

Orphans or Widows? Seeing Through A Glass Darkly

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Abstract

Scholars seeking to map the antecedents of Pentecostal distinctives in early Christendom turn to standard reference works expecting to find objective summaries of the writings of Church Fathers and Mothers. Apparently dismissing the diversity of the biblical canon itself, the writers of these reference works can be found manipulating patristic texts in ways which reinforce the notion that the Classical Pentecostal Movement is a historical aberration. This prejudice is evident in the selection of texts and how they are translated and indexed as well as the surgical removal of pertinent sections of the original texts. This problem can be set right only by extensive reading of the original sources in the original languages. The writings of Irenaeus shed considerable light on the place of Pentecostal thought for histories that seek to be international and ecumenical.

Introduction

I began advanced study of classical Pentecostal distinctives at Fuller Theological Seminary in the early 1970s. Among those offering good advice was the then academic dean of Vanguard University in nearby Costa Mesa, California, Russell P. Spittler. While working on a patristic project, Spittler emphasized the need for me to engage J. Quasten and like scholars. More recently I utilized Quasten et al in dialogue with William Henn in a paper presented to the International Roman Catholic - Pentecostal Dialogue which convened July 23-29, 1999 in Venice, Italy. What follows is the substance of the paper delivered at that meeting.ⁱ

The most influential editions of Church Fathers and Mothers available in the 20th Century suffered from inadequate translation of key passages. Further, the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* and *Apostolic Fathers* edited by J.B. Lightfoot in addition to the Loeb Classical series have inadequate indices. More ominously, Henry Bettenson's *Early Christian Fathers* and *Later Christian Fathers* along with Cyril Richardson's *Early Christian Fathers* and the Library of Christian Classics uniformly remove many sections that have a direct bearing on Pentecostal distinctives. Predictably, such subjects are simply ignored in Quasten's *Patrology*, Henry Chadwick's *Early Church*, G.B. Caird's *Apostolic Age* and Leonhard Goppelt's *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*.

Influential professors at major universities in the West seemingly managed to miss or simply dismissed Emile Lombard, *De Le Glossolalia et des Phenomoenees Similaires* (Lausanne: George Bridel and Co., 1910), J.J. Gorres, *Die christliche mystik* (Regensburg: Manz, 1836-42), and Eddison Mosiman, *Das Zungenreden geschichtlich und psychologisch untersucht* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1911).

A number of early Pentecostal periodicals quickly began a search for Pentecostalism's

lineage in church history: *Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sept 1906) 3; V.P. Simmons, "A History of Tongues," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 1:3 (Dec 1907) 2; "The Gifts of the Spirit in the Light of History," *The Apostolic Evangel* 1:1 (Feb 15, 1909) 7; *Upper Room* (1909). Simmons' work—motivated by exposure to those who spoke in tongues 40 years before the Azusa St. Revival—was extensive. In an article entitled "Historians Dodging Tongues," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 3:7 (June 1, 1909), Simmons praised Schaff and Bushnell as exceptions and drew from the familiar text of Irenaeus, "Contrary to Heresies" 2:73-75.ⁱⁱ Although these articles evidence a desire to connect to historic Christianity and some leaders benefitted from university training, too many early Pentecostals were largely ineffective because their publications were often filled with inaccuracies driven by their theological convictions.

Although Classical Pentecostals cannot see their likeness in influential yet prejudiced histories, in fact they are neither orphans nor widows. A thoughtful analysis has to reckon with a number of groups throughout church history that looked back to the Montanists, often with some appreciation of their positive contributions. The first relevant scheme relevant brought to my attention was that developed by the eminent historian Reinhold Seeberg. The single most important advance in this for me was the exhausting yet magnificent *Enthusiasm* by R.A. Knox. Knox's collection of pertinent data—if not always his interpretations—is second to none known in English. Clarke Garrett speaks for many when he commends the book for today's audience, but judges it to be "wrongheaded." Garrett describes Knox's "insistence that religious enthusiasm represents a persistent irrational deviation from the path of orthodoxy" as "not very useful for a historical understanding of religious developments."ⁱⁱⁱ Yves Congar can describe Knox's treatment of the Quakers as "mainly anecdotes" which stress "eccentricities."^{iv} Meanwhile, Lovelace quotes J.S. Whale's snappy anecdote that "the inner light is often the shortest pathway to the outer darkness."^v Garrett casts groups of this nature as "the religious 'underside' of the sacred theater of trance and possession."^{vi}

Perhaps encouraged by Hans von Campenhausen's *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht* (1953),^{vii} it cannot be accidental that the findings on Montanism by Pentecostal scholars trained since 1970 often parallel the work of the 19th Century Cambridge scholar John DeSoyres. Here is a sampling. **Classical Pentecostals:** George H. Williams and Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer], "A History of Speaking in Tongues and Related Gifts," *The Charismatic Movement*, ed. by Michael H. Hamilton^{viii} (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); Harold D. Hunter, "Tongues-Speech: A Patristic Analysis," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23:2 (June, 1980), 125-137, which was originally read to the Society for Pentecostal Studies in 1975; Ronald A.N. Kydd, *Charismatic Gifts in the Early Church* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984), a Ph.D. dissertation; Stanley Burgess, *The Spirit and the Church* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984, 1989) 2 volumes; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *Prophetic Gifts at Carthage* (Pilgrim Press, 1992), a 1985 Ph.D. dissertation. **Protestant Charismatics:** Arthur Adams Lovekin, "Glossolalia: A Critical Study of Alleged Origins, the New Testament and the Early Church," unpublished master's thesis, Graduate School of Theology, University of the South, Sevanee, Tennessee, 1962; Morton Kelsey, *Tongue Speaking* (New York: Doubleday, 1968); Theodore Jungkuntz, *Confirmation and the Charismata* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983). **Roman Catholic Charismatics:** Yves Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (New York: Seabury Press, 1983) 3 volumes; Kilian McDonnell and George T. Montague, *Christian Initiation and*

Baptism in the Holy Spirit (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991). **Related Contributions:** Warren Lewis, *Witnesses to the Holy Spirit: An Anthology* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1978); J. Patout Burns and Gerald M. Fagin, *Message of the Fathers of the Church: The Holy Spirit* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1984); F.X. Durrwell, *Holy Spirit of God* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986); Ronald E. Heine, *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia*, Patristic Monograph Series #14 (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989); David Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

On the other hand, Thomas Edgar's treatment of the Montanists represents a view still found among some Evangelicals. Reminiscent of Dale Bruner's doubts about Classical Pentecostals, Edgar denies Christian status to the Montanists.^{ix} In making this judgment, Edgar did not engage any contemporary Pentecostal scholarship. He provides ample proof of his theological conviction that contemporary manifestations of tongues-speech are not Christian phenomena. Still others incline to the view expressed by J.S. Whale. Whale reduces Montanism to a troubled sect destined to reappear throughout church history. *Speaking in Tongues* (Adventist Theological Society, 1991) by Gerhard F. Hasel jumped over B.B. Warfield's cessationism and snapped quotations from my own patristic study^x to dismiss Irenaeus and other early Church Fathers and Mothers when they seemed too friendly to Pentecostal distinctives.

