

PART ONE
DEFINITION

In this section, the central theme of this thesis is introduced, namely that it is Pentecostalism's emphasis on a discrete religious experience known as baptism in the Holy Spirit, accompanied by speaking in tongues, that has been its major contribution to Christian life and ecclesiology in Australia, and various theories of the nature of tongue-speaking are explored.



**Sarah Jane Lancaster with her adopted son Ray
and Alice McLeary (rear)**

Photo courtesy C.J.Buchanan

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOUTH LAND OF THE SPIRIT

The thesis, the movement described and an introduction to the historiography

A half-century ago, Herbert Butterfield related how frustrated he and other examiners were with a student who ascribed everything to God's direct intervention and saw no need to consider less supernatural factors. This is not to say that Christian historians must ignore divine providence or pretend it does not exist. But clearly the role of a historian of Christianity is to present it from the human perspective as well as the divine; not only to narrate history — as important as narrative is — but also to interpret it in the light of all the relevant material, both informative and critical.¹ As Keith Sewell has pointed out, writing Christian history is not engaging in uncritical hagiography: as far as humanly possible, the picture presented must be objective and fair.² This is not as easy as it sounds. Sewell notes the impossibility of constructing an accurate and comprehensive historical narrative — it is now seen, he says, to be a 'hopeless task.'³ First, there is the impossibility of gaining all the necessary information to make a definitive

¹ H.Butterfield, *Christianity and History* London: George Bell and Sons, 1949, pp.20,23.

² Keith Sewell, 'Christian Historiographical Methodology: Some Foundational Considerations' in *Lucas: an Evangelical History Review*, No.15, June 1993, 1ff. Butterfield (1949:134ff) also warns against the dangers of politic-ecclesiastical history, 'especially the kind in which churchmen seem concerned to establish or justify a kingdom of this world.'

³ K.Sewell, 'The Eclipse of History and the Crisis in the Humanities,' unpublished paper, 1996, p.3.

judgement. No matter how extensively we research, we will never be in possession of all the facts. In writing this thesis, I have been painfully aware of this difficulty. In many cases, I seem to have exhausted every line of inquiry, and yet still found frustrating clefts in the range of information. Secondly, there is the problem of human fallibility: even with the best of intentions, complete freedom from bias is unattainable, not so much in the inclinations of which we are aware, but in those more dangerous and subtle bents which lie crocodile-like beneath the surface.⁴ In my case, writing Pentecostal history as a Pentecostal will inevitably blind me to some of the faults and follies of the movement, and will, no doubt, render me less incisive in my exploratory surgery than I should be. I may well be too close to my subject to see it clearly enough in the larger scheme of things. On the other hand, my stance will also offer me insights, subtleties of understanding and sympathies that another observer might lack. Indeed David Clines argues that historians cannot be 'objective observers' but that they are 'interested parties with some personal or institutional ideological investment in the business of reconstructing the past.'⁵

Interpreting history implies presenting critical perspectives that will add to the general understanding.⁶ The history of Pentecostalism, for example, may be validly viewed from a number of vantage points — sociological, psychological, ideological, ecclesiastical and the like. But there is a need also for theological, charismatic and pastoral appraisals.⁷ In this thesis, all these will be evident. The theological emphasis, in particular, will be notably dominant in places, although sociological factors will necessarily be considered.

We can go further and argue, as Piggin does, for the prophetic role of history

⁴ See also Stuart Piggin, 'God in History: Some thoughts on the Recovery of a Useful Christian History' in *Lucas*, No.1, November 1987, p.10.

⁵ D.Clines, 'The Postmodern adventure in Biblical Studies,' in *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* #1 March 1998, p.48. Sewell also notes that it may not be necessary to write a comprehensive history — the Scriptures, for example, are clearly selective because the aim is not to provide a thorough narrative but a divine revelation of the matters which we ought to know. See Sewell, 1996, p.11.

⁶ Compare S.Piggin's comments in his review of B.Dickey, *Holy Trinity Adelaide, 1836-1988: the History of a City Church* in the *Journal of Religious History*, June 1990, pp.105ff.

⁷ Sewell, 1993:13.

‘to discern in all this human business the activity of God and to bring this home to our conscience.’⁸ Historiography should not just set down what has happened in the past, but should also present the implications of this for the present and the future. To achieve these goals, there must be a strong interpretive and prophetic element. In a sense, writers of history do not just record it, they also determine it. Anne McLay puts this succinctly when she says, ‘The goal is not so much INFORMATION as TRANSformation.’ She goes on to ask, ‘Could a deeper understanding of the past be a channel of TRANSformation for the people of the present time?’⁹ So while a study of Australian Pentecostalism may be viewed quite specifically as a representation of the perceived acts of God in the life of one part of the Christian Church, it is also an analysis of how those acts are to be seen in context and how people have responded to them, interpreted them and been influenced by them. Furthermore, such a study will have in it a sense of direction for the future. There will be subtle prophetic flavour. A historian is also a seer.

Because little serious research has yet been carried out on the early history of the Australian Pentecostal movement, this thesis will necessarily contain a high and perhaps even disproportionate degree of narrative, with considerable detail about people, places and events. The dates 1870-1939 have been chosen because the former represents the first known Pentecostal meeting in Australia and the latter the commencement of World War II. Further, by 1939, the Apostolic Church had adopted its national constitution — the last Pentecostal body in Australia to be formally constituted in the pre-War period. This is a pioneering inquiry, and hence a kind of narrative cartography is essential. Without the guidance of this mapping, it will not be possible either to explore fully or to appreciate the nature of the movement and the conclusions being drawn. In any case, no matter what we do with it, history is fundamentally *story*. Without the primary narrative, secondary analysis has no meaning.

⁸ Piggin, 1987:13.

⁹ A. McLay, ‘Writing Women’s History: One Feminist Approach,’ in M. Hutchinson and E. Campion (eds), *Long Patient Struggle: Studies in the Role of Women in Australian Christianity* Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994, p.20.

It is also important that as much of the primary data as possible be made available for further reflection and analysis by others. If future scholars are to have a reliable and comprehensive source on which to draw, there are many important historical incidents which need to be incorporated. A strong structural narrative framework must therefore be established.

With the burgeoning of the Pentecostal movement both in Australia and worldwide, there is already an upsurge in books and articles on the subject. Furthermore, recent years have seen the introduction of a number of volumes on Australian Christianity at large, especially on Evangelicalism.¹⁰ It is clearly necessary that accurate and comprehensive studies on the origins and early development of Australian Pentecostalism should be completed as soon as possible so that researchers and scholars have a rich and reliable lode to mine.

