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**The Jesus Name Controversy:
A Doctrinal Development in the Pentecostal Movement
of the Twentieth Century**

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of the Graduate School of Concordia Seminary
Department of Historical Theology**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts**

by

**Paul Daniel Buford
April 2003**

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INTRODUCTION

Every history is best understood when viewed through the eyes of the movers and shapers of that history. In researching and collecting the material for this thesis, it is necessary to delve into the lives, minds, and times of individuals who played such important roles in the developing Pentecostal movement. James L. Tyson, a contemporary Oneness Pentecostal historian, honored these pioneers when he wrote about the people of the early Oneness Pentecostal controversy.

These men and women were pioneers of a visionary sort. Much of the history . . . is filled with fascinating drama, for it contains much heartbreak and many hardships. It is the story of religious, racial, social, and philosophical prejudices and bigotry, which affected the Pentecostal movement. The story speaks of storefront cathedrals, mule-drawn wagons for transportation to and from these cathedrals, potbellied stoves, wood benches, and planked floors that dominated the décor of those early days. It speaks of organizational splits and divisiveness in a group of people expostulating a unique doctrine of the Godhead in a world dominated by trinitarianism. It is a history of many who were poor and uneducated, but prayerful, faithful, and hard working and who persisted so that there might be a history to write.¹

This “unique doctrine of the Godhead,” God in Christ, emerged and blossomed in the midst of the Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century. Each doctrinal development down through history deserves to be presented historically in an honest and fair manner. While some people may consider a doctrine heresy, others may consider it fresh truth from God. This early Pentecostal issue was no exception.

Tyson, in stating his desire to present a true history of the Pentecostal revival of 1901-1930, wrote: “Our future generation of young men and women cannot enhance the goal of progress in the future without being given the leverage of examining the mistakes

¹ James L. Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival*, (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1992), 12-13.

of the past. If there is to be a history, let it be honest and forthright in its presentation.”² If we do not learn from the mistakes of the past, we will be forced to repeat them. An “honest and forthright” look into the rearview mirror of the past will help the reader progress into the future.

The “mistakes of the past” referred to by Tyson seem to be concerned with developmental difficulties within the organizational structure of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World in the 1920s.³ As such, these mistakes are not crucial to this thesis. However, another issue does need to be addressed in order to present an honest and forthright view of the Pentecostal movement.

There is, in fact, a need to review a vital element of Pentecostal history of the twentieth century—that of a particular doctrinal issue called the Jesus Name Controversy—in order to present that history in a fuller measure. The issue of water baptism in Jesus’ name and the subsequent Oneness theology developed as the outcome of several ideas emerging within Pentecostalism: pietistic experientialism, restorationism, the Finished Work doctrine, and an emphasis on the person and work of Jesus Christ. From this foundation has grown the Oneness Pentecostal movement. I present this thesis, “The Jesus Name Controversy: A Doctrinal Development in the Pentecostal Movement of the Twentieth Century,” as a review of the development of this doctrinal issue. It concludes that a continued emphasis on the above-mentioned concepts will serve to keep the Oneness Pentecostals Christ-centered and Pentecostal in practice and doctrine.

² Tyson, *Early Pentecostal*, 13.

³ James L. Tyson was a member of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World at the time of his writing *The Early Pentecostal Revival, History of Twentieth-Century Pentecostals and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World*. As a member, Tyson had interest in what he considered PAW’s particular organizational problems.

According to David Bernard, Oneness theologian and Urshan Graduate School of Theology president, the Pentecostal movement is important for two reasons. First, “numerically and theologically it is the single most important development within twentieth century Christianity.” Second, “by the end of the century more people would identify with this Pentecostal movement than any other label in Christendom, except for the Roman Catholic Church.”⁴ Vinson Synan agrees with Bernard, noting that this Pentecostal movement not only constitutes the second largest family of Christians in the world, but also is found in virtually every nation and ethnic group in the world. “By the end of the [twentieth] century, over 500,000,000 people were involved in this revival which continues its massive growth into the new millennium.”⁵

According to Harvey Cox, Harvard University professor, in *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century*, the Pentecostal movement has literally reshaped twentieth century religion.⁶ Various other students of religious history have made similar statements. R. G. Robbins, in the *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, wrote that the Pentecostal movement has blossomed into perhaps the single-most significant development in twentieth-century Christianity, considered “the prevailing Evangelical voice, the largest theological tradition within Protestantism, and the fastest growing branch of Christianity.”⁷

⁴ David K. Bernard, *A History of Christian Doctrine, the Twentieth Century* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1999), 7, 9.

⁵ Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), ix.

⁶ Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: the Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995): iv-xviii.

⁷ R. G. Robbins, “Pentecostal Movement,” in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, ed. Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 886, 890.

According to Robert G. Clouse, in the “Pentecostal Churches” entry in the *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, the impressive growth of Pentecostalism and the concurrent decline of the major Protestant churches have caused concern in many circles. This concern has led to studies of the growth of Pentecostalism.

Drawing from his personal studies of Pentecostal churches, Clouse attributes increasing public attention to two elements. One is that higher social classes are being attracted to Pentecostalism’s teachings. The second element is the building of attractive modern church buildings and the establishing of accredited colleges, orphanages, and other institutions. Because of the tremendous growth of indigenous Pentecostal churches in Chile, Brazil, and South Africa, some have predicted that the “future center of Christianity will be in the southern hemisphere among non-Caucasian Pentecostals.”⁸ It is interesting that the prediction quoted here includes the placement of the future center of Christianity among Pentecostals. If this is true, in addition to the present importance of the Pentecostal movement, the future impact of the movement upon Christianity as a whole is notable also.

The preceding comments have been about the Pentecostal movement as a whole, but this thesis is concerned primarily with its third stream, the Oneness Pentecostal movement, that deserves attention in its own right. As Walter J. Hollenweger in *The Pentecostals* observes, there is “also a not inconsiderable group of Pentecostals for whom the only valid baptism is that carried out ‘in the name of Jesus.’” According to Hollenweger, the dispute regarding the correct formula of baptism—a dispute between Trinitarian Pentecostals who baptize in the titles of the Trinity following Matthew 28:19

⁸ Robert G. Clouse, “Pentecostal Churches,” in *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids, MI: Regency Reference Library, Zondervan Publishing House, 1974, 1978), 763-64.

and the Oneness Pentecostals who baptize in Jesus' name following Acts 2:38 and similar passages—has not yet been resolved.⁹ These two statements, “a not inconsiderable group” and “has not yet been resolved,” show the need for this study.

These various competing voices lend credence to Bernard's statement about the importance of the Pentecostal movement. A major debate in the movement's history was the Jesus Name Controversy of 1913-1916 that culminated in the division of the movement.

Following the Pentecostal movement's schism over the Jesus Name issue, or “New Issue” as it was often called, the Oneness branch of Pentecostalism has grown and prospered. As a vital part of the overall Pentecostal movement, it remains a major theological force. David A. Reed's “What Do Oneness Pentecostals Believe?” entry in Vinson Synan's *The Century of the Holy Spirit* identifies Oneness Pentecostalism as the third stream of the twentieth-century Pentecostal movement, with the Holiness Pentecostal and the Finished Work movements being the other two.¹⁰ To understand better the development of this third stream, the setting for the rebirth of the Pentecostal experience in the twentieth century will be considered now.¹¹

⁹ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972, paper back edition, 1977), 392.

¹⁰ David A. Reed, “What Do Oneness Pentecostals Believe?” in Synan's *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 144-145.

¹¹ Appendix 1 shows how church history and secular history of the twentieth century meshed. It shows how the early Pentecostal movement fit into its secular setting. One point of interest in Appendix 1 is the dates of birth for the men involved in the Pentecostal movement. A large portion of them were born immediately following the Civil War. Even during this racially stressful period, several strong leaders of the movement emerged from the Afro-American community. Three notable men were William Seymour, C. H. Mason, and G. T. Haywood.

Other possible links and connections between the secular world and the Pentecostal movement, while beyond the limits of this thesis, are worth noting. Two examples are (1) the “birth” of the Pentecostal movement occurring on the first day of the new century, and (2) World War I and the Oneness Pentecostal movement beginning in the same year.

CHAPTER I

SETTING—THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

Following the cataclysmic turmoil of the American Civil War came a period of industrial expansion. This expansion was accompanied by materialism, corruption, and social dislocation. The response of the church in general was to renew its call to holiness. While this resurgence of the Holiness movement was both international and interdenominational, in America it was a predominantly Methodist endeavor.

In 1866, its centennial year, the Methodist church sponsored prayer gatherings, conventions, and camp meetings following holiness themes. This holiness movement within the Methodist church attempted to reassert pietistic values within the church and larger culture. This brought conflict. The Holiness group saw the church's accommodation of new social and intellectual forces as bringing in a new set of values that were not pietistic (sacred, as distinguished from secular or profane) in nature, but were instead "worldly." The larger body of the church members saw the holiness faction as puritanical and fanatical in attitude. Seeing the Methodist church as troubled with secularization, formality in worship, theological liberalism, and, later, socialized religion, the holiness group began pulling away from the church at large, but primarily from the Methodist church from which it came.¹²

As the Holiness revival swept the Methodist churches, religious manifestations began to appear which most Methodist leaders tended to discountenance as disruptive and unseemly. Their attempt to discipline led to defiance and outright secession. The Holiness

¹² Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited, the Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 28-46; William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve, the Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 33.

segment of the Methodist church saw rapid growth. By 1888 there were 206 full-time Holiness evangelists in the field. This numerical growth brought about a climate for division. The climax came in 1893 and 1894 when the unwritten truce between the Methodist churches and the Holiness associations ended. Secessions became common, both of entire congregations as well as groups from within congregations. From this time of division eventually came two basic groups or movements. One type was “the moderate one which the term ‘Holiness’ designates, and a more extreme alternative, which adopted the name ‘Pentecostal.’”¹³

The Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century had its roots in the Holiness movement of the nineteenth century. Many of the Holiness teachings were a revival of the teachings of John Wesley of the eighteenth-century Church of England.

A defining doctrine of the Holiness movement was Wesley’s teaching of entire sanctification. He taught that a sinner is converted, justified, and receives forgiveness of all sins when he first believes in Jesus. The believer’s sinful nature still dominates him, however, until he receives entire sanctification or Christian perfection. After that, the believer still has the ability to sin, but his inward nature—that sinful nature inherited from Adam—is no longer a source of temptation. While Wesley’s teaching emphasized an ongoing process of sanctification with Christian perfection as its goal, the later Holiness movement emphasized sanctification as a crisis experience. In essence, the Holiness groups taught that everyone should seek two distinct experiences with God, sometimes called works of grace. These two works were conversion and sanctification.¹⁴

¹³ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), 817-818.

¹⁴ Bernard, *History*, 10; J. W. Horne, “Sermon,” in *Peniel; or Face to Face with God*, ed. A. McLean and J. W. Eaton (New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr., 1869), 26.

This teaching was a critical part of the setting from which the Pentecostal movement emerged.

The First General Holiness Assembly held in Chicago in May of 1885 adopted a doctrinal statement which read:

Entire Sanctification more commonly designated as “sanctification,” “holiness,” “Christian perfection,” or “perfect love,” represents that second definite stage in Christian experience wherein, by the baptism with the Holy Spirit, administered by Jesus Christ, and received instantaneously by faith, the justified believer is delivered from inbred sin, and consequently is saved from all unholy tempers, cleansed from all moral defilement, made perfect in love and introduced into full and abiding fellowship with God.¹⁵

After noticing that the disciples of the Book of Acts were “baptized with the Holy Ghost,” people of the Holiness movement began to see entire sanctification as being the same as the baptism of the Holy Ghost. At this point in time, however, they did not connect this experience with speaking in tongues.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century some people from the Holiness movement began to teach a rival view that came to be known as Keswick holiness. The name derived from the resort town of Keswick in the mountainous Lake District of Cumberland County in northwest England in which the annual conferences were held. The first convention of the Keswick group was held in 1875. The Keswick group was made up primarily of Brethren, Anglicans, and Calvinist Baptists and Presbyterians who pledged themselves to the furtherance of revivals, missionary work, and the “higher life.”

¹⁵ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 39; quoting S. B. Shaw (ed.), *Echos of the General Holiness Assembly* (Chicago: S. B. Shaw, 1901), 29-30.

A. T. Pierson, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, expressed the higher life as walking in the Spirit. He contrasted it to his assumption that “the average Christian life is grievously destitute of real spiritual power and often essentially carnal.”¹⁶

Some of the Keswick proponents were Dwight L. Moody, R. A. Torrey, Adoniram J. Gordon, Albert B. Simpson, J. Wilbur Chapman, C. I. Scofield, James M. Gray, and Arthur T. Pierson.

Arising from the Keswick group’s Anglican and Calvinist background was a resistance to Wesleyan perfectionism. Instead, they gave the doctrine of baptism in the Holy Spirit a different meaning from that held by the majority of the Holiness people in America. The Wesleyan holiness teaching of perfectionism or entire sanctification was that the inward nature of sin is eradicated in this life. Keswick holiness taught that God, rather than eradicating the inward nature of sin in the believer’s life, He, by His Spirit, gives the Christian power “to overcome and suppress the influence of the sinful nature.”¹⁷

In accordance with Keswick holiness, the believer was encouraged to seek a definite, distinct encounter with God’s Spirit. This would be a crisis experience, enabling him or her to live in the “fullness of the Spirit.” Keswick believers used scriptural language, calling this experience being “baptized with the Holy Ghost.”

Both the followers of Wesleyan perfectionism (stressing the eradication of the sinful nature) and the followers of Keswick holiness (stressing the endowment of power to subdue the sinful nature) encouraged repentant people to seek a following baptism of

¹⁶ A. T. Pierson, *Forward Movements of the Last Half Century* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1900), 32-33.

¹⁷ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 39-43; D. D. Bundy, “Keswick Higher Life Movement,” in *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 820-821; Bernard, *History*, 11; Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God, A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism* 2 vols. (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 1:57-64.

the Holy Spirit. Though the groups had different views regarding holiness, they both used similar terminology in encouraging people to seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit to give them victory over sin. As was common among restorationists, they wanted to “go back to Pentecost!” They sought a “baptism of Holy Ghost and fire.”¹⁸

Synan notes in *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement* that “the historical and doctrinal lineage of American Pentecostalism is to be found in the Wesleyan Tradition.” While this is true up to a point, Anderson more fully and accurately states that “the Pentecostal movement was as much a departure from the Wesleyan tradition as a development from it.”¹⁹ Anderson’s statement offers a more complete understanding of the Pentecostal movement’s connection to the Holiness movement.

Edith Blumhofer quotes from Bennett F. Lawrence’s *Apostolic Faith Restored in her history of the Assemblies of God*. Lawrence’s early viewpoint is important.

The honest-hearted thinking men and women of this great movement . . . have made the New Testament their rule of life. This effort, which is so general throughout the movement, has had a peculiar effect upon those who were exercised thereby. The older denominations have a past which is their own in a peculiar sense; they can trace the beginnings of their church and the course of its history subsequent to its foundation. The time between the beginning and the present has been sufficient to establish precedent, create habit, formulate custom. In this way they have become possessed of a two-fold inheritance, a two-fold guide of action, a two-fold criterion of doctrine—the New Testament and the church position. The Pentecostal Movement has no such history; it leaps the intervening years crying, “Back to Pentecost.” In the minds of these honest-hearted thinking men and women, this work of God is immediately connected with the work of God in New Testament days. . . . They do not recognize a doctrine of custom as authoritative unless it can be traced to that primal source of church instruction, the Lord and His apostles.

This reversion to the New Testament was directly responsible for the Movement.²⁰

¹⁸ Bernard, *History*, 10-12.

¹⁹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 43; Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 8.

²⁰ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:14. Bennett F. Lawrence began an early attempt to provide the Pentecostal movement with a historical identity. In 1916 he wrote his first installment

Lawrence correctly attributed the movement's driving force to its position of restorationism, defined as the attempt to recapture the presumed vitality, message, and form of the Apostolic Church. In reference to Lawrence's statement, Blumhofer wrote that while other streams of nineteenth-century piety—such as the diffuse Holiness movement, German pietism, premillennialism, and “higher life” teaching—intermingled in important ways in the Pentecostal subculture, towering over all of them, however, was restorationism.

As restorationists, followers of the emerging Pentecostal movement felt strongly that the Pentecostal experience of the Book of Acts should be the norm for the believer. Oscar Vouga, an early Oneness preacher and leader, wrote in *Our Gospel*, “The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles are the only inspired books that we have which give an accurate account of how the apostles obeyed Matthew 28:19, under the direction of the Holy Spirit.”²¹ While Vouga was referring to the baptism issue, the restorationist's persuasion and reasoning was the same for the infilling of the Holy Ghost.

