clear that the theological history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ had already been written up and was fairly well known whereas that of the PCI has been either largely ignored or unduly minimized. I concentrated on the PCI tradition in an effort to provide balance to existing scholarship and monographs dealing with the United Pentecostal Church's theological history. In this effort I have applied the aphorism of St. Augustine: '*Audi partem alteram*' [hear the other side].

Second, especially in chapters three and four, men such as Howard A. Goss (1883–1964), A.D. Gurley (1898–1976), Earl L. Jacques (1900–1961), Wynn T. Stairs (1901–1982), W.M. Greer (1906–1999), C.H. Yadon (1908–1997), E.P. Wickens (1918–), and, to a lesser extent, John Paterson (1898–1998) and John H. Dearing (1880–1940), seem to come through with a sort of theological Montaignesque *apologia*. That said, are these men worth studying? Are they characters of theological probity? Do their deeds and doctrines matter? Apart from Howard A. Goss, among the others only Stairs is mentioned once in passing in the more than 1,300 pages of the latest reference guide to Pentecostalism (NIDPCM). How suggestive is that? The following narrative will help the reader come to their own conclusions. While I do not necessarily endorse the views of these men on the doctrine of salvation there are three reasons for their prominence in this work. Initially, some were predominate leaders of the PCI soteriological tradition and as such could hardly have been avoided while doing justice to the subject. Additionally, these men have yet to receive their just attention in the

theological historiography of the UPC. Finally, while Goss, Gurley, Jacques and Stairs died many years ago, Yadon, Greer and Wickens consented to interviews and were forthright in their replies to queries, thus providing essential and apparently hitherto unknown or unpublished information. Since these interviews Yadon and Greer are deceased. Ruth (Goss) Nortjè, Philip and Anne Stairs were exceptionally helpful with respect to their fathers in a similar way, giving insightful interviews and making available useful and unique documents. The children of A.D. Gurley – Doris Moore and Demie Rainey – and Earl Jacques – Paul and Earl Jacques – consented to interviews and were able to shed light on various aspects of their fathers’ careers and beliefs. I regret most profoundly that John Paterson died before I was able to visit him in Montréal and that F.V. Shoemake in his ninety–first year, in the San Jose area, was too ill to be interviewed. As noted elsewhere, men such as Stanley Chambers and Paul Price refused to be interviewed, thus depriving me of an opportunity to learn from their perspectives. This is profoundly regretted. In the case of the Yadon family, I was able to interview no fewer than eighteen members and was granted unrestricted access to the papers of C.H. Yadon subsequent to his death. I am particularly grateful to Jewel (Yadon) Dillon. Similar attempts in relation to the papers of other ministers proved unsuccessful. In the case of chapter five, Yadon does play a leading role in the narrative principally because I had permission to use his papers and correspondence relating to the topic of that chapter whereas I had been denied access to other similar collections and individuals. There can also be little doubt that he was a key player in the subject under consideration in that chapter. The apparent bias towards him for example, though unintentional, seems therefore unavoidable.

A word must be said about the so–called ‘Fudge Collection’. In the course of research I became the recipient of literally hundreds of documents by way of donation from private sources. Many of these, to my knowledge, are not held in archives or other repositories where they can be accessed. As previously noted, these documents number in excess of 3,500. For convenience of reference, they are referred to in these pages as the ‘Fudge Collection’ [FC]. It is my intention to see that this ‘collection’ be handed over to a public archive where scholars may have access to it so that with St. Paul I may confidently say to the King Agrippas, ‘this thing was not done in a corner.’ In some cases documents in this collection may in fact be held elsewhere. However, I have referenced them to the ‘Fudge Collection’ only in cases where I am not aware of this, where I obtained the document in question from a private source, or in instances where the archive holding the material has placed unreasonable restrictions upon access.

This book has already received considerable exposure in the field of academic publishing. Initially, the University of Tennessee Press offered me a contract for its publication early in 2001. I declined that contract on the grounds that UTP wanted a broader focus than the UPC. This I was unwilling to undertake. Later in that same year Sheffield Academic Press (UK) offered me a contract which I accepted for inclusion of this book in their “Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series”. I withdrew from that contractual arrangement in late 2002 because SAP was bought out by Continuum Books in New York and I refused to accept what I regarded as an excessive selling price for the book. Rather than endure yet another delay putting the manuscript through the standard assessment procedures with yet another academic publisher, I have elected to

allow the book to go to publication in the present context inasmuch as it has essentially been completed since 2001. This will explain why there is no discussion of the Kenneth Haney administration, events or publications since 2001. I am grateful for the many words of encouragement, from so many both within and outside the UPC, to publish the book sooner rather than later.