Having taught and published internationally and ecumenically in the area of theology, I have long suggested that theological concepts revolve around three concentric circles. The inner circle contains those things which are essential to Christian identity. The second circle contains vital doctrines, but for which there are no universal agreements among Christians world-wide. Finally, circle three encompasses those things that play out differently in various cultures. Of profound relevance is the theological diversity contained in the biblical canonical record itself. Ernst Käsemann brought to the 1963 Montreal conference on Faith and Order his widely publicized view that the New Testament canon does not dismiss but in fact contains "... the basis for the multiplicity of the confessions."^{xi} Coping with the additional realities of diverse cultural and social contexts strengthens the argument of Jürgen Moltmann that the church should not be seeking uniformity but should be working through the ecumenical movement to expand its range of unlikeness. The reality of trying to be ecumenical and international in scope has meant that few things have been placed in my inner circle. Henn's emphasis on the "noetic dimension" of faith is in tension with not only Tertullian's version of Montanism,^{xii} but at least Holiness Classical Pentecostalism as well. This can be illustrated by saying that Henn shows how Tertullian moves from viewing the church according to the first category in my chart below to the third category.

Enthusiastic Pneumatomania

The designation by Bishop Lesslie Newbigin (1954) and Henry P. Van Dusen of Classical Pentecostalism being the Third Force in 20th Century Christianity reflects Newbigin's paradigm^{xiii} of order (Roman Catholic), faith (Protestant), and experience (Pentecostal). Is this scheme in any way relevant to ecclesiastical history prior to the 20th Century? The following European-American-Pentecostal paradigm answers this question in the affirmative.

APOSTOLIC

Succession

Catholic
Orthodox
Anglican

Teaching

Magisterial Reformation
Lutheran
Presbyterian

American Baptists

Restoration^{xiv}

Enthusiastic Pneumatomania^{xv}
Believer's Churches^{xvi}
Baptists
Landmark, Missionary
Wesleyanism^{xvii}

Several eminent historians have acknowledged that not all groupings of Christians could be considered part of the Anglo-Catholic-Orthodox or Magisterial Protestantism streams. One group in particular has often drawn the label "Enthusiasts." It is true that most of the major groups dealt with in the classic by R.A. Knox are in view here. Ultimately, it seems, there are significant points of divergences which warrant this particular appellation. Some of this would be evident by comparing Knox to the material that follows.

Magisterial historians are most often inclined to use labels like heretics, sects, mystics, and revivalists to describe the groups treated here. This reflects, first of all, the fact that Enthusiastic Pneumatomania are rarely identified with the mainstream of Christendom. Not surprisingly, then, mainstream historians find it easy to blur the line between sects and cults. The groups classed here as Enthusiastic Pneumatomania can often be rightly labeled sects, but no cult is knowingly included.

Classical Pentecostalism in North America has rightly been described as an expression of popular religiosity. A social history of Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) by Mickey Crews casts the populist shadow over the early years. Specializing in various facets of turn of the century indigenous Appalachian religiosity, Deborah McCauley enumerates the particulars of oral religious tradition as worship-preaching, singing, and prayer, along with conversion narratives--testimonies, visions, dreams, and trances.

Spirit Possession and Popular Religion by Clarke Garrett shows the prevailing mass appeal of the Great Awakening. Paul Gritz from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary outlines an overlap of Baptist and Pentecostal traditions which surfaces the popular religious perspective. It is no small wonder that the World Council of Churches (WCC) would publish Juan Sepulveda's treatment of Pentecostalism as popular religion inasmuch as non-credalism has remained a constant agitation in putting together the *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry (BEM)* document and the reinterpretation of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (e.g. *Confessing The One Faith*).^{xviii} The same dynamics are in play when Pentecostals enter bilateral and multilateral talks because the magisterial traditions cling to their theological tomes while Pentecostal scholars try to be faithful to their living, faith communities.

Enthusiastic Pneumatomania produce groups most likely to earn the title, "Sacred theater of the spirit possessed."^{xix} Further, 21st century restorationists include Oneness Pentecostals who have a particular twist on the subject that requires a reshaping of most proposals put forward.^{xx}

Enthusiastic Pneumatomania do not manifest the same kind of continuity known to the two principal traditions, and it is intrinsic to their nature that very little is known about any one of them. Each new manifestation struggles to identify a heritage^{xxi} and established historians usually are not willing to acknowledge any legitimate pedigree thus treating each new manifestation as a novelty if not a complete aberration.

It should not be surprising that from the Azusa St. Revival onwards, modern day Enthusiastic Pneumatomania have published lists of persons and groups considered predecessors, and the groups named most frequently do not belong to Magisterial Protestantism or the Anglo-Catholic-Orthodox stream. When early North American Classical Pentecostals described their origins as "Suddenly From Heaven," they did not mean they were a historical novelty, but that no one individual masterminded the agenda. This is not to suggest that some early Pentecostal historians did not think in a similar way. More than one Pentecostal writer suggested that a founder was absent. This was thought to give added credence to the claim that the movement was uniquely born of God and especially attached to the early church. This theory was kept alive for some time, in part, because Charles Parham and W.J. Seymour quickly lost their place of prominence.^{xxii}

This point is not negated by the fact that many Pentecostal pioneers were drawn to a truncated version of church history. Some light is shed on this subject by looking at the writings of A.J. Tomlinson, first general overseer of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee). A.J. Tomlinson demonstrated a thoroughgoing commitment to restorationism in many of his writings.^{xxiii} Yet he was among the first to publish a history of North American Pentecostalism. Influenced by the canonical Acts of the Apostles and a Quaker orientation, he recorded then published the minutes of the January 26-27, 1906 meeting at Camp Creek, North Carolina that is reckoned to be the first General Assembly of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee). By this time, he redesigned his journals with a view to being used for a published history. His own search in church history shows up in his published sermons and annual addresses delivered at general assemblies.

