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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PERSUASIVE PATTERNS AND STRATEGIES IN THE NEO-PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ROBERT WEVER HEATH

Norman, Oklahoma

1973

PERSUASIVE PATTERNS AND STRATEGIES IN

THE NEO-PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

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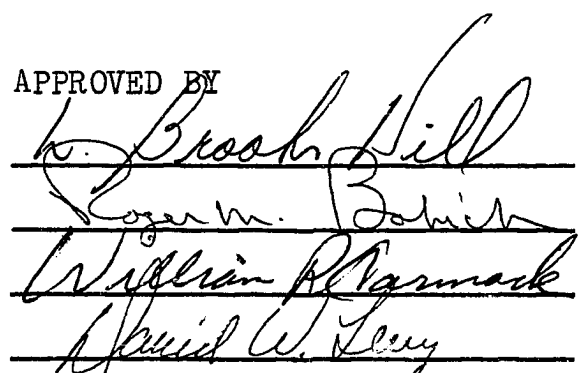

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

PREFACE

This study resulted from the writer's interest in two diverse but intersecting subjects: the Pentecostal movement and communication theory. The reader should be aware that several years of close association with different Pentecostal groups has engendered in the writer a warm and sympathetic attitude toward the movement. Attitudes congruent with this association thus are possibly manifested in the reporting of certain aspects of the movement's emergence and activities. This possibility is further enhanced by the paucity of available unbiased scholarship. As the reader may detect from the sources cited as well as pastoral opinions expressed in Table 16 of Chapter VI, attitudes on Pentecostalism are generally polarized. This polarization is often reflected in the objectives, methodologies, and conclusions of available research.

While enjoying the privileges usually available only to those on the "inside" of a movement, every precaution has been taken to curb potential bias by adhering to high standards of data collection and interpretation. These precautions are perhaps best demonstrated in Chapter VI: Neo-Pentecostalism in One Major City, a portion of the

dissertation impossible without the cooperation of numerous ministers, lay members, and religious organizations.

I am grateful to my doctoral committee at the University of Oklahoma whose suggestions enhanced the validity of this dissertation. Professor William Carmack and Assistant Professor Roger Babich of the Department of Speech-Communication and Associate Professor David Levy of the Department of History all made helpful suggestions. Major appreciation must be expressed to Associate Professor L. Brooks Hill who provided a worthy combination of expectance and counsel. Any lasting value to this study is greatly to his credit. Associate Professor Paul A. Barefield and Assistant Professor Wayland Cummings also contributed significantly.

I am indebted to Oral Roberts University for a Faculty Research grant, free access to the Pentecostal Collection, and secretarial assistance. I want to especially thank Carl H. Hamilton, Vice President of Academic Affairs, and Professor Robert A. Primrose, Chairman, Department of Communication Arts, for encouragement, understanding, and academic stimulation; and Lynn M. Nichols for editorial recommendations.

Special appreciation is reserved for my wife, Hester, for patience and understanding, and for unpaid assistance as typist, proofreader, and laycritic. Special appreciation is also felt for Susan and Bobby Dan who endured the study with love and long-suffering.

Above all, however, this dissertation is a tribute to a third child, Sharon Lynne, lovable, but hardly educable. This project began when she was committed to an institution. Her inspiration has greatly exceeded her capacity to understand.

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PERSUASIVE PATTERNS AND STRATEGIES IN THE NEO-PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Subject and Purpose of Study

The Pentecostal movement, characterized by glossolalia or "speaking in tongues," has become one of the most significant movements within twentieth-century Christianity. Since the mid-1950's descriptive articles have appeared in practically every major magazine and newspaper. In addition, official publications of virtually every major Christian denomination have devoted attention to the "new religion," or "tongues" movement. Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, has characterized the movement as comparable in importance to the establishment of the original Apostolic Church and to the Protestant Reformation.[1] The Pentecostal movement is, he says, "the fastest growing Christian movement in the world today, one so dynamic that it stands with Catholicism and historic Protestantism as a

[1]Henry P. Van Dusen, "The Third Force in Christendom," Life, June 9, 1958, p. 113.

third force in Christendom.[2] Reporting on the Eighth Pentecostal World Conference, Time announced that Pentecostalism had spread to more than ninety nations from Australia to South Africa and Korea to Finland. In America, the article explained, Pentecostalism has made notable recent gains among urban Negroes and Puerto Ricans and has taken root on U.S. college campuses.[3] A more recent article explains that Pentecostalism "is a 'made in the U.S.' religious movement that is sweeping Brazil and many of its neighboring countries."[4] Pentecostalism in Brazil, the article adds, ranks second only to Roman Catholicism in many areas and adds "up to millions--more than all the other Protestant groups combined."[5]

Major newspapers have also given considerable attention to Pentecostalism. Four recent articles in the New York Times refer to the movement's rapid growth, potential influence, and cross cultural involvement.[6] George Cornell, Associated Press religion writer, estimates there are twenty

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[2]Ibid. Van Duren's "Third Force" included groups often called "fringe sects" and characterized by extremism, shouting revivalists, puritanical preachers of doomsday, faith healers, and jazzy gospel singers. Most third force groups disagreed widely with each other and looked with disapproval on one another's way of worship. But they shared a common spiritual aim to return, in deliberate immitation, to the intent and practice of the early church.

[3]"Protestants: Pentecostal Tongues and Converts," Time, July 28, 1967, p. 64.

[4]"Where Evangelism Booms," U.S. News and World Report, October 19, 1970, p. 86.

[5]Ibid. [6]New York Times Index, 1970.

million Pentecostals in the world and that their numbers are increasing ten times faster than that of larger mainline churches.[7] In another article Albert Potts, a Methodist minister, is quoted as saying that unless the church shows concern and provides guidance in this growing religious field, "people will decide they have found one more area of their lives in which the church is either irrelevant or obstructionist."[8] In addition to describing Classical Pentecostalism, or Pentecostalism in Pentecostal denominations, numerous articles have focused on more recent trends. Donovan Bess, staff writer for the San Francisco Chronicle, for example, gave special attention to the Pentecostal penetration into the Episcopal, Methodist, Lutheran, and Presbyterian churches in America.[9] A survey of the Tulsa Daily World shows at least ten articles on Pentecostalism between January and August, 1972. Most of these focus on Charismatic or Pentecostal involvement within historic Protestant churches and relate specifically to matters discussed in Chapter VI.[10]

More substantive observation of the movement's

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[7]George W. Cornell, "Pentecostalism is Fastest Growing Christian Movement," Tulsa Daily World, September 3, 1972, p. 16A.

[8]George W. Cornell, "Minister Urges American Churches to Offer Guidance in Occult, Mystical," Tulsa Daily World, January 28, 1972, p. 20A.

[9]Donovan Bess, "Speaking in Tongues: The High Church Heresy," The Nation, September 28, 1963, p. 175.

[10]Tulsa Daily World, January to June, 1972.

significance has appeared in numerous scholarly publications. Lesslie Newbigin, a key figure in the World Council of Churches (WCC), has called attention to the ecumenical significance of Pentecostalism for the church. In the Kerr Lectures given at Trinity College, Glasgow, in 1952, Newbigin indicated that ecumenical progress had become immobilized as a result of the deadlock among Christians over the Catholic-Protestant issue. The way forward, he suggested, might be found in a new understanding of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. This new understanding must come, he continued, not only from academic theological study, but also from fellowship with brethren "in the various groups of the Pentecostal type with whom at present they [those of the Catholic and Protestant traditions] have scarcely any Christian fellowship. . . . "[11] F. D. Bruner, a prominent Presbyterian theologian, also acknowledges that Pentecostalism has been at work largely outside the bounds of ecumenical Christianity but says that it has recently commenced a rapprochement and, in Neo-Pentecostalism, a spiritual infiltration. Bruner attempted to assess the contemporary significance of this new spiritual movement.

> At the very worst the Pentecostal movement poses a major ecumenical problem. At the very best, in terms of numbers, growth, vitality, and influence its place is close to the heart of the international missionary

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[11]Lesslie Newbigin, The Household of God (New York: Friendship Press, 1965), p. 122.

movement.[12] Pentecostalism and mission are almost synonymous.

In terms of the church's theology and mission, adds Bruner, the significance of Pentecostalism "may be that it incarnates a neglected reality of the New Testament church: the Holy Spirit in the experience of believers."[13] In a similar but more passionate vein, Rodman Williams, past chairman of the Permanent Theological Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, concludes that the Spirit's presence has swept us into a new day of power. The renewal of the Holy Spirit, he argues, is no less than a resurgence within Christendom of the dynamism of the early Christian community, and in our day, signals fresh and dynamic possibilities of praise, witness, and service.[14]

While Newbigin, Bruner, and Williams focus on the

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[12]Frederick Dale Bruner, A Theology of the Holy Spirit (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1970), p. 32. Newbigin and Bruner described the extremism, instability, and superficial characteristics of Classical Pentecostalism but also believed that Pentecostalism resulted from Christianity's failure to recognize and provide for man's "spiritual" needs. Pentecostalism, they argued, must be examined because of its influence in foreign missions and its rapid numerical growth in the states.

[13]Ibid., p. 33.

[14]Rodman Williams, The Era of the Spirit (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1971), p. 117. Once a rising star in the Presbyterian church, Williams recently lost his faculty position at Austin Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas. This change in influence followed his establishing a Charismatic home prayer group at Austin and his association with high level Pentecostals during his sabbatical leave. He is currently on the faculty at Melodyland Christian Center, Anaheim California, a large Charismatic organization.

ecumenical and renewal significance of Pentecostalism, W. J. Hollenweger, WCC leader, cites the concerns of Harvey Cox and Marshall McLuhan regarding today's postliteracy age. Accordingly, the exodus of the age of print as the most important means of communication will usher in the reduction of Protestantism, the religion of the book par excellence, to an ever decreasing minority of readers unless it makes room within itself for other means of communication. The continuous spread of Pentecostalism throughout the world, says Hollenweger, "must be interpreted as the discovery of new means of communication in a specific social field, which can be clearly defined for each Pentecostal group."[15] As persons of varied cultures rediscover, with the aid of the Pentecostal experience, long-buried levels of human existence, "it is not surprising that Roman Catholic theologians and sociologists and even atheist anthropologists and experts in African studies are beginning to take an interest in the phenomenon."[16]

Following 2000 years of sporadic occurrences, Pentecostalism emerged as a describable movement in 1900. Since

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[15]W. J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. xvii.

[16]Ibid. Hollenweger is considered the foremost authority on international Pentecostalism. His ten-volume Ph.D. dissertation as well as the book cited here shows evidence of privileged information and tempered criticism. The reader should know that Hollenweger comes from a Pentecostal family and maintains close relationships with Pentecostals today.

1900 three distinct branches of Pentecostalism have appeared: Classical (1900), Neo- (1960), Catholic (1967). The primary purpose of this study is to analyze persuasion in the Neo-Pentecostal movement. Toward this purpose, this study addresses six questions:

1. What are the historical and religious developments responsible for the birth of the Pentecostal movement?
2. What forces emerged to change existing relationships of various Pentecostal groups after World War II?
3. How are the changes in the reticulate structure of the movement related to the persuasive strategies of the movement's proponents?
4. What functions are served by participants in the Neo-Pentecostal movement, and how does the personnel chosen affect the overall rhetorical strategy of the movement?
5. How do Neo-Pentecostal persuasion "sets" use "basic education" as a technique to define need, obtain commitment, and define goals.
6. To what extent are Neo-Pentecostal strategies accomplishing their objectives in one target city?

To clarify the nature and scope of this analysis, some important terms require explanation. A movement is defined by

Gerlach and Hine as a group of people who are "organized for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change."[17] Movements are characterized, they add, by persons who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated. Persuasion is a form of human interaction which occurs when a source(s) expects some particular response from a receiver(s) and deliberately sets out to secure the response through the use of communication. It is the primary instrument for securing social change and adjusting differences among people. To secure a particular response, the persuader devises strategies and tactics. Strategies are persuasive plans for action, whereas tactics are the specific techniques used to fulfill the plan. Patterns are the structural networks through which persuasive messages emerge and diffuse.

Several problems emerged to complicate this study and force upon it certain limitations: (1) most groups consisted of small task forces; (2) correspondence difficulties with movement leaders resulted from extensive travel and demands

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[17]Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., 1970), p. xvi. This study is the culmination of several M.A. and Ph.D. studies of the Pentecostal movement. Gerlach, not a Pentecostal, was generally the major advisor. Most parties involved were neither Pentecostal nor sympathetic at the beginning of the project but have since spent considerable time speaking on related topics.

on their time; (3) leaders faced with real or perceived opposition sometimes exhibited a natural reticence to reveal data which would be subjected to critical evaluation; (4) where materials were readily available, the number of organizations and the time and cost required for close examination was prohibitive; and (5) most studies to date have been conducted by scholars with apparent bias for or against the movement (see Survey of Literature, p. 22). In light of these complications, several limitations were imposed on this study. Although brief recognition was given to Pentecostalism prior to the twentieth century, the major focus of the study was devoted to Pentecostalism as a twentieth-century development. Since Neo-Pentecostalism did not appear until mid-century, earlier developments were treated as historical antecedents with special attention directed to persuasive forces, active between 1950 and 1960, responsible for the new movement's emergence during the 1960's. Because of the numerous denominations, independent organizations, and individuals active in Neo-Pentecostalism, the decision was made to attempt to locate "generally acceptable" representatives of the larger population, namely, David du Plessis, Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI), the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers (CCP), and Bob Mumford, an itinerant "Charismatic" teacher.

David du Plessis was selected for study because he successfully served as a recognized leader in all three

twentieth-century Pentecostal movements. In a recent issue of Faith!, he was acclaimed as "Peacemaker" for his ability to "love" the Pentecostal message into historic Christianity without striking back at early critics within Pentecostalism or historic Christianity. "Clergymen featured in this spot have come from a variety of denominational backgrounds. This month, for the first time, we bring you a Pentecostal minister. In fact, David has been named 'Mr. Pentecost' by American news reporters."[18] As a Classical Pentecostal he became executive secretary of the World Pentecostal Conference (WPC), a position he held in six World Conferences. As a Neo-Pentecostal he was the first Pentecostal to become a member and active participant in the WCC. He later became the first individual to successfully initiate formal dialogue between a Pentecostal delegation and an official commission of the Vatican in Rome.

FGBMFI and CCP provided representative organizational units. FGBMFI was selected because it was the largest, most aggressive Pentecostal layman's organization and involved participants from both Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. It had a well-defined position regarding the Pentecostal experience, and its basic objectives and methods were readily available for analysis. The CCP was selected as representative of renewal efforts within historic denominations for

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[18]Clinton White, "David du Plessis . . . 'Peacemaker,'" Faith!, May-June, 1972, p. 16.

three reasons: First, the Presbyterian churches were first to conduct denominational analyses of Charismatic experiences (glossolalia or speaking in other tongues). Second, they published early official positions regarding glossolalia and church responsibility. Third, the CCP was instrumental in instigating inquiry, debate, and decision making within Presbyterian denominations. While other denominations, including American Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, and Episcopalians, had Charismatic individuals and organizations who made interesting and significant input into the life of the movement, the CCP was one of the earliest and most thorough in its efforts and development.

Finally, Bob Mumford was selected as representative of many itinerant Charismatics on the basis of his popularity among various independent Charismatic fellowships, extensive publication of books, articles, and cassette audio/video tapes, and popularity as a Charismatic speaker indicated in two surveys taken in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Because this study attempts to assess a broad range of patterns and strategies in the Neo-Pentecostal movement, little attention is directed toward movement opposition. Although some discussion will be integrated throughout the study the following brief overview should alert the reader to specific trends. Pentecostal opposition has generally adopted one of three lines of analysis. Fundamentalists attack all forms of Christianity which they perceive to have a

strong experiential basis. Pentecostalism, boasting of the experience of speaking in a heavenly language, is, therefore, a major target. The Pentecostals' lack of theological and historical scholarship provides a convincing basis for the polemic. Present Truth is one chief expression of this form of anti-Pentecostalism. Recently, several writers have presented "scientific" warnings against involvement in the movement. Wayne E. Oates, John P. Kildahl, and James N. Lapsley are representatives of this low fear appeal approach (see works by these writers in Bibliography). A third approach involves the adoption of a "pluralistic" rhetoric. These proponents say they will accept Pentecostalism as a legitimate spiritual experience (gift) for some but necessary for none. This approach presents an air of legitimacy to the experience and makes the enthusiast a violater of good taste. In essence, official denominational reports, recent seminary policies, and liberal pastors with "divided" churches are beginning to take this position.

Rationale for the Study

Need for Movement Studies

Scholars of human communication underscore the need for movement studies because (1) too many studies have produced narrow conclusions, (2) critical methods need to be expanded, and (3) understanding the nature of movements can aid in expanding rhetorical theory. Donald Bryant, in 1937, declared that it had been "the fault of history . . . and

especially . . . of the history of literature and oratory, to let the studies of figures obscure or blot out the study of forces and social movements."[19] While several efforts have been made to erase this indictment, the literature indicates that comparatively little research has focused on movements, thus producing only limited theoretical insight. In 1952 Leland M. Griffin made the first major effort to study the rhetoric of movements. Since this attempt, however, few analyses of movements have been published. In 1958 Griffin published a condensation of his dissertation and in 1964, with a revision of his methodology, published an analysis of the New Left. Although Edwin Black believed that Griffin had opened "a new and exciting prospect to rhetorical criticism," he could find only three movement studies published in the leading speech journals during an entire decade.[20]

While attempts to alleviate the shortage of movement research have appeared during the past five years, only four theoretical approaches have been published in recent journals. Herbert W. Simons, whose 1970 article received special recognition by the Speech Communication Association, aimed at providing a "leader-centered conception of persuasion in

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[19]Donald C. Bryant, "Some Problems of Scope and Method in Rhetorical Scholarship," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXIII (April, 1937), 187-88.

[20]Edwin Black, Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method (New York: MacMillan Company, 1965), p. 22.

social movements."[21] This approach suggests that the movement study should concentrate on rhetorical requirements, problems, and strategies. While Simons argues that " . . . the standard tools of rhetorical criticism are ill-suited for unravelling the complexity of discourse in social movements or for capturing its grand flow,"[22] Dan F. Hahn and Ruth M. Gonchar have taken a more traditional view and propose to "demonstrate that social movements can be studied through the intertwining of four traditional categories of analysis (ethos, logos, pathos, and style) much as Burke has done with the ratios among his five terms."[23] Robert S. Cathcart, on the other hand, suggests that historical and sociopsychological definitions be abandoned for a "rhetorical definition of movements."[24] For Cathcart, a rhetorical definition of movements involves the "reciprocity or dialectical enjoinment in the moral arena."[25] These four articles suggest that (1) movement studies have received a disproportionate amount of attention in relation to individual studies, (2) limited

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[21]Herbert W. Simons, "Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LVI (February, 1970), 2.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Dan F. Hahn and Ruth M. Gonchar, "Studying Social Movements: A Rhetorical Methodology," The Speech Teacher, XX (January, 1971), 47.

[24]Robert S. Cathcart, "New Approaches to the Study of Movements: Defining Movements Rhetorically," Western Speech, XXXVI (Spring, 1972), 86.

[25]Ibid.

theoretical insight has accrued from the studies of single individuals, and (3) the rhetorician's responsibility regarding movement study is not yet defined.

Recent recommendations from the Wingspread Conference and the National Conference on Rhetoric provide clear pleas for broader and more contemporary projects. Lloyd Bitzer echoes this recommendation for a more general level of critical objects in his call for "studies of campaigns and movements."[26] Studies at this level, he asserts, reveal processes and outcomes not present in the lower levels. Conference recommendations adopted by the National Conference on Rhetoric in 1970 also stress the evolving patterns of communication within movements:

> The conferees were especially interested in the changes in communication and influence which occur when movements face apparently irresolvable conflict, the ways in which conflict has been resolved, and the shifts from nonviolent to violent behavior.[27]

In addition to the concern for processes and outcomes on the movement level and changes in communication which evolve when facing irresolvable conflict, Cathcart declares that rhetoricians must be concerned not for the characteristics which describe the dynamic status quo, but "definitions

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[26]Lloyd F. Bitzer, "More Reflections on the Wingspread Conference," in The Prospect of Rhetoric, eds. Lloyd F. Bitzer and Edwin Black (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 205.

[27]Douglas Ehninger, "Report of the Committee on the Scope of Rhetoric and the Place of Rhetorical Studies in Higher Education," in Prospect of Rhetoric, eds. Bitzer and Black, p. 218.

which describe those collective behaviors which cannot be accommodated within the normal movement of the status quo."[28] The identification of inherent transactions within such collective behaviors would, he believes, "bring us closer to the formulation of a theory of social movements."[29] It would, says Bruce Cameron, answer such questions as "'how the form of social action is related to the rationale and the purpose, whether under given circumstances a movement may be expected at all, and if one is indicated what determines when it will appear and whether it will flourish.'"[30]

With these trends in mind, Scott and Brock point to "a shift from the traditional critical interest in speakers (or sources of discourse) to the interactions that make communication a process."[31] The same writers predict that future critics will be more concerned with "the forces that seem to permeate public discourse, issues, campaigns, or movements."[32] Accordingly, this paper will attempt to focus on some of the concerns expressed by these scholars in rhetorical communication.

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[28]Cathcart, "New Approaches," p. 86.

[29]Ibid.

[30]William Bruce Cameron, Modern Social Movements (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 174.

[31]Robert L. Scott and Bernard L. Brock, eds., Methods of Rhetorical Criticism: A Twentieth Century Perspective (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 405.

[32]Ibid.

Cathcart also claims that the "development of an adequate theory [for the rhetorical study of movements] is dependent in part on the answer to the question, 'What is a movement?'"[33] Previous definitions, he suggests, are inadequate. Griffin's seminal essay which assumes that historical movements have rhetorical components (1) is too confined to past interactions which have made a complete cycle; (2) fails to adequately distinguish lineal interactions necessary to the movement from other human interactions occurring at the same time; and (3) places "an extra burden on the rhetorical critic to distinguish between the part of the movement which is historical and that part which is his special province, the rhetorical."[34] Other writers, sensing the relationship between movements and rhetorical theory, have used sociological theory. Models proposed by Simons, and also by Hahn and Gonchar, view social movements as a form of collective behavior organized to produce change. Cathcart, believing that historical and sociological approaches have been inadequate, suggests that two Burkean ratios--agency-scene and agency-act--are the best indicators of a movement's inception. By these ratios, the critic can identify "reciprocity or dialectical enjoinment in the moral arena."[35] The "creation of a dialectical tension growing out of moral

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[33]Cathcart, "New Approaches," p. 82.

[34]Ibid., p. 84.

[35]Ibid., p. 87.

conflict," he adds, is the essential attribute for rhetorical focus.

> The particular dialectic I have described becomes the necessary ingredient which produces the rhetorical form that we have come to recognize as a political or social movement. It produces a rhetorical form which is different in kind from the other rhetorical forms called forth by the normal tensions that exist in any established order.[36]

Cathcart is correct in stressing the need for a rhetorical theory of movements and in urging us on to the task of "developing a full-blown rhetorical definition of movements."[37] Cathcart, however, has failed to do much more than shatter current myths or theories, and his own proposal appears to license the criticism of the most insignificant "moral conflicts." While rhetoricians should be able to deal with matters of minor importance, "movement research" has to date accrued only limited communication theory. In the future, movements should be of significant intensity before we encourage the investment of time, energy, and training. This is not to say that a movement must be large and influential or long-lived before it receives the critic's attention, for as Griffin has wisely advised, a scholar should "take the 'biggest,' but the briefest historical movement he can find."[38] It would seem that a definition of movements, which both allows for rhetorical analysis and provides criteria for

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[36] Ibid., p. 88. [37] Ibid.

[38] Leland M. Griffin, "The Rhetoric of Historic Movements," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXVIII (April, 1952), 185.

determining when the movement is of significant intensity to justify analysis, is needed.

In a three-year study of Pentecostalism (including all stages) and subsequently a study of Black Power, Gerlach and Hine found that some sociological definitions and theories of movements are neither able to explain nor predict all contemporary movements, especially those which are intercultural and those which cross socioeconomic lines. A movement, they determined, should be viewed as a "mechanism" through which change is shaped and directed, and adequate analysis should include consideration of both structural change and the transformation of participants into people with pride and a sense of power. "No matter what the particular emphasis, a successful movement is the point of intersection between personal and social change."[39] With this qualification, Gerlach and Hine developed five factors which must be present and interacting before any collectivity should be called a movement. This model, in addition to calling for reconsideration of deprivation theories of movements, has implications for future rhetorical examination of movements. Portions of this model are combined with a social action construct model for use in the present study to examine persuasive patterns and strategies in the Neo-Pentecostal movement.[40]

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[39]Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change, p. xvi.

[40]Ibid.

Timeliness for Study of Pentecostal Movements

In addition to the significance of Neo-Pentecostalism discussed earlier in this chapter, this movement was studied because of its timeliness. Currently, there is an availability of materials and an openness to investigation. Juanita Raudszus, Director of the Pentecostal Collection at Oral Roberts University (ORU), explains that the Collection contains over 7,000 volumes, more than 500 periodicals, over 1,000 audio and video tapes, and six legal-size cabinets containing vertical file materials.[41] In connection with this collection, a Selective Dissemination of Information data processed printout listing all books, periodicals, audio and video tapes in the library was made available for this study. In addition to materials already available in the Pentecostal Collection at ORU, further materials were ordered by ORU upon request.

Another characteristic of the Neo-Pentecostal movement which facilitated research is its determination to record on audio tape (and oftentimes video) numerous sermons and lectures of participants at Charismatic retreats, seminars, and conventions. These tapes are sold or rented by various tape companies to persons involved in small group Bible and prayer ministries, and in many cases the tapes were indexed and available for research purposes. As a result of

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[41]Juanita Raudszus, personal letter.

the proliferation of materials on Pentecostalism in Protestant and Catholic churches, various groups have established communication centers. These centers made their materials available to both this writer and the ORU Pentecostal Collection. Examples include the National Catholic Charismatic Renewal Service Committee, Notre Dame; the Institute for the Study of American Religion, and Garrett Theological Seminary Library, Evanston, Illinois.[42]

Although an air of hesitancy regarding research still prevails among many "experientially oriented" Christians, definite steps are being taken to open the way for objective evaluation. At one end of the Neo-Pentecostal continuum, men such as Michael Harper, Larry Christenson, and Arnold Bittlinger are urging Pentecostals and Protestants alike to rethink their theology independent of the Classical Pentecostal tradition.[43] At the opposite end, Classical Pentecostals, in connection with the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (PFNA), have organized The Society for Pentecostal Studies (SPS), an international organization for the study of Pentecostalism. The Society's second annual meeting included scholars from non-Pentecostal backgrounds whose writings have not always been complimentary.[44] An increased

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[42]J. Gordon Melton, "The Catholic Pentecostal Movement: A Bibliography," Newsletter from the Institute for the Study of American Religion, n.d., p. 1.

[43]"Protestant Pentecostal Literature: A Pastoral Bibliography," Notre Dame, n.d., p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

[44]"Advertisement: Second Annual Meeting--Society for Pentecostal Studies," Christian Life, July, 1972, p. 53.

number of research projects has also been funded by the WCC, various Christian denominations, and the federal government.[45] The writer received an ORU Faculty grant for this project in 1973.

Survey of Literature

A survey of recent literature on Pentecostalism revealed that several related studies had been conducted. While none of the studies related specifically to the focus of this study, they proved to be valuable sources for background study. This survey fell into four categories: historical, psychological, sociological, and rhetorical.

Dissertations from historical perspectives tended to fall into one of three categories: denominational, national, or biographical.[46] While several of these sources were

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[45]Denomination Reports--Episcopalian: "Report on the Special Commission on Glossolalia" to Bishop Gerald Francis Burrill of Chicago, December, 1960; The Episcopal diocese of California, the "Study Commission on Glossolalia, Preliminary Report," May, 1963; Pastoral letter of Bishop Pike, Easter, 1963. Denomination Reports--American Lutheran Church: "Report of the Committee on Spiritual Gifts of the Commission on Evangelism," September, 1962; "Report of the Field Study Committee on Speaking in Tongues," (undated); "Statement by the Faculty of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul," Spring, 1963; An exegetical study, "Glossolalia in the New Testament," Dr. Lowell J. Satre for the Committee on Spiritual Gifts, Winter, 1962-63; of a more private nature but circulated by the offices of ALC, a paper on tongues presented by Dr. Reidar Daehlin at a pastoral conference, Spring, 1962. Denomination Report--United Presbyterian Church: "Report of the Special Committee on the Work of the Holy Spirit" to the 182nd General Assembly, 1970. These studies range from guarded acceptance of glossolalia to intense denunciation of the phenomenon's credibility.

[46]Joseph E. Campbell, Pentecostal Holiness Church 1898-1948 (Franklin Springs, Ga.: Advocate Press, 1951). This

beneficial in acquiring background material, their emphasis was related more to Classical than Neo-Pentecostalism. Furthermore, while helpful description of the movement was provided, very little attention was devoted to the subject of communication patterns and strategies.

Practically all psychological studies of the Pentecostal movement have concentrated on personality characteristics of glossolalics (a technical term often assigned to Pentecostals in polemic and research literature). These

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book, a published Ph.D. dissertation, discusses the forces responsible for the emergence of the church, its early struggles, and the nature and direction of its institutionalism. Harold A. Fischer, "Progress of the Various Modern Pentecostal Movements toward World Fellowship" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1952). Mario G. Hoover, "Origin and Structural Development of the Assemblies of God" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Southwest Missouri State College, 1968). Klaude Kendrick, The Promise Fulfilled (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1961). This book, a published Ph.D. dissertation, traces the history of the Assemblies of God denomination. Everett Leroy Moore, "Handbook of Pentecostal Denominations in the United States" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Pasadena College, 1954). John Thomas Nichol, Pentecostalism (New York: Harper and Row, 1966). This book is a published dissertation on denominational Pentecostalism in the United States. George Harold Paul, "Religious Frontiers in Oklahoma: Dan T. Muse and the Pentecostal Holiness Church" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1965). Vinson Harold Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1971). This book, a published Ph.D. dissertation, traces the development of the Holiness branch of Pentecostalism in the South and draws parallels between the Pentecostal movement of the twentieth century and the nineteenth-century Populist movement. Albert N. Whiting, "The United House of Prayer for All People: A Case Study of a Charismatic Sect" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1952). Irvine John Harrison, "A History of the Assemblies of God" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Berkely Baptist Divinity School, 1954). Most of the dissertations listed here are sympathetic to the movement.

studies are inconclusive and generally establish conclusions congruent with denominational or theological interests. Most of the studies may be categorized as early pathological, psychological testing of modern glossolalics, and suggestibility and hypnosis which assume no pathology. In early pathology research George Cutten (1927) believed that the gift of tongues was received by individuals of low mental ability in whom the capacity for rational thought was underdeveloped. In his opinion, glossolalia was linked to schizophrenia and hysteria.[47] Anton Boisen (1939), however, compared members of a "Holy Rollers Church" to psychiatric patients who displayed superficially similar behaviors; he found no evidence of mental illness in the tongue speakers. In fact, he suggested that glossolalic experiences appeared to be therapeutic for both groups.[48]

Four recent studies have been conducted using widely accepted psychological tests. L. M. Van Eetvelt Vivier, (1960), using a battery of tests including the Cattell Personality Test, the Willoughby Test for general level of neuroticism, the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration test, a biographical background questionnaire, and a religious belief and activity questionnaire, characterized the glossolalics

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[47]George B. Cutten, Speaking with Tongues (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 158.

[48]Anton Boisen, "Economic Distress and Religious Experience: A Study of the Holy Rollers," Psychiatry, II (1939), 193.

as generally more sensitive, less bound by traditional or orthodox thought processes, less depressed, having less generalized fear, but more need for emotional catharsis.[49] William Wood (1965), using the Rorschach technique, hypothesized that personality types participating in highly emotional religions will vary in some regular way from types participating in more sedate religions. The most significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals were in the area of shading, which was the chief "area of dispute" concerning response scoring, among Rorschach authorities. Given these limitations, Wood found that Pentecostals (1) were more likely to produce perspective, depth, and distance responses and (2) tended to use animate or inanimate forms more frequently and to formulate their human percepts only partially or vaguely.[50] Stanley Plog, using the California Psychological Inventory, found that individuals who were entering into the "tongues" experience were responsible and normally well-controlled. One dimension of the test which tended to fall low was that of interpersonal relationships.[51]

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[49]L. M. Van Eetvelt Vivier, "Glossolalia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Witwaterstrand, South Africa, 1960), p. 432.

[50]William W. Wood, Culture and Personality Aspects of the Pentecostal Holiness Religion (Paris: Mouton, 1965), p. 72.

[51]Stanley Plog, "Summary of Group Questionnaires on the Blessed Trinity Society Meetings, Los Angeles Christian Advances, and St. Luke's Church, Seattle," quoted in Virginia H. Hine, "Pentecostal Glossolalia: Toward a Functional Interpretation," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VIII (Fall, 1969), 216.

Considering the numerous testimonies of Pentecostals regarding improved interpersonal relationships, this appears to be an important finding. Gerrard administered the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) to members of two groups: a rural Pentecostal sect which also practiced snake handling and a major Protestant church in the same rural area. In general, the comparison showed no marked differences with respect to mental health. Whatever differences existed, they were in the direction of the serpent handlers' being more "normal" than members of the conventional denomination.[52]

A final group of psychological studies assumes no pathologies. These students of glossolalia suggested that glossolalia results from a "regression in the service of the ego" in a form of group hypnosis, and that glossolalics tend to be submissive as well as suggestible. Kildahl's research suggested that glossolalics (1) are more submissive, suggestible, and dependent in the presence of authority figures than "nontongue" speakers; (2) always think about some benevolent authority person when they begin to speak in tongues; (3) feel better about themselves after speaking in tongues; and (4) tend to retain this sense of well-being over a year's time.[53]

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[52]Nathan L. and Louise B. Gerrard, "Scrabble Creek Folk: Part II Mental Health," p. 80. (Report, Department of Sociology, Morris Harvey College, Charleston, W.V., 1966.) (Mimeographed.)

[53]John P. Kildahl, The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 54.

Another survey suggested that psychological research related to the Pentecostal movement was too inconclusive at this time to significantly aid in this study.[54] Therefore, in the present study I focused more on the functional role of glossolalia for its user.

Numerous sociological and anthropological studies have focused on sect-church relationships. More recently, scholars have attempted to identify distinct characteristics within the Pentecostal movement.

> . . . First we ask how Chile produced a new religious movement. Then, by analyzing different levels ("stages in depth," to use G. Gurvitch's terms) composing the Pentecostalist social phenomenon, we seek to show to what degree it is a body foreign to its environment, or how far it has become "Chileanized." Finally, we investigate the role it plays in the development process in Chile.
>
> In Part IV we deal with certain phenomena which are peculiar to Pentecostalism, and also with the question of inter-church or ecumenical relations.[55]

While d'Epinay's study deals with some questions relevant to this present project, his efforts were seriously plagued by methodological problems and governmental interference which raised serious questions regarding the reliability of his conclusions. In addition to the limited validity of his study, his research did not focus on the American scene.

In a survey of sociological literature on

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[54]Virginia Hine, "Pentecostal Glossolalia: Toward a Functional Interpretation," The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VIII (Fall, 1969), 218.

[55]Christian Lalive d'Epinay, Haven of the Masses: A Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), p. xviii.

Pentecostalism, Hine concluded that the Pentecostal move across cultural, socioeconomic, educational, and denominational lines evoked serious reservations and limitations to disorganization and deprivation theories.[56] The most significant and related research of the Pentecostal movement appears to have been done in the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, under the direction of Gerlach and Hine. One major outgrowth of the Minnesota project was a set of five factors for the analysis of a movement;[57] these are later explained and used in this study.

While extensive research on the Classical and Neo-Pentecostal movements is under way in various academic disciplines, researchers have generally overlooked the influence of the message and its adaptation to audiences. Since this kind of study is often conducted by scholars in rhetoric and public address, Dissertation Abstracts was examined for signs of previous research. In addition, the following sources were consulted: Thonssen, Robb and Thonssen, Bibliography of Speech Education: Supplement 1939-1948; Cleary and Haberman, Rhetoric and Public Address: A Bibliography 1947-1961; Quarterly Journal of Speech; Speech Monographs; Library of Congress Card Catalog; and Books in Print, 1971. While no analysis of the Pentecostal movement was located,

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[56]Hine, "Pentecostal Glossolalia," p. 219.

[57]Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change, p. xvii.

several related studies have been completed.[58]

R. W. McLaughlin's study examines one major influence of Pentecostalism but concentrates on materials extraneous to this sutdy. Three dissertations--Ebeling, Lacour, and Shank--have provided rhetorical analyses of Aimee S. McPherson. These studies, while limited to a single individual and to the Classical Pentecostal movement, suggest scholarly interest in the emotional presentation of the Gospel. Aimee was able to move crowds to pray, give, and build. Persuasive skills similar to those of Aimee McPherson were useful to Classical Pentecostals and healing-deliverance (HD) evangelists during the 1950's.

Method of Study

This study proposes a historical-analytical and descriptive examination of the Neo-Pentecostal movement. It

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[58]Harry Ebeling, "Aimee Semple McPherson: Evangelist of the City," Western Speech, XXI (Fall, 1957), 153-9. Lawrence Leland Lacour, "A Study of the Revival Method in America 1920-1955, with Special Reference to Billy Sunday, Aimee McPherson, and Billy Graham" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1956). Kenneth Howard Shanks, "A Historical and Critical Study of the Preaching Career of Aimee Semple McPherson" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1960). Raymond William McLaughlin, "A Comparison of the Language Structures of the Sermons of Harry Emerson Fosdick and Oral Roberts to Determine Their Intensional-Extensional Orientation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1958). David L. Aasen, "Forty Years of New Testament Teaching and Preaching in the General Council of the Assemblies of God 1914-1954" (unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1955). John Stockton Baird, "Preaching on the Holy Spirit in the Light of the New Testament Witness and the Preaching-Example of Selected Men" (unpublished St.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1960).

is historical in the sense that it provides the chronological context out of which Neo-Pentecostalism emerged. It is analytical in the sense that it locates and investigates persuasive strategies and patterns. Finally, it is descriptive in the sense that it identifies contemporary Neo-Pentecostalism in one major city. This part of the study further validates the historical and analytical assessments of the movement and describes aspects of the movement's structure, communication patterns and unit influence. The questionnaires and the survey techniques used are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.

A model based on the Erwin Bettinghaus social action construct is used in connection with a model of movements developed by Gerlach and Hine to facilitate the study of persuasion in this movement. Bettinghaus defined social action as "the process by which collective decisions are made about new ideas in a community, organization, or other social system."[59] According to the social action construct, there are fourteen stages through which an idea emerges and diffuses.[60] These stages were reduced to two major stages for this study: (1) the location of persons who function in persuasion sets as initiators, legitimizers, and diffusers; and (2) the analysis of strategies and techniques used in the

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[59]Erwin P. Bettinghaus, Persuasive Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 256. George M. Beal and Joe M. Bohlen developed and used this model in the National Project on Agricultural Communication, 1956.

[60]Ibid., p. 258.

process of defining need, obtaining commitment, and defining goals.

The prior social situation, historical context, and emerging relationships of Neo-Pentecostalism were brought into sharper focus by complementing the social action construct with a portion of the Gerlach and Hine model. The usefulness of this model is suggested by its previous effectiveness in explaining the persistence of the Pentecostal and Black Power movements. The key to the model's utility is found in the five factors which its authors contend must be active and interacting before a collectivity can be called a movement.[61]

1. A segmented, usually polycephalous, cellular organization composed of units reticulated by various personal, structural, and ideological ties.
2. Face-to-face recruitment by committed individuals using their own pre-existing, significant social relationships.
3. Personal commitment generated by an act or an experience which separates a convert in some significant way from the established order (or his previous place in it), identifies him with a new set of values, and commits him to changed patterns of behavior.
4. An ideology which codifies values and goals, provides a conceptual framework by which all experiences or events relative to these goals may be interpreted, motivates and provides rationale for envisioned changes, defines the opposition, and forms the basis for conceptual unification of a segmented network of groups.
5. Real or perceived opposition from the society at large or from that segment of the established order within which the movement has risen.[62]

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[61] Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change, p. xvii.

[62] Ibid.

Especially helpful is the Gerlach and Hine treatment of a movement as a mechanism which evolves by adapting to existent networks, recruitment relationships, participant commitment, ideological characteristics, and opposition. By complementing the social action construct with part one of the Gerlach and Hine model, one is able to describe the varied units of the movement which exist in the reticulate structure. Once the movement's relationships are described, one can then monitor relationship changes, assign the changes to responsible Pentecostal units, and categorize the kinds of strategy and technique used to bring about change.

Organization

Chapter II traces the development of Pre-Twentieth-Century, Classical, Neo-, and Catholic Pentecostalism to provide an understanding of the context out of which Neo-Pentecostalism emerged. Because of its immediate relation to Neo-Pentecostalism, three phases of Classical Pentecostalism are examined: formulation, fragmentation, and fraternization. The final phase developed parallel to the emergence of persuasive forces within the movement which prepared the way for a new Pentecostalism. Chapter III reveals that during the 1950's strong persuasive forces appealed to the religious values of American society. An examination of the healing-deliverance (HD), Pentecostal fraternization, and Protestant ecumenical movements traces shifts and extensions of unit relationships within the movement. Special attention

is focused on new relationships between specific Pentecostal units and persons within historic Christianity which made possible the new reticulate structure congruent with the inception of the Neo-Pentecostal movement in 1960. Chapter IV traces the transition from closed- to open-ecumenical rhetoric within the Neo-Pentecostal movement. By categorizing movement participants according to function into one of three persuasion sets, the transition in ecumenical rhetoric is explained in relation to the recruitment of participants outside the accepted movement. Chapter V explains how Neo-Pentecostals used "basic education" as a rhetorical technique for changing the image of the tradition with which glossolalia was associated and adapting the oral tradition of the movement to historic Protestantism. In Chapter VI an attempt is made to assess the effectiveness of Neo-Pentecostal ecumenism in one major city. To this end, six questions are posed and assessed in light of responses from two surveys: one distributed among forty-four randomly selected pastors and another distributed in two Classical Pentecostal churches. A final chapter summarizes the study, explains five major conclusions, and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

PENTECOSTALISM: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

Often called the third force in Christendom[1] or the third stream of the Christian tradition,[2] Pentecostalism developed in four distinguishable stages. While three of the stages have appeared in the twentieth century, the phenomenon with which the movement is generally associated, glossolalia or "speaking in tongues," can be traced throughout the history of Christianity. The term "Pre-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism" is used, therefore, to identify the Biblical origins of glossolalia and recurring instances before the twentieth-century manifestations.

The term "Classical Pentecostalism" is used by several scholars to identify the birth and development of numerous Pentecostal sects and denominations during the first half of the twentieth century. A special report to the 182nd General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church reporting on this stage of Pentecostalism announced that Pentecostal churches can no longer be viewed as minor sects on the fringe of

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[1]Van Dusen, "The Third Force," p. 113.

[2]Newbigin, The Household of God, p. 94.

organized Christianity. The movement is now "worldwide and is recognized by ecumenical authorities to be one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing sectors of the church in the modern world."[3] Classical Pentecostalism includes such Christian denominations as the Assemblies of God, Pentecostal Holiness, Pentecostal Church of God in Christ, Apostolic Faith, and many others generally identified by their teaching of the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" with speaking in "other tongues" or glossolalia as the "initial evidence" that one had received this Spirit-baptism. This General Assembly of United Presbyterians also identified Neo-Pentecostalism, a third stage, as a movement within the established churches. Its exponents, the report explained, would regard it as a legitimate instrument of revival with strong scriptural justification. While also emphasizing glossolalia, Neo-Pentecostalism, the report added, is further distinguished by its stressing of the "extraordinary gifts of the Spirit" more than some of the Pentecostal denominational churches.[4]

Within the two branches of Catholicism, a fourth stage of Pentecostalism has recently emerged. Kilian McDonnell, Executive Director of the Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research, explained that "though the phenomenon within the

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[3]"Report of the Special Committee on the Work of the Holy Spirit" (report presented to the 182nd General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1970), p. 4.

[4]Ibid.