It is a pleasure to thank all of those who facilitated this research in its several dimensions: ministers who granted interviews, replied to correspondence, engaged in dialogue, provided documents and other materials and who commented on various aspects of the project. I am further indebted to numerous individuals for their gracious reception, hospitality and generosity everywhere I went. I am especially grateful to the following individuals for providing essential documents: Jewel (Yadon) Dillon, Barney Hardwick, Dan Lewis, Bernie Gillespie, John C. Adams, Stephen Schmidt, Bob Shutes, Robert Sabin, Raymond Beesley, A.D. van Hoose, Anne Stairs, Charlie Yadon, Loren Yadon, Ola Soper, Phil Dugas, Bill Atchison, David Curtis, Harvey McNair, Ruth (Goss) Nortjè, Marilynn Gazowsky, Jerry Dillon, James Lewis among others. Beyond this, I am in debt to those who suggested further contacts and previously unknown or unconsidered avenues of exploration which turned out to be infinitely valuable. I mention Edwin Judd, as one example, who, in the early stages of my work, brought W.M. Greer to my attention and encouraged me to make the trip to western Tennessee to discuss this project with him. Gerald J. Pillay commented shrewdly on the manuscript. Jim Wilkins, Dan Lewis, Loren Yadon, Stanley Burgess, Chris Thomas, David Reed, Ignatius du Plessis and three other anonymous readers read various drafts of the book and made valuable comments. In the early stages of my investigations, Virginia Rigdon assisted me with research in the archives of the United Pentecostal Church, Wayne Warner and Joyce Lee at the Assemblies of God archives and T.F. Tenney at the museum and archives of the Louisiana District. I am in considerable debt to Duncan Shaw–Brown, Paul Eagle, Les Kokay and Shereen Siddiqui for their skilful technical expertise on matters relating to the production of the book. My son, Jakoub Luther Fudge, cut his teeth at age nine on research in cold, dark, dirty church attic ‘archives’ helping his father discover elusive remnants of the past. The adventures were memorable. As always, my gratitude must be extended to Mandi Miller whose indefatigable support has sustained me yet again and who causes me to reflect frequently on the meaning of ‘new birth’. Her help with the indexing (now a tradition) made bearable an enormous task.

In several instances, individuals who provided comment or information requested that their names be withheld. While I would prefer to clarify all sources of documentation I have acquiesced in their wishes. I could find no information about many of the songs referred to in chapter six and in those cases it was not possible to provide a reference to the song writer, possible publication or details of recording (in those instances where recordings may have been made).

The reader will either be pleased or appalled by the preponderance of footnotes accompanying the text. The total of 1,948 references, sometimes presented in elongated fashion, constitute the heart of this study. Detractors of the arguments developed will have to come to terms with the collected evidence and documentation. Science teaches us that all theories worth defending must be continuously subjected to reevaluation and retesting. There are theories about Oneness Pentecostal history and the doctrine of

salvation in the United Pentecostal Church. I have attempted to uniformly subject those theories to the lamp of critical scholarship and in doing so have presented new evidence for others to consider, explore and evaluate. The weight of amassed evidence seems essential and instructive. I have endeavored neither to build a case nor advance any point of argument without careful consideration and supporting documentation. I have attempted to follow the biblical adage which advises that all things should be established on the basis of two or three witnesses. I have made an effort to avoid the pitfalls of arguing too much on too little. ‘Beware the man of one book’ is an ancient Roman proverb which is appropriate to any proper historical or theological investigation. History is unforgiving towards those who are unable or unwilling to face the truths with which they have tampered. Reaching the end of this study I cautiously repeat the words of the German historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr: ‘In laying down the pen, we must be able to say in the sight of God, “I have not knowingly nor without earnest investigation written anything which is not true.”’ The reader must consider and determine if that objective has been achieved. That said, it is my hope that this book may fulfill in some small measure Cecil Bennett’s prayer: ‘may the truth finally be told.’⁸

The title will be contentious. Notwithstanding this, the assertion does reinforce and support the findings of my research. This conclusion is apropos of the United Pentecostal Church as an organization and is an important element emerging from its ‘official’ theology. It cannot necessarily apply *carte blanche* either to the ministerial constituency or to the lay membership of the UPC. In my extensive travels across North America I found ministers, here and there, from time to time, resembling old Roman citizens exhibiting *dignitas*, *gravitas*, *honestas*, and *simplicitas* who clearly can, and must, be regarded as soldiers of the cross. That said, these were far fewer in number than proponents of a strict and exclusive ‘water and Spirit’ soteriology. In that doctrinal polarity this book is dedicated to the two men who have influenced me most in terms of my understanding of theology, though perhaps not in ways they intended. If I cannot be confident, at least I can be hopeful of having written a book worthy of the learning and kindness they have given me.