By 1913, Tomlinson published the *Last Great Conflict* which includes two chapters on Pentecostal history. Although limited in scope, this anticipates, somewhat, B.F. Lawrence's 1916 *The Apostolic Faith Restored*.^{xxiv} Next an unsigned history of the Pentecostal Movement is published in *The Faithful Standard* (1922). A.J. Tomlinson is listed as the editor of this periodical while much of the work was actually done by Homer Tomlinson. Although various writers were used throughout the short life of the magazine, cumulative evidence suggests that A.J. Tomlinson had an editorial hand in the history. In any event, his publication of this six part series in 1922 illustrates well the juxtaposition of restorationism and search for historical roots and parallels that was widespread in the movement.^{xxv}

Tomlinson kept alive the restorationist impulse and a commitment to history throughout his life. This shows that early Pentecostal restorationism was not ahistorical in the sense that history was not read, recorded and considered. However, it would be true in the case of Tomlinson and many restorationists, that theological judgments were most influenced by their understanding of how to restore "the early church." Tomlinson's intimate reading of church

history led him to conclude that Christendom lost its way after the Council of Nicea in 325 AD and started to find the right path with Luther, Wesley and Seymour. Many Christian traditions exhibit tendencies not unlike this.^{xxvi} Yet, it would obviously be more typical of restorationists to operate in a fashion that traditional church history meant little of substance to them. When, however, one considers the indifference of Orthodox history displayed by several Protestant scholars in the West, the situation may be viewed somewhat differently.

It seems imperative, not only in light of the historical reality but also in view of the growing influence of current Enthusiastic Pneumatomania, for some histories to be rewritten.^{xxvii} A few historians have drawn considerable attention to this stream. The most detailed account is that given in the classic work by a Roman Catholic prelate, R.A. Knox, titled simply *Enthusiasm*. Knox connects the following groups: Montanists, Circumcellions, Waldensians, Catharists, Fraticelli, Beguins, Apostolics, Brotherhood of the Free Spirit, Anabaptists, Quakers, Jansenism, Quietism, Prophets of the Cevennes, Convulsionaries, Moravians, Cathari, Shakers. Another classic, authored by a 19th Century Cambridge professor, focused on the very first Enthusiastic Pneumatomania. John DeSoyres' *Montanism* connected the following groups: Novatians, Donatists, Cathari, Waldenses, Fraticelli, Brothers of the Free Spirit, Flagellants, Joan of Arc, Savonarola, Anabaptists, Boehue, Petersen, Quakers, Labadie, Quietism, Quirinus Kuhlmann, Zinzendorf, E. Von Butler, Swedenborg, Schonherr, Mormonism, Irving, Simmons. The esteemed historian Philip Schaff observed first hand Enthusiastic Pneumatomania of the 19th Century. His list of like groups included: Novatians, Donatism, Franciscans, Anabaptists, Camisards, Puritanism, Quakerism, Quietism, Pietism, Second Adventism, Irvingism, etc.^{xxviii}

When looking at the records of related activity prior to the 20th Century, it is evident that this was widespread in many Christian communities into the Fourth Century and especially crystallized in the Montanists. In sketching the subsequent centuries, the following persons and groups would come under the category of Catholic Enthusiastic Pneumatomania: St. Hildegard; Elizabeth of Schonau; St. Dominic; Franciscans; Richard Rolle; St. Vincent Ferrer; Spiritual Franciscans; Beguines; Francis Xavier; St. Louis Bertrand; Jansenists. In the lineage of what is today referred to as Protestant with one or more Orthodox groups would be the following: Cathari/Albigenses; Waldensians; Apostolic Brethren; Brethren of the Free Spirit; some Anabaptists; Camisards; Kylysty; Ranters; Convulsionaries; Shakers; Catholic Apostolic church; the Readers; Russian and Armenian Molokans; Gift People. More persons and groups could be noted and additional categories utilized.

The records pertaining to these things call upon the master skills of any researcher in deciphering the unwieldy, complex data available, while trying to reckon with materials no longer extant. Yet it must be said that pertinent sources are no less useful than most those utilized in traditional church histories. This does not, however, suggest that everything that is reported actually happened as recorded. The eccentric stories that abound in this lineage are more intelligible when studied in their historical contexts. This includes socioeconomic, ethnic, national, etc., elements that make up the multiplex reality of life. It is hardly accidental that church historians of various periods have treated these groups as though they were meaningless, when in fact they were then most visible. These groups have also illustrated that some scholars of all generations are given to propaganda. If these scholars would apply the same kind of

historiography to their own tradition, they would be less inclined to publish their findings and less likely to secure influential publishing venues.

When judging the quality and contents of the sources related to Enthusiastic Pneumatomania, it is helpful to remember that the participating historians did not establish a continuous lineage. The numerous gaps raises several questions. A primary problem is determining the accuracy of the assorted claims. For now, we often have to be content with the fact that something reported to have happened must be processed even if the story is fictional. Those inclined to unilaterally condemn these exaggerations might do well to remember that such is not absent from an ecclesiastical lineage including those called 'the mainstream.'

There is a certain irony in the scholarly disdain heaped on the myths that are part of the fabric of Enthusiastic Pneumatomania. Many of these same scholars esteem highly sections of biblical canonical materials they judge to be mythical. The inconsistency of valuing one set of myths while unilaterally condemning all such things when associated with Enthusiastic Pneumatomania may at times reflect a socioeconomic bias. Further, it may demonstrate a highly ethnocentric view of reality. The scholarly study of popular religion is gaining ground in some academic circles. However, the analysis of the belief systems of ordinary people has often been held in disrepute by intellectuals and always provided an easy target for ridicule. On the other hand, a remaining peril of the affirmation of the extraordinary by Roman Catholicism and Enthusiastic Pneumatomania is being riddled with unbelievable stories.^{xxix}

The label Enthusiastic Pneumatomania is not intended to be value laden. That is, this does not assume that all persons placed in this grouping were Christians much less "orthodox" Christians. If tongues-speech was the only criterion the lineage would be quite crooked.^{xxx} This point has been pressed by Richard Lovelace, among others. Lovelace advances the view that the truest ancestral line for contemporary Pentecostals and Charismatics is found in those who acknowledge "the manifest presence of the Holy Spirit in renewing power ..."^{xxxii} In his view, the lineage that best fits this criterion is the Evangelical awakenings.

The convergences and divergences of Enthusiastic Pneumatomania and Renewal Movements can be noted by comparing my list which follows shortly with the marks of Renewal Movements as embodied in Pietism, Moravianism, Brethren and early Methodism. According to Howard A. Snyder: a dynamic of the Christian faith is rediscovered; an ecclesiola is formed; small-group structures are utilized; a structural link exists with the institutional church; the renewal structure is committed to the unity, vitality, and wholeness of the larger church; mission orientation; distinct, covenant-based community emerge; new forms of ministry and leadership are formed and exercised; close daily contact is maintained with society; emphasis is placed on the Spirit and Word as the basis of authority.