Nathan Hatch quotes early Pentecostal leader A. J. Tomlinson as claiming, “We have the Bible for everything, and we have no creeds, rituals, or articles of faith.”²² This Bible-only, restorationist viewpoint was widespread among the Pentecostals of the early twentieth century.

It is difficult for Pentecostals to accept the historic church as the church if its members do not seem to take seriously the document of the normative primitive church,

for *The Weekly Evangel*. The compiled articles were published in book form as *The Apostolic Faith Restored*.

²¹ Oscar Vouga, *Our Gospel Message* (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, n.d.).

²² Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 215.

the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. This observation reflects the keenness of the early twentieth century Pentecostal believers to follow the Book of Acts in the development of their theology.

In 1960 there was a genuine dialogue between the Dutch Pentecostal movement and the Reformed Church in Holland. A *Pastoral Letter of the Reformed Church* was published. In the *Pastoral Letter* the Reformed Church resisted the theory of the Pentecostals that the descriptions of baptisms of the Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles should be regarded as binding directions for the reception of the Holy Spirit by present-day Christians. The Dutch Pentecostals responded, thanking the Reformed Church for the letter and saying that they considered the letter not as a “pointing finger” but as an “outstretched hand.” However, the Pentecostals disagreed with the *Pastoral Letter* in that they believed that the Acts of the Apostles provides a norm for present-day Christians, and that consequently it is necessary for regeneration to be followed by a special baptism of the Spirit. While the Pentecostals admitted that the New Testament contains no explicit teaching about the baptism of the Spirit, they believed that one should be guided by the experiences of the apostles and the early church, which provide our pattern.²³

Charles Fox Parham, the Father of the Modern Pentecostal Movement

The restorationist mindset among many of the holiness groups at the turn of the century helped to prepare the way for the emerging Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century. It was into this setting that Charles Parham came. He was born in Muscatine, Iowa, on June 4, 1873, and felt a call to the ministry at the age of nine while affiliated with the Congregational Church. He joined the Methodist Church at the age of

²³ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 432-436.

fourteen. At sixteen he enrolled at Southwestern College in Winfield, Kansas, to prepare for the ministry. During his studies at Southwestern College, for a season Parham doubted his call to the ministry. He considered changing his field of study from ministry to medicine. During this time of indecision and doubt he contracted rheumatic fever and almost died. He felt that this was due to him disobeying and not following God. He prayed, asking God for healing, and was restored to good health—an event that may have drawn his attention to the healing ministry.

He finished college at the age of nineteen and began pastoring two Methodist churches in Linwood and Eudora, Kansas. In 1894 he began to have fellowship with brethren in the Holiness movement, and the next year he broke with the Methodist Church. He married Sarah Eleanor Thistlethwaite, a devoted Quaker, in 1896.²⁴ In 1898 they moved to Topeka, Kansas, and he and his wife opened Bethel Divine Healing Home. While at Topeka he published a bimonthly paper, *The Apostolic Faith*, which was filled with testimonies of people who had been healed and messages that he had preached and taught on the subject.

During 1900 Parham hungered to know more about the ways of holiness and visited John Alexander Dowie, healing evangelist and founder of Zion City in Zion, Illinois. He then visited the faith-healing ministry of Dr. A. B. Simpson in Nyack, New York.²⁵ He also traveled to visit other Holiness movements in Cleveland, Chicago, and Siloah, Maine.

²⁴ Larry Martin, *In the Beginning, Readings on the Origins of the Twentieth Century Pentecostal Revival and the Birth of the Pentecostal Church of God* (Duncan, OK: Christian Life Books, 1994), 17.

²⁵ Dr. A. B. Simpson was one of the Keswick group mentioned earlier.

Upon his return to Topeka, Parham sought God for direction for his future work. Some of his friends encouraged him to open a Bible school and he felt led to do so. Following a series of incidents that he referred to as miracles, Parham was able to rent "Stone's Folly," which was a great three-story mansion built by Erastus Stone (who never spent a single night there) and patterned after an English medieval castle, located one mile west of Washburn College in Topeka.

Parham opened Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas on October 15, 1900, at the age of twenty-seven. The school was open for less than one year, until July 1901. There were forty students, both married and single. Most of the students were lay people, but about twelve of them had already been involved in ministry. The students were from various denominations, with the majority being from Holiness, Friends, and Methodist groups. Some belonged to no denomination at all. Parham's wife, Sarah, wrote, "There were only white persons present at the first Pentecostal shower. No colored people were ever in the school."²⁶ This would be in accordance to Parham's segregationist view.²⁷

The curriculum of the school seems to have been very simple. Parham would assign a biblical topic, and the students would explore together what the Bible had to say about it. The Bible was the only textbook used.²⁸ They studied such topics as divine

²⁶ Sarah E. Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham* (Joplin, MO: Hunter Printing Company, 1930, second printing 1969), 63.

²⁷ Martin, *In the Beginning*, 23. Martin records details of Parham's racial views that were considered shocking even in the early twentieth century. According to Martin, Parham was accused of telling blacks that they could not become part of the bride of Christ because of their race and that interracial marriages were the cause of the flood of Noah's time. See also James R. Goff, Jr. *Fields White Unto Harvest, Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 103-105.

²⁸ Parham's practice of using the Bible as the only textbook was in accordance with accepted practice in the Holiness movement. Parham and about eight others from his Topeka mission had visited "Shiloh," a well-known Holiness center/Bible and missionary training center in Durham, Maine, in the summer of 1900. Parham stayed there about six weeks and was highly impressed. According to Anderson in *The Vision of the Disinherited*, page 50-51, the Bible as the only textbook was one of the things that Parham observed at Shiloh and put into practice at Bethel.

healing, repentance, the second coming of Christ, sanctification, and conversion. Parham said, "Our purpose in this Bible School was not to learn things in our head only but have each thing in the Scriptures wrought out in our hearts."²⁹ In response to this stated purpose, the upper portion or turret of the mansion was called the prayer tower, and the students offered continual prayer in three-hour watches. In addition to Bible study and prayer, Parham directed the students to make home visitations as a practical extension of their studies.

In December of 1900, Parham gave a study topic assignment to the students on this topic: What does the Bible have to offer as evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost? He believed a Christian's baptism experience "should tally exactly with the Bible, and neither sanctification nor the anointing that abideth taught by Stephen Merritt and others tallied with the second chapter of Acts."³⁰ He was convinced that a supernatural experience accompanied regeneration and sanctification. Parham then left on a three-day preaching trip.

Parham returned to Topeka and Bethel Bible College on the morning of December 31, 1900. At 10:00 he rang the bell calling the students to chapel and asked at what conclusions they had arrived while he was absent. As he questioned each student, one by one, he was amazed to find that the students had all come to the same conclusion. They believed that speaking in other tongues, as the Spirit gives the utterance, is the initial evidence for a person's receiving the baptism of the Holy Ghost, giving biblical

According to W. G. MacDonald's entry "Jesus Christ" in the *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, the early Pentecostals had no great theologians of their own and desired none. Instead they were left "pretty well unobstructed in their concentration on the Bible, considered to be an open book to all conscientious believers. [The Bible was] read constantly, memorized extensively, and quoted or paraphrased rather than 'interpreted' more often than not."

²⁹ Robert L. Parham, comp., *Selected Sermons of the Late Charles F. Parham and Sarah E. Parham* (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1941), 75.

³⁰ Sarah E. Parham, *Charles F. Parham*, 52.

references such as Acts 2:4; 10:45-46; and 19:6 as their proof texts. The Bethel students thought that much importance should be placed on Acts 2:2-4. They said that while there were several heavenly things that happened on the Day of Pentecost, the common denominator for each of the 120 people in the upper room was that they spoke with other tongues. The students concluded that this was the biblical evidence of a genuine baptism in the Spirit.

Following their profession of faith regarding what they perceived to be the mind of God, Parham and the students charted a course of action they hoped would end with each of them receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This definite step brought about an air of expectancy to Bethel Bible College. The students began to pray in earnest that “God would honor their faith and reveal His truths as He did nineteen hundred years ago in Jerusalem when His Spirit fell on another set of believers awaiting the same promise.”³¹

The student body began praying and continued in prayer, with a conviction that, when and if any of the students should be baptized by the Holy Ghost, the gift of “speaking in tongues” might accompany it. They prayed through the night, their watch party of New Year’s Eve being an extended prayer meeting. There were about seventy-five guests present in addition to the forty students. Their earnest faith brought about the expected occurrence on the evening of January 1, 1901.³² Interestingly, this was the very first day of the twentieth century!

On the first day of 1901 Agnes N. Ozman (later LaBerge), a thirty-year-old student who had attended two Bible schools before coming to Bethel, asked Parham if he

³¹ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal*, 21-22.

³² Frank J. Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, rev. ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 2000), 51-54; Robert L. Parham, comp., *Selected*, 76.

would place his hands upon her head and pray for her. She remembered that in the Book of Acts many of the Spirit baptisms were accompanied by the “laying of hands” on the recipient. According to Miss Ozman’s written testimony, as soon as Parham laid his hands on her head she began to speak syllables that neither of them understood. She was “speaking in tongues!”³³

During the following week several other Spirit baptisms were reported to have occurred. Each of them was preceded by prayer and the laying on of hands, and was followed by the recipient speaking in tongues. Parham and ministers of several different denominations said that they, too, were baptized by the Holy Ghost and spoke in tongues.

During this time of spiritual outpouring a song “rang in triumph through the beautiful building!” According to Sarah Parham in her book, *The Life of Charles F. Parham*, the favored song was Francis Bottome’s and William J. Kirkpatrick’s “The Comforter Has Come.” Written in 1890, the words of the first stanza and chorus sounded more beautiful to her then than at any other time.

O spread the tidings ‘round, wherever man is found,
Wherever human hearts and human woes abound;
Let ev’ry Christian tongue proclaim the joyful sound:
The Comforter has come!

The Comforter has come, The Comforter has come!
The Holy Ghost from Heav’en, The Father’s promise giv’n;
O, spread the tidings ‘round, wherever man is found—
The Comforter has come!

³³ Sarah Parham includes in her *Life of Parham* several other testimonies of eyewitnesses. One is the written testimony of Miss Agnes N. Ozman. The other is a chapter by Sarah’s sister, Miss Lilian Thistlethwaite. These two sources add to Sarah and Charles Parham’s view of the happenings of the Topeka revival.

“We sang it with grateful hearts, in praise and thanksgiving to our Father who had fulfilled His promise and given us the Comforter, the Holy Spirit.”³⁴

Pentecostals around the world and through the years have consistently stated that January 1, 1901, at Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, was the place and time the American Pentecostal movement began. Ahlstrom agrees, and, speaking of the gift of the Spirit coming to Agnes N. Ozman, writes that “from this event can be traced a powerful movement which by 1970 was claiming a worldwide membership of over eight million.”³⁵

Agnes Nevada Ozman (1870-1937) was thirty years old at the time of her Pentecostal infilling. (Agnes was three years older than Charles Parham.) Agnes attended a Methodist Episcopal church early in life and was a participant in various nondenominational settings as well. In 1892 she attended a winter term at T. C. Horton’s Bible school in St. Paul, Minnesota. In 1894 she moved to New York to attend A. B. Simpson’s training institute. She then served for a short time as a city missionary in Kansas City. Following her time as a city missionary she went, in the fall of 1900, to Parham’s school in Topeka.

After Ozman’s tongues experience on January 1, 1901, she returned to city missionary work. In Lincoln in 1906 she heard about Pentecostalism. She related it to her earlier experience of the turn of the century and identified with the emerging movement. In 1911 she married Philemon LaBerge, a Pentecostal preacher. They traveled about the country holding meetings wherever possible. In 1917 LaBerge affiliated with the

³⁴ Sarah E. Parham, *Life of Parham*, 68.

³⁵ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 820.

Assemblies of God, receiving credentials as an evangelist. Agnes died in Los Angeles on Nov. 29, 1937.³⁶

In its tenth month, Bethel College practically ceased to exist as Parham began traveling and preaching his Pentecostal message. Stone's Folly was sold to Harry Croft, a notorious bootlegger. He used it as a "joint," as the term was in the early twentieth century, that is, a shabby and disreputable place of entertainment. Six months later the mansion was completely destroyed by fire.

Bethel College moved back to the Jackson Street mission for a few months and then to Kansas City. After the tragic death of Parham's youngest child, Charles, Bethel College closed.³⁷ He then entered another period of introspection. During this time he wrote and published the first book of Pentecostal theology, *Kol Kare Bomidbar: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*.

The Galena, Kansas Revival

Parham called his new movement the Apostolic Faith movement. He and his followers conducted meetings in Kansas and Missouri but were strongly opposed. A lady reportedly was instantly healed in one of Parham's services in Eldorado Springs, Missouri. She then invited him to come to her hometown in Galena, Kansas. He conducted services in Galena, and there are reports of more than eight hundred people being baptized in water, many hundreds receiving the Holy Ghost, and at least one thousand people being healed.

³⁶ E. L. Blumhofer, "Ozman, Agnes Nevada," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 952.

³⁷ Martin, *In the Beginning*, 20-21. Goff also recorded this fact concerning the child's death.

Howard Goss (1883-1964) was converted intellectually during this revival, having come to the point of mental agreement with the “new” doctrine although he did not receive the Holy Spirit infilling until later. He would become one of the founders of the Assemblies of God and later the first general superintendent of the United Pentecostal Church. He was an “infidel” [atheist] when he visited Parham’s meeting. He testified, “This was my first contact . . . with Christianity of any sort. . . . I feel that I owe my conversion to Christianity to hearing people speak in other tongues. The fourteenth chapter of I Corinthians tells us that tongues are for a sign to the ‘unbelievers.’”³⁸

Following the Galena, Kansas revival, Parham ministered in Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kansas, starting several churches. Baxter Springs, Kansas, became the headquarters location for his Apostolic Faith movement.

The Houston, Texas Revival

On Easter Sunday in 1905, Parham began a meeting in Orchard, Texas, at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Oyler, who testified to receiving the Holy Ghost at Parham’s meeting in Galena, Kansas. Orchard was about forty miles west of Houston, Texas. A Mrs. Calhoun of Houston visited and reported that she received the Holy Ghost. She returned to Houston and shared the experience with her pastor, W. F. Carothers, who extended an invitation to Parham to come to Houston.³⁹

Services were held in downtown Houston’s Bryan Hall. There Mrs. Delaney, a lawyer’s wife who had been paralyzed due to a streetcar accident, was restored to her

³⁸ Ethel E. Goss, *The Winds of God*, rev. ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1977), 35; Bernard, *History*, 13-14.

³⁹ William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 45-49.

original health after prayer was made for her. Her recovery attracted the attention of the entire city. This and many other reported healings attracted many onlookers who heard the Apostolic Faith message.

Howard A. Goss came to assist Parham in the Houston meeting. At this time Goss was a believer in the message Parham preached, but he had not yet received the Holy Spirit. Goss was twenty-two years old. During the Houston revival Goss and sixteen other people declared that they received the Holy Spirit while riding a train from Orchard to Alvin, Texas. Goss testified that he continued to speak in tongues for one week, and it was two weeks before he could preach in English. The revival continued to spread throughout the Houston area and then the state. Parham appointed Goss as field supervisor of the work in Texas.⁴⁰

Parham opened another Bible school in Houston, Texas. Its name was “The Bible Training School” and it offered ten weeks of intensive Pentecostal indoctrination.

Because of the reported wave of miracles that accompanied the meetings, many people of different denominations and sects came to hear Parham and his team of gospel workers. One of these people was William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922).

Seymour was born in Centerville, Louisiana just five years after Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, and his parents were former slaves. A severe case of smallpox had left him scarred and blind in his left eye. While in Ohio in 1900, at the age of thirty he became a black Baptist-Holiness preacher. He left Ohio to search for family members who had been lost during slavery, found them in Houston, Texas, and settled there in 1903. He attended a Holiness church pastored by Lucy Farrow and became pastor of the

⁴⁰ Goss, *Winds of God*, 74-84, 97; Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1946), 29; Bernard, *History*, 14; Elmer Louis Moon, *The Pentecostal Church, A History and Popular Survey* (New York, NY: Carlton Press, Inc., 1966), 13.

church in 1905 when Farrow moved to Kansas to become governess for Charles Parham's family.

Farrow returned in the fall of 1905 with news that she had been baptized in the Holy Ghost as evidenced by speaking in tongues. Seymour wanted to know more about the experience. When Parham came to Houston, Seymour attended the crusade and then continued in the school during the winter of 1905-1906.

Parham was a strict segregationist and would not allow Seymour in the classroom with the white brethren. However, he did allow Seymour to sit in the hall and would leave the classroom door open. In spite of this ill treatment, Seymour later introduced Parham as his "father in the Gospel of the Kingdom" when Parham visited the Azusa Street Mission.⁴¹

William Menzies wrote in *Anointed to Serve* that Seymour "became in the providence of God the link between the Parham phase of the revival at Houston, and Azusa Street, Los Angeles—the revival that transcended any individual human leadership."⁴² This is an excellent description of the role Seymour was to play.