Writing at the end of the European Renaissance John Milton offered sage advice to those facing the threat of new ideas. ‘Where there is much desire to learn, there will be much arguing; many opinions. Let truth and falsehood grapple. Whoever knew truth to be put to the worst in a free and open encounter?’ Milton was quite right, though with Oscar Wilde, ‘I live with the awful fear that I will not be misunderstood.’

This study of the doctrine of salvation in Oneness Pentecostalism has been challenging, provocative and rewarding. It is my hope that the following narrative will convey similar responses and serve to illuminate more clearly certain aspects of Oneness Pentecostal theology and doctrinal history. The dictum medieval Latin authors sometimes wrote at the end of their manuscripts seems appropriate here: ‘*Finis libri, sed non finis quaerendi*’ [the book ends, but not the quest].

⁸ After three hours of discussing the objectives of this study, UPC minister Cecil Bennett prayed this prayer at the grave side of A.D. Gurley in Corinth, Mississippi on 30 August 2000 in the presence of Mildred Bennett, James G. Fudge and the author.

Chapter 1 Currents and Confluence in Pre–Oneness Pentecostal Theology

Oneness theology can neither be said to have existed throughout ecclesiastical history in an unbroken line of continuity nor can it be regarded as having risen in a religious and theological vacuum in the second decade of the twentieth century. As antecedents to the Oneness Pentecostal experience there are four influential theological developments in early Pentecostal history: Charles Parham’s ideas manifested at Topeka, Kansas at the turn of the century; the Azusa Street revivals in Los Angeles from 1906 onward; the doctrinal revolution associated with William H. Durham articulated between 1910 and 1912; and the theology and implications which marked out the ‘new issue’ controversy from 1913 on. This chapter considers the first three of these developments. Interwoven in these developments are historical and theological trajectories. These trajectories pass through a doctrinal confluence of theological streams which include a notional third work of grace, restorationism, eschatological awareness, personal revelations and private interpretations. Origins of twentieth-century Pentecostal theology can be traced backward along these trajectories to this source.

Charles Parham, Topeka, Kansas, 1901

The records are hopelessly skewed, fraught with faulty memory, bedevilled by prejudice, shaped by anachronism, and romanticized to reflect an ideal. These problems noted, on the night of 31 December 1900 a group of students at Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas gathered for a traditional ‘Watch Night’ service in ‘Stone’s Folly,’ a mansion long considered haunted.¹ In this dwelling students had been studying for some weeks. Prior to this occasion their teacher, Charles F. Parham gave them an assignment in the preceding days. Already interested in the Holy Spirit, Parham completed his lecture series on holiness and premillennialism before Christmas. The students sat their examinations on related matters. Parham then assigned the students to search out the Biblical evidence for the experience of the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Reports filed by the students apparently were unanimous: those receiving the baptism of the Holy Ghost spoke in tongues.² On New Years’ Eve, one of Parham’s students had this experience.

¹ The three–storey house had been built by Erastus R. Stone in the mid 1880s and was a huge rambling edifice with towers and battlements. Stone fell victim to a real estate market collapse and the house was abandoned shortly after construction and remained mostly vacant until Parham rented it for his Bible school in 1900. Local residents called it ‘Stone’s Folly.’ James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville and London: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 64–5.

² Incongruous with the report later written by Agnes Ozman wherein she states, ‘I did not know that I would speak in tongues when I received the Holy Ghost for I did not know it was Bible.’ Agnes N.O. LaBerge, ‘History of the Pentecostal Movement from Jan. 1, 1901,’ 3. Typescript in the Archives of the Assemblies of God, Springfield, Missouri, Record Group 17, Personal Papers–LaBerge. See also her published account *What God Hath Wrought: Life and Work of Mrs. Agnes N.O. LaBerge* (Chicago: Herald Publishing Co. Press, n.d. [1937]), 28–9. She makes no mention of Parham in this account. The problematics of historical writing among early Pentecostals is underscored well in Grant Wacker, ‘Are the Golden Oldies still worth Playing?:

[At about 10:30 p.m.] Sister Agnes N. Ozman . . . asked that hands might be laid upon her to receive the Holy Spirit At first I [Parham] refused not having the experience myself. Then being further pressed to do it humbly in the name of Jesus, I laid my hands upon her head and prayed. I had scarcely repeated three dozen sentences when a glory fell upon her, a halo seemed to surround her head and face, and she began speaking in the Chinese language, and was unable to speak English for three days.³

The college constituency was enthralled and Parham determined that everyone, including himself, should fast and pray for this experience. Two days passed, but only Ozman spoke in tongues, though it was claimed that she did so in twenty different languages.⁴ Parham departed to preach a previously scheduled sermon in the city. His sermon in Topeka related the event to the world and Parham declared his expectation that the entire school would receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost and speak in tongues. Parham completed his sermon and returned to Bethel Bible School to discover a remarkable scene. In his absence the students had persisted in seeking for the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Parham relates his arrival.