The priority of oral tradition and focus on praxis in the Classical Pentecostal Movement illustrates well the problem any manifestation of Enthusiastic Pneumatomania encounters in defining their own identity. Most of the scholarly work published in the first half of the 20th Century relative to Pentecostalism was generated by those who did not participate in such things. This becomes increasingly problematic because from at least the time of G.B. Cutten, the treatments are almost uniformly negative and semi-informed at best.^{xxxii}

This sort of thing is not difficult to document. It takes little more than quick scans of commentaries and church histories produced in the 19th Century to realize the great divide from later commentators and historians relative to Pentecostal distinctives. Consider first the Gospel of Luke as dealt with in the following series: *International Critical Commentary* (1896), *New International Commentary on the New Testament* (1951), and the *Word Biblical Commentary* (1989). Problems with various commentaries were evident to emerging Pentecostal scholars in the 1970s who looked for help in dealing with the Lucan preoccupation of their communities. In *Spirit Baptism: A Pentecostal Alternative* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), I argued that the Pentecostal emphasis on Lucan literature was attributable, in part, to their missionary/evangelistic orientation.^{xxxiii} This parallels Emil Brunner's insight^{xxxiv} that the phrase "repent and believe" is the missionary order while the reverse is of a theological nature. Brunner notes that both approaches are utilized in the Romans epistle.

The Vanishing Ink of Irenaeus

Early Methodists, especially in North England, were so closely identified with elements of enthusiasm that critics found it quite easy to dismiss them. These "noisy and emotionally charged sacred theaters"^{xxxv} had John Wesley's public approval. The Moravians had convinced Wesley that conversion came instantaneously infused by the power of the Holy Spirit. Although these elements were less likely to be found in Wesley's meetings after twenty years, his published journals and *Arminian Magazine* did not lack references to related phenomena. A telling exchange is the response of Wesley to Dr. Conyers Middleton. Middleton attempted to discredit miracle claims of his day and extended his argument to say that the charism of tongues-speech had not been known since apostolic times. Middleton's *A Free Inquiry Into The Miraculous* (London: Manby & Cox, 1749) was primarily directed against various Roman Catholics. Whenever Middleton ran into a charisma reference in patristic literature, he offered some kind of rational explanation. Wesley's response^{xxxvi} included citing the occurrence of tongues-speech among the Camisards. The French Prophets in England, however, were never accepted by Wesley or his societies. Their behavior was condemned as inappropriate enthusiasm, while emotional outbreaks in his own meetings were judged to be the result of divine inspiration. A story frequently circulated to illustrate the posturing of John and Charles Wesley centers around Charles spending the night with a French Prophet who reportedly spoke in tongues. Charles described Isaac Hollis as having "gobbled like a turkey-cock," and "began excorsising him with 'Thou deaf and dumb devil!'" Charles rested poorly that night—or as he put it, "nor did I sleep very sound with Satan so near me."^{xxxvii} John Wesley called Montanists "real, scriptural Christians,"^{xxxviii} but he once explained that God had not deemed it best to bestow tongues-speech on John Wesley.

In responding to Middleton, Wesley used the first 300 years of church history to show that various gifts—including tongues—survived the apostles. He said one reason these gifts did not extend as normal past the first 300 years was because of "general corruption of faith and morals" among Christians. The faith of many grew cold as dry, formal people took over and belittled the gifts.^{xxxix}

Wesley is quick to point out these were not "fools or scoundrels" who were involved with the gifts. He is especially sensitive to the fact that tongues are often discredited. Notice what he says about the significant charge that no early church father directly claimed to speak in tongues:

Perhaps this is true of those whose writings are in existence . . . But what are these in comparison to those which are lost? And how many saints of the first 300 years of the church left no written account at all?^{xl}

Wesley had already quoted Irenaeus showing that such things did continue. Noted also is what Tertullian and the Apostle Paul said, so he was convinced that the gift was there. There is a well known account of tongues-speech among one of Wesley's preachers of repute. This record is from the diary (8 March 1750) of Thomas Walsh who says, "This morning, the Lord gave me a language that I knew not of, raising my soul to him in a wonderful manner."^{xli} While there is reason to believe that this is not the only such case, it is not likely that such was widespread or that it lasted for any significant length of time.

A book entitled *Spiritual Gifts and Graces* by W.B. Godbey was published by God's Revivalist Office in 1895. This office was the Mount of Blessings in Cincinnati that housed also the periodical *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* and the emerging campus for God's Bible. Seth Rees, once a neighbor of A.J. Tomlinson in Westfield, Indiana, helped launch God's Bible School. It is known that A.J. Tomlinson spent time at this location and read this periodical. Attention is drawn to Godbey's prediction that the gift of tongues was "destined to play a conspicuous part in the evangelization of the heathen world ..." ^{xlii} Methodist Bishop Taylor reported missionaries in Africa with xenolalia. Although Godbey later repudiated the Pentecostal movement, his opinion about xenolalia was initially shared by various leaders including A.B. Simpson. ^{xliii}

The Rev. Dr. W. H. Lewis, rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, judged that permanent xenolalia was known in the day of apostles. Without specifying the group(s) in view, he published the following comments in 1871:

We cannot but remark how different was this gift of tongues [permanent xenolalia] from all modern pretenses to the like miracles. Some over-heated enthusiast professes to be able to speak in divers languages, enabled so to do by the power of God, but when scholars versed in all the tongues of a polyglot are summoned, they can make nothing of the jargon. Or, again, in the midst of the solemnities of public worship some individual, after great heaving and agitation of frame, pours forth in one wild, unearthly screams, never to be forgotten by those who hear it, a few rapid sentences, and then sinks down in a state of utter exhaustion, from which it is a long time ere he can be roused. And this is called the gift of tongues, like that which the disciples received on the day of Pentecost!^{xliv}

In his 1868 commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, Isaac M. Wise repudiated much that Luke recorded, but made this note in passing:

This mode of expression was called afterwards "glossology," and was practiced in the church down to the third century. It is practiced also by many mystics even in our days.^{xlv}

Philip Schaff said the Irvingites made a distinction between xenolalia of Pentecost and glossolalia at Corinth with the latter common among them. In referring to perhaps the 1870s he writes:

Several years ago I witnessed this phenomenon in an Irvingite congregation in New York; the words were broken, ejaculatory and unintelligible, but uttered in abnormal, startling, impressive sounds, in a state of apparent unconsciousness and rapture, and without any control over the tongue, which was seized as it were by a foreign power. A friend and colleague -- Dr. Briggs -- who witnessed it in 1879 in the principal Irvingite church at London, received the same impression.^{xlvi}

Modern mainstream historians have been shown in error when extracting two well known passages from Irenaeus as condemning Montanism. In an 1985 article entitled "Irenaeus and 'Prophetic Gifts,'" Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. exposed this misapplication of sources when scholars advance the view that the false prophet in Irenaeus' *Ad Her* 1:13:3 and 3:11:9 are the Montanists. In actuality, these references are to Marcus then Alogi.^{xlvii} On the other hand, Latourette and Schaff are among those who assume that the Montanists spoke in tongues.^{xlviii} In reality, however, there is no explicit indication in the extant sources that Montanus and/or his immediate followers spoke in tongues--glossolalic or xenolalic. *Passio Felicitatis et Perpetuae*, may have been edited by a Montanist, perhaps even by Tertullian himself.^{xlix} The work speaks of visions and unusual courage while noting that Perpetua (*Passio* 2:3) gave utterance to a name unknown to her while she was under the influence of the Spirit. It should also be noted that no record exists which names any early church Father or Mother--including those who wrote about the contemporary practice of speaking in tongues--as having personally spoken in tongues.¹

Three Cycles?