Seymour became convinced of the truth of the Pentecostal experience as he listened to Parham's teaching week after week in the Houston Bible school. He came to believe that the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues was the biblical pattern for receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Seymour had not yet received the experience.

In the following year, 1907, a debate was held in Waco, Texas, in an attempt to settle in the minds of some of the newer workers the issue of speaking in tongues: Was it always the initial evidence of the Spirit baptism or was it simply one of the nine gifts of

⁴¹ Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the U.S.A.* (New York: St. Martin's, 1988), 51.

⁴² Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 48-49; see also Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 61.

the Spirit? At the close of the debate they were all convinced that speaking in tongues was definitely the initial evidence. As a test, the group decided to conduct an upcoming revival in San Antonio, Texas, by preaching the baptism of the Holy Ghost without ever mentioning tongues or any other initial evidence. The Pentecostal message had not yet come to that city, and no one had preached on tongues as the initial evidence. Goss reported the outcome: “No seeker was expecting any unusual manifestation. But, it made no difference. They all likewise spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance when they received the Holy Ghost. This satisfied even the most skeptical among us.”⁴³ Goss’s opinion was held by the majority of the members of the Pentecostal movement of that time.

In Houston the Bible Training School engaged a black woman named Lucy Farrow as a cook. She believed she had received the Holy Ghost earlier. Now she felt another call she ascribed to God, a call to go to Los Angeles. Parham provided the money for her fare from the school’s treasury. She started a prayer meeting in Los Angeles and soon wrote back to Houston asking that Parham send someone to help her.⁴⁴

Parham chose W. J. Seymour, the aforementioned black Baptist-Holiness preacher. The school raised money for his fare to Los Angeles. Shortly after he arrived in April 1906 the Pentecostal infilling of the Holy Spirit began to be experienced.

Parham continued to plant churches through his students. He named himself the “Projector” and formulated a loosely constructed organization of churches. Late in 1906 he attempted to gain control of Zion City, Illinois, from John Alexander Dowie’s heir

⁴³ Goss, *Winds of God*, 102.

⁴⁴ Goss, *Winds of God*, 94-95.

apparent, Wilbur Glenn Voliva. The attempt to gain control of Zion failed, and he missed out on becoming involved in the Azusa Street revival.

Parham's continued influence in the Pentecostal movement was almost destroyed by two things. The first was his notable absence in the Azusa Street revival. The second and most destructive was an incident that occurred in 1907. "The final blow to Parham's prominence came in the summer of 1907, when he was arrested in San Antonio, Texas, on a charge of sodomy. . . . All charges were dropped by Texas authorities without explanation, and most of the damaging press came from the religious publications of Parham's opponent, Wilbur Voliva. . . . Marred by scandal, he spent the final two decades of his life alienated from the bulk of the movement he had begun."⁴⁵ Parham continued in the ministry, although in a state of declining influence and prominence.

Reverend and Mrs. Parham remained in Houston for a time following the 1907 scandal and then they returned to Southeastern Kansas, making Baxter Springs their home. Parham continued to travel, attempting to visit every Pentecostal church in the United States and Canada. Early in January of 1929 he collapsed in Temple, Texas, while addressing a gathering of Pentecostals. He recovered enough to travel back to his home, where he died on January 29, 1929, at the age of fifty-six. Following the pattern of his ministerial life, even at the time of his death he refused the assistance of doctors and medicines.

⁴⁵ James R. Goff, Jr., "Parham, Charles Fox," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 956; Sarah Parham, *The Life of Parham*, 198-199; James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest, Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 128-146.

In a letter to Charles Parham in 1927, John G. Lake, a Trinitarian Pentecostal minister of the time made a statement regarding the origin of the Pentecostal movement.

James Tyson printed the letter in *The Early Pentecostal Revival*.

One thing I observe, however, is that the truth of the origin of the Pentecostal movement, and its origin in your school at Topeka and the fact that you formulated the first Pentecostal message to the world is growing and is daily becoming a better-known fact. So that now even the prejudices of the Assemblies of God cannot submerge that truth, and neither can Florence Crawford of Portland, Oregon, get the world to believe any longer that she was the first white woman baptized in the Holy Ghost after Pentecost came; and the people of Los Angeles cannot use it much further for Los Angeles advertising stunt.⁴⁶

Vinson Synan, in the preface of *The Century of the Holy Spirit*, agrees with Lake, stating that New Year's Day of 1901 was the start of the fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁷

Parham contributed greatly to Pentecostalism. He gave the crucial definition of tongues as initial evidence. The "tongues as evidence" position provided Pentecostals with an identity distinct from the position of the Holiness movement, making the Holy Spirit baptism a "demonstrable experience." The missionary emphasis engendered by the "perceived millenarian function of xenolalic tongues" played a vital role in the growth of Pentecostalism around the world. Parham was one of the movement's most prolific authors, editing the *Apostolic Faith* at various times throughout his ministry (Topeka, Kansas, 1899-1900; Melrose, Kansas, and Houston, Texas, 1905-06; Baxter Springs,

⁴⁶ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal*, 87.

⁴⁷ Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, ix.

Kansas, 1910-17, 1925-29) and publishing two books: *Kol Kare Bomidbar: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (1902) and *The Everlasting Gospel* (c. 1919).⁴⁸

Parham's Doctrine

In order to understand more clearly the founding of the modern Pentecostal movement, a study of Parham's doctrine is beneficial. In 1902 Parham printed in his book *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* a sermon that he had preached in 1901, just three weeks after the outpouring of the Holy Ghost in Topeka. Many of his doctrinal positions have been identified in it as well as other sermons that have been published.⁴⁹

Doctrinally, Parham was in line with conservative Protestantism in many areas. He believed in the inspiration and infallibility of Scripture, the Trinity, the existence of angels and demons, the creation and fall of humanity, the incarnation and atonement, salvation by grace through faith in Jesus Christ, and the second coming. He took the Wesleyan and Arminian view of grace, rejecting unconditional election and unconditional eternal security.

Following the pattern of much of the Holiness movement, he taught sanctification as a second work of grace and accented the need for a holy life. As part of his teaching on holiness he advocated pacifism, holding that it was wrong to kill another human being, even in war.

⁴⁸ J. R. Goff, Jr., "Parham, Charles Fox," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 956.

⁴⁹ Charles F. Parham, *The Everlasting Gospel* (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, n.d.); Robert L. Parham, comp., *Selected Sermons*.

In Parham's understanding, the end-time events would occur in the following order: the tribulation, the rapture, the second coming of Jesus Christ, the millennium, and the white throne judgment. He practiced a literal interpretation of Scripture.

Parham believed in the baptism of the Holy Ghost with the initial sign of tongues. He also believed in the supernatural gifts of the Spirit, and reportedly many of these gifts were active in his ministry.

Parham also embraced some doctrines that were not generally accepted in Protestantism or in the Pentecostal movement. He taught British-Israelism—that the British and their descendants were the lost tribes of Israel and would literally inherit God's promises to Israel. He also taught annihilation of the wicked—that is, the lost would not exist eternally in the lake of fire but would be completely destroyed.

Parham held the baptism of the Holy Spirit to be the “fulfillment of Joel's prophecy of the latter rain, a sign of the soon coming of the Lord, the baptism that gives people full entrance into the church, a vital endowment of power that will enable the church to evangelize the world before the Lord's return, and the seal of protection during the Tribulation. It is the ‘full gospel’ and ‘full salvation.’”⁵⁰

Parham also wrote about water baptism in the aforementioned book, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*. Due to Quaker influence and teachings, Parham had not previously practiced baptism. In time, however, he felt that God spoke to him about obeying all of God's commands. Parham thought about the command to be baptized as presented by Peter in Acts 2:38. The next day Parham himself was baptized. Later he was

⁵⁰ Bernard, *History*, 15-17; Robert L. Parham, comp. *Selected*; Charles F. Parham, *The Everlasting Gospel*; Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:74-76.

persuaded that triune immersion (triple immersion with the Trinitarian formula) was correct.

In 1900, after opening his Bible school but before the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Parham came to believe that triune immersion was not scriptural. Then he began baptizing converts by single immersion in the name of Jesus Christ, and he associated this practice with confessing the deity of Christ in contrast to liberal theology.⁵¹

Parham published his book *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* in 1902 and he published the material again in 1910, apparently showing that his understanding of baptism had not changed in the ensuing years. Parham baptized Howard Goss in the name of Jesus Christ in 1903.⁵²

As the Pentecostal movement grew and many ministers joined the ranks, Parham reverted to the traditional Trinitarian formula. According to Bernard, when the Jesus Name controversy erupted, Parham affirmed Trinitarian theology and denounced the Oneness movement.⁵³

The Azusa Street Revival

Neely Terry, a black woman who had been part of Charles Parham's student body in Houston, Texas, returned to Los Angeles, California. Her family had organized a small black Holiness mission on Santa Fe Avenue with a Mrs. Hutchinson temporarily acting as pastor of the group. Neely Terry knew W. J. Seymour in Houston and invited him to come and become their pastor. He arrived in the spring of 1906. His first message was from Acts 2:4 and dealt with the baptism of the Holy Ghost with the evidence of speaking

⁵¹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 176.

⁵² Bernard, *History*, 21, 74.

⁵³ Bernard, *History*, 21.

in tongues. Mrs. Hutchinson padlocked the mission door because she felt his teaching was contrary to accepted Holiness views. (She later joined the movement.) The majority of the members of the mission readily accepted his message. One of the members, Edward Lee, allowed Seymour to stay at his home, and, after the padlocking of the mission, allowed Seymour to hold services there. Later, Ruth and Richard Asberry, members of the mission who at first denounced Seymour's teaching, later opened their home at 214 North Bonnie Brae Street to him.

Frank Ewart reports that Edward Lee received the Holy Ghost on April 9, 1906, while praying with Seymour and Lucy Farrow. Later that night on Bonnie Brae Street Jennie Moore (who later married Seymour) and several others received the Holy Ghost. Three days later, on April 12, 1906, Seymour and others also received the Spirit. Up to this point, Seymour had preached a message about a Pentecostal experience that he himself had not yet received.⁵⁴

The small group rented an old, two-story building on 312 Azusa Street in downtown Los Angeles, California. They began services on April 14, 1906, and held services daily for three years, until 1909. There were reports of many miracles, healings, and baptisms of the Holy Spirit as well as accounts of the dead being raised. The continuing meetings were characterized by spontaneous, demonstrative worship such as the congregation singing in tongues in harmony and strong moves of the Spirit that through the preaching of the Word of God brought conviction to the people present and called them to repentance and an emptying of self and yielding to the power and infilling of the Holy Spirit.

⁵⁴ Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, rev. ed, 2002, 61-71.

Frank Bartleman (1871-1936), a Holiness evangelist and the foremost chronicler of the Azusa revival, wrote, “The ‘color line’ was washed away in the blood.”⁵⁵ During this time blacks and whites served together in public leadership and ministry roles, an amazing development in the segregated, prejudiced time following the Civil War.

William J. Seymour was the leader of this revival. According to Bartleman, “We had no pope or hierarchy. We were brethren. . . . We did not even have a platform or pulpit in the beginning.”⁵⁶ In his humility and simplicity Seymour opened himself up to the spontaneous, unstructured revival. Seymour led from a position of humility, staying hidden behind a box for most of the times of prayer and ministry.

Seymour admonished from the very beginning: “Let him who speaketh in tongues pray that he may interpret.” This instruction served to hold in check the tendency for some to err on the side of extreme fanaticism. Because of this tendency of human nature, Bartleman wrote a tract at the time cautioning the believers.

He [Christ] alone can save. The attention of the people must be first all, and always, held to Him. A true Pentecost will produce a mighty conviction for sin, a turning to God. False manifestations produce only excitement and wonder. . . . Don’t allow the devil to rob you of real Pentecost. Any work that exalts the Holy Ghost or the “gifts” above Jesus will finally land up in fanaticism. Whatever causes us to exalt and love Jesus is well and safe. The reverse will ruin all. The Holy Ghost is a great light, but focused on Jesus always, for His revealing.⁵⁷

The Los Angeles Times published its first report of the revival on April 18, 1906. Later in the day the *Times* published a special edition that described the great San Francisco earthquake, reporting that 452 lives were lost. On the front page of the special

⁵⁵ Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980, reprint of *How “Pentecost” Came to Los Angeles—How It Was in the Beginning*, 1925), 54.

⁵⁶ Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, 57.

⁵⁷ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal*, 114-115.

edition was another article about the Azusa Street revival. The reporter closed with this paragraph:

Well, the worship was shockingly different, unlike anything I had ever seen before. It would be easy to say that it is conceived of by Satan himself. However, since the reports of happenings at the Azusa Street Mission are spreading like wildfire all over southern California, we shall let time be the judge.

Seymour and the Azusa Street Mission continued in the teaching of Parham, that the biblical evidence of baptism with the Holy Spirit is speaking in tongues. Seymour wrote in 1907, "Beloved, when we receive the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire, we surely will speak in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance. We are not seeking for tongues, but we are seeking the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire."⁵⁸

The Revival Spreads

The Azusa Street revival had tremendous impact on the religious scene locally, nationally, and internationally, and also on the various denominations and religious organizations.⁵⁹

On the local level, by 1912 the Azusa Street revival contributed to the establishment of such congregations as Elmer Fisher's Upper Room Mission; Bartleman and Pendleton's Eighth and Maple Mission; William Durham's Seventh Street Mission; W. L. Sargent's Florence Avenue Pentecostal Mission; A. G. Osterberg's Full Gospel Assembly; John Perron's Italian Pentecostal Mission; James Alexander's Apostolic Faith

⁵⁸ Bernard, *History*, 32.

⁵⁹ C. M. Robeck, Jr. "Azusa Street Revival," in *The New Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 347-348. The information for the following five paragraphs comes from the Robeck's article. It does show the impact on the various scenes, but it does not give dates for the time frame in which the events happened.

Mission on 51st Street, as well as the Apostolic Faith Mission at Seventh and Sentous; W. F. Manley's Pentecostal Assembly; G. Valenzuela's Spanish Apostolic Faith Mission; William Saxby's Carr Street Pentecostal Mission; and an Apostolic Faith Rescue Mission



on First Street.

Not only were new congregations established, but Azusa also provoked the conservative churches of Los Angeles to hold street meetings. The churches added prayer meetings to their lists of services, and in March of 1907, the conservative churches held a citywide evangelistic campaign.

The Pentecostal revival spread nationally in a similar manner with the establishment of new congregations and the transformation of existing ones. William Hamner Piper's Stone Church in Chicago joined the Full Gospel Assembly, or North Avenue Mission, begun initially by William Durham. Glad Tidings Tabernacle in New York, pastored by Marie Burgess Brown and her husband Robert Brown, joined the Pentecostal ranks. Many missions and churches were planted throughout the South and Midwest.

The message spread rapidly internationally as well. Lucy Leatherman and also Frank Bartleman traveled around the world with the message. Thomas Junk, as well as Bernt and Magna Bernsten, went from Azusa to China. M. L. Ryan led a number of young people to minister in mission work in the Philippines, Japan, and Hong Kong. The George E. Bergs and the A. G. Garrs went to India, while Tom Hezmalhalch and John G. Lake went to South Africa. Pastor A. H. Post became a long-term missionary to Egypt, and a host of people, mostly black, took the Pentecostal message to Liberia. In Toronto the Habden Mission was established.

Some existing denominations were split while others became totally Pentecostal. Among these groups that became totally Pentecostal were the Church of God in Christ, the Church of God (Cleveland, TN), and the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Part of the Free Will Baptist Church also fell into this category, becoming the Pentecostal Free Will Baptists. But new groups were formed as well. The Apostolic Faith (Portland, Oregon), the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (Los Angeles, California), and in 1914 the Assemblies of God, are in this category. Nearly every Pentecostal denomination in the United States traces its roots in some way or other to the Apostolic Faith Mission at 312 Azusa Street. However, due to William Seymour's appointment of Charles W. Lowe as bishop of the Apostolic Faith Church of God (Franklin, Virginia), that denomination is the most "clearly identifiable denominational descendant of the Azusa Street Mission."⁶⁰

Parham visited the Azusa Street revival in 1906 at the invitation of Seymour. He denounced the activities as extreme fanaticism, thinking that the manifestations were false. Seymour then rejected Parham's leadership. Seymour's conflicts with Parham, Durham and Crawford led to a lessening of his leadership role in the movement. The Azusa Street revival faded in 1909, came to life again in 1911 while William Durham was there, and then lessened again in 1912. In 1915 Seymour changed the constitution of the church to limit the leadership of the church to only people of color. He also distanced himself and the mission from the doctrine of tongues as the initial evidence of the Holy Spirit. He taught instead that the tongues may come later but are still expected as a sign that follows the Holy Spirit baptism. Seymour died in 1922, but his wife continued as pastor until her health failed. The mission building was torn down in 1931.