The door was slightly ajar, the room was lit with only coal oil lamps. As I pushed open the door I found the room was filled with a sheen of white light above the brightness of the lamps.

Twelve ministers, who were in the school of different denominations, were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke with other tongues some trembled under the power of the glory that filled them just before I entered tongues of fire were sitting above their heads I asked [God] for the same blessing Right then there came a slight twist in my throat, a glory fell over me and I began to worship God in the Sweedish [sic] tongue, which later changed to other languages and continued so until the morning.⁵

In the following days more of the Bethel students spoke in tongues and all were declared recipients of the baptism of the Holy Ghost.⁶ These events generally are

Reflections on History Writing among Early Pentecostals' *Pneuma* 8 (No.2, 1986), 94–7.

³ Sarah E. Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham: Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement* (New York: Garland, 1985), 51–3. Parham says it was on New Years' night. *Kol Kare Bomidbar: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (Baxter Springs, KS: Joplin Printing Co., 1944), 34.

⁴ Reported in 'Was [sic] a Pentecost' *The Kansas City Journal* (22 January 1901), 1. Likewise noted in 'New Religion "Discovered" at "Stone's Folly" near Topeka' *Topeka Mail and Breeze* (22 February 1901); 'New Sect in Kansas speaks with Strange Tongues' *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (25 January 1901); 'A Queer Faith' *Topeka Daily Capital* (6 January 1901), 2.

⁵ Sarah E. Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham*, 53–4.

⁶ 'Mr. Parham says that during the last few weeks these apostles have spoken French, German, Swedish, Bohemian, Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Russian, Italian, Spanish and Norwegian.' 'New Sect in Kansas speaks with Strange Tongues' *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (25 January 1901).

regarded as constituting the beginning of modern Pentecostalism in America.⁷ It was the apparent realization of apostolic Christianity. The hymnody of early Pentecostalism is an indispensable source for any study of the theology of the movement, especially in its popular dimensions.

They were in an upper chamber, they were all with one accord,
When the Holy Ghost descended, as was promised by our Lord.

Yes, this pow'r from heav'n descended with the sound of rushing wind;
Tongues of fire came down upon them, as the Lord said He would send.

Yes, this 'old-time' pow'r was given to our fathers who were true;
This is promised to believers, and we all may have it, too.

O Lord, send the pow'r just now, O Lord, send the pow'r just now,
O Lord, send the pow'r just now, And baptize ev'ry one.⁸

Parham regarded these events as God's gift of power to humankind. 'Whenever any student speaks in an unknown tongue . . . the other students can see the cloven tongue of fire descend upon the speaker.'⁹

The days of glory were fated to be short lived. On 5 January one of the students, Samuel J. Riggins, defected and his caustic opinion was published in the local papers. 'I believe the whole of them are crazy . . . I never saw anything like it. They were racing around the room talking and gesticulating and using this strange and senseless language which they claim is the word from the Most High.'¹⁰ Riggins categorically denounced the alleged experience of speaking unlearned world languages or in tongues as a preposterous 'fake.'¹¹ Bethel Bible School did not last long. By July 'Stone's Folly' was sold and within six months burned to the ground under mysterious circumstances.¹² One by one Parham's students departed. Agnes Ozman renounced her experiences in the upper room. The rejected, but not dejected, prophet left Topeka.¹³

⁷ Many of the relevant primary sources have been collected in Larry Martin, (ed.), *The Topeka Outpouring of 1901: Eyewitness Accounts of the Revival that Birthed the 20th Century Pentecostal Charismatic Revival* (Joplin, MO: Christian Life Books, 1997).

⁸ Charlie D. Tillman, 'Old-Time Power,' in *SUL*, no. 199.

⁹ Parham quoted in 'Parham's New Religion Practiced at "Stone's Folly"' *Kansas City Times* [Kansas] (27 January 1901), 55.

¹⁰ Quoted in the *Topeka Daily Capital* (6 January 1901), 2 and a similar story 'Row at Bethel' *Topeka Journal* (7 January 1901), 4.