The Thesis

I will be presenting two main arguments. Firstly, that from the beginning Australian Pentecostalism differed from its overseas cousins in several significant ways. For example, it was primarily a middle-class movement, not a movement of the disenfranchised, as has commonly been observed elsewhere. I will argue that whereas the popular understanding of Pentecostalism is that its origins were among the poor, in Australia, its origins were among people of relatively comfortable socio-economic status. A comparative study of occupations, for instance, shows that the percentage of Pentecostals involved in professional occupations in the 1930s was roughly double that of the community while the percentage of labourers was approximately half.¹¹

Further, in contrast to the beginnings in the United States and Great Britain, where Pentecostalism blossomed in the cities, its earliest expressions in this country were rural rather than urban. Twenty-three of the first 34 Pentecostal congregations in this country were in country towns and many of the pioneers were from farming communities.¹²

¹⁰ For details see below pp.46ff.

¹¹ See Appendices Six, Seven and Eight.

¹² See Appendix One.

Thirdly, many of its earliest leaders were women, in distinction from other Western expressions where men generally took the lead. Over half the Pentecostal congregations functioning by 1930 were established and led by women.¹³ In the 1910s and 1920s, women travelled from Perth to Cairns preaching the faith in the power of the Spirit, usually in the face of great difficulty, but often with striking results. From 1925, male leadership became more and more common, but in the first twenty years, the ministry of women was highly visible.¹⁴

Fourthly, Pentecostalism was both a cosmopolitan and an indigenous movement. Although it is commonly believed that Australian Pentecostalism was an American import, like Mormonism or the Jehovah's Witness movement, in fact, its roots were primarily European.¹⁵ The one church that could be described as resulting from a direct overseas missionary outreach was the Apostolic Church — and this was based in Wales.

The three major tributaries were Wesleyanism, the Dowie movement and the Evangelical movement. Firstly, Wesleyanism. Most nineteenth century Methodist ministers were English-born and overseas connections were generally maintained with England. It was the Wesleyan emphasis on Christian perfection and baptism in the Holy Spirit which formed a fertile seed bed for Pentecostalism. In the latter part of the nineteenth century prominent Wesleyan leaders such as John Watsford and William Taylor were calling for a return to perfectionism and what they called a 'Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit' among Methodists. Some became Pentecostals through responding to that call.¹⁶

The second tributary was the Dowie movement. Scottish-born John Alexander Dowie spent the first 16 years of his ministry in three States of Australia. When he finally migrated to the US in 1888, he left a committed group of several

¹³ See Appendix One.

¹⁴ See Chapter Twelve.

¹⁵ Several times recently I have asked classes of adult students how many of them thought Pentecostalism had come to Australia from the United States. Without exception, they all said 'yes.'

¹⁶ See Chapter Three.

hundred people who all held strongly to a belief in divine healing. It was this emphasis on divine healing and the gifts of the Holy Spirit that challenged thousands of people to open their hearts and minds to the possibility of further supernatural manifestations of the Spirit in their own lives. Some of the finest Pentecostal pioneers were formerly Dowieites.¹⁷

The third tributary was Evangelicalism.¹⁸ Around the turn of the century, the Evangelical movement provoked thousands of Christians to attend prayer meetings and conventions and to engage in widespread evangelism. The Simultaneous Mission of 1902 and the Chapman-Alexander visit in 1909 were widely-acknowledged public expressions of this. Here, there was more American input, with Torrey, Geil, Chapman and Alexander all speaking to large audiences in many places. But the English-inspired Keswick Conventions and locally-led prayer gatherings also touched many people. It was in some of these conventions and prayer gatherings that Pentecostal manifestations such as glossolalia and falling to the floor occurred. Evangelicalism as a whole rejected these, but those who experienced them usually did not. Here was another seed bed where the new movement could take root.¹⁹

Although there was further American input over the next four decades (Aimee McPherson, A.C.Valdez, Kelso Glover, Mina Brawner), there were also strong and significant contributions from several other countries including England (Smith Wigglesworth, William Booth-Clibborn), India (the Ramabai mission), Scotland (William Cathcart), South Africa (F.B.Van Eyk) and Wales (John Hewitt).

It is also important to note that the earliest Pentecostal leaders were Australian-born. The first assembly (Good News Hall) was founded and led by an Australian (Sarah Jane Lancaster). Of the first 25 congregations established before the beginning of the church planting work of F.B.Van Eyk from South

¹⁷ See Chapter Four.

¹⁸ Evangelicalism transcended denominationalism. So while Methodists were, by and large, Evangelical, the Evangelical movement was broader in both its appeal and its scope, and did not, as a movement, necessarily embrace Methodist emphases. It is necessary, therefore to treat Methodism and Evangelicalism separately as antecedents of Pentecostalism.

¹⁹ See Chapter Five.

Africa in 1927, 24 were started by people born in Australia.²⁰ The ongoing leadership of the Pentecostal Church of Australia through men such as C.L.Greenwood, Philip Duncan and Charles and Will Enticknap, was Australian. The leaders in each of the capital cities in the 1920s were born in this country — Joy Heath in Adelaide²¹; Sarah Jane Lancaster, Charles Greenwood and Robert Horne in Melbourne; Frederick and Philip Duncan in Sydney; Florrie Mortomore, Harold Martin and W.A.Buchanan in Brisbane; Edie Anstis and Ruby Wiles in Perth. In country areas, people like Will Jeffrey and Will Sloan were Australian-born.

The second major thesis is that Pentecostalism's primary contribution to Australian Christianity has been its understanding that religious experience is vital to authentic faith. 'The person with an experience,' Pentecostals have argued over and again, 'is never at the mercy of one who has only an argument.' One preacher, prominent in this study, regularly used to declare, 'It's better felt than telt.'²² Of course, the stirring of the affections has often been part of wider Christian expression, but through Pentecostalism's teaching and practice of baptism and gifts of the Holy Spirit, such a personal perception and knowledge of God has been enshrined as an integral and ongoing element of Christian life.

Historically, this emphasis on an experience of God has been the movement's major drawing power. A study of its first few decades clearly demonstrates this. For most people, the perceived attraction of Pentecostal worship has been its focus on an experiential and sensate encounter with God. In this regard, Pentecostalism has filled a gap both in society and the Church. This is likely to be the ongoing contribution of the movement for the future, given that Australians, like all human beings, demonstrate fundamentally religious aspirations, with hearts that, as Augustine would have put it, are restless till

²⁰ See Appendix One.

²¹ Heath may have been born in India where she spent her childhood, but lived most of her life in South Australia.

²² F.B. Van Eyk, 'The Baptism of the Holy Spirit,' GN 17:9 September 1926, p.4.

they find their rest in God.²³

On the other hand, I will also attempt to show that, ironically, this focus on experientialism also proved to be a hindrance to the movement's growth. The disagreements over doctrine and practice that occurred amongst the various groups usually resulted from their own spiritual experiences and passionate convictions that they were being led by the Spirit and so could not shift ground. The conflicts between Good News Hall and the Pentecostal Church of Australia and later, between the Apostolic Church and all the other groups, provide ample evidence of this fact.