Roman Church belongs to the Neo-Pentecostalism, it will usually be called Catholic Pentecostalism."[5] Tracing its development, he continued, "About three years ago Pentecostalism appeared within American Catholicism in this country. As a movement it began at Duquesne University, spread to Notre Dame and from these to various parts of the country."[6]

To facilitate critical analysis of the Neo-Pentecostal movement, this chapter identifies Neo-Pentecostalism (Pentecost in historic Protestant churches) within the total context of Pentecostalism prior to and after the emergence of Mid-Twentieth-Century Neo-Pentecostalism. Each of four stages of Pentecostalism is discussed in the order of its emergence. Pre-Twentieth-Century and Catholic Pentecostalism are discussed only briefly and Classical Pentecostalism more fully because of its immediate relationship to the Mid-Twentieth-Century Neo-Pentecostal movement.

Two additional terms which need to be defined are "glossolalia" and "Charismatic gifts." Glossolalia is defined as "the utterance in prayer and worship of sounds that give the impression of being either ecstatic or a language hitherto unknown to the speaker."[7] Charismatic gifts refers to all the "endowments with which the Holy Spirit enriches the Church, but has come to refer especially to those that modern man regards as abnormal--such as tongues, healings,

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[5]Kilian McDonnell, Catholic Pentecostalism: Problems in Evaluation (Pecos, N.M.: Dove Publications, 1970), p. 3.

[6]Ibid. [7]"Report of the Special Committee," p. 4.

discernment, and exorcism."[8]

Pre-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism

Pre-Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism may be viewed from three perspectives: Old Testament preparation, New Testament presentation, and postapostolic preservation. Old Testament preparation began on the fiftieth day after Israel's departure from Egypt or fifty days after the first Passover Feast. J. H. King described the first Passover and how the Passover became an annual celebration:

> The Passover was kept in Egypt by the children of Israel at the command of Jehovah. This was its institution. The time was the month Abib, and it was the fourteenth night of the month. The Angel of Jehovah passed over Egypt near midnight, slaying all the firstborn of the Egyptians, from Pharaoh down to his lowest subject. Great lamentation and fear prevailed among the Egyptians. Pharaoh and his people arose and thrust Israel out in haste. They were prepared to go in haste, as they knew this was coming.[9]

On the fiftieth day after the first Passover, Israel confronted another commemorable event. They were instructed to robe in clean apparel, assemble at the foot of Mount Sinai, and remain behind a line drawn for their protection. Early that morning, we are told, Jehovah descended in a cloud of fire. The mountain burned and the smoke ascended to the skies. King explained that the trumpet of Jehovah sounded loud and long, and a voice spoke out of the fire with awful majesty.

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[8] Ibid.

[9] J. H. King, From Passover to Pentecost (Franklin Springs, Ga.: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1955), p. 110.

In general, he contended, it was a terrible and shaking experience.[10] This experience, enhanced by the uttering of the Ten Commandments out of the fire, was destined to impress the Israelites for ages to come. They were "to remember it and tell it to their children in all succeeding generations."[11] This descent upon Sinai became an annual feast observed fifty days after each Passover. Because seven weeks intervened between the offering of first fruits in Passover Week and the annual feast, the feast became known as the Feast of Weeks, but was also known as the Feast of Harvest because it marked the beginning of full harvest.[12] With the translation of Scriptures from Hebrew to Greek by seventy learned Jews, the Feast of Weeks became the Feast of Pentekostee or the Feast of the Fiftieth Day.[13] King contended that the Feast of Pentekostee "points historically to Jehovah's descent on Sinai, and prophetically to the descent of the Holy Ghost at Jerusalem."[14] It is "the connecting link between the great events. The Sinaitic event was itself typical, as well as prophetic of the Jerusalem Pentecost."[15]

A second aspect of Old Testament preparation is usually seen in an often quoted prophecy in Joel:

> And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your

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[10] Ibid., p. 111.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 112.

[13] Ibid., p. 113.

[14] Ibid., p. 114.

[15] Ibid.

> daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit.[16]

While no reference to speaking in tongues is made in this prophecy, Peter's explanation to the bewildered Jews on the Day of Pentecost closely identified glossolalia with Joel's prophecy.

> And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galilaeans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? . . .
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> But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judaea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words: For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy.[17]

Thus, proponents, especially of the Classical Pentecostal movement, felt Pentecostalism was introduced into the New Testament only after years of historic and prophetic preparation in the Old Testament.

More commonly proclaimed is the New Testament presentation of speaking in tongues. Morton Kelsey, an Episcopal

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[16]Joel 2:28-29. [17]Acts 2:4-8, 14-18.

rector, suggested that New Testament passages referring to glossolalia may be divided into two groups, viz., those which are direct references to the gift and those which "may well refer to it but do not call it my name."[18] There are, he explained, seven direct passages and eight descriptions in which glossolalia is probably indicated. The first direct reference appears in Acts 2:1-4 in a discussion of the Day of Pentecost:

> And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

According to Kelsey the disciples stayed together and prayed, not knowing what might happen. The experience of glossolalia was evidence to them that God's spirit was with them and provided the conviction needed to send them "courageously into a hostile world."[19]

The second direct New Testament passage focused on Peter's call to minister to the Gentiles. Being warned not to call anything unclean which God considered clean, Peter ministered to the House of Cornelius, a Gentile. "While Peter yet spake . . . , the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word."[20] The Jews with Peter appeared to be as astonished at the happening as were the Gentiles, because "on the

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[18]Morton T. Kelsey, Tongue Speaking (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964), p. 17.

[19]Ibid., p. 19.

[20]Acts 10:44-46.

Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God."[21] Kelsey points out how Peter's preaching to the Gentiles was followed by a great conflict in the church, the resolution of which is closely related to the tongues question today.

> What settled the immediate question is most instructive. God had come to Cornelius and his household, for the Holy Spirit had fallen upon them just as upon the apostles in the beginning. The new dispensation took precedence over the old. Tongues was important enough to displace even laws. This experience gave evidence which overturned Jewish particularism and opened the church to gentiles.[22]

A third direct New Testament passage involves Paul's ministry to twelve Ephesians. "And when Paul laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied."[23] The closing verses of Mark, which some believe are later additions to dress up the text, represent a fourth reference: "And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues."[24]

Additional references include I Cor. 14, a major point of contention between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals; I Cor. 12 in which Paul refers almost casually to tongues and interpretation of tongues among other gifts of the Spirit; and finally, Paul's words in I Cor. 13:1 where he speaks of the worthlessness of the tongues of men and angels if love is absent. These references, while not exhaustive of the

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Kelsey, Tongue Speaking, p. 24.

[23] Acts 19:6.

[24] Mark 16:17.

Scriptures generally cited by adherents of Pentecostalism, spotlight the major Old and New Testament sources of preparation and presentation.

The first sixteen centuries of church history appear to be lean years for glossolalia. Augustine, writing in the fourth century, said, " . . . Who expects in these days that those on whom hands are laid that they may receive the Holy Spirit should forthwith begin to speak with tongues?"[25] Emphasizing the lack of glossolalia during his time, Augustine asked if any, when they saw that neither adults nor infants spoke in tongues, say, "These have not received the Holy Ghost; for, had they received, they would speak with tongues as was the case in those times?"[26] Church historian E. Glenn Hinson also traced the decline but acknowledged that (1) five well-known authors alluded to glossolalia among the Montanists during the first century A.D.; (2) Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul during the last quarter of the second century, referred to tongue speaking three times; (3) Tertullian, the great African theologian of the early third century, had one definite and positive reference to glossolalia; and (4) two statements in Origen also indicate an acquaintance with glossolalia in the early third century.[27] Glossolalia, according

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[25]Kelsey, Tongue Speaking, p. 40.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Frank Stagg, E. Glenn Hinson, and Wayne E. Oates, Glossolalia (New York: Abingdon Press, 1967), pp. 47-50.

to Hinson, brought its own downfall. Whereas the church could exercise some control over positive "fruits of the spirit" like "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control" (Gal. 5:22-23), there seemed to be no way to validate glossolalia or to distinguish between true glossolalia and the Gnostic's "magical or semi-magical formulas which were akin to glossolalia."[28]

If the early years must be considered lean, the seventeenth century appears to be a time of plenty. The Cévenols peasants in France; Irvingites in England; and the Ranters, early Quakers, Wesleyites, Mormons, Jansenists, and frontier Christian movements in England and Colonial America, said Hinson, have all encountered glossolalia.[29] Hinson suggested that a careful study of statements by tongue speakers throughout history shows that glossolalia and "other perceptible evidences of the Spirit could thus be seen as an effort to convince unbelievers by a display of power, if not of word!"[30]

If past documented instances of glossolalia were the total extent of the practice, they would provide interesting and useful data for interpreting our own place in history. But, as Kelsey explained, glossolalia has not been restricted to Pre-Twentieth-Century Christianity.

> It is in our own time that speaking in tongues has become . . . what our teen-age surfers would call "a ninth wave" ride to conversion, for others a quiet

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[28] Ibid., p. 55.

[29] Ibid., pp. 59-66.

[30] Ibid., p. 72.

> experience of religious meaning, and to many others a strange variety of meanings from complete contempt to deep understanding. In this century the history of glossolalia has suddenly become a living history.[31]

Classical Pentecostalism

This examination of the twentieth-century Pentecostal movement will focus on three related stages of the movement's development: Classical, Neo-, and Catholic. Classical Pentecostalism passed through three phases, each of which is developed for the purpose of explicating the context out of which Neo-Pentecostalism emerged. The three phases are: formulation, fragmentation, and fraternization.

Formulation

The late 1800's were critical years for Christianity as well as for America in general. Klaude Kendrick's survey of those years suggested six conditions following the Civil War that helped to prepare the way for an active Holiness movement out of which Pentecostalism emerged: (1) moral, political, and business corruption; (2) increase of national wealth; (3) Christian nurture theory; (4) social gospel; (5) Darwinism; and (6) higher criticism.[32] It was the interaction of these same conditions which led A. M. Schlesinger to remark that "perhaps at no time in its American development has the pathway of Christianity been so sorely beset with pitfalls and perils as in the last quarter of the 19th

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[31]Kelsey, Tongue Speaking, p. 60.

[32]Kendrick, Promise Fulfilled, pp. 25-31.

century."[33]

To a very great extent the conditions Kendrick identified emerged as a result of rapid urbanization. From 1860 to 1900, for example, the number of cities with 8,000 or more inhabitants increased from 141 to 547, and the proportion of townsfolk from a sixth to nearly a third.[34] This rapid growth of industrial cities after 1865, explained Aaron Abell, "burdened religion to the breaking point."[35] Abell's study of the religious and social effects or urban development on American Protestantism focused on the genesis and evolution of two trends: the Protestant confrontation with the wage earner's expectation that religion would establish an equitable economic and industrial order, and the city's reliance on religion for immediate spiritual and social-service aid. In his assessment of the Protestant response to the urban impact, Abell concluded that Protestant churches "measurably Christianized their social and economic attitudes, formulated and developed a far-flung system of social service, and sacrificed sectarian concerns to basic religious needs," but did not solve the urban religious problem.[36] The growing concern of clergymen toward social concern is illustrated by William

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[33]A. M. Schlesinger, "The Critical Period in American Religion 1875-1900," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, LXIV (1932), p. 523.

[34]Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism 1865-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943), p. 1.

[35]Ibid. [36]Ibid., p. 246.

Bliss's call for a Christian concern for the environment. Appearing in the opening issue of The Dawn, May 15, 1889, Bliss's analysis reflects the growing concern among Protestants to which the Holiness movement reacted:

> "What we need is change of heart, not change of system," so says the church today, or at the least so say the large majority of people in the church, and they add: "If men have this change of heart, they will be good under any system, and if they do not, no system will make them good. Therefore, what we need to do is to make men Christians, not Christian Socialists."
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> . . . We have no word to say against a "change of heart"; we believe in a heart that is ever changing, ever turning to the great Heart above, but is this all? If a Christian family finds that their house is full of sewer gas, do they say, "all that we need is change of heart, not change of drainage." Would we not call a family taking this position, rearing children in such an atmosphere, fanatical, irrational, criminal? Good drainage does not make life, but it counts for something; environment is not all, but it is something; it is well to strive to make men Christians, but it is also necessary to pay at least some attention to their environment, their surroundings.[37]

As the church became more and more an institution of the wealthy, Niebuhr contended, the masses became increasingly unchurched. The churches which have been recalled again and again "to consider a neglected message by the religious revolutions of the unfortunate," he continued, "are so much the poorer because there is no sect of the disinherited today."[38] Niebuhr's argument, however, ignores the broader meaning of disinheritance. Also disinherited were "experientially oriented" evangelical Christians who believed the church had

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[37]William Dwight Porter Bliss, The Dawn, May 15, 1889, p. 1, quoted in Paul H. Boase, ed., The Rhetoric of Christian Socialism (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 60.

[38]H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1968), p. 76.

become more concerned over the ills of society than the state of the soul. The Holiness movement emerged, therefore, to champion the cause of traditional evangelical Protestantism. Kendrick explained that these people found their bond of union in "the Wesleyan experience and doctrine of entire sanctification, commonly called the 'second blessing'";[39] that they not only reaffirmed Wesleyan perfectionism but embraced characteristics which helped facilitate a dynamic experiential religious experience:

> The movement also embraced a number of the characteristics of the frontier church. The "crisis experience" was considered the only means of realizing salvation, and revivalism the technique to be used in making converts. The group also entertained definitely "fundamentalist" views, opposing any position contrary to the verbal inspiration and literal interpretation of the Bible.[40]

In 1867 adherents met in Vineland, New Jersey, to organize the "National Camp Meeting Association for promotion of Holiness."[41] At first, camp meetings were scheduled to stimulate "holiness" and religious devotion among members of existing churches. Soon, however, members found this relationship increasingly uncomfortable. Agreeing that the movement could not operate within the church structure, holiness people began to separate from the historic churches. Between 1893 and 1907, twenty-five separate Holiness denominations came into existence. These "divisions were . . . partly due

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[39]Kendrick, Promise Fulfilled, p. 31.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force (Peterborough, Ont.: The College Press, 1962), p. 19.

to gatherings forming around dominant personalities."[42]

Kendrick cited two contributions made by the Holiness movement that prepared fertile ground from which modern Pentecost ultimately emerged. First, it introduced a new interest "in 'spiritual experiences' subsequent to the 'crisis-experience' of salvation, and, second, it produced another wave of motor phenomena which included 'tongues.'"[43] In regard to the latter, the Holiness movement also contributed to a vocabulary which would explain, structure, and promote the new experience of "tongues." Many in the Holiness movement were well acquainted with the phrase, "Baptism of the Holy Spirit," which was to play a significant role in Pentecostalism. To Holiness people the Baptism was the cleansing experience in their lives. Later, several Holiness leaders preached the Baptism as an experience "beyond" sanctification or cleansing. Although still not connected with glossolalia, the Baptism was an experience to which Holiness Christians should aspire--a special blessing. Thus, out of the Holiness movement evolved popular terminology such as saved, sanctified, and baptized with the Holy Spirit. Later, these terms were to represent three experiences Pentecostal Christians would seek in their quest for forgiveness, cleansing, and spiritual power. Given man's need for a deeper religious experience and a vocabulary by which he might explain

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Kendrick, Promise Fulfilled, p. 33.

and promote it, it was inevitable that a movement would emerge.

Inception of Classical Pentecostalism generally dates back to Rev. Charles Parham who was convinced that there was a Christian experience beyond sanctification. After opening a Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, in October, 1900, he was called to Kansas City in December. Before leaving he instructed his forty students to search the Scriptures for some special evidence which should accompany the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Upon returning, he learned that each student had discovered "independently" that "on each occasion in Apostolic times when the Holy Spirit baptized believers, there was an outward manifestation--speaking in tongues."[44]

On New Year's Eve seventy outsiders and forty students gathered for the traditional "watchnight" service. As they prayed, Miss Agnes Ozman requested Parham to "lay hands on her" and pray that she would be baptized with the Holy Spirit and speak in "tongues." Following this prayer Miss Ozman is reported to have spoken in "tongues" for three days. The significance of this experience is not that she spoke in tongues, however, but that for the first time the concept of being baptized (or filled) with the Holy Spirit was linked to an outward sign--speaking in tongues. From this inception those who spoke in tongues were to be called Pentecostals.

Pentecostals believed they had been baptized with the

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[44]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 27.

Holy Spirit as were the apostles on the Day of Pentecost. As the apostles spoke in tongues when spiritually "baptized or filled," twentieth-century Pentecostals were speaking in tongues when "baptized." According to J. Roswell Flower, historian for the Assemblies of God, the decision to seek for the Baptism with the expectation of speaking in tongues was a momentous one. "It . . . made the Pentecostal Movement of the Twentieth Century."[45]

Events during the movement's inception were initially bitter and discouraging, but soon grew favorable on a vast scale. Parham tells us that after the Topeka revival, he faced two years of privation, persecution, and frustration.

> "Both the pulpit and the press sought to utterly destroy our place and prestige, until my wife, her sister, and myself stood alone. Hated, despised, counted as naught, for weeks and weeks never knowing where our next meal would come from, yet feeling that we must maintain the faith once for all delivered to the saints. When we had car fare we rode, when we didn't we walked. When buildings were closed to us we preached on the street."[46]

By 1905, however, Parham's new religion had gained momentum, and its divine inspiration was less in doubt. Nichol reported that some people in Galena, Kansas, ascertained the "miraculous quality of the new 'Pentecostal' ministry of Parham" and invited him to conduct a revival in their town.[47] Parham

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[45]J. Roswell Flower, "Birth of the Pentecostal Movement," Pentecostal Evangel, November 26, 1950, p. 3.

[46]Charles F. Parham, "The Latter Rain," Apostolic Faith, July, 1926, p. 3., quoted in Kendrick, Promise Fulfilled, p. 56.

[47]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 30.

accepted, and soon the revival turned into a protracted three-month campaign. That the news of the meetings spread throughout the country is confirmed by the Cincinnati Inquirer:

> "Almost three months have elapsed since this man [Parham] came to Galena and during that time he has healed over a thousand people and converted more than 800. . . . During the services there have been as many as 50 people at the altar at one time seeking to be restored in soul and body. Here people who have not walked for years without the aid of crutches have risen from the altar with their limbs so straightened that they were enabled to lay aside their crutches, to the astonishment of the audience.
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> These cures, they claim, are effected solely through prayer and faith. Nothing else is done, though Rev. Parham often lays his hands upon the afflicted one while the devotions are going on. . . .
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> Here women who have formerly lived for society and gaiety kneel beside some fallen sister and endeavor to point her heavenward, and here the 'followers' receive what they term 'the Pentecost,' and are enabled to speak in foreign tongues, languages which they are, when free from this power, utterly unfamiliar. This alone is considered one of the most remarkable things of the meetings."[48]

Nichol tells us that by 1905 Pentecostal meeting places could be found in Columbus, Melrose, and Baxter Springs, Kansas; in Joplin, Missouri; and in Orchard, Houston, and Galveston, Texas.[49] Some Pentecostals claim that the 25,000 believers and 60 preachers in Texas, plus the general Pentecostal stronghold throughout Kansas, Missouri, and Texas in 1906 were greatly attributable to Parham and the Galena revival.[50] As Parham's sense of inspiration increased, so did his vision and in 1905, he opened a Bible school in Houston, Texas.

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[48]Kendrick, Promise Fulfilled, p. 59.

[49]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 31.

[50]Ibid., p. 63.

One of Parham's students, a Negro Baptist preacher, William J. Seymour, extended the initial inspiration to California where it gained worldwide influence. A visitor from Los Angeles received the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" while in Houston, and upon returning to Los Angeles, she suggested the hiring of Seymour as associate pastor of the small Negro Nazarene mission she attended. After selecting Acts 2:1-4 as the text for his first Los Angeles sermon, Seymour preached the new Pentecostal experience. He emphasized that every person truly baptized in the Holy Spirit would react as the disciples did on the Day of Pentecost; specifically, they would "speak in tongues."[51] When Seymour returned to speak again, he found he had been locked out. He had offended Holiness people who believed they had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit without "speaking in tongues."[52] Convinced that he was in God's will, Seymour and a small group who had by then received the "Pentecostal experience," rented a vacated Methodist Church. The building was in shambles, but inspiration was undaunted.

Commenting from Bartleman's diary of early Pentecostalism, Nichol said, "Azusa Street became a veritable Pentecostal mecca to which pilgrims from all over the world came and from which the news of supernatural signs and wonders was broadcast. It is hard to explain its magnetism."[53] A description of the Azusa Street worship services, found in

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[51] Ibid., p. 32. [52] Ibid. [53] Ibid., p. 34.

Bartleman's diary, provides some insight into the speaking and audience characteristics of this Pentecostal mecca.

> . . . In that old building with its low rafters and bare floors, God took strong men and women to pieces, and put them together again, for His glory. It was a tremendous overhauling process. . . .
>
> No subjects or sermons were announced ahead of time, and no special speakers for such an hour. No one knew what might be coming, what God would do. All was spontaneous, ordered of the Spirit. We wanted to hear from God.[54]

The success of Azusa Street may be largely attributed to its success in attracting influential ministers. Nichol reported that at some of the services, as many as twenty-five ministers from out of town were "tarrying for the gift of the Holy Spirit."[55] The number of ministers who visited or were influenced by visitors to the Azusa Street Mission and who later became founders or leaders of Pentecostal denominations is astonishing. Florence L. Crawford embarked from Azusa Street on an evangelistic career from which emerged the Apostolic Faith Church. A. H. Argue carried the Pentecostal message to Winnepeg. Eudorus N. Bell subsequently became the first chairman of the Assemblies of God.[56] Charles Mason, a Negro who had been reared by parents who were former slaves, commenced a ministry in Memphis, Tennessee, which mushroomed into a movement of 4,000 churches and nearly 500,000 adherents--one of the largest Negro Pentecostal bodies in the

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[54]Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Azusa Street (2nd ed.; Los Angeles: Frank Bartleman, 1926), p. 58.

[55]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 36. [56]Ibid.

world, The Church of God in Christ.[57] Along with Mason, G. B. Cashwell helped spread Pentecostalism throughout the Southeast. Under Cashwell's ministry, A. J. Tomlinson, who became an extremely controversial leader of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), received the Baptism of the Spirit.[58] It was also through Cashwell's ministry that J. H. King, who later became Bishop of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, accepted the Pentecostal message and the experience of speaking in tongues.[59] With this apparent influence the formulation phase appears to have completed a threefold development: (1) it emerged from holiness roots; (2) it gained unique inception as a movement with Charles Parham; and (3) it enjoyed an early wave of inspiration among influential ministers.

Fragmentation

As advocates increased in number, they came from a greater variety of doctrinal and organizational backgrounds. With doctrinal clarification and debate, Classical Pentecostalism began to fragment. Four issues served to fragment what began as an interdenominational spiritual renewal movement: the first issue which divided the movement into two camps was the "finished work" issue; three other issues were "antidenominationalism," "Pentecostal unitarianism," and "race."

Finished Work.--Proponents of "finished work," an

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[57] Ibid., p. 37. [58] Ibid.

[59] Kendrick, Promise Fulfilled, p. 180.

issue on how much of one's salvation and cleansing was experienced at the time of Christian conversion, gave expression to the view that forgiveness of one's past sins and sanctification of the heart occur simultaneously.[60] This issue was "the most fundamental doctrinal cleavage that the movement was to experience";[61] was principally influenced by one individual; was accepted by most Pentecostals, especially those in urban areas; and was responsible for the organization of the Assemblies of God. Vinson Synan's analysis of this issue reveals that the first adherents to the Pentecostal movement came from the Holiness movement and held unquestionably to the Wesleyan view of sanctification as a second, definite work of grace, i.e., the believer was taught to seek an inward cleansing subsequent to receiving forgiveness. Conflict and doctrinal cleavage emerged, he continued, as non-Wesleyans (persons from non-Holiness and Methodist backgrounds) were won from other historic churches, chiefly Baptist.[62]

The man most responsible for the promotion of "finished work" was W. H. Durham whose mission church in Chicago,

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[60]The Holiness Branch of Pentecostalism held that salvation, sanctification, and Spirit-baptism were three instantaneous Christian experiences or "works of grace." With salvation man was "saved from" or forgiven of his past sins. Sanctification, a subsequent experience, was to be sought because it "purified" or crucified the "carnal nature" "inherited" or passed on to man by Adam's fall into sin. This experience of sanctification had to precede "seeking" the baptism in the "Holy Ghost." One knew he had received the Spirit-baptism when he spoke in "other tongues" (glossolalia).

[61]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 147.

[62]Ibid.

the battle between "finished work" and "second work," said Synan, "the Church of God, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, and the Church of God in Christ stood firmly for the second work of sanctification."[67]

In 1914 the Assemblies of God denomination was organized by a group of independent Pentecostals who met in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Following a keynote address by M. M. Pinson entitled "The Finished Work of Calvary," a statement of faith was adopted which stated that "entire sanctification" should be "earnestly pursued" as a "progressive" rather than an instantaneous experience.[68] Synan contended that the "adoption of this statement placed the . . . 'Assemblies of God' outside the Wesleyan tradition, thus creating the first formal doctrinal division in the pentecostal movement."[69] For those maintaining the Wesleyan tradition, the belief in entire sanctification as a second work of grace became a "test of orthodoxy, and anyone professing to believe in the 'finished work' was considered a 'false teacher' or a 'deluded yankee.'"[70] Because of this doctrinal variation, all hope ended for a merger of Pentecostals into one body.

Antidenominationalism.--John T. Nichol, in his

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[67] Ibid.

[68] M. M. Pinson, "The Finished Work of Calvary," Pentecostal Evangel, April 5, 1964, p. 27.

[69] Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 153.

[70] Ibid., p. 149.

Illinois, had become, by 1908, a "mecca for midwestern pentecostals."[63] While the controversy had been building for some time, the climax was reached at a Chicago Pentecostal convention in 1910 in which Durham openly sought to nullify the blessing of sanctification as a definite work of grace. Frank Ewart, and written word prevailed, and the movement as a was waged throughout the country, but the force of the preached an written word prevailed, and the movement as a whole accepted the correction as absolutely scriptural."[64] Although there were still a few "die-hards" in the movement, these, he added, were "inconsequential."[65]

More careful analysis does indicate acceptance of "finished work" by many Pentecostals but also reveals that a strong regional resistance emerged. Heaviest support for the newer position developed among the urban independent churches and missions which then numbered in the hundreds. "So pervasive was the new view," said Synan, "that most of the pentecostal denominations that began after 1911 incorporated it in their statement of faith."[66] In the South, however, Pentecostals were deeply rooted in the Holiness movement and therefore remained true to their Wesleyan and Holiness heritage. In

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Frank J. Ewart, The Phenomenon of Pentecost (St. Louis: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1947), p. 74.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 149.

examination of dissension within early Pentecostalism, explained that one of the first principles over which Pentecostals quarreled was that of "organization versus independency."[71] This controversy emerged with a southern bias toward organizationalism, an intense fear of organizationalism among independent Pentecostals, and a final acceptance of organization as the lesser of two evils.

The stand taken by the South regarding organization accents the interrelatedness of the issues which led to fragmentation. Throughout the South, the acceptance of Pentecost involved the acceptance of glossolalia as a sign that a member of the Holiness movement had received the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost." Synan, in his analysis of how the Pentecostal experience was believed and accepted by various Holiness leaders, explained that the Pentecostal conquest of the Holiness movement in the South was completed in 1908 under the ministry of G. B. Cashwell and C. H. Mason. In only a few months, he contended, "much of the holiness movement in the South had been converted to Pentecostalism."[72] Having been anchored in a strong Holiness movement consisting of organized Holiness churches, the South was in general denominationally oriented and strongly in favor of organization.

From the very beginning, however, many Pentecostals associated their introduction to the Charismatic experience

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[71]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 86.

[72]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 137.

with the ministry of certain outstanding personages in their area. Three such individuals were Charles Parham, William Seymour, and William Durham. Parham became the recognized leader in Kansas and Texas and established an "association" for fellowship and mutual aid of ministers,[73] but maintained a strong antidenominational line due to "earlier unpleasant conflicts with authoritarian officials in the Methodist Church. . . . "[74] Seymour became a revered leader in the Los Angeles area. He was so respected as a leader that his own mentor, Parham, was denied access to the Azusa mission and forced to conduct future services in the YMCA.[75] Durham's influence was similar. While admired and followed by many people in the Midwest, he was locked out of the mission because of his teaching on the "finished work." In general, these men were leaders because of the individual influence they wielded, and in each case, they consistently warned against organization. This position was probably the most functional during the early years, for as Nichol pointed out, "Many Pentecostals were often not amenable to human leadership and authority because of their preoccupation with, and misunderstanding of, what they called 'the leading of the Spirit.'"[76]

Several specific disputes emerged due to a hesitancy

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[73] Ibid., p. 151. [74] Ibid.

[75] Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 83.

[76] Ibid., p. 84.

among many new converts to Pentecostalism to renounce their views and preferences relative to baptism, liturgy, and church government. As long as the converts could maintain unity in Pentecostal worship; and agree on evangelistic and missionary outreach, and basic criteria for salvation and Pentecostal baptism; Pentecostals believed that organization would only prove divisive. Of the early Pentecostals, perhaps no one was more antagonistic to organization than Pentecostal pioneer of California Frank Bartleman. He did not believe God could use a sectarian party as a channel through which "he could evangelize the world, blessing all people and believers."[77] On the other hand, many realized that only organization could remedy the growing "evils of independency--doctrinal instability, variable standards of ethical behavior, vulnerability of local assemblies to unscrupulous clerical poseurs, and financial inefficiency."[78] Again, the issue was largely determined with the organization of the Assemblies of God in 1914.

Pentecostal unitarianism.--More commonly termed the "Jesus Only" issue, Pentecostal unitarianism first appeared when Rev. R. E. McAlester casually mentioned at a camp meeting that "the apostles invariably baptized their converts once in the Name of Jesus Christ," and "that the words Father, Son and

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[77]Bartleman, How Pentecost Came, p. 68.

[78]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 87.

Holy Ghost were never used in Christian baptism."[79] McAlester was immediately and harshly rebuked by some of the ministers present. Others, however, took the thought home, pondered it, and searched the Scriptures. Deeply disturbed over the question was Frank J. Ewart, a native of Australia who had come to Los Angeles by way of Canada and entered the Baptist ministry. After accepting the Pentecostal experience, he was expelled from the Baptist Church and eventually became one of the leading figures of the West Coast Pentecostal movement.[80] Ewart spent a year formulating his position on the new doctrine and determined that there was one personality in the Godhead--Jesus Christ. The terms "Father" and "Holy Spirit" were, he explained, simply titles designating various aspects of Christ's person. Soon after Ewart preached his first "Jesus Only" sermon, he and Glen A. Cook rebaptized themselves in a tank set up inside a tent. Following this act, they began a "determined campaign to reconvert and rebaptize the entire pentecostal movement into their new 'oneness' belief."[81]

Almost devastated by the new issue, the Assemblies of God called a special council to settle the issue in October, 1916. During preconference maneuvers, leaders crossed back and forth on the issue. When the council finally met, the trinitarians were in control of the church. Although "the

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[79]Ewart, Phenomenon of Pentecost, p. 76.

[80]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 76.

[81]Ibid., p. 155.

young denomination had vowed never to adopt a formal creed," a statement was prepared declaring the propriety of "calling the Godhead a 'trinity or as one Being of three persons.'"[82] When the unitarians withdrew from the denomination, they left with 156 of the 585 preachers and over 100 congregations. The unitarian group eventually splintered again several times. According to Kelsey 500,000 would be a conservative estimate of the total number of U.S. unitarian Pentecostals in 1964, more than half of which were Negroes.[83]

As with the previous issues which led to fragmentation, the Wesleyan-oriented Pentecostals in the South were spared division. An examination of the Advocate after 1916 revealed stern opposition to persons who had "run wild after that which was new and sensational."[84] In 1917 the Pentecostal Holiness Church listed the "heresies" which had plagued Pentecostalism as "finished work," one-name baptism, rejection of the Trinity, antiorganization, and many other preposterous nonsensical sensations.[85] "The Baptismal Formula," an article in the Assemblies of God magazine in 1950, suggested the issue was still a point of sore contention among some Pentecostals. The author began "THIS IS NOT an attempt to prove the fallacy of the 'Oneness' doctrine concerning the

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[82] Ibid., p. 157.

[83] Kelsey, Tongue Speaking, p. 242.

[84] Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 161.

[85] Ibid.

Godhead," but quickly added "there seems to be a division among Pentecostal people. . . . "[86]

Race.--Although Pentecostalism eventually fell into the segregationist trend of American Protestantism, its early years were marked by a distinct interracial flavor. The interracial period continued from 1906 to 1924, at which time the last separation over the issue of race occurred. In his analysis of the Negro Pentecostal movement, Synan allotted Parham and Seymour equal positions as founders of modern Pentecostalism, credited the "oneness" issue as responsible for the formation of the most fully interracial church bodies in the U.S., and blamed the Southern system of segregation for destruction of the "unique fellowship" of the races and the splitting of the churches along racial lines.[87]

Bloch-Hoell pointed out that in 1936 Negroes constituted 14.54 percent of the Pentecostal movement but only 9.7 percent of the population.[88] Synan added that "the Negro pentecostals have grown much faster than their white co-religionists in the United States."[89] Although both white and black Pentecostals have shown phenomenal growth, they

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[86]Bill Britton, "The Baptismal 'Formula,'" Pentecostal Evangel, January 21, 1950, p. 4.

[87]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 168-172.

[88]Nils Bloche-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement, Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character (New York: Humanities Press, 1964), pp. 56-64.

[89]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 179.

did so as two separate factions of Pentecostalism. The intensity of this racial factionalism was demonstrated in 1948 when not a single Negro denomination was invited to join the newly organized Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (PFNA) the purpose of which was to demonstrate to the world the essential unity of Spirit-baptized believers, fulfilling the prayer of the Lord Jesus "that they all may be one."[90] In 1965 the PFNA added eight denominations to its roster, making a total of 16--all white.

Fraternization

The final phase in the development of Classical Pentecostalism emerged as a result of individual denominational efforts to institutionalize and expand, increased interaction among members within different Pentecostal denominations, Pentecostal acceptance and participation in evangelical associations, emergence of the WPC, and affiliation of Pentecostal denominations in the PFNA. This fraternization stage developed through four steps beginning with the decision to become a denomination. In their move toward denominationalism, emerging churches first had to settle the antiorganization issue within their own ranks, agree on acceptable polity, and finally, determine the best means of expansion. In general, this trend was a response

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[90]"Pentecostal Fellowship of North America" (a pamphlet revised and printed in 1962; available from any one of the member denominations), p. 3.

to six felt needs: (1) the promotion of Pentecostal fellowship on a broader basis than the local assemblies; (2) cooperative effort among the various churches in areas of mutual interest; (3) central authority to define doctrinal positions; (4) periodicals that could be read and accepted with confidence and that emanated from a recognized authority; (5) adequate training for ministerial recruits; and (6) organization to effect uniformity.[91]

A second stage of fraternization involved an increased development of the camp meeting as an evangelistic technique. Little has been written regarding the role camp meetings have played in the Pentecostal movement, but participation in them appears to be a perpetual expression of a moment described in Josiah Hilt's autobiography, Experience of a Backwoods Preacher, 1887.

> "If there is any place on this earth that is more like heaven than a good live campmeeting, I should like to hear of it. --- I know of no place where the ethical, esthetical, social and spiritual wants of humanity are more fully provided for than at the campmeeting. There, some of the most soul-inspiring scenes that earth can furnish may be witnessed."[92]

In assessing the role of camp meetings, it should be remembered that often the local congregations within a given denomination were separated by many miles. Camp meetings served the triple purpose of giving people opportunity to renew fellowship, wait on God, and extend their evangelistic

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[91]Nichol, Pentecostalism, pp. 7-8.

[92]Atter, The Third Force, p. 298.

program. They also served to demonstrate to the community, the larger association of the local congregation.

A third stage of fraternization began in the early 1940's when several major Pentecostal denominations joined the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), the successor to the Fundamentalist movement which had repudiated Pentecostals in 1928. The significance of this kind of fraternization is indicated in the resolution adopted by the Fundamentalists in 1928.

> "Whereas, The present wave of Modern Pentecostalism, often referred to as the 'tongues movement,' and the present wave of fanatical and unscriptural healing which is sweeping over the country to-day, has become a menace in many churches and a real injury to the sane testimony of Fundamental Christians, Be it Resolved, That this convention go on record as unreservedly opposed to Modern Pentecostalism, including the speaking with unknown tongues, and fanatical healing known as general healing in the atonement, and the perpetuation of the miraculous sign-healing of Jesus and His apostles, wherein they claim the only reason the church cannot perform these miracles is because of unbelief."[93]

Synan suggested that the association of Pentecostals in NAE "provided the first opportunities for the various pentecostal leaders to meet together. It was in the lobbies between sessions of the NAE meetings that the idea of a national organization of pentecostals was born."[94]

Prior to any national organization of Pentecostals, several efforts for a world fellowship of Pentecostals were

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[93]Stanley H. Frodsham, "Disfellowshipped," Pentecostal Evangel, August 18, 1928, p. 7.

[94]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 207-8.

attempted. Du Plessis contends that as early as 1937 "'there was an urgent desire for fellowship and unity' and 'it was decided that an attempt should be made to call a World Conference in London during the summer of 1940.'"[95] Several efforts toward world organization provided opportunity for fellowship and discussion prior to World War II, but their success has been negatively summarized, "They studiously avoided making any suggestions concerning the merger of existing Pentecostal groups."[96] "Old party-cries," observed Donald Gee, editor of Pentecost, "were easily revived and suggestions of compromise launched by sincere champions of imaginary crusades for vital truths."[97]

Following the war several Pentecostal leaders throughout the world called for the renewal of unity conferences. American Pentecostals, "Wishing to help in the rehabilitation of their brethren on the Continent, also expressed a desire for . . . organization."[98] Accordingly, the first WPC finally convened in Zurich in 1947. It chose for a theme, I Cor. 12:13, "For by one Spirit we are baptized into one body." Due to confusion over what kind of

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[95]David du Plessis, "World Pentecost," World Pentecostal Conference Souvenir Brochure, p. 3, quoted in Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 212.

[96]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 213.

[97]Donald Gee, The Pentecostal Movement: Including the Story of the War Years (1940-1947) (London: Elim Publishing House, Ltd., 1949), p. 171.

[98]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 213.

unity and organization Pentecostals really desire, only two concrete results accrued: the establishment of an international center for the coordination of evangelism and relief in Basel; and an international missionary magazine, Pentecost, designed to describe outreach efforts of various Pentecostal groups.[99] Du Plessis, commenting on the Zurich convention to which almost every major Pentecostal body had sent a representative, wrote: "Much of what had been accomplished . . . was not recorded in books on earth. Links of fellowship," he explained, "were forged that were stronger than conference resolutions. The need for unity and cooperation was impressed upon all with greater emphasis than ever before."[100] Synan reported that added emphasis to the NAE stimulus toward fellowship among U.S. Pentecostal leaders came from the first WPC in 1947: "Another stimulus toward unity was the suggestion made by the first World Pentecostal Fellowship . . . that the pentecostals of North American combine into a closer fellowship."[101] The climate of togetherness seemed to be worldwide among Pentecostals in the mid-twentieth century.

The formal evolution of the PFNA began with an exploratory meeting at the close of the May, 1948, meeting of NAE in Chicago. A second exploratory meeting convened in

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[99] Ibid., p. 214.

[100] Du Plessis, "World Pentecost," p. 4.

[101] Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 208.

Chicago with representatives from twelve Pentecostal denominations in August. At this meeting, the name "Pentecostal Fellowship of North America," a common statement of faith, and a statement of aims were proposed. In October a constitutional convention composed of 200 delegates from twelve bodies convened. Synan reported that a "constitution was adopted and the PFNA became the voice of about one million Pentecostals in North America representing over 10,000 local churches."[102] When the Fellowship met again in 1949, its membership had grown to fourteen. Conspicuously absent, however, were the Negro Pentecostal bodies. Synan said, "In essence, the PFNA represented the mainstream of respectable, white, orthodox pentecostalism in North America."[103]

Over the years, the fears and suspicions of members regarding such past issues as sanctification have subsided. The PFNA has successfully sponsored forums and seminars across the nation where representatives from the various denominations can exchange views on topics of mutual interest. On local levels, the PFNA helped spawn the revival of jointly sponsored religious rallies. In Los Angeles six denominations united to conduct a youth rally in the Hollywood Bowl Amphitheater; 21,000 persons attended.[104]

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., p. 209.

[104] Harold C. Herman, "Christ Came to Hollywood Bowl," Pentecostal Evangel, October 23, 1948, p. 13.

Du Plessis, commenting on such cooperative evangelistic efforts, wrote, "It is no longer an unusual thing for 15,000 to 20,000 people to turn out to the tent campaigns."[105] Very seldom, he explained, does one find a Pentecostal assembly in any city that does not fully cooperate with all the others in these city-wide campaigns.[106]

Du Plessis may have overstated the extent of local cooperation, however, for according to Menzies, the PFNA has been more successful in bringing together the leadership of previously isolated Pentecostal groups than it has ministers on the local level. He contended that "in spite of the adoption of a comity agreement in 1962, there have been few locations where strong local fellowship has developed. Notable exceptions are Portland, Oregon; Toledo and Dayton, Ohio; and Chicago, Illinois."[107]

An important milestone in practical unity emerged during the 1971 meeting of the PFNA. R. L. Rex, Director of Evangelism for the Pentecostal Holiness Church, became concerned over the refusal of both the World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin, 1966, and later the U.S. Congress on Evangelism in Minneapolis to recognize the Pentecostal revivals

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[105]David du Plessis, "Pentecostal Movement Shares in the Present Revival in North America," Pentecost, December, 1950, p. 5.

[106]Ibid.

[107]William W. Menzies, Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), p. 219.

as being truly Biblical. He was concerned because the conference leaders spoke of their prayers for "another Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit," while failing to give a "prominent place in the conventions to the people who have enjoyed a world-wide revival for almost a hundred years."[108] Added to this was the failure to recognize the great Pentecostal churches, publishing houses, Bible schools and colleges, and thousands of missionaries across the world.

The PFNA subsequently endorsed Rex's request for a PFNA-sponsored Congress on Evangelism. Over 100 ministers were invited as speakers or panel members to discuss more than thirty subjects. Key speakers addressed the morning and evening sessions on topics including "The Purpose of Evangelism," "Mass Evangelism," "Pioneer Evangelism in Large Cities," and "Pastor's Responsibility in Evangelism."[109]

As does the WPC, the PFNA offers a wealth of resource material regarding the Classical Pentecostal movement. While the officials in the conferences often serve as officials in major denominations, this is not always the case. Speakers are invited on their own merits rather than as representatives of specific denominations. These aspects of the conferences suggest that the taped messages are likely to do more than

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[108] R. L. Rex, "Pentecostal Evangelism Conference," Pentecostal Holiness Advocate, January 15, 1972, p. 5.

[109] Ibid., p. 6.

follow denominational lines; they may well share the attitudes, concerns, and problems of the "third force in Christendom" as it copes with the problem of maintaining identity, gaining world church acceptance, and at the same time "spreading the flame of Pentecost" across the world. The content of the messages is suggested by some of the titles, e.g., "Spiritual Impact of Twentieth Century Pentecost," "Twentieth Century Pentecostal Communion," "The Pentecostal Movement's Responsibility to the Present Day Outpouring," "Pentecostal Bonds in a Fragmented Society," and "Pentecostal Relevance to a Restless Age."[110]

Neo-Pentecostalism

A second twentieth-century Pentecostalism emerged in 1960 within historic Protestantism. Whereas Classical Pentecostalism fostered new denominations whose major distinction from historic Protestantism was a personal experience called the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost" evidenced by speaking in tongues, Neo-Pentecostalism, emphasizing the same experience, appears to be an attempt to bring about "renewal" within historic churches. It is this growing emphasis on renewal which has caused both serious self-examination among leading Protestants and alienation from Classical Pentecostals who detest the very appearance of liberalism.

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[110]R. B. Mitchell, Custodial Secretary of PFNA Minutes, personal letter containing bibliography of sermon tapes of past PFNA conventions, May 18, 1970.

John Kildahl suggested that Classical and Neo-Pentecostals are identical in basic tenets:

> They [tenets] are that glossolalia is a true gift of the Holy Spirit, and that it is "the necessary evidence that one has received the baptism of the Spirit." The major difference lies in the emotional approach, in that the neo-Pentecostalists maintain a separation between their usual church services and the meetings in which tongue-speaking is practiced, whereas Pentecostalists identify tongue-speaking with services and feel that these amount only to "tarrying"--that is, awaiting the will of God--if no one speaks forth in tongues.[111]

Donovan Bess, writer for the San Francisco Chronicle, provided an early description of Pentecost inside older denominations: "Of late, the glossolalians have been busily crossing denominational frontiers and fraternizing with lower-middle-class Pentecostals; some even claim to have invaded Roman Catholic territory."[112] Accordingly, in 1963, the year Bess was writing, Neo-Pentecostalism became a reality to be faced by Protestant Christendom. This section briefly traces this development and places in broader context what is dealt with later in greater depth.