¹¹ 'Row at Bethel' *Topeka Journal* (7 January 1901), 4.

¹² After Parham the old mansion became a boot-legging establishment featuring wine, women and games of chance on tap nightly. John W. Ripley, 'Erastus Stone's Dream Castle – Birthplace of Pentecostalism' *Shawnee County Historical Bulletin* 52 (No.6,1975), 42.

¹³ On these events see Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 57–8 and Goff, *Fields White unto Harvest*, 85–6. Parham embarked on healing revivals after Topeka.

Historical and Theological Trajectories

All of the features of Pentecostalism, with the exception of tongues, can be found in the Holiness context of the late nineteenth century.¹⁴ Those features include holiness, emotionalism, the centrality of the Bible, preaching, plain religion, lay involvement, an emphasis on faith, healing, a distrust of education and intellectualism, and a quest after power for living.¹⁵ The rise of modern Pentecostalism can be related to four sources: an expansion of the understanding of sanctification, preoccupation with restoring the primitive church, a pervasive eschatological conviction, and the premise of new and personal ‘revelation’. The coalescing of these concepts produced ten years of revivalism and Pentecostal emphases in the first decade of the twentieth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Holiness movements in the United States were breaking up into various factions. In many ways Holiness had ceased to be a movement and was becoming institutionalized in the various churches which had formed out of the vortex of the Holiness revivals. The issue of entire sanctification, long a rallying point for disparate religious movements, had become contentious in the later years of the nineteenth century. ‘Come-out’ movements separated from mainstream Holiness bodies, others were pushed out, while still others were crushed out of existence. Peter Cartwright’s circuit-riding preachers and camp meeting revivalists gave way to new bureaucratic centralized churches. While sanctification did not disappear altogether from Methodism, it no longer had the same sense of emphasis or centrality. Small popular churches like the Church of God Reformation Movement led by Daniel Warner refused to accept these trends and ‘came out’ to practice authentic Christianity. Warner eschewed the Pentecostal emphasis, but numerous other Holiness bodies did not and these disenfranchised groups formed part of the foundation upon which Pentecostalism was established. The Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), the Church of God in Christ and the Pentecostal Holiness Church may be numbered among those Holiness groups to espouse the new emphases and become Pentecostal churches.

Other Pentecostals influenced by Wesleyan–Holiness perspectives developed ideas of apostolic purity but advanced beyond the emphases of Wesley and his disciples. This ‘Apostolic Faith’ movement received the impulses of the Keswick message of power from holiness and other ideas centering on the blessing and power for living derived from the ‘second blessing.’¹⁶ Pentecostals in this context viewed the baptism of

‘Three Months of Religious Fervor’ *Joplin Daily New Herald* (24 January 1904).

¹⁴ 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), 51.

¹⁵ A recent overview is ‘The Nineteenth–Century American Religious Experience,’ in Thomas A. Fudge, *Daniel Warner and the Paradox of Religious Democracy in Nineteenth–Century America* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 11–111.

¹⁶ On Keswick see Daniel Brandt–Bessire, *Aux sources de la spiritualité pentecôtiste* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1986) and David D. Bundy, ‘Keswick and the Experience of Evangelical Piety,’ in *Modern Christian Revivals*, Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall H. Balmer (eds.), (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 118–44.

the Holy Ghost as the fulfilment of the ‘second blessing.’ Differences of interpretation on the doctrine of sanctification precluded continuing fellowship with the Wesleyans and eventually new Pentecostal churches were formed. The most notable example was the Assemblies of God in 1914.

A third trajectory of Pentecostal development was the result of splits within early Pentecostalism itself. In the years 1906 to 1908 the Apostolic Faith movement, begun by Parham, fractured into several parts, mainly over issues of theological *adiaphora* and along lines of personality conflict, styles of leadership and worship. More critical were later shifts and controversy over the doctrine of the Trinity.¹⁷ Protracted theological contention and the persistent inability to find satisfactory resolution precipitated a lasting schism in the years following 1914 wherein Oneness, or non-trinitarian, Pentecostalism took shape and achieved lasting formation.¹⁸ This schism produced a number of denominations, most notably the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (which had older roots) and later the United Pentecostal Church.

A Third Work of Grace

Though he never described it as such, Martin Luther understood the event of justification within humankind as the initial work of grace. Luther regarded justification as divine imputation of the righteousness of God to humankind which can not be obtained through works; works flow from justification. This making righteous is an internal act apart from human participation which causes an individual to be in Christ and has the result that such person is made righteous.¹⁹ The righteousness of God includes, rather than excludes, humankind.²⁰ John Wesley and proponents of the doctrine of holiness articulated sanctification, or Christian perfection, as a distinct second work of grace. According to Wesley, there were three primary doctrines: repentance, faith and holiness. The first was ‘the porch of religion,’ the second was the ‘door,’ while the third was ‘religion itself.’²¹ Standing apart from Luther (and most other Protestant Reformers), Wesley conceived of repentance as prior to faith. Repentance was a human act leading to faith, to the door.