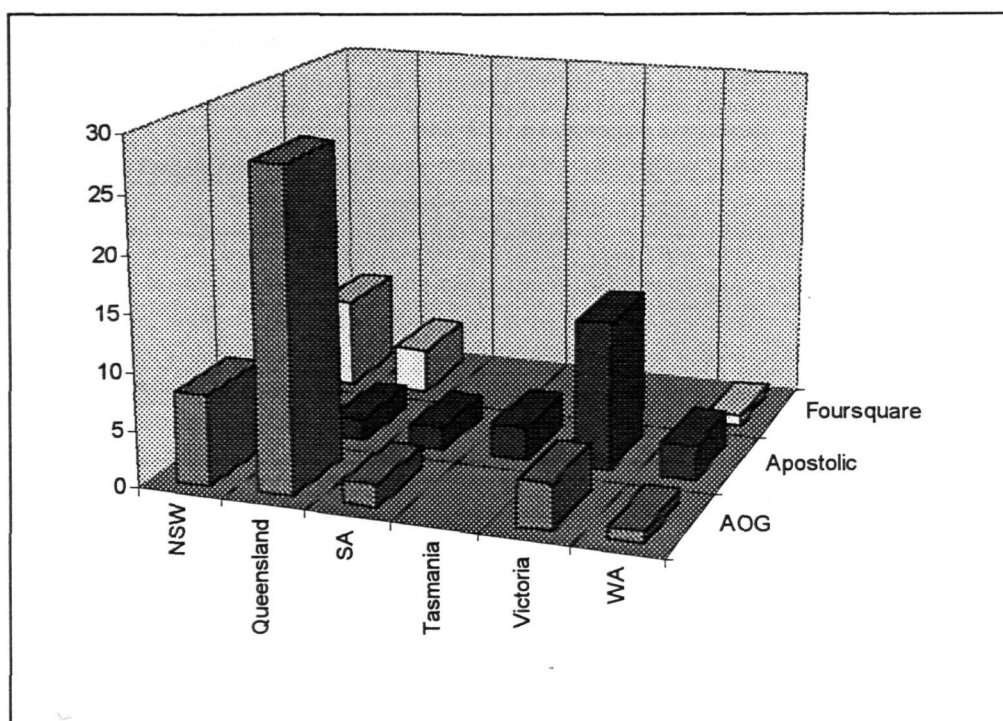
The Pentecostal Movement

The current growth and influence of the movement justifies research. Internationally, David Barrett has estimated that over 300 million people belong to Pentecostal or charismatic churches.²⁴ This means that one in five Christians is either a Pentecostal, a Charismatic or a 'Third Wave' believer.²⁵ Patrick Johnstone argues that Barrett's figures may be too embrative in that he has included 91 million 'post-Charismatics (ie people who are no longer actively involved in the Renewal) and suggests a 1993 figure of 93 million Pentecostals and 75 million Charismatics, a total of 168 million — still a very significant number.²⁶ The biggest individual congregations in the world are Pentecostal. These include the gigantic 735,000 member Full Gospel Central Church in Seoul, Korea; the 400,000-member Methodist Pentecostal Church in Santiago,

²³ Augustine, *Confessions* I:i:1. The extraordinary reaction to the death of Princess Diana in 1997 was indicative of people's need for icons. See also Chapter Fourteen for more on the place of religious experience in Australian life.

²⁴ In 1982, Barrett's estimated figure was around 100 million; by 1988 it had grown to over 300 million. See D.Barrett (ed), *World Christian Encyclopaedia* Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982, p.838; D.Barrett, 'Statistics, Global,' in Burgess et al (eds), 1988, p.811.

²⁵ Barrett, in Burgess et al (eds), 1988, p.810. In oversimplified terms, Pentecostals believe that being baptised in the Spirit is an experience discrete from conversion accompanied by glossolalia; Charismatics also believe in a discrete baptism in the Spirit, but not necessarily with glossolalia; the 'Third Wave' movement believes in the gifts of the Spirit but not necessarily a distinct baptism in the Spirit. All three groups have a common commitment to the validity and exercise of charismata in the contemporary church.

Table 1.1 Pentecostal congregations in Australia in 1939


Chile; and the 140,000 member Deeper Life Congregation in Lagos, Nigeria.²⁷ There are hundreds of others with congregations of tens of thousands. These figures are astonishing given that as a movement Pentecostalism commenced only at the turn of the century. The most commonly recognised starting point is the revival at Azusa Street in Los Angeles, under the leadership of the black, poorly educated but determined William Seymour, from April 1906 to 1909.²⁸ From these humble beginnings in a ramshackle building once variously used as a Methodist mission, a livery stable and a hardware store, Pentecostalism has now

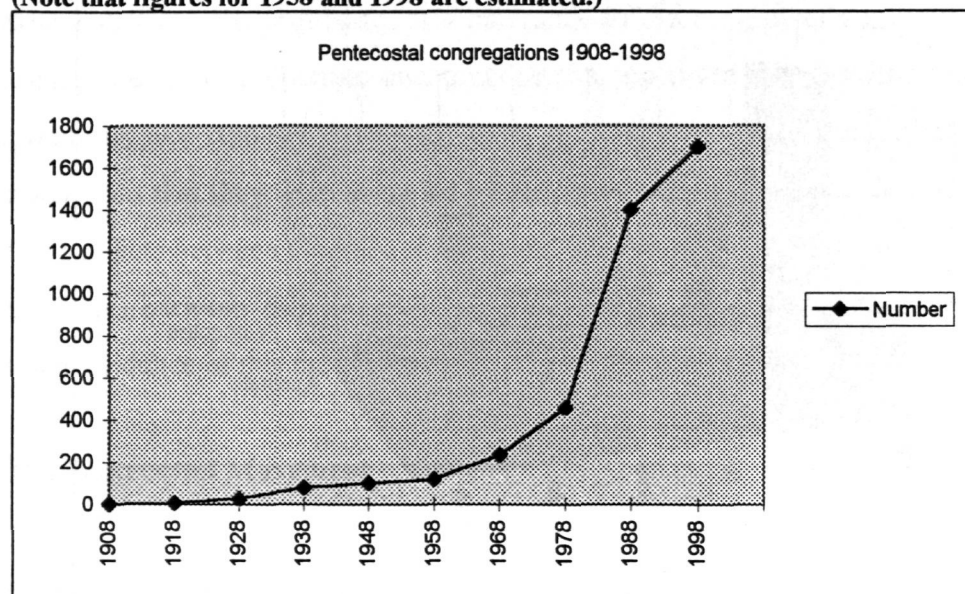
²⁶ P. Johnstone, *Operation World* Rydalmere: Crossroad Distributors, 1993, pp.652ff.

²⁷ These figures are based on my own personal and professional experience and knowledge. See also the relevant articles in Burgess et al (eds), 1988; P. Cho, *The Fourth Dimension* South Plainfield: Bridge, 1979; A. Isaacson, *Deeper Life* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990; 'The 40th Anniversary of the Yoido Full Gospel Church,' *Church Growth* 1998 Summer, Yoido, Korea: Church Growth International, pp.12f.