The editor of Christian Life, Robert Walker, visited the Assemblies of God headquarters, became interested in the "Pentecostal experience," subsequently received it, and re-oriented the editorial policy of his magazine making it the "sounding-board for the present-day ministry of the Holy Spirit."[113] Myrddin Lewis' article, "Are We Missing

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[111]Kildahl, Speaking in Tongues, p. 22.

[112]Bess, "Speaking in Tongues," p. 175.

[113]Menzies, Anointed to Serve, p. 222.

Something," provided the first hint that a change in policy was pending:

> Up to this time, I have assumed that the miracles as recorded in the book of Acts were not for our day. By what sort of twist of theology I managed this, I do not know. All I know is that I have not been alone in my assumption. Except for the Pentecostal movement, the entire evangelical Christian world today has been virtually unanimous in the same assumption. I am not now saying we have been wrong, I am simply asking the question, "Are we sure--absolutely sure--that we are right?"[114]

Responses to this article were held until the June issue. Twenty-nine letters, most of which came from officials of varied denominations or seminaries, were published. Of the twenty-nine letters, five were subsumed under the label "Extremely Fallacious," eleven under "Wrong Emphasis," six under "Worthwhile," and seven under "Amen."[115] Since 1953, numerous articles on miracles, Pat Boone's testimony, and other related topics have appeared.[116]

Also, in the 1950's, a major change occurred in

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[114]Myrddin Lewis, "Are We Missing Something," Christian Life, April, 1953, p. 28.

[115]"Readers Write," Christian Life, June, 1953, pp. 4-11.

[116]Pat Boone, "There's a New World Coming," Christian Life, July, 1970, pp. 22-25. Harald Bredesen, "Awakening at Yale," Christian Life, February, 1963, pp. 32-34. Harald Bredesen, "Discovery at Hillside," Christian Life, January, 1959, pp. 16-18. V. R. Edman, "How the Holy Spirit Became Real to a Business Man," Christian Life, November, 1957, pp. 16-17. E. F. Harrison, "Theologian Looks at the Gifts of the Holy Spirit," Christian Life, June, 1964, pp. 24-26. Jean Stone, "What Is Happening Today in the Episcopal Church?" Christian Life, November, 1961, pp. 38-41. W. Wagner, "Interview with Pat Boone and His Friends,"

David du Plessis' role as a Pentecostal. Du Plessis became acquainted with Dr. John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Seminary, who, in turn, introduced him to leaders of the World Council of Churches (WCC). The warm reception accorded du Plessis led him into an extensive itinerant ministry, lecturing in universities, seminaries, and high church councils around the world. His new role among WCC leaders caused him to be viewed by those leaders as an official representative of Pentecostalism to the ecumenical world--an image seemingly not appreciated by Pentecostals. By 1958 du Plessis was disfellowshipped by most Pentecostal leaders and lost his influence in the WPC; by 1962, he had lost his ordination papers with the Assemblies of God.[117]

The founding of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) in 1953 marked yet a third significant development in the early 1950's. Demos Shakarian assisted Oral Roberts in the 1951 Los Angeles healing campaign at which over 200,000 persons attended during a fourteen day period. At this time, Shakarian shared his dream of FGBMFI with Roberts. Roberts approved, promised his support, and the two men promoted businessmen's fellowships in

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Christian Life, November, 1969, pp. 34-35. Robert Walker, "With Shoemaker and the Holy Spirit," Christian Life, October, 1960, pp. 12-14.

[117]William W. Menzies, "The Assemblies of God: 1941-1967, The Consolidation of a Revival Movement" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1968), pp. 91-92.

conjunction with the future campaigns.[118] One year after its inception, the Fellowship managed to obtain Vice-President Richard Nixon as a breakfast speaker at the Washington convention.[119] Although FGBMFI was originally organized to provide fellowship for Christian businessmen in different Pentecostal churches and proudly scheduled the outstanding healing evangelists of the day, by 1963 the Fellowship was highly Neo-Pentecostal. That year the FGBMFI initiated a series of seminars conducted by a cross section of its leaders in the various denominations including Dennis Bennett, Harald Bredesen, Howard Ervin, and Robert Rice.[120]

Neo-Pentecostalism thus appears to have evolved out of changing relationships within Classical Pentecostalism. It was not, however, until the early 1960's that the penetration of Pentecostalism into historic Christian denominations gained public attention. The first public notice of Neo-Pentecostalism came in 1960 when the Reverend Dennis Bennett, Pastor of the 2500 member St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, reported to his congregation, "'the Holy Spirit did take my lips and tongue and form a new and powerful language of praise and prayer that I myself could not

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[118]Demos Shakarian, "How Our Fellowship Came into Being," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, February, 1953, p. 3.

[119]Richard Nixon, "The Minds and Hearts and Souls of Men," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, September 2, 1954, p. 4.

[120]Stagg, Hinson, and Oates, Glossolalia, p. 13.

understand. . . . '"[121] This event precipitated widespread reactions, and by 1964 nearly every "large Protestant organization, including the mission boards, had had episodes involving glossolalia."[122] Numerous organizations, magazines, itinerant ministries, and sermon-tape distributors have emerged since Bennett's announcement to propagate Pentecostalism in historic denominations. The major portion of this dissertation later focuses on individuals and organizations representative of these efforts.

Catholic Pentecostalism

Catholic Pentecostalism, while in many respects a part of earlier stages of Pentecostalism, has characteristics which justify making it a separate study. Stressing the importance of evaluating Catholic Pentecostalism separately from the culture of Classical Pentecostalism, Kevin Ranaghan declared, "We are seeking it, of course, as the people we are, as Catholic people, as products of the Catholic Christian tradition and culture."[123] He added that "it would . . . be a grave mistake, a serious error, to think that in receiving the baptism in the Spirit one had or ought to seek to import classical pentecostal culture into the charismatic renewal in

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[121]Bess, "Speaking in Tongues," p. 173.

[122]Kildahl, Speaking in Tongues, p. 21.

[123]Kevin M. Ranaghan, "Catholics and Pentecostals Meet in the Spirit," in As the Spirit Leads Us, ed. by Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan (New York: Paulist Press, 1971), p. 128.

the Roman Catholic Church."[124] The issues which distinguish Protestantism from Catholicism, however, extended beyond cultural differences and involved, as Ranaghan observed, complex "dogmatic differences": "They are questions which carry with them the weight and suffering of the Reformation and Counter Reformation in the history of Western Christianity."[125] While most Catholic Pentecostal activity has been within Roman Catholicism, several thoughtful articles have appeared recently within the Orthodox branch. This brief assessment of Catholic Pentecostalism attempts, therefore, to reveal the direction of Pentecostal thought and activity within both branches.

By May, 1972, The Logos, "A Journal for the Promotion of Orthodox Awakening,"[126] had carried seven articles on the Charismatic revival to help the reader gain an "accurate picture" of the movement within the Orthodox church.[127] The editor of The Logos confessed that it had long been his hope that the Orthodox Catholic Church, which he believed to be the "Mother church of Christendom" and which "has kept the Faith in its original apostolic purity," would create the next chapter in Christian history.[128] To his astonishment, however,

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[124]Ibid., pp. 128-129. [125]Ibid., p. 137.

[126]"The Logos," The Logos, V (May, 1972), 2.

[127]Eusebius A. Stephanou, "How 'Grace' Displaced the Holy Spirit in Roman and Protestant Theology," The Logos, V (May, 1972), 14.

[128]Eusebius A. Stephanou, "The Mighty Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Our Day," The Logos, V (January, 1972), 12.

the "'third force in Christendom is not orthodoxy but rather the new Christian movement known as the 'charismatic revival.'"[129] Eusebius Stephanou, an Orthodox priest and editor, contended that his church had been "dismally remiss" in letting the Spirit operate in the Orthodox church and now Orthodox Catholicism was "taking a back seat as a casual observer" of the Charismatic revival.[130] After examining the theological implications of the Charismatic movement, he concluded that its "underlying theology to a great extent was Orthodox, especially concerning the Holy Spirit."[131] Because of its theological relevance, he believed that the Charismatic revival was "the greatest challenge that the Orthodox Catholic Church had ever been confronted with in all her history."[132]

While the Orthodox Catholic Church is feeling the impact of the Pentecostal movement in a limited manner, the Roman church appears to report greater member participation. Edward O'Connor, a member of the theology department at the University of Notre Dame, cited the movement's inception date and place as Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, February, 1967. This beginning involved some twenty members of the faculty and student body who "experienced a profound religious

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[129]Eusebius A. Stephanou, "The Third Force in Christendom," The Logos, V (February, 1972), 17.

[130]Ibid., p. 19.

[131]Stephanou, "How 'Grace' Displaced," p. 15.

[132]Ibid.

transformation in their lives."[133] Perhaps partially due to close interpersonal relationships between faculty members and students in the various schools, Catholic Pentecostalism quickly spread to the University of Notre Dame, the Catholic student parish of Michigan State University, the University of Iowa, and the University of Portland (Oregon).[134]

As with all stages of Pentecostalism, an accurate assessment of numbers is impossible. O'Connor estimated that in October, 1970, there were more than 203 Catholic prayer groups with an average of fifty group members each. Responses to his nationwide survey indicated more than 10,000 Pentecostal Catholics in the United States at that time.[135] While the statistical procedures used to reach this estimate are questionable, the registration of 1,279 persons at the National Convention on Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church in June, 1970, indicated rapidly increasing involvement.[136] This estimate is further supported by the registration at more recent conferences. Each of three regional conferences for leaders in the Catholic Pentecostal movement drew "more than 1,000 for training, reflection, and outreach strategy, and at least 8,000 are expected to attend the

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[133]Edward D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1971), p. 15.

[134]Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[135]Ibid., p. 18.

[136]Ibid.

national conference at Notre Dame in June."[137] The same writer suggested that the number of people involved in the Catholic Pentecostal movement "may be approaching 100,000."[138]

John Mackay, former President of Princeton Seminary, past President of the World Presbyterian Alliance, and Moderator of the United Presbyterian General Assembly, believes Pentecostalism to be the force making the "greatest contribution to the current Christian revival around the globe."[139] He noted particularly, "A Neo-Pentecostalism has lately appeared that includes many thousands of Roman Catholics."[140] Interpreting this movement, he suggested, "There is light on the horizon. An evangelical renaissance is becoming visible along the Christian highway from the frontiers of the sects to the high places of the Roman Catholic communion."[141] This renaissance, he contended, appears to be "one of the most strategic moments in the church's history."[142]

Official recognition of the movement came early and appeared to be tolerant but guarded. In November, 1968, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops recommended that a formal study of the movement be made by its Committee on

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[137]"Catholic Pentecostal Parish," Christianity Today, March 31, 1972, p. 34.

[138]Ibid.

[139]John A. Mackay, "Toward an Evangelical Renaissance," Christianity Today, February 4, 1972, p. 8.

[140]Ibid.

[141]Ibid.

[142]Ibid.

Doctrine. Finding the movement "theologically sound with a strong biblical basis," the committee concluded that it was too early to draw definite conclusions regarding the movement but that presently "it should not be inhibited but allowed to develop" with "proper supervision."[143] Showing "no signs of abating," the Catholic Pentecostal movement has been granted a historic "first."[144] The Community of the Holy Spirit, a Catholic Pentecostal parish in St. Charles, Illinois, has been set up by Bishop Arthur J. O'Neill of Rockford and is being pastored by the Reverend William F. McMahon, "who had the charismatic experience during a prayer conference at Oral Roberts University in 1969."[145]

Pentecostalism in the Catholic Church appears to be significant on two fronts--theologically and ecumenically. One Orthodox Catholic writer asserted that the Charismatic movement means two things: (1) to the Roman Catholic or Protestant, it represents a rediscovery of the Holy Spirit and (2) for the Orthodox Christian, it can be interpreted as an expression of what always was there but had either been forgotten (due to Western theological influences) or what remained dormant and unexpressed.[146] Stephanou appears to be saying that if others have reason to fear, it is because the

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[143] O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement, p. 293.

[144] "Catholic Pentecostal Parish," p. 34.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Stephanou, "How 'Grace' Displaced," p. 15.

errors of their doctrinal positions are about to be corrected. The Orthodox Christians are right in doctrine but need to be awakened to the spiritual reality and fullness of their doctrine.

If Orthodox Catholics see the return to orthodoxy, some Roman Catholics see a link to bridge what until recently "many Christians would have regarded . . . as . . . opposite extremes of the Christian spectrum."[147] Roman Catholic Pentecostals boast that their brand of Pentecost is a theologian-dominated one. In an attempt to resist the revivalistic characteristics of Classical Pentecostals, Catholic Pentecostals have worked out programs of initiatory instruction and growth seminars. One writer explained that "interested people are not casually introduced to the Pentecostal spirituality. Persons not willing to receive this instruction are not encouraged to embrace it."[148] Roman Catholic Pentecostals are determined to keep the "renewal" within their church and to keep Pentecostal Catholicism free of the "cultural baggage" which has evolved with Pentecostal sects and various Protestant organizations. As McDonnell said, "Catholic Pentecostalism represents a movement within the church, so much so that it cannot imagine itself being any place else.

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[147]"Editorial," One in Christ: A Catholic Ecumenical Review, April, 1971, p. 310.

[148]Kilian McDonnell, "Pentecostal Culture: Protestant and Catholic," One in Christ: A Catholic Ecumenical Review, April, 1971, p. 317.

And it is within the church that it wishes to evolve the patterns of its theological culture."[149]

The position advanced by Catholic Pentecostals suggests that Catholics may embrace Pentecostals' spirituality but not their customs, doctrines, or exegeses. The task of Catholic Pentecostals is to integrate their Pentecostal experience into their Catholic experience. Their success in doing so is suggested by the fact that no priests have been removed from their parishes and none have been suspended for their involvement in Catholic Pentecostalism as has happened with some frequency in the historic Protestant churches.[150] McDonnell suggested that Catholic Pentecostalism has met considerably less resistance than has been experienced in the historic Protestant churches partly because "the concept of the 'wondrous' is more at home in Catholicism than in mainstream Protestantism."[151] There are, however, some who are critical of the movement, because they feel it originated outside the Catholic Church and flourished in various denominational forms. To these critics, Ranaghan said (1) the Catholic movement was started by Catholics, (2) the Catholic Church has no monopoly on the Holy Spirit, (3) for Catholics, the Pentecostal experience is the central element of the whole life of worship and sacrament, and (4) the Baptism of

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[149] Ibid., p. 318.

[150] McDonnell, Catholic Pentecostalism, p. 32.

[151] Ibid.

the Holy Spirit need not be identified with cultural forms of religious experience common in Pentecostal denominations.[152]

Advocates and opponents of Catholic Pentecostalism are vocal and strategic. Catholic Bishops, wrote McDonnell, are mystified, cautious, and basically unhappy about Catholic Pentecostalism. Because they lack adequate information, they have not attempted to stem the movement. This basic lack of information is supplemented by several difficulties which make an objective evaluation of Pentecostalism rather difficult: (1) there is a dearth of critical studies focusing on Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism; (2) the public image of Pentecostalism is so bad that Pentecostals seldom get a fair hearing; (3) there is an intense fear of religious experience stemming from a too-radical rejection of Pietism; (4) "speaking in tongues," "prophesying," and "interpretation of tongues" are not socially acceptable norms of behavior; (5) the ultimate "spiritual reality" of Charismatic experiences eludes methods of rational, psychological, sociological, and economic inquiry; (6) the history of divisiveness and fragmentation associated with Pentecostalism has resulted in alarm, resistance, and open opposition; (7) ecclesiastical authorities often overreact when they are forced to deal with a dimension which knows no jurisdictional boundaries, which cannot be officially regulated, preprogrammed, preplanned,

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[152]Kevin Ranaghan and Dorothy Ranaghan, Catholic Pentecostals (New York: Paulist Press, 1969), pp. 153-56.

or prestructured.[153]

Conclusion

This chapter examined the development of Pre-Twentieth-Century, Classical, Neo-, and Catholic Pentecostalism in order to describe the dynamic context out of which the Neo-Pentecostal movement emerged. Because it is identified and associated with glossolalia, Pentecostalism has (1) deep roots in Biblical history and prophecy, (2) a degree of legitimacy in New Testament exegesis, and (3) historical precedence throughout history.

Classical Pentecostalism is especially relevant to the study of Neo-Pentecostalism. Formulating during the turbulent period between 1865 and 1900, Classical Pentecostalism received strong initiation through Parham's ministry and spread rapidly from the Azusa Street Mission. Efforts to indoctrinate participants were followed by fragmentation over four controversies, "finished work," antidenominationalism, Pentecostal unitarianism, and race. Only minimal efforts toward unity or fraternization appeared prior to World War II. Following the war, however, Pentecostal leadership found acceptance among other evangelicals in the NAE and among other Pentecostals in the WPC and PFNA. Only limited involvement, however, evolved on local levels. By 1950 Pentecostalism had spawned a worldwide healing-deliverance

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[153]Kilian McDonnell, "Holy Spirit and Pentecostalism," Commonweal, November 8, 1968, p. 203.

movement, and by 1960 a new stage of Pentecostalism had emerged.

The decade of the 1960's witnessed acceptance of Pentecostalism among persons of virtually all denominations and official recognition but guarded endorsement. The emergence of Pentecostalism within historic Protestant denominations is called Neo-Pentecostalism. Especially significant, although surprising to Pentecostals as well as Catholics, has been the recent emergence of the movement within Catholic churches. Having encouraged close supervision and training of participants, Roman Catholics appear to have won greater participation than Orthodox Catholicism. Since Pentecost within Catholic churches has become a focus of its own, this study looks at Neo-Pentecostalism within Protestant Christianity.

This new emergence of Pentecostalism was, however, something more than a Pentecostal awakening. Arthur Link noted that the return to religion during and following World War II constituted one of the most "significant social and intellectual movements in the United States. . . ."[154] Prosperity after 1939, he suggested, was partially reponsible. Also, millions of American families filed into churches during the war to pray for the safe return of sons. Perhaps more significant, however, was the metamorphosis from a

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[154]Arthur S. Link and William B. Catton, American Epoch: A History of the United States since the 1890's (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 659.

prevailing optimism and humanism to a profound despair of man and his works. Destruction, inhumanity, and fear of future annihilation "weakened public faith in automatic human progress and caused millions of Americans to seek understanding and hope in religion."[155] It is interesting, in light of this study, that Link would be impressed with the apparent victory of ecumenism over the "vague national religion" that appeared for a while to be outstripping and eroding the three traditional faiths. His endorsement of the prediction that ecumenism might become one of the most important Christian developments since Pentecost, fails to take into consideration the rise of Pentecost at the very moment in which confidence in the ecumenical movement was at its lowest ebb.[156]

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[155] Ibid., p. 660.

[156] Ibid., p. 663.

CHAPTER III

NEO-PENTECOSTALISM EMERGES

Dennis Bennett captured nationwide attention through Time, Newsweek, and television coverage when he announced to St. Mark's Episcopal Church that he had become Pentecostal, an announcement which generally marks the inception of the Neo-Pentecostal movement.[1] Bennett's announcement brought other confessions revealing that virtually every historic denomination contained pastors and laity who were secretly speaking in "other tongues." This sudden recognition of a new Pentecost in historic churches gained significance through prophetic messages by America's leading theologians and revivalists. Billy Graham said to a Sacramento, California, ministerium:

> I wonder if one of the secrets of Pentecostalism cannot be learned by our mainstream churches as the great emphasis on the Holy Spirit. . . . I want to tell you that we need to accept, we need to get something. Give it any terminology you want, but we do not have the same power the early church had. They had the filling of the Holy Spirit.[2]

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[1]John L. Sherrill, They Speak with Other Tongues (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 64.

[2]Billy Graham, "Be Baptized with the Holy Spirit," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, January, 1962, p. 20.

Carl Henry, President of the Reformed Church in America, added that traditional Christianity has been in retreat for more than a century. The church is, he asserted, as important today and as helpless before the world, as the disciples were before the Roman pagan world of the first century. With this emptiness in mind, he called for the church to "seek anew the power and blessing of the Holy Spirit. . . . "[3]

By 1961 the Neo-Pentecostal movement was a reality. The Charismatic revival was not only in the Pentecostal denominations, but was flexing its muscles within historic Protestantism. Chandler Sterling, Bishop of Montana, told the Episcopal Diocese of Oregon that they "too often were the hiding place for theological bones--all dried out with no nourishment in them."[4] He added that he was "convinced another Pentecost is coming and it's already started" if the people would just get the "organizational church" out of the spotlight.[5] This message followed just one year after Bennett's historic announcement.

The Neo-Pentecostal movement emerged as a result of certain shifts in the reticulate network of the Classical Pentecostal movement. This chapter examines (1) two

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[3]"Dr. Carl Henry in His State of Religion Report at Synod, 1961," Christian Herald, June 2, 1961, p. 12.

[4]"'Pentecost' Coming," The Portland Oregonian, April 12, 1961, quoted in "Bishop Jolts Arid Church," Trinity, I (Trinitytide, 1961), 13.

[5]Ibid.

persuasive forces responsible for the shift in relationships and (2) the new reticulate network which emerged as a synthesis of the two persuasions. This discussion shows that new relationships between the Healing-Deliverance (HD) movement and the Ecumenical movement (EM) emerged as result of the rhetorical adaptations of certain leaders and that changes in the relationships of cell units within the movement's reticulate structure strongly influenced future rhetorical patterns and strategies. Examination of these two Pentecostal persuasions, operant during the 1950's, specifically recognizes participant growth in power and pride, elucidates the structural change in the movement, and facilitates monitoring the effectiveness of the Gerlach and Hine model for explaining the movement's emergence.

Framework for Description of Neo-Pentecostal Emergence

Gerlach and Hine contend that five factors must be present and interacting for a collectivity to be called a movement.[6] The factor most significant to this study is movement infrastructure. Movement organization can be characterized as a decentralized, segmented, and reticulate network.[7] Contrary to often held beliefs that a movement consists either of a bureaucracy (a small elite group) or a single leader, Gerlach and Hine found a third type of

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[6] Supra, no. 61, p. 31.

[7] Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change, p. 33.

structure.[8] Basing their model on studies of Pentecostalism and the Black Power movement, they determined that movements are decentralized in terms of decision-making and regulatory functions, segmented in terms of social structure, and reticulated in terms of the network which unites multitudes of autonomous parts into a polycephalous whole.[9] The numerous segments of the movement develop their individual interests and styles of propagation. Each does its own thing, sets its own goals, and acquires its own means. Constant change in leadership and cellular rearrangement in the network, say Gerlach and Hine, adds a dynamism to movements which can be confusing to outside observers.

Reticulate is used in the model to describe an organization that is "web-like, resembling a network--with crossing and intercrossing lines."[10] The linkages between cells, they suggest, are both personal and organizational ties of various types operant at different levels of organization. They list among these kinds of linkages, personal ties among members, personal ties among leaders, traveling evangelists, ritual activities, national or regional associations, ideological linkages, and extra-movement linkages.[11] These are the links through which recruitment to the movement constantly occurs. In a decentralized, segmented organization, the importance of the linkages which tie the whole

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[8] Ibid., p. 34.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., p. 55.

[11] Ibid., p. 56.

into a network cannot be overemphasized. What Gerlach and Hine failed to observe, however, was that many cells or units often become minimovements within the mother movement and occasionally emerge into competing movements.

The model itself identifies four basic, interrelated means by which segmentation in movement organization occurs: (1) an ideology of personal access to power; (2) preexisting social, personal, or geographical cleavages; (3) competition; and (4) ideological difference.[12] Gerlach and Hine focus on a range of different types of Pentecostalism along a continuum extending from Classical Pentecostal denominations at one extreme, to hidden (Pentecostals within historic denominations) at the other. Between these extremes, they cite independent Pentecostal groups of varying size and duration along the center section.[13] This model, while adequately describing the Classical Pentecostal movement and a few fringe groups within historic Protestantism, does not, however, adequately explain how Neo-Pentecostalism emerged out of Classical Pentecostalism and became a movement in its own right. To explain this phenomenon, one must consider the rhetorical strategies adopted by different participants or cell units.

The Bettinghaus social action construct, because of its somewhat chronological flow from inception to evaluation,

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[12] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[13] Ibid., p. 4.

has been selected to assist in this stage of analysis. By combining the Gerlach and Hine description of the reticulate nature of movements with the Bettinghaus emphasis that an entire matrix of events operate during the prior to movement inception, one becomes more sensitive to the changes or shifts in movement cell relationship as choices with persuasive implications.[14] During the early 1950's two major collectivities, or units, emerged from the Classical Pentecostal tradition. The reticulate relationships of these two units, the HD movement and the EM, eventually provided the framework for the Neo-Pentecostal movement, the inception of which we have already associated with Bennett's confession and resignation.

Healing-Deliverance (HD) Movement

Naming Oral Roberts, Tommy Hicks, and T. L. Osborn as typical of the "scores of such evangelists" who "have arisen during the past decade and half," Nichol cited three premises generally followed in the HD ministry: (1) divine healing was the chief cause for which Christ received the attention of the nation of his day; (2) the Great Commission, given to the church by Christ, included the command to heal the sick; and (3) the healing revival is the God-appointed means to reach the unsaved masses.[15] Two organizations will

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[14]Bettinghaus, Persuasive Communication, p. 261.

[15]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 222.

suffice for examination: The Voice of Healing (TVH) Fellowship served as a base for many of the best-known HD evangelists including those listed above, and the Oral Roberts Evangelistic Association quickly became the largest and best-known organization of its kind. Although both organizations originated within the Classical Pentecostal tradition, the strategic decisions necessary for maintenance and propagation of their interests soon created new reticulate relationships out of which emerged Neo-Pentecostalism.

The Voice of Healing (TVH)

Examination of TVH shows how one unit within the Classical Pentecostal movement primarily refocused the efforts of various independent and denominational Pentecostals. A decision to align one's ministry with TVH eventually brought a severing of denominational relationship and closer relationship with the many "unity" or independent "Full Gospel" Pentecostals on a lower socioeconomic level. As with other units examined in this chapter, the rhetorical decisions were affected by the reticulate structure of the movement and effected subsequent changes in the structure of the movement. The origin, purpose, justification, and methodology of TVH enables us to see the kinds of rhetorical adaptations this unit made and the subsequent consequences of these decisions for TVH and the Pentecostal movements.

The Voice of Healing (TVH) magazine was first published for the purpose of promoting the HD campaigns of

Evangelist William Branham. During Branham's extended illness in 1948, however, Jack Moore and Gordon Lindsay accepted responsibility for the magazine, and the policy of TVH was subsequently "enlarged to cover the entire field of the last day sign-gift ministries."[16] The sense of urgency associated with this effort was expressed at the TVH convention in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1951. The audience was told that in the case of an all-out war or national emergency, the mass meetings might be curtailed. Churches, they added, must become personally involved in the HD ministry on the local level. The HD ministry, it was declared, had "proven to be the Bible way to reach the community for God. . . . Truly the ministry of healing and miracles is the Bible way to evangelize the world in our time."[17]

Whereas TVH began as one segmented cell within the Pentecostal movement, it became a focal point for larger numbers of HD evangelists; the fellowship itself became a large collectivity, reticulate in personnel, structure, and ideology. In addition to regional rallies and massive Voice of Healing conventions which spotlighted well-known HD evangelists, Lindsay used TVH as a major means of propagating the full-gospel message. This decision brought expansion to the fellowship and change among the relationships of the various

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[16]Gordon Lindsay, "Special Message from the Editor," The Voice of Healing, March, 1949, p. 2.

[17]Gordon Lindsay, "The Voice of Healing Convention--1951," The Voice of Healing, December, 1951, p. 9.

units within the Pentecostal movement. In one year TVH grew from a small paper to a magazine (16 pages) with an approximate circulation of 30,000 copies per month.[18] In 1952 Lindsay announced that TVH had come to be regarded as the main voice of the worldwide salvation healing revival.[19] It served to (1) provide documentation (in word and picture) of miracles in the crusades; (2) provide a rallying point, a defense, and by building confidence, make the way easier for evangelists; (3) promote unity among persons of all denominations; (4) provide emphasis on world evangelization by healing and miracles; and (5) provide free literature in foreign fields to the poor, the sick, and the mission workers.[20] Lindsay often remarked that one major weakness of previous revival periods was that evangelists such as McPherson, Price, Bosworth, Woodworth, Etter, Wigglesworth, and Richey had " . . . stood alone; their efforts were never united; and for a time, Divine Healing as a ministry was almost blanked out."[21] TVH, however, overcame this limitation by providing (1) regular reports and itineraries of the major HD evangelists, (2) occasional guest articles from

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[18]Lindsay, "Special Message," p. 2.

[19]Gordon Lindsay, "The Story of the Voice of Healing: Growth and Development of the Voice of the World-Wide Salvation-Healing Revival," The Voice of Healing, October, 1952, pp. 2-3.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Anna Jeanne Moore, "Convention Diary," The Voice of Healing, February, 1952, p. 2.

evangelists not associated with TVH, (3) essays by Gordon Lindsay on contemporary crises, and (4) testimonies of healings from readers and followers of the various evangelists. The major theme of TVH is summarized best by Rev. H. E. Hardt, the major speaker for the 1951 convention. Many hobby horses, he suggested, have been used in past pursuits for revival and church attendance before the ministry of deliverance was discovered to be the right way.

> Wildly-calculated sermons on the Anti-Christ, musical carnivals, and child preachers were named, which were all good in their day. But this day, he asserted, was the hour of deliverance, and no other message would suffice. In his meetings, he said, around 50% of the persons were healed in their seats. This, he said, resulted from the strength of faith in the preached word.[22]

While increased attention was drawn to the Pentecostal movement as a result of TVH fellowship, the kind of attention drawn and the way it was drawn had definite consequences for the reticulate structure of the movement. Lindsay's control of a popular deliverance magazine soon catapulted him to a position of power among the evangelists. Continual assurance was required by denominations, evangelists, and followers that the fellowship was not attempting to organize a new superchurch. In response to expressed fears, Lindsay reiterated that the purpose of TVH was "not to form another organization or to discount existing organizations, or to fuse them, but to be a liaison between

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[22] Ibid.

all."[23]

The fears of a vast church organization are also addressed in two articles in TVH. In one Lindsay asserted that new movements are the providential "breath of God moving over lands and people."[24] As the organized churches decline in their dynamic witness, God turns from them. Because "Full Gospel" pastors were sensitive to God's movement in the HD campaigns, however, a new church organization was not really necessary.[25] Again, in an interview with Branham, Lindsay pursued the question of organization. Branham's reply suggested that because the end-time was near, there would not be enough time for another successful organization. Today, God is dealing especially with individuals, Lindsay concluded, "calling them out from every church, the true in heart, getting them ready to go to the promised land, by looking upon the signs and wonders of this latter-day ministry that is going forth now."[26]

As TVH continued to grow and adjust to the apprehensions of the Pentecostal movement at large, it was inevitable that decisions would have to be made regarding which ministers should be allowed to participate in the fellowship.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Gordon Lindsay, "Do We Need a New Church Organization," The Voice of Healing, October, 1951, p. 4.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Gordon Lindsay, "An Interview with William Branham," The Voice of Healing, October, 1951, p. 8.

Two policies had definite effect on the development of this unit within the Pentecostal movement. First, evangelists who published their own magazines would not receive publicity in TVH. Second, a convention statement acknowledged that difficulties were bound to arise, but when it becomes evident "that a man's ministry is seriously in question, . . . he should not receive further publicity" in TVH.[27]

During the middle 1950's many of the ministers associated with TVH developed rather successful crusade ministries and won many adherents among those of low to middle socioeconomic levels. By the early 1960's, however, most were losing their crowds and finances because of extremisms.[28] By 1965 few evangelists were sending materials to Lindsay, and he turned his attention toward "greener pastures" to be found in the emerging "Charismatic" or Neo-Pentecostal movement. This change in emphasis involved (1) changing the magazine's name, (2) opening a school for training "Charismatic" teachers and ministers, and (3) sponsoring of a large number of Charismatic clinics and seminars throughout the country.[29] Many Charismatic ministers, some of whom are discussed in Chapter IV, have participated in these and similar "Charismatic" activities.[30]

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[27]Lindsay, "Convention--1951," p. 8.

[28]Allen Beck, Director, Christ for the Nations Institute, Dallas, Tex., April 5, 1972. (Taped)

[29]Ibid. [30]Infra, pp. 173-182.

Oral Roberts

Perhaps, said one critic, the last "meteor" to flash across the religious scene is Oral Roberts, "a preacher from Oklahoma who in 9 years has emerged out of complete obsurity to become the most advertised and successful evangelist and spiritual healer of our times."[31] By 1955 nearly two million persons in the U.S. and South Africa had been exposed to Roberts' ministry. He had conducted twenty crusades; appeared regularly on 223 radio and ninety-eight TV stations in the U.S.; and published book, tracts, and two magazines with a total circulation of 5,000,000.[32] An examination of Roberts' early ministry revealed an alternate strategy among HD evangelists which helped to extend the reticulate structure of Pentecostalism into middle and upper socioeconomic levels.

Roberts' success, though based in talent, beliefs, and motivation, strongly relates to his adaptation to changing circumstances. Mann explained that Roberts' success in drawing 15,000 to 16,000 persons to his tent meetings could be "ascribed to his great skill in oratory and preaching and to the results of his healing ministry."[33] Contrasting Roberts with Billy Graham and others, Mann suggested

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[31]W. E. Mann, "What about Oral Roberts--I: Supersalesman of FAITH Healing," The Christian Century, September 5, 1956, p. 1018.

[32]"Deadline from God," Time, July 11, 1955, p. 41.

[33]Mann, "What about Oral Roberts," p. 1018.

that Roberts' homiletical talent goes "far beyond that of most fundamentalist preachers, and his healing ministry seems to be deeply rooted in a burning desire to be a channel for God."[34] But Roberts' success is the result of more than oratory and burning desire. His success is inseparably related to the success of the HD movement in the early 1950's and the Neo-Pentecostal movement in the 1960's. More specifically, his rhetorical strategies and tactics worked to the extent that they adapted to the reticulate nature of movement mechanism. As Roberts adapted his rhetoric less to Classical Pentecostals and more toward ecumenical and business interests, he was able to maintain a prominent role in contemporary Neo-Pentecostalism.

Oral Roberts' story generally begins with an early confinement to bed with tuberculosis, and as he said, "to have tuberculosis at age sixteen was a much greater threat than it would be today."[35] Roberts appears to have been convinced that his life was threatened by early death or rigid physical restriction until his sister told him that he would be healed. After attending a tent revival where an evangelist was praying for the sick, Roberts' brother, Elmer, became convinced that Oral could be healed. Elmer returned to the house and literally carried Oral to the car

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Oral Roberts, The Call: An Autobiography (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972), p. 30.

and to the tent. On the way to the tent, explains Oral, "God spoke to my heart promising to heal me and He called me to take His healing power to my generation."[36] Immediately following the evangelist's prayer, Oral began "racing back and forth on the platform shouting at the top of [his] voice, 'I am healed! I am healed! I am healed!'"[37] From that moment, said Roberts, not only was his health restored but he was freed from a life-long problem of stuttering.[38]

After twelve years of pastoring a small church, Roberts was ready to find another means to support his family rather than continue a ministry that was becoming "increasingly invalid."[39] It was not meeting the needs of the people. In desperation Oral began to fast, pray, and search the Scriptures. Before long he felt he was ready to stake his future on the results of one large deliverance rally in a city-owned auditorium in Enid, Oklahoma. Looking back over twenty-five years of ministry, Roberts believes it was the decision made that day which ultimately took him to all continents and most of the nations of the world. It was all decided, he said, "by the $163.03 given by the twelve hundred people who came to that service," and "by the God of

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[36] Ibid., p. 34.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 38.

Heaven who chose to raise up a ministry to recapture for the church the healing Jesus."[40] Roberts' purpose during the early 1950's was to awaken the world to personal acknowledgement and acceptance of a deliverance ideology: "Liberation from demon power, from sickness and disease and their very cause: sin, is the blessed life that Jesus Christ offers this generation. His mission is the same in every age and to every race: deliverance."[41] On another occasion, he asserted, "I have not deviated from preaching Bible deliverance. . . . "[42] To Oral, God was not an abstract being, but rather a "living reality who sets the human being free, makes him whole, illuminates his mind and establishes fellowship and direct contact with him."[43]

Several writers, including Oral's friend and business associate, Lee Braxton, have assessed Roberts' success. Roberts, said Braxton, is "our champion, the man God has raised up for these days to bring the message of Bible Deliverance to the people."[44] Waxing eloquent, Braxton announced that Roberts was "our Faith Champion," "our point

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[40] Ibid., p. 44.

[41] Oral Roberts, "The Valley of the Tombs," Healing Waters, March, 1949, p. 10.

[42] Oral Roberts, "Fully Preaching the Full Gospel," Healing Waters, November, 1954, p. 17.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Lee Braxton, "What's the Secret behind Oral Roberts' Success," Healing Waters, November, 1951, p. 16.

of contact champion," "our Faith-Image Champion," "our champion of Right Believing," "our Faith and Fear champion" and, finally, he is "God's champion. God is using him to bring Faith, Hope, and Deliverance to the multitudes."[45] Mann viewed Roberts' early message as "salvation largely divorced from any social ethic and thoroughly puritan in its morality."[46] It is the idea, he continued, that Christianity involves healing of the body and the emotions as well as salvation of the soul. Destined to mobilize faith in a loving and healing God among the unlearned masses, Roberts, Mann predicted, would come to recognize the limitations of the Pentecostal tradition. He was already a "figure to reckon with in America's religious life. . . . "[47]

Roberts' ministry emerged out of a small Pentecostal Holiness church in Enid, Oklahoma. After catapulting into the national HD scene, Roberts maintained close silent ties with his denomination. His crusade, however, were jointly sponsored by "Full Gospel" churches of various denominations. Along with TVH, Roberts became one Pentecostal unit among many. He was for many years a minister of a Pentecostal denomination but soon received sponsorship from many denominations. In addition, he wrote occasional articles for TVH and other HD magazines. Still more important

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Mann, "What about Oral Roberts," p. 1019.

[47] Ibid.

was his relationship with the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) which he helped establish and for which he has served as a major speaker in every national or international convention since its inception in 1952. This new relationship strengthened his association considerably with persons in middle to upper socioeconomic levels.

The position of Roberts' ministry within the reticulate structure of the movement had an effect upon his rhetorical stragegy and tactics. Careful attention, for example, was directed to the question of Roberts' income. Braxton explained that Roberts was not a wealthy man and did not desire to accumulate riches. Healing Waters, Roberts' evangelistic association, was a nonprofit religious corporation set up under a trust to be used to support retired ministers of several denominations if Roberts should die or the corporation dissolve. Careful attention was also given to show Roberts' concern to "get converts to agree to unite with some church, especially Full Gospel churches."[48] The significance of this adaptation was made evident when Roberts announced his decision to return to the United Methodist Church in 1968, an announcement followed by a loss of 22 percent in revenue. This loss, believed by many to

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[48]Braxton, "What's the Secret," p. 16.

[49]Al Bush, President of Oral Roberts Evangelistic Association, personal interview, Tulsa, Okla., August 17, 1971.

moneys withheld by Classical Pentecostals, was, however, almost entirely regained within nine months.[49]

Finally, Roberts' adaptation to the reticulate nature of the movement is seen in a third meeting between Roberts and a group of "full gospel" businessmen who had been meeting in conjunction with Roberts' California crusades. The highlight of the meeting, the editor reported, was a message by Roberts concerning how "God has undertaken in the business end of Brother Roberts' work for God. He stressed the importance . . . of doing business in God's way."[50] An organized group of full gospel businessmen could be a real power for God in many fields, Roberts suggested, and proceeded to encourage those present to take steps to make such an organization a reality. In this suggestion may be seen Roberts' realization that appeals congruent with business interests offered an alternative to those primarily identified with Pentecostal denominations and Christians of low socioeconomic status.

By 1961 the marriage between the HD evangelists and Classical Pentecostal leaders had ended. The "Salvation-Healing campaigns," said Brumback, an Assemblies of God historian, " . . . were exploited in many cases by men with selfish aims."[51] Their extreme egotism, arrogance,

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[50]"Full Gospel Business Men of America Start New National Association," Healing Waters, January, 1952, p. 12.

[51]Carl Brumback, Suddenly . . . from Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), p. 333.

extravagant claims, disparagement of the "feeble efforts" of the ministers and missionaries, lack of self-denial, and at times their "outright racketeering caused many pastors and congregations to suffer a severe 'backwash' of public opinion."[52] Brumback suggested that in addition to the "sins" listed above, the healing crusades often featured healing of the body more than salvation of the soul and the "prosperity" teaching that gain is an unmistakable sign of godliness. Their own unwise actions "have just about eliminated their own following."[53]

On this same issue Donald Gee, editor of Pentecost, contended that scandals produced by the popular HD campaigns require of Pentecostal leadership all the courage, wisdom, and humility that God can give to cleanse them away. "What ought to be our glory," continued Gee, "has become our shame. . . . One of the greatest sins has been the gross exaggeration and distortion."[54] These statements suggest an ever-widening gulf between HD evangelists and the Classical Pentecostal churches. As "alienation" increased among these units, however, "attraction" was increased between the HD ministry and other cell units.

TVH and Oral Roberts demonstrated two outcomes of

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[52]Ibid., p. 334.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Donald Gee, "The Value of the Supernatural," Pentecost, December, 1962-February, 1963, p. 17.

early efforts to extend Classical Pentecostalism. For Gordon Lindsay and TVH, the 1950's were times of both triumph and disappointment. Together, Lindsay and those with whom he associated saw Pentecostalism give birth to a widespread HD ministry with large numbers of ministers and laity united by an informal organization or "fellowship." As TVH grew in size and influence, its relationships to other Pentecostal units within the reticulate structure of the movement experienced attraction in some cases and alienation in others. Unfortunately for Lindsay, many decisions of TVH tied him and the fellowship to persons and points of emphasis which later stimulated questions regarding integrity. Consequently, as public acceptance of the HD emphasis declined, Lindsay's influence also declined. Not until late in the 1960's did he again climb to a place of influence in the new Pentecostal movement, and then his influence was minimal. Most of the ministers associated with TVH during the 1950's continued their ministries on a much smaller basis and with minimal influence.

Oral Roberts, on the other hand, successfully escaped the stigma and backwash so often identified with HD extremism. Through careful planning Roberts identified with FGBMFI at the time of its greatest expansion and penetration into historic Protestantism. In addition to continued association with businessmen and their interests, he was able to continue successful crusades, establish an ultramodern

university; transfer his ministerial papers from a Pentecostal denomination to the Methodist Church; launch a quarterly "Contact!" special series on television; build an activities center seating 10,500; appear as a guest on numerous television talk shows; obtain nationwide television, radio, magazine, and newspaper publicity by sending two successive basketball teams to national invitational tournaments; and receive an ever-increasing number of invitations to speak in large business, religion, and government functions. When asked how Roberts escaped stigma and backwash from HD extremism, Lee Braxton explained that Roberts did three things: (1) maintained a "straight-line moral life," (2) employed qualified and dedicated employees, (3) sought competent counsel in legal and economic matters.[55]

Ecumenical Movement (EM)

While HD ministries were emerging from the Pentecostal movement, efforts toward Pentecostal ecumenism were developing on two other fronts: (1) a layman's business fellowship and (2) interdenominational Pentecostal fellowships. Out of these efforts toward Pentecostal unity emerged an interest in the EM within the WCC. In many cases, one individual was closely associated with two or more segmented units. For example, David du Plessis was an important figure

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[55]Lee Braxton, Chairman of the Board of Regents, ORU; Vice President of the Executive Committee, FGBMFI; personal interview, Tulsa, Okla., March 7, 1973.

in the promotion of TVH, the World Pentecostal Conference (WPC), the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (PFNA), and dialogue with the WCC. The rhetorical choices of du Plessis and others were affected by the shifting and emerging relationships of the various Pentecostal cell groups. These choices, in turn, affected the future patterns and strategies of persuasion of the movement.

Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI)

The FGBMFI, a layman's conception of ecumenism, was born out of a significant Pentecostal heritage and close association with the HD movement. Although its original concern was for laity within "Full Gospel Churches," FGBMFI eventually broadened its definition of "full gospel" to mean full gospel "Christians." Despite the currently broad conception of FGBMFI, its Pentecostal origins are readily seen in the testimony of one major figure: Demos Shakarian's testimony includes an account of an eleven-year-old Russian boy who, in 1855 while living in Armenia, prophesied "under the power of God" that great destruction would befall Armenia. Years later, at the age of 50, this man prophesied again, this time to Demos Shakarian's grandfather. The prophecy declared that "the time has come . . . to leave the country. We must get out, especially you Armenians must leave, for the blow will fall heaviest on you."[56] In 1900 the first

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[56]George H. Montgomery, "The Demos Shakarian Story as Told by Himself," Healing Waters, March, 1953, p. 6.

group of Pentecostal Armenians left their country. On June 5, 1905, Demos' grandfather, his parents, and family left for America amidst mockery. Before World War II began, the last Pentecostal Armenian had left. During the war, when the entire village was "wiped out," Demos concluded that although "the mockers and scoffers were destroyed, . . . God had moved and had spared the people who dared to believe and obey him."[57] With an intense conviction that God was blessing his efforts, Shakarian acquired wealth as a businessman and as owner of Reliance Dairy, at that time the nation's largest dairy. His acquaintance with various HD evangelists assured him that if people could be convinced to believe, then salvation, healing, and prosperity could be readily obtained.

Several events, immediately preceding the founding of FGBMFI, suggest a deep commitment to Pentecostal principles. For some time, prior to 1948, Shakarian had been musing, " . . . What would happen if we could muster a force of businessmen across the nation and around the world, unitedly working for the cause of Jesus Christ."[58] In 1948 Demos was asked to serve as financial chairman for the first Full Gospel Youth Rally. The rally was for young people from all Pentecostal churches and was conducted in Los Angeles. Demos invited 100 businessmen to have dinner with him at Knotts Berry Farm.

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[57] Ibid., p. 7.

[58] Shakarian, "How Our Fellowship," p. 3.

To his amazement, and theirs, $6,200 was raised. Following the youth rally, $5,000 was deposited in the bank. Soon a decision was made to conduct a Pentecostal rally in the Hollywood Bowl. Twenty-two thousand persons came to the rally "completely overflowing it."[59] Demos assessed the event as the greatest single victory for Pentecostal people of that area up to that time.[60] One Methodist preacher wrote, "The Methodists would not dare try it, but God and the Pentecostals did it."[61]

With this successful campaign behind him, Shakarian was asked to help sponsor the Oral Roberts campaign in Los Angeles in 1951. More than 200,000 persons attended during a sixteen-day period. During this campaign Demos expressed to Oral Roberts his concern for an organization of full gospel businessmen. Roberts replied, "It is essential we should start" and promised his support.[62] At the conclusion of the HD campaign, 200 businessmen met at Clifton's Cafeteria Upper Room and invited Roberts to speak. In Fresno, 150 men met and again Roberts was the speaker. At this meeting five men including Demos Shakarian and Lee Braxton were appointed directors. Then in Phoenix in January, 1952, more than 100 men met together. As a result of increased interest, legal aid was solicited from Attorney Paul B. Fischer. Demos, reporting

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[59]Montgomery, "The Demos Shakarian Story," p. 10.

[60]Ibid. [61]Ibid.

[62]Shakarian, "How Our Fellowship," p. 3.

on the legal counsel, said they worked until "we felt we had the very finest Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, Constitution and Doctrinal Statement humanly possible to devise."[63]

The Preamble to the Constitution of International Fellowship acknowledged that other international organizations existed, but that FGBMFI was unique in that it brought together men who were "full gospel" believers as defined in their constitution.

> The purposes for which the corporation was formed were: religious, charitable, and educational to promote, further, and maintain fellowship among men who believe the Full Gospel of the Grace of God, as taught by Jesus, as recorded in the four Gospels, and by the writers of the Epistles of the New Testament; to promote, encourage, and maintain good works by the cooperative efforts of men who believe the Full Gospel, including relief of distress and furtherance of the spread of the Full Gospel; to assist, promote and further the work of Full Gospel Missions in the United States, Canada and foreign countries; to attain its purposes by the publication of Christian literature of any and all kinds, the promotion of evangelism, the promotion and maintenance of specialized organizations for various age groups, the establishment and maintenance of means for Bible study, circulation of Full Gospel literature of all kinds and by any and all other means; to encourage personal evangelism and tract distribution; to attain its objective either by the direct efforts of itself and its affiliate local groups, or by rendering aid and assistance of all kinds to other organizations or groups; and to assist in the founding and activities of Full Gospel Churches.[64]

Ten doctrinal statements incorporated into the formal doctrinal statement were basically acceptable to all Pentecostal denominations except those classified as non-Trinitarian. That the

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[63] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[64] "Purposes of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, April, 1953, p. 15.

fellowship was also congruent with the interests of HD evangelism is indicated by Thomas Nickel's observation that HD evangelists also "have this fellowship and the movement it is being used to spearhead, as a restoration of the early church activities as recorded in the Book of Acts."[65] The following doctrinal statement appeared on the back cover page of each issue of Voice from 1952 until 1956:

> We believe in one God, Maker of all things, and being in Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
> We believe that the Son of God, Jesus Christ, became incarnate, was begotten by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, and is true God and true man.
> We believe the Bible, in its entirety, to be the inspired Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and conduct.
> We believe in the resurrection of the dead, the eternal happiness of the saved and the eternal punishment of the lost.
> We believe in personal salvation of believers, through the blood of Christ.
> We believe in sanctification by the blood of Christ; in personal holiness of heart and life, and in separation from the world.
> We believe in Divine healing, through faith, and healing is included in the Atonement.
> We believe in the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, accompanied by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives utterance (Acts 2:4), as distinct from the New Birth; and in the nine Gifts of the Spirit, listed in I Corinthians 12, as now available to believers.
> We believe in the Christian's hope, the imminent, personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ.
> We believe in intensive world-evangelism and missionary work in accordance with the Great Commission, with signs following.[66]

The titles of sermons and essays published in the first

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[65]Thomas R. Nickel, "A Concise History of Our Fellowship," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, November, 1955, p. 7.

[66]"Our Doctrinal Statement," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, February, 1953, p. 16.

volume of Voice suggested the early rhetorical appeal employed in FGBMFI adaptation to the movement's reticulate structure. G. H. Montgomery, Associate Editor of Oral Roberts' Healing Waters magazine, spoke on "God's contract with Us" at the signing of the Articles of Incorporation. God's contract with us, he said, promises God's deliverance from the enemy of sin, sickness, fear, poverty, and death.[67] Thomas Nickel, first editor of Voice, wrote, "Religion in business brings sure success";[68] likewise Lee Braxton wrote, "Business and professional men are needed to help extend Christ's kingdom. . . . They speak each other's language, . . . I feel it will serve a good purpose in providing an opportunity for fellowship between those of like faith and similar economic standing."[69] A message delivered by Jack Coe, a HD evangelist who would later face trial in Florida for "practicing medicine without a license," further suggested a warming relationship between HD evangelism and the FGBMFI.[70] At the Los Angeles Breakfast-Broadcast, Coe said, "I don't care how big or how small a business man you are . . . the Lord hath need of

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[67]George H. Montgomery, "God's Contract for Us," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, February, 1953, p. 6.

[68]Thomas R. Nickel, "Religion in Business Brings Sure Success," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, February, 1953, p. 10.

[69]Lee Braxton, "A Dream Comes True," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, February, 1953, p. 12.

[70]Gordon Lindsay, "TVH Backs Jack Coe in Historic Trial at Miami," The Voice of Healing, April, 1956, p. 5.

thee."[71]

By June, 1954, two trends were evident: (1) HD evangelism was reaching many non-Pentecostals, who were in turn finding fellowship in the FGBMFI, and (2) the interpretation of the purpose of FGBMFI was expanding to encompass Christians outside "full gospel" churches. In a small, inconspicuous corner of Voice, Nickel suggested that a need existed for the "love and unity provided by our Fellowship."[72] In the June issue, Shakarian expressed his feeling that churches of "all denominations" had done a tremendous job of reaching people for the Lord, but too many were still unsaved. This was the time, he suggested, for "spirit-filled" men to get behind their partners and their churches and "all Christian endeavors around the world. . . . "[73] An invitation to attend the Washington D.C. convention was then extended to "all businessmen, laymen and ministers of all churches."[74] Speakers to the convention included Vice President Richard M. Nixon and four HD evangelists: Branham, Coe, Roberts, and Valdez, Jr.[75]

Beginning with the May, 1955, issue of Voice, the doctrinal statement appearing at the end of each issue was replaced with a broader informal statement declaring, "Our

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[71]Jack Coe, "The Lord Hath Need of Thee," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, March, 1953, p. 5.

[72]Thomas R. Nickel, "Love and Unity Needed," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, April, 1954, p. 13.

[73]Demos Shakarian, "We Want You in Our Midst," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, June, 1954, p. 7.

[74]Ibid., p. 5. [75]Ibid.

Banner Is Love."[76] This declaration seemed broad enough to encompass all Christians:

> Satan hath raised up a banner of Hate, and Communists, the Children of darkness, all over the world, are rushing to the red flag of Death. Christ, has raised up a banner of Love, and Christians, The Children of Lights, all over the world, are uniting under the white flag of Life.[77]

The full range of the changing purpose, however, is best demonstrated in the August issue.[78] While announcing in one article that the FGBMFI would have charge of the Saturday services of the "Golden Anniversary of the Pentecostal outpouring at the Azusa Street mission in Los Angeles fifty years ago," Nickel printed in the bottom corner of the next to last page that "Vice-President C. C. Ford recently handed the editor this purpose of FGBMFI which we pass on to you: To win the lost to Christ by way of bringing the body of Christ into fellowship and into a deeper spiritual walk of life!"[79] This statement appears less threatening to potential converts attending a dinner meeting of the FGBMFI for the first time.

Although from 1955 to 1960 there was some difficulty in adapting the expanding goals of the fellowship to the originally stated purpose, by 1962 the original purpose appears to

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[76]Thomas R. Nickel, "Our Banner Is Love," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, May, 1955, p. 24.

[77]Ibid.

[78]"Pentecostal Golden Jubilee, September 16-23," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, August, 1956, p. 28.

[79]"The Purpose of FGBMFI," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, August, 1956, p. 34.

be intact but reinterpreted. The term "full gospel" was simply interpreted to refer to full-gospel Christians rather than full-gospel churches. A full-gospel Christian was any man who accepted experientially the formal Statement of Doctrine. In October, 1962, the reinterpreted purpose was published, not as a formal purpose, but an open invitation.

WE WELCOME YOUR AFFILIATION WITH FGBMFI
HERE IS OUR PURPOSE, OUR DEDICATION

> Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International welcomes YOU, and would like you to affiliate with us. This group is entering its 11th year and is experiencing a phenomenal growth. Its purpose: To bring together in love and unity Christian businessmen everywhere for fellowship and for service. We are not a denomination. We are a fellowship and have no ambition in any other direction. Your home church will be benefitted by your enthusiasm, increased dedication, and enriched spiritual life as a member of FGBMFI. The Fellowship is dedicated: (1) to bringing Full Gospel Christian men everywhere into fellowship and into love and unity; (2) to bring to the world the Full Gospel Christian message with special emphasis on the transforming power of the baptism with the Holy Spirit; and (3) its members are dedicated to place in God's service their financial resources, their lives, their time, and their abilities.[80]

FGBMFI demonstrates vividly the transition which developed among many Classical Pentecostals during the 1950's. While most were active members in Pentecostal churches, they felt a close identification with the HD ministry. The Full Gospel message, both in the church and the HD ministry, they believed, needed the support of Spirit-baptized businessmen. While at first the businessmen felt that converts should be

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[80]"We Welcome Your Affiliation with FGBMFI. Here Is Our Purpose, Our Dedication," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, October, 1962, p. 21.

channeled into "Full Gospel" churches, increased participation from historic Protestantism brought a reinterpretation of their purpose along with strategies and techniques which were perceived as nonthreatening.

Pentecostal Ecumenism vs. Protestant Ecumenism

While the FGBMFI was emerging as a layman's ecumenical force, Pentecostal denominations were also attempting an ecumenism on a fellowship basis. These efforts were discussed earlier under Pentecostal Fraternization and are discussed here only to show how merging affected the broader EM within the Protestant church (see supra, pp. 64-72). In 1947, the same year that Oral Roberts received his "call" to the HD ministry, one year before Gordon Lindsay expanded the outreach of TVH, and one year before Demos Shakarian promoted the Full Gospel Youth Rally in Los Angeles, the first WPC convened in Zurich. The theme for the conference was, "For by one Spirit we are baptized into one body" (I Cor. 12:13).[81] One year later, the PFNA met first in conjunction with the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) and again individually for a constitutional convention.[82] These conferences met, not with the hope of establishing a super Pentecostal denomination, but for the purpose of uniting in fellowship. These efforts toward self-identity enhanced self-recognition, but also

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[81] Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 208.

[82] Ibid.

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[81]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 208.

[82]Ibid.

gained the recognition of careful observers within the WCC such as Henry Van Dusen and Lesslie Newbigin.

Newbigin's examination of twentieth-century Christianity deserves particular attention.[83] Writing exactly four years after the first WPC in Zurich, Newbigin's work centered on the question, "By what is the church constituted?"[84] and calls for a reexamination of (1) the meaning of the word "church" and (2) how three religious traditions answer the central question. Protestantism, he explained, says man is incorporated into Christ by hearing and believing the Gospel, a tradition which could best be classified as message-oriented. Catholicism, he continued, presents an incorporation, by sacramental participation, into the life of the historically continuous church. The third tradition, much shorter in its historical development, sees incorporation into the church by receiving and abiding in the Holy Spirit. This third tradition Newbigin termed Pentecostal.[85] Pointing to the continual impasse which Protestantism with its message-orientation and Catholicism with its sacramental orientation confront in ecumenical debate, Newbigin commended both for seeking to be faithful to the same truth. While Protestantism and Catholicism have long sought grounds for unity, this third stream has emerged with a distinct character of its own. This stream, a persuasive force more outside than inside the EM,

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[83] Newbigin, The Household of God, p. xi.

[84] Ibid. [85] Ibid., p. 24.

he claimed, has taken an inadequate part in the theological and ecumenical encounters.[86] The answer to "By what is the church constituted?" said Newbigin, calls for input from all three traditions. The needed illumination, he added, can never be purely academic and theological. Rather, the great churches of the Catholic and Protestant traditions will have to be "humble enough to receive it in fellowship with their brethren in the various groups of the Pentecostal type with whom at present they have scarcely any fellowship."[87] Because the gulf which divides these groups from the EM is the symptom of defect on both sides, insisted Newbigin, "a resolute effort to bridge it is the next condition for further advance."[88] The fraternization phase of Classical Pentecostalism, then, appeared right on time. The unity of Classical Pentecostals and the phenomenal success of their missionary efforts arrested the attention and imagination of WCC leaders who had become disenchanted with the EM's inability to agree on the nature of the church and its role in society.

Reticulate relationships among Classical Pentecostals, layman fellowship organizations, and HD evangelists already existed and some particular rhetorical decisions served to modify these relationships. With the emergence of Pentecostal "unity" conferences alongside the EM, however, it was not long before relationships extended into "Babylon," a common name among Classical Pentecostals for "liberalized

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[86] Ibid., p. 120. [87] Ibid., p. 122. [88] Ibid.

Protestant ecumenism." Many Pentecostals could see the value of a restricted association with other Pentecostals on national and international levels. Most, however, were suspicious and often closed-minded toward any association with "nominal Protestantism" and/or Roman Catholicism. By 1961 only three Pentecostal denominations had joined the WCC, two of which were from Chile and one from Yugoslavia. To the question, " . . . Do you foresee any changes in your attitudes toward the National Council, the World Council, or the Ecumenical Movement?" Nichol said, "The responses were uniformly negative."[89] A representative from the Assemblies of God, the largest of all Pentecostal denominations in the U.S., replied, "None whatsoever as far as the U.S. Pentecostals are concerned."[90]

Distinguishing between two kinds of unity in the ranks of Christendom, (1) a visible unity consisting of denominational mergers (ecumenical) and (2) a spiritual unity which binds Christians in love (fellowship), the Assemblies of God determined in 1962 to take their stand. The General Presbyters of the Assemblies met August 29-31 to adopt a resolution which called for "All Assemblies of God ministers and churches to refrain from participating in any activity which would promote the ecumenical movement."[91] The strongly worded

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[89]Nichol, Pentecostalism, p. 221. [90]Ibid.

[91]Robert C. Cunningham, "Scriptural Unity: Editorial Comment," Pentecostal Evangel, October 7, 1962, p. 3.

resolution called the EM a "sign of the times contrary to the real Biblical doctrine of spiritual unity in the Church of Jesus Christ."[92] The intensity of the ecumenical issue was suggested by the inclusion of a major article entitled "Ecumenicity: True and False," in the same issue.[93] Thomas Zimmerman, General Superintendant of the Assemblies of God (USA), may have sounded the most forceful statement of Pentecostal-ecumenical stance in a sermon preached at the WPC in Jerusalem in 1961.

> Regardless of efforts of the WCC and the National Council of Churches who assay to call us "brethren," we are miles apart. Nor can we afford to compromise with them on our more basic, sacred, God-given, heaven-blessed position, including the infallibility of God's Word, the Virgin Birth, the atoning death of our Lord and Savior, His resurrection, and His bodily return.[94]

Gee outlined four insurmountable objections to the WCC held by Pentecostals. The first difficulty stems from the early resistance faced by Pentecostals. After being isolated for over fifty years and reacting by a counter ostracism, he suggested, "It is not easy to renew contacts and fellowship."[95] More substantive obstacles included (1) theological differences, (2) the confessed objective of the EM to achieve

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Frank M. Boyd, "Ecumenicity: True and False," Pentecostal Evangel, October 7, 1962, p. 4.

[94] Thomas F. Zimmerman, "Twentieth-Century Pentecost: A Sermon Delivered at Jerusalem during the World Pentecostal Conference," Pentecostal Evangel, August 6, 1961, p. 29.

[95] Donald Gee, "The Pentecostal Churches and the World Council of Churches," Pentecost, March-May, 1964, p. 1.

a visible, united Church on earth, and (3) the drift of the EM towards Rome.[96] The risk accompanying rhetorical decisions relevant to establishing relationships among WCC leaders was also suggested by Gee. Convinced that personal contacts and unofficial relationships could constitute the only form of unity with the EM, Gee reluctantly canceled plans to attend New Delhi as an observer in 1961 because "colleagues urged that [his] presence there would be liable to a misunderstanding that would compromise the Pentecostal Movement as a whole."[97]

In brief, the 1950's revealed two ecumenical efforts; one among Protestant churches and the other among Pentecostal churches. During their evolution both became more aware of their counterpart. As Pentecostals drew together, the attention already focused on their existence as a result of successful evangelistic and missionary efforts was greatly increased. The recognition of Pentecostal progress subsequently brought reexamination of the Protestant theology of the Holy Spirit and a new commitment to an ecumenism which would draw on the contribution of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Pentecostalism. Pentecostals, on the other hand, generally reinforced their resolutions against nominal Protestantism and expressed their suspicions regarding any Pentecostal who dared participate on an official basis with "liberal" Christianity.

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[96] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[97] Ibid.

David J. du Plessis and the WCC

We have seen that the reticulate nature of Pentecostalism affects and is affected by the rhetorical choices of communicators. The decisions made by the communicator may well enhance attraction toward one member unit and rejection by another. The decisions made affect future relationships and the future structure of the movement. Accordingly, one major decision to further modify the reticulate structure of Pentecostalism was made in 1950 by David J. du Plessis. Born in South Africa in 1916, du Plessis became convinced of the validity of Christianity through the lives of blacks converted from witchcraft and demonism to Christianity. He likes to boast that he was a little white heathen saved by the life and ministry of black Christians.[98] From 1948 to 1958, du Plessis served as Executive Secretary of the WPC. His one ambition, he explained, was "to see the entire movement united on the basis of recognition rather than by organization."[99]

When the Protestants met in 1948 to form the WCC, many suggested "this is the work of the devil. This is an attempt to form a superchurch."[100] Du Plessis could not believe God would permit Protestantism to be taken over by Satan. "Why," he asked, "should Pentecostal unity be of the Lord and Protestant unity be of the devil? Was it not the Lord who

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[98]David J. du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1970), p. 10.

[99]Ibid., p. 12. [100]Ibid., p. 13.

was moving us to unity in both movements?"[101] In 1951 he decided that God was sending him to witness to the leaders of the WCC. To his surprise, those to whom he spoke were anxious to meet a Pentecostal. One person told him, "We have been waiting for a fellow like you to come and talk to us."[102] Also, to his surprise, the more forcefully he spoke, and "the hotter he made it, the better [his] friends seemed to like it."[103] In 1961 du Plessis, summarizing his activities, recalled:

> First I attended the International Missionary Council meetings at Wellingen, Germany, in 1952. Then the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois, in 1954. After that the International Missionary Council in Ghana in 1958. Then there was the Presbyterian and Reformed World Alliance meetings in Sao Paulo, 1959. In 1960, I was invited to speak at the WCC Commission on Faith and Order at St. Andrews, Scotland.[104]

In 1956 du Plessis was invited to a retreat in Connecticut to speak to a group of ecumenical leaders on the American front. That invitation, he said, "was one of my greatest experiences in this ministry."[105] With twenty-four men comfortably seated around him, du Plessis was invited to bring the truth about the Pentecostal movement and was asked "to be devastatingly frank."[106] Following seventy-five minutes of "pouring from

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[101] Ibid. [102] Ibid., p. 14. [103] Ibid.

[104] Donald Gee, "The 'Changed Climate' towards the Pentecostal Testimony: An Interview with David J. du Plessis," Pentecost, December, 1961-February, 1962, p. 8.

[105] Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, pp. 15-16.

[106] Ibid.

his heart all that the Spirit gave . . . ,"[107] du Plessis was asked, "What is the difference between you and us. . . . You have said nothing with which we want to differ and yet there seems to be a distinct difference somewhere."[108] He replied, "Gentlemen, comparisons are odious, and I do not wish to injure anyone's feelings or hurt your pride. But the truth as I see it is this: You have truth on ice, and I have it on fire."[109] When asked to explain, he extended the analogy to encompass the choice of eating the very best grade of Texas-steer T-bone steak fresh out of the freezer or hot off the fire.[110]

Du Plessis' extension of Pentecostalism into the WCC brought forward an extensive and significant penetration of the movement into the leading echelons of Protestantism. Du Plessis' travel statistics, June 26 to August 12, 1960, speak rather eloquently of the extent and intensity of his penetration. Because of their importance to the extension of the movement's network, they are quoted in their entirety:

> I spent seven weeks visiting eight countries: England, France, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway, preaching in twenty-one cities, delivering twenty-one sermons, attending two most important Ecumenical Conferences, participating in thirty conference meetings, meeting with nearly two hundred theologians, having interviews with about one hundred of them, at the same time meeting and having fellowship with eighty-six Pentecostal pastors and leaders. I traveled by air in DC7C, Viscounts, Caravelle and Comet Jets, and by train and car, for a distance of approximately 12,500 miles. I met with archbishops, professors, university presidents, seminary principals, pastors and priests from Latin American lands,

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[107] *Ibid.*

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] *Ibid.*

> African territories, Middle East countries, India, Asia, Japan, Canada, and the United States; from many Western European countries and from lands behind the Iron Curtain. These men belong to the major Protestant confessions. On their registration cards one could see several brands of Lutherans, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregational, Reformed, and Presbyterian churches, and then there were the orthodox churches who are members of the World Council of Churches, and a few orthodox church observers from the Roman Catholic churches in France and England. I was the only one with Pentecostal Movement on my badge, but thank the Lord, there were others with the Pentecostal experience.[111]

Convinced that his own "call" was to take the Pentecostal message to ecumenical leaders, he predicted that "the 'Pentecostal revival' within the ecumenical movement may become greater than that outside it."[112]

Not everyone, however, especially the Assemblies of God, agreed with du Plessis' calling. Zimmerman expressed what may have been the common attitudes of the Assemblies of God and the WPC toward du Plessis in his indictment of "those who would compromise . . . or who would join hands with those who compromise . . . as tools against us, not for us."[113] We have been commanded, reminded Zimmerman, to "come yet out . . . and Be ye separate."[114] No individual, he declared, "has been authorized by the General Council of the Assemblies of God to speak in favor of, or to support, the Ecumenical Movement."[115] Du Plessis' ecumenical activities ultimately led to the

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[111] Ibid., p. 21

[112] Ibid., p. 25.

[113] Zimmerman, "Twentieth-Century Pentecostalism," p. 29.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

severing of his ministerial status by the Assemblies of God.[116] The act of severing one's ministerial credentials marks rather drastically the consequences of rhetorical decisions connected with changing reticulate relationships.[117]

Conclusion

During the decade of the 1950's, strong persuasive forces were working on the religious values of American society. The healing-deliverance (HD) and the ecumenical "collectivities" made up of numerous smaller units were in the process of emerging out of the postwar church world. During this time significant reticulate networks were established, thus making possible the structure for the Neo-Pentecostal movement's inception in 1960.

Two representatives of the HD movement included The Voice of Healing (TVH) and Oral Roberts. TVH, with its many associated ministries, called attention to and mustered financial support for evangelistic crusades for a full decade. This unit extended the Pentecostal movement, with HD emphasis, among audiences of lower socioeconomic levels. As a

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[116]Frank Farrell, "Outburst of Tongues: The New Penetration," Christianity Today, September 13, 1963, p. 6.

[117]David J. du Plessis, personal interview, Oklahoma City, Okla., November 10, 1972. The Assemblies of God recently adopted a more liberal stand toward the Charismatic movement. At the convention for The Society for Pentecostal Studies, Zimmerman reportedly suggested to du Plessis that if du Plessis would apply for ministerial papers, they would probably be reinstated.

result of association with evangelists of questionable character, TVH generally declined in influence along with the decline of HD crusades. Oral Roberts on the other hand, after an extremely successful HD crusade ministry in the 1950's, made a smooth transition into the Neo-Pentecostal movement during the 1960's. His successful transition is closely connected with his decision to endorse and associate with the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) and his early recognition of the changing attitudes toward the Pentecostal experience.

At the same time that Pentecostalism was extending its reticulate structure by means of the HD movement, a Pentecostal ecumenism was developing alongside the Protestant ecumenical movement (EM). Pentecostal ecumenism was best demonstrated in the rise of the FGBMFI and of unity conferences among Pentecostal denominations. While FGBMFI was closely associated with Pentecostal denominations, it recognized early that the movement's continuance and expansion were dependent upon extension of the network into historic Protestantism. Pentecostal unity conferences, on the other hand, promoted a limited unity of Pentecostal believers and resisted efforts to extend the movement network to encompass the liberal wing of Christendom. The most significant attempt to extend the reticulate network into the liberal wing of the church can be traced in David du Plessis' ministry. After serving as Executive Secretary for the World Pentecostal

Conference, du Plessis determined to extend his influence into the World Council of Churches, a decision which alienated Classical Pentecostal friends while it opened up an extensive, personal Neo-Pentecostal ministry among Protestant leaders.

CHAPTER IV

NEO-PENTECOSTALISM: PERSUASION SETS

The dominant strategy of Pentecostals prior to 1950 was one of "nationalism" and/or "isolationism." Each Pentecostal unit strived to build its own denomination and viewed other Pentecostal denominations with suspicion. From 1950 to 1960, two new major strategies emerged. Pentecostal denominations stressed a closed-ecumenism, while other individuals and fellowships turned to a semi-open-ecumenism. The closed-ecumenism was an indictment against "liberal" Christianity, especially those churches within the World Council of Churches (WCC). The semi-open-ecumenism, while retaining the Classical Pentecostal ideology, accepted members of "liberal" churches as Christians who needed to complement their institutional religion with Pentecostal fellowship meetings to become full gospel Christians.

By 1960 a rhetoric of open-ecumenism emerged which accepted all Christian institutions as legitimate "members of the Body of Christ." Some Neo-Pentecostals used this strategy of open-ecumenism to adapt the "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" with its "initial evidence of speaking in tongues"

(glossolalia) and subsequent Charismatic experiences (healing, exorcism, interpretation of tongues, and prophecy) to the existing theologies and governments of historic Protestantism. During the early 1960's most units within the Pentecostal movement committed themselves to variations of three ecumenical strategies: closed, semi-open, or open. The decision made by each unit determined whether that unit would remain a part of Classical Pentecostalism or help give direction to a new Pentecostalism.

"Speaking in tongues has now quietly infiltrated every major Protestant denomination," announced Lee Dirks, writer for The National Observer.[1] This infiltration occurred during the early 1960's and represented the emergence of a new Pentecostalism, a new coalition among units within the reticulate structure of Pentecostalism, and the triumph of a strategy of open-ecumenism within the Pentecostal movement. One purpose of this dissertation is to assess the extent to which Neo-Pentecostalism adopted a rhetoric of open-ecumenism during the 1960's. This analysis necessitates tracing the transition by different units, from closed- to open-ecumenism. For this analysis four units identified in Chapter I were selected; each of which when analyzed within the framework of a modified social action construct reveals

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[1]Lee Dirks, "Rabak Saka Chuka: 'Tongues' and the Historic Churches," The National Observer, October 26, 1964, p. 1.

aspects of a transition in ecumenical strategy.[2]

This section is divided into two major parts: Nature and Functions of Persuasion Sets, and Operation of Persuasion Sets within Neo-Pentecostal Movement: Representative Cases. Part one explains three kinds of persuasion sets which emerged in social action or religious movements to facilitate persuasive strategy. Part two identifies participants within the Neo-Pentecostal movement who performed the various persuasion functions and explains how the recruiting of specified persons facilitated an open-ecumenical strategy.

Nature and Functions of Persuasion Sets

Set is defined as "a group or series set together," or a number of persons "associated by custom, office, opinion, or the like."[3] The "facilitative interdependence" theory indicates that interdependence emerges when individual and group rewards are related or, to use McGrath's terms, when "the more one gains, the more all gain as well."[4] These two definitions together explain what happened when units within the Pentecostal movement altered their relationships to give emphasis and direction to a new Pentecostal movement.

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[2]Supra, pp. 10-11.

[3]"Set," Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (3rd ed.: 1966), p. 2078.

[4]Joseph E. McGrath, "Group Composition and Structure," in Foundations of Communication Theory, ed. by Kenneth K. Soreno and C. David Mortensen (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 308.

As persons functioning in one Pentecostal unit established close association with other units similar in "custom" or "opinion," they tended to perform a specific kind of function for the units and ultimately the larger movement. Charismatic leaders, who generally functioned as change agents for the movement in transition, recognized and used movement participants according to the contributions they were capable of making. While there appears to be considerable overlapping and interdependency of function, persons having specific skills and influence to sell or contribute were attracted, by different means, to perceived Charismatic leaders. When grouped together, these contributed skills and influence can be identified according to three persuasive functions: initiation, legitimization, and diffusion. When considered as a "group set together" or "persons associated by custom, office, or opinion," set appears to be an efficient term under which to examine the efforts of movement participants.

Both the interdependent quality of sets and the validity of examining them independently is demonstrated extensively in communication literature. McGrath and Altman, for example, stress the need for research in group composition and the effects of the composition on task performance. There are, they explained, many "potentially meaningful patterns of relation among members of any given characteristic--including conjunctive and disjunction combinations--as well as many characteristics where composition effects are worthy

of study."[5]

Initiating Sets

As Charismatic leaders emerged from Classical Pentecostalism and formulated "ministries," they sought to bring to their cause, persons of stature who could assist in the capacities of consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization. The emerging Charismatic leader might be thought of as a change agent and the primary group which assists him as initiators. This important coalition of persons, whether informal or official, served a most significant function in persuasion; for by a process of interpersonal persuasion and decision making, members adopted, modified, or extended the "idea" which originally brought them together.

The significance of initiating sets is frequently observed in communication research. Becker, for example, warned that in their enthusiasm to analyze individual speakers, critics often overlook the critical group of persons which may have the "power to act for all."[6] Examination of the dynamic interaction between Charismatic leaders and initiating sets is therefore responsive to Becker's request that rhetorical study encompass something beyond the influence of a single man

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[5]Joseph E. McGrath and Irwin Altman, Small Group Research: A Synthesis and Critique of the Field (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1966), p. 76.

[6]Samuel L. Becker, "Rhetorical Studies for the Contemporary World," in The Prospect of Rhetoric, ed. by Lloyd F. Bitzer and Edwin Black (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 25.

or message. He urged that contemporary analysis of persuasion consider the corporate message with special emphasis on its perception by the audience.[7] When one examines corporate influence, he can expect to find that significant persons surround Charismatic change agents and essentially become a part of the encoding and transmitting process.

Those persons within the reticulate structure of the movement drawn to a specific Charismatic leader were often ideologically and geographically close and probably perceived themselves as similar in attitudes, goals, personality, and productive potential. Heider's balance theory, for example, demonstrated that when two parties possessed positive attitudinal relationships toward one another and toward a given referent, communicative efforts congruent with those relationships were chosen. Even in unbalanced situations, one could generally predict that some effort would be made to restore equilibrium.[8] The process of a change agent recruiting to initiating sets persons from diverse cultures and church backgrounds, necessitates a rhetorical strategy congruent with the values of those persons. It was expected, therefore, that a Charismatic leader would adapt his rhetoric to achieve or maintain a balanced situation with desired

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[7] Ibid., p. 30.

[8] Theodore M. Newcomb, "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," in Communication and Culture, ed. by Alfred G. Smith (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p. 72.

initiators and that initiating sets would further direct persuasive strategy toward maintaining balance between themselves and other units with which they had significant relationships or had contributed influence.

Legitimization Sets

Each community possesses individuals who officially or unofficially "hold the reins" of authority over the spread of new ideas. By agreeing that a proposed social action campaign is desirable, the legitimizer can clear the way for further operations. Persons active in this role may be classified as formal legitimizers, having the legal or appointed power of decision making; or informal legitimizers, having powerful but nonappointed influence. Legitimization "sets" may be used to identify the persons whose collective relationships to the change agent, the initiators, or the cause, function either formally or informally to open the channels through which the message passes to the target population. The function of formal legitimization is demonstrated in a study conducted by William Carmack and Theodore Freedman:

> . . . In the late 1950's and early in 1960, the critical audience for the message about integrating public schools in Dallas, Texas, was not the total population of Dallas, nor even the total adult population; it was a group of 250 men who call themselves the Dallas Citizens Council. These are the owners or executive heads of some of the major corporations in Dallas. When this group "got" and accepted the message that Dallas should integrate, the action was as good as done.[9]

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[9] Ibid., p. 42. Author's footnote reference to William R. Carmack and Theodore Freedman, Factors Affecting School Desegregation (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, n.d.).

Examples of informal legitimizers might range from a church deacon who can sometimes wield more influence on church operations than can the pastor, to long-time members or attendants of a church who might be consulted by other persons even when overlooked by the change agent. The informal legitimizer is more difficult to identify than the formal legitimizer to whom we have all been regularly exposed since childhood. Informal legitimizers tend to be central figures within a communication network, to have high esteem and personal attractiveness, and often, to have been formal legitimizers. Sometimes they are retired persons currently filling "advisory positions to an institution or group."[10] These persons are similar to opinion leaders and may, in fact, be opinion leaders at various times. For example, opinion leaders are similar to the receivers they influence, tend to be greater consumers of the mass media, are often centers within a communication net, and are affected more by face-to-face communication than by the media. These characteristics enable opinion leaders to directly influence persons for or against an idea, i.e., they function to influence opinions, whereas legitimizers, especially formal ones, function to open for or give license to the efforts of those more actively involved.[11] Change agents, who attempt to go directly to the people without first gaining approval of the

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[10]Bettinghaus, Persuasive Communication, p. 265.

[11]Ibid.

legitimizer who has his finger on the public pulse and sometimes the public purse, often learn to their chagrin that the public first consults the person bypassed.

Occasional overlapping of legitimization and initiation complicates analysis of persuasion in movements. Perhaps it would be beneficial to recognize that a person may function as a change agent for one unit, an initiator for another, and a legitimizer for still a third Pentecostal unit. Lee Braxton, for example, functioned as an initiator for Oral Roberts and Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI). For a local church his assistance is often sought in the capacity of formal legitimization. Knowing that he is too busy to help promote some projects, the pastor seeks to gain Braxton's official endorsement. It should also be observed that individuals sometimes function as both initiator and legitimizer.[12] This is especially true in cases where the legitimizer is formal and personally involved in the movement. Again, Braxton as a highly respected businessman was able to assist Roberts as an initiator. His financial and political expertise gave an added dimension of legitimacy to the cause.

Diffusion Sets

In addition to initiation and legitimization sets, social action campaigns develop sophisticated diffusion systems. Persons, who work with Charismatic leaders and

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[12] Ibid., p. 266.

initiators to assist with diffusion of information to target audiences, are here categorized as diffusors, who collectively function as diffusion sets. Diffusion sets are generally characterized by their access to target audiences, their information transmission and persuasive abilities, the amount of time available for the task, and their related organizational abilities.[13] As with previous sets, initiators or legitimizers may also function as diffusors. In most cases, however, diffusion sets consist of community members in position to talk to many other individuals. The change agent usually selects persons for this function who are in harmony with his goals or who can be readily persuaded. Further, the change agent will keep diffusion sets supplied with adequate information. The greatest overlap of diffusion and legitimization occurs among legitimizers who function on an informal basis. To the extent that a person is known to be successful or credible in one aspect of life, he will, as a diffusor of information, assign a degree of credibility to the cause.

Again, it is easy to see some similarity between persons involved in diffusion sets and those who function as opinion leaders. While there may be considerable overlap, opinion leaders are often unaware of the role they are playing; whereas, participants functioning in diffusion sets are generally selected, directed, and given specific promotional materials and methodology.[14] Among Neo-Pentecostals,

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[13] Ibid., p. 267.

[14] Ibid.

diffusion sets range from converted pastors of historic churches to converted laymen who function in varied local organizational chapters, fellowship breakfasts, prayer groups, and/or book and tape distribution.

Operation of Persuasion Sets within Neo-Pentecostal Movement: Representative Cases

David du Plessis

During the 1950's David du Plessis functioned as a change agent to challenge and direct various initiating sets within Pentecostalism. Since persuasive strategies of these sets have ranged from closed to open-ecumenical, and since each has to some extent fulfilled the functions of consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization; four of du Plessis' initiating sets demonstrate how one change agent identified with groups through which he could provide direction and influence. Examination of his identification with units beyond the nucleus of the Pentecostal movement reveals du Plessis' transition toward a rhetoric of open-ecumenism. This transition is especially clear in his identification with the World Pentecostal Conference (WPC), The Voice of Healing (TVH), the Blessed Trinity Society, and the Roman Catholic Dialogue.

Following the first WPC in Zurich, Leonard Steiner, representative from Basel, Switzerland, was given the responsibility of preparing for the next world convention three years hence. Due to the fear among many denominational

representatives of "world organization," an office of Secretary was not established; even so, Steiner was given the responsibilities normally assigned a secretary. Unable later to carry on the necessary correspondence and planning, Steiner asked du Plessis, an early promoter of the WPC, to assume these secretarial responsibilities.

The question of secretarial responsibility was discussed at the 1949 WPC, du Plessis was officially elected secretary, and it was decided that the Secretary might travel from country to country in an effort to develop ties among the varied denominations. To this, du Plessis responded, "It seems to me that such a secretary will find that many of the Movements would like him to make contact with them and assist them towards some fellowship."[15] He further expressed recognition of the peculiar nature of the arrangement, but its ecumenical implications were not fully recognized; he said, "We have tried here to prevent organization, but still have an organism."[16]

With this effort to acknowledge an existing fellowship, without pushing for a formal membership, elected officers, or creed; du Plessis established a foundation for closed-ecumenical Pentecostalism. With an "elected" Presidium of five representatives, the task of initiating a world "fellowship" for Pentecostals was begun. This move ultimately

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[15]"Minutes of the Second Pentecostal World Conference, Paris," May 21-29, 1949, p. 50.

[16]Ibid., p. 47.

enhanced a sense of belonging for Pentecostals and provided du Plessis with grounds for the affectionate title, "Mr. Pentecost."

Du Plessis' rapid transition toward open-ecumenism is evident in two subsequent identifications. In 1956, he formally joined TVH staff as associate editor of the magazine and secretary of TVH world evangelization program, Winning of the Nation Crusade.[17] Although du Plessis did not initiate TVH, he did use it to help penetrate the WCC. Soon after this alliance Lindsay announced that he and du Plessis had been given an invitation to meet with some thirty-five key figures in the ecumenical field, "men who influence the thinking of tens of millions of people in America alone, not to speak of the other nations."[18]

Convinced, in 1959, that the Episcopal church was more open to the work of the Holy Spirit than any other non-Pentecostal denomination and that it would be a leader in the movement of the Holy Spirit in the historic churches, du Plessis, along with five others, initiated the Blessed Trinity Society.[19] This society served to provide guidelines and coveted sponsorship to hundreds of "sharing" groups

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[17]Gordon Lindsay, "The March of Events," The Voice of Healing, December, 1956, p. 2.

[18]Gordon Lindsay and David du Plessis, "The Astounding Move of God in the Denominational Churches," The Voice of Healing, January, 1960, p. 4.

[19]Jean Stone, "Trinity Times," December 15, 1964, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

distributing tracts on the Work of the Holy Spirit, tape recordings of "credible" clergymen and laity, and approved books on the Charismatic experiences; and perhaps most importantly, to publish Trinity magazine.[20] Trinity, originally a quarterly by and for "Episcopalians who prize the gifts," by 1963 had a paid circulation of 4,000 and a print order of 25,000, many of which were being sent to churches by the hundred.[21] With this step in his transition, du Plessis appears to have openly espoused a rhetoric of open-ecumenism. His counsel to Episcopalians, for example, was to remain within the church and renew it from within.

The next phase of his ministry, however, resolved all doubts and certainly completed his transition toward a rhetoric of open-ecumenism. In 1965, du Plessis declined reelection to the board of directors of the nearly defunct Blessed Trinity Society. Through mismanagement of funds and overly enthusiastic planning, this initiating set soon lost favor among Neo-Pentecostals. With his resignation, du Plessis announced, "So once again I service on No Board or Council anywhere. The Lord urged me to keep free as the Spirit Bids Me Go."[22] Since that decision, du Plessis has ministered full time in local, regional, national, and international

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[20]Jean Stone, "Trinity Newsletter," September 16, 1964, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

[21]Farrell, "Outburst of Tongues," p. 6.

[22]David J. du Plessis, "Newsletter," February, 1965, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

conferences to ministers and representatives from virtually every Christian denomination. The latest and perhaps most ecumenical effort is his initiation of a five-year formal dialogue with Vatican representatives in Rome.[23] In each of these associations two things are evident. First, du Plessis publicly identified with each group and sought four contributions. Each group was asked to function in the capacities of consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization. Second, as his association with initiating sets extended his influence beyond the original Pentecostal movement, his ecumenical strategy became increasingly open.

Few if any Pentecostals have collected a more influential legitimization set than has David du Plessis. In 1952, John A. Mackay, a distinguished educator, theologian, and WCC official, introduced du Plessis at the International Missionary Council in Willingen, Germany, as "his great Pentecostal friend."[24] In a review of Mackay's latest book, Horace Fenton, General Director of the Latin American Mission, provided a helpful indicator of Mackay's significance as a legitimizer.

> The term "missionary statesman" is bandied about lightly in our day, and few of those to whom it is applied are worthy of it. But no one can question John A. Mackay's right to the title, and when he warns us of the dangers that confront the church in our day, we do well to listen.[25]

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[23]Du Plessis, personal interview.

[24]Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, p. 14.

[25]Horace L. Fenton, "Mission Book Shelf," review of Christian Reality and Appearance, by John A. Mackay, in World Mission Magazine, April, 1970, p. 48.

In 1954, Visser't Hooft, Secretary of the WCC, invited du Plessis to go to the Second WCC Assembly at Evanston and "witness and talk to as many as possible about Pentecostal experiences."[26] Other influential friends willing to give legitimacy to du Plessis' cause included Lesslie Newbigin, author of The Household of God; Henry Van Dusen, WCC official and President of Union Seminary; and John McCandlish Phillips, Religion editor for the New York Times. Friendship with leaders on this level made it possible for du Plessis to announce that he sensed a "change in climate" among leaders of historic churches in 1961 and a "spiritual Springtime" in 1963.[27]

Du Plessis used diffusion sets on three levels: consultation, education, and fellowship. On the consultation level, du Plessis identified with numerous groups which appeared to be interdenominational and mission-oriented. His invitation to attend the International Missionary Council enabled him to recognize the potential for diffusion through the WCC and its various components. During the eleven-day Council du Plessis was introduced to numerous delegates. Although he was scheduled to speak only ten minutes, he was able to arrange private conferences with 110 of the 210 delegates.[28] On an educational level, du Plessis lectured at Princeton, Yale,

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[26]Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, p. 15.