No Enthusiastic Pneumatomania prior to this century has survived in anything but distant echoes of the original sound. Current groups like the Waldensians, Molokans, and Irvingites may trace their ancestry to their respective founders, but they are theologically distant heirs at best.ⁱⁱ No one formula encapsulates adequately this reality but among the pertinent attempts are the following schemes: pilgrims, settlers, landed aristocracy; man, men, movement, machine, monument; born, complex issues, hated sect, toleration to acceptance, popularity, increasing centralization, institutionalization.ⁱⁱⁱ These are helpful, but perhaps the most useful categories may be the following: experience, reflection, integration.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

There may be some difference relative to whether a given movement is in the Apostolic Succession tradition and/or whether it is centered in a church environment like that currently found in Europe as opposed to North America. Although not limited to Roman Catholics, it is possible that Catholic oriented Enthusiastic Pneumatomania may have had fewer groups which have broken away completely. On the other hand, it seems that environments similar to the

church fragmentation which characterizes the United States of America is most conducive to eventual schism. However, even if a particular manifestation of Enthusiastic Pneumatomania does not break fellowship with its tradition, none to my knowledge have outlasted a third phase.

Among the factors which could account for an unexpected longevity of the Classical Pentecostal Movement in the USA are the following. First, the Pentecostal message is going through an early stage in many countries around the world and combined with global miniaturization, this strengthens and sometimes renews the movement in North America. Second, the Charismatic movement in the Protestant tradition and Roman Catholic Church serves as a revitalizing influence on Classical Pentecostalism.

Those who deny a further eruption repeat the folly of Hegel, the philosopher who thought his was the greatest synthesis at all. He did not foresee his cycle–thesis, antithesis, synthesis–going past him, but it did. Classical Pentecostals have not been able to embrace all Charismatics and Charismatics will not be able to endorse many like groups who will follow them.

It may be reasonable to argue that mainstream North America Pentecostals are in the reflection stage moving toward integration while many in the South are centered in a stage where experience is predominant.^{liv} This says nothing about superiority since each stage has strengths and weaknesses. For example, Professor Jürgen Moltmann has said that the Third World is dying to live while the First World is living to die.

As a constant traveler, I believe the rate at which the world ‘decreases in size’ demands that all traditions devote attention to living out the shared identity in Christ. Since the Pentecostal movement is global and significant, it cannot shrink from its responsibilities. It cannot remain simply introspective. It must interact responsibly with other Christians, other religions, and the whole of creation.

ⁱ ⁱ My lack of shared confidence with Henn’s paper, titled “Faith and Christian Initiation,” regarding the indices provided by the likes of Quasten seemed pronounced. While working on my dissertation, I made multiple visits to the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in order to have access to the whole of Jacques-Paul Migne’s *Patrologia* published in two collections. The most prominent secondary sources led me to believe that a close scrutiny of patristic texts would put my Pentecostal identity at risk, so I determined to read complete texts in the original languages regardless of the outcome. The prevailing view of the day was that the alleged absence of any form of Pentecostalism in patristic literature meant Pentecostal beliefs were likewise missing in the biblical narrative.

ⁱⁱ Cf. Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) 25-28; R.A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950) 553, 451, 551, 568, 282, 140,141; Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (Baxter Springs: 1910) 29; Bernard L. Bresson, *Studies in Ecstasy* (New York: Vantage Press, 1966) 19-20; John DeSoyres, *Montanism and the Primitive Church* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Colk, 1878) 121n1.

ⁱⁱⁱ Clarke Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion: From the Camisards to the Shakers* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987) 11-12. See: Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-Book of the History of Doctrines*, tr. Charles E. Hay (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1956) in F.D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 36; Knox, *Enthusiasm*; Gordon W. Wakefield, "Renewal in Past Ages," *Open to the Spirit*, ed. by Colin Craston (London: Church House Publishing, 1987) 139-150; Hans Küng, *The Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967) 97. Cf. John Yoder in *Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, ed. by Hans Küng and Jürgen Moltmann (New York: Seabury, 1979) quoted by Morris A. Inch, *Saga of the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985) 234-236; Peter Hocken, "Charismatics and Mystics," *Theological Renewal* #1 (October/November, 1975) 11-12; Matthew S. Clark, *What Is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1984) 7-10.

^{iv} Yves Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (New York: Seabury Press, 1983) 1:148n16.

^v Richard Lovelace, "The Holy Spirit in the Evangelical Tradition," *Faces of Renewal*, ed. by Paul Elbert (Peabody: Hendrickson Press, 1988) 209.

^{vi} Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion*, 11.

^{vii} Notice that the English translation, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, was released by Stanford University Press in 1969.

^{viii} Harvey Cox wrote a blurb for the cover of the book.

^{ix} Thomas R. Edgar, *Miraculous Gifts: Are They for Today?* (Neptune, New Jersey: Loizeaux Brothers, 1983). Pentecostal critic F. Dale Bruner cast both Montanism and Classical Pentecostals as at least sectarian and most likely heretical. On the other side, Henry Evans responded that both groups recaptured the original gospel for an ailing church. See: F.D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 35; Henry M. Evans, "Montanism: Antecedents to Current Charismatic Movements and Pentecostalism?" unpublished 1974 M.S. thesis at the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma.

^x My 1980 article in the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society (JETS)* commenced with a 1974 graduate seminar directed by G.W. Bromiley who subsequently published his own version later that year in *Theology, News and Notes* under the title "The Charismata in Church History." It took *JETS* five years to release my article once it had been approved for publication.

^{xi} Käsemann quoted by James D.G. Dunn in *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977) 376. This compares favorably with Dunn's view that "there was no single normative form of Christianity in the first century." A question mark is then placed by William Henn's conclusion, *One Faith: Biblical and Patristic Contributions Toward Understanding Unity in Faith* (New York: Paulist Press, 1995) 80, that tensions in the New Testament Church "did not tear the Church apart into distinct communities which were divided from one another ..." Cf. William G. Rusch, *Ecumenism: A Movement Toward Church Unity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) chapter 1;

The Evangelical-Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission, 1977-1984: A Report, ed. by John R.W. Stott and Basil Meeking (Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1986) 19-20; Anton Houtepen, "Toward An Ecumenical Vision of the Church," *One in Christ* 3 (1989) 235.

^{xii} Henn, *One Faith*, 109.

^{xiii} John McNamee, "Role of the Spirit in Pentecostalism: A Comparative Study," unpublished 1974 Ph.D. dissertation, Fachbereichs Katholische Theologie de Everhard - Karls - Universitat Tübingen, 52-53. See also Carter Lindberg, *The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983); Gordon F. Atter, *The Third Force* (Peterborough, Ontario: College Press, 1970); John Thomas Nichol, *The Pentecostals: The Story of the Growth and Development of a Vital New Force Appearing in the Christian Church* (Plainfield: Logos International, 1966).