²⁸ A former Methodist meeting place at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles is renowned in Pentecostal folklore as the birthplace of Pentecostalism. It was there in April 1906, that William Seymour, a poorly educated, partly blind black preacher conducted meetings which continued for three years day and night and became known as the 'Azusa Street Revival.' Glossolalia, healing, exuberant worship and spontaneous preaching were prominent expressions of the presence of the Holy Spirit. People visited Azusa Street from many countries and often began Pentecostal meetings when they returned home. Historically, there were Pentecostal gatherings prior to 1906 both in America and elsewhere, but none captured the imagination in the same way. See Burgess et al (eds), 1988, pp.31ff, 778ff; F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street* Plainfield: Logos, 1980.

become a major global Christian movement.

Table 1.2 Increase in numbers of Australian Pentecostal congregations 1908-1998
(Note that figures for 1958 and 1998 are estimated.)



In Australia, by 1924 there were 18 known Pentecostal congregations, most of them small. By 1939, there were around 80 (see Table 1.1). In 1994, there were 1506, some of them numbering many hundreds of members.²⁹ The 1996 Census recorded a total of 174 720 members who represented just under one per cent of the population (see Table 1.2).³⁰ The growth rate from 1976-1996 was dramatically higher than that of any other church group, at one point nearly ten times that of the next highest (see Table 1.3.)

In addition, there may be another one per cent in established churches who espouse Pentecostal teaching and practice.³¹ For the last two decades,

²⁹ Minutes of the Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee, 28 February 1995; *Minister's[sic] Bulletin* Mitcham, Vic: Assemblies of God in Australia, National Conference, July 1995, pp.4ff; *National Church Planting Department: Report to the 31st Biennial Conference of the Assemblies of God in Australia* Chester Hill, NSW: Assemblies of God in Australia, 1997; *Annual Report of the Christian Revival Crusade in Australia*, June 1994, pp.53ff; *Full Gospel Messenger* Caboolture, Qld: the Full Gospel Churches of Australia, March 1995, p.20.

³⁰ The actual percentage is 0.98%. See also P.Hughes, *The Pentecostals in Australia* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996, p.85; P.Hughes, *Religion in Australia: Facts and Figures* Kew, Vic: Christian Research Association, 1997 and P.Bentley and P.Hughes, *Australian Life and the Christian Faith: Facts and Figures* Kew, Vic: Christian Research Association, 1997, pp.10f.

³¹ No reliable figures are available for this constituency, but indications from sources such as the National Church Life Survey (1991) are that the number of people involved is of this order. See P.Kaldor, J.Belamy, R.Powell, M.Correy and K.Castle, *Winds of Change* Homebush, NSW: Anzea, 1994, p.77.

Pentecostalism has been Australia's fastest growing Christian movement.³² Philip Hughes claims that in terms of regular church attendance, Pentecostals may now rate second only to Catholics.³³

Table 1.3 Denominations as a percentage of the Australian population

Name	1954	1986	1991	1996	% change 1991-1996
Anglican	37.9	23.9	23.8	20.66	-2.87
Baptist	1.4	1.3	1.7	1.65	5.4
Brethren	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.12	-3.35
Catholic	22.9	26.1	27.3	26.82	4.17
Churches of Christ	0.9	0.6	0.45	0.42	-1.52
Jehovah's Witnesses	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.47	11.51
Lutheran	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.4	-0.36
Orthodox	0.8	2.7	2.8	2.78	5.02
Pentecostal	N/A	0.7	0.9	0.98	16.00
Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.78	-7.72
Salvation Army	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.41	2.42
Seventh Day	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.29	8.92
Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian	21.3	11.8	12.5	N/A	N/A
Uniting Church	N/A	N/A	8.2	7.46	-3.80
Islam	N/A	0.7	0.9	1.12	36.19
Buddhist	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.12	42.93
Population					6.18

Based on figures supplied by Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996 Census

The movement is also becoming more visible because of both the large

³² Census figures show a growth rate of 88% from 1976-1981; 48% from 1981-1986; 40% from 1986-1991 and 16% from 1991-1996. According to the 1996 Census, Pentecostalism and Seventh Day Adventism were the only orthodox Christian denominations to exceed population growth. Between 1992 and 1995, the Assemblies of God founded 93 new congregations. See *Minister's Bulletin*, July 1995.

³³ Hughes, 1996, p.84.

³⁴ No reliable figures are available for this constituency, but indications from sources such as the National Church Life Survey (1991) are that the number of people involved is of this order. See P.Kaldor, J.Belamy, R.Powell, M.Correy and K.Castle, *Winds of Change* Homebush, NSW: Anzea, 1994, p.77.

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Pentecostal congregations emerging in all capital cities with attendances of up to 5,000 people on a given Sunday and a number of high profile ministries of evangelism, outreach and mission.³⁷ Some of the largest conferences and evangelistic gatherings in the country today have been Pentecostal. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s crowds of up to 15,000 attended single gatherings and aggregate attendances of 50,000 were not uncommon at charismatic conferences.³⁸

Table 1.4 Comparative percentage increase of selected denominations, 1976-1996

	1976-1981	1981-1986	1986-1991	1991-1996
Australian Population	7.5	7.0	8.0	6.18
Pentecostal	87.9	48.0	40.7	16.0
Anglican	1.6	-2.3	7.9	-2.87
Baptist	9.3	3.4	42.2	5.4
Catholic	8.7	7.3	13.3	4.17
Uniting	-3.7	-5.3	17.37	-1.38

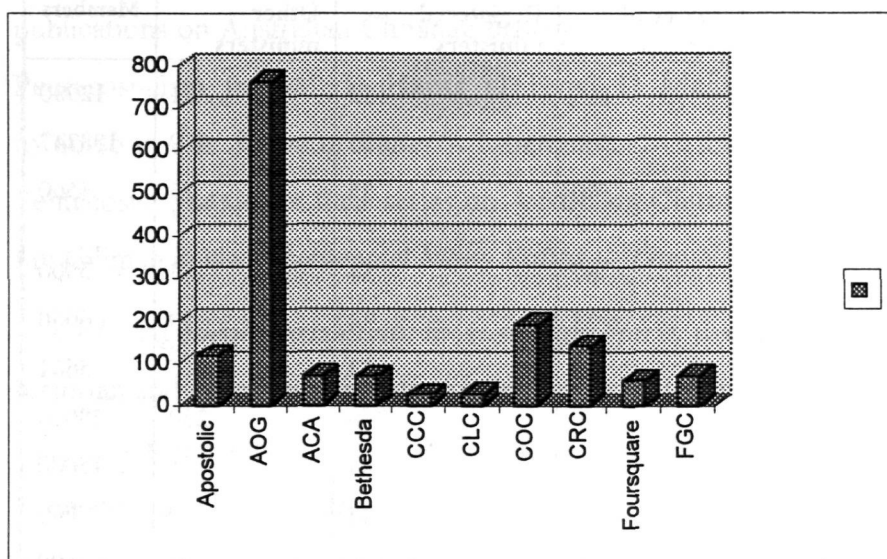
Secondly, Pentecostal manners and styles of worship are widespread in most Protestant churches, even where the central doctrines and practices are not observed. This is particularly true in the area of music and hymnody. From their earliest days, Pentecostals have used innovative music styles. They were quick to deviate from the standard practice of using a church organ only in worship services. In fact, in most pre-war Pentecostal churches, the piano was the standard instrument, although some of the larger groups, such as Richmond

congregations. See *Minister's Bulletin*, July 1995.