[27]David J. du Plessis, "Newsletter," October, 1963, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

[28]"How to Bring It to Others," a taped discussion of David du Plessis' Ministry to the WCC, n.d.

Southern Methodist, and Union Universities; and the University of British Columbia. Many future pastors and missionaries heard the Pentecostal message for their first time during these lectures. Many who had heard wild versions throughout their lives heard Pentecostalism presented for the first time as a legitimate and necessary experience for the church.[29] On a fellowship level, by encouraging pastors to remain as pastors within historic churches and to work gradually, du Plessis developed an extensive network of churches where his ministry was both desired and helpful. In addition, he maintained warm relations with the leadership of FGBMFI and has long been in demand as a teacher. While he detests, in national, regional, and local meetings, the emotionalism often ascribed to the Holy Spirit in these meetings, and believes that good ministers have been exploited by the enthusiastic tactics of the Fellowship; his own steady, move slowly, prove yourself approach has had appeal to the attending pastors who needed someone to help them introduce Pentecostalism to their staid, formal congregations.

Du Plessis also developed diffusion sets by encouraging groups of ministers to develop their own denominational and interdenominational communions. Once the communions were established, they generally invited the legitimate Mr. Pentecost to be a major speaker. Thus, without actually

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[29] Ibid.; and "A Well Known Author to Address Alliance," El Paso Times, September 30, 1962.

organizing diffusion sets, du Plessis' administrative knowledge and his legitimacy among denominational leaders, combined with his extensive acquaintance with all phases of the Pentecostal movement at home and abroad, provided numerous diffusion sets internationally through which his influence was extended to the total Christian community.

Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI)

FGBMFI emerged as the result of Demos Shakarian's concern for increased participation by businessmen in the propagation of the full gospel.[30] During the Fellowship's first year, five wealthy Pentecostal businessmen were persuaded to pool their skills and influence for consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization. Demos and his core of initiators worked closely with several healing-deliverance (HD) evangelists to get the Fellowship launched. When the Fellowship organized, the same five men were appointed Executive Directors and Thomas Nickel was appointed to create and maintain an official publication. Recognizing that the Fellowship's inception was a joint effort between lay businessmen and HD evangelists, Shakarian expressed, in the first issue of Voice, his appreciation to Oral Roberts; G. H. Montgomery, Roberts' Associate Editor; Gordon Lindsay and TVH; the staff of the Los Angeles Breakfast-Broadcast; and

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[30] Supra, p. 111.

"participants of the Full Gospel Holy Ghost Rallies."[31]

The role of initiators as sets "associated by custom, office, opinion, or the like," was demonstrated during the Fellowship's first major convention. Eight additional unpaid directors were selected, and the full support and resources of the Fellowship were pledged to Voice as a means of (1) carrying the message of HD to the world, (2) raising up chapters and members, and (3) generally furthering the "great work God has called the Fellowship to perform."[32] To facilitate consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization; Lee Braxton organized Fellowship breakfasts in Tulsa, Oklahoma; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Raleigh, North Carolina. On each of these occasions, Braxton functioned as an initiator to organize a local FGBMFI chapter.[33] Braxton's additional association with the Oral Roberts Association and Roberts' scheduled crusades in the selected cities on the same dates as the organizational breakfasts, also illustrate the interdependent reticulate relationships of initiators. Congruent with efforts made among other members of the initiating set, these efforts have been defined as attempts "to adapt Pentecostalism to the American middle class

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[31]Shakarian, "How Our Fellowship," p. 4.

[32]Thomas R. Nickel, "God's Mighty Power Manifested at Our First Annual Convention," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, November, 1953, p. 14.

[33]Thomas R. Nickel, "Oral Roberts--Lee Braxton Cooperate in FGBMFI Work," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, November, 1956, p. 25.

ethos. . . . "[34]

Sam Lanham and Gordon Clanton, in their discussion of the high degree of participation in FGBMFI among members of historic churches, explained that the organization's roots are actually in sectarian Classical Pentecostalism. FGBMFI meetings should, they contended, "be seen as contributing to but not growing out of the Charismatic movement in the main-line churches."[35] Essentially, Lanham and Clanton said that FGBMFI was on the production or causal end of the Neo-Pentecostal movement. They provided historic church members with an experience reminiscent of Classical Pentecostalism.

This analysis of FGBMFI suggests conclusions similar to those drawn about du Plessis' ministry. First, that the directors of FGBMFI essentially performed tasks that can be categorized as initiation functions; and second, as the Fellowship became increasingly Protestant in directorship and membership, it became increasingly open-ecumenical in strategy. At this point in time, it may well be classified as semi-open.

Legitimization sets associated with FGBMFI contained both informal and formal legitimizers. The change in primary focus, toward historic Protestantism rather than businessmen

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[34]James N. Lapsley and John H. Simpson, "Speaking in Tongues: Token of Group Acceptance and Divine Approval, Part I," Pastoral Psychology, XV (May, 1964), 52.

[35]Sam Lanham and Gordon Clanton, "Contemporary Pentecostalism in the Traditional Denominations" a research project submitted to the History Department, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, May, 1966, p. 52.

in full gospel complicates the task of classifying persons according to one of the two legitimization categories. In fact, it vividly demonstrates the limitations inherent in attempts to describe the dynamic process of a movement according to the static divisions of function. If these basic limitations are recognized, however, it seems safe to describe informal legitimizers associated with FGBMFI as persons already involved in some form of Pentecostal diffusion. These were generally persons holding significant positions in different Pentecostal units as ministers, church officials, or often, successful businessmen who were influential in local Pentecostal churches and Pentecostal educational institutions.

The function of formal legitimization was generally accomplished by persons who did not possess the Pentecostal experience and who would likely be perceived as significant to non-Pentecostal, but Christian audiences. Participation by these persons produced a legitimacy helpful to or needed by the Fellowships for successful persuasion on a specific occasion. Often this function was served by city, state, or national officials; significant men in business, labor, or particular professions; or ministers in good standing within historic Christianity. When legitimization involved persons not well known in the Christian community, this limitation was generally forgotten amidst "the most polished of public relations techniques."[36] As Lee Braxton likes to announce,

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[36]Russell T. Hitt, "The New Pentecostalism," Eternity, July, 1963, p. 8.

"Full Gospel Business Men have done more than any one else to bring Pentecost to Main Street."[37]

Informal legitimization was acquired during the early 1950's by inviting HD evangelists to participate in FGBMFI programs. Examples included the presence of Oral Roberts in the earliest organizational meetings and announcements of businessmen's breakfasts from the crusade platform. Other invited HD evangelists included William Branham, Tommy Hicks, and Jack Coe. These provided informal endorsement to large crowds of HD evangelist followers as well as to small businessmen in local Pentecostal churches.

In 1963, however, new publications by FGBMFI indicated legitimization to a different kind of audience. Jerry Jensen, the new editor of Voice, compiled testimonies from previous issues into small booklets designed to legitimize the Pentecostal experience for persons within the historic denominations and professions. Each publication was thirty-two pages in length contained approximately thirteen testimonies of seemingly important clergymen, laymen, and professionals. The testimonies were preceded by both a Foreword which identified the "mighty move of the Holy Spirit in denominational churches" with great revivals in history and a three-page essay entitled, "What is the Baptism of the Holy Spirit."[38]

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[37]Braxton, personal interview.

[38]Jerry Jensen, ed., "Presbyterians and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," Los Angeles: FGBMFI, p. 2.

The first booklet was entitled Presbyterians and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.[39] While the dissemination of these booklets constituted a process of diffusion as much as it did one of legitimization, the intent of the original testimonies scheduled in FGBMFI conventions was that of legitimacy. Persons attending the meetings were enabled to hear successful persons, who held similar values, make legitimate the Pentecostal experience.

Formal legitimization was generally provided by persons in special areas of business, industry, science, and religion. Some legitimizers outside Pentecostalism included Ulric Jelinek, inventor and manufacturer of component parts of the intercontinental ballistic missiles; Gordon Clinton, Mayor of Seattle, Washington; and more significantly, Billy Graham. Jelinek, speaking as a scientist, discussed the "greatness of man" placing special emphasis on man's relationship to a living God.[40] Clinton's welcome of the FGBMFI to the "City of the Century 21 World's Fair" virtually said, the "city is proud to have your kind among us."[41] While being careful to not discuss "glossolalia" or "deliverance," Billy Graham preached "Something Is Happening." "We dig our little

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[39]Other special booklets were designed for Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, and Catholic Churches, as well as Churches of Christ, Armed Services, and varied professionals.

[40]E. M. Jones, "Raised up to Stir Our Generation," ed. by Thomas R. Nickel, Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, July-August, 1959, p. 4.

[41]Thomas R. Nickel, "The Holy Ghost Falls at Seattle," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, September, 1962, p. 5.

trenches and we say to God, 'O God, You're going to work this way' but God breaks out and God does it in His own way."[42]

Hollenweger, authority on Pentecostalism, explained more fully Graham's function as an FGBMFI legitimizer:

> In Germany and Switzerland people like to make a fundamental distinction between Billy Graham and the Pentecostals, but that is no longer possible now that Billy Graham, who in any case had been influenced before his conversion by a friend from the Pentecostal movement, has accepted invitations to the "Full Gospel Fellowship" and has made approving statements about the Pentecostals on a number of occasions.[43]

Legitimizers of this stature made it legitimate for the curious and dissatisfied members of historic churches to attend the conventions. Local pastors could criticize if they wished, but science, city management, and the world's number one evangelist had stamped on the convention a degree of legitimacy sufficient to justify a visit by the curious or interested church member. If the church member were dissatisfied with his spirituality or that of his church, such legitimacy was greatly enhanced.

To propagate the Charismatic movement, FGBMFI relied on five basic diffusion sets: Voice's editorial staff, local chapters, a seminar committee, "Airlifts," and "Good News." From time to time, additional projects have been attempted, but these five have received the organization's major attention. Voice has had three editors since its inception in

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[42]Billy Graham, "Something Is Happening," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, October, 1962, p. 7.

[43]Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 15.

1953. Nickel first came to Shakarian with the idea of a publication and agreed to be responsible for its financial and editorial responsibilities. In 1962, Nickel was silently replaced with Jerry Jensen, an act which Nickel described as an administrative "takeover" of the magazine (which Nickel had personally underwritten since its inception) and as a violation of a Christian agreement between Nickel and Shakarian.[44] Today, with Raymond W. Becker as editor, Voice has a circulation of 600,000 in seven languages.

Seven hundred local chapters represent both the "bread and butter" for the Fellowship and the chief means of diffusing Voice and other publications.[45] Through the 300,000 adherents, literature is financed and diffused to various targets such as college campuses, military camps, and drug and hippie cultures. Jensen summarized how "God" has mightily used the ministry of FGBMFI's publications:

> The Chaplain of a large California prison, impressed by the London edition of VOICE, has requested Spirit-filled laymen be sent to speak to the prison population.
>
> 20,000 copies of VOICE per month were sent to Great Britain preceding the Spiritual Airlift. They proved to be the best "door openers" for the Gospel teams who fanned out across the British Isles. VOICE is now published in Holland and Sweden, in addition to Germany, France and Japan; and we are reaching for other VOICES for other tongues.
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> VIEW, a magazine especially for the intellectual, has opened doors to universities in which a less sophisticated publication would not be accepted.

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[44]Thomas R. Nickel, personal letter.

[45]Russell Chandler, "Full Gospel World Conclave: With Signs and Wonders," Christianity Today, July 28, 1972, p. 33.

> VISION touches the basic things of life which concern youth. An instructor in a California boys' school requested copies, saying he is not permitted to discuss religious subjects in classes, but can place the magazine on the library table where it will be available. He is now inquiring for the next issue, reporting the copies of last issue are already "dog-eared" and worn from much reading.[46]

Sheldon Clements further expressed the importance of local chapters as diffusion sets for FGBMFI. Local chapters, he explained, majored in evangelizing men who were not being reached by current methods of evangelism. Men in local chapters, he argued, can "reach others of their same social, cultural, or industrial interests more rapidly than can anyone else."[47] According to Shakarian, a new chapter is formed every working day. The local chapters, together with Voice, special booklets, and tape sales of recorded convention messages, combine to "pump $1 million a year into operating budgets."[48]

Indicative of how various members initiate new projects by which diffusion is made possible is the Seminar Committee. Dan Malachuk, a director of FGBMFI, became chairman of a Seminar Committee in 1963. With five other laymen, Malachuk solicited help from clergymen who had been baptized in the Holy Spirit. During one three-hour session, "the

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[46]"Souvenir Program, Sixth Washington, D.C. Regional Convention," Los Angeles: FGBMFI, p. 11.

[47]Sheldon Clements, "Chapter Ministry," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, June, 1966, p. 16.

[48]Chandler, "Full Gospel World Conclave," p. 33.

clergymen, serving as panelists, explained various aspects of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, glossolalia, and other Charismata. Following panel presentations," Jensen explained, "the meeting was converted into an open forum for clergy, professors, or students to interact with panelists."[49] Two of the seminars were conducted at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New York City, with a combined attendance of "over 700 students, ministers, theologians, professors and other interested individuals."[50] These persons came from more than thirty colleges, universities, and seminaries including Princeton, Columbia, New York, and Drew. Other seminars were conducted in New York City; Boston, Massachusetts; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Columbus, Ohio; Nashville, Tennessee; Phoenix, Arizona; Washington D.C.; and then to the Far West.[51] One outgrowth of the seminars was View, which later became Charisma Digest. This publication was intended to carry articles by scholars seeking to relate the "charisma" to their chosen areas of special interest, i.e., "ethics, missions, theology, sociology, humanities, church history, education, philosophy, psychology, politics, science, medicine, communications, and publications."[52] One report claimed that over 50,000 pieces

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[49]Jerry Jensen, The New Pentecost Charismatic Revival Seminar Report, I (Los Angeles: FGBMFI, n.d.), p. 4.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Dan Malachuk, "Seminar Report," FGBMFI World Convention: London (Los Angeles: FGBMFI, 1965), p. 16.

[52]Demos Shakarian, Form Letter, n.d., p. 1.

of literature were sent out of the Seminar Department in one year, 90 percent of which was without charge.[53]

In 1965, FGBMFI Director Ray Barnett suggested a "spiritual airlift for a world Convention in London. . . . "[54] Plans were formulated, and over 400 persons boarded three SAS jets in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. One writer described the frantic details involved both in preparation and arrival:

> The task was great--the detail endless--the charter of three jets, hundreds of hotel reservations, arranging for auditoriums, etc. One of the minor details arose upon reaching London--acknowledging hundreds of requests for teams of individuals to go into numerous areas and speak in churches, colleges, schools, missions, jails, factories, homes--arranging for their travel to Wales, Scotland, Ireland, all over the British Isles and throughout Western Europe.[55]

According to Art Nersasian, Shakarian's nephew and administrative assistant, when one man gets a burden or vision for a country, he invites others to work with him to set up an airlift.[56] Since 1965, there have been five airlifts to Sweden alone. Enoch Christofferson, Mayor of Turlock, California, recently returned from an airlift he arranged with 170 FGBMFI members to Europe. Another airlift, costing $1,975 per person, took fifty full gospel business men and their

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[53]Malachuk, "Seminar Report," p. 16.

[54]Jerry Jensen, ed., "Airlift to London," Los Angeles: FGBMFI, p. 3.

[55]Ibid., p. 4.

[56]Chandler, "Full Gospel World Conclave," p. 33.

wives to South Africa and Swaziland during the summer of 1972.[57] A most effective airlift took thirty-two men to Saigon where they ministered on streets, in hotels and hospitals, and eventually into "every base and hospital in South Vietnam."[58] As a result of this airlift, 200,000 issues of Voice, Vision, and View were sent to Vietnam. Thirty-five chaplains, serving between 2,000 and 10,000 men, requested that Voice be sent to them monthly. Shakarian estimated that between 75,000 and 100,000 Voice magazines would go to Vietnam monthly as a result of the airlift.[59]

"Good News," a new half-hour weekly color television series in newscast form (using laymen almost exclusively), is FGBMFI's most recent diffusion attempt. The series is now broadcast over thirty-four stations, with a goal of 100 by mid-1973.[60] These programs consist of interviews with three or four Full Gospel Business Men from various parts of the United States. The interviewees generally tell how God has dealt with them individually to effect their salvation or Baptism in the Holy Spirit.[61] Presently, "Good News" is released in two forms: on high band color video tape for use by U.S. television stations and on 16-mm color sound film for

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[57] Ibid. [58] Shakarian, Form letter, p. 2.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Chandler, "Full Gospel World Conclave," p. 33.

[61] "Good News," sample television programs demonstrated in FGBMFI Regional Convention, Houston, Texas, April 8, 1972.

use anywhere in the world. Production costs are borne by FGBMFI headquarters, whereas the cost for air time is paid by committees of FGBMFI chapters within the range of stations telecasting "Good News."[62] Al Malachuk, FGBMFI director and one of the first sponsors of "Good News," summarized the use and effectiveness of the program in the Washington D.C. area:

> We feel that TV had a lot to do with the increased [Regional Convention] attendance. Twelve local chapters in the Washington-Baltimore area have sponsored a program at 11:00 p.m. each Sunday on Channel 20, WOCA-TV, Washington since the first Sunday in July, 1971. An average of three men from this area give their testimonies on each program. They are from every walk of life--farmers, truck drivers, construction men to salesmen, printers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, military officers, and college professors. These programs have brought many new people to the local chapter meetings. As a result three new chapters are in formation.[63]

Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers (CCP)

The CCP was born when six Presbyterians attended a "Camp Farthest Out" at Lake Murray, Ardmore, Oklahoma, in May, 1966.[64] Presbyterian ministers had been involved in the Charismatic movement as far back as 1955, and some had been quite vocal about their experience.[65] On various occasions, these ministers had attempted to initiate Presbyterian Charismatic fellowships, but by 1966, little had developed. On a

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[62] Ibid.; and Chandler, "Full Gospel World Conclave," p. 33.

[63] Al Malachuk, personal letter, May 19, 1972.

[64] George C. Bradford, personal interview, Oklahoma City, Okla., November 25, 1972. (Taped)

[65] Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, 1955-1965.

boat dock at Lake Murray, the Communion was organized and George Bradford was appointed executive secretary and assigned the responsibility of developing a mailing list and publishing a newsletter. The almost closed-ecumenical nature of the CCP during its inception is indicated by the initial cooperation among the three Presbyterian denominations: United, Southern, and Cumberland. Early in its inception stage, however, the CCP took a more semi-open stance by inviting ministers of the Canadian Presbyterian and Reformed Church of America to join in membership.[66]

Ministers who united with Bradford during the inception stage assisted in four principal capacities: consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization. By 1966, several Presbyterian ministers had received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of glossolalia and had come to expect "supernatural manifestations" in their ministry. Because they were few in number and scattered over great distances, they had little opportunity to share their experiences with other Presbyterian ministers or to discuss plans for introducing their new faith to either their superiors or congregations. The CCP provided means by which participating members could confidentially share their names with other participating ministers. Encouragement was given to ministers to visit and "share" when they passed through the communities of fellow participants. Thus a network of

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[66]Bradford, personal interview.

participating Presbyterian Pentecostals emerged and consultation among membership was made possible.[67]

Bradford and other CCP members in the capacity of leadership attempted an early and serious definition of the problems they faced. As increased numbers of Presbyterian ministers fell under Administrative Commission investigation for their teachings and involvement in Pentecostal activities, a conference was scheduled to deal with the question, Should we remain in our Presbyterian churches or get out?[68] A conference was convened at Austin, Texas in October, 1967. Seventeen members of the CCP attended along with five consultants: John A. Mackay, David du Plessis, Rodman Williams, Charles Meisgeier, and a Synod executive. These consultants were designated as the "Ecumenical Consultant, Pentecostal Consultant, Theological Consultant, Psychological Consultant, and Ecclesiastical Consultant, respectively."[69] Agreeing that they should remain within the Presbyterian denominations, attention was turned to the following questions:

> How can we open channels of communication with the ecclesiastical hierarchy? How can we obtain the right to be heard? How can we convince others that the charismatic renewal is very much needed if the full power of the Holy Spirit is to be experienced in the Church of Jesus Christ in our space age?[70]

In addition to providing consultation and problem

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] George Bradford, ed., Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, November, 1967, p. 1

[70] Ibid.

definition, the original members were responsible for contacting potential CCP members. Each of those within the initiating set had close relationships with others. In the first issue of the Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers (Newsletter), Bradford called for members to send names of Presbyterian ministers who had received or might be seeking the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. "Our procedure is," he explained, "to send them a letter . . . asking if they would care to have their name made known to others who have a similar willingness."[71] In November, 1966, the first Newsletter was sent to fifty-four members. In March, 1967, that number had increased to eighty, and by July, it was 102. By early 1968, the membership reached 135. The heaviest penetration appeared to be in three states: California with ten members, North Carolina with eleven, and Texas with twelve.[72] Three years later (1971) the membership had more than doubled reaching a grand total of 284.[73] While the Newsletter's circulation more than doubled the CCP's 1972 membership, many "silent members" hesitated to join the regular membership until they could be sure it would not produce disastrous consequences for their ministries.[74]

Legitimization, a fourth function of the CCP's

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[71]George Bradford, ed., Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, November, 1966, p. 1.

[72]George Bradford, ed., Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, March, 1968, p. 2.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Bradford, personal interview.

initiating set, involved making the Charismatic experiences legitimate within the Presbyterian community. An examination of this strategy will enhance understanding of the legitimization function of an initiating set while demonstrating the gradual transition from a strategy of semi-open to open-ecumenism. During 1967, two Presbyteries took action against Charismatic Presbyterian ministers. The Presbytery of Phoenix, Arizona, heard the report of the commission which had investigated Whitaker's ministry and the division in his church involving "the gifts and work of the Holy Spirit." As a result of their report, Whitaker was admonished:

> Neither support, counsel, lead, interpret, teach, or participate with anyone else anywhere in speaking in tongues, exorcism of evil spirits, and healing by the formal laying on of hands or anointing with oil as long as you are a member of the Presbytery of Phoenix.[75]

Because he could not, with clear conscience, agree to the order, he was given until November to conclude his pastorate and granted three months advance salary. As similar developments occurred with Bradford of El Reno, Oklahoma, and Jim Parsons of Montpelier, Ohio, the need for making the movement legitimate became increasingly evident as expressed in the CCP's Newsletter.

> It seems to be the general feeling at this point that cases such as these should be appealed to a higher court in an effort to awaken the eyes of the Presbyterian Church to the movement of the Holy Spirit in the world and to the gross injustices within our denomination in this relationship. If this is not done,

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[75]Bradford, Newsletter, March, 1968, p. 2.

> we fear for the denomination any possibility of genuine renewal.[76]

As a result of this felt need, both parties appealed their cases to their respective Synods. Eventually Whitaker, with the aid of Bradford, who had been an attorney prior to his entry into the ministry, appealed his case to the Permanent Judicial Commission of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church.[77]

As with du Plessis and FGBMFI, legitimization sets associated with the CCP took several forms. John Mackay, a close friend of du Plessis, functioned as a legitimizer for Pentecostal Presbyterians. In the spring of 1967, Mackay came to the aid of Whitaker and Bradford; both, subjects of Administrative Commission investigation, were in need of outside influence. Mackay, consistently identifying himself as a nonparticipating friend of the movement, wrote numerous letters advising and encouraging the two ministers. Bradford explained that Mackay used his influence to let leadership in the Presbyterian Church know that he believed the Baptism experience to be a "bona fide religious experience."[78]

Having been a close friend to David du Plessis, and having made du Plessis' ministry to Princeton and other high level circles possible, Mackay's legitimacy was coveted by many Neo-Pentecostal groups including the CCP. Although he

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[76]Bradford, Newsletter, November, 1967, p. 3.

[77]Bradford, Newsletter, March, 1968, p. 5.

[78]Bradford, personal interview.

would not allow himself to be exploited, as were the ministers who associated with FGBMFI, Mackay, himself a Presbyterian, recognized and expressed his appreciation for the new movement. Describing the movement as the most dynamic and creative happening in the world of religion, Mackay declared that it "is the spiritual phenomenon which alone can match the dedicated enthusiasm of youthful nationalists, racists, Marxists, and guerrillas."[79] Convinced that no heart is pure that is not passionate, and no virtue safe that is not enthusiastic, he declared that "the Charismatic movement of today is the chief hope of the ecumenical tomorrow."[80] In a warning to Protestantism, which approached desperation, Mackay besought the church to recognize that the world was facing a period of revolutionary change.

> When all institutional structures are crumbling in the secular and religious order, when churches of historic Protestantism are becoming increasingly bureaucraticized, . . . when the Charismatic movement is growing across all ecclesiastical boundaries, might it not happen that, unless the Protestant churches rediscover dimensions in thought and life that they are losing or disdaining, the Christian future may lie with a reformed Catholicism and a matured Pentecostalism.[81]

It was, therefore, with great pride and joy that Bradford announced in May, 1970, that John Mackay had become an "Honorary Member" of the CCP. Since Mackay's assistance at the Austin

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[79]John A. Mackay, "Oneness in the Body: Focus for the Future," World Vision Magazine, April, 1970, p. 10.

[80]Ibid.

[81]John A. Mackay, Christian Reality and Appearance (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1969, pp. 86-87.

retreat in 1967, he has "walked with us along the road of reality and service," reported Bradford, "encouraging us in his letters, lending counsel and guidance in times of crisis, and taking a positive personal stand himself as he talked and worked with key laymen and ministers in the Presbyterian communion."[82] In a letter to Bradford which was published in the Newsletter, Mackay said:

> . . . As regards my own membership in the group, you well know my commitment to the Charismatic Movement as biblically valid and as contemporaneously legitimate and dynamic. I rejoice in the manifestations of the Holy Spirit's working through the movement and its members across all ecclesiastical boundaries. . . .
>
> On the other hand, while I have known the meaning of the ecstatic since boyhood years when Christ took over and has continued to be the center of my being, in life and thought, I have not had an experience of "speaking in tongues." . . . For that reason, I feel that my status should be that of Associate Membership in the group and not full membership.[83]

Further legitimization was sought on the basis of precedence. James Brown, pastor of the 240-year-old United Presbyterian Church of Parkesburgh, Pennsylvania, had for years been openly involved in the Charismatic movement through FGBMFI, Saturday night Pentecostal services, and occasional speaking engagements in varied Pentecostal or Charismatic meetings. Pentecostal Presbyterians assumed that the denomination would be interested in the experience they had received and at first expected no major opposition by denominational

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[82] George Bradford, ed., Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, May, 1970, p. 3.

[83] Ibid.

overseers. This assumption was based on the precedent set by James Brown. Since Brown had openly espoused Charismatic experiences in his Presbyterian church, FGBMFI conventions, and Charismatic conferences and seminars, and since he had received no official denominational opposition; his experience was considered sufficient evidence of denominational acceptance of the "Charismatic Renewal." Brown, however, was not just another Presbyterian minister. His credentials included eleven years as Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology in the Presbyterian Seminary at Lincoln University. His freedom from strong opposition, however, might be explained two ways: he had previously served as moderator and Stated Clerk of his own Presbytery, and more significantly, he served as Chairman of the Ministerial Relations Committee, which was responsible for initiating investigations of ministers.

For some Pentecostal cells, the establishment of diffusion sets is less difficult than for the CCP. Diffusion by the CCP was restricted for three reasons. First, due to the threat of Administrative Commission investigations during the 1960's, Presbyterian ministers were reluctant to identify openly with the CCP. Second, the cost of traveling to a location suitable for an adequate number of ministers was prohibitive. Third, such a meeting would not guarantee the publicity necessary to penetrate the official church

publications.[84] Despite these obstacles, Ben Sheldon, pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., made the first overture by inviting three other CCP members including Peter John Marshall, son of the late Peter Marshall, to participate in a Charismatic conference in his church. Recognizing the significance of Sheldon's invitation, Bradford suggested this could "well be a solution to the growing desire of our Charismatic membership to have regional conferences pertaining to the Charismatic movement."[85]

Prior to 1970, most of the CCP's efforts were directed toward establishing legitimacy. Since 1970, however, the Communion has concentrated more on diffusion, and increased attention on diffusion sets has been accompanied by a more open-ecumenical strategy. Several leaders of the CCP have directed their energy to breaking down denominational barriers within historic Protestantism. This open-ecumenical strategy occurred on two levels. On the first, an awareness level, Bradford began an itinerant ministry which took him into the churches of participating ministers. This interest eventually resulted in accepting speaking invitations in churches other than Presbyterian. When invited to minister at The Church of the Redeemer in Houston, Texas (a Charismatic Lutheran Church), Bradford was forced to act against either his convictions or

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[84]Bradford, personal interview.

[85]George Bradford, ed., Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, November, 1970, p. 5.

the decision of the Gulf Coast Presbytery which had refused him permission to minister as a Presbyterian within their boundaries. This decision caused Bradford and those close to him to become aware of the principle involved in a more open-ecumenism.[86]

The second level of open-ecumenical strategy was the communion level. The success of the first annual Charismatic convention initiated in January, 1972, further illustrated the growing awareness of open-ecumenism. Without the attendance of non-Presbyterian Charismatics from numerous denominations, the convention would not have been nearly as successful.[87] The CCP's recognition of this fact and its trend toward a more open-ecumenical rhetoric is suggested in the leadership's lack of continued interest in regional and national conventions in spite of the positive news coverage in Presbyterian Life and other magazines. Bradford, for example, has declined to devote much energy to regionals beyond announcing them in the Newsletter. Also, both Bradford and the current President of the CCP, Rodman Williams, are becoming increasingly interested in interdenominational meetings.[88] Key persons in the CCP have begun to press for high-level discussion of the implications of the Neo-Pentecostal movement

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[86]Bradford, personal interview.

[87]James A. Gittings, "The Presbyterian Charismatic Movement," Presbyterian Life, April 15, 1972, p. 27.

[88]Bradford, personal interview.

for the life of the church. This trend is best indicated by Williams' recent participation in the five-year dialogue between Pentecostals and Roman Catholics at the Vatican.[89]

Itinerant Charismatics

A Charismatic Renewal Conference (CRC), the second of its kind, convened in Tulsa, Oklahoma, during April, 1972. Of the fifty leaders of the Charismatic movement invited to attend, thirty-five attended. Each day the participants met behind closed doors to discuss areas of agreement and disagreement and to get better acquainted with the various Charismatic leaders of whom they had read and heard. At night, the ministers went in pairs to speak to the various churches to which they were assigned.[90] The day sessions were the more exciting. Behind closed doors, debate developed rapidly among leaders who sometimes held diametrically opposed opinions regarding various aspects of the Charismatic movement. Brief discussion of these differences will make clear the difficulty of generalizing from one itinerant Charismatic, while at the same time point out areas of similarity among them.

First among the issues was the definition of "church," a problem complicated by the large number of persons within the Charismatic movement who meet in coffee houses,

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[89]Rodman Williams, "Charismatic Journey," Newsletter of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, September, 1971, p. 7.

[90]Bill Sanders, Charles Farah, and Andrew Graham, sponsors of the CRC, personal interview, Tulsa, Okla., April 4, 1972.

home groups, and on beaches to worship. These persons are not convinced that a church must be institutionalized, meet in "church" buildings, or be government approved, to be a church. One participant explained that he had been a "liberal" preacher for fifty years before accepting Christ as his Savior. "All I know," he said, "is that Jesus died for me. Whenever I am among God's people, in a monastery or with the Jesus people on the street, I see the ecclesia--and I am in church."[91]

Other differences emerged over whether or not demons could possess Spirit-baptized believers. Holding one opinion was David du Plessis, by now very weary of explaining away the "demon possession" faction of Neo-Pentecostalism in his attempts to extend a more "respectable" brand of Pentecostalism into liberal wings of Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church. In the same room with du Plessis was Derek Prince, Don Basham, and Bob Mumford whose numerous books and articles contend that Spirit-baptized Christians are often plagued by demons. In addition to division over demonism, Bill Britton from Springfield, Missouri, declared that he was anointed of God to call people out of the institutional church; while David du Plessis and Larry Christenson, a Lutheran pastor, said they were called to urge people to stay in the church. When the debate turned to the question of

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[91]"Charismatic Renewal Conference--Closed sessions," Tulsa, Okla., April, 1972. (Taped)

glossolalia, on which one might expect to find harmony among Pentecostals, some participants upheld the Classical view that tongues is "the" evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit while others took a far less dogmatic stand suggesting that glossolalia "could" or "should" be manifested or that it or other Charismatic manifestations might appear at a later time in the recipient's life.[92]

Kilian McDonnell, Roman Catholic Director of the Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research, classified the Charismatic leaders in this conference as itinerant preachers.[93] Especially interesting to McDonnell was "the necessity these itinerant preachers feel for some kind of authority to relate to."[94] He referred here to their use of the term "cover." Being uncovered, explained McDonnell, meant being so independent that there is "no one to check on you when you make mistakes or deviate from acceptable doctrinal norms."[95]

The key persons or groups represented at the CRC generally travel continuously throughout the United States and select foreign countries. As a result, it was virtually impossible to carry on correspondence or to obtain sufficient

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Kilian McDonnell, "Newsletter of the Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research," December 7, 1972, p. 2.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

materials to adequately examine their ministries individually.[96]

Tracing the ministry of one itinerant minister who attended the CRC reveals again the reticulate network of Neo-Pentecostalism and how transitions develop from semi-open to open-ecumenical strategies. Bob Mumford reported that he was converted to Christ in a Pentecostal church in 1955. Later, he received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and sensed a call to the ministry. First, he believed that he was being called to be a medical missionary; he next decided it was a call to be a pastor. Later, he said, God spoke to him in "no uncertain terms," saying, "I didn't call you to be a missionary. I didn't call you to be an evangelist. I called you to teach My Word."[97] As he began to teach, God began to bless His Word by healing the sick and baptizing people in the Holy Spirit. That is, he explained, "how I stumbled on my calling in the body of Christ."[98] In 1969, Mumford wrote, "It is our conviction that God has opened the way for us to labor with Ralph and Rose Mahoney and the World Map for a season."[99] Tracing the background of this move

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[96]Written materials available for the present study were supplemented where possible by attending conferences, listening to tapes, corresponding by letter, reading brochures and magazines, and interviewing.

[97]Bob Mumford, "A.W.O.L. from God," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, July-August, 1970, p. 23.

[98]Ibid., p. 24.

[99]Bob Mumford, "A Message from Mumford's," World Map Digest, March-April, 1969, p. 6.

indicates the early relationships of one itinerant Charismatic to denominational and independent brands of Classical Pentecostalism. From these relationships, marked by closed- to semi-open-ecumenical strategies, followed a transition toward open-ecumenism. While this discussion relates specifically to Bob Mumford, similar pilgrimages are found among the testimonies of other itinerant Charismatics.

While traveling from California toward New Mexico in 1960, Mahoney experienced what he believed was the voice of God asking him: "How shall they preach except they be sent?"[100] Not certain of the significance of the message for his own life, he went to Japan and preached. In 1963, Mahoney was still perplexed and burdened with the responsibility for publishing World Map Digest (WMD), a magazine designed to promote and support World Map's (MAP) mission projects.[101] During the same year, Mahoney attended an FGBMFI meeting in Houston, Texas. That day, by what he terms divine providence, he met Paul Henry and eventually effected a union of the Argentine Prayer Fellowship with MAP.[102] In 1965, MAP and Elim Missionary Association effected a working relationship which furthered both their causes. From that time, MAP carried on operations at the Elim Bible

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[100]Ralph Mahoney, "Where Did World Map Come From," World Map Digest, March-April, 1969, p. 4.

[101]Ibid., p. 5.

[102]Ibid.

Institute.[103]

When Mumford associated with MAP in 1969, he was one of several itinerant Charismatics who identified with MAP for two purposes: to build up the MAP missionary program and to initiate an independent ministry. Persons associated with MAP related to Mumford in ways similar to those in previously discussed initiating sets. Through writing for the same magazine, speaking at the same camp meetings and conferences, and working on the same boards, they functioned in the capacities similar to consultation, problem definition, contact, and legitimization. In an open letter to his supporters and friends, Mumford explained his new role. "Our time shall be spent primarily in teaching Charismatic seminars, spiritual retreats, and developing ministry in the Body of Christ." A secondary emphasis," he added, will be on "writing articles with teaching content for as generous distribution as possible."[104] In addition, Mumford announced the future availability of a tape catalog for selecting tapes on various themes related to the Charismatic revival.

Throughout the late 1960's, du Plessis, Mumford, Wilkerson, and Poole, all participants in the CRC, were listed on WMD's Board of Reference. Most contributed occasional articles, participated in camp meetings, and provided

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[103]Ralph Mahoney, "Why Do World Map and Elim Bible Institute Work Together? . . . Whom God Hath Joined," World Map Digest, March-April, 1969, p. 3.

[104]Mumford, "A Message from Mumford's," p. 6.

taped messages for the catalog. In 1970, Mumford became an "Honorary Board Member" for MAP[105] and subsequently moved to Fort Lauderdale to join with four men engaged in cooperative teaching ministries. As described by Mumford, this move was an extension of his ministry among groups outside Classical Pentecostalism: "Here at Ft. Lauderdale there are many churches, home groups, and ministries which are sensing the direction of the Lord toward a cooperative effort in extending the message of His Lordship to Southern Florida, our nation and the world."[106] An understanding of how the Holy Spirit Teaching Mission (HSTM) in Fort Lauderdale emerged and his relation to it further demonstrates the transition toward and demand for the open-ecumenical rhetorical strategy to which Mumford now subscribes.

In 1965, Episcopalian Eldon D. Purvis read in Trinity magazine about the Charismatic movement in the Episcopal church. Anxious to learn more, he attended a women's prayer group, the only Charismatic-oriented group he could find at the time. Later, while attending the FGBMFI convention in Miami, Florida, Purvis received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with glossolalia. By this time, the prayer group had moved to his home and had become so large that new groups were springing up in other homes. Eventually, the need for

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[105]"Board of Reference," World Map Digest, May-June, 1970, p. 4.

[106]Bob Mumford, "Newsletter," December, 1971, p. 2.

teaching missions was felt, the Committee of Forty was organized, and an HSTM was scheduled for June, 1965. Invited speakers included David du Plessis, Dennis Bennett, Leonard Evans, and John Sherrill. Since the first seminar, a "Fresh Bread Tape Library" has been developed and in 1970 was loaning out hundreds of books and 1500 tapes plus ten portable tape recorders without charge to groups and individuals in the area. In addition, the Committee prepared a thirty-minute television program for the Miami Ministerial Association and then launched an "outreach" ministry of spiritual and social concern into Jamaica and ultimately throughout the Carribbean and South American countries.[107]

Early in 1972, the organization's name was changed to Christian Growth Ministries to better express the purpose of an out reach program which now operates on an annual budget of nearly one-half million dollars. Current methods of outreach include New Wine magazine with a circulation of 60,000 and a growth rate of 5,000 per month; spring, summer, and fall interdenominational Charismatic teaching conferences held in South Florida; supplying master tapes to local centers for free distribution; retail sale of books and audio tapes; and promotion of the teaching ministries of Don Basham, Bob Mumford, Derek Prince, and Charles Simpson.[108]

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[107]Don Basham, "Birth of a Mission," New Wine, April, 1970, p. 12.

[108]"Christian Growth Ministries: A Report," New Wine, December, 1972, p. 79.

Mumford's move to Fort Lauderdale enabled him to identify with three other well known Charismatic leaders each of whom submits his teachings to the others for endorsement before publication; to participate in Christian Growth Ministries' extensive diffusion potential; and to further establish his own interdenominational ministry through tapes, speaking engagements, articles in New Wine as well as WMD, and highly promoted books. That Mumford is representative of many of the thirty-five ministers who participated in the CRC appears evident. Four of the thirty-five are listed in MAP's Board of Reference, and three share teaching roles at Fort Lauderdale. Several of the others are associated with similar Charismatic organizations throughout the United States. Mumford's popularity as a Charismatic teacher is evidenced by the majority vote he received in a survey conducted in two churches where several of the participants appeared. To the question, "If you could listen to one of the CRC speakers right now, which one would you select?" approximately 60 percent of those who responded, selected Mumford.[109]

Many such groups are active within the Neo-Pentecostal movement which would find it difficult to survive without such mutual interaction. Mumford adequately expressed the problem he and others are trying to solve. Permit me, he said, to suggest "three goals for every group

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[109]Infra, Table 3, p. 246.

as we move into the years which lay immediately ahead of us."

> First, we must seek out and comprehend sound reasons and Biblical evidence for the present outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the world today. . . . Secondly, we should fervently seek to share with those who are in position to affect others. Pastors, missionaries, government leaders, club and group leaders, and theologians of every denomination need to meet and examine a "real, live" Charismatic. Finally, God may be pleased to use all of us, or the least of us, to AWAKEN THE CHURCH to understand that she indeed is "the hope of the world."[110]

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to trace the transition from a closed to an open-ecumenical rhetoric within the Neo-Pentecostal movement. Four units have been examined for the twofold purpose of categorizing the functions of participants into persuasive sets, and assessing the effects on strategy of extending Pentecostalism into the historic churches. Close examination of the efforts of David du Plessis, FGBMFI, CCP, and itinerant Charismatics revealed that each of these units has attached or identified its ministry to participants whose assistance was categorized, according to function, into three persuasive sets.

Initiating sets in each case indicated that as the reticulate structure of the movement was extended beyond Classical Pentecostalism, the strategy of the unit examined became more open-ecumenical. Du Plessis identified with WPC,

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[110]Bob Mumford, "Editorial: Personal Message from Bob Mumford," New Wine, August, 1970, p. 2.

TVH, Blessed Trinity Society, and more recently with a group carrying on dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. Elected directors, plus a few select HD evangelists who have maintained close relations over the years, appear to constitute the initiating set for FGBMFI. The CCP experienced initiation from the efforts of a very close-knit group of men who perceived some risk to their own vocational security. Although the open avowal of their interests was rather limited, this group managed to perform all the functions normally associated with initiating sets and provided the best description of how initiators function to make their cause legitimate. Charismatics, such as Bob Mumford, come from a variety of backgrounds. Many left Pentecostal denominations for independent ministries while others, after receiving the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the experience of glossolalia, were either asked to leave their historic denominations or felt too restricted to remain. Mumford, selected in this study as representative of the itinerant Charismatics, associated with MAP and later with three itinerant Charismatics in Fort Lauderdale.

While some initiating sets attempted a form of legitimization designed to license or make their existence credible, examination of four units in this chapter revealed that a variety of formal and informal functions are served by friends of the movement. For du Plessis, legitimization functions were served by various WCC leaders and university

officials. FGBMFI combined legitimization and high powered public relations. The CCP combined legitimization based on precedent with the current efforts of church leaders. Itinerant Charismatics, unable to gain the support of historic churches, are beginning to stress the need for a "cover," or a "body of elders," within each community who can open or close the city's "gates" to the independent ministries on a basis of scriptural validity.

Functions related to diffusion also appeared in each of the units examined. For du Plessis, these efforts were classified on the basis of consultation, education, and fellowship. FGBMFI directed diffusion efforts toward Voice publications, local chapters, seminars, airlifts, and television. CCP, on the other hand, has been slow to develop diffusion sets, but has recently stepped up efforts on two levels. An awareness level brought recognition of the principle of open-ecumenism. A second level, communion, signified an increased use of open-ecumenical rhetoric on local, national, and international levels. Mumford and other Charismatics made extensive use of free magazines, organizations such as "Life Changers," teaching seminars, small groups, and local Charismatic churches. In each of the units examined, persuasion was functioning according to the three categories described. It was also determined that as persons from historic churches took a more active role in the movement, the units involved adopted a more open-ecumenical rhetoric.