^{xiv} See Garry Dale Nation, "The Hermeneutics of Pentecostal-Charismatic Restoration Theology: A Critical Analysis," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, December, 1990, pp. 1-5,16,19,28,30; *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, edited by Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Downer's Grove: InterVarsity, 1991) 113-122,35,42,64,67,70. Nation notes [p.97] that current restorationists identify with Paulicians, Bogomites, Albigenses, Waldensians, etc. He himself rules out Montanists in this category. Cf. Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Edith L. Blumhofer, "Restoration as Revival: Early American Pentecostalism," *Modern Christian Revivals*, ed. by Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

^{xv} This is my current alternative to the general term Spirit Movement. I used Spirit Movement for several years before discovering that Martin Marty appropriated it in a similar way when addressing the 1973 session of the Society for Pentecostal Studies. See Martin Marty, "Pentecostalism in the Context of American Piety and Practice," *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. by Vinson Synan (Plainfield: Logos, 1973) 200. The term is found also in the Tübingen dissertation by John J. McNamee, "The Role of the Spirit in Pentecostalism."

^{xvi} See: Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Believers' Church* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1985); Paul Gritz, "'Church' in the History of Pentecostalism," paper read to 1991 Pentecostal-National Council of Churches of Christ Faith & Order Dialogue, 2; Eric H. Ohlmann, "Baptists and Evangelicals," *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, 149. Nation, "Restoration Theology," agrees [pp. 117, 61, 7,95], but is quick to remind that not all believers' churches are restorationists.

^{xvii} See: Durnbaugh, *Believers' Church*, chapter 5; Gritz, "'Church' in the History of Pentecostalism," 2-6; Richard T. Hughes, "Are Restorationists Evangelicals?" *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, 112. Dick Iverson connects Luther, Mennonites, Baptists, Wesley and A.B. Simpson in restoration according to Nation, "Restoration Theology," 100-101. Alma White claimed apostolic succession in 1921 according to Steven L. Ware, "Restoring the New Testament

Church: Varieties of Restorationism in the Radical Holiness Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Pneuma* 21:2 (Fall, 1999) 241.

^{xviii} See: Deborah Vansau McCauley, "Appalachian Mountain Religion," 3, 377, a 1990 Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, published as *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Mickey Crews, *The Church of God: A Social History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion In America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989) 5-6, 144; Clarke Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion*; Gritz, "'Church' in the History of Pentecostalism"; Michael Kinnamon, *Truth and Community* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1988) 94; Juan Sepulveda, "Pentecostalism As Popular Religiosity," *International Review of Mission* 78:309 (January, 1989) 80-88; Jim Manney, "The People's Movement at Age 25," *New Covenant* (February, 1992) 7-13; Houtepen, "Toward An Ecumenical Vision of the Church," 226, 230-233; Everett A. Wilson, "Passion and Power: A Profile of Emergent Latin American Pentecostalism," *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, ed. by Murray A. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991) 68,73,83,85; David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 318-319; David Martin, *Tongues of Fire* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Christian Lalive d'Epina, *Haven of the Masses* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969); Randall Balmer, "Local Religion In America," paper read November 19, 1990 to annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion; Donald W. Dayton, "Yet Another Layer of the Onion: or Opening the Ecumenical Door to Let the Riffraff in," *The Ecumenical Review* 40:1 (January, 1988) 88,94-96; Steven J. Land, "Pentecostal Spirituality: Living in the Spirit," *Christian Spirituality III* (New York: Crossroads, 1989) 485.

^{xix} Richard Riss, *A Survey of 20th Century Revival Movements in North America* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988) counts the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements among varying revival movements. Early Pentecostal self-perception is clearly revealed in names and phrases used with such frequency like: The Apostolic Faith, The Church of God, The Promise Fulfilled, With Signs Following, The Latter Rain. Cf. James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988) 5; J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue* (Chicago: Moody, 1975); Lemmer DuPlessis, "A Proprium For Pentecostal Theology," an addendum in Matthew Clark's *What Is Distinctive About Pentecostal Theology?*, 144.

^{xx} See David K. Bernard, "Essentials of Oneness Theology" and Dan Lewis, "The Theology of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit in the United Pentecostal Church," in papers presented to *The First Occasional Symposium on Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, July 5-7, 1984); *Symposium on Oneness Pentecostalism: 1988 and 1990* (Hazelwood: World Aflame, 1990); and *Spiritus: Estudios Sobre Pentecostalismo* (Mexico City: 1985 onward) edited by Manuel J. Gaxiola-Gaxiola. Cf. Thomas A. Fudge, *Christianity Without the Cross: A History of Salvation in Oneness Pentecostalism* (Parkland, FL: Universal Publishers, 2003).

^{xxi} Cf. Yeol-Soo Eim, "The Roots of Korean Pentecostalism" and Myung-Soo Park, "The

Korea Pentecost': A Study on the Great Revival of 1903-1907 in the Relationship with Contemporary Worldwide Revival Movement," in *Asian Issues on Pentecostalism*, Theological Symposium for Asian Church Leaders at the 18th Pentecostal World Conference held September 21, 1998 in Seoul, Korea. See also: Wonsuk Ma, "Tasks and Challenges for Korean Pentecostal Churches in the Twenty-First Century," 4-5, a paper presented to the annual theological seminar at Hansei University School of Theology on October 21, 1997, and subsequently published in the *Journal of Korean Pentecostal Theology* 1 (1998) 216-264; Daniel A. Tappeiner, "A Theology of Church History as *Apologia* for the Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 2:1 (January, 1999) 63-75.

^{xxii} See Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 9-16; Ware, "Restoring the New Testament Church," 249. Augustus Cerillo, Jr., "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins," *Pneuma* 19:1 (Spring, 1997) 31, labels this the providential approach and names current advocates. Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody: Hendrickson Press, 1985) disputes the claim that the historical roots of global Pentecostalism are yet clearly known. An effort to make progress in this regard was undertaken by the Theological Stream of Brighton '91 with an entire session devoted to this concern. See papers by Robeck, Goff, and Lapoorta in *All Together In One Place*, ed. by Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993). David Barrett declined our invitation to participate in the conference.

^{xxiii} See: Grant Wacker, "A Profile of American Pentecostalism," *Pastoral Problems in the Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement*, ed. by Harold D. Hunter (Cleveland, TN: Society for Pentecostal Studies, 1983) 25-26; Harold D. Hunter, "Church of God of Prophecy," and "A.J. Tomlinson," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. by Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002) 539-542, 1143-1145; Ware, "Restoring the New Testament Church," 248-249, 239-240, 246; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Assemblies of God* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1989) 1:120. As Makuya Pentecostals in Japan searched for the "original gospel," they came to embrace "smoking and drinking." So Makito Nagasawa, "Makuya Pentecostalism: A Survey," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 3:2 (July 2000) 211-213

^{xxiv} Several Pentecostal magazines printed portions of the Pentecostal story. However, this 1913 publication is distinguished from them in that this was not a series of testimonies, but a deliberate attempt to put Pentecostal events into historical perspective. On the other hand, Augustus Cerillo, Jr., and Grant Wacker, "Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism in the United States," *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 391, rightly point out that no published work preceded Lawrence's attempt in terms of its scope. Cf. Blumhofer, *Assemblies of God* 1:13.