⁶⁰ Robeck, "Azusa Street Revival," 347-348.

The Three Waves of American Pentecostalism

The surge of American Pentecostalism across America can be seen as three successive waves. The first wave was made up of the Holiness Pentecostal churches, the second wave was made up of the Finished Work Pentecostal churches, and the third wave was made up of the Oneness Pentecostal churches.⁶¹ An understanding of the sequence of these waves will help us understand better the Jesus' Name controversy in its timing and setting. (Much of this information is derived from Vinson Synan's *The Century of the Holy Spirit*.)

The First Wave of American Pentecostalism—the Holiness Pentecostal Churches

On page 121 of *The Century of the Holy Spirit*, Synan uses the descriptive phrase, "The First Wave of American Pentecostalism." Later he uses the term "stream."

The first American Pentecostal churches sprang from the Wesleyan holiness movement that spread across America during the nineteenth century. These Wesleyan holiness churches taught about two "blessings" offered to believers. First was justification by faith, or "New Birth" as they sometimes called it. This crisis of conversion was a common teaching among evangelical believers in America. The second teaching, however, was not as common. It involved the "second blessing," which, using the language of Wesley, was called "entire sanctification," an instant or "crisis" experience that gave the believer victory over sin and perfect love toward God and man. Sometimes sanctification was even called "the baptism of the Holy Spirit." "This theology is captured in the first stanza of *Rock of Ages*, one of our most popular hymns:

⁶¹ Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 3-16; Reed, "What Do Oneness Pentecostals Believe?" in Synan's *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 144-145.

‘Be of sin the double cure, save from wrath and make me pure.’⁶² Most of the first generation of Pentecostals were from this holiness stream that had its roots in Methodism.

When the Pentecostal movement began in the early 1900s, these holiness believers simply added the baptism in the Holy Spirit with tongues as the initial evidence of a “third blessing.” This experience brought power for witnessing to those believers who had already been sanctified. Sanctification, then, was seen as a prerequisite cleansing that qualified the seeker to go on to experience the third blessing of baptism in the Holy Spirit.⁶³ People seeking the Spirit baptism were encouraged to forsake all bitterness and sin so that nothing would hinder them receiving the Spirit. Seymour would not admit seekers to the upper room of the Azusa Street Mission where they would seek the baptism with the Holy Spirit until he was satisfied with their sanctification or cleansing experience.

The common Azusa Street testimony was, “I am saved, sanctified, and filled with the Holy Ghost.” In addition to these three works of grace, these early Pentecostals stressed two other doctrines—instant divine healing as being provided for in the atonement through the shed blood of Jesus Christ and the premillennial Second Coming of Christ to rapture the church at the end of the age. “This was known as the ‘fivefold gospel’ of Parham, Seymour, Azusa Street, and the first Pentecostal denominations.”⁶⁴

Some of the major American churches that were a part of this wave were the Church of God in Christ, chartered in 1897; the Pentecostal Holiness Church, organized in 1898; the various Churches of God; and the United Holy Church.⁶⁵

⁶² Martin, *In the Beginning*, 31.

⁶³ See Appendix 2.

⁶⁴ Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit*, 98-99.

⁶⁵ See Appendices 4 and 5.

The Second Wave of American Pentecostalism—the Finished Work Pentecostal Churches

While the holiness Pentecostal churches were the first organized Pentecostal churches in the world, the movement's exploding growth brought thousands of converts who did not have roots in the Wesleyan theological stream. Many of these new Pentecostal converts were from Baptist, Presbyterian, or other non-Wesleyan backgrounds. Seekers from these backgrounds tended to go directly from conversion to the baptism in the Holy Spirit, bypassing the intervening "second blessing" of sanctification.

This was the first major doctrinal variation in the Pentecostal movement. "Insistence on a second blessing ran contrary to the theology and experience of many people who entered the movement from non-Wesleyan backgrounds."⁶⁶

William Durham (1873-1912) was a Baptist and had what he interpreted as a conversion experience in 1898. In 1901, under the influence of Holiness teaching, he had an experience that he identified as sanctification. He then taught sanctification as a second work of grace.⁶⁷

Durham began a work called the North Avenue Mission in Chicago. Charles Parham preached in nearby Zion, Illinois, and many members of Durham's Chicago mission received the Holy Spirit. Durham then heard reports about the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Los Angeles at Azusa Street and hungered for the experience. He went to

⁶⁶ Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 123.

⁶⁷ For added clarity regarding the two-stage and three-stage salvation issue, see Appendix 2.

Los Angeles in 1907 and “tarried”⁶⁸ for many weeks. According to Ewart, Durham received the baptism in the Holy Spirit late at night on March 2, 1907 speaking in other languages as well as receiving the gift of interpretation. Seymour said the Spirit awakened him and that the Lord showed him that Durham was to receive the Spirit baptism that night. When Seymour saw Durham being filled with the Spirit and speaking in other tongues, “the power of prophecy descended upon him, and raising his hands over Brother Durham, he prophesied that wherever this man would preach the power of God would fall on the people.”⁶⁹

At the time of his baptism in the Holy Spirit, Durham fell “prostrate on the floor for three hours, his whole body shook one section at a time, and finally he spoke in tongues for a long time.” Durham felt that this experience completely eclipsed his 1901 blessing. He concluded that sanctification was not a “separate work of grace subsequent to conversion but that the baptism of the Holy Ghost with the sign of tongues was the true experience that a converted person should seek. He reinterpreted his 1901 experience as a renewal of his conversion in 1898.”⁷⁰

According to his own testimony, Durham arrived at three important conclusions during this time. First, there was a difference between the baptism of the Holy Ghost and the experiences that he had identified earlier as conversion and sanctification. “I saw

⁶⁸ The word “tarried” as used here means more than simply staying in a location. In Luke 24:49 (KJV) Jesus said, “Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.” When the disciples went to the upper room and “tarried” there, they were waiting for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The tarrying was a time of prayerful worship and coming together in one mind and one accord. In the vocabulary used by the Pentecostals of the early twentieth century, when Durham “tarried” at Azusa Street Mission, he was waiting for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

⁶⁹ Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 86; Martin, *Beginning*, 32-35.

⁷⁰ Bernard, *History*, 44.

clearly, for the first time, the difference between having the influence and presence of the Spirit with us, and having Him dwell within us in person.”

Second, Durham realized that he could not simply state that he had received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, as did the Holiness people who equated it with entire sanctification. He said, “I could not kneel at the altar, and claim the Holy Ghost and go away. This was a real experience. I must wait until He came.”

Third, Durham concluded that invariably the initial evidence of this experience was speaking in tongues. He wrote, “Dear reader, the Spirit may not deal with you just as He did with me; but when He comes within you, to take up His abode, He will speak in tongues and magnify God.”⁷¹

Durham went back to his church in Chicago and the church experienced great revival. It was said that the Spirit was poured out at all hours of the night. According to Brumback, E. N. Bell, the first chairman of the General Council of the Assemblies of God was filled with the Holy Spirit in Chicago, as was A. H. Argue of Winnipeg, Canada.⁷² Durham emphasized the teaching that “speaking in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance was the infallible evidence of the baptism with the Holy Ghost.”

In 1910 William Durham also strongly opposed the teaching that sanctification was a second, definite, instantaneous work of grace. In its place he began to preach what he called “the finished work of Calvary.” In it he maintained that “when God saves a man, He makes him clean,” insisting, “Christ has finished the work in our behalf.”

Durham therefore thought it illogical to believe “that we have been pardoned but that we

⁷¹ Bernard, *History*, 43-44.

⁷² Carl Brumback, *Suddenly . . . from Heaven* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), 69.

are left full of sin” and in need of a “second work.”⁷³ He agreed that sanctification was a scriptural experience, but insisted that it was gradual. He taught that the believer had to grow in grace and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. “This constituted the first break in doctrinal unity [of Pentecostalism]. Those who came out of the Holiness churches were hostile and tried hard to sustain their cherished doctrine.”⁷⁴

Durham went back to Los Angeles in 1911 but found that most of the Pentecostal missions were closed to him. Seymour was out of town on a preaching tour and Durham began preaching at the Azusa Street Mission in his absence. The crowds returned, the expectation ran high again, and the other missions began to see members drifting back to Azusa Street. Fisher and Studd, the pastors of the Upper Room Mission, visited to hear Durham preach. Fisher utterly rejected the new message, but G. B. Studd accepted it. Then Seymour returned. He padlocked the doors to prevent Durham from preaching the finished-work doctrine at the Azusa Street Mission. Durham then went to a large hall on Seventh Street. The area churches and missions emptied out as the Seventh Street Mission was filled to overflowing.⁷⁵

Durham wrote and taught against the doctrine that it takes two works of grace to save and cleanse a man. He taught that God deals with the nature of sin at conversion. He denied that a man who is converted or born again is outwardly washed and cleansed but still left with an unclean heart filled with enmity against God.

Durham understood salvation to mean that the old man, or old nature, which is sinful and depraved and which is the very thing in us that was condemned, is crucified

⁷³ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:129. In this passage Blumhofer quotes from an August 1912 issue of the *Pentecostal Testimony*.

⁷⁴ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 89-90.

⁷⁵ John Thomas Nichol, *Pentecostalism* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966), 83-84.

with Christ. He called his position the “Finished Work at Calvary” because he believed the work of Jesus Christ on the cross was sufficient for both salvation and sanctification. The people who followed his teachings became known as Finished Work Pentecostals. They slowly came to emphasize a gradual process of sanctification rather than an instantaneous one.

After hearing of this Finished Work doctrine, “Charles Parham (by then dropping rapidly out of the Pentecostal spotlight) declared, ‘If this man’s doctrine is true, let my life go out to prove it, but if our teaching on a definite grace of sanctification is true, let his life pay the forfeit.’ When Durham passed away unexpectedly later that year, Parham claimed vindication and remarked to his followers ‘how signally God has answered.’”⁷⁶

Even with such strong opposition, Durham’s finished-work teaching became the preferred theological position for approximately half of all Pentecostals by 1915. The majority of the denominations that were Holiness bodies before the Pentecostal outpouring of 1901 “remained staunch supporters of the second-blessing doctrine, while newer organizations, including the Assemblies of God, either left the matter open to individuals or adopted the finished-work view. It is today the view of most American Pentecostals.”⁷⁷

Ewart, in *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, described the manner in which Durham preached the finished-work message:

Pastor Durham used great wisdom in supplanting the experience called ‘a second, definite, instantaneous work of grace’ with the real experience of sanctification as taught in the Scriptures. He balanced everything up by the Cross of Jesus. He weighed the fictitious experience in that balance and it was found wanting. When he had clearly revealed its inadequate scriptural support, then he fired the second barrel of his gospel

⁷⁶ Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 126.

⁷⁷ Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 126.

gun. It was that God's people must all go deeper. Then he preached real scriptural sanctification. The process was by acceptance, love of, and adoption of the truth, the gradual abandonment to the will of God as revealed by the Spirit through the Word. Here is an experience that is fathomless and lasts throughout the longest life lived in the Spirit.⁷⁸

Frank J. Ewart was selected as overseer of Durham's work in Los Angeles when Durham and Van Loon left Los Angeles to hold services in Chicago. Durham died in Los Angeles in August of 1912, and Frank J. Ewart preached the funeral sermon, using the text, "And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it his brethren: and they hated him yet the more" (Genesis 37:5).

Basically, the Pentecostal organizations that had already been founded by 1910 rejected the Finished Work doctrine; the Pentecostal organizations that were founded after 1910 accepted the doctrine.⁷⁹

The groups who rejected the Finished Work message and continued to teach the three crisis experiences of "saved, sanctified, and filled with the Holy Ghost" included the Apostolic Faith groups of Charles Parham, William Seymour, and Florence Crawford; the Pentecostal Holiness Church; the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) and its later offshoot, the Church of God of Prophecy; and the Church of God in Christ.

There were other Pentecostal groups that accepted the Finished Work view. These included the Assemblies of God and the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. The Oneness groups, including the United Pentecostal Church International and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, also accepted the Finished Work.⁸⁰

Although most Methodists had abandoned the doctrine of sanctification as a second work of grace and some non-Pentecostal holiness ministers had developed their

⁷⁸ Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 90-91.

⁷⁹ See Appendices 4 and 5.

⁸⁰ Bernard, *History*, 53.

own Finished Work doctrine, Durham brought the doctrine to the Pentecostals almost single-handedly. By doing so, he changed the course of the Pentecostal movement and expanded its theological appeal. Consequently, the “majority of Pentecostals adopted basically the Keswick position of two experiences—conversion and baptism of the Holy Spirit as an endowment of power—yet with the important distinction of tongues as the initial evidence of the Spirit.”⁸¹

Durham’s work and influence served as a bridge between the Finished Work controversy and the Jesus Name controversy. Although Durham died a little over one year before its emergence, he set the stage for Oneness Pentecostal theology in several important ways. Bernard lists five of them.

1. Durham taught that an individual could receive all the benefits of the Atonement by repentance and faith, without waiting for a subsequent experience. While keeping the idea of two experiences (conversion and Spirit baptism), he taught that when there is full scriptural understanding and faith, we can expect the baptism of the Spirit to come immediately.

2. While some Pentecostals sought to modify the distinctive doctrine of the Holy Spirit baptism, Durham strongly defended the original teaching of Parham and Seymour that receiving the Holy Ghost is necessary to enter into the New Testament church and that speaking in tongues is the initial evidence of this baptism.

3. Durham established Acts 2:38 as the pattern and plan for New Testament salvation. He saw a correspondence between the three steps of repentance, water baptism, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost with the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

⁸¹ Bernard, *History*, 56-57; Anderson, *Vision*, 166-175. See Appendices 4 and 5.

4. Durham emphasized the importance of water baptism and he exalted the name of Jesus.

5. Durham had a strong influence on several future leaders of the Oneness movement. Many of his ministerial associates were soon baptized in the name of Jesus, including Harry Van Loon, R. E. McAlister, and A. H. Argue. The dominant early proponent of the Oneness message was Durham's associate pastor and successor, Frank J. Ewart.⁸²

Several followers of Durham's message began to feel the need to gather together into an organization. H. A. Goss said, as recorded in his biography, "As there was no apparent way to gather up the reins of the different cliques which each seemed in danger of galloping off in its own direction, Brother Bell and I worked privately together on some kind of solution."⁸³

D. C. O. Opperman and a few other leaders also saw the need for an organizational effort. The early Pentecostals had taught against any form of organization, thinking that organizational structure would quench the free flow of the Spirit. Goss, Bell, Opperman, and other leaders felt that they would need to proceed with caution lest they be labeled as "compromisers" for even considering organizing the work.

Goss and Bell secretly discussed calling a conference to organize the work. In November of 1913, they ventured to announce a conference at Hot Springs, Arkansas, from April 2-12, 1914. They did sign the original invitation themselves, which took courage in the face of possible opposition.

⁸² Bernard, *History*, 57-58.

⁸³ Goss, *Winds*, 279.

Other leaders took their stand with Goss and Bell and added their names to the invitation, which was being published month by month in the *Word and Witness*. Men like J. J. R. Flower, M. M. Pinson, A. P. Collins, H. A. Goss, and D. C. O. Opperman joined in the call for some form of organizational unity. The men did not have any clear-cut idea as to how to proceed, but they all supported some form of organization against the threatened chaos of the existing lack of organization. While other leaders seemed apprehensive concerning the purpose of Goss and Bell, the two men continued planning. "In spite of all, we stuck to our guns and prayed. This took courage, but it seemed we had a special filling of grace from the Lord, and we truly felt that He was leading."⁸⁴

On April 2-14, 1914, over three hundred, mostly independent Pentecostals who agreed with Durham's Finished Work message met in Hot Springs, Arkansas, to create a new national organization. Of this number, 128 had registered as ministers and missionaries. Durham was not present, having passed away in 1912. Neither was Parham or Seymour present. The new organization was to be an important turning point for the worldwide Pentecostal movement.

The chairman and first general superintendent of this new national organization was Eudorus N. Bell. He was a former Baptist from Texas, educated in the Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, and had also studied at the University of Chicago. The general secretary of the newly organized church was J. Roswell Flower, age twenty-six. M. M. Pinson, a follower of William Durham, preached the keynote sermon on the "the finished work of Calvary," which was the dominant theological theme of the meeting.

⁸⁴ Goss, *Winds*, 279-281; Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:197-213.