CHAPTER V

NEO-PENTECOSTALISM: OPEN-ECUMENICAL ADAPTATION

"It is no longer a matter of assessing a movement which is at a safe distance from one's own church. It (Pentecostalism) is now entrenched in the main Protestant denominations."[1] Furthermore, wrote Pentecostal Anglican clergyman Michael Harper, it would be an "act of irresponsibility" for us to "pass by on the other side of the road and ignore it."[2] Clark Pinnock, speaking as an American evangelical observer, declared that participants (with Pentecostal experiences) remaining in historic churches have at best been tolerated, and at worst, driven out; mature Christian leadership, he contended, has not been exercised. It is time, he added, that "evangelical leaders begin to think about how to integrate the Charismatic Movement into the life of the church."[3] The

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[1]Michael Harper, As at the Beginning: The Twentieth Century Pentecostal Revival (London: The Fountain Trust, 1965), p. 95.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Clark H. Pinnock, "The New Pentecostalism: Reflections of an Evangelical Observer" (paper presented at the second annual meeting of The Society for Pentecostal Studies, Oklahoma City, Okla., November 11, 1972), p. 17.

first of these two statements points to immediate consideration of Pentecost as a legitimate experience in Christianity. The second calls for an examination of the church's administration of Christian love and justice to its members. Whether this kind of self-searching response is related to the rhetorical strategy used by Neo-Pentecostals seems a fruitful line of inquiry.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace further the adaptation of Neo-Pentecostalism to historic Protestantism by means of an open-ecumenical rhetorical strategy. Whereas Chapter IV defined three kinds of persuasion sets which are operant within the Neo-Pentecostal movement and whose employment brought about a more ecumenical rhetoric, this chapter focuses on "basic education" as the predominant technique used to adapt the oral tradition of Pentecostalism to the written theology of historic Protestantism. Three propositions are developed in this and the following chapter: (1) The strategy of open-ecumenism has produced attempts to change the image of the tradition with which it was associated; (2) Neo-Pentecostals have relied heavily on variations of the techniques of "basic education" to achieve their goals, and (3) only minimal acceptance of the Pentecostal experience and its implications has accrued on the local church level in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first, Early Discomfort with an Oral Tradition, traces the early

adaptations of the Pentecostal experience to the larger Christian community. The encounters of Dennis Bennett, Oral Roberts, and John Sherrill illustrate early recognition of a need to change the image of the Pentecostal experience. Part two, Attempts to Adapt an Oral Tradition, examines the long-term efforts of David du Plessis and Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) to define need, goal, and commitment. A third section, Education: The Primary Technique for Adapting an Oral Tradition, examines basic education as an open-ecumenical technique used by du Plessis, FGBMFI, The Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers (CCP), and itinerant Charismatics. Chapter VI attempts to describe the effectiveness of open-ecumenism in Tulsa, a city with strong Pentecostal penetration.

Early Discomfort with an Oral Tradition

In the last seven decades Pentecostalism has established a limited and basic theology. Central to this theology is the belief that the "Baptism" or "infilling" of the Holy Spirit was invariably accompanied by speaking in "other languages" (glossolalia) under the "Spirit's" control. But to understand the relation of Pentecostalism to Protestantism, one must not ignore the differences between emphasis on the Holy Spirit and the Pentecostal experience of speaking in tongues (glossolalia). While doctrines of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Christian or the community of Christ are as old as Christianity, Pentecostals have compelled

reexamination of the subject. They look back with all Christians to the immersion of the New Testament Church in the Holy Spirit on the Pentecost feast day (Acts 2:4). In the twentieth century, however, Pentecostalism has come to signify a segment of Christianity that ardently proclaims that Pentecost is repeatable throughout history as an experience of being "clothed in the same robe of heavenly power that mantled the human spirit of Jesus as he carried out his mission in this world."[4] Beginning with the meetings of Charles Parham in 1900, the experience of glossolalia was identified as the "initial evidence" that one had been "clothed," "filled," or "baptized in the Holy Ghost."[5]

Theology is essentially a tradition which emerges to explicate a shared interpretation of the Scriptures. Classical Pentecostalism began with a marked departure from past Christian traditions only reluctantly spelling out in 1914 some new essentials for fellowship.[6] The most substantive aspects of Pentecostal theology must be viewed as an oral tradition.[7] As MacDonald explained, Pentecostal theology predominantly had the character of a "witness" experience,

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[4]William G. MacDonald, "Pentecostal Theology: A Classical Viewpoint" (paper presented at the second annual meeting of The Society for Pentecostal Studies, Oklahoma City, Okla., November 11, 1972), p. 1.

[5]Supra, p. 49.

[6]Supra, p. 57.

[7]Walter J. Ong, The Presence of the Word (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

and this witness tended to be, at its deepest level, an "oral-aural rather than a verbal-optic experience."[8] In his very thorough treatment of oral traditions, Walter Ong explained that the word is not something which merely exists in print but an event in the world of sound through which the mind is enabled to relate actuality itself. The oral-aural culture, he contends, can never get away from the word as a vocalization, a happening. The expression of truth is felt as itself always an event. For oral-aural men, he explained, "utterance remains always of a piece with his life situation. It is never remote."[9] It provides a unique kind of "raw" contact with truth and actuality unattainable through literacy or literature. Accordingly, the Pentecostal experience was well suited for preaching, testifying, and one-to-one contacts. For the participants, the witness event became a message transmitted by a divine ark from one believer to another.

Also illustrating the orality of the Pentecostal tradition is the term "full gospel." A catchword of Pentecostal theology, "full gospel" became a ready-made sermon outline for meetings of every kind. Every full gospel preacher could preach without notice or notes on Christ as the Savior, the Healer, the Spirit Baptizer, and the soon coming King. Full gospel meant to the Pentecostal the full

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[8]MacDonald, "Pentecostal Theology," p. 5.

[9]Ong, Presence of the Word, p. 33.

experiencing of all the possible ways in which Christ can minister to us on the basis of his earthly mission to heavenly session.

With this Pentecostal theology emerged an experiential realization: Gospel "truths" could not only be processed and "imprisoned" in the mind but personified transcendentally over the mind in the glorious person of Christ as a baptismal "experience."[10] When Pentecostals speak of their Pentecostal experience, critics of the movement hear an emphasis on glossolalia. Traditionally, however, participants of the movement have not considered tongues as their focal point; rather, they sought the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. "Tongues," they insisted, was a consequent of this experience "in order to radiate and release the praise pent up in one's heart for the Lord lest the human spirit disintegrate in the blaze of his glorious presence."[11] Analysis of the Classical Pentecostal tradition revealed that these Pentecostals stressed at least six additional effects which followed the baptismal experience: (1) a heightened sense of the reality of Jesus in one's life, (2) an enhanced sensitivity to being led by the Spirit, (3) a heightened appreciation and understanding of the Bible, (4) a greater expectancy assigned to prayer, (5) an intensification assigned to the whole process of sanctification, and (6) an enhanced ability to give dynamic testimony to the central truth that

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[10] Ibid., p. 10.

[11] Ibid., p. 13.

Jesus is alive. While glossolalia has not been the only consequent of "Spirit baptism," it is central to the existence of both Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. Without it, neither Classical nor Neo-Pentecostalism would exist.

Central to glossolalia is the question, When one speaks in tongues, is he speaking to man or God? Classical Pentecostals have traditionally answered "To man," i.e., when one spoke in tongues, he was speaking a message from God to man. Justification for this view generally proceeded from an interpretation of I Cor. 14:5 which equated "tongues" plus "interpretation" as equal to prophecy which was in turn usually interpreted by Classical Pentecostals as preaching. A second view, less acceptable among Classical Pentecostals, viewed glossolalia fundamentally as speaking by man to God.[12] This view implied that glossolalia had the basic quality of "praise" and introduced an additional level of human communication. Although only sparsely accepted among early Classical Pentecostals, this view underlies much of the current Neo-Pentecostal thinking. As one might expect, the God-to-man concept is more congruent with an evangelical oriented rhetoric of closed-ecumenism, while the man-to-God concept is more amenable to the communion oriented rhetoric of open-ecumenism.

Several early Neo-Pentecostals both perpetuated the Classical Pentecostal ethic and recognized its need for some modification if it was to be adaptable to historic

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[12]W. I. Evans, This River Must Flow (Springfield, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1954), p. 37.

Christianity. The Spirit-baptism of Dennis Bennett first directed the attention of the church world to the penetration of Pentecostalism in the historic churches. Why would an announcement that he had been filled with the Holy Spirit bring about the resignation of an associate priest, a request for his own resignation as rector of the 2,500-member church, immediate coverage in Time and numerous newspapers, and instant conflict throughout the diocese? Perhaps Bennett's description of the experience sounded too similar to Classical Pentecostalism. In a letter sent to all his parishioners two days after his resignation, Bennett attempted to straighten out what had become a confusing state of affairs. Portions of this letter demonstrate the similarity of Bennett's view to the Classical view and, at the same time, indicate an early undeveloped interest in the concept of "praise" which later became prominent among early Neo-Pentecostals.

> Jesus promised to His disciples: "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses to me." These are the words of Jesus, and they were spoken, not just to the first disciples, but to all believers in Jesus. But what has happened to this joy and power and peace? What has happened to miracles, healing and all the other gifts of the Spirit that we are promised in the holy Bible?
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> I met some people about five months ago, Episcopalians, who had received the fullness of the Holy Spirit. They explained to me how they had received the Holy Spirit in their lives and I followed their instruction and received the power of the Holy Spirit into my life in a new and fuller way. The key to it, I found, is praise. It is in praising God that we enable Him to respond to us.[13]

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[13]Dennis Bennett, "My Dear People," Trinity, I (Trinitytide, 1961), 6.

This Spirit-baptism along with a dynamic testimony aided Bennett in converting a dying Episcopal parish into a large, thriving congregation which, in turn, spawned an extensive itinerant ministry, two very successful books, and an expanding tape ministry which attempted to explain the Pentecostal phenomenon and its relationship to Episcopalian worship.

Bennett's early conception of the Spirit-baptism was strikingly similar to that of Oral Roberts in 1964. Recall that Roberts was still a member of a Pentecostal denomination (until 1968) but had developed during the 1950's a strong healing ministry and a close association with FGBMFI.[14] By 1964 Roberts was well on the road toward developing the first "ecumenical" Pentecostal school with strong interests in reaching and teaching non-Pentecostals. He explained that the Holy Spirit had been promised believers, to fill the void created by Christ's "being no longer with them in the flesh."[15] The keynote of the Spirit-baptism, he added, is power. Acknowledging that while a degree of power, that of enablement, was present in both salvation and sanctification, the Spirit-baptism enabled one to "become like Jesus in a dimension that is not possible before receiving the Holy Ghost."[16] To the believer it gave an explosive power to witness and to be a

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[14] Supra, pp. 101-110.

[15] Oral Roberts, The Baptism with the Holy Spirit (Tulsa, Okla.: Oral Roberts, 1966), p. 6.

[16] Ibid.

witness. Yet even at this early date, Roberts appeared to be wrestling with the communicative and healing implications of speaking in tongues and was already extending his own analysis of the implications slightly beyond the more traditional approach. Although he later enlarged on his view, at this moment he believed speaking in tongues had a fourfold function in the believer's life: to serve his private devotions to God; to aid his personal edification and praise; to edify the Body of Christ; and to be a sign to unbelievers.[17]

Like Bennett, Roberts recognized the praise function of tongues and associated with others who were seeking to determine the relationship between glossolalia and one's daily communication with God.

> Tongues become the vehicle of the believer's spirit through which he, under the promptings of the Holy Spirit, talks to God in a manner that he cannot through his mind or intellect. If one prays through his intellect, his mind creates the speech patterns and words. When one prays through his spirit, it is his spirit in cooperation with the Holy Spirit that forms the words of a new language through which the deepest feelings of the inner being are expressed to God.[18]

Roberts thus pioneered the notion that the mind is sometimes unable to reach into the "inner depths of our Spirit." Through glossolalia, man's spirit in reciprocity with the Holy Spirit seeks out the longings and needs of the "inner being and expresses them in a new tongue which flows through" the speech organs to God.[19]

They Speak with Other Tongues is a personal account

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[17] Ibid., pp. 6-7. [18] Ibid., p. 22. [19] Ibid., p. 23.

of a Spirit-baptism. John Sherrill, reporter and writer on the staff of Guideposts, began his story with a series of events revolving around a serious illness. Being led to a personal encounter with Christ in a hospital room was the first step in a pilgrimage culminating in the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. This pilgrimage, with his own critical analysis as a journalist, has probably been the most influential Charismatic book of the past decade.

Following a highly descriptive account of his Spirit-baptism, Sherrill pointed to the difficulties facing those attempting to make Classical Pentecostalism fit historic Protestantism. New converts to the experience, he explained, had three alternative possibilities: they could stay in their churches (historic) and preach the Pentecostal experience; they could leave and join a Pentecostal group; or they could stay in their churches, say nothing about the experience, and keep company with Pentecostals on the side.[20] Many chose to return to their churches, "walking on springs, eager to share this wonderful thing."[21] Too often overlooking their own slow evolution to total commitment, they "forgot basic strategy, and instead of being able to communicate," their very boldness blocked their ability to reach others.[22] Sherrill's sad epilogue was influential in drawing the attention of various Charismatic leaders to a greater realization that Pentecost

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[20]Sherrill, They Speak with Other Tongues, p. 154.

[21]Ibid., p. 155. [22]Ibid.

"is an experience" rather than a denomination. The problem of finding a home for one's new experience was faced by thousands of Americans. "As things stand," reported Sherrill, "it is irresolvable. As things stand, the Pentecostal experience does not fit readily into the . . . traditional churches." But, he closed, "Isn't it possible to change things?"[23]

Attempts to Adapt an Oral Tradition

The persuasive strategies of a movement must be identified with participant needs and goals. Examination of two representative units of the Neo-Pentecostal movement demonstrates values and interests to which the Pentecostal experence has been addressed in historic churches. As indicated in Chapter III, David du Plessis and FGBMFI emerged in the 1950's as two major persuasive forces within Pentecostalism.[24] Du Plessis was the only Pentecostal to become a participant in the World Council of Churches (WCC) during the early 1960's while FGBMFI was the organization chiefly responsible for drawing popular attention to the rapidly growing new Pentecostalism.

In 1959 David du Plessis, as a missions lecturer, introduced Pentecostalism to the students and faculty of Princeton Seminary. Major objectives of his lectures were to get the listener to face God as an individual, perceive Pentecost as an experience rather than a denomination, and recognize

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[23] Ibid., p. 156.

[24] Supra, pp. 126, 111.

that the church's mission is accomplished only when the Spirit manifests spiritual gifts through its members.[25] The chief problem of the church, du Plessis warned, is the powerlessness of its members. Little can be accomplished until members are revived. We need, he contended, "an every-member salvation, followed by an every-member baptism in the Spirit which will produce an every-member evangelism that will again turn the world upside down."[26] These words sound very traditional, but recall that du Plessis was then a minister in a Pentecostal denomination and just recently an executive officer of the World Pentecostal Conference (WPC). While his emphasis on power was traditional, an increasing number of statements was directed toward Pentecost as an experience rather than a denomination:

> I do not suggest that any should leave his church and go to a Pentecostal Assembly to get this blessing. . . . I think I am through forever with the "come-outism" that some people teach; . . . you no longer have to go to a Pentecostal Assembly to see and hear such manifestations . . . we (Pentecostal denominations) are also preaching more doctrine and less and less demonstration of the power of the Spirit.[27]

Having heard a voice distinctly saying, "God has no grandsons," du Plessis proceeded to determine its meaning; this sentence came to embody much of his theology. While on an airplane with only one other passenger, a Roman Catholic priest, "God" reportedly spoke to du Plessis again saying,

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[25]David J. du Plessis, "Mission Lectures," Princeton Theological Seminary, November 3-5, 1959. (Taped)

[26]Ibid. [27]Ibid.

"Tell him (the priest) that God has no grandsons."[28] Du Plessis explained that originally "repentance" was preached and sinners responded. As new-born Christians established families, they "taught" their children to be Christian. Churches began to accept well-trained but unregenerated members and eventually accepted members without the Pentecostal experience. Throughout history, revivals have been sent from God to call back the church to a regeneration and Pentecostal experience. In other words, God continually announces that He has no grandsons, just regenerated sons through whom He wishes to manifest Spiritual gifts to His people. Du Plessis claimed to have repeated this story as a portion of a message or a message in its entirety almost weekly since 1959.

Du Plessis had little trouble relating the Spirit-baptism to varied denominations, because of his own rejection of the traditional belief in being "filled" with the Spirit. He explained that every Christian has the Baptism of the Spirit at the time the Spirit baptizes the believer into Jesus. Subsequently, one has water baptism when the church baptizes the believer into water. He has the Baptism in the Spirit when Jesus baptizes the believer into the Spirit. It is not, he explained, "the Spirit into you but now it is you into the Spirit."[29] Quoting Acts 1:8 he added, "You shall

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[28]Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, p. 63.

[29]David J. du Plessis, "Newsletter," Easter, 1972, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

receive power after that the Holy Ghost (Spirit) is come upon you."[30] Drawing an analogy from water baptism, he explained that as water baptism is always water upon you, never water into you, so "the disciples were baptized in the Spirit, and He came upon them as fire."[31] The Spirit, previously breathed into the believer, then overflows. He flows out of the "belly," not the brain, and pours out a stream of praise and power in other tongues that one has never learned. This baptismal experience becomes a gateway to additional manifestations of the Spirit: the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, the working of miracles, prophecy, the discerning of spirits, divers kinds of tongues, and interpretations of tongues. In explaining how gifts of the Spirit are manifested through Spirit-baptized believers, du Plessis said:

> . . . Anyone who is baptized in the Holy Spirit is a temple of the Spirit, and the Spirit may manifest himself as He will in the nine diverse ways. The gifts are resident in the Spirit and are always manifested by the Spirit himself through the channel in whom the Spirit dwells. We can deliver only what He gives. We can deliver His gifts but we cannot use His gifts.[32]

Du Plessis' position is one which most denominations can tolerate. They may disapprove of glossolalia, the manifestations of the Spirit, and the term, baptism; but most can accept the notion of a person having a postregeneration experience with or in the Holy Spirit. Calvanism, for example,

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p. 2.

[32] Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, p. 95.

has traditionally held that baptism with water is more than a representation and confirming of God's grace: "It is also the means or channel of that grace to be conferred by the Holy Spirit."[33] A report to the 1971 General Assembly, however, allowed that a differentiation and a chronological separation could exist between baptism in water and the Baptism with the Holy Spirit.[34]

To further adapt the oral tradition of Pentecostalism to Protestantism, du Plessis rejected two practices which he knew would never gain acceptance among the liberal churches. First he called it heresy to speak of "shaking, trembling, falling, dancing, clapping, shouting, and such actions as manifestations of the Holy Spirit."[35] These characteristics, he added, are purely human reactions to the power of the Holy Spirit and frequently hinder rather than help to bring forth genuine manifestations. This alone was enough to divorce him from the more demonstrable Pentecostal groups. Next, he said, should come a correcting of spiritual vocabulary. Rather than speak of the gifts of the Spirit, believers should always speak of manifestations. When a person is used of God, let us not say, "He has this gift or that gift," but recognize the ministry that Christ has given him. Let us, he continued,

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[33]"The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit" (a report distributed by the 1971 General Assembly, Southern Presbyterian Church), p. 12.

[34]Ibid., p. 13.

[35]Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, p. 93.

"stop praying for, striving for, and deserving the 'gifts of the Holy Spirit' that we may use them or exercise them." Rather, let us "learn how to 'yield ourselves unto God' (Romans 6:13-19) that the Holy Spirit may freely manifest His gifts to others through us. Let all things be done decently and in order."[36] Whereas his first rejected practice served to alienate Pentecostal churches and perhaps some FGBMFI leadership, the second rejection strained relationships between him and some involved in the "gift ministries" which emerged during the 1950's. Perhaps du Plessis' approach is best summed up in his own words: "Once I was an isolated, segregated, separated, dedicated Pentecostal. Now I am a Pentecostal 'ecumaniac.' Jesus," he insisted, "has not declared Himself the enemy of any part of the church, but the Lord of the church. And when the church recognizes Him as Lord, we are going to see things happening."[37]

With its statement of purpose, FGBMFI, in 1962, declared itself an enemy of hatred, sectarianism, powerless Christianity, and life unto one's self:

> (1) To bringing Full Gospel Christian men everywhere into fellowship and into love and unity; (2) to bring to the world the Full Gospel Christian message with special emphasis on the transforming power of the baptism with the Holy Spirit; and (3) . . . to place in God's service their financial resources, their lives, their time, and their abilities.[38]

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[36] Ibid., p. 98.

[37] David J. du Plessis, "Those Bones Are Moving," Logos, I (November-December, 1972), 13.

[38] Supra, p. 119.

From this statement of purpose and dedication emerged a crucial question, Is it possible to introduce the Baptism in the Spirit as the Key to ridding the world of such enemies? FGBMFI tried and in the 1973 World convention announced to 6,000 delegates, "This is our time! We have been preparing for it for twenty years and this is our time to move! If we muff it we lose, and God will raise up someone else."[39] Appeals directed toward each of the declared enemies abound in the written records of convention speeches and testimonies. C. C. Ford, emphasizing the Holy Spirit's interest in unity as opposed to denominational sectarianism, explained that God does not recognize denominational barriers, customs, or creeds. The Fellowship, in harmony with the Spirit's interest, provides "a position of neutrality concerning church denominations as Geneva, Switzerland, maintains its neutrality among the nations."[40]

Inherent within the appeal for unity is an indictment against the spiritually powerless state of the church. Unity, as viewed by FGBMFI, must be unity built on the Pentecostal experience. Shakarian reminded readers that the church has always had available the same gospel, command, and Baptism in the Holy Spirit. With this availability came a directive from Christ in the form of a promise that " . . . greater works

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[39]Demos Shakarian, "FGBMFI: Twenty Years of Charisma," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, January, 1973, p. 3.

[40]C. C. Ford, "Marvelous Is the Work of Our God," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, December, 1960, p. 27.

than these shall ye do. . . . Lo, I am with you alway."[41] Consonant with the indictment of present-day Christianity, Shakarian challenged the Fellowship to bring again the same ministry enjoyed by the early church, with "all the miracles, and all the fire, and all the power!"[42] The moderation of this statement is apparent only when compared with the almost militant stand against the institutional church expressed six years previous. Churches, he announced, had become vulnerable, and had bypassed Bible standards for a liberal, social, and political status. Shakarian was apparently convinced that churches and their leaders were spending millions of dollars to bring the body of believers into "one man-made movement which will adhere to a doctrine of partial scriptural truth, altered and diluted by tradition."[43] To emphasize the goal of FGBMFI, he related an account between a minister of a large denomination and himself: "A minister . . . recently came to me, and with tears running down his face, said, 'Thank God for the Full Gospel Business Men, who are meeting in hotel ballrooms, where ministers like myself can come and receive fellowship and spiritual strength.'"[44] There are, the

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[41]Demos Shakarian, "President's Message: Pentecostal Fire Must Fall Again," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, May, 1969, p. 34.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Demos Shakarian, "It's Later Than You Think," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, July-August, 1963, p. 23.

[44]Ibid.

minister added, hundreds of ministers who feel the church is being pulled away into something dangerous. They know they are going in the wrong direction and feel a sense of desperation.[45]

Two additional appeals which functioned to define the Fellowship's nature and goals throughout its history are God and country, and prosperity. God and country, as an appeal, filled one entire issue of Voice. Titles of the messages will help to illustrate the nature of these appeals: "In the Shadow of the Nation's Capital," "An Open Letter to the Secretary of State," "My Freedoms and My Responsibilities," "Where the Spirit of the Lord Is, There Is Liberty," and "This Is the Hope."[46] Excerpts from one address and the "Open Letter" make more explicit the emphasis upon this appeal: "As long as there are hearts that are filled with the Spirit of God, there will be men and women courageous enough . . . to stand up for their God and all things that are the sum total of freedom itself. I am often accused," he continued, "of mixing religion and politics. I plead guilty."[47] On the same theme, Miner Arganbright, an International Director for FGBMFI, expressed disappointment that Secretary of State Dean Rusk had

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, July-August, 1963.

[47] Wayne Poucher, "This Is the Hope: Excerpts from an Address Given at the FGBMFI Regional Convention in Washington D.C.," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, July-August, 1963, p. 25.

left God completely out of his Fourth of July message entitled "Our Heritage."[48] Believing that God is the very heart and core of our heritage, Arganbright reminded Rusk that the men who shaped America were brought up "almost to the man, in a strong religious atmosphere."[49] Citing prayers and declarations by the patriots, he insisted that "if the Lord does not protect and preserve our nation, all the U.N. Summit meetings with Khrushchev will be of no avail."[50] Calling attention to Benjamin Franklin's motion that prayer "imploring the divine wisdom and guidance from Heaven" be offered at each session of Congress, he added that "no nation that is right with God within will ever see the foe that can defeat it from without."[51]

The Carl Williams Story is representative of the attempt by FGBMFI to equate the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with prosperity. The entire history of FGBMFI, the story begins, "is studded with miracles. There is scarcely a member who has not experienced, in the management of his business . . . a miracle of God."[52] This appeal is probably basic to the organization's justification for existence. It assumes that the church is unsuccesful because businessmen have a limited

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[48]Miner Arganbright, "An Open Letter to the Secretary of State," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, July-August, 1963, pp. 8-9.

[49]Ibid. [50]Ibid. [51]Ibid.

[52]"The Desert Shall Rejoice," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, January-February, 1967, p. 3.

role in directing its mission. Many business men see a great variance between the potential use of funds received each Sunday morning and the actual realization. The dissonance engendered is often enhanced by limited credibility ascribed to ministerial business adeptness. Dissatisfied with the financial aspects of the church, businessmen quickly identify with an organization which promises to use the investment knowhow of successful businessmen to spread the gospel, and which, according to the testimonies of other businessmen like themselves, virtually guarantees stock-market-type returns for their investments.[53]

FGBMFI has defined the needs and goals for society, for the church, and for businessmen in a myriad of ways. In each case, however, the overriding goal has been evangelism.[54] With each outreach, the Fellowship points to the goal of winning the target audience to a twofold experience in Christ:

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[53]FGBMFI Tract Ministry makes available for free distribution the testimonies of numerous businessmen: "Poultry . . . Politics . . . and Prayer: The Enoch Christoffersen Story," "The Man behind the Ad: The L. P. Safford Story," "The Steps of a Good Man: The Bill Norwood Story," "God's Plowman: Henry Krause," "My Business is God's Business: The Walter Block Story," "God Giveth the Increase: The Ernie Tavilla Story," "The Key to Success: The Don Locke Story," "Man on the Move: The Earl Prickett Story," "The Good Life: The Al Duren Story," "Bay Area Business Man: The Frank Cordeiro Story," "The Wall: The Wendell Wallace Story," "Total Involvement: The Art Evanson Story," "Our Man in Washington: The Al Malachuk Story" (Los Angeles, Calif. FGBMFI, n.d.).

[54]Following the Miami Convention a special "Teamster Edition" of Voice was prepared and sent to 175,000 members of the Teamsters Union. Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, October, 1961, p. 25.

regeneration (salvation) and Spirit-baptism. For example, during FGBMFI preconvention activities in Miami, Florida, in 1961, Congressman Walter Judd described the growing threat of Communism as a spreading cancer. After observing that both FGBMFI and the Teamsters were meeting in the Americana Hotel at the same time, he challenged the businessmen to take the principles of being perfect in Christ and loving all people into business, law, politics, and medicine. The mission of FGBMFI, he added, was "to bring Christ to men and women so that He can change them, and charge them, and send them out into society to save it!"[55] Recognizing in Judd's remarks and in the intensive interaction between Christian businessmen and Teamsters a new point of emphasis, Shakarian invited James Hoffa, President of the Teamsters Union, to address the FGBMFI convention. In his remarks to the businessmen, Hoffa observed that essentially we "have the same purpose at heart: the betterment of man."[56] Responding to Hoffa's remarks and a week of high interaction between members of the two organizations, Shakarian explained to his Fellowship why FGBMFI should be interested in labor. Our Fellowship believes, he said, that if the rank and file of all the unions would become born-again Christians, filled with the Holy Spirit, a

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[55]Walter Judd, "Jesus Christ Will Overcome Communism," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, September, 1961, p. 6.

[56]"Concerning Photograph on Front Cover," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, October, 1961, p. 1.

"spiritual revolution would spread all over the world, sweeping Communism from the face of the earth."[57]

To extend the analysis of adaptation to the numerous units of the movement would be repetitive. By now, it should be apparent that each unit sought to relate the oral Pentecostal tradition to the more established tradition to which the unit was most closely associated. Due to the controversial nature of the Pentecostal experience, one would expect that Charismatic Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics would either leave voluntarily, be pressured to leave, or seek to identify the experience with the doctrinal stance of the specific denomination. The existence of numerous denominational communions is sufficient witness that the latter action was taken by many. One would also expect that persons who left their denominations would either associate with Pentecostal denominations or with the more interdenominational units. The numerous interdenominational ministries, such as Ralph Wilkerson at Melodyland, Bob Mumford, and Derek Prince, signify this to be the case. The more interdenominational a ministry becomes, the more open becomes the definition of church (e.g., prayer groups, coffee houses, communes) and the rhetoric of ecumenism.

Education: The Primary Technique for Adapting an Oral Tradition

Bettinghaus lists eight persuasive techniques that

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[57]Demos Shakarian, "Why Our Fellowship Is Interested in the Teamsters," Full Gospel Business Men's Voice, October, 1961, p. 1.

have worked successfully in past social action campaigns: basic education, demonstration or trials, questionnaires or surveys, the spirit of competition, development committees, channel for complaints, use of past programs, and readiness to exploit a crisis.[58] While Neo-Pentecostals have used several of these techniques effectively, this examination revealed that the technique of "basic education" did more than the others to intentionally further open-ecumenism.

Representatives of the movement examined for their use of basic education as a technique again include: David du Plessis, FGBMFI, CCP, and Bob Mumford. Du Plessis and FGBMFI represent two major persuasive forces in Neo-Pentecostalism. Both have had deep roots in Classical Pentecostalism and the healing and ecumenical movements. The CCP represents the first and most mature effort of a group within a specific denomination to win legitimacy and acceptance of the Pentecostal experience. Bob Mumford is just one of several hundred itinerant Charismatics, but as this section reveals, he has had a very sizable influence on many persons who have received the Pentecostal experience and are trying to understand its implications for their own lives and the life of the church.

Bettinghaus explained that social changes, which are considered "new or far out," often require a campaign to "educate the public up to the point where it can accept the

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[58]Bettinghaus, Persuasive Communication, pp. 268-272.

new idea. . . . "[59] The major strategy for the Classical Pentecostals prior to 1960 consisted of using camp meetings and revivals. Camp meetings were associated with annual business conferences and functioned to challenge the ministers and lay delegates of specific Pentecostal denominations. Revivals were designed to reach persons of the community (mostly Protestant Christians), to proselyte Pentecostals from other Pentecostal churches, and to revive their own existing membership. Little emphasis was placed in either of these situations on basic education as a technique for propagation. When educative efforts were made, they generally followed a hard-sell argumentative effort to convince one of the validity of the experience and subsequently to win them to a Pentecostal church; or they served to reinforce an experience previously received. Education beyond this level in Classical Pentecostal churches was generally limited to Sunday school or second-rate formal educative situations.

Efforts toward formal education among Classical Pentecostals suffered from (1) intense anti-intellectualism among many pastors whose own educational backgrounds lacked college training; (2) uncertainty regarding the objectives toward which their institutions should be directed; (3) lack of highly trained teachers and administrators; and (4) financial squeeze.[60] The major purpose of formal education among

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[59] Ibid., p. 268.

[60] The writer was closely associated with the pastors and educators in a Pentecostal denomination between the

Classical Pentecostals has been, congruent with a closed-ecumenical strategy, in-group training of denominational pastors. The president of one Pentecostal Holiness school, for example, often reminded delegates at church conferences that they were kidding themselves if they thought Pentecostal youth would be trained by other schools, state or Pentecostal, to build Pentecostal Holiness churches.[61] In accordance with this view, each Pentecostal denomination built separate schools for the purpose of reinforcing the next generation of Pentecostals and for the perpetuation of their own brand of Classical Pentecostalism.[62]

David du Plessis sounded an early blast against denominational education when he declared that he would never give one cent to Christian schools. They are, he insisted, "just hot houses where weak Christians are developed."[63] There might be some value to them, he admitted, but generally they isolate the child and "he comes out a stranger to the world."[64] Subsequently, Neo-Pentecostals adopted a form of

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years 1955 and 1966. During those years, he had occasion to observe ministerial attitudes related to the support of their own educational system.

[61]The writer served as pastor in three conferences where this philosophy was set forth as well as in committee meetings where strategy was determined.

[62]Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 209.

[63]David J. du Plessis, "The Pentecostal Churches," October 13, 1960. (Taped)

[64]Ibid.

basic education congruent with a closer relationship with society. The new objective was to enlighten persons within the historic Protestant churches. Because basic education was directed toward historic Protestantism, consisted of teachers from a myriad of denominations including Roman Catholicism, and was not meant to destroy the denominational institutions, persuasive strategies were generally more open-ecumenical. By use of lecture-forums, seminars, audio and video tapes, and home study and prayer groups, Neo-Pentecostals attempted to make the Pentecostal ideology and experience congruent with various personal attitudes and denominational doctrines.

David J. du Plessis

Du Plessis, for example, found that the WCC would welcome and even invite basic teaching focused on the nature and contributions of Pentecostalism. Accordingly, du Plessis sought to educate clergymen in several ways: by attending meetings of the International Missionary Council at Willingen, Germany, in 1952, as observer; as a staff member of the Second Assembly of the WCC during 1954 meetings at Evanston; as special consultant of the International Missionary Council of Ghana, West Africa, in 1958; as Pentecostal Fraternal delegate to the 18th General Council of the Presbyterian World Alliance at Sao Paulo, Brazil, in 1959; and by attending the Third Assembly of the WCC in New Delhi, India, in 1961 as

Pentecostal observer.[65] Occasionally at these meetings, du Plessis was invited to speak.

Although the specific material of each address was greatly determined by the amount of time allotted, du Plessis generally began with a testimony of how God had changed him from being closed-minded toward liberal churches to an open-minded Christian. He proceeded to explain how he became Executive Secretary of the WPC and, while in this position, became acquainted with John Mackay and other WCC leaders whose fairness toward him made an impact on his own life. Then he would complete his opening remarks by quickly citing the recent attention devoted to Pentecostalism by the secular press and well-known religious leaders. The body of his address generally focused on the history of Pentecostalism and the current change in religious climate. Under these two subjects, he stressed how actions of the historic churches at the turn of the century were responsible for the birth of Pentecostal denominations and how new interest in the Holy Spirit was making it possible for Spirit-baptized persons within the historic denominations to remain in their churches. This new climate, he suggested, seemed more Christian. In each speech he included Biblical references and the necessity of one's experiencing the Baptism of the Holy Spirit prior to his attempted evaluation of its reality.[66]

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[65]Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, pp. 121-122.

[66]David J. du Plessis' taped sermons and lectures: "Ecumenical Institute Lectures," 1967; "Manifestations in

After gaining acquaintance and credibility through participation in several WCC conferences, du Plessis remarked, "I rejoice in great mass meetings and in mass movements, but I feel much happier in this ministry of reaching the shepherds and the leaders rather than the flocks, for if the shepherds turn to the Lord, they will soon bring the sheep back to the true shepherd--Christ."[67] In 1971 du Plessis reiterated that ministering to ministers was a privilege that he was enjoying more frequently all the time. "Just like a microphone will amplify my voice to reach the multitudes," he reported, "so every minister that I reach will amplify the outreach of the message to his own people, not once but all his life."[68]

Du Plessis employed similar strategy when invited to speak in various seminaries and universities. During 1959 he lectured on Pentecostal issues at Princeton Seminary, Evangelical Congregation School of Theology, Yale Divinity School, Union Theological Seminary, The Ecumenical Institution of the WCC in Switzerland, Perkins School of Theology, and Southern Methodist University. A typical example, the lectures at Princeton focused on three themes: the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Individual, the Holy Spirit in the Life of the

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the Life of the Individual," November 2, 1959; "Manifestations in the Life of the Church," November 3, 1959; "The Holy Spirit in the Mission of the Church," November 4, 1959; "How to Bring It to Others," n.d.; "Guidance," n.d.

[67]Du Plessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go, p. 25.

[68]David J. du Plessis, "Newsletter," September-October, 1971, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

Church, and the Holy Spirit in the Mission of the Church.[69]

Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI)

FGBMFI adopted three levels of basic educational strategy: testimonial, ministerial teaching, and seminar. The testimonial level has been used since the Fellowship's inception and consists of the testimonies of men from all walks of life. Practically every testimony related that the speaker was living in financial, physical, emotional, or spiritual deprivation prior to receiving the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Life after the Baptism, the evidence of which was speaking in tongues, is generally reminiscent of the Horatio Alger rags-to-riches stories. Every meeting, whether local chapter, regional, or international, uses several testimonies as a means of creating dissonance. The glowing testimony of what God has done for one's personal life, his family life, and especially his business serves to define the listener's own sense of deprivation and provides sufficient reason for giving attention to the teaching and evangelistic sessions which follow. Regional conventions generally include testimonies and teaching during the daytime sessions and evangelistic preaching and prayer for the sick at night.

Ministerial teaching, the second level of basic education, is performed by various persons, e.g., David du Plessis, Bob Mumford, Ralph Wilkerson, Dennis Bennett, Harald Bredesen,

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[69]Du Plessis, "Mission Lectures."

James Brown, or others.[70] While this second level is generally more substantive and less high-pressured than testimonies, the evening evangelistic mettings are often reminiscent of Classical Pentecostalism and indeed encourage the "cultural baggage" of the revivalistic tradition.[71] Du Plessis reported that many teachers who once participated in FGBMFI now refuse to be associated with the Fellowship. He himself is very hesitant about teaching if he does not agree with the kind of evangelism expected from the evening speaker.[72]

During the early 1960's, seminars, the third level of educational strategy, were scheduled throughout the country for the purposes of giving intellectual credibility to the movement and enhancing the organization's appeal to college students, professors, and ministers. View, a quarterly

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[70]These are some of the more recurring names which appear on promotional brochures received from twenty regional conventions which convened throughout the United States in 1972. The names also appear in past issues of Voice.

[71]McDonnell, Catholic Pentecostalism, p. 11. McDonnell, a Roman Catholic priest, believes the real issue facing Christianity is not glossolalia, but fullness of life in the Spirit. He also believes that Pentecostalism must be considered on its merits separate from the "cultural baggage" or association with the tradition of revivalism. An objective evaluation of Pentecostalism within traditional Christendom is difficult because of: its limited critical literature, its public image, the fear of religious experience, general variance from socially acceptable norms, its traditional association with emotionalism, the illusive nature of spiritual matters, and its actual or potential threat to established Protestantism. As a result, some who are attempting to adapt Pentecostalism to historic Protestantism would minimize the traditional characteristics of Classical Pentecostalism.

[72]Du Plessis, personal interview.

journal for "interpreting the world-wide charismatic renewal," emerged as a result of the seminars.[73] The nature of the journal's articles and the credentials of the authors indicate the importance ascribed to this approach by FGBMFI. Of the seven authors, one was a member of the medical faculty of the University of Geneva, Switzerland; one was a practicing physician in Longview, Texas, and consultant to Oral Roberts University in the development of its Health Resources Center; one was a clinical psychologist in Springfield, Missouri; one was a former curate at All Soul's, Langham Place, London; another was professor of Christian Missions at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky; still another was a history professor at Oral Roberts University; and the last was the pastor of Emmanuel Baptist Church, Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey. The accumulated degrees included two M.D.'s, two Th.D.'s, one Ph.D., and one M.A. with all doctoral course work completed.[74]

Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers (CCP)

The CCP used two forms of basic education: Commission studies and, more recently, national and regional Charismatic conferences. Bradford explained that due to the increased number of Commission investigations of Charismatic Presbyterians, a decision was made to appeal the cases to higher

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[73] *View*, 1964-1966.

[74] *View*, 1965.

judiciary courts within the church. The stated purpose of the appeals was "to awaken the eyes of the Presbyterian Church to the movement of the Holy Spirit in the world and to the gross injustices within our denomination in this relationship."[75] As a result of several appeals, the most significant of which was Bob Whittaker, four Overtures, numbered 14, 15, 16, and 17, were introduced in the 180th General Assembly (1968) of the United Presbyterian Church. A special Committee on the Work of the Holy Spirit was appointed by this Assembly to study the four Overtures with special reference to "glossolalia and other Charismatic gifts within the fellowship of the United Presbyterian Church" and to report to the 181st General Assembly (1969).[76] The Committee made a preliminary report in 1969, recommended permission to continue the study, and finally reported to the 182nd General Assembly (1970).[77] To accomplish their assignment, subcommittees were assigned to examine exegesis, theology, psychology, and healing, as well as ecumenical correspondence.

The final report, adopted and published by the General Assembly, included extensive examination of the available literature and specific guidelines according to the following categories: all members, ministers who have had

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[75]Bradford, Newsletter, November, 1967, p. 3.

[76]"Report of the Special Committee," p. 1.

[77]Ibid.

Neo-Pentecostal experiences, ministers who have not had Neo-Pentecostal experiences, laity who have had Neo-Pentecostal experiences, laity who have not had Neo-Pentecostal experiences, Presbyteries, and Sessions.[78] While all of the guidelines are prescriptions designed to stimulate an atmosphere of tolerance, their positive nature is demonstrated in "Guidelines for All."

> 1. Be tolerant and accepting of those whose Christian experiences differ from your own.
> 2. Continually undergird and envelop all discussions, conferences, meetings, and persons in prayer.
> 3. Be open to new ways in which God by his Spirit may be speaking to the Church.
> 4. Recognize that even though spiritual gifts may be abused, this does not mean that they should be prohibited.
> 5. Remember that like other new movements in church history, Neo-Pentecostalism may have a valid contribution to make to the ecumenical Church.[79]

Of major importance to Charismatic Presbyterians is the inclusion in the report's fifty-six page document of a principal recommendation that the report be studied by all local Sessions. To the extent that this document has been used by Neo-Pentecostal Presbyterians to justify their involvement to Presbyteries and local Sessions, it might be considered a Magna Charta.[80] The effort can be categorized as a technique of basic education, however, insofar as it represents an effort by Neo-Pentecostal Presbyterians to get exegetical and

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[78] Ibid., pp. 22-28. [79] Ibid., p. 23.

[80] Permanent Theological Committee, The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., 1971. Bradford, on several occasions, expressed to audiences his belief that the document was a Magna Charta for Charismatic Presbyterians.

psychological research into the hands of governing bodies for the purposes of encouraging intelligent decision making regarding those already involved and of getting a denominationally endorsed exegesis of the subject into the hands of all ministers and lay delegates.

Even before members of the CCP had successfully penetrated the United Presbyterian Church by means of formal commission reports, other members were challenging the southern branch of Presbyterianism. In 1967, Andrew Jumper, Senior Minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Lubbock, Texas, introduced the following resolution in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.:

> WHEREAS pneumatology is a neglected field, particularly within Reformed theology as evidenced by omission from the original Westminster Confession; and WHEREAS enthusiasts of all ages, such as the Montanists, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Pentecostals, and others have discouraged the church from an adequate study in this field because of the fear of loosening the ties between the Spirit and the historical Christ, or between the Spirit and the letter of the Scriptures, or between the Spirit and the institutional church; and WHEREAS this fear runs the danger of causing faith to become intellectual, traditional, and institutional; and WHEREAS current ecumenical discussions confront us with pneumatological questions; and WHEREAS the very nature of the church as Reformed and reforming is dependent upon our adequate theological knowledge about the nature, the promises, the action, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit for openness to His continuing work of reformation; and WHEREAS many new insights in the field of biblical theology with regard to the Holy Spirit have not yet found their way to systematic theology, or to the pulpit, or to the life of the church; and WHEREAS the World Alliance of Reformed Churches has summoned our churches and our congregations to find the biblical corrective to the sectarian view of the gifts of the Spirit, to search out the gifts within our membership and to make room for them in the upbuilding of the church and the witness to the world, THEREFORE the Presbytery of the Southwest humbly

> petitions the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., to undertake a thorough theological study of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, giving special attention to the relationship of the Spirit and Christ, particularly as this relates to Christ as the bearer of the Spirit and the Spirit as the action of the exalted Christ; to the relationship of the Spirit to the church, both as an institution and fellowship; to the relationship of the Spirit to the individual, particularly as this relates to the process of regeneration, experience, and the variety of the charismata; to the relationship of the Spirit to the total mission of the church; and to the relationship of the Spirit and the world.[81]

The 1967 Assembly, in turn, referred the resolution to the Permanent Theological Committee "for study of the doctrine of the person and work of the Holy Spirit."[82] As a result, a Presbyterian denomination produced a positive document charging "that the General Assembly commend this paper to the churches for study, and authorize the office of the General Assembly to publish it in booklet form, distribute copies to all ministers and clerks of sessions, and make copies available to the church at large."[83]

Jumper's speech which preceded his resolution may have contributed significantly to the success of the resolution. In his opening remarks he acknowledged that the Commission on the Minister and His Work "has called to our attention that in our Presbytery there is what the Commission has termed a

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[81]Andrew Jumper, "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Renewal of the Church" (reprint of sermon presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., 1967), p. 23.