^{xxv} This series taken together constitutes one of the most significant contributions to this subject at that time. It also predates by three years the publication of Frank Bartleman's *How "Pentecost" Came to Los Angeles--How It Was in the Beginning* (Los Angeles: By the author, 1925). See: *The Faithful Standard* 1:3 (June, 1922) 6,7,8,17,18; *The Faithful Standard* 1:4 (July,

1922) 6,7,12,23; *The Faithful Standard* 1:5 (August, 1922) 6,7; *The Faithful Standard* 1:6 (September, 1922) 5,6,20,21; *The Faithful Standard* 1:7 (October, 1922) 9,15,16,17,18; *The Faithful Standard* (November, 1922) 8,11,19. This places a question mark beside the often repeated thesis of Grant Wacker, "Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism," *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1988) 200-201.

^{xxvi} When describing this phenomenon among 19th Century Holiness Quakers, Roger Glenn Robins, "Plainfolk Modernist: The Radical Holiness World of A.J. Tomlinson," Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Department of Religion at Duke University on November 16, 1999, p. 196n7, terms this "bi-polar primitivism."

^{xxvii} My first lectures at the Church of God Theological Seminary in the early 1980s on these groups were part of a course I created titled the Theology of the Holy Spirit. I soon realized that this material needed to be integrated into the regular course on historical theology. There was no textbook that would integrate the streams for me. A move in the right direction was finally made by Philip Jenkins in *The New Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

^{xxviii} Additional samples include: E.H. Klotz, *The History of Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1945) 39 - Novatians, Donatists, Anabaptists, Chiliastic Enthusiasts, Irvingites, Adventists; Otto W. Heick, *A History of Christian Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965) 1:79 - Novatians, Donatists, Waldensians, Mennonites, Holiness; Stanley Burgess, *The Spirit and The Church: Antiquity* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984) 53 - Novatians, Donatists, Waldensians, radicals of the Reformation, Wesleyan Revivalists, Modern Holiness. Many of these same groups have been cited by Pentecostal historians who wrote at the midpoint of the 20th Century. Bresson, Brumback, Kendrick, Conn, Nichol and Campbell are among this group. An accessible summary of their lists is given by Vinson Synan in "Baptism of the Holy Spirit in the Mystical Tradition," *One In Christ* (1974) 195-196. It is interesting also to see other writers connect these groups for related reasons. This is done, for example, in the compelling defense of divine healing by A.J. Gordon in his *The Ministry of Healing* (Harrisburg: Christian Publications, Inc., 1882). See also B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, 1916) 33-37; W.H. Turner, *Pentecost and Tongues* (Franklin Springs: Advocate Press, [1939] 1968) 53-96.

^{xxix} Cf. Pomerville, *Third Force*, 25. Attempting to bridge the gap between Roman Catholics and Classical Pentecostals, Vinson Synan ["Mystical Tradition," 199-200] unconsciously provides a summary of stories that border on the ludicrous:

Parallels to most of the miracles attributed to Catholic saints are not to be found in the literature of the modern Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. In my studies, I have found no examples among Pentecostals of the following mystical phenomena: stigmata, tokens of espousal, telekinesis, luminous phenomena, the occur of sanctity, incorruption, the absence of cadaveric rigidity, blood prodigies, living without eating, and multiplication of food. There are examples in Pentecostal literature, however, of the following phenomena: levitation, human salamanders, incendium amoris, seeing without

eyes, bodily elongation and miraculous oil.

This attraction to the absurd continued in the 1980's with the Roman Catholic infatuation with Marian apparitions at Medjogorge and the Charismatic preoccupation with the 'healing hands' of Oral Roberts' City of Faith. Of course, steady competition is provided by various pilgrimages undertaken by Evangelicals and Liberals. One can only hope that events will coincide when Evangelicals find Noah's Ark and Liberals find Utopia. See: Russell P. Spittler, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Spirituality," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 806; Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion*, 1-2.

^{xxx} Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion and Popular Religion*, 2, documents that the same would be true of the trail of spirit possession.

^{xxxix} Lovelace, "Baptism in the Holy Spirit and the Evangelical Tradition," 209. This article was originally presented as a paper to the 1984 session of the Society For Pentecostal Studies held at Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary.

^{xxxix} G.B. Cutten, *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity* (New York: Scribner's, 1908); G.B. Cutten, *Speaking With Tongues* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927).

^{xxxix} Cf. John Michael Penney, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); L. Grant McClung, Jr., "Salvation Shock Troops," *Pentecostals From the Inside Out*, ed. by Harold B. Smith (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books, 1990).

^{xxxix} Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith, and the Consummation*, Dogmatics: Vol III, trans. by David Cairns (Philadelphia, Westminster, 1960) 283.

^{xxxix} Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion*, 76.

^{xxxix} See: E. Glenn Hinson, "A Brief History of Glossolalia," *Glossolalia* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967) 64; George H. Williams and Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer], "A History of Speaking in Tongues and Related Gifts," *The Charismatic Movement*, ed. by Michael H. Hamilton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 77-82; Stanley H. Froadsham, *With Signs Following* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1946) 258; James E. Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements in New Zealand* (West Yorkshire, England: Purinton Press Ltd., 1974) 16; Cutten, *Speaking With Tongues*, 56-57; Klaude Kendrick, "Pentecostal Phenomena in Church History," *A Conference on the Holy Spirit Digest*, ed. by Gwen Jones (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1983) 1:23; Howard A. Synder, *Signs of the Spirit: How God Reshapes the Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989) 214-6; Robert G. Tuttle, Jr., *Mysticism in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989).

^{xxxix} Williams and Waldvogel, "Tongues," 80. See: Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion*, 80; Howard A. Synder with Daniel V. Runyon, *Divided Flame: Wesleyans & the Charismatic Renewal* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press of Zondervan Publishing House, 1986) 59-60; Knox, *Enthusiasm*, 361; Bresson, *Studies in Ecstasy*, 87-89; Robert F. Rice, "Glossolalia Through The Centuries," *Charisma Digest* 1 (1968) 10. Cf. Edgar, *Miraculous Gifts:*

Are They for Today?, 249.

^{xxxviii} George H. Williams and Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer], "A History of Speaking in Tongues and Related Gifts," 80.

^{xxxix} John Wesley, *The Holy Spirit and Power* (Plainfield: Logos, 1977) 83-84.