One common concern among the leaders was that the new church should not be a creedal one and that it should not be organized too tightly. Therefore it was decided that a binding creedal statement of faith would not be adopted. Instead, it was declared that “the holy inspired Scriptures are the all-sufficient rule for faith and practice and we shall not add to or take from them.”⁸⁵

This aversion to creedal statements was an established teaching among the restorationists. Frank Bartleman, who was a leader in the 1907 Azusa Street visitation, wrote, “Every fresh division or party in the church gives to the world a contradiction as to the oneness of the body of Christ, and to the truthfulness of the Gospel.” He saw written creeds as serving to show the watching world that Christians can neither get along together nor understand the Word of God similarly. “Is the Word of God, then, so hard to understand? They who establish a fixed creed bar the way to further progress.”⁸⁶ W. G. MacDonald wrote in the “Jesus Christ” entry of the *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, “Not the institutional church, not the creeds, and not the seminaries—but the Bible itself, read, not in the Hebrew and Greek texts in which it originated, but in the KJV—was the authoritative source in early Pentecostalism for knowing and proclaiming Jesus.”⁸⁷ It was the presence of this type of resistance to

⁸⁵ Nichol, *Pentecostalism*, 117; Brumback, *Suddenly*, 174.

⁸⁶ Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, 172-173. Vinson Synan, in his introduction to the 1980 edition, noted that although William J. Seymour was the central figure of the Azusa Street revival, little that he wrote has been preserved. However, neither Socrates nor Jesus left a body of written works either. “Socrates had his Plato to record his dialogues, while Jesus had the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, to leave a written record of His teachings. Seymour had his Frank Bartleman.” Bartleman’s diary and his reports in the various holiness periodicals of the time make up the most reliable record of the events of Azusa Street. Bartleman compiled these to create *How “Pentecost” Came to Los Angeles*.

⁸⁷ MacDonald, “Jesus Christ,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 481.

creedal statements that caused the early leaders of the Assemblies of God to avoid such statements in their organizational efforts.

However, the basic teachings on which the churches agreed were included in the Preamble and Resolution on Constitution. These teachings placed the developing organization in the non-Wesleyan, evangelical, dispensational Pentecostal camp. The crucial doctrine that held all of the churches together was that speaking in tongues was the “initial evidence” of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

The purpose of the doctrinal latitude allowed in 1914 was to allow the Spirit to move in sovereign, fresh ways in the churches. “Any doctrinal restraints that would inhibit this freedom were to be avoided. This cherished freedom was to be severely tested, however, by the rise of the ‘oneness’ movement in the church during the next two years.”⁸⁸ The Oneness issue questioned the baptismal formula, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the understanding of the process of salvation.

The people involved in the meeting hoped that one great Pentecostal organization would emerge. In a sense, this did occur, for today the Assemblies of God can still boast of being the single largest Pentecostal entity in the world. However, it would not be long before there would exist more Pentecostal fellowships, associations, and organizations that were distinguished by various doctrines and leaders. “One new doctrine hung on the horizon like a large rain cloud ready to empty its contents. It would change the lives of millions and have an inestimable effect on the Pentecostal movement. It would come to be known as the Jesus Name or Oneness doctrine, and it would shake Pentecostalism to its core.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Synan, *Century*, 129; Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:213.

⁸⁹ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal*, 160.

CHAPTER II

DOCTRINAL DIVISION—THE JESUS NAME CONTROVERSY

The next major doctrinal issue to arise in the Pentecostal movement was the Jesus Name Controversy. In brief, the Oneness doctrine affirms that God is one personal being, not a trinity of persons, and that Jesus Christ is the manifestation of the fullness of God, not just one of three persons. (See Deuteronomy 6:4; Colossians 2:9; I Timothy 3:16.) The issue centered on water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ and on the oneness of God. The Trinitarian Pentecostals called this the “New Issue,” and sometimes used the term “Jesus Only” because of the formula the Oneness proponents used in baptism—using the name of Jesus alone rather than the traditional Trinitarian formula.⁹⁰ This “Jesus Only” terminology came to be interpreted erroneously by detractors to mean that the Oneness doctrine denied the existence of the Father and Holy Spirit. The Oneness adherents therefore rejected the name “Jesus Only” as a misnomer, choosing rather to be called Jesus Name or Oneness Pentecostals.

MacDonald used the term “Unitarian Pentecostals” in place of “Oneness Pentecostals.” He wrote of them that they “rejected the classical catholic contention for the threeness of God, while keeping the distinctively Pentecostal doctrines.” He called them strong biblicists in their declaration that “the New Testament stated categorically and repeatedly that ‘God is one’ (Mark 12:29; Romans 3:30; Galatians 3:20; I Corinthians 8:4, 6; Ephesians 4:6; I Timothy 2:5; James 2:19).” He then went on to write:

Not finding in any authentic text of the Bible *any* of the twenty or more terms used as building blocks to construct a triplex view of God (viz., three, person, *treis hypostaseis*, *tres personae*, *circumincersion*, *perichoresis*, ingenerateness, generation, procession, *una substantia*, *mia ousia*, Second Person, Third Person, spiration, subsistence [“the mode by

⁹⁰ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 31-32; Brumback, *Suddenly*, 191-193.

which substance becomes individualized”]/subsistential, triune, *ad intra/ad extra*, efflux, *diairesis* [“division”], one principle, trinity), they gravitated to what Scripture had to say about the unity of God, using “one God” and “Jesus’ Name” as their concrete way of understanding that teaching.⁹¹

In 1979 David A. Reed, an ordained minister in the Episcopal Church and a Oneness Pentecostal historian and scholar, defined the Oneness theology as being characterized by four beliefs.

(1) God is radically one, not distinguishable within His being as three hypostatically distinct Persons. (2) God always reveals His Name by which He can be known and obeyed. In the Old Covenant the most distinctive Name was “Jehovah.” In the New covenant it is ‘Jesus.’ (3) Jesus Christ is the one, full revelation of the one God, not the Second Person of the Trinity. As to his deity, he is the Father. In his humanity, he is the Son of God. (4) The cardinal tenet of Christian initiation or the ‘new birth’ is summarized in Acts 2:38: (a) repentance, (b) water Baptism in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and (c) the receiving of the Pentecostal experience of the ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’ with the accompanying sign of speaking in tongues.⁹²

Two other recent statements of definition on the oneness position may serve to better identify it. These two statements are from individuals from the non-Oneness position.

Amos Yong, in an article in *Pneuma, the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, defined and elaborated the Oneness position. Labeling it “Oneness modalism,” Yong summarized the two central doctrinal affirmations of the United Pentecostal Church as (1) There is one God with no distinction of persons; (2) Jesus Christ is the fullness of the Godhead incarnate. He explained further:

⁹¹ W. G. MacDonald, “Jesus Christ,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), 484.

⁹² David Arthur Reed, “Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States,” *Pneuma; the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 1 (Spring 1979), 31-37.

While it should be noted that the second affirmation distinguishes Oneness theology from the Socinian and modern unitarian denial of the Trinity, it is more important to point out that historically, these distinctive Oneness emphases served to reject what was perceived at the turn of this century as tritheistic interpretations of the Trinity on the one hand and both Arian and modern theological liberal reductions of the deity of Christ on the other. They are also corollary doctrines, neither being explicable in the Oneness scheme without the other. Better understood as a contemporary revival of the Jewish-Christian theology of the name, Oneness Pentecostals understand Jesus to be “the redemptive name of God in the New Testament.” “Jesus,” therefore, refers both to the historical person defined by the Council of Chalcedon (451) as having divine and human natures and to the soteriologically efficacious name of the Godhead.⁹³

D. A. Reed, in his article in the *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*, refers often and correctly to the evangelical and Pentecostal roots and continued experience of the Oneness Pentecostal movement. It is these roots that Reed states prevent the Oneness Pentecostals from being classified as a cult.

Oneness Pentecostalism is best described as a heterodox expression of Christianity whose relationship to the wider Christian community is at present ambivalent. . . .

As the Oneness movement matures, it will need to address the theological and spiritual virtues that bind it to its evangelical-Pentecostal roots. Trinitarian Christians, likewise, will be increasingly challenged to listen with patience to a growing presence among them that has not followed the way of the cult but whose commitments at present are not readily accommodated within the historic Christian tradition.⁹⁴

History of the Oneness Movement

The New Issue, as it was called, emerged under the leadership of Durham’s followers in the context of the doctrine of the finished work of Calvary.

⁹³ Amos Yong, “Oneness and the Trinity: The Theological and Ecumenical Implications of Creation Ex Nihilo for an Intra-Pentecostal Dispute,” *Pneuma; the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 19 (Spring 1997), 85.

⁹⁴ D. A. Reed, “Oneness Pentecostalism,” in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 944.

It was a radical extension of Durham's mission, which was to shift the focus from a pneumatological preoccupation with multiple experiences (conversion, sanctification, baptism of the Holy Spirit) to the 'simple gospel' that focuses all grace in Christ's atoning work. This christological move not only formed the doctrinal foundation of the non-Wesleyan Pentecostal stream, especially the Assemblies of God, it also sowed the seeds of a radical Christocentric alternative that reasoned that, if there only one name (Jesus) to be used in baptism, that name must be given by God in biblical revelation, and it must reflect the radical unity of God's being.⁹⁵

The early New Issue proponents were disciples of Durham and continued to promote the finished work message following his death in 1912. Among these early Oneness pioneers were Frank Ewart, Garfield T. Haywood, R. E. McAlister, Franklin Small, and Andrew Urshan.

Pentecostal historian D. William Faupel presents the "New Issue" as developing in three stages: "(1) the concern to harmonize the two baptismal formulae; (2) as a focus on the revelation of the name of God; and (3) as a revelation of the nature of the godhead." He goes on to comment, "As the New Issue developed, a case was made for the need of rebaptism."⁹⁶ Rebaptism in Jesus' name became widespread throughout the Pentecostal movement.

There were three main sub-issues in the New Issue: (1) the centrality of the name of Jesus in baptism, (2) the soteriological significance of Spirit baptism, and (3) the nature of the unity of the Godhead, as described by Talmadge French in his book, *Our God Is One*.⁹⁷ These three sub-issues show that the New Issue was more than just a controversy about the words spoken over a baptismal candidate.

⁹⁵ D. A. Reed, "Oneness Pentecostalism," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 936-937.

⁹⁶ D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* (England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 281.

⁹⁷ Talmadge L. French, *Our God Is One* (Indianapolis, IN: Voice and Vision Publications, 1999), 52.

The roots of Oneness theology can be found in the American revivalism of the eighteenth century and in the Holiness movement of the nineteenth century. It was common in these movements to express a strong devotion to Jesus Christ and to pray, praise, and worship in the name of Jesus. In fact, an Episcopalian priest, David Reed, has stated that the Oneness doctrine is a theological expression of the practical piety of American revivalism, Holiness groups, and the earliest Pentecostals.⁹⁸ The Pentecostal movement was a Christocentric movement—they emphasized Jesus Christ and His sacrifice in their prayers, worship, and preaching. Out of this doctrinal and theological mindset came the oneness “revelation.”⁹⁹

Oneness Pentecostal historian Talmadge L. French agrees with Reed. French notes that the origin and development of Oneness Pentecostalism was “a confluence of multiple influences [which] demonstrably culminated in the emergence of the distinctive theology of Oneness Pentecostalism.” He then identifies four elements that originally ignited the whole Pentecostal Movement: (1) restorationist fervor; (2) elements of pietistic perfectionism; (3) dispensational fundamentalism; and (4) Christocentric name theology. In tying these elements to the Oneness position, he wrote that “A dozen years

⁹⁸ Reed, *Origins and Development*, 27-45.

⁹⁹ Early Pentecostals used the word “revelation” freely without explaining their meaning of the word. In an unpublished paper presented to a study group of Oneness and Trinitarian Pentecostals on March 13-15, 2002, Oneness Pentecostal historian J. L. Hall noted, “It is obvious in reading their doctrinal arguments that they believed ‘revelation’ to mean that the Holy Ghost illumined their hearts and minds to understand Scriptures, a practice that was shared in the Holiness movement as well as in other Pentecostal groups.” He then quoted Kenneth Archer who wrote in the *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, speaking of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, “They used the inductive and deductive common-sense Bible Reading Method to develop their understanding of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as physically evidenced with speaking in other tongues.” The word “revelation,” as understood by the early twentieth-century Pentecostals, did not appeal to a medium beyond Scripture, such as visions, voices, or angels. Every revelation, or illumination as termed by some, had always to be submitted and harmonized with the written Word of God. According to Reed in *Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism* (page 46) this position is not substantially different from the classical evangelical view of the “illumination” of Scripture by the Holy Spirit.

later these same elements, but reassembled, re-ignited the components of Pentecostalism which were most tenaciously committed to restorationism, and set Oneness Pentecostalism ablaze with unexpected intensity.”¹⁰⁰

As mentioned above, the early Pentecostals had a strong emphasis on restorationism—that is, restoring the teachings and experiences of the apostles and the first-century church. With this emphasis on the early church, it was not long before people began to realize that as recorded in the Book of Acts the apostles never baptized in the Trinitarian formula but rather always baptized in Jesus’ name and never spoke of God in the terms of fourth-century Trinitarian orthodoxy. They came to see these points as doctrinally significant.

Concerning this, Edith Blumhofer, an Assemblies of God scholar, writes in an official history of her church:

The doctrinal departure aside, if one admits the strong restorationist component at the heart of the definition of Pentecostalism, Oneness proponents were more zealously restorationist, more doggedly congregational, and more Christocentrically spiritual—in short, in some important ways more essentially Pentecostal than the mainstream.¹⁰¹

And again she writes,

Recognizing Pentecostalism as a restorationist movement minimizes the tendency to break the movement’s history into Wesleyan and non-Wesleyan components. It places Oneness Pentecostalism in the broad context, too: Oneness Pentecostals were, from this perspective, simply more thoroughgoing restorationists than their opponents.¹⁰²

Walter Hollenweger, secretary of evangelism for the World Council of Churches, writes in a similar vein that the Oneness doctrine “is more in accordance with religious

¹⁰⁰ French, *Our God Is One*, 53.

¹⁰¹ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:238.

¹⁰² Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:15.

feeling and practice of Pentecostalism than a doctrine of the Trinity taken over without understanding from the traditional churches.”¹⁰³

There were in fact some Pentecostal ministers baptizing in the name of Jesus before 1913. Charles Parham baptized Howard A. Goss in the name of Jesus in 1903. A. D. Urshan began baptizing his converts in the name of Jesus in 1910. At this time, re-baptism was not encouraged.

While some American Pentecostals were baptizing in the name of the Lord Jesus before 1913, the initial impetus for the Oneness movement was a camp meeting held in Arroyo Seco, near Los Angeles, California. R. J. Scott and George Studd organized this Worldwide Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting.

In the fall of 1912 R. J. Scott went to Dallas, Texas, to hear Maria Woodworth-Etter (1844-1924) preach during her five-month campaign for F. F. Bosworth and E. G. Birdsall. Mrs. Woodworth-Etter was a Holiness evangelist who endorsed the Pentecostal message. Scott reported seeing numerous people healed (including a girl blind for twelve years), many receiving the baptism in the Spirit, and hundreds converted. He scheduled Maria Woodworth-Etter to be the speaker for his Worldwide Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting to be held in April 1913. She would be sixty-nine years old at the time.¹⁰⁴

The Worldwide Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting lasted one month, beginning on April 15, 1913. The crowd was estimated to total about two thousand people. Reportedly, there were 364 people filled with the Holy Spirit, along with many healings. One lady who testified of her healing was Alice Frodsham, wife of Stanley H. Frodsham who later was the editor of the official organ of the Assemblies of God, the *Pentecostal Evangel*.

¹⁰³ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 311-12.

¹⁰⁴ Wayne Warner, “The 1913 Worldwide Camp Meeting, Seeking Unity, They Found Division with the ‘New Issue,’” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 3, 1 (Spring 1983), 1, 4, 5.

Mrs. Frodsham reported that after Mrs. Woodworth-Etter prayed for her back problem which had “tortured” her almost continuously for seven years, Mrs. Frodsham was left alone in prayer. She testified, “A hand came and laid hold of the middle of my back, and another hand laid hold of the bottom of my spine; and in one short moment the vertebrae that had been telescoped were put into perfect position.”¹⁰⁵

David Reed referred to the camp meeting as “probably the high-water mark in the early Pentecostal revival.”¹⁰⁶ While the Azusa Street revival was exciting and far-reaching, the Arroyo Seco revival seemed to carry the participants to another level. With all of the reported happenings, the people felt that the camp meeting was “heaven-on-earth.” R. J. Scott produced a special thirty-two-page souvenir songbook especially for the meeting. The words of one of the songs from the *Worldwide Songbook*, as it came to be known, was an expression of the participants’ attitude toward the meeting.

Oh, this is like heaven to me;
Yes, this is like heaven to me;
I’ve crossed over Jordan to
Canaan’s fair land,
And this is like heaven to me.¹⁰⁷

While notable miracles were reported, perhaps the real high-water mark was the spark that set the Jesus Name Controversy ablaze. According to Pentecostal archivist Adam Dennis, there was a particular sermon that created a stir among the people present. “One sermon sounded a spiritual blast that soon spread around the world and into history.”¹⁰⁸ This was a sermon preached during a baptismal service. The preacher was

¹⁰⁵ Stanley H. Frodsham, *Jesus Is Victor* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1930), 98.