³⁶ Hughes, 1996, p.84.

³⁷ For example, the Assemblies of God churches in Paradise, SA, Waterloo, NSW, Baulkham Hills, NSW and Mount Gravatt, Queensland; the Christian City Church at Oxford Falls, NSW; the Christian Outreach Centre at Mansfield, Queensland; the Rhema Church in Perth, WA; ministries such as Teen Challenge, Youth With a Mission and Youth Alive.

³⁸ For example, the Vision Jesus '79 conference in Sydney in 1979; the Tabor United Charismatic Convention in Adelaide in 1986; the 1997 Hillsong conference in Sydney; rallies conducted by international evangelists such as Kenneth Copeland and Benny Hinn, 1990-1999..

Table 1.5 Australian Pentecostal congregations 1995³⁹


Temple, quickly established orchestras.⁴⁰ In recent years, electronic instruments have become the norm, with contemporary music styles dominating. Today, congregations of all denominations regularly sing charismatic songs. They use guitars, drums, electronic keyboards and tambourines. They clap to the rhythm and in some cases even lift their hands during worship songs. Not all of these practices are uniquely Pentecostal, but they are representative of a Pentecostal ethos and they do reflect their initiatives in this area. Overhead transparencies used for congregational singing, for instance, are almost universally from Pentecostal publishers.⁴¹ In fact, musically and liturgically, Pentecostalism has had an influence quite disproportionate to its size. The Pentecostal movement, then, small as it is, warrants extensive research and examination. By focusing on the background and origins of the movement, this thesis will fill a hitherto large cavity in historical knowledge.

³⁹ Minutes of the Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee, 28 February 1995; *Minister's Bulletin*, July 1995, pp.4ff; *National Church Planting Department: Report to the 31st Biennial Conference of the Assemblies of God in Australia* 1997; Annual Report of the Christian Revival Crusade in Australia, June 1994, pp.53ff; *Full Gospel Messenger*, March 1995, p.20.

⁴⁰ *Richmond Temple Souvenir*, Richmond, 1939, p.11, photo. Instruments included violins, trumpets, saxophone, tuba, clarinet and piano.

⁴¹ Eg Resource Christian Music, Dingley, Vic; Scripture in Song, Greenlane, Auckland, New Zealand; Hillsongs, Baulkham Hills, NSW; Seam of Gold, Dee Why, NSW; Integrity Music, Toowoomba, Qld.

Table 1.6 Australian Pentecostal churches and ministers, February 1995

Denomination	Number of churches	Registered ministers	Other ministers	Members
Apostolic Church	115	132	21	12000
Assemblies of God	762	615	519	108247
Associated Christian Assemblies	70	25	25	4500
Bethesda	67	54	3	5000
Christian City Churches	25	34	10	6000
Christian Life Centres	27	53	6	5661
Christian Outreach Centres	190	250	250	28000
Christian Revival Crusade	140	144	55	15000
Foursquare Gospel	60	38	9	7000
Full Gospel Churches	70	30	13	2600
Rhema	11	30	13	3200
Waverly Christian Centre	3	3	5	1100
Totals	1578	15550	955	192400

Notes:

1. These statistics are largely based on estimates provided by pastors and leaders of the various groups and may not be totally reliable. Nevertheless, they are probably reasonable accurate. Note that the total is higher than that given by the 1996 Census (174 720). A significant number of attenders at Pentecostal churches still regard themselves as members of a traditional denomination.
2. Christian City Church and Christian Life Centre statistics are for 31 July 1991
3. Ministers' statistics are mostly for 1991

Sources: Minutes of Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee; Assemblies of God *Minister's Bulletin*; *Annual Report*, Christian Revival Crusade.

Historiography

It is over twenty years since the first attempt at an historical overview of Australian Pentecostalism was produced, which was my own volume *Heart of Fire* (1973). Apart from a revision of this book in 1984, and a couple of loyal denominational chronicles,⁴² nothing else substantial has been published. One looks in vain for credible histories of the Australian movement. However, glimmers of light are to be seen in the work of Mark Hutchinson, Director of Sydney's Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, who is also

⁴² Eg D.Cooper, *Flames of Revival* Endeavour Hills, Vic: Christian Revival Crusade, 1995; D and G.Smith, *A River is Flowing* St Agnes, SA: Assemblies of God, 1987.

researching aspects of Australian Pentecostal history⁴³; and some recent publications on Australian Christian history do include chapters or segments on Pentecostalism. In 1982, D. Harris, D. Hynd, D. Millikan were among the first to do so in *The Shape of Belief*.⁴⁴ Tabernee and Gribben included chapters on Pentecostal practice in their series on Australian Churches (1984-1987)⁴⁵ as did Ian Gillman in his bi-centennial *Many Faiths — One Nation*.⁴⁶

In his *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Australian historian and evangelical scholar Stuart Piggin makes frequent references to the Pentecostal movement and to its first-born heir, the charismatic renewal.⁴⁷ Ian Breward⁴⁸ and Hilary Carey both give serious consideration to it.⁴⁹ The Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity has included chapters by or about Pentecostalism in some recent publications.⁵⁰ Humphreys and Ward also include valuable information on Pentecostal churches in their *Religious Bodies in Australia*.⁵¹ Philip Hughes's recent volume *Pentecostals in Australia* is a valuable, comprehensive survey of the contemporary movement.⁵²

The work of Australian sociologist Alan Black offers valuable insights which suggest lines of inquiry for the early movement.⁵³ The Christian Research Association, established in Melbourne in 1985, has provided a wealth of statistical and sociological data on many aspects of Australian Christian life,

⁴³ Eg M.Hutchinson, E.Campion and S.Piggin, *Reviving Australia, Essays on the History and Experience of Revival and Revivalism in Australian Christianity* Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994

⁴⁴ D.Harris, D.Hynd, D.Millikan (eds) *The Shape of Belief* Homebush: Lancer, 1982.

⁴⁵ W. Tabernee (ed) *Initiation in Australian Churches* Council of Churches, 1984; R. Gribben (ed) *Communion in Australian Churches* Melbourne: J.B.C.E., 1985; W. Tabernee (ed) *Ministry in Australian Churches* Melbourne: J.B.C.E., 1987.

⁴⁶ I.Gillman, (ed) *Many Faiths — One Nation* Sydney: William Collins, 1988.

⁴⁷ S.Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity: Spirit, word and world* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996.

⁴⁸ I.Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1993.

⁴⁹ H.Carey *Believing in Australia* St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1996.

⁵⁰ eg Hutchinson et al , 1994.