¹⁷ ‘The denying of the Trinity in the teaching that some follow now was never in this outpouring of the Spirit at the beginning.’ Agnes LaBerge, ‘History of the Pentecostal Movement from Jan. 1, 1901,’ 5.

¹⁸ On this phenomenon, which is the subject of the remaining chapters, see Ewart, 108–34; Clanton, 15–137 and Reed, *passim*.

¹⁹ This framework of understanding can be found in Luther’s large commentary on Galatians (1519) in *WA*, volume 2, 455,458,460,489–92 and 555.

²⁰ *WA* 56, 172. In secondary literature see H.J. Iwand, ‘Glaubensgerechtigkeit,’ in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 2, G. Sauter, (ed.), *TB* 64, 1980, 107–111; Berndt Hamm, ‘Was ist reformatorische Rechtfertigungslehre?’ *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 83 (1986), 1–38 and C. Scott Dixon, (ed.), *The German Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 53–90.

²¹ John Wesley, ‘The Principles of a Methodist farther explained,’ letter to Rev. Mr. Church, 17 June 1746, in *The Works of John Wesley*, third edition, 14 volumes (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979), volume 8, 414–81(472)

Justification, which for Luther was the supreme religious moment, was for Wesley only the *entrée* into Christianity. The essence of the faith for Wesley was holiness.²² Faith was not something confessed (Luther would agree) but an event which changed the heart of the individual confessing, enabling that person to confess. Thus, faith is both the *sine qua non* and the instrument of holiness. Holiness begins when one believes. The extent to which one believes indicates and regulates the extent to which one attains holiness.²³

There were persons and movements originating in the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century consciously developing the concept of a third work of grace.²⁴ In the immediate Pentecostal context, which forms the basis for any discussion of Oneness Pentecostalism, that third work of grace came to be associated with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Charles Parham was among the first to make that identification. For Parham, this experience was similar to the process of sanctification, in the Wesleyan–Methodist–Holiness sense, but the baptism of the Holy Ghost was distinctively different. Parham was influenced both by Keswick and Wesleyan emphases on this matter and there is evidence to suggest that the two experiences were regarded as separate in a number of Holiness bodies. One of the hallmarks of Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century was a growing emphasis away from ‘traditional’ sanctification to this third work of grace. This is not to be understood as a rejection of sanctification as much as it is a growing preoccupation with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Pentecostal leaders like Charles Parham came to regard this experience as the preeminent spiritual blessing and their emphases centered on it, sometimes to the virtual exclusion of other aspects of the Christian experience.²⁵ Parham regarded justification as removing committed sins, sanctification as dealing with the inbred propensity to commit sin, while the baptism of the Holy Ghost was empowerment.²⁶

In the last decade of the nineteenth century radical Holiness movements took up the teaching of a third blessing. If Wesley was the progenitor of a second work of grace then the idea of a third work of grace could be assigned to one Jean de la Fléchère, a colleague of John Wesley. Better known by the English form of his name, John W. Fletcher, this Swiss theologian was an ardent defender of evangelical Arminianism and holiness. Fletcher taught an experience subsequent to sanctification which he called a ‘baptism of burning love.’ He spoke of being baptised with fire and being empowered

²² By comparison, Parham conceived of sanctification as the mere dawning of the Christian experience. Charles F. Parham, *The Everlasting Gospel* (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, no date), 11. In a foreword to the book, Robert L. Parham states that the text was written in 1911. That does not square with some of the contents. For example, Parham states that ‘[n]ineteen years ago, at Topeka, God baptised his true ones with the real Pentecost’, 31.

²³ ‘Minutes of some late conversations between the Rev. Mr. Wesleys and others,’ 26 June 1744, in *The Works of John Wesley*, volume 8, 279.

²⁴ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids: Francis and Taylor Publishing House, 1987), 95–100 covers this topic though it should be noted that I have neither followed his outline nor necessarily adopted his interpretations.

²⁵ See the comments along these lines in Goff, *Fields White unto Harvest*, 34–5.