[82]Permanent Theological Committee, The Person, p. 3.

[83]Ibid., p. 1.

'glossolalia movement.'"[84] Redefining the issue, Jumper declared, "I take this to mean that there is a movement among certain persons within our Presbytery which has as its aim and goal the phenomenon of speaking in tongues."[85] If there is such a movement, Jumper suggested, the participants are "open to misunderstanding and abuse--and rightly so."[86] He then traced the scriptural basis of the Pentecostal experience as held by members of Pentecostal denominations and subsequently rejected the Classical position that the Baptism "in" or "of" the Holy Spirit always resulted in an experience of glossolalia. With the acknowledgement that Classical Pentecostals had erred in doctrine, Jumper suggested that Pentecostals are correct when they speak of a "working of the Holy Spirit beyond that which is acknowledged in major denominations."[87] In brief support he cited several of the most distinguished Presbyterian theologians whose admission of this claim was common knowledge. From this point, Jumper's presentation is most interesting. He made no indictment of the Presbyterian church, choosing rather to ask for guidance and counsel from his denomination. He awakened one day, he disclosed, to discover that after eleven years in the ministry, he did not want to go to work. That evening, along with a small group of people, he became convinced of his need for an experience he did not possess and received the "infilling"

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[84]Jumper, "The Baptism," p. 3.

[85]Ibid. [86]Ibid., p. 8. [87]Ibid., p. 5.

of the Holy Spirit.[88] A change in his life was best evidenced, he claimed, by the testimony of those who knew him best. In their opinion, Something or Someone had transformed his life. Eventually, the group followed the directives of the Church in studying an Ad Interim report to the General Assembly which concluded with the words:

> This is a time when the church, rather than concentrating upon some one apparent manifestation of the Spirit, should be in prayer for all His gifts and the fullness of His power in order that the church may be renewed. . . . The prayer of the church has always been Veni, Creator Spiritus (Come, Creator Spirit), seeking these gifts and fruit and praising their Giver for them; and that must be our prayer and praise still.[89]

While praying for all nine gifts of the Spirit, he suggested, should we be surprised when someone receives the gift of speaking in tongues? Because of his own experience and that of others in his church, he expained, he had a need for guidance and counsel.

As a minister Jumper had every right to expect some guidance and counsel from his church. One person, however, might not justify major study by the Permanent Theological Committee. Personal and local need, therefore, was linked to concern for renewal. Need for renewal is a "given" in the Presbyterian as well as most historic denominations. Renewal has been presented in terms of theological renewal; moral reappraisement and restatement; social relevance; fundamentalist, back-to-the-Bible, back-to-the-faith-of-our-fathers

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[88] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[89] Ibid., p. 8.

movement; and ecumenism. Jumper added that all of these approaches had good and ill consequences and were certainly open to debate. Real renewal, however, lies in a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit. If this--the work of the Holy Spirit--has been the basis of new life in the church across the centuries, he concluded, "surely what is needed today is a new understanding of the biblical witness to the Spirit, and a new openness to His work both in the church and in individual lives."[90]

Finally, to his personal need and the need for an understanding of the work of the Spirit in the church and in the lives of men today (Renewal) was added a moderate indictment against the church for neglect. As comprehensive as Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion are, in the area of the Holy Spirit's dynamic activity, much has been left unsaid. For those who stand in the tradition of the Westminster Confession, there was no chapter on the Holy Spirit until 1942--300 years after the writing of the Confession. Because most literature on the Holy Spirit since 1942 has been of a devotional or semitheological nature, Jumper claimed that "we are badly in need within Reformed theology of a fresh, definitive statement on the subject."[91]

In both of these major Presbyterian bodies, basic education proved to be a predominant technique. While regional and national conventions have been used only minimally

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[90] Ibid., p. 10

[91] Ibid., p. 11.

to date, extensive groundwork has been laid for denominational and interdenominational conferences by acquiring denominational statements and research reports. The first National Presbyterian Conference on the Holy Spirit was scheduled to convene in the National Shrine of Our Lady of the Snows, Belleville, Illinois, January 11, 1972. The conference, sponsored by the CCP, advertised the Communion's purpose:

> To bring to the attention of all within the Body of Believers the outpouring of God the Holy Spirit upon all flesh by God the Father and God the Son--the One Eternal, Infinite God of the Universe; to encourage and to strengthen Presbyterian ministers through the fellowship of praise, prayer, edification, and mutual sharing in the present-day Pentecost; to build up Christians by relying upon the power and the work of the Holy Spirit for the glory of Christ Jesus and for the extension of the Kingdom on earth; to promote love, peace, unity, and purity among Presbyterians and all other Christians in a truly inclusive ecumenical spirit irrespective of color, culture, or condition.[92]

To guarantee a broad educative experience for ministers and laity alike, the Communion brought together a group of ministers possessing distinguished Charismatic as well as denominational credentials. Rodman Williams, Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Texas, spoke on the topic, "Theological Advances in the World-Wide Pentecost."[93] James A. Brown,

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[92]"National Presbyterian Conference on the Holy Spirit" (printed brochure for conference of the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, held in Belleville, Ill., January 11-14, 1972), p. 2.

[93]Ibid.

pastor of the historic Upper Octorara United Presbyterian Church of Parkesburg, Pennsylvania, has been a leader in the Neo-Pentecostal movement since 1958. He has been a regular speaker for FGBMFI; an active participant in a myriad of Charismatic seminars; and for years conducted regular Saturday-night Pentecostal-type services in his Presbyterian Church, while maintaining a rather standard, formal Presbyterian service on Sunday mornings. His topic in the Conference was entitled "Maintaining Unity in the Local Parish."[94] Andrew Jumper, the Presbyterian minister who presented the resolution regarding a study of the Holy Spirit to the General Assembly, addressed the Conference on the topic, "The Challenge of the Charismatic Movement to the Institutional Church."[95] Finally, George Bradford, President of the Board of Directors for the CCP, spoke on the subject, "Ministers of Reconciliation."[96]

Itinerant Charismatics

Itinerant Charismatics and independent fellowship-type churches have used basic education techniques in several effective ways. For example, Bob Mumford recently founded Life Changers "a vehicle designed to communicate what God is saying to the Whole church of Jesus Christ."[97] Viewing his role, not

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[94] Ibid. [95] Ibid. [96] Ibid.

[97] Bob Mumford, "Life Changers," January, 1973, p. 1. (A circular distributed to friends and supporters of Bob Mumford; it includes a brief letter, list of available materials, and order form.)

as a pastor or evangelist but rather as a teacher, Mumford explained that for fifteen years his objective had been to "get significant teaching recorded, written, and collected into one place. . . . "[98] The growing audio industry is viewed by Mumford as analogous to the invention of printing. As printing constituted a means for education during the Reformation, audio tapes make possible an extended educational reach today. "By means of books (the printing press) and audio cassettes (talking books)," said Mumford, "I am able to teach and minister to many people in many places."[99] Jim Mills, an Oklahoma representative for Mumford and other itinerant Charismatics based in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, explained that Mumford's ministry had become so popular and his time in such demand that on any given date Mumford could be scheduled in five different places.[100] To meet this demand, Mumford turned to varied educative resources. In one circular, he listed four published books; one short booklet, "A Psalm for Living"; six study guides; and 133 cassette tapes, twenty-eight of which can be heard in series with the study guides. "It is my personal conviction," said Mumford, "that God in His providence had again caused today's communication possibilities, just as He did those four centuries ago." History, he added, will reveal the Charismatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit to

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[98] Ibid. [99] Ibid.

[100] Jim Mills, personal interview, Tulsa, Okla., January 24, 1973. (Taped)

be even "more significant and far-reaching than the Reformation."[101]

Seminars have also become successful as a basic educational technique among itinerant Charismatics and local independent fellowships. The Holy Spirit teaching seminar is a primary educational instrument for Melodyland Christian Center in Anaheim, California; Gordon Lindsay and Christ for the Nations Institute, Dallas, Texas; the Holy Spirit Teaching Ministry, Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Tulsa Christian Fellowship, Tulsa, Oklahoma; and others. The function of seminars was explained by Bill Sanders, a former Southern Baptist pastor presently director of Tulsa Christian Fellowship (TCF).[102] The seminars, usually one-week programs sponsored by independent fellowships or prayer groups (groups outside the institutional church), generally combine specialized teaching in day sessions with preaching during the evening sessions. To justify Charismatic seminars, Sanders argues, first they enable Charismatics to demonstrate their normality by showing that they "put britches on like anyone else and are not strange two-headed monsters." Second, persons from the historic churches who are exposed to these "respectable" Pentecostal services often return to their own

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[101]Mumford, "Life Changers," pp. 2-3.

[102]Bill Sanders, "Charismatic Clinics/Seminars," January 19, 1973. (Video taped class lecture to Contemporary Trends in Christian Communication, Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, Okla.)

churches, which have fine traditional forms of worship, with the question, Why can't we also have this experience in the Holy Spirit? Third, the post-Spirit-baptism teaching presents the Baptism in the Holy Spirit as a "beginning" experience rather than an "end" or "climax experience" as it is often associated with Classical Pentecostals. Fourth, it allows Christians from the historic churches to seek and receive the Pentecostal experience on neutral nonthreatening ground such as a fine motel or hotel.[103]

The process of selecting speakers for Charismatic seminars illustrates both the reticulate structure of the movement and variations of ecumenical rhetoric. Sanders explained that local Charismatic "elders" (pastors, Bible teachers, independent small group shepherds) meet to determine the needs of the various groups and solicit participation from recognized specialists. For example, they might invite du Plessis, an ecumenical authority; Charles Simpson, an expert on church government; Larry Christenson, author and lecturer on family relationships; Ralph Wilkerson, founder and director of Melodyland Christian Center across from Disneyland in Anaheim; or Bob Mumford, promoter of "balance" among the varied ministries. One of the keys to making such a technique work, explained Sanders, is extensive preparation and a neutral location where ministers and laity from historic churches will not feel threatened. Sanders, like other

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[103] *Ibid.*

itinerant Charismatics, sees the seminar as part of an open-ecumenical strategy. Many hesitate and often refuse to speak in churches if they believe the pastor to be an empire builder, i.e., if he is overtly attempting to draw members from historic denominations rather than send them Spirit-baptized back to the churches.[104]

The basic education technique in home study and prayer groups was explained by Cecil Cousen and demonstrated in three different but reticulately related groups in Tulsa, Oklahoma: Tulsa Men for Christ, Tom Mohn, and Jim Mills. Cecil Cousen, Charismatic leader in the Great Britain Christian Community, believes that in house groups the "body of Christ" is coming together. To him they represent the ecumenism of the Spirit, the opportunity for solid Bible teaching, and spiritual worship accompanied by manifestations of the Spirit. Any renewal of the Holy Spirit, Cousen advised, "always brings to the fore the message of the unity of the body of Christ. House groups are the major current expression of this."[105] After visiting numerous house groups throughout Canada, Cousen wrote, all of them are "virile, spiritual, Bible-based, anxious to learn, already quite large and growing. . . . " In addition, they were made up of a cross-section of the Lord's people, they were meeting in homes at nonchurch times,

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[104] Ibid.

[105] Cecil Cousen, "The House Group, the Local Church, and the Christian," Logos, I (January-February, 1972), 10.

they consisted of persons who were loyally supporting their respective churches, and they were challenging and stirring up their church and and its ministries and in some cases, "bringing renewal into those churches."[106]

Charles Farah, founder of Tulsa Men for Christ, has demonstrated that small Bible-study groups generate a strong Charismatic evangelism within historic churches. Four years ago, Farah, while meeting in a small study group, decided to launch a twofold program. His first objective was to bring men, within the historic churches, to a personal encounter with Jesus Christ. His second objective was to motivate these men individually to study the Scriptures. Several study groups were formulated, and each fell into one of five categories: an introductory course, chapter analysis, survey of the Bible, Scripture memory course, or Christian growth. Once each six weeks all of the groups met together for breakfast, heard testimonies of various participants, and received a challenge from a recognized Christian layman, teacher, or minister. Because the evangelistic approach was low-key, educationally-oriented and laymen-centered, most participants did not feel threatened as they moved from an encounter with Christ the Savior to Christ the Spirit-baptizer.[107]

Examination of Tom Mohn's use of small groups gives

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Charles Farah, personal interview, Tulsa, Okla., January 23, 1973.

insight into an alternative use of small group ministries as a channel for basic education. Mohn views the small group as the training ground where Christians "become the salt of the earth, the leaven of the body of Christ."[108] Out of his experience with small groups, emerged the "still water concept" which proclaimed that within the group situation a person could become whom and what God wanted him to become. The "intimidation" often felt in the church setting, he explained, was taken away and believers encouraged to interact, to disclose, to share understandings of the Scriptures, and to pray and receive prayer for personal needs. While working as a disc jockey for KORU, Oral Roberts University, Mohn began worshiping with a small group. His influence increased among different groups, and eventually the people in one home group suggested paying him to serve as their teacher and minister. As this idea spread, Mohn soon became a full-time minister to small home groups throughout the Tulsa metropolitan area. Although he rejected the terms "group dynamics" and "methods" to explain small group effectiveness, he discussed specific prescriptions about which those in small groups must be aware: (1) don't start groups for the sake of having them, let them emerge to meet needs; (2) guard against "in-growing" gossip sessions and social functions by keeping major focus

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[108]Tom Mohn, "My Experience with the Small Group Ministry," February 18, 1972. (Video taped class lecture to Contemporary Trends in Christian Communication, Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, Okla.)

on the Word; (3) emphasize Jesus and refuse to discuss doctrinal differences; (4) keep groups smaller than twenty-five in number; and (5) let the group take its course, i.e., do not try to keep it alive after it has fulfilled its purpose for existence.[109]

Mohn believes the church to be a legitimate institution for twentieth-century Christianity. Christ has not written "Ichabod" over the Church, he exclaimed; rather, the Church simply needs renewal. Christians achieving "maturity" in the body of Christ have the responsibility of returning to their churches with an understanding of what it means to have a Spirit-baptized relationship with Jesus Christ. Mohn, therefore, typifies the many itinerant Charismatics who have adapted small group ministries as a basic education technique within the rhetoric of open-ecumenism.[110]

Jim Mills's use of audio and video tapes, in conjunction with small groups, represented a third use of basic education to small group ministries. One major objective in Mills's approach was to supplement the Charismatic ministry of recently Spirit-baptized teachers and ministers with the "credible" messages of "proven" itinerant Charismatic ministries. Mills explained that when ministers in historic Protestant churches received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and resigned or were asked to leave their pastorates, they generally had only a minimal understanding of the manifestations

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[109] *Ibid.*

[110] *Ibid.*

of the Spirit. With audio tapes from the Holy Spirit Teaching Mission (HSTM), however, many of them were enabled to meet with home groups; present an audio teaching tape from Bob Mumford, Derek Prince, Charles Simpson, or Don Basham; learn while presenting the message; and conclude the meeting with discussion and prayer for Spiritual experiences. Tapes played in small group meetings were also made available on a "no charge" loan basis and served to extend the influence of the small group into the homes and offices of the persons in attendance. For persons who held membership in historic Protestant churches, the small group plus the audio tapes functioned to provide "significant others" who could give needed understanding and instruction.

Twice each year, key cities were visited and invitations distributed to the numerous small groups to come together in a larger meeting to view a video presentation of one of the itinerant Charismatic teachers. By this means, (1) persons in small groups were encouraged by seeing others engaged in like activities; (2) young converts to Neo-Pentecostalism developed ministries while learning from and identifying with "significant" teachers; and (3) itinerant Charismatic teachers appeared at several places at the same time via video tape. This arrangement, while less than ideal for the viewers, served to create a cohesive tie between Charismatics in small groups and successful teachers who had also faced the task of adjusting to a not-always-acceptable

religious experience. At the same time, it enabled the teachers to have more time to do the writing needed to fill the evergrowing literature demand of new converts to the movement.[111]

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to trace further the adaptation of Neo-Pentecostalism to historic Protestantism by means of an open-ecumenical rhetorical strategy. Whereas Chapter IV defined three kinds of persuasion sets operant within the Neo-Pentecostal movement and how the selection of these sets brought about a more ecumenical rhetoric, this chapter focused on "basic education" as the predominant technique used to adapt the oral tradition of Pentecostalism to the written theology of historic Protestantism. Two propositions were developed in this chapter: (1) The strategy of open-ecumenism produced attempts to change the image of the tradition with which glossolalia was associated and (2) Neo-Pentecostals relied heavily on variations of the techniques of "basic education" to achieve their goals.

This chapter was divided into three parts: Early Discomfort with an Oral Tradition, Attempts to Adapt an Oral Tradition, and Education: The Primary Technique for Adapting an Oral Tradition. The first part revealed that

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[111]Jim Mills, personal interview.

Pentecostalism, in the twentieth century, succeeded in making Christianity aware of its neglect of the Holy Spirit. This was not done with a written theology but, rather, with an oral tradition which emphasized that Pentecost was not a moment in history but a repeatable experience for the church today. The nature of the Pentecostal experience encouraged a dynamic oral witness which, in turn, gave rise to an oral tradition best expressed as "full gospel" or "How much of the reality of Christ can be experienced today?" It is especially interesting to notice that the superficial theology of the movement received less criticism than the experience of glossolalia which signified to them the "full" reception of the reality of Christ.

Basic to the oral tradition of Pentecostals was their experience with glossolalia. On this experience stood their uniqueness, hinged their opposition, and rested the need for adaptation. To Classical Pentecostals, glossolalia generally represented a message from God to man. It was followed by an interpretation just as "inspired" as the unknown tongue. With the birth of Neo-Pentecostalism and the desire to stay within one's church after receiving the experience came the belief that glossolalia was language from one's spirit to God. The early sensing of this need to adapt was seen in the messages of Dennis Bennett, Oral Roberts, and John Sherrill.

Part two focused more specifically on the efforts of two groups to adapt the experience to historic Protestantism.

David du Plessis, for example, argued that the churches' main problem was one of powerlessness, discarded the popular Pentecostal notion of being "filled" with the Spirit, and rejected, as "cultural baggage," various extremism considered by many Classical Pentecostals to be manifestations of the Spirit. Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International identified its wares to historic Christianity by adapting its belief concerning the Holy Spirit to three major appeals: unity of all believers as opposed to sectarianism, God and Country, and prosperity of believers.

Part three contrasted the Classical Pentecostal use of revivals and camp meetings with the Neo-Pentecostal use of lecture-forums, seminars, tapes, and small groups. Du Plessis, FGBMFI, Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers, and itinerant Charismatics each used specific educational techniques to make Pentecost acceptable to the larger Christian society.

CHAPTER VI

NEO-PENTECOSTALISM IN ONE MAJOR CITY

Chapters IV and V have shown open-ecumenism with its use of basic educative techniques to be the predominant persuasive strategy within the Neo-Pentecostal movement. This chapter attempts to assess the effectiveness of Neo-Pentecostal ecumenism in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Tulsa was selected for four reasons: it is generally acknowledged to be a city with strong religious influence;[1] it possessed a sampling of evangelical, liberal, and Classical Pentecostal religions; it has, for years, had a Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) chapter; and it was the city selected for the second Charismatic Renewal Conference (CRC) in which Charismatic leaders gathered to discuss the movement in private as well as speak in public meetings.[2]

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[1] New York Times, November 22, 1969, p. 4. This report indicated that Oklahoma is the center of Fundamental religion. It is the headquarters of Oral Roberts, T. L. Osborn and Osborn Foundation from which 100 missionary agencies operate, and Billy J. Hargis and Christian Crusade.

[2] "International Conference Set Here on Charismatic Renewal," Tulsa Daily World, January 2, 1972. This article announced that "35 of the world's leading figures in the Charismatic renewal movement" would participate in the conference.

While human influence is too complex for the rhetorical critic to assign single cause-effect relationships, one may safely project hypotheses to be tested in more controlled settings. To this end six questions, designed to reveal the extent of Pentecostal-unit effectiveness, are posed:

1. Does Pentecostalism in Tulsa consist of a reticulate network?
2. Are some Classical Pentecostal churches in Tulsa more open-ecumenical than others?
3. Has David du Plessis been influential in Tulsa?
4. Has FGBMFI been influential in Tulsa?
5. Has the CCP been influential in Tulsa?
6. Have itinerant Charismatics been influential in Tulsa?

The responses received from two surveys have been used to determine pastoral and laity attitudes toward the six questions and to assess the effectiveness of various ecumenical strategies. The first two questions relate more to the Classical Pentecostal context out of which Neo-Pentecostalism emerged, and the remaining four to the Neo-Pentecostal units examined throughout the last half of this dissertation, namely, Du Plessis, FGBMFI, CCP, and itinerant Charismatics.

Data used to resolve these questions were collected by means of two surveys. The first (See Appendix I) was taken personally by the writer to a random sampling (44) of 435 pastors in the metropolitan area.[3] Of the forty-four

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[3]A list of churches, complete with denominational

originally selected pastors, one Jehovah Witness pastor and one United Pentecostal pastor refused to cooperate; one Methodist pastor was too ill to respond, and one independent "Latter Rain"[4] pastor refused to answer the questionnaire but did respond orally to the questions without realizing it. Three additional pastors were randomly selected to substitute for those who refused.

The second survey (See Appendix II) was distributed to 239 persons in two Classical Pentecostal churches whose pastors agreed to cooperate with the study. One additional church, an independent Charismatic Fellowship, was approached, but because of evident reticence expressed by the pastor, the matter was not pursued. One of the two churches selected, "Evangelistic Temple" (ET),[5] was a rapidly growing

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listing, address, phone number, and pastor's name was obtained from Tulsa Metropolitan Ministries. Along with this information the writer was given a letter from Donald O. Newby encouraging pastors to cooperate with the study (See Appendix I).

[4]"Latter Rain" refers to a group of independent "full gospel" churches which emerged during the late 1940's and early 1950's in protest to the growing trend toward denominationalism within Pentecostal churches. "Marjoe" (A "documentary" type film) depicts and exploits the people and style of worship common to these groups.

[5]The Pentecostal Holiness Church was one of the strongholds for a threefold religious experience during the early years of Classical Pentecostalism. The Pentecostal Holiness Church and the Assemblies of God often had bitter conflict over whether the Christian had to acquire a second experience, sanctification, prior to "seeking" the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Evangelistic Temple, while trying to maintain a good relationship with the sponsoring denomination, is generally seen by members of other Pentecostal Holiness churches as deviant from the straight and narrow path of holiness. It is generally too "modern" and "progressive" for the older set.

"progressive" Pentecostal Holiness church; the other, "Central Assembly" (CA), appeared to be established, resistant to change, and typically "Assembly of God." Both churches participated in Tulsa's CRC and their facilities were used as meeting places for evening sessions. CA was also the location selected for morning and afternoon sessions. Since the conference and the survey, the pastor of CA has been relieved of his duties.[6]

Question 1: Does Pentecostalism in Tulsa Consist of a Reticulate Network

If Neo-Pentecostalism is a movement, it should be decentralized, as described by Gerlach and Hine, in terms of decision-making and regulatory functions; segmented in terms of social structure; and reticulated in terms of the network which unites multitudes of autonomous parts into a polycephalous whole.[7] Throughout this dissertation reference has been made to decentralization of decision making, segmentation of social structure, and the reticulate structure of the Neo-Pentecostal movement. The surveys conducted in Tulsa point

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[6]The pastor expressed on several occasions his desire to see Central Assembly move into the "main stream" of the contemporary Charismatic movement. This involved throwing over some of the sanctioned traditions of the denomination, including Sunday school and experimentation with the varied methodologies of a wide range of itinerant Charismatics. The pastor was too young and his power too limited, however, to lead a church long dominated by an older and more traditional clique. Fortunately for this study, the survey was completed eleven months prior and was not affected by the controversy.

[7]Supra, p. 31.

specifically to a reticulate network of relationships which ties together the Classical and Neo-Pentecostal units of the movement.

If Pentecostals in Tulsa exist within a reticulate network, one would expect some persons in Classical Pentecostal churches to attend other Pentecostal churches, FGBMFI meetings, Charismatic seminars, clinics and conferences, participate in home prayer meetings, and to have received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit in places other than regular church services. Table 1 reveals that over 50 percent of the respondents in the two churches participated in groups other than the church in which they were surveyed. Perhaps the extent of the reticulate network is best revealed in the intensity of interaction among the units. That is, Table 1 shows that a large proportion of respondents have participated across unit lines more than five times.[8] Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the movement's reticulate network is that it has fed into Pentecostal churches persons who have received Charismatic experiences in a myriad of places. When in Chapter I the issue of movement study was introduced, it was asserted that a collectivity should approach the point of being decentralized, segmented, and reticulated in structure before being labeled a movement.[9] Accordingly, Table 1

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[8]This is made clear in the footnotes included in Table 1.

[9]Supra, p. 31.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN OTHER SETTINGS[a]

	Yes				No				No Response				Total[b]			
	E.T.		C.A.		E.T.		C.A.		E.T.		C.A.		E.T.		C.A.	
Question	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	75	60.00	58	100.00	50	40.00	0	0.00	36	22.36	20	25.64	125	100.00	58	100.00
2	70[c]	46.98	45[d]	60.00	79	53.02	30	40.00	12	7.45	3	3.85	149	100.00	75	100.00
3	68[e]	43.87	61[f]	79.22	87	56.13	16	20.78	6	3.73	1	1.28	155	100.00	77	100.00
4	88	57.14	51	67.11	66	42.86	25	32.89	7	4.35	2	2.56	154	100.00	76	100.00
5	27	24.32	38	53.52	84	75.68	33	46.48	50	31.06	7	8.97	111	100.00	71	100.00

Questions: 1. Have you attended other churches in Tulsa which permit "speaking in tongues"?

2. Have you attended an FGBMFI meeting?

3. Did you attend the recent Charismatic Renewal Conference?

4. Have you attended home prayer meetings?

5. Where did you first receive the experience of speaking in tongues? Regular service?

[a]Questions appeared in Opinion Survey distributed to Evangelistic Temple (E.T.) and Central Assembly (C.A.).

[b]Excludes "No Response"

[c]32 (45.71%) of this number attended more than five times

[d]15 (33.33%) of this number attended more than five times

[e]55 (80.88%) of this number attended more than Sunday a.m. service

[f]43 (70.49%) of this number attended more than Sunday a.m. service

reveals that nearly 50 percent of those who responded were active participants in four different units of the movement.

Table 2 extends this analysis to reveal that in CA, the more conservative of the two churches, approximately 50 percent of the respondents received the Pentecostal experience outside the regular church services. In ET an even larger percentage is suggested:

TABLE 2

PLACES WHERE GLOSSOLALIA WAS FIRST EXPERIENCED[a]

	E.T.		C.A.	
Place	No.	%	No.	%
No Response	50	31.06	7	8.97
Revival	40	36.04	13	18.31
Regular Service	27	24.32	38	53.52
FGBMFI	2	1.80	0	0.00
Home Prayer Group	11	9.91	4	5.63
Other	31	27.93	16	22.54
Total[b]	111	100.00	71	100.00

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed to Evangelistic Temple (E.T.) and Central Assembly (C.A.)

[b]Excludes "No Response"

Notice also in Table 2 the variance between the churches as to the different "places" where the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the "initial evidence of speaking in

other tongues" (glossolalia) was received. This difference spotlights a fundamental difference between the churches. ET experienced phenomenal growth recently during an eight-week revival with Evangelist Jerry B. Walker. Walker, using a suave, showmanship approach to evangelism, assisted the church in making a rapid growth through converts "saved" and Spirit-baptized in his ministry. Walker also has a very active ministry in FGBMFI and special two to three day campaigns in large churches and civic centers. Therefore, the persons who received the Spirit-baptism in the revival, represent an important aspect of the entire reticulate development of the movement. The large percentage assigned to "Other" in Table 2 represents the difficult task of placing the Pentecostal experience in categories. One man, included in "Other" under ET, explained that he received his Baptism experience while driving on the "Broken Arrow Expressway."

With the existence of a reticulate network, intensive member participation among different related groups, and Charismatic experiences evolving from different contexts, one would expect those involved to become attracted to Charismatic leaders outside the local church. Table 3 expresses effectively how persons in both churches were able to recall and specify in the questionnaire unlisted names of speakers to the CRC. It is important to emphasize that most of these speakers had not ministered previously in either of the two churches surveyed. Some of them by means of audio cassettes,

TABLE 3

PREFERRED CRC SPEAKERS[a]

Speaker	E.T.		C.A.	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Response	106	65.84	36	46.15
Derek Prince	5	9.09	2	4.77
Bob Mumford	32	58.18	26	61.91
John Poole	8	14.54	8	19.04
Don Basham	3	5.45	0	0.00
Charles Simpson	1	1.82	0	0.00
Harald Bredesen	1	1.82	0	0.00
Ray Jarman	1	1.82	1	2.38
Arnold Bittlinger	1	1.82	0	0.00
Ralph Wilkerson	1	1.82	3	7.14
David du Plessis	1	1.82	1	2.38
Hilton Sutton	1	1.82	0	0.00
Larry Christenson	0	0.00	1	2.38
Total[b]	55	100.00	42	100.00

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed to Evangelistic Temple (E.T.) and Central Assembly (C.A.)

[b]Excludes "No Response"

books, and reputation, however, established high credibility among followers and curiosity among friends of their followers. Bob Mumford was especially effective in reinforcing some individual efforts previously diffused through small groups, books, and tapes. While names of twelve of the twenty-three conference speakers were recalled, 58 percent at ET and 61 percent at CA indicated Bob Mumford as the speaker they would choose to hear if they could hear only one at that moment. To the question, Does Pentecostalism in Tulsa consist of a reticulate network? the answer seems to be an unequivocal "yes."

Question 2: Are Some Classical Pentecostal Churches in Tulsa More Open-Ecumenical Than Others

If Neo-Pentecostalism is a movement, one would expect some Classical Pentecostal units in Tulsa to extend the reticulate network to units outside the Classical movement more than others. This extension was measured by assessing the appeal to persons in churches outside Classical Pentecostal churches. Table 4 reveals that ET, when compared to CA, drew nearly twice the percentage of persons from other churches during the same time period:

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS ATTENDING E.T. AND C.A. WHO HAVE COME FROM OTHER CHURCHES DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS[a]

	E.T.		C.A.	
Answer	No.	%	No.	%
No Response	2	0.01	0	0.00
Yes	111	69.81	28	35.90
No	48	30.19	50	64.10
Total[b]	159	100.00 m	78	100.00

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed to Evangelistic Temple (E.T.) and Central Assembly (C.A.)

[b]Excludes "No Response"

ET, it is evident, has had unusual success in making persons from different denominations believe it is all right for them to leave the church of their parents and find refuge in a

"revival center." Many of those in attendance are linked with various large evangelistic associations and Christian educational institutions. Lee Braxton, Vice President of the Executive Committee of FGBMFI, for example, is a member and regular attendant of this church.

Table 5 indicates that a large proportion of CA's new participants have come from other Assemblies of God; ET, on the other hand, has appealed to Charismatic Baptists, in addition to drawing a respectable percentage of Pentecostals from Assemblies of God, Full Gospel, and other Pentecostal Holiness churches:

TABLE 5

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS ATTENDING E.T. AND C.A. WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF SPECIFIC CHURCHES DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS[a]

Denomination	E.T.		C.A.	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Response	51	31.58	50	64.10
Assembly of God	28	25.45	13	46.43
Baptist	29	26.36	2	7.14
Catholic	3	2.73	0	0.00
Christian	8	7.27	3	10.72
Christian Science	1	.91	0	0.00
Church of Christ	0	0.00	1	3.57
Community	3	2.73	0	0.00
Full Gospel	16	14.55	3	10.72
Holiness	6	5.45	1	3.57
Methodist	8	7.27	2	7.14
Pentecostal Holiness	7	6.36	2	7.14
Presbyterian	1	.91	1	3.57

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed to Evangelistic Temple (E.T.) and Central Assembly (C.A.)

When persons in Baptist churches become involved in Charismatic experiences, they are generally asked to leave their churches. Since the Assemblies of God originally emerged from Baptistic backgrounds and retained portions of its theology, one might infer from ET's appeal to Baptists that ET is perceived by Charismatic Baptists as more open-ecumenical than CA.

If ET is more open-ecumenical than CA, one might expect to find a significant number of interpersonal relationships among persons in ET and hidden Charismatics in historic churches. One might also expect this percentage to be greater in ET than in CA. Table 6, however, does not bear this out:

TABLE 6

CLASSICAL PENTECOSTAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH "TONGUE SPEAKERS" IN HISTORIC CHURCHES[a]

Answer	E.T.		C.A.	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Response	22	13.66	1	1.28
Yes	70	50.36	45	58.44
No	33	23.74	11	14.29
Don't Know	36	25.90	21	27.27
Total[b]	139	100.00	77	100.00

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed to Evangelistic Temple (E.T.) and Central Assembly (C.A.)

[b]Excludes "No Response"

In fact, a larger percentage of persons acquainted with Charismatics in historic churches appears to be associated with CA. When asked, Do you know lay members of the historic denominations in Tulsa who speak in tongues?, slightly over 50 percent of the respondents in both churches said "yes." If ET is more open-ecumenical, however, as indicated by the appeal to Baptists, one is puzzled to find that more persons from CA seem to know Charismatics than do persons from ET. The key to interpreting this problem may reside in the large number of "no responses" listed for ET.[10] Remember first that most Charismatic Baptists did not just wander into ET. They were probably asked to leave their own church and, as a result, were forced to visit various Charismatic churches. Acknowledgement, in itself, that one had a desire for a Charismatic experience was generally sufficient cause for loss of church membership. Although the writer cannot be certain of this interpretation, the high percentage of persons in ET, as compared to CA, who expressed "no response" makes such an interpretation plausible.

To understand this interpretation, one needs to understand the general attitude of Baptists toward Pentecostalism.

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[10]There is some concern regarding the limited indication, in these results, that ET has such a small percentage of persons from various historic denominations. Some believe other denominations are actually as well represented at ET as are Baptists. The writer is unable to resolve this conflict other than to suggest that the administering of the survey took place ten minutes before the Sunday-evening worship service began. Within fifteen minutes after the beginning of the service the attendance was at least twice what it was at the time of administration.

No historic denomination has been more strongly opposed to Pentecostalism than the various Baptist denominations. For example, after completing a questionnaire, one pastor of a large Baptist church expressed the anxiety he felt in answering the questions. If other Southern Baptist pastors saw the survey results, even without the names of the respondents, he explained, they would identify him and force him out of his church thus destroying his pastoral career. This, he asserted, would result from his openness to the Pentecostal experience and people. This concern appears to be justified first on the basis of a recent official statement issued by the Tulsa Baptist Association and second on the basis of attitudes expressed to this writer.[11] The official statement was first introduced in the form of the following motion and then adopted by the association.

> 1. MOTION: THAT the Executive Committee go on record today, that we commend Reverend W. E. Smith for his incisive, Biblical and scholarly interpretation of the matter of speaking in tongues; that we recommend to the Executive Board that this paper be published and be made available to our pastors, churches, and to the public as a clear statement of the proper scriptural interpretation of the matter of Glossolalia.
> 2. RESOLUTION: WHEREAS, Southern Baptist theologians through the years have refused to accord to "tongues" a doctrine worthy of their attention;
> And WHEREAS, The Southern Baptist Convention in its various attempts to make a statement of the Faith held commonly among us has made no mention of "tongues" as a tenet of our faith;
> And WHEREAS, We believe the "tongues" of Old Testament

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[11]One pastor wrote a note encouraging the author to read Gal. 1:9, "But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." This attitude seemed to prevail throughout all surveyed Baptists except the National Baptists (Black).

> prophecy had their complete fulfillment in the experience of the early New Testament church, Acts 2, 10, and 19;
>
> And WHEREAS, We believe the "tongues" practiced in our day to be none other than the "ecstatic utterances" which Paul sought to restrict as a detriment to the Corinthian Church and which he could not commend to any other New Testament Church, I Cor. 12, 13, 14;
>
> THEREFORE, Be it resolved that we affirm our historic position of not recognizing "tongues" to be a doctrine worthy of a New Testament church and that we consider any church "corrupt in faith and practice" which condones the teaching and practice of the same within its fellowship, or condones the teaching and practice of the same by those who hold licensing or ordination credentials granted by said church.[12]

This motion, passed by Tulsa Baptist Association June 21, 1971, was precipitated by the firing of one Southern Baptist pastor by his church and the splitting of another Southern Baptist church in a neighboring community over the question of speaking in tongues. The document later became a model for other Southern Baptist associations.

Table 7 indicates that Baptist pastors are generally more opposed to Pentecostalism than would be a random selection of Tulsa pastors. This is evident when one observes that 57 percent of Baptists as opposed to 38 percent of all pastors polled, will not tolerate speaking in tongues within their church. When one distinguishes among different Baptist denominations, however, it is evident that National (Black) Baptist pastors are actually quite tolerant, whereas Southern Baptists are extremely intolerant. The anxiety of the Baptist pastors toward responding to the questionnaire is understandable and the possibility that ET is more open-ecumenical than CA in

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[12]Leo M. Perry, "Tulsa Baptist Association, June 21, 1971," a printed motion distributed to Tulsa Baptist churches.

TABLE 7

COMPARISON, BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE, OF THE ATTITUDES OF BAPTISTS AND PASTORS IN GENERAL, TOWARD PENTECOSTAL EXPERIENCES[a]

Categories	Does Not Tolerate		Tolerant but Guarded		An Individual Matter		Highly Involved		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Pastors	17	38.64	5	11.36	14	31.82	8	18.18	44	100.00
All Baptists	8	57.14	0	0.00	6	42.86	0	0.00	14	100.00
Southern Baptist	4	80.00	0	0.00	1	20.00	0	0.00	5	100.00
Bible Baptist	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00
Free Will Baptist	3	75.00	0	0.00	1	25.00	0	0.00	4	100.00
National Baptist (Black)	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	100.00	0	0.00	4	100.00
Total	8	57.14[b]	0	0.00	6	42.86[b]	0	0.00	14	31.82[b]

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

[b]Based on relationship to "All Pastors"

spite of the evidence to the contrary appears to be a viable possibility (also see Table 6).

Finally, if ET is more open-ecumenical than CA, one might expect participants to be more interested in or attracted to itinerant Charismatics, the FGBMFI, the CRC, and small group meetings. Although Table 1 does not bear this out, a casual acceptance of these figures might be deceiving. Two considerations come to mind. First, ET is a thriving and dynamic congregation with progressive plans for expansion. Persons involved in the various interests of this church (choir, television, wide range of guest speakers) possibly receive the same kind of fulfillment obtainable by CA participants only by engaging in varied outside interests. The recent developments at CA attest to this conclusion. Second, while members of ET were reelecting their pastor and endorsing a large expansion program, CA was firing its pastor for being "too Charismatic." Members did not object to activities related to the Neo-Pentecostal movement, but they did seem to resent the heavy diet of itinerant Charismatic guest speakers. Some began to express their dissatisfaction by asking, Why can't we have more Assemblies of God ministers as guest speakers?

Question 3: Has David du Plessis Been Influential in Tulsa

If du Plessis has been influential in Tulsa, one could assume that positive attitudes would exist among pastors

and that these attitudes could be traced partially to his efforts. Stated more formally, one might ask, Are there attitudes toward Pentecostalism which might be attributed in whole or part to du Plessis' rhetoric of open-ecumenism? To answer this question, pastors in Tulsa were asked, If your denomination wished to interview a Charismatic leader for the purpose of better understanding the Charismatic movement, which conference speaker would most likely be invited? Table 8 reveals that more than one-third of the pastors cited a conference speaker and that approximately one-third of those who cited speakers named du Plessis.

TABLE 8

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PASTORS WHO HAVE READ BOOKS WRITTEN BY CRC SPEAKERS[a]

Question	Yes		No		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pentecostals:						
Have read book by speakers	3	42.86	4	57.14	7	100.00
Have read du Plessis' book	1	14.29	6	85.71	7	100.00
Non-Pentecostals:						
Have read book by conference speakers	4	10.81	33	89.19	37	100.00
Have read du Plessis' book	1	2.70	36	97.30	37	100.00

[a]Questions appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

While this might indicate significant pastoral awareness, there was little evidence to indicate that pastors interviewed had bothered to read du Plessis' book. In fact, Table 8 also reveals that only one Pentecostal and one non-Pentecostal had read The Spirit Bade Me Go which has now been in print ten years.[13]

Question 4: Has FGBMFI Been Influential in Tulsa

When reading any sample of FGBMFI propaganda, the reader is led to expect a local chapter bustling with influence and effectiveness. If, however, FGBMFI is effective, one might well expect certain criteria to be met. If the Fellowship is achieving its goals, it would seem reasonable to expect that pastors of non-Pentecostal churches would be aware of the Fellowship, that a significant number of non-Pentecostal pastors might have attended Fellowship sessions, that a sizable percentage of persons would have received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit in Fellowship sessions, and possibly that the Fellowship might be perceived as threatening

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[13]It is difficult to assess du Plessis' influence from these limited data. The fact that five persons made him the first choice for denominational consultation and two others made him their second choice indicates that his name is at least familiar to various ministers, but the lack of acquaintance with his book suggests that his influence on the local level in Tulsa has probably been quite minimal. There are, of course, many cities where he has served as guest speaker to Ministerial Alliances, and in some cases he may have generated greater influence than among the pastors polled in this survey. A more complete look at pastoral attitudes is given in Table 16.

to the established church. Table 9 introduces what might be disappointing news for FGBMFI. It appears that a large percentage of non-Pentecostals were aware of the Fellowship (62.16 percent); however, only 5 percent of non-Pentecostals had actually attended. For participants of FGBMFI the number of persons who received their Baptism at FGBMFI must be even more discouraging (see Table 2). One might suspect that FGBMFI participants would have left the traditional confines of CA for a more open environment such as ET or perhaps a Charismatic Fellowship church. While the latter was not surveyed in this study, the survey distributed among persons at ET revealed that slightly fewer than 2 percent had received a Spirit-baptism in an FGBMFI meeting.

Finally, if FGBMFI is accomplishing its goals in Tulsa, one would expect to find Spirit-baptized participants returning to historic Christian churches. If glossolalia creates divisiveness, as feared by 77 percent of the pastors (see Table 16), then one would expect defensiveness on the part of pastors. Further, FGBMFI would be perceived as threatening to nonparticipant pastors and churches. Tables 1 and 2, however, indicate that Classical Pentecostals often attended FGBMFI. The same tables do not, however, indicate that many persons from historic Christianity in Tulsa either attended the meetings or received there the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, Table 10 reveals that FGBMFI is perceived as least threatening among seven Charismatic

TABLE 9

TULSA PASTOR AWARENESS OF FGBMFI AND CRC[a]

Pastor Awareness	Pentecostal		Non-Pentecostal		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pastor Aware of FGBMFI:						
Yes	6	85.71	23	62.16	29	65.91
No	1	14.29	14	37.84	15	34.09
Pastor had attended FGBMFI:						
Yes	5	71.43	2	5.41	7	15.91
No	2	28.57	35	94.59	37	84.09
Pastor aware of church members who had attended FGBMFI:[b]						
Yes	2	28.57	3	9.09[c]	5	12.50[c]
No	5	71.43	30	90.91[c]	35	87.50[c]
Don't Know	0	0.00	4	10.81	4	9.09
Pastor Aware of CRC:						
Yes	6	85.71	23	62.16	29	65.91
No	1	14.29	14	37.84	15	34.09
Pastor had attended CRC:						
Yes	2	28.57	2	5.41	4	9.09
No	5	71.43	35	94.59	40	90.91
Pastor aware of church members who had attended CRC:[b]						
Yes	3	50.00[c]	3	13.04[c]	6	20.69[c]
No	3	50.00[c]	20	86.96[c]	23	79.31[c]
Don't Know	1	14.28	14	31.82	15	34.09

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

[b]Pastor's estimate of member attendance.