⁵¹ R.Humphreys and R Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia* Melbourne: published by the authors, 1986.

⁵² Hughes, 1996.

⁵³ For example, A.Black (ed), *Religion in Australia* Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991.

both in their published books and the regular newsletter *Pointers*. Among other works, the annual *A Yearbook of Australian Religious Organisations*, with its useful directories on all churches, including Pentecostal, has become a standard reference.⁵⁴ Similarly, the findings of the National Church Life Survey have provided a contextual framework for a study of Pentecostalism in the 1990s.⁵⁵

Overseas movements have been better documented. Some of the early histories were basically just chronicles of people and events, with little attempt to evaluate their doctrines or practice or to relate them to the wider church. These include titles like Stanley Frodsham's *With Signs Following*⁵⁶, Gordon Atter's *The Third Force*⁵⁷, Donald Gee's *Upon All Flesh*⁵⁸ and Klaude Kendrick's *The Promise Fulfilled*⁵⁹. Although serving a genuine need, in that they record information that might otherwise have been irretrievably lost, generally, these are patchy and uneven in content. Australia, in particular, is given scant and inadequate attention.

In more recent years, other general histories have been published which are more comprehensive. British charismatic leader Michael Harper's *As at the Beginning* (1966) is brief but thorough.⁶⁰ J.T.Nicholl's *The Pentecostals*, originally presented as a thesis, and published in America in 1970, showed more discipline than the earlier works.⁶¹ *The Pentecostal Movement*, a revision of an earlier work in Norwegian (1956), by Nils Bloch-Hoell, theologian and one-time lecturer at the University of Oslo, and the first history written by a non-Pentecostal, was published in English in 1964.⁶² It was also the first history

⁵⁴ P.Bentley, T.Blombery and P.Hughes, *A Yearbook of Australian Religious Organisations* 1996 Kew: Christian Research Association, 1995. Earlier volumes (1992-1996) were entitled *A Yearbook for Australian Churches*.

⁵⁵ See P.Kaldor et al, 1994, p.77.

⁵⁶ S.Frodsham, *With Signs Following* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1946

⁵⁷ G.Atter, *The Third Force* College Press, 1962

⁵⁸ D.Gee, *Upon All Flesh* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1947.

⁵⁹ Klaude Kendrick *The Promise Fulfilled* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1961.

⁶⁰ M.Harper *As at the Beginning* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966.

⁶¹ J.T.Nichol, *The Pentecostals* Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1971

⁶² Nils Bloch-Hoell *The Pentecostal Movement* Oslo, 1964.

presented from a more critical perspective. 'To Pentecostal readers unused at the time ... to objective and critical scrutiny, the sociological and phenomenological analysis of their institutions, beliefs and worship was at first unsettling'.⁶³

Since then, others outside the movement have also documented it. Best-known and, in spite of its lecture-note style, most authoritative is Walter Hollenweger's *The Pentecostals*.⁶⁴ First published in Switzerland in 1969, the book appeared in English in 1972, with several revisions since then. Hollenweger, a former Pentecostal pastor, writes from the perspective of one who has been both within and without the movement. However, there is little about Australia in the book and its value lies in its international perspective.⁶⁵ The same can be said of David Harrell's work on American Pentecostal evangelists.⁶⁶ Although restricted to North America, it is thoroughly documented and carefully presented. Harrell is himself not a Pentecostal, but his dispassionate approach is neither cynical nor sceptical.

American Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan's *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (1971) and *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* (1975)⁶⁷ are valuable and reasonably objective works. So, too, is Donald Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (1987)⁶⁸. The 1988 *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*⁶⁹ has been an invaluable addition to the available literature, providing as it does for the first time, a readily accessible source for quick reference for people, places and events in

⁶³ C.E.Jones in Burgess et al, 1988, p.90.

⁶⁴ W.Hollenweger *The Pentecostals* Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1988.

⁶⁵ There is a chapter on Australia in W. Hollenweger (Ed) *Die Pfingstkirchen Die Kirchen der Welt*, Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1971, which I was asked to write. This is essentially a distillation of material from my *Heart of Fire* Unley Park: Tabor, 1984.

⁶⁶ D.Harrell, *All Things Are Possible* Indiana University Press, 1975

⁶⁷ V.Synan (ed), *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975; V.Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, (1971), 1989; see also V.Synan, *In the Latter Days* Ann Arbor: Servant Books, 1984.

⁶⁸ D.Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press and ATLA, 1987

⁶⁹ Burgess et al (eds), 1988.

American and European Pentecostalism.⁷⁰ Again, Australia is omitted.⁷¹

A number of denominational histories are also now appearing, the best of which is probably Edith Blumhofer's two volume history of the American Assemblies of God.⁷² This is a well-researched and thorough publication which, although written by a member of the Assemblies of God, retains a fair level of objectivity. There are many other such publications documenting the development of various overseas movements. Generally, although offering a rich lode of biographical and narrative sources, they tend to be propagandist in nature.⁷³

Sociologists such as Bryan Wilson (1970), Malcolm Calley (1959, 1970) and Robert Anderson (1979) have attempted to explain the rise of Pentecostalism in socio-economic terms.⁷⁴ A more recent, and highly readable, assessment is Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven* (1994).⁷⁵ A 1997 collection of essays on Brazilian Pentecostalism offers interesting historical and sociological insights and theories which can be applied to Australia.⁷⁶ These works provide essential resource material and carefully documented analyses of the movement.⁷⁷ Here again, with the exception of Calley's study of the Bandjalong Aboriginal people, the research generally makes little reference to Australia.

⁷⁰ In some ways, the very existence of such a volume is a reflection on the growing sophistication and significance of the Pentecostal movement.

⁷¹ A new edition is currently being prepared which will include some material on Australia being contributed by Mark Hutchinson, myself and others.

⁷² E. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: a Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1988.

⁷³ Eg Abeysekera, F., *The History of the Assemblies of God of Singapore* Singapore: Assemblies of God, 1992; L. Larson, *The Spirit in Paradise: the History of the Assemblies of God of Fiji* St Louis: Plus Communications, 1997; T. Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought: a Short History of the Apostolic Church* Bradford, England: Puritan, 1959; J. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain* Wellington, NZ: Julian Literature Trust, 1991.

⁷⁴ R. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* New York: Oxford, 1979; M. Calley, *Bandjalong Social Organisation*, unpublished thesis, University of Sydney, 1959; M. Calley, *God's People: West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England* Oxford: Oxford, 1965; Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 1970.

⁷⁵ H. Cox, *Fire From Heaven* Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1994.

⁷⁶ B.F. Gutierrez and D. Smith (eds) *In the Power of the Spirit* Drexel Hill: AIPRAL and CELEP with Skipjack Press, 1996, pp. 135ff.

⁷⁷ Some of the theories offered in these writings are, in my opinion, arguable and will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Since the inception of the Pentecostal movement, there has been a plethora of Pentecostal journals, usually denominational papers or magazines promoting a particular ministry or organisation. Typically, they have followed the party line and been seen as evangelistic or public relations tools. It has been unusual in such periodicals for there to be critical reflection or discussion of controversial issues.