²⁶ Robert L. Parham, compiler, *Selected Sermons of the late Charles F. Parham and Sarah E. Parham* (Baxter Springs, KS: By the editor, 1941), 55–6.

with divine force. The terminology of baptism in the Holy Ghost and fire, derived from the New Testament, can also be found in Fletcher's work. He wrote of the fullness of the Spirit and the 'pentecostal glory of the church.' According to Fletcher, it was not enough to be saved from sin. It was necessary to be filled with the Spirit.²⁷ The Nebraska Holiness preacher Benjamin Hardin Irwin was influenced significantly by Fletcher and in the 1890s embarked upon a personal spiritual journey in which he began to seek for this baptism of fire.²⁸ Ostensibly, Irwin was baptised with fire and began to preach the message of this third work of grace. His meetings were characterized by emotion, shouting, screaming, jerking and there were accounts of speaking in other tongues. All of this, save for tongues, were features of revivalism and camp meetings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Much of the mainstream Holiness movement rejected Irwin as a fanatic. Undaunted, Irwin persisted and in 1895 'Fire-Baptized Holiness Associations' were formed in various parts of the country. Though Irwin was forced to confess in 1900 to living a life of 'open and gross sin,' compelled to resign his position of prominence and was subsequently deposed, the teaching and the movement went on.²⁹ One of the observers at Irwin's fire-baptized meetings was none other than Charles Parham.³⁰

Parham taught that the Holiness movements of the nineteenth century had erred in regarding sanctification as synonymous with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. The latter was a third blessing. Justification saved humankind from sin. Sanctification purified the believer while the third work of grace empowered the Christian for service. Following the events surrounding the beginning of 1901 in Topeka, Parham took up the message of this third work of grace with vigor. The research carried out by his students had demonstrated that the sole evidence for this third blessing according to the New Testament was the phenomenon of glossolalia. That there were other baptisms was not to be denied. But they were qualitatively different. The baptism of sanctification was one thing, the baptism of fire was perhaps something else, but neither were to be regarded as the New Testament experience related in the Acts of the Apostles. It was quite true that Holiness bodies and the literature of the Holiness movement used terms such as the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit,' the 'baptism of the Holy Ghost,' 'sanctification,' 'holiness' and 'Christian perfection' interchangeably. For Parham and other Pentecostals this was theologically incorrect. The gatherings in Topeka made that clear. Until the evidence of

²⁷ John Fletcher, *The Works of the Rev. John Fletcher*, 9 vols (London: John Mason, 1859–60), see especially vol 2, 632–69 and vol 4, 230–32. Wesley thought very highly of Fletcher and designated him as his successor. Fletcher however died six years before Wesley. His theological background was in Geneva. He was converted by the Methodists in England, ordained in 1757, assisted Wesley in London for a time, took up a parish in 1760. He was active both in the promotion of holiness as well as in the theological disputes with the Calvinists in the 1770s.

²⁸ On Irwin see Vinson Synan, *The Old-Time Power* (Franklin Springs, GA: Advocate Press, 1973, rev. edn, 1986), 81–101.

²⁹ J.H. King, 'History of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church' *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (March–April, 1921) and Vinson Synan, *The Holiness–Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1971), 55–76.

³⁰ Parham comments on his observations in 'Sermon by Charles F. Parham' *AF* (April 1925), 9–14.

speaking in other tongues was manifested in the lives of believers, none could assume they had in fact been endowed with heavenly power. On this point Parham was adamant.³¹ Oneness Pentecostals later appealed to Parham on this issue, arguing that the priority of Spirit baptism existed from the very beginning of modern Pentecostalism.

Irwin and Parham were joined by others in the teaching of a distinct third work of grace. The Canadian evangelist Ralph C. Horner (1853–1921) is the third of an early triumvirate of third blessing proponents. Horner acknowledged his debt to Wesley on the doctrine of sanctification but criticized Wesley for his failure to connect holiness and entire sanctification to the experience of Pentecost. Horner is thoroughly Wesleyan up to the point where he connects the Wesleyan emphases of prevenient grace, repentance, justification and sanctification to the themes of a third work of grace characteristic of early Pentecostalism. In the patterns already noted with respect to Irwin and Parham, Horner's ministry began to feature the many and varied manifestations of the Holy Ghost.³² The same idea was later trumpeted during the Azusa Street revivals between 1906 and 1909.³³ Essentially, the extension of the understanding of the doctrine of sanctification to include a third work of grace or a third blessing amounted to a radicalizing of the Holiness movement. Upon this soil the early seeds of Pentecostal theology and experience flourished. In 1899 Cyrus I. Scofield remarked that more had been written and said about the Holy Spirit in the last quarter of the nineteenth century than in the previous eighteen hundred years.³⁴ Hyperbole notwithstanding, this comment is a window into the religious mentality of the age.