[c]Excludes "No Response"

TABLE 10

RANK ORDER OF CHARISMATIC ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF PERCEIVED THREAT[a]

Charismatic Organizations And Activities	Most						Least	Score
	1[b]	2	3	4	5	6	7	
FGBMFI	0	1	1	3	1	3	4	36
Charismatic TV Programs	1	0	4	0	4	2	2	45
Pentecostal Decnominations	0	3	0	2	3	3	2	43
CRC	0	0	5	2	2	1	3	44
Charismatic Revivals (any church)	4	1	0	3	3	2	0	59
Prayer and Bible Groups	4	3	1	1	0	2	2	61
Activities of Charismatic Groups	4	5	2	2	0	0	0	76

[a]Question: Do you perceive any Pentecostal or Charismatic organization or event as threatening to yourself or your church? Yes - 14 (31.81%); No - 29 (65.90%). Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

[b]1 = 7
2 = 6
3 = 5
4 = 4
5 = 3
6 = 2
7 = 1

activities and organizations. The threat score value assigned to FGBMFI (36) is only slightly greater than half the score value assigned to prayer groups (61) and less than half the score value given to an ambiguous category called "Activities of Charismatic Groups" (76).[14]

Question 5: Has the CCP Been Influential in Tulsa

Unfortunately, the CCP was not specifically programmed into either survey. Consequently, this discussion will be limited to an examination of the extent to which the survey revealed an openness among Presbyterians toward the Pentecostal experience and the various Charismatic activities related to Neo-Pentecostalism. Although these data cannot safely generate conclusions about the CCP, they can stimulate speculation concerning how an attitude of openness emerged. One might also locate hypotheses which could be tested in future studies.

George Bradford was one of the speakers to the CRC. As a result of his official relationship with the CCP, and the recent publicity devoted to Charismatic Presbyterians in the official Presbyterian publications, one might expect three uniquely Presbyterian responses to appear in the surveys:

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[14]Lee Braxton, personal interview. When confronted with these figures, Braxton suggested that a worse city could not have been selected to survey regarding FGBMFI. He believes that Tulsa has received Pentecostal messages from so many places that Tulsans have become sensitized. In other cities of this size, he contended, one would find that FGBMFI had been very influential.

Presbyterians might selectively give attention to announcements of the conference bearing Bradford's name; Presbyterians might attend a Charismatic conference in which the "controversial" George Bradford was participating; and Presbyterians might select Bradford's name as the speaker whom their denomination would be willing to interview in order to acquire information regarding the Neo-Pentecostal movement. Table 11 reveals that slightly over 65 percent of all pastors were aware of the CRC. Eighty percent of the Presbyterian pastors, however, knew of the conference and 20 percent attended:

TABLE 11

AWARENESS AND OPENNESS OF PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS TO CHARISMATIC ACTIVITIES[a]

Item	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Polled Ministers Aware of:				
CRC	29	65.90	15	34.10
FGBMFI	29	65.90	15	34.10
Polled Presbyterian Ministers Aware of:				
CRC	4	80.00	1	20.00
FGBMFI	2	40.00	3	60.00
Polled Ministers who attended:				
CRC	4	9.10	40	90.90
FGBMFI	7	15.90	37	84.10
Polled Presbyterian Ministers who attended:				
CRC	1	20.00	4	80.00
FGBMFI	0	0.00	5	100.00

[a]Questions appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

The significance of this conference awareness is more evident when contrasted with Presbyterian awareness of FGBMFI which convenes monthly in Tulsa. In further support of this contrast, Table 12 indicates that while most pastors received letters regarding the CRC, the majority, although they checked a response, often could not recall how they heard about the conference:

TABLE 12

A COMPARISON OF THE SOURCES OF AWARENESS OF FGBMFI AND CRC BETWEEN PRESBYTERIAN PASTORS AND PASTORS IN GENERAL[a]

Source of Awareness	All Pastors				Presbyterian Pastors			
	CRC		FGBMFI		CRC		FGBMFI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Newspaper	12	41.38	6	20.69	0	0.00	0	0.00
Television	0	0.00	1	3.44	0	0.00	0	0.00
Parishioner	2	6.90	8	27.59	0	0.00	1	50.00
Telephone Call from Sponsor	2	6.90	1	3.44	0	0.00	0	0.00
Letter from Sponsor	12	41.38	8	27.59	4	100.00	1	50.00
Another Minister	1	3.44	3	10.35	0	0.00	0	0.00
Personal visit from Representative	0	0.00	2	6.90	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	29	100.00	29	100.00	4	100.00	2	100.00

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

Presbyterians, however, remembered immediately and responded identically. The one exception, who also showed no tolerance for Pentecost, was a pastor in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, a church which generally perceives itself as significantly different from the two major Presbyterian denominations.[15] While it cannot be shown from the survey responses, it is entirely possible that this variance among the percentages of pastors who could remember readily that they were contacted by letter might be explained by the presence of George Bradford's name in the letter and accompanying brochure.

While one might build a hypothetical case to show Bradford's influence in Tulsa through the CRC, significant influence in general is difficult to document. Table 13, for example, suggests that, with the exception of the Orthodox Presbyterian who refused to tolerate Charismatic experiences, Presbyterian pastors are far more tolerant toward Pentecostalism than pastors in general. When compared with a combined group of Lutheran and Methodist pastors, however, there appears to be little difference.

When pastors were asked to select a Charismatic speaker whom their denominations might call to gain information regarding Neo-Pentecostalism, Bradford's name, as shown

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[15]The pastor is a man in his twenties. His training includes four years of college and three years of seminary (B.D. degree). The church consists of thirty people and meets in a school building. His major objection to glossolalia is that while it was a legitimate gift in the Apostolic church, it "is not consistent with the closed canon which God has given the church today." In other words, it is unorthodox.

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF THE ATTITUDES TOWARD PENTECOSTALISM AMONG PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS, MINISTERS IN GENERAL, AND MINISTERS IN SELECTED DENOMINATIONS[a]

Attitude	All Ministers Polled		Presbyterian Ministers		Similar Denominations (Lutheran, Methodist)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Does not tolerate	17	38.64	1	20.00	1	14.29
Tolerate but guarded	5	11.36	1	20.00	2	28.57
An individual matter	14	31.82	3	60.00	4	57.14
Highly involved	8	18.18	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	44	100.00	5	100.00	7	100.00

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

in Table 14, was cited twice, once by a Presbyterian.[16] Normally this might be interpreted as an indication of limited influence. To be fair to Bradford, however, one should recall that he had recently been under investigation and had also served as attorney for Bob Whitaker during Whitaker's appeal to the judiciary committee. As a result, it is possible that Presbyterian pastors residing in Bradford's home state would be hesitant to speak for the denomination in behalf of Bradford. One Presbyterian pastor, for example, who did not cite

[16]While Table 14 does not specify that one of the two choices for Bradford was from a Presbyterian, the survey bears this out.

TABLE 14

CHARISMATIC LEADERS SUGGESTED BY PASTORS FOR INTERVIEW WITH DENOMINATION[a]

Name	First Choice		Second Choice	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Response	28	63.64	35	79.54
Dennis Bennett	0	0.00	2	22.22
George Bradford	2	12.50	0	0.00
Harald Bredesen	2	12.50	0	0.00
Larry Christenson	2	12.50	0	0.00
David du Plessis	5	31.25	2	22.22
Robert Frost	1	6.25	0	0.00
Kilian McDonnell	0	0.00	1	11.11
Francis MacNutt	1	6.25	1	11.11
Bob Mumford	2	12.50	1	11.11
Derek Prince	0	0.00	1	11.11
Charles Simpson	1	6.25	0	0.00
Ralph Wilkerson	0	0.00	1	11.11
Subtotal[b]	16	100.00	9	99.99
Total	44	36.36	44	20.46

[a]Question appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

[b]Excludes "No Response"

Bradford as a possible consultant, reported during the interview that he was greatly impressed with the news coverage of a recent CCP conference. He also felt that it was grossly unfair that Bradford was relieved of his pastorate at El Reno, Oklahoma, because of a Charismatic experience. Still another Presbyterian pastor reported that his own wife had received the Pentecostal experience; that he planned to speak on Pentecost over the Memorial Day weekend, May, 1972; that his church

had sponsored several Charismatic conferences which featured Charismatic speakers; and that he had read various writings of Rodman Williams, currently President of CCP, very carefully. In addition, he was hoping to attend a Neo-Pentecostal conference at Ghost Ranch near Abiquiu, New Mexico. When one considers the openness of these pastors and realizes that the minister who did specify Bradford's name was, from all indications, quite indifferent, two conclusions seem salient: first, that at least limited openness exists on the local level, and second, that while numerous influences have impinged on the Presbyterian church, the CCP is justified in claiming some credit for the change of climate.

Question 6: Have Itinerant Charismatics Been Influential in Tulsa

Itinerant Charismatics are playing an ever-increasing role in the emergence of Neo-Pentecostalism in Tulsa, i.e., they are being increasingly called upon to minister personally and by tape or literature in churches and home groups, and hotel-based seminars. To assess their influence, several questions were posed to pastors in Tulsa and to two Classical Pentecostal churches. Since the CRC was essentially an attempt to bring together into one place itinerant Charismatic leaders from across the country, one might expect pastors to be aware of the conference, if indeed, the speakers had any influence on Tulsa churches. One might expect that if pastors felt it was important to investigate the men and messages

to which their parishioners were being exposed, they would take advantage of special "informative" sessions scheduled not only in Pentecostal churches, but also on such neutral nonthreatening ground as Asbury Methodist Church and nearby civic centers. Table 9 indicates that nearly two-thirds of the pastors were aware of the meeting, but that fewer than 10 percent attended. The same Table shows that, of non-Pentecostals only, the percentage dropped to 5 percent.

It would seem that the influence of itinerant Charismatics might also be revealed in laity attendance of the CRC. Table 9 reveals that when pastors were asked whether their church members attended the conference, 66 percent responded "yes" or "no."[17] While there is some difference between the pastoral "yes"-"no" response concerning CRC and FGBMFI, the big difference appears to be in the "Don't Know" category. Nearly four times as many pastors responded "Don't Know" when asked whether or not church members attended the CRC as when asked concerning member participation at FGBMFI. It might be misleading to infer from this difference that itinerant Charismatics have been influential in Tulsa, but one can safely infer that pastors are less certain about the relationship between their church members and itinerant Charismatics than they are other matters. Pastoral uncertainty is especially

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[17]This statement should be interpreted as two-thirds of the total number of pastors said "yes" or "no." The remaining one-third said they did not know. The remaining one-third became the subject of discussion at this point.

evident in the pastors' ranking of Charismatic organizations and activities according to perceived threat (see Table 10).

Since itinerant Charismatics have made special efforts to reach historic Christianity through small groups, if they have been successful in Tulsa one would especially expect to find (1) laity attendance among some Classical Pentecostals in small groups, (2) Spirit-baptism within small groups, and (3) pastoral awareness of Charismatic ministries within small groups. Tables 1 and 2 indicate that more than 60 percent of respondents from ET and CA attended small group meetings, but that only 9 percent received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit in small groups. Before discounting the significance of 9 percent among Classical Pentecostals, one should be aware that Classical Pentecostals have only recently turned to the use of home groups, which are more closely associated with Neo-Pentecostals and are often viewed as a threat to Classical Pentecostalism as well as to historic Christianity. When pastors were asked to respond to questions regarding their awareness of small groups in which Charismatic experiences were allowed or encouraged, approximately 30 percent acknowledged that they had attended such meetings and that their members had participated in such meetings as well (Table 15). Perhaps pastoral attitudes and anxieties toward Neo-Pentecostalism are best demonstrated at this point. Except for the ambiguous category, "Activities of Charismatic Groups," none of the categories listed in Table 10 was

perceived as threatening to established Christianity as was Charismatic prayer and Bible groups.

TABLE 15

PASTORAL AWARENESS OF CHARISMATIC EXPERIENCES IN SMALL GROUPS[a]

Question	Pentecostal		Non-Pentecostal		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Church-sponsored home groups, Charismatic experiences allowed.						
Yes	5	71.43	3	8.11	8	18.18
No	2	28.57	34	91.89	36	81.82
Pastor has attended home groups where Charismatic experiences were allowed						
Yes	7	100.00	8	21.62	15	34.09
No	0	0.00	29	78.38	29	65.91
Active members attend home groups, Charismatic experiences allowed						
Yes	5	71.43	8	24.24[b]	13	29.55
No	2	28.57	25	75.76[b]	27	61.36
Don't Know	0	0.00	4	10.81	2	9.09

[a]Questions appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

[b]Excludes "No Response"

Six questions have been posed in this section for the twofold purpose of assessing the overall effectiveness of the open-ecumenical strategy of four different Neo-Pentecostal units. The results indicate that Pentecostalism in Tulsa consists of a reticulate network, and that some Classical

Pentecostals have extended their own reticulate structure to encompass new recruits into their kind of Pentecostalism. In so doing, they have enabled prospects to their church to view them as more open-ecumenical. In addition, the influence of du Plessis, FGBMFI, CCP, and itinerant Charismatics has been examined with some care. Although generalizations must await future examination, there seems to be evidence that du Plessis and CCP have made some inroads into a very slow and gradual integration. FGBMFI appears to be perceived as a unit, within the total movement, whose goals are well enough defined and whose audience is of such a specialized nature that it has little influence in the local church. Nor does it generate any anxiety or threat on the part of the Tulsa pastor. The itinerant Charismatic, however, is so independent, comes for so many different purposes, and represents such a variety of doctrines that he is, at best, an item of curiosity, and at worst, a serious threat to established Christianity as understood by the local pastor in Tulsa.

Table 16 provides an excellent synopsis of the overall attitudes held toward speaking in tongues. It has already been demonstrated that glossolalia is only one aspect of the Neo-Pentecostal movement, but it seems to function as a referent point for any discussion of the movement. In examining the statements listed in Table 16 one will discover that each focuses on glossolalia. The responses, in general, suggest that most pastors are closed to the Pentecostal experience

TABLE 16

ATTITUDES OF PASTORS TOWARD SPEAKING IN TONGUES (Glossolalia)[a]

Statement	Strongly Agree		Agree		Don't Know		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. I am open to the experience or gift of speaking in tongues.	9	20.45	10	22.73	2	4.55	6	13.64*	17	38.63
2. Speaking in tongues is <u>not</u> a psychological disorder.	11	25.00	12	27.27*	11	25.00	7	15.91	3	6.82
3. Speaking in tongues is a manifestation having divisive consequences in "historical" churches.	16	36.36	18	40.91*	5	11.37	4	9.09	1	2.27
4. Speaking in tongues is <u>not</u> a scriptural experience.	7	15.91	7	15.91	1	2.27	17	38.64*	12	27.27
5. Speaking in tongues is a religious trait found most often among people of low socio-economic levels.	4	9.09	8	18.18	9	20.46	15	34.09*	8	18.18
6. Speaking in tongues is diabolical.	3	6.82	4	9.09	14	31.82	15	34.09*	8	18.18
7. Speaking in tongues can be controlled by the person involved.	10	22.73	14	31.82*	15	34.09	4	9.09	1	2.27
8. Speaking in tongues is <u>not</u> a valid religious experience for this generation.	13	29.55	9	20.45	6	13.64*	10	22.72	6	13.64
9. I do not speak in tongues (glossolalia)	23	52.27*	12	27.27	1	2.27	2	4.55	6	13.64
10. Ministers should <u>not</u> discuss the implications of speaking in tongues in sermons.	1	2.27	4	9.09	0	0.00	22	50.00*	17	38.64

*Indicates the median score for each statement.

[a]Questions appeared in Opinion Survey distributed among pastors in Tulsa.

although they (1) do not conceive it to be a psychological disorder; (2) believe it to be scriptural; (3) believe it to be practiced among persons in middle to high socioeconomic levels; (4) believe it to be controllable by the participant; and (5) believe it to be a legitimate topic for the pulpit. The big question appears to relate to the validity of the experience for Christians today. Closely related to this issue is an issue implied in the responses to Statement 9, the only statement in which an extreme score value received more than 50 percent of the responses. One would expect that if Neo-Pentecostals are able to convince pastors of the present-day validity, they still face the task of establishing a present-day need for the experience.

Conclusion

This chapter assessed the effectiveness of Neo-Pentecostal ecumenism in Tulsa, Oklahoma. While final and predictive conclusions could not be drawn, six questions were posed to explore pastor and laity attitudes toward Pentecostalism in hopes of tracing penetration of the influence to specific Neo-Pentecostal units. In response to two surveys distributed to forty-four Tulsa pastors and 239 persons in two Classical Pentecostal churches, it was determined that (1) Pentecostalism consists of a reticulate network; (2) some Classical Pentecostal churches are less closed-ecumenical than others and therefore appear to be extending their

influence and appeal to units outside Classical Pentecostalism; (3) du Plessis' name was familiar to some pastors in historic Christianity although his book was read by only one pastor of a historic Protestant church; (4) Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International has become sufficiently institutionalized that pastors are aware of it but unconcerned about its influence; (5) the Charismatic Communion of Presbyterian Ministers is gaining influence among Presbyterian ministers but showed only minimal accomplishment, and (6) itinerant Charismatics are arresting ministerial attention, concern, and defensiveness. In all, most pastors were found to be aware of the movement and saw some validity to its claims, but were personally closed to participation or public endorsement of it in their churches.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Neo-Pentecostal movement is a mid-century outgrowth of the Pentecostal movement which began at the turn of the twentieth century. While Neo-Pentecostalism did not gain attention as a significant movement until 1960, immediate and persuasive roots appeared in the healing-deliverance and ecumenical movements during the 1950's. Between 1960 and 1970 it effected serious concern, doctrinal reevaluation, and mission analysis in numerous Christian denominations while giving birth to a myriad of new and independent styles of Christian ministry. AFter an introductory chapter, this study traced four stages of Pentecostalism: Pre-Twentieth-Century, Classical, Neo-, and Catholic. It then proceeded to examine the patterns and strategies of persuasion within the Neo- or Mid-Twentieth-Century stage of Pentecostalism. Essentially, the second chapter traced the antecedents of contemporary Neo-Pentecostalism to 1950. A third chapter examined the persuasive forces which (1) emerged during the 1950's, (2) extended the reticulate structure of the movement, and (3) gave birth to the new Pentecostalism. Two

additional chapters were devoted to the analysis of change agents and three persuasion sets (initiators, legitimizers, and diffusors) within Neo-Pentecostalism, their use of basic education as a predominate technique for expression, and the present status of the movement in one city. Special attention was directed toward attempting to identify influences of four specific units within the movement. Conclusions from this analysis are summarized here.

Neo-Pentecostalism was found to consist of leadership which emerged from various units within twentieth-century Pentecostalism. Prior to 1950 Pentecostalism consisted mostly of Pentecostal denominations and independent "full gospel" churches united by a reticulate network and a common tradition which emphasized the Baptism of the "Holy Ghost" with glossolalia as the "initial evidence" that one had received the Spirit-baptism. During the 1950's several units emerged from both denominational and independent factions of the movement. These units retained their primary devotion to Christ and the Spirit-baptism, but focused new attention on the believer's right to health, deliverance, and prosperity.

Simultaneous with and closely tied to the rise of the healing-deliverance movement within Pentecostalism, was the birth of various Pentecostal-oriented fellowships which developed as (1) unity conferences for Classical Pentecostal denominations, (2) fellowships for healing crusades, and (3) laymen associations consisting of select groups of

Christians such as businessmen. At the same time Pentecostalism was experiencing this surge for Pentecostal ecumenism, Protestant ecumenism was emerging within historical Christianity. At one end of the continuum of Christianity was the newly formed National Association of Evangelicals which sought unity for all evangelicals. At the other end was the World Council of Churches which sought unity for all Protestants. As persons and organizations within the various collectivities of Christianity established relationships with one another, rhetorical efforts to maintain these relationships were adopted and the original reticulate structure of the movement was altered. When leaders in varied divisions of Pentecostalism and Protestantism recognized what was happening and the implications of the new relationships, they committed themselves to one of three strategies of ecumenism. This decision facilitated the breaking up of Pentecostalism into at least two kinds: Classical and Neo-Pentecostalism. Neo-Pentecostalism later divided again into Neo- and Catholic Pentecostalism. Each of the Pentecostal movements consisted of many units loosely tied together by a reticulate network. The strategy decision made by each unit ultimately determined whether it would be identified with the Classical or Neo-Pentecostal branch of the movement.

To be more specific, as Pentecostal units attempted to maintain old and to establish new relationships during the 1960's, they found that new relationships were taking them

into new worlds of interest and evangelical potential. Soon, maintenance of significant new relationships became prerequisite to expansion of influence, which, in turn, created new relationships and new demands on maintenance. The need for an ecumenical strategy and a technique for expression soon became apparent for those Pentecostal units which desired to influence audiences outside the confines of Classical Pentecostalism.

Examination of the emergence of Neo-Pentecostalism and its use of ecumenical strategy to penetrate historic Christianity with the Pentecostal experience led to four major conclusions. First, that movement research might profitably focus attention on the relationships among various units which exist within a reticulate network. These units are often segmented, polycephalous, cellular organizations reticulated by various personal, structural, and ideological ties. Neo-Pentecostalism, it was determined, functioned as a mechanism, i.e., each unit existed in either a positive or negative relationship to other units which often had power to reward or punish rhetorical behavior. This conclusion suggests to the student of movement persuasion that message analysis should be concerned with the effect a given message will have, not only on a given audience, but on the maintenance of unit relationships within an informal reticulate network. When one decides to extend his relationship to an audience not generally considered a part of the movement and relates to that

audience in a manner suggesting common interests and goals, he is producing a message which may both enlarge the movement and alter or endanger his own position in it.

A second major conclusion is that movement research might profitably devote more attention to analysis of ecumenical rhetorics. Examination of Neo-Pentecostalism revealed extensive efforts during the 1950's by Classical Pentecostals, healing-deliverance evangelists, and ecumenists to play down differences and expand on areas of similarity. These efforts indicate that a kind of "ecumenism" was an important element of the changing nature and structure of Pentecostalism during the 1950's. While participants did not differ on the need for ecumenism, they differed significantly on the kind of ecumenism and to whom it would be extended. This study revealed three kinds of ecumenical rhetoric: closed, semi-open, and open. Closed-ecumenism, a Classical-oriented strategy, was generally marked by distrust of all Christianity not in harmony with the Pentecostal experience. To persons using this strategy, Christianity outside Pentecostalism was considered spiritually lifeless, Biblically illiterate and disobedient, and against the "last day" move of God's Spirit. Non-Pentecostal Christians were essentially outside the circle. Ecumenism, or unity of all believers, was defined as unity among Spirit-baptized Pentecostal believers.

Semi-open-ecumenical rhetoric, still deeply rooted in distinctive tenets held commonly among the various units

within the Classical Pentecostal movement, coined its strategy in terms of complementing all Christian denominations. In other words, institutional Christianity was all right, but it had become "word" or theologically centered and displaced the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Organizations and fellowships which emerged to complement anemic Protestantism used a rhetoric best described as semi-open-ecumenical. This approach still implied that historic Christianity was inadequate in itself, but made arrangements for church members to receive the Charismatic influence in their lives without leaving their churches to attend Pentecostal denominations. This strategy was generally fulfilled by providing local, regional, and national conventions which brought together dissatisfied Christians, Charismatic teachers, and Spirit-filled businessmen with dynamic testimonies of what had happened in their lives since encountering the Holy Spirit.

Open-ecumenical rhetoric developed as an increased number of persons within historic Christianity received Pentecostal experiences and realized that these new experiences must be made to either fit or transcend denominational teachings if integrity with others was to be maintained. As a result some Neo-Pentecostals initiated Communions within their denominations while others stressed redefinition of "church" to encompass all believers in or out of the established Christian institutions. A basic assumption implied in the rhetoric of open-ecumenism was that all Christian

institutions were legitimate parts of the total Body of Christ. When one within the Neo-Pentecostal movement extended the structure of the movement to establish a relationship with a unit he perceived legitimate, he did so with the realization that the act might be perceived by others as too open. If one persisted in developing the new relationship, he did so at the risk of causing alienation from other significant units. The potential punishment from significant others had to be counterbalanced by attraction and reward from the newly reticulated unit and units related to it if a healthy existence within the enlarged structure of the movement was to be maintained.

A third major conclusion is that a Pentecostal unit increased its reliance upon basic education as a technique for Spiritual renewal as it adopted a more open-ecumenical rhetorical strategy. The four units examined in this study revealed that when one accepted as legitimate the Christian institution which he was attempting to influence, he tended to feel more intensely the need to relate the Pentecostal experience to the theology of the target Christian institution or to present the experience as one which transcended sectarian differences. This approach invariably necessitated locating and recruiting credible persons whose persuasive assistance was categorized according to specific functions. A basic objective was to persuade without indicting established Christianity. This technique generally involved heavy

use of "informative" discourse to establish a rational basis for individual acceptance. Basic education as a technique was administered through numerous channels which minimized the emotional appeal of Classical Pentecostalism choosing rather to present the Pentecostal experience as a calm "practical" means of communicating to God with God's help. The use of basic education as a major rhetorical technique among Neo-Pentecostals calls the attention of rhetoricians again to the relation of so-called "informative" discourse to persuasive communication.

A fourth major conclusion is that a slightly modified form of the Bettinghaus social action construct is beneficial to movement analysis. Although the construct's outline of fourteen stages through which a movement evolves is somewhat cumbersome, most of these stages can be reduced to three larger ones. Stage one, revised, revealed that participants of the Neo-Pentecostal movement could be categorized into persuasion sets according to the specific functions they served. David du Plessis, Demos Shakarian, George Bradford, and Bob Mumford, for examples, were each examined as change agents who drew to themselves persons whose funtions enabled them to be categorized into one or more of three persuasion sets: initiation, legitimization, and diffusion. Persons working with change agents as initiators were found to engage in consultation, problem definition, contact, and to some extent, legitimization. Other persuasive efforts within

Neo-Pentecostalism proceeded in the form of legitimization. Some persons were found to function as legitimizers who accepted experientially the Pentecostal experience, while others gave their endorsement but made little or no effort to engage the experience. Some who facilitated the propagation of Pentecost as legitimizers were classified as formal legitimizers while others were better described as informal. Formal legitimizers tended to have legal or appointed power over decision making whereas informal legitimization was often served by persons who tended to be central figures within communication networks, to have high esteem and personal attractiveness, and to have held formal legitimization positions in the past. Closely related to persons functioning primarily as initiators or legitimizers were those whose persuasive skills, available time, and organizational abilities functioned best in the capacity of diffusing the message to large audiences.

Stage two revealed that persuasion sets employed specific rhetorical techniques, including basic education, to accomplish their persuasive responsibilities. A third stage not always in sequential order, is that of task evaluation. Task evaluation, in terms of the movement's self-evaluation, was not discussed in this study. This stage was omitted mainly because it has just begun and will need to develop before a meaningful analysis can be made. Two major efforts in this direction include the recent closed sessions

of Charismatic leaders who met during the CRC to acquaint one another with the nature of their ministry, goals, methodology, and areas of overlap or divergence with other itinerant Charismatics. A second effort is the annual conference for The Society for Pentecostal Studies. This organization is an offspring of The Pentecostal Fellowship of North America and heavily dominated by Classical Pentecostals. In 1972, however, the convention featured numerous speakers from Classical, Neo-, and Catholic Pentecostalism who discussed critical issues which seemed to divide the three Pentecostal movements.

Finally, it was determined that the critic needs a criterion for determining when a movement is of sufficient magnitude to merit analysis (whether using the social action construct or other models). While any movement, whether a success or a failure, might be examined, criteria are needed for defining when a "collectivity" is actually a movement. In light of this need, the Gerlach and Hine model defined a collectivity as a movement when it had emerged as a dynamic interacting group of cells existing in reticulate relationship one to another. The Bettinghaus construct together with the Gerlach and Hine model enables the critic to monitor activity until he determines there is a definite movement interacting within a reticulate structure. He may then identify the persons functioning as change agents, initiation, legitimization, and diffusion sets. Once these sets are

identified, the critic can categorize persuasive strategies as closed-ecumenical to open-ecumenical and predict whether the movement will subside, institutionalize, or create conflict by its attempts to integrate its concept into existing institutions.

This study has opened several potential areas for future research. The persuasive strategies and tactics of the four change agents examined in this study should be examined individually and contrasted one with another. Other individuals such as Oral Roberts, Ralph Wilkerson, and David Wilkerson would provide interesting studies for special interests. Roberts, for example, has developed a 50-million-dollar institution of higher education, the main objective of which is not to educate but to make possible a greater expression and perpetuation of his ministry. His use of quality higher education, nationwide television entertainment, modern architecture, and even basketball are all designed to accomplish this objective. Examination of Roberts' transition from Classical Pentecostalism to Neo-Pentecostalism would also enable us to better understand the movement.

To further determine the validity of conclusions presented in this study, one might attempt the same study using different representatives or extend the analysis with the same units to a state, regional, national, or international level. An interesting study, and one which would extend our understanding of the movement might begin by randomly

selecting ministers on a national level and correlating their social, political, economic, and psychological attitudes with attitudes toward characteristics of the Neo-Pentecostal movement. From a different perspective, one might survey Neo-Pentecostals and examine the same correlations. In light of the numerous communes and drug-prevention programs being sponsored by Neo-Pentecostal units, it would be profitable to examine the social, political, and economic implications of Neo-Pentecostal messages and forms of worship. In light of the strong opinions expressed regarding glossolalia, one might examine its communicative function for users, its symbolic meaning to opponents, and methods by which both believers and nonbelievers can more successfully resolve conflict on related issues. Finally, of Neo-Pentecostalism in the World Council of Churches, the National Association of Evangelicals or the rapidly emerging Catholic Pentecostal movement invites fruitful inquiry for future research.

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APPENDIX I

OPINION SURVEY: TULSA PASTORS

tulsa metropolitan ministry

222 East Fifth Street Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103 Telephone 582-3147

HENRY G. WILL
President
EARL N. DORFF
Vice President
FANNIE E. HILL
Secretary
CHARLES R. BURTON
Treasurer
RONALD T. McDANIEL
Financial Secretary
DONALD O. NEWBY
Executive Minister
DOROTHY G. BERRY
Associate Executive Minister
BETSY DOENGES
Associate Executive Minister

May 2, 1972

Dear Brethren:

I hope it will be possible for you to assist Mr. Heath in this study on communication.

I have studied the questionnaire and talked with him at length about the study and believe that it can result in a better understanding of the life of the church and the charismatic movement in Tulsa.

Sincerely,

Donald O. Newby
Executive Minister

DON/js

Origional letter appeared on different letter head listing different officers.

The University of Oklahoma 780 Van Vleet Oval, Room 331 Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Speech Communication Department
Public Opinion Survey Research Services
Speech Communication Research Lab

Dear Pastor:

Attached to this letter is an opinion survey designed to elicit information concerning one of several religious movements active in our society. With your help we hope to acquire an accurate and objective description of the current state of the movement known as the Charismatic Renewal Movement, Neo-Pentecostalism, or the Holy Spirit Movement.

The questions in the survey are designed to determine, on an anonymous basis, the nature and extent of ministerial attitudes and participation in various aspects of this movement. Your response to each question is vital to the validity and reliability of this survey. An accurate analysis of the nature, scope, methods, successes and failures of both the friends and foes of Neo-Pentecostalism is dependent upon your honesty, sincerity, and complete cooperation on all questions.

Department of Speech Communication

This study should provide those concerned with the Charismatic Movement data useful for intelligent decision making. You may be confident that (1) your anonymity is assured, (2) high academic standards will be employed in the tabulation and interpretation of data, and (3) no commercial use will be made of your replies.

You are asked to take the next ten to fifteen minutes to complete the questionnaire. When completed, please seal the form in the enclosed self-addressed and stamped envelope. While the assistant assigned to you has been instructed not to discuss the questionnaire, he has been asked to carry the envelope to the nearest post office or mail box where it will be forwarded directly to the University of Oklahoma Research Center.

All parties involved in this project wish to thank you in advance for your time, interest, and cooperation. If you have any questions regarding this survey, please feel free to contact any one of the persons listed below.

Respectfully yours,

Paul A. Barefield

Dr. Paul A. Barefield
Project Director

Dr. William R. Carmack, Department Chairman
Dr. Wayland Cummings, Director of Public Opinion Research
Dr. Paul A. Barefield, Project Director
Mr. Robert W. Heath, Research Assistant

OPINION SURVEY

The following questions are designed to determine opinions regarding activities related to the "Charismatic or Neo-Pentecostal Movement." It is important that each question be answered. If no responses seem to quite fit, select the one nearest to your opinion. Circle only one response to each question.

Part I. General Demographic Data

1. Age:

   a. 20-29; c. 40-49; e. 60 or over.

   b. 30-39; d. 50-59;

2. Marital Status:

   a. Single; c. Separated; e. Widowed.

   b. Married; d. Divorced;

3. Children living at home:

   a. One; c. Three; e. Five.

   b. Two; d. Four;

4. What is the name of the last school you attended?_____

5. What was the last grade you completed in school?

   a. 1-2 years high school; c. 1-2 years college;

   b. 3-4 years high school; d. 3-4 years college;

   e. More than 4 years of college or other kinds of schooling.
   SPECIFY _____

6. Church affiliation:

   a. Assemblies of God
   b. Baptist
   c. Catholic
   d. Christian
   e. Church of Christ
   f. Church of God
   g. Jehovah Witness
   h. Lutheran
   i. Methodist
   j. Nazarene
   k. Pentecostal
   l. Presbyterian
   m. Unaffiliated - Nondenominational

7. Weekly church attendance:

   a. 0-299; c. 400-499; e. 700-999;

   b. 300-399; d. 500-699; f. 1000 or over.

8. The following is a list of different income groups. Just circle the group your family is in:

   a. Under $3000;
   b. $3000 to $4999;
   c. $5000 to $6999;
   d. $7000 to $9999;
   e. $10,000 to $14,999;
   f. $15,000 and over.

Part II. Charismatic Renewal Conference.

9. Did you know that a "Charismatic Renewal Conference" was conducted in this area. Yes___ No___

10. If answer to number 9 was yes, how did you first hear about the conference?

   a. Newspaper;
   b. Television;
   c. Parishioner;
   d. Telephone call from conference sponsor;
   e. Letter from conference sponsor;
   f. Another minister in my denomination.

11. Did you attend any of the conference sessions? Yes___ No___

12. If answer to number 11 was yes, please circle the number of sessions attended.

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X (X = ten or more)

13. If you did not attend the conference, which item best explains your reason for not attending:

   a. Didn't know about it;
   b. Had little interest in it;
   c. Church or denomination disapproves;
   d. Ministerial duties hindered;
   e. Other.

14. Did any active members of your church attend? Yes___ No___ Don't Know___

15. If answer to number 14 is yes, which item best expresses extent of their attendance:

    a. An insignificant number of active members attended;
    b. A significant number of active members attended;
    c. A majority of active members attended;
    d. Other.

16. Which statement best expresses the central purpose of the Charismatic Renewal Conference: (Circle one)

    a. To hammer out one unified ideology for advocates of the Charismatic movement;
    b. To win followers from "historical" denominations;
    c. To convert ministers from "historical" denominations to the Charismatic or Pentecostal experience;
    d. To promote the books and tapes of the conference speakers;
    e. To promote spiritual unity among all Christians of all denominations.

17. Which item best expresses your understanding of the major emphasis of the Charismatic movement:

    a. Divine healing;
    b. Deliverance;
    c. Glossolalia;
    d. Baptism of the Holy Spirit;
    e. The gifts of the Spirit;
    f. Spiritual Unity.

18. If your denomination wished to interview a Charismatic leader for the purpose of better understanding of the Charismatic movement: (See list on last page)

    a. Which conference speaker would most likely be invited? (First choice) _____; (Second choice) _____; Don't know _____.
    b. Which two conference speakers would least likely be invited? (First choice) _____; (Second choice)_____; Don't know _____.

19. Have you heard any of the conference speakers on audio tape? Yes___ No___

20. Have you read any books written by the conference speakers? Yes___ No___

21. If yes, please specify the speaker or author's name.

    a. _____

    b. _____

    c. _____

22. If your denomination wished to interview a Charismatic leader who did not speak at this conference, whom would they contact? List two names.

_____ _____

23. Do you know personally, people from historical churches other than your own who are active in the Charismatic movement? Yes___ No___

24. If yes, circle the number which best expresses your degree of approval or disapproval of their involvement:
    a. Strongly disapprove;
    b. Disapprove;
    c. Neutral;
    d. Approve;
    e. Strongly approve.

Part III. Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI)

25. Are you familiar with the FGBMFI? Yes___ No___

26. If yes, what is the source of this knowledge?

    a. Newspaper;
    b. Television;
    c. Parish member or friend;
    d. Another minister;
    e. Telephone call from the organization;
    f. Personal visit from a member of the organization;
    g. On mailing list.

27. Have you ever attended a FGBMFI meeting? Yes___ No___

28. If yes, which item best expresses the extent of your attendance?

    a. Three times or less;
    b. Three to ten times;
    c. More than ten times.

29. If you have attended FGBMFI meetings, which item best expresses the kinds of sessions attended?

    a. Local chapter meetings only;
    b. Local and regional meetings;
    c. Local, regional and national meetings;
    d. Other.

30. If you have not attended FGBMFI meetings, which item best expresses your reason for not attending?
    a. Not familiar with it;
    b. Have little interest in their purpose;
    c. Ministerial duties hindered;
    d. Church or denomination disapproval;
    e. Other.

31. Do any of your active church members attend FGBMFI sessions? Yes___ No___

32. If yes, which item best describes the extent of this participation?

    a. The number who attend is not significant;
    b. A significant number attend;
    c. A majority of active church members attend;
    d. Other.

Part IV.

33. Does your church sponsor any home prayer or Bible groups in which Charismatic experiences are allowed or encouraged? Yes___ No___

34. Have you attended home prayer groups in which Charismatic experiences are allowed or encouraged? Yes___ No___

35. Do active members of your church attend home prayer groups in which Charismatic experiences are allowed or encouraged? Yes___ No___

36. If yes, which item best describes the extent of this participation?

    a. The number who attend is not significant;
    b. A significant number attend;
    c. A majority of active members attend;
    d. Other.

Part V.

37. Do you perceive any Pentecostal or Charismatic organization or event as threatening to yourself or your church? Yes___ No___

38. If yes, rank them in the order of perceived threat with 1 representing the most threatening and 7 representing the least threatening.
    Example: Which animal do you perceive as most threatening?

    4 Eagle
    1 Rattlesnake
    2 Rat
    3 Bulldog

    NOTE: The rattlesnake is perceived as most threatening and the eagle as least threatening.

    ___FGBMFI;
    ___Charismatic Renewal Conference;
    ___Pentecostal denominations (Assembly of God, Pentecostal Holiness, Pentecostal Churches of God, etc.);
    ___Charismatic Revivals (any church);
    ___Charismatic or Pentecostal sponsored programs on television;
    ___Prayer and Bible study groups;
    ___Activities of Charismatic Groups.

39. Do you approve the efforts of those who are promoting the Charismatic experiences in your area? Yes___ No___

40. If yes, rank the following items in order of their usefulness from 1 to 6:

    ____a. Prayer groups;

    ____b. Charismatic Renewal Conference;

    ____c. Local Charismatic churches;

    ____d. FGBMFI;

    ____e. Personal witnessing;

    ____f. Saturday morning breakfast meetings.

41. Did you listen to a minister on TV last Sunday? Yes___ No___

42. If yes, circle the person's name below.

    a. Kathryn Kuhlman;

    b. Oral Roberts;

    c. Dan Beller;

    d. Finis Crutchfield;

    e. Rex Humbard;

    f. Other.

43. To what extent does your church participate in Charismatic experiences?

    a. Does not tolerate "Charismatic" experiences;

    b. Tolerant but guarded;

    c. An individual matter;

    d. Highly involved;

    e. Other.

Part IV. Speaking in Tongues

Read each statement and circle the number which best expresses your response.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Examples:					
Ex 1. Capital punishment should be continued.	1	(2)	3	4	5
Ex 2. The present grading system should be changed to a pass/fail system.	1	2	3	(4)	5
44. I am open to the experience or gift of speaking in tongues.	1	2	3	4	5
45. Speaking in tongues is <u>not</u> a psychological disorder.	1	2	3	4	5
46. Speaking in tongues is a manifestation having divisive consequences in "historical" churches.	1	2	3	4	5
47. Speaking in tongues is <u>not</u> a scriptural experience.	1	2	3	4	5
48. Speaking in tongues is a religious trait found most often among people of low socio-economic levels.	1	2	3	4	5
49. Speaking in tongues is diabolical.	1	2	3	4	5
50. Speaking in tongues can be controlled by the person involved.	1	2	3	4	5
51. Speaking in tongues is <u>not</u> a valid religious experience for this generation.	1	2	3	4	5
52. I do <u>not</u> speak in tongues (glossolalia).	1	2	3	4	5
53. Ministers should not discuss the implications of speaking in tongues in sermons.	1	2	3	4	5

Speakers at the Charismatic Renewal Conference

1. Father Robert Arrowsmith
2. Don Basham
3. Dennis Bennett
4. Arnold Bittlinger
5. "Brick" Bradford
6. Harald Bredesen
7. Bill Britton
8. Jamie Buckingham
9. Larry Christenson
10. Ronald Coady
11. David du Plessis
12. Robert Frost
13. R. C. Jarmin
14. Father Francis MacNutt
15. Ralph Martin
16. Dick Mills
17. Bob Mumford
18. John Poole
19. Derek Prince
20. Charles Simpson
21. Austin Wilkerson
22. Ralph Wilkerson
23. Willie Murphy
24. Kilian McDonnell
25. K. Kuhlman
26. Bill Bright
27. Oral Roberts
28. T. F. Zimmerman
29. D. C. Braham
30. Pat Boone
31. J. Henry Maxwell
32. Rev. James Dodd
33. Rod Williams
34. Robert Van Der Harrel
35. Howard Ervin
36. Jim Brown
37. Joseph Hartman
38. Ken Copeland
39. Ken Hagin

Additional Comments:

APPENDIX II

OPINION SURVEY: PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

OPINION SURVEY

May I impose on your generous nature to answer the following questionnaire? Frankly, I'm engaged in a research project for the University of Oklahoma. My intent is to provide a reasonably accurate description of attitudes toward and involvement in the Neo-Pentecostal movement (Pentecostalism in the mainline historical churches).

I've attempted to make the questionnaire easy to answer. On yes-no questions just check the response which best fits (Example: yes ✓ no ___). On questions which have several possible answers, just circle the one response which best fits. Example: a. under 20;
(b.) 20-29;
c. etc.

By the way, there are no actual right or wrong answers. The questionnaire is after your opinions, etc. Therefore, it is important that you answer without consulting someone next to you. I really want your response. If you will begin now, you can be through in less than five minutes. And thanks for helping me, I'm grateful for your cooperation.

1. How many years have you attended this church?
   a. less than one year;
   b. more than one but less than three;
   c. more than three years but less than five;
   d. five years or more.

2. Are you a member of this church? Yes___ No___

3. Have you been a member of another church in the past 10 years? Yes___ No___

4. If Yes: Church name_____ City_____

5. If Yes: How often do you attend that church now?
   a. weekly;
   b. frequently (at least once a month);
   c. occasionally (6 to 10 times a year);
   d. seldom if ever.

6. Is "Speaking in tongues" permitted in that church? Yes___ No___ Don't Know___

7. Other than this church, have you attended any churches in Tulsa which permit "speaking in tongues"? No___ Yes___ (Please Specify)

   _____

8. Did you attend the recent "Charismatic Renewal Conference"? (April 10-16) Yes___ No___

9. If yes: How many sessions?

   a. Sunday sessions only;
   b. one to three weeknight sessions;
   c. more than three night sessions;
   d. some day and night sessions.

10. If yes: If you could hear only one of the speakers today, which one would it be?_____

11. Have you attended a FGBMFI meeting? Yes___ No___

12. If yes: How many sessions?

   a. less than three;
   b. between three and five;
   c. more than five.

13. Have you attended any home prayer meetings? Yes___ No___

14. If yes: Did any member of the group speak in tongues? Yes___ No___

15. Do you know any pastors of the "historical denominations" in Tulsa who speak in tongues? Yes___ No___ Don't Know___

16. Do you know any lay members of the historical denominations in Tulsa who speak in tongues? Yes___ No___ Don't know___

17. Do the Scriptures teach that speaking in tongues is a valid religious experience for today? Yes___ No___ Don't Know___

18. Do the Scriptures teach that healing for the body is available for Christians today? Yes___ No___ Don't Know___

19. Have you ever been healed of an illness through prayer? Yes___ No___

20. Do you speak in tongues? Yes___ No___

21. If yes, where did you first receive this experience?

   a. revival service;
   b. regular church service;
   c. FGBMFI;
   d. home prayer meeting
   e. other (specify).____

22. Circle your age bracket:

   a. under 20 (specify)___
   b. 20-29
   c. 30-39
   d. 40-49
   e. 50-59
   f. 60 or over.

23. Circle one: male female

24. Marital status: (circle one)

   a. single;
   b. married;
   c. divorced;
   d. separated;
   e. widowed.

25. Name (Optional--but desired)_____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

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