Over the last quarter of a century, however, several scholarly journals have emerged. In the autumn of 1967, the Assemblies of God in the United States launched *Paraclete*, a journal dedicated to 'the person and work of the Holy Spirit, covering such areas as Bible exposition, theology and history' and later, 'contemporary Pentecostal issues.'⁷⁸ The result is both a scholarly and a pragmatic approach. A decade later, in the Spring of 1979, the US-based Society for Pentecostal Studies (SPS) introduced *Pneuma*. As SPS is a non-denominational organisation, including members from mainline denominations as well as Pentecostals, *Pneuma* demonstrates greater breadth than *Paraclete*, dealing with a wide-ranging field of issues.⁷⁹ Again, there is virtually no reference to Australia in *Pneuma*, but many of the biblical and theological questions dealt with are relevant. The occasional historical piece offers useful comparison with the Australian setting.⁸⁰

*The Journal of Pentecostal Theology*⁸¹ is a relative newcomer on the scene, appearing for the first time in late 1992. It is published by the Church of God School of Theology in Cleveland, Tennessee, and its editorial advisory board includes many international scholars. Its stated purpose is 'to facilitate constructive theological research from a Pentecostal perspective on an international scholarly level.' As its title suggests, the *Journal* contains little historical material, but its reflections on current Pentecostal movements provide

⁷⁸ *Paraclete* 26:4, Fall 1992, inside cover; 28:3 Summer 1994 p.33.

⁷⁹ For example, see *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 18:1 Spring 1996. It is interesting that for several years the secretary of the Society was Fr Peter Hocken, a Catholic priest. See *Pneuma* 15:2 Fall 1993.

⁸⁰ For example, A.Cerillo, 'The Origins of American Pentecostalism,' *Pneuma* 15:1 Spring 1993

⁸¹ *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, #1 October 1992.

useful stimuli for historical investigation.

As overseas, journals in Australia have tended to be mainly house magazines. Although there have been several attempts to publish a non-denominational journal,⁸² most have languished, the latest of which was *New Day*, published by Tabor College. Originally formed in 1980 by a merger of Tabor College's *Impact* and Vision Ministries' *Vision*, *New Day* was committed to 'unity and revival.' Hence, it still tended to avoid controversial issues and to steer a middle path, in terms of Pentecostal/charismatic thought and tradition although from time to time, it launched into self-critical waters, boldly questioning common Pentecostal practices.⁸³

In January 1993, the first issue of *Barsabbas* was published by the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity. Describing itself as 'a newsletter for Pentecostal thought' it was fearless in its questioning of accepted theology and culture.⁸⁴ However, its life span proved to be very short and by 1994 it had failed. Later in 1993, *Renewal Journal* appeared for the first time. A half-yearly periodical, it declared its aim to be 'a resource in renewal ministries for the whole church,' and the editor's clear intent was to promote and encourage revival and church growth. Thus subsequent issues have shown little indication of a willingness to engage in rigorous scholarly debate or to question popular attitudes.⁸⁵

In 1997 the first issue appeared of *PCBC Journal*, published by the Association of Pentecostal and Charismatic Bible Colleges of Australasia. While modest in its beginnings (only eight A4 pages) this journal hoped to offer a forum for a wide range of academic issues, including history.⁸⁶ In 1998, the first editions of both *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* and *The Asian Journal of Pentecostal*

⁸² For example, *Charismatic Contact*, published by Faith Ministries, 1972—1979?; *Renewing Australia*, published by Dan Armstrong, 1986—91.

⁸³ See for example, *New Day* #145 March 1995; ND #151 October 1995, p.5. Note that prior to 1979, *Impact* was published by the Christian Revival Crusade.

⁸⁴ See *Barsabbas*, #1 January 1993.

⁸⁵ *Renewal Journal* 1:1 (93.1) Summer 1993, p.3.

⁸⁶ *PCBC Journal*, 1:1, October 1997.

Studies appeared. Both contained at least one article of a historical nature.⁸⁷

For Australian scholars, in the area of secondary sources, there is little joy. In terms of general religious history, of course there is a great deal written — and being written — in this country. All the major denominations are well covered with substantial histories. This is also evidenced by the number of conferences on Christianity in Australia and the growing number of journals dealing with Christian history such as *The Journal of Religious History* (1960—) and *Lucas*. The latter, published by the Evangelical History Association, carries occasional articles on Pentecostal and charismatic issues and in some of the former, articles are now beginning to appear about Pentecostalism. Overall, however, historical study of the Pentecostal movement necessitates heavy reliance on primary sources and oral history.⁸⁸

The Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, based at Robert Menzies College, has provided a valuable service through conferences and publications. In particular, the series *Studies in Australian Christianity* has created a forum for many Australian historians, including those with an interest in things Pentecostal.⁸⁹ Naturally, the standard histories of other denominations offer valuable insights into the history of Christianity in this country, and provide the necessary background and setting for the study of Pentecostalism.⁹⁰

Given the nature and topic of this thesis, many of the resources mentioned so far are useful primarily as background materials. It will be obvious from the

⁸⁷ *Australasian Pentecostal Studies*, Chester Hill, NSW, 1998—; *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, Baguio City, Philippines: the Faculty of the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, 1998—

⁸⁸ *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review* Macquarie Centre: Evangelical History Association; *Journal of Religious History*, Association for the Journal of Religious History, Oxford: Blackwell, 1960—

⁸⁹ See for example Hutchinson et al (eds), 1994. Other titles in this series are listed in the bibliography.

⁹⁰ For example, E.Campion, *Australian Catholics* Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1988; A.Hunt, *This Side of Heaven* Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985; S.Judd and K.Cable, *Sydney Anglicans* Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1987; M.Newton, *Southern Cross Saints* Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991; P.O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community* Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press, 1985; J.Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939* Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1986; H.Taylor, *The History of the Churches of Christ in South Australia 1846-1959*

following pages that the bulk of my research has been carried out with primary sources. There are simply no other resources available for gathering the foundational information required. To my knowledge, apart from my earlier book, this thesis contains the first serious attempt to narrate, document and appraise the beginnings of Australian Pentecostalism. In the following list, I have not attempted to detail all the primary sources: they will nearly all be noted at some stage in the body of the dissertation. What follows here is simply an overview.

Interviews

In researching both for my earlier book and for this thesis, I have conducted over 80 interviews. I did not know, 35 years ago, when I first became interested in the origins of Australian Pentecostalism, anything about the debate between written and oral history, or the fact that in recent years, oral history would hold its head much higher than it was once wont to do. It was simply a matter of locating information wherever I could. I was initially encouraged by hearing talks given by some Pentecostal pioneers. I found their narratives so fascinating, I began to interview other older people whom I knew about, and recording their responses. At that time, I did not always ask the right questions, but I still learned a great deal from those discussions for which I am now grateful and on which I have continued to draw.⁹¹

Most of the people I interviewed were personally involved in Pentecostalism. In many cases, their parents or grandparents had also been active. Often they were able to provide biographical or genealogical information. On occasion, information gained through interviews proved to be wrong, but this has been surprisingly uncommon. When attempting to verify data either through other interviews, or from reference to the available written sources, I have been gratified at the high level of reliability of the original information.