Restoration of the New Testament Church

The concept of restoration is a consistent theme in movements of ecclesiastical *renovatio* and *reformatio* throughout history. Pentecostalism is no exception. The emphases of the Holiness movement overall were generated by impulses of restoration. Charles Parham assigned his students the task of determining primitive church practice and once that was articulated shifted his focus of theology and ministry in the direction of duplicating that practice. Parham is representative rather than exceptional in this regard. In general, Pentecostalism from Parham to the contemporary United Pentecostal Church has cultivated a self-consciousness guided by a cognitive construct which prompts the conclusion that an extension or restoration of the early church is hereby realized.

The vision of a modern restoration of the early church within Pentecostalism embraced several main themes including religious reform in general, assumptions of

³¹ Parham, 'A Critical analysis of the Tongues Question' *AF* (June 1925), 2–6.

³² See R.C. Horner, *Bible Doctrines*, 2 volumes (Ottawa: Holiness Movement Publishing House, 1909); Horner, *Evangelist: Reminiscences from his own Pen, also Reports on Five Typical Sermons* (Brockville: Standard Church Book Room, n.d.); and Brian R. Ross, 'Ralph Cecil Horner: A Methodist Sectarian Deposed, 1887–1895' *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19 (March–June, 1977), 94–103.

³³ Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, 2 volumes (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), volume 1, 97.

³⁴ *Plain Papers on the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (New York, 1899), preface.

Christian unity and simplicity, definite eschatological concerns and convictions, and anti-denominationalism.³⁵ There was an intentional avoidance of ecclesiastical tradition, doctrine and polity in the drive for restoration. The authority of Scripture and the perceived purity and simplicity of the Bible and the early church were prime motivators and always, in the Pentecostal perspective, superceded non-biblical incentives and ideas. The conviction among some Pentecostals of an unbroken line of continuity running through the ages can be found among the historical roots perspective of the early movements. For others who did not clearly or necessarily endorse this idea, the rise of Pentecostalism mirrored the rise of the early church and modern American Pentecostalism was the apostolic church *redivivus*.

An examination of the principal text in the *Acts of the Apostles* reveal eight conspicuous features of the original Pentecostal event: they were gathered in an upper room, prayer was the main activity, about one hundred and twenty persons were present, there was wind, visible tongues of fire, those flames sat on each person's head, they spoke in tongues and this speaking in tongues was in the form of known, identifiable world languages. The accounts of the Topeka scenario of 1900/1 betray an uncanny similarity to the events surrounding the Day of Pentecost in the upper room in Jerusalem. Gathered in an 'upper room' in Stone's Folly that new years' eve and following days were the forty students and about seventy-five others, close to one hundred and twenty souls.³⁶ They were there in prayer and news stories had reported earlier that in October of that year students had formed twenty-four hour prayer chains in one of the mansion's towers.³⁷ From two separate sources there were witnesses to visible flames of fire. Howard D. Stanley who was present later asserted that he had seen the phenomenon. 'I saw the clovend [sic] tongues [sic] as of fire came [sic] down into the room'³⁸ Parham said that just as he arrived he received word of the phenomenon. 'Sister Stanley, an elderly lady, came across the room as I entered, telling me that just before I entered tongues of fire were sitting above their heads'³⁹ On that occasion Agnes Ozman spoke in tongues. Ozman ostensibly spoke in Chinese and various other languages.⁴⁰

³⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 12–14.

³⁶ According to Agnes Ozman it was the night of 1 January. 'History of the Pentecostal Movement from Jan. 1, 1901,' 2. Ozman could be in error. She admitted later that her account had been written in haste. Agnes N.O. LaBerge, letter to E.N. Bell, 28 February 1922, 1. Archives of the Assemblies of God, Springfield, MO, Record Group 17, Personal Papers–LaBerge.

³⁷ *Topeka State Journal* (20 October 1900),14.

³⁸ Stanley related this to J. Roswell Flower, 18 February 1949 and 17 May 1954 in the Archives of the Assemblies of God, Springfield, Missouri, Record Group 8–27–Ministerial files, deceased ministers–Stanley, Howard D. Agnes N. Ozman, 'History of the Pentecostal Movement from January 1, 1901' typescript in AG Archives, Springfield, MO does not mention the tongues of fire. The phenomenon is mentioned some years later in *AF* 1 (No.1, 1906),1.

³⁹ Parham, *A Life of Charles F. Parham*, 53–4.

⁴⁰ Parham, *A Life of Charles F. Parham*, 51–3. The question arises of who identified the languages being spoken. Vague references are made by Parham but never any specific identification. It is reasonable to assume that the average student in Parham's upper room,