¹⁰⁶ David Reed, “Aspects of the Origins of Oneness Pentecostalism,” in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. Vinson Synan (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 143.

¹⁰⁷ Wayne Warner, “The 1913 Worldwide Camp Meeting,” 1, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Adam C. Dennis, “The Sound of Freedom,” *Historical News* 21, 4 (Fall 2002): 3; Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 93-94.

Robert E. McAlister (1880-1953), a Canadian preacher who claimed to have received the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street in 1906. He preached that the apostles never invoked the titles of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost when they baptized converts but rather that they baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. He explained that single immersion was the proper mode for baptism, not triple immersion. As proof he cited the baptismal accounts in the Book of Acts.

A hush came on the audience; the preacher himself fell silent. McAlister's teaching planted thoughts in the minds of several people. John Schaepe (1870-1939) prayed through the night and ran through the camp the next morning shouting that he had come to a new understanding regarding the power of the name of Jesus.

Another man was deeply impressed by McAlister's message as well. Frank J. Ewart (1876-1947) had been studying the subject of the name and oneness of God and McAlister's teachings arrested his attention. Ewart was not a novice in the ministry. He was born in Australia, was a Baptist missionary in Australia, immigrated to Canada in 1903 and served as pastor there. He testified that he received the Holy Spirit in 1908 in Portland, Oregon under Florence Crawford. In 1911 he became the assistant pastor at William Durham's mission in Los Angeles, and he became pastor in 1912 following Durham's death.

Following the camp meeting, Ewart invited McAlister to his home where they discussed the implications of baptizing in the name of Jesus. Ewart then resigned as pastor of his church and began a new work in Los Angeles with McAlister and Glenn Cook (1867-1948). Cook was also not a novice in the Pentecostal ministry. He had served as full-time business manager of the Azusa Street Mission under Seymour and was a

noted evangelist. He had brought the Pentecostal message to Indianapolis, Indiana, and to the Church of God in Christ in Memphis, Tennessee. He had also conducted revivals in Oklahoma, Missouri, and Arkansas.

The three men, Ewart, McAlister, and Cook, continued studying the name of Jesus and the doctrine of God. McAlister returned to Canada and preached the first sermon on the exclusive use of the name of Jesus in water baptism; this was in November 1913 at the eighth annual Pentecostal convention in Winnipeg. Frank Small baptized thirty new converts in the name of Jesus Christ. These were the first Jesus Name baptisms to result from the Arroyo Seco camp meeting.¹⁰⁹

Ewart merged his work in Los Angeles with the work of Elmer Fisher and his associate, A. G. Garr. Ewart often preached on the power of the name of Jesus. There were reportedly tremendous results in terms of healings and Spirit baptisms. Fisher and Garr encouraged Ewart to preach on the name of Jesus, but they were not in favor of baptizing only in Jesus' name.

Ewart finally decided that he needed to sound a clear call for water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ. Following his personal studies and counsel with other men, he concluded that the essential name to use in baptism was Jesus and that the titles of Lord and Christ could be added. In addition, he concluded that this practice had great significance regarding the doctrine of God. He came to believe that the apostles baptized in Jesus' name because the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are not three distinct persons but rather three manifestations of one God, and that Jesus is the revelation of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Ewart felt that the reason why there is such power when believers

¹⁰⁹ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:221-225; M. M. Pinson, "From Los Angeles World-Wide Camp Meeting," *Word and Witness* (20 May 1913): 1.

preach, pray, and baptize in Jesus' name, is that the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Jesus.

J. L. Hall writes that Ewart arrived at a doctrinal conclusion by the spring of 1914. Ewart believed that the singular "name" in Matthew 28:19 was Jesus Christ, concluding that "the one true God who had revealed himself as Father, in the Son, and as the Holy Spirit was none other than Jesus Christ. To support this view, he pointed to Colossians 2:9, which states that in Jesus dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."¹¹⁰

Because of his new convictions, and because he did not want to bring division to the work of Fisher and Garr, Ewart parted company with them. Fisher helped him to obtain a tent that he used for meetings in Belvedere, California, just outside Los Angeles. Glenn Cook agreed with Ewart's message and they decided to work together. On April 15, 1914, exactly one year after the Arroyo Seco camp meeting began, Ewart preached his first sermon on Acts 2:38, proclaiming that the full message of salvation consists of repentance, water baptism in Jesus' name, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost. He associated baptism in Jesus' name with the oneness of God in Christ. "Then Ewart baptized Cook in the name of Jesus Christ, and Cook baptized Ewart. This action—the first rebaptisms in the name of Jesus Christ—was the decisive step in starting Oneness Pentecostalism as a distinct movement."¹¹¹

Frank Small later explained the doctrinal significance of rebaptism in Jesus' name:

Through the illumination of Scripture, the new message had resolved itself into the fullness of God in Christ (II Corinthians 5:19; I

¹¹⁰ J. L. Hall, "United Pentecostal Church, International," in *The New Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 1161; Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 95-100.

¹¹¹ Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 97-98; Bernard, *History*, 67.

Thessalonians 5:18; I Timothy 3:16). This teaching developed in Los Angeles. It might be stated that until this time, the message of water baptism in the Name of Jesus had been based on record only. We knew beyond a shadow of a doubt that the apostles had baptized in the Name of Jesus, but we still did not fully understand why. But, in due time when complete scriptural revelation came, the absolute fullness of God in Christ was proven. Out of the development of this truth came the act of re-baptizing converts who had previously been baptized using the titles Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.¹¹²

S. C. McClain, who attended the 1915 camp meeting when Howard Goss was baptized a second time in the name of Jesus to identify with the new Oneness movement, described Ewart's understanding of the New Issue.

In the same year, 1914, when the Assemblies of God organization was set up, Frank J. Ewart of Los Angeles, California, through much seeking God in prayer, had revealed to him through the Word of God a great truth concerning the plan of salvation: that God was in his Son Jesus, reconciling the world unto Himself (II Corinthians 5:19), and that the simple plan of salvation had been plainly laid out by the Apostle Peter in Acts 2:38, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." It was revealed further that Jesus is the only door of salvation, and that there is none other name given . . . whereby we must be saved (Acts 4:12). Still further it was revealed that all the fullness of the Godhead (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) dwelleth in Him bodily (Colossians 2:9). Thus all the apostles, fully understanding the words of Jesus Christ in Matthew 28:19, baptized every candidate in the "name of Jesus." He saw that the apostolic commandment is, "And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . ." (Colossians 3:17).¹¹³

The revival of Ewart and Cook drew many Pentecostal people who were rebaptized in Jesus' name. Ewart's periodical, *Meat in Due Season*, spread the message and revival reports around the world.

Cook traveled on an evangelistic trip in 1914 to bring the Jesus' name message to the Midwest, where he had earlier brought the Pentecostal message. In St. Louis,

¹¹² Bernard, *History*, 68-69.

¹¹³ Fred J. Foster, *Their Story: 20th Century Pentecostals*, rev. ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1981), 91. S. C. McClain was Fred Foster's instructor in Bible college. McClain came into the Pentecostal movement in 1912 and shared many of his experiences with his students.

Missouri, he baptized “Mother” Mary Moise, “Mother” Barnes, and Ben Pemberton, a young minister working with them. He then went to Indianapolis, Indiana, where he baptized pastors L. V. Roberts and Garfield T. Haywood. They in turn baptized their congregations. A total of 465 people were baptized in Jesus’ name in Indianapolis.

Haywood was the most prominent black leader of the Finished Work group, but his church was inter-racial. He published a periodical called *Voice in the Wilderness*. In 1911 Haywood had received credentials with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (a small organization that began in 1906 or 1907 in Los Angeles). By 1913 Ewart, Cook, and McAlister associated with this group also. However, in 1914, at the time of his baptism, Haywood was in close fellowship with the recently-organized Assemblies of God.

Having decided in favor of the Finished Work doctrine at the time of the organization’s establishment, the members of the Assemblies of God now faced a new issue—water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ. At first Bell, Goss, and Flower stood in opposition to the matter.

The Assemblies of God held their Third Interstate Encampment in Jackson, Tennessee during the summer of 1915. H. G. Rogers was the host pastor and E. N. Bell was to conduct the camp meeting. Bell declared that a voice spoke to him, telling him that if he did not preach water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ that the camp would be a total failure. The message that he had been fighting finally prevailed against him. He spoke with Rogers and together they sent for L. V. Roberts to preach during the camp meeting. Roberts was a noted Oneness evangelist who had been baptized in one of Glenn Cook’s meetings.

Robert's first sermon was on Acts 2:38, and after the message both E. N. Bell and H. G. Rogers presented themselves for baptism in the name of Jesus. Because of Bell's stature as a dominant leader in the Assemblies of God, many other preachers took note. Eleven preachers were also baptized at this time.¹¹⁴

J. Roswell Flower concluded that the "new Revelation" was simply the resurrection of an ancient heresy. He wrote against the New Issue in the July 17, 1915, issue of *Word and Witness*. He expressed hope that the crest of the hysteria might already be passing. However, the issue was continuing to develop, with E. N. Bell in the Oneness camp.

"Who Is Jesus Christ?" was Bell's first article after his rebaptism in Jesus' name. It was published in an amended form in the August 14, 1915, issue of the *Weekly Evangel*. Bell described his new spiritual experience and theological understanding. Bell later turned his back on the Oneness Pentecostals, and therefore Bell's own words best express his understanding at this time.

Who Is Jesus Christ?

Jesus Christ Being Rediscovered as the Jehovah of the Old Testament and the True God of the New A New Realization of Christ as the Mighty God

I want to thank God today for the discussion of water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ, because it has proven the means of discovering to me a mightier Christ than I ever realized before. The water baptism issue in the name of Christ, taken alone, would be comparatively a small and tame matter. Just so, it first seemed to me and to many others, and seems to some still, because they have not seen what is involved in it and do not have the full apostolic vision of Jesus Christ as Lord or Jehovah. The baptismal issue is only one cog in the wheel that will roll out and up to your bewildered and joyful vision the most glorious Christ you ever beheld, if you will let it, by beginning to walk in the light by obeying Him. . . .

¹¹⁴ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:231-232.

If people knew what God is putting in my soul, by a brand new vision of Jesus and the wonders hid in His mighty and glorious name, they would cease pitying me for being baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and begin to shout and help me praise the Lamb that was slain . . .

Now, it is a wonder how He [Jesus] could be God, or God could dwell in Him. It is more a wonder that the whole 'Godhead' dwells in him. It is still a greater wonder that the *fullness* of the Godhead dwell in him; and a wonder on wonders how *all* the fullness of the Godhead is in Jesus. But all this is declared of our glorious Christ.

Don't be afraid the Father and the Holy Ghost will be left out. We all believe in God the Father and the blessed Holy Ghost. We can expect to continue to speak of both, just as the Apostles do in the New Testament, whenever occasion demands it and when that is our subject; but just now our subject is the *wonders in Christ*. . . .

All may baptize with the phrase in Matthew 28:19 who feel so led, and I will love and fellowship them just the same; but personally, with my present light, I could not conscientiously do so any more. I prefer to use the real name common to both Father and Son, as the Lord commanded me to baptize in 'The Name,' not in a relationship phrase which is no proper name at all. Lord, help the dear brethren to see that Father and Son are, by no means, proper names.

Recognizing that the whole Godhead was always present in Jesus, the Apostles baptized either in a part of all of His name; sometimes Jesus Christ; at other times, Lord, or Lord Jesus. (See Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:44; 19:5.) But there was never a hint, from their first sermon at Pentecost to the death of the last Apostle, that they understood Jesus to mean to use the phrase as in Matthew 28:19, rather than the *name*. But when the church lost the secret of this *name*, it began to fall into liberalism and formalism, without understanding the true meaning and intent of the forms they were using. Now God is restoring the spiritual vision of the mighty Jehovah-Christ, the wonders in His name, and Christ is becoming daily larger and more glorious to our vision.¹¹⁵

While Bell was the editor in chief of the *Weekly Evangel* and *Word and Witness*, Flower was only the office editor. Flower took it upon himself to change Bell's wording in this article. For example, he replaced the word "rediscovered" with "exalted" in the subtitle. While the Assemblies of God fellowship would later praise Flower's actions, the Oneness people called the altered article a "mutilated" form of Bell's beliefs and

¹¹⁵ A copy of the original, unamended version of Bell's article is on file at the archives of the Assemblies of God offices. The version as amended by J. R. Flower was printed in the August 14, 1915 issue of the *Weekly Evangel*.

published the original article as a pamphlet, which is on file in the archives of the Assemblies of God offices.¹¹⁶

The Assemblies of God called for a General Camp Meeting in Little Rock, Arkansas, beginning on August 15, 1915. L. C. Hall from Zion City, Illinois, who had recently been baptized in Jesus' name, was the camp speaker. He preached from Colossians 2:9-12 during the camp—"For in him dwelleth all the fullness of the godhead bodily . . . complete in Him . . . by being buried with Him in baptism."

E. N. Bell conducted the baptisms. Howard A. Goss, one of the presbyters of the Assemblies of God, asked Bell to baptize him in Jesus' name. Although Parham had baptized him in Jesus' name twelve years earlier, he had not recognized the significance. Now he understood the fuller meaning and believed it completely.

McClain's notes contain a somewhat humorous incident, yet it expressed the thinking of the time. He was in attendance at the Little Rock camp meeting, but like many others present, saw no need of being re-baptized. He reported that the Lord tried to deal with him in a dream. In his dream, L. C. Hall took a large stick of crayon and drew a plain mark straight across the campground. Hall then loudly proclaimed, "Everybody who is going through with God, toe the mark." Because McClain had responsibilities for the financial and business aspects of the camp meeting, he did not have the time to consider all of the Scripture Hall was preaching, but that call to "toe the mark" stuck to him.

Later McClain was preaching at a meeting in Sheridan, Arkansas. At the close of the revival several people were to be baptized, so McClain preached a sermon on the Trinity to warn them against the prevalent teaching of baptism in Jesus' name. A new

¹¹⁶ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:232.

convert had just begun to read the New Testament, and before she had gotten through the first chapter of Matthew she became very puzzled about verses 18 to 20. With her finger on the verses she asked McClain the question, "Didn't you say last night that God the Father is the first Person, and Jesus is the second Person, and that the Holy Ghost is a third Person?" McClain answered, "That is right." Then she asked, "How can the first Person be the Father of the second Person, for Jesus was begotten of the Holy Ghost?" "Well," replied McClain, "that is one of the mysteries of the Godhead; don't worry your brains about that." But he could not get away from the question, and was baptized in the name of Jesus not long after the event.¹¹⁷

Two other officials of the Assemblies of God, B. F. Lawrence and D. C. O. Opperman, were baptized in Jesus' name during this time. Opperman helped to spread the message through his periodical, *The Blessed Truth*.

Beginning on December 15, 1915, Harvey Shearer and Howard Goss preached the Oneness teaching at the Bible conference in Elton, Louisiana. All but one minister in attendance accepted Jesus Name baptism. Those baptized included Robert LaFleur and Oliver Fauss. All twelve ministers of the Assemblies of God in Louisiana accepted the Jesus Name message.

Within two years after Ewart and Cook rebaptized each other in 1914, many early leaders of the Pentecostal movement were baptized in Jesus' name. Some perhaps acted in obedience to the apostolic pattern but did not fully embrace the Oneness doctrine, or else did so for only a short time. Many of those baptized, however, accepted both Jesus Name baptism and the associated Oneness doctrine. The list includes Argue, Mother Barnes, Bell, Chambers, Cook, Ewart, Goss, Hall, Haywood, Lawrence, McAlister,

¹¹⁷ Foster, *Their Story*, 98-99.

Mother Moise, Opperman, Roberts, Rodgers, Shearer, and Small. The list continues, Frank Bartleman, William Booth-Clibborn (grandson of the founder of the Salvation Army), Frank and Elizabeth Gray (missionaries to Japan), Elmer K. Fisher, Thoro Harris (songwriter), S. C. McClain, Aimee Semple McPherson, C. H. Mason (but not until 1930), Harry Morse, F. S. Ramsay (missionary to China), R. J. Scott, George B. Studd, Harry Van Loon, and Maria Woodworth-Etter. Even Trinitarian historians note that the Jesus Name message came very close to sweeping the entire Assemblies of God.”¹¹⁸ Not all of the people who were baptized in Jesus’ name during this time remained with the Oneness doctrinal position. (For additional information about some early Pentecostal leaders who were rebaptized in Jesus’ name and their later involvement in the Pentecostal movement, see Appendix 2.)

The Oneness movement, however, fell short of early expectations, or fears, that it might sweep the bulk of Pentecostals into its fold. By the end of the 1920s, fewer than one in ten of all Pentecostals and only one of every seven Finished Work Pentecostals were in the Oneness camp.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Bernard, *History*, 75; Brumback, *Suddenly*, 195-97.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 185.