^{xi} Wesley, *Holy Spirit*, 91.

^{xli} W.R. Davies, *Spirit Baptism and Spiritual Gifts in Early Methodism* (Cross Fire Ministries, 1974) 12; Cyril G. Williams, *Tongues of the Spirit* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1981) 68n13; Froadsham, *Signs*, 258; Michael Harper, *As At the Beginning* (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos International, 1965) 21. See: Hinson, "Glossolalia," 64; Warren Lewis, *Witnesses to the Holy Spirit: An Anthology* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1978) 212; John Steven Kerr, *The Fire Flares Anew* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974) 38; Knox, *Enthusiasm*, Chapter 18; Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (no publisher, no date) 1:1:114; Cutten, *Speaking With Tongues*, 69; Morton T. Kelsey, *Healing and Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) 235; Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith Restored*, 36.

^{xlii} W.B. Godbey, *Spiritual Gifts and Graces* (Hobbesound: H.S.B.C. Press [1895] 1975) 43. Cf. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "William J. Seymour and 'the Bible Evidence,'" *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism*, ed. by Gary B. McGee (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991) 93n38. See: Robins, "Plainfolk Modernist: The Radical Holiness World of A.J. Tomlinson," 262-264, 293, 370-371, 376. A collection of A.J. Tomlinson's papers included *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* 16:4 (January 28, 1904) which lists Mrs. M.W. Knapp and two other women as editors of the magazine and trustees of the school. The masthead reads: Pentecostal, Missionary, Holiness, Unsectarian. Comments on Mr. M.W. Knapp may be found in Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1985) 91,166,174-175. Tomlinson's associate in Appalachia, J.B. Mitchell, published reports in *God's Revivalist*. Tomlinson attended a 1903 convention in Indianapolis that featured G.D. Watson. Seth Rees' camp meetings included Godbey and Watson. Watson contributed regularly to *The Way of Faith* and *God's Revivalist* both read regularly by Tomlinson. Homer Tomlinson may concede as much in his *Great Vision of the Church of God* (Queens Village, NY: Published by the author, 1939) 3,5. However, this is certainly the case in his uncluttered *Amazing Fulfillments of Prophecy* (Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House, 1934) 125-126. The same can be said of an important document entitled *The Book of Doctrines* (Cleveland: Church of God Publishing House, 1922) 46-49, which gives clear evidence of Homer's fingerprints. Cf. Homer A. Tomlinson, *Mountain of the Lord's House* (New York: Churches of God of Greater New York, Inc., 1941) 10.

^{xliii} Michael Thomas Girolimon, "A Real Crisis of Blessing: Part 1," *Paraclete* 27:1 (Winter, 1992) 22-24; Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A.B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992) 75. The early Simpson verdict later overturned was quoted by Frank Bartleman in *Another Wave Rolls In* (Northridge: Voice Publications, [1925] 1962) 67-68.

^{xliv} W.H. Lewis, *Sermons For the Christian Year* (London: R.D. Dickinson, 1871) 272.

^{xlv} Isaac M. Wise, *The Origin of Christianity* (Cincinnati: Block & Co., Publishers, 1868) 58. Swiss theologian Frederic L. Godet interacted with various understandings of tongue-speech in his 1866 *Commentary on the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, [1866] 1957) 2:319-320. He was not satisfied with scholarly opinions, but was positive about the early Irvingites. In that context he made this judgment about tongues-speech:

. . . it is the spirit of the glossolalete himself, who is carried away in ecstasy . . .

he speaks mysteries . . .

I can only therefore regard the gift of tongues as the expression in a language spontaneously created by the Holy Spirit, of the new views and of the profound and lively emotions of the human soul set free . . .

Worsfold, *Charismatic Movements in New Zealand*, 19-20, notes this and draws attention to the work of E.H. Plumtree.

^{xlvi} Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* 1:1:115. See: Larry Christenson, "Pentecostalism's Forgotten Forerunner," *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, ed. by Vinson Synan (Plainfield: New Jersey: Logos International, 1975) 30; William S. Merricks, *Edward Irving: The Forgotten Giant* (East Peoria, IL: Scribe's Chamber Publications, 1983) 172; Atter, *The Third Force*, 35; Nichol, *The Pentecostals*, 24; Worsfold, *Charismatic Movements in New Zealand*; Stephen Neill, *The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861-1961* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 123; Abraham Kuypers, *The Worth of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Funk and Wagnells Co., 1900) 85-87.

^{xlvii} Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "Irenaeus and 'Prophetic Gifts'," *Essays on Apostolic Themes*, ed. by Paul Elbert (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1985) 108-109. See Congar, *Holy Spirit* 1:67.

^{xlviii} Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1953) 128; Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* 1:2:186.

^{xlix} J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster: Newman, 1950) 1:181; Lewis, *Witnesses*, 87; R. E. Wallis in the introduction to "Passio," *ANF* 3:697; D.F. Wright, "Perpetuae," *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by J.D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 765; Louis Bouyer, *One in Christ* 10:2, 152; Louis Bouyer, "Some Charismatic Movements in the History of the Church," *Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal*, ed. by Edward D. O'Connor (Notre Dame: University Press, 1975) 119.

¹ Hunter, "Tongues-Speech: A Patristic Analysis," 136.

^{li} Waldensians of the Twentieth Century are reported to have persecuted Pentecostals in Italy. So McNamee, "The Role of the Spirit in Pentecostalism," 31. While staying at the Waldensian Church retreat center, Foresteria Valdese, in Tore Pellice, Italy (May 15-20, 1996), Aldo Comba told me that no such events transpired. Nevertheless, the change in posturing when representatives of "various Pentecostal denominations, Valdese (Waldensian), Baptist, Apostolic,

and Orthodox Churches" joined unity efforts of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, was deemed newsworthy. See the 1992 newsletter from the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Office (ICCRO). Meanwhile, the Catholic Apostolic Church in England has not identified in any way with Pentecostal denominations in England.

^{lii} See: Vinson Synan, "Worldwide Charismatic Revival," *Charisma*, 10th Anniversary Issue (August, 1985) 44; Findley B. Edge, Professor Emeritus at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, interview in 1987.

^{liii} This scheme was originally used by Professor John Westerhoff of Duke University to trace the spiritual development of an individual. This according to David Reed who has his own application in "Oneness Pentecostalism: Tracing the Emergence of an American Religious Movement," in *The First Occasional Symposium on Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement* (Harvard Divinity School, July 5-7, 1984).

^{liv} Cf. Archie C.C. Lee, "Prophetic and Sapiential Hermeneutics in Asian Ways of Doing Theology," *Doing Christian Theology in Asian Ways*, ATESEA Occasional Papers #12, edited by Alan J. Torrance, Salvador T. Martinez, Yeow Choo Lak (Singapore: ATESEA: 1993) 1-23. It is instructive to observe the number of Latin American Pentecostal seminaries that use books published by Orbis.