CHAPTER III

RESULT—DIVIDED MOVEMENT

At this juncture in time, J. Roswell Flower, soon to be the only remaining member of the Executive Board of the Assemblies of God not in the Oneness camp, called a third general council beginning on October 1, 1915. During the course of the meeting, J. W. Welch was selected to serve as temporary chairman (later he would be asked to serve permanently). The future of the Assemblies of God was to be decided.

About one hundred ministers were in attendance. A debate was scheduled to give a fair hearing to both views—the Oneness and the Trinity. According to Carl O’Guin, a former Assembly of God district superintendent and last surviving participant of the debate of 1915, the debate was to be confined only to Scripture, in accordance with their restorationist position.¹²⁰ Both camps presented their views, with E. N. Bell and G. T. Haywood presenting the case for baptism in Jesus’ name and Arch Collins and Jacob Miller speaking for the traditional Trinitarian formula. The men were limited to thirty minutes each. William Schell was originally scheduled to speak on behalf of the Trinitarian view, but withdrew because of the “restrictions,” with Collins taking his place. Schell had prepared to speak from church history rather than from Scriptures. However, the next day he was allowed to speak for two hours on the baptismal formula as given by the Post-Apostolic Fathers.¹²¹ This allowance of two hours for Schell’s subject while only giving thirty minutes for each of the other speakers’ subjects seems to have been a break from the established restorationist position. It appears to have been an advantage to the position of historic orthodox Trinitarian theology.

¹²⁰ Bernard, *History*, 78.

¹²¹ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:233.

The deviation from the intention to present only Scriptural arguments angered the “restorationists” among the assembly. They considered this to be “extra-biblical” input. At the same time, the group that favored the historic orthodox Trinitarian position approved of the insertion of the creedal positions into the discussion.

The restorationist’s desire to appeal exclusively to Biblical authority was not limited to Pentecostals. Nathan Hatch, in *The Democratization of American Christianity*, tells of Charles Chauncy, pastor of Boston’s First Church for sixty years (1727-87). Chauncy was the most prominent example of an exclusive appeal to Biblical authority in order to unravel theological orthodoxy. He read after two English divines, Samuel Clarke (*The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*) and John Taylor (*The Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin.*) Both Clarke and Taylor used a “‘free, impartial and diligent’ method of examining Scripture to jettison, respectively, the doctrines of the Trinity and of Original Sin.”¹²² The desire to use Biblical authority was a position held by many. “By raising the standard ‘no creed but the Bible,’ Christians in America were the foremost proponents of individualism even as they expected the open Bible to replace an age of sectarian rivalry with one of primitive harmony.”¹²³ The attitude of “no creed but the Bible” was desired by some but rejected by others in the meeting.

Finally the Resolution Committee presented a six-point proposal that attempted to appease the entire body but in reality was a compromise that only bought the organization a bit of time to continue to study the best method of water baptism. It included a compromise formula: “The substitution of the name of ‘Jesus Christ’ for the word ‘Son’ (Matthew 28:19) would better harmonize Matthew 28:19 with the book of Acts (Acts

¹²² Hatch, *Democratization*, 181.

¹²³ Hatch, *Democratization*, 213.

2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5) and, as a formula, would be preferable to the use of any one passage to the exclusion of the other.”¹²⁴

Included in the six-point proposal were four points that articulated careful safeguards for distinguishing properly the persons within the Trinity, so it appears that the adoption of the resolution was something of a victory for the Trinitarian forces. It seemed that the tide was turning in favor of historic orthodox Trinitarian theology.¹²⁵

The third general conference then elected staunch Trinitarians to every position and removed everyone who had accepted baptism in Jesus’ name or who had a conciliatory attitude toward it. Bell, Collins, Goss, Lawrence, and Opperman all lost their positions. Bell also resigned as editor of *Word and Witness*.¹²⁶

During the following year, the organizational leadership fought strongly against the Oneness message. Flower’s statement of opposition declared that the Oneness teaching was essentially a revival of modalistic monarchianism or Sabellianism, which the mainstream church of the third and fourth centuries had decided was heresy.¹²⁷

Also, during this year, Flower was successful in influencing E. N. Bell to switch sides and endorse the Trinitarian baptism again. While Bell never denied Jesus Name baptism, for the sake of unity and continued fellowship with the Assemblies of God, he did suppress his practice of baptizing converts in Jesus’ name.

At the time of the calling for the fourth general council of the Assemblies of God, there was much tension in the churches and among the ministers. Each man was being called upon to take a stand regarding the New Issue. The Trinitarian Pentecostals brought

¹²⁴ Bernard, *History*, 76. See also note 77 on page 367.

¹²⁵ Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 116.

¹²⁶ Bernard, *History*, 76; Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 233.

¹²⁷ Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 114.

charges of “Sabellianism” and “Oneism,” while the Oneness Pentecostals countered with accusations of “Three-Godism” and “Popish slavery.”

The fourth general council of the Assemblies of God was held October 1-7, 1916, in St. Louis, Missouri. The leadership appointed a committee to prepare a “Statement of Fundamental Truths.” This committee was made up of members who favored the Trinitarian form of baptism: D. W. Kerr, T. K. Leonard, S. A. Jameson, Stanley H. Frodsham, and E. N. Bell. Bell was the only one who had been baptized in Jesus’ name, but he had been turned back by Flower. Although the young denomination had vowed never to adopt a formal creed, this was in fact the task given to this committee.¹²⁸

D. W. Kerr was the primary author of the new “Statement of Fundamental Truths.” There were seventeen points, of which several soundly denounced the Oneness doctrine. In the end, the conference adopted this Trinitarian statement, as well as voting to require that the words of Matthew 28:19 be incorporated in the baptismal formula. The Oneness ministers had no alternative but to leave the Assemblies of God. As they left the conference floor, they heard the assembly sing Reginald Heber’s hymn, “Holy, Holy, Holy,” with its closing words, “Blessed Trinity.”¹²⁹

While the Oneness brethren had one viewpoint of the outcome of the conference, the Assembly of God ministers that remained had another. In his history of the Assemblies of God, Menzies wrote,

The dangerous crisis had been successfully negotiated. Coming within a whisper of being completely engulfed by the New Issue, the infant fellowship rallied, and was spared the apparently inevitable tragedy of being swept out of the mainstream of historic orthodoxy into the eddy

¹²⁸ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 157.

¹²⁹ Oliver F. Fauss, *Buy the Truth and Sell It Not* (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965), 34. Fauss was baptized in Jesus’ name in Elton, LA on December 15, 1915.

current of spurious doctrine. Wise were those who accepted the value of interpreting Biblical belief, even in the face of the charge of “creedalism,” when the times required clarity of expression.”¹³⁰

The result of this conference was 156 ministers dropping out of the 585-minister organization. Twenty-seven percent of the ministers left the organization. This also left the Assemblies of God basically a white denomination, while the Oneness Pentecostals became the most biracial wing of the entire Pentecostal movement.¹³¹

Oneness proponent Oliver F. Fauss in *Buy the Truth and Sell It Not* expressed his belief that they were fulfilling the passage of Scripture, “Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name’s sake” (Isaiah 66:5).¹³² He expressed, perhaps, the sentiments of many of the Oneness ministers.

Shortly after the schism but before the forming of any Oneness organizations, L. V. Roberts of the Oneness group published *The Present Truth*. This paper was compiled of material from pamphlets, tracts, sermons, and Bible studies of various other Oneness ministers. (Only one edition of this paper is known to have been published, and the date of publication, while not printed on the paper, is assumed to be 1916.¹³³) Glen Cook in his article, “Revelation,” used the term “veiled command” to refer to Matthew 28:19.

“When Jesus gave this command (Matthew 28:19) he also gave another and they were not to carry out the first until they obeyed the latter, and that was to ‘tarry in Jerusalem until they received power from on high.’ This simplifies the whole matter. Matthew 28:19 was a veiled command and when Peter received the Holy Ghost the veil was lifted and the identity of the Father and the Son was revealed; consequently he told them what to do: ‘Repent and be baptized every one of you in the NAME of JESUS

¹³⁰ Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 120-121.

¹³¹ Robert A. Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage, An Official History of the Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada Incorporated* (Canada: Friesen Printers, 1971), 84-91; Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 821.

¹³² Fauss, *Buy the Truth*, 36.

¹³³ *The Present Truth*, n.d., Number 1. The paper was printed in Indianapolis, Indiana, and L. V. Roberts was the editor. The publication date is believed to have been 1916.

CHRIST for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.’—Acts 2:38.”

Haywood, in “The One True God,” wrote, “There is but one God and He has been manifested in a three-fold manner. And this three-fold manifestation was not intended to establish a “three-person” God idea, but instead, it was to reveal to mankind that there was a true and living God who loved them with an everlasting love.” While these brief quotes in no way show the extent of the publication and promotion of the Oneness doctrine, it does show that it was being propagated immediately following the expulsion of the Oneness believers from the Assemblies of God organization.

Oneness Pentecostal Organizations¹³⁴

Following their departure from the Assemblies of God in October of 1916, the Oneness ministers saw a need to form their own organization. A large group of them gathered in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, in late December of 1916. In early January of 1917 they formed the General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies (GAAA) with D. C. O. Opperman as chairman, Lee Floyd as secretary, and Howard Goss as treasurer. Other ministers who joined were H. G. Rodgers, Booth-Clibborn, Ewart, Fauss, Hall, LaFleur, Pemberton, and Schaepe.

The GAAA lasted only one year. Because they organized so soon before the start of World War I, the ministers were not able to get exemption from military service and they were also unable to get clergy discounts to ride on the trains.

¹³⁴ French, *Our God Is One*, 77-83. Much of this information comes from French’s work. It is included here in a much-abbreviated form.

The GAAA then merged with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW), which had been founded in 1906 or 1907 in Los Angeles. PAW had become an Oneness organization due to the influence of G. T. Haywood, a member since 1911. PAW was able to obtain noncombatant status for its ministers. It was interracial and had 704 ministers in 1919-1920.

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) was formed in 1919, but it developed into a Trinitarian organization. Frank Small then led ten Oneness ministers out of the PAOC and founded the Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada (ACPC) as a Oneness organization.

In 1924 PAW split, primarily along racial lines because of prejudice. In 1925 the white ministers who withdrew from PAW formed three organizations. These were divided primarily along regional lines: the Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance (PMA), later renamed the Pentecostal Church Incorporated (PCI), in Jackson, Tennessee; the Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ (ACJC) in St. Louis, Missouri; and Emmanuel's Church in Christ Jesus (ECJC), in Houston, Texas. The latter two merged to become the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ (ACJC).

Due to a desire for interracial unity, in 1931 PAW and the ACJC merged to form the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ (PAJC). The merger was not completely successful and a leading black minister renewed the PAW charter before it expired, so that PAW continued as an organization. By 1938 most of the black ministers had withdrawn from PAJC and returned to PAW. As of 1998, PAW reported 1,760 churches and 450,000 constituents in the U.S., with a total of 4,141 churches and 1,000,000 constituents worldwide.

By 1938 there were two sizeable white Oneness organizations that were almost identical in structure, doctrine, and practice: the Pentecostal Church Incorporated (PCI) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ (PAJC). In 1945 they merged to form the United Pentecostal Church (UPC), which is the largest Oneness Pentecostal organization in the world. The general superintendent of the PCI, Howard Goss, became the first general superintendent of the new UPC. The general superintendent of the PAJC, W. T. Witherspoon, became the assistant general superintendent. At the time of the merger there were approximately 400 churches. In 1946, the Full Gospel Pentecostal Church (primarily Oneness ministers in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) joined the UPC. In 1972 the organization officially became known as the United Pentecostal Church International (UPCI).

Trinitarian Pentecostal Organizations

The Trinitarian Pentecostal movement was divided into two camps: the Second Work Trinitarian Pentecostals and the Finished Work Trinitarian Pentecostals. A listing of the two groups is given in Appendices 4 and 5 to aid in the understanding of the doctrinal positions of the various organizations in the continuing Pentecostal movement.

Growth Statistics of American Pentecostal Organizations¹³⁵

In an attempt to show the comparable size of the Oneness Pentecostals and the Trinitarian Pentecostals, statistics from 1998 will be used. There is great difficulty in gathering these statistics due in part to the various ways in which organizational size is measured. Some organizations measure size by average church attendance. Some

¹³⁵ French, *Our God Is One*, Appendix 4.

measure by Easter Sunday attendance. Some measure by average church size multiplied by the total number of congregations. Still others measure by number of baptized believers. The varied ways of counting make it almost impossible to get an accurate number. Talmadge French did a commendable work in his book, *Our God Is One*, calculating many of these statistics. Due to the inherent difficulty, some of the statistics are approximated while others are more reliable. In Appendix 4 the reported worldwide constituency is given in parentheses following the name.

In brief, there were 10,936,638 Second Work Trinitarian Pentecostals as of 1998. There were 33,056,286 Finished Work Trinitarian Pentecostals, 3,915,800 Finished Work Oneness Pentecostals, and 96,000 Second Work Oneness Pentecostals. (For further detail, consult Appendices 4 and 5.)

These figures and lists do not include the smaller organizations. The Apostolic World Christian Fellowship (AWCF) is an umbrella association that offers recognition to any organization that identifies with the plan of salvation according to Acts 2:38. There are currently 153 Oneness member organizations worldwide under its association with an estimated membership of 3.5 million.

The total worldwide Oneness movement is estimated to have at least 14 million followers in over 425 organizations.

CONCLUSION—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHRISTOCENTRIC THEOLOGICAL POSITION

There is one important aspect of the Oneness Pentecostal position that bears repeating in this conclusion: the movement arose because of a determined intention to be a Christ-centered position exalting the crucified and risen Savior. Not denying the Godhead, they were intent on keeping a Christological centerpoint.

In order to better understand the Oneness movement, one needs to see it as **emerging within the Pietistic tradition**. As a form of spirituality, the Pietistic tradition emphasized the personal, subjective, and experiential in religion. As Reed explains:

This emphasis contributed in two ways to the Oneness doctrine. (1) it offered a personal and experiential devotion or piety that later Oneness believers applied to the Name of Jesus; and (2) it emphasized the existential and personal aspects of biblical and doctrinal truth, an “inner assurance” which Oneness followers later used to confirm their doctrine of the Name of Jesus.

The distinctive form of American Pietism bequeathed to Oneness Pentecostals was distinctively “Jesus-centric.” Jesus-centrism is primarily a practical theology which truncates the whole range of God’s activity into the person and work of the human Jesus, primarily his deity, atoning work and second coming. It tends to be devotional and inspirational rather than theologically abstract, resulting in a popular piety which finds in Jesus the source of salvation and object of devotion.”¹³⁶

In order to have a **non-biased review on the effect the Oneness Pentecostal movement and message had on the Pentecostal movement as a whole, a consideration of remarks made by John Graham Lake (1870-1935) is in order**. John Lake was Pentecostal, but not of the Oneness camp. His comments are chosen for that reason.

¹³⁶ David Arthur Reed, “Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States,” *Pneuma; the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 1 (Spring 1979), 32.

Lake was not a novice in the Pentecostal movement. On the contrary, he was a very active participant in it in multiple areas and was qualified to assess the Pentecostal movement.

J. G. Lake began his ministry as a Methodist preacher but was also very successful as an insurance executive. In 1898 Lake's wife claimed to have been healed of tuberculosis under the ministry of Alexander Dowie. Lake heard the preaching of Parham and in late 1906 testified to being baptized in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues. He served as a missionary in Johannesburg, South Africa from 1908 until 1912. In only four years he established what was reported to be the two largest Pentecostal churches in the nation—the Apostolic Faith Mission (largely a white church) and the Zion Christian Church (largely a black Zulu church).

Lake's wife died in Africa. He returned to the United States and settled in Spokane, Washington, in 1914. During the next five or six years Lake reported that thousands of healings occurred through his ministry. He moved to Portland, Oregon, in May of 1920 and continued in the same type of ministry. He died of a stroke in 1935.¹³⁷

In 1927 Lake wrote a letter to Charles Parham expressing his hunger to locate someone who had a "Fatherhood" message to the Pentecostal movement. He was questioning Parham, probing to see if he was the one. He acknowledged the role Parham had played as the "Founding Father," but was looking for an individual with a fresh fatherhood mentality and message, someone who could bring the fractured Pentecostal movement into one unified entity. In the letter he considers the various groups and organizations within the Pentecostal movement for progressive, forward-moving

¹³⁷ Synan, *Century*, 7, 89-91.

leadership but rejects each one for various reasons. Finally he gets to the Oneness Pentecostals.

“None of the other divisions of the movement of which I know, except the movement headed by Bro. Goss [Oneness Pentecostals], holds much hope. I see more hope in Goss’s division of the movement than in any of the others. There is one thing we will have to concede, and everybody does who is really intimate with their assemblies and with their preachers, and that is that they show more genuine spirituality than any other branch of the movement. The mere fact of their emphasis of Jesus, that the other divisions of the movement regard as extreme, had tended to bless them in that it has brought them into close touch with the Lord’s life and Spirit.”¹³⁸

This statement was made in 1927. The Oneness branch of Pentecost had been on its own since 1916, long enough to make an impression on the total Pentecostal movement. Lake’s opinion may have been based on his own ministry of praying for the sick in Jesus’ name and reportedly seeing many healings take place. As he saw the Oneness movement accenting Jesus’ name in prayer as well as in baptism, perhaps he felt that they too would experience results similar to the ones the apostles experienced in the Book of Acts. If this was his reasoning, history has shown him to be correct by the continual growth of the Oneness Pentecostal movement.

Two statements are given below that agree with Lake’s statement that the oneness branch of the Pentecostal movement has “more genuine spirituality than any other branch of the movement.” The first statement is from David Bernard, Oneness theologian and historian. The second is from Edith L. Blumhofer, Assemblies of God historian. Both people are used to offer a balanced and unbiased view.

In the Assemblies of God, the number [of members who receive the Holy Spirit with the sign of tongues] is estimated at 30 percent (by some scholars) to 50 percent (by denominational officials). The AG has

¹³⁸ John G. Lake to Charles Parham, 24 March 1927, Assemblies of God Archives; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal*, 83.

established a commission to investigate this problem and propose remedies.¹³⁹

By 1941, a movement shaped by a restorationist vision had become something its organizers in 1914 had repudiated—a new denomination. Selective restorationist rhetoric persisted, but its implementation proved increasingly troublesome.¹⁴⁰

It appears that Bernard and Blumhofer agree that the Trinitarian Pentecostals, specifically the Assemblies of God, had drifted from their restorationist moorings and that the Pentecostal experience of receiving the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues was diminishing among its members. The Oneness movement, on the other hand, seems to have remained more aligned with the Pentecostal movement's Christocentric and restorationist's roots.

In conclusion, the Pentecostal movement as a whole is a growing phenomenon in the world of Christianity. Harvey Cox, Harvard University professor, wrote that it has literally reshaped twentieth century religion.¹⁴¹ R. G. Robins, in the *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, wrote that the Pentecostal movement “has emerged as perhaps the single-most significant development in 20th century Christianity.”¹⁴² It is considered “the prevailing Evangelical voice, the largest theological tradition within Protestantism, and the fastest growing branch of Christianity.” Nathan Hatch in *The Democratization of American Christianity* calls Pentecostalism in the United States “the popular movement” of the twentieth century.¹⁴³ Although according to Ahlstrom, most Pentecostal churches

¹³⁹ Bernard, *History*, 156.

¹⁴⁰ Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, 1:269.

¹⁴¹ Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, iv-xviii.

¹⁴² R. G. Robins, “Pentecostal Movement,” in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, ed. Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 886, 890.

¹⁴³ Hatch, *Democratization*, 114.

received their initial impulse from Methodism and the Holiness Revival, he agrees with Irwin Winehouse, that through the Pentecostal movement, “a new element was introduced into the religious life of the world.”¹⁴⁴

One primary element that was introduced anew through the Pentecostal movement was the Oneness theology. This development of Oneness theology within the broader ranks of Pentecostalism was the outcome of several ideas emerging within Pentecostalism: Pietistic experientialism, restorationism, the Finished Work doctrine, and an emphasis on the person and work of Jesus Christ. Continued focus on these concepts will serve to keep the Oneness Pentecostals Christ-centered and Pentecostal in practice and doctrine.

¹⁴⁴ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 819.

Appendix 1

(Source: David K. Bernard, *A History of Christian Doctrine, the Twentieth Century A.D. 1900-2000*)




Dates in the History of Christianity 1900-2000

Secular History	Church History
1861-65 U.S. Civil War	1862-1916 G. B. Cashwell
	1865-1943 A. J. Tomlinson
	1866-1923 E. N. Bell
	1866-1961 C. H. Mason
	1867-1948 Glenn Cook
	1870-1922 William Seymour
	1873-1929 Charles Parham
	1873-1912 William Durham
	1876-1947 Frank Ewart
	1880-1931 G. T. Haywood
	1882-1964 Howard Goss
	1884-1976 Rudolf Bultmann
	1886-1968 Karl Barth
	1890-1944 Aimee Semple McPherson
	1892-1971 Reinhold Niebuhr
	1898-1963 C. S. Lewis
1901 New century Begins	1901 Pentecostal movement begins, Topeka, KS
	1906-9 Azusa Street revival, Los Angeles
	1906-7 Pentecostal Assemblies of the World
	1910 Durham proclaims Finished Work doctrine
	1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference
	1910-15 <i>The Fundamentals</i>
	1913 Arroyo Seco camp meeting
1914 World War I begins	1914 Oneness movement begins
	1914 Assemblies of God
	1916 AG rejects Oneness doctrine
1917 U.S. enters World War I	
1918 World War I ends	1919 Karl Barth's <i>Commentary on Romans</i>
	1931 Conversion of C. S. Lewis
	1934 Wycliffe Bible Translators
1939 World War II begins	1941 Rudolf Bultmann's demythologizing
1941 U.S. enters World War II	1942 National Association of Evangelicals
	1945 Dietrich Bonhoeffer's prison writings
1945 World War II ends	1945 United Pentecostal Church
	1946 Post-war healing revivals
1948 Israel becomes a nation	1948 Latter Rain movement begins
	1948 World Council of Churches
	1949 Billy Graham's Los Angeles crusade
	1950 Assumption of Mary proclaimed by Pius XII
	1960 Charismatic movement begins
1963 Martin Luther King, Jr. marches on Washington	1962-65 Second Vatican Council
1967 Six Day War: Israel regains Old Jerusalem	
	1972 Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue begins
	1994 Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches of North America

Appendix 2

(Source: Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1972, 25.)

Differences between Two-stage and Three-stage Salvation

			
Holiness Churches	<i>Conversion</i> , also called regeneration	<i>Sanctification</i> , distinct in time and content from conversion; also called 'baptism of the Spirit' or 'second blessing.' Known as the 'Wesleyan understanding' of sanctification. Sanctification at a definite fixed time.	
Parham/Seymour; three-stage Pentecostals	<i>Conversion</i> , also called regeneration	<i>Sanctification</i> , distinct in time and content from conversion, and also called 'second blessing.' Sanctification at a definite fixed time. The pastoral theme behind this understanding of sanctification is that the Holy Spirit can only enter purified hearts.	<i>Baptism of the Spirit</i> , with speaking in tongues
Durham; two-stage Pentecostals	<i>Conversion</i> , also called regeneration	<i>Baptism of the Spirit</i> , with speaking in tongues. (Here sanctification is understood as a process continuing throughout life; known as the 'Baptist understanding of sanctification.')	

Appendix 3

(Source: David K. Bernard, *A History of Christian Doctrine, the Twentieth Century A.D. 1900-2000*)

Early Pentecostal Leaders Baptized in Jesus' Name

- *Andrew H. Argue* (1868-1959), a convert of William Durham, a pastor in Winnipeg, and an influential leader in western Canada. He did not enter the Oneness movement but was an early leader in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. A grandson, Don Argue, served as president of the National Association of Evangelicals.
- *Leanore "Mother Mary" Barnes* (1854-1939), an early evangelist in the Midwest, associate of "Mother" Mary Moise in rescue mission work in St. Louis, and a charter member of the Assemblies of God.
- *Frank Bartleman* (1871-1936), historian of the Azusa Street revival and an international evangelist. Bartleman never joined a Pentecostal organization but maintained fellowship with both Oneness and Trinitarian believers although he remained committed to Oneness beliefs.
- *Eudorus N. Bell* (1866-1923), the first general chairman of the Assemblies of God (1914). He later repudiated his baptism in Jesus' name and served as chairman a second time (1920-23).
- *William Booth-Clibborn*, a grandson of William Booth (founder of the Salvation Army) and an evangelist. He was active in early Oneness organizations but later returned to fellowship with Trinitarians, although he never renounced his Oneness views. He penned the words of "Down from His Glory."
- *George A. Chambers* (1879-1957), an early Canadian leader. He was a minister in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World in 1919. He soon repudiated the Oneness position, however, and became the first general chairman (superintendent) of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.
- *Glenn A. Cook* (1867-1948), business manager of the Azusa Street Mission, evangelist who brought the Pentecostal message to Indianapolis and to the Church of God in Christ, and assistant to Frank Ewart in Los Angeles. He brought the Oneness message to St. Louis and Indianapolis, baptizing Mother Barnes, Mother Moise, and Ben Pemberton in St. Louis, and L. V. Roberts and G. T. Haywood in Indianapolis.
- *Frank J. Ewart* (1876-1947), assistant pastor and successor to William Durham in Los Angeles. He was the chief proponent of the Oneness doctrine in 1914, in conjunction with Glenn Cook. At his death he was a minister in the United Pentecostal Church.
- *Elmer K. Fisher* (1866-1919), associate of William Seymour and then pastor of the Upper Room Mission in Los Angeles. He did not enter into the Oneness movement. His son-in-law, Wesley Steelburg, was a minister in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, but later became general superintendent of the Assemblies of God. A grandson, Stanley Horton, became a well-known Assemblies of God theologian.
- *Howard A. Goss* (1883-1964), a convert of Charles Parham in 1903 and onetime field director of Parham's work in Texas. He and E. N. Bell were the chief organizers of the Assemblies of God in 1914, and he served as one of its first executive presbyters. He later became the general superintendent of the Pentecostal Church Incorporated and the first general superintendent of the United Pentecostal Church.
- *Lemuel C. Hall* (1867-?), a convert from Zion City and an evangelist. He later became the first chairman of the Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance (a Oneness organization). Eventually he accepted the pastorate of a trinitarian church, but he never abandoned his Oneness beliefs.
- *Thoro Harris* (1874-1955), black gospel songwriter. His songs include "Jesus Loves the Little Children," "All That Thrills My Soul Is Jesus," and "He's Coming Soon."
- *Garfield T. Haywood* (1880-1931), black pastor of a large interracial church in Indianapolis, outstanding Bible teacher, author, songwriter, and one of the most influential leaders in the Finished Work camp. He later became the presiding bishop of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and served until his death. His songs include "I See a Crimson Stream of Blood," "Thank God for the Blood," "Jesus the Son of God," and "Baptized into the Body."
- *Bennett F. Lawrence* (1890-?), author of the first history of the Pentecostal movement, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (1916) and the first assistant secretary of the Assemblies of God in 1914.

- *Robert E. McAlister* (1880-1953), Canadian evangelist and pastor in Ottawa, Ontario. He helped found the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and became its first secretary-treasurer. He stayed with his organization when it embraced trinitarianism and denounced the Oneness belief.
- *Aimee Semple McPherson* (1890-1944), missionary and evangelist. In 1923 she founded the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. She did not enter the Oneness movement.
- *Charles H. Mason* (1866-1961), co-founder of the Church of God in Christ and general overseer when the group was reorganized as a Pentecostal body. According to numerous sources in the black Apostolic movement, he was baptized privately in Jesus' name in Chicago in 1930. When the leaders under him did not accept the message, he did not proclaim it but stayed with his organization. He continued to have some fellowship with black Apostolics.
- "*Mother*" *Mary Moise* (1850-1930), a pioneer in Pentecostal social work and operator of a rescue mission in St. Louis for social outcasts. She received a first prize at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904 for her work with homeless girls.
- *Daniel C. O. Opperman* (1872-1926), a founder of the Assemblies of God, one of its first executive presbyters, and its first assistant chairman. He had formerly been superintendent of the high school system in Zion City, Illinois, under Alexander Dowie. He was an early leader in Pentecostal education, conducting short-term Bible training programs. He soon became the chairman of the General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies, the first group to be founded as a Oneness organization.
- *L. V. Roberts*, pastor in Indianapolis and evangelist who baptized E. N. Bell in the name of Jesus. He later returned to trinitarianism.
- *H. G. Rodgers*, an early leader in the South who received the Holy Ghost under G. B. Cashwell. He briefly led a loose association of ministers called the Church of God (Dothan, Alabama) but soon merged that group with Howard Goss's white wing of the Church of God in Christ. One of the founding members of the Assemblies of God, he never withdrew. However, he maintained fellowship with oneness ministers and continued to baptize in Jesus' name. His daughters became part of the United Pentecostal Church.
- *Franklin M. Small* (1873-1961), Canadian evangelist and one of the founders of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. After it adopted Trinitarian theology, he withdrew and founded the Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada.
- *George B. Studd* (1859-1945), younger brother of missionary C. T. Studd, an associate of Dwight Moody, and an organizer of the Worldwide Camp Meeting at Arroyo Seco in 1913. He served as Frank Ewart's assistant pastor in the Los Angeles area for many years. He was a noted supporter of missions who gave away his inherited fortune.
- *Andrew D. Urshan* (1884-1967), immigrant from Persia and international evangelist. He brought the Oneness message to Russia and was rebaptized there in 1916. He served as foreign missions secretary of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and of Emmanuel's Church in Christ Jesus. At his death he was a minister in the United Pentecostal Church. His son, Nathaniel A. Urshan, became general superintendent of the United Pentecostal Church International.
- *Harry Van Loon*, associate of William Durham and Frank Ewart in Los Angeles.
- *Maria Woodworth-Etter* (1844-1924), well-known Holiness evangelist who accepted the Pentecostal message and who preached at the Worldwide Camp Meeting in Arroyo Seco, California, in 1913. She never became part of the Oneness movement.

Appendix 4

(Sources: David K. Bernard, *A History of Christian Doctrine, the Twentieth Century A.D. 1900-2000*; Talmadge L. French, *Our God Is One*)

Growth Statistics of Trinitarian Pentecostal Organizations

Second Work Trinitarian Pentecostals:

- The Church of God in Christ (COGIC) (6,500,000)
- The Church of God (Cleveland, TN) (CG) (4,000,000)
- The International Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC) (378,538)
- United Holy Church of America (50,000)
- Apostolic Faith (Baxter Springs, KS) (4,000)
- Apostolic Faith Mission (Portland, OR) (4,100)

Finished Work Trinitarian Pentecostals:

- Assemblies of God (AG) (30,000,000)
- International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (ICFG) (2,500,000)
- Pentecostal Church of God (PCG) (301,786)
- Open Bible Standard Churches (46,000)
- Christian Church of North America (13,500)
- Full Gospel Fellowship of Churches and Ministers International (195,000)

Growth Statistics of Oneness Pentecostal Organizations

Finished Work Oneness Pentecostals:

- United Pentecostal Church International (UPCI) (2,333,000)
- Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW) (1,000,000)
- Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith (140,000)
- Church of the Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith (24,700)
- The Way of the Cross Church of Christ International (31,000)
- Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ Worldwide (101,000)
- Pentecostal Churches of the Apostolic Faith Association (25,000)
- United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) (32,300)

Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ (48,500)

International Ministerial Association (63,600)

Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Christ Jesus (Hispanic) (116,700)

Second Work Oneness Pentecostals:

Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God (35,000)

Church of God (Apostolic) (31,000)

Original Glorious Churches of God in Christ Apostolic Faith (30,000)

These figures and lists do not include the smaller organizations. The Apostolic World Christian Fellowship (AWCF) is an umbrella association that offers recognition to anyone who identifies with the plan of salvation according to Acts 2:38. There are currently 153 Oneness member organizations worldwide under its association with an estimated membership of 3.5 million.

The worldwide Oneness movement is estimated to have at least 14 million followers in over 425 organizations.

Appendix 5

(Sources: David K. Bernard, *A History of Christian Doctrine, the Twentieth Century A.D. 1900-2000*; Talmadge L. French, *Our God Is One*)

Growth Statistics of Major American Pentecostal Organizations

Name of Organization	Second Work or Finished Work	Oneness or Trinitarian	U.S. Churches	U. S. Constituents	World Constituents
Assemblies of God	Finished Work	Trinitarian	11,920	2,494,574	30,000,000
Church of God (Cleveland, TN)	Second Work	Trinitarian	6,060	753,230	4,000,000
Church of God in Christ	Second Work	Trinitarian	15,300	5,499,875	6,500,000
Church of God of Prophecy			1,908	76,531	286,848
Full Gospel Fellowship of Churches and Ministers Int'l	Finished Work	Trinitarian	650	195,000	195,000
International Church of the Foursquare Gospel	Finished Work	Trinitarian	1,832	231,522	2,500,000
International Pentecostal Holiness Church	Second Work	Trinitarian	1,681	170,382	378,538
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World	Finished Work	Oneness	1,760	450,000	1,000,000
Pentecostal Church of God	Finished Work	Trinitarian	1,230	111,900	301,786
United Pentecostal Church Int'l	Finished Work	Oneness	3,861	500,000 (attendance) 800,000 (inclusive constituency)	2,500,000 (attendance) 4,000,000 (inclusive constituency)

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