Transcripts of most of these interviews are in my possession, although some were either totally lost or partially destroyed in a fire which gutted my office in

⁹¹ I cannot help feeling wistful about this: there are so many questions I would like to ask now, but it is too late. Also, I did not always properly document my sources at the beginning, and as a result some references to interviews are undated or in other ways incomplete.

1987.⁹² These documents form a valuable source of biographical and personal information. I have learned a great deal about the people themselves — how they reacted to each other, how they viewed what happened in their meetings and in their fellowship, how they felt about their experience with God, how they saw the world and other churches and so on.⁹³ It is possible to gain the feel of things through oral history in a way that written history cannot provide. Examples of this will be obvious throughout the thesis. Sometimes in association with an interview and always where distance has made interviews impossible, I have used questionnaires of various kinds. In the main, it has been necessary to design individual sheets.⁹⁴

Journals and magazines

I have been able to compile a comprehensive set of Pentecostal journals and magazines, the earliest one dating from 1910. The titles are all listed in the bibliography. These have proven to be an invaluable source, especially for hard evidence, and I have derived much of my foundational material from them, in particular *Good News*, the first Pentecostal journal to be published in Australia.⁹⁵ Without access to these magazines, this thesis could never have been written.⁹⁶ Unhappily, many of my copies were completely or partially destroyed in the 1987 fire. However, I had already examined them in gathering data and I have photocopies which are about 90% readable.⁹⁷ In the last decade,

⁹² This is another reason why references to some interviews are undated or incomplete.

⁹³ Sometimes, people told me things in confidence that they asked me not to repeat. To the best of my ability, I have honoured these requests.

⁹⁴ See Appendix Nine for samples of interview forms.

⁹⁵ *Good News* North Melbourne: Good News Hall, 1910—. I have around 90% of all *Good News* magazines ever published.

⁹⁶ I still lack a few of the very earliest copies. One wonders what crucial information might be in them! For instance, I only have three issues from 1910 to 1923. As the frequency of the magazine was irregular, I don't know how many are missing. Also, volume one covered at least 1910-1913. As the February 1923 edition is volume 9, number 1, it appears that from 1914 to 1922, a new volume was added annually. At this point, there was an attempt to regularise the numbering to bring it into line with the years of publication, and all 1924 editions are numbered Volume 15. Subsequent issues follow this pattern. The Mitchell Library, the Latrobe Library and the Mortlock Library in South Australia also have some of these publications, but they do not have the early editions

⁹⁷ The majority of these journals are in my possession. Dr Mark Hutchinson and I are considering ways in which a Pentecostal archive might be set up to enable wider use of these

I have been able to expand this collection to some extent, and occasionally, I still come across individual copies of such early publications, but they are now few and far between.

The data are usually reliable, and often quite detailed. On the other hand, there is also an annoying anonymity. On many occasions, especially in the early copies, articles and reports are either unsigned or acknowledged only with initials. Similarly, people mentioned in reports are often referred to only as 'Brother' or 'Sister'. It has sometimes been possible to deduce the names, but not always. In quoting stories and anecdotes, I have generally taken them at face value and reproduced them as they were given, even where there might be grounds for explaining them in some other way.

Private papers

Private papers are not easy to locate. It has been an ongoing frustration that documents which are priceless to a historian are often valueless to others and hence discarded. Of particular sadness was the loss of several cartons of letters, papers, documents and notes belonging to W.A.Buchanan, the son-in-law of Australia's first Pentecostal pastor, Sarah Jane Lancaster, which were all burned by his widow just a short time before I learned of them.

However, such papers do turn up from time to time, and I have been able to collect a useful number. These included exciting 'finds' such as an original letter written by Sarah Jane Lancaster; a complete set of sermon notes from the pen of W.J.Enticknap; ordination certificates for a couple of ministers; a letter from F.B.Van Eyk's widow to a close friend; and so on. I have been particularly fortunate with photographs, of which I have many. It seems that early Pentecostals were given to some sense of history, and did like to retain pictorial records of events.⁹⁸

resources. On occasion, in quotations in this thesis, words are supplied where they have been obscured in the originals. I am confident that my suggested replacements are reliable.

⁹⁸ In this regard, they were reflecting the general popularity of photography, the result of the development of smaller, more readily available cameras and simpler processing. The papers and documents mentioned here are in my personal collection.

Institutional records

Institutional records appear to be almost non-existent. I have only been able to discover one membership list from one small church in the 1930s. I have copies of the marriage register from one congregation and minute books from four others. That is all. Were Pentecostalism a more centralised movement, institutional sources would be easier to locate. In its early, formative stages, however, churches were established as the result of personal initiative rather than centralised strategies, and leaders were basically either self-appointed or elected by local congregations. Furthermore, very few of the oldest churches had their own buildings; they commonly met in private homes or hired venues. It is more than likely that minutes and record books were simply mislaid or not passed on when there was a change of office holder.⁹⁹

Given this fragmentary development, especially in the first two decades, there are virtually no statistical records. Hence, data such as lists of pastors and even of churches generally do not exist. They have to be compiled from other sources. This lack is partly compensated for by the magazines which do tend at least to name pastors and leaders and to include reports of conferences, annual meetings, pastoral appointments, property purchases and the like.

Biographies

Over the last two decades, there has been a spate of biographies and autobiographies by Pentecostal people. Many of these are amateurishly written and usually self-published. Often they omit crucial data such as dates and places of birth and full given names. Nevertheless, like the interviews, they offer intriguing first-hand glimpses of what the movement was like over half a century ago. Philip Duncan's handful of books has been helpful in this regard. His original volume, *Pentecost in Australia* is of particular value, as it is basically a compilation of articles published in the *Australian Evangel* documenting his visit to some 43 different Assemblies of God churches during

⁹⁹ It is tantalising to wonder how many cardboard cartons or packages of minutes and financial records might still be hidden in people's wardrobes or linen presses, or how many have long since been turned to ashes or now lie rotting in rubbish dumps.

1946.¹⁰⁰ One of the best biographies is Lloyd Averill's *Go North Young Man*¹⁰¹ which is thoughtful, personal and comprehensive. Several others are listed in the bibliography.

Newspapers, secular and denominational journals

Country and provincial newspapers often carried reports of early Pentecostal activities, given that church news was more likely to be reported half a century ago than it is today and given that in the country, any local news was of interest. Much of the data about the ministry of the controversial Frederick Van Eyk, for example, can be gathered from advertisements, letters and church news columns in the rural press. Similarly, obituaries and social news are sometimes helpful.

In the city press, however, apart from the churches' own advertisements, there is little helpful information. Occasionally, a charismatic personality such as John Alexander Dowie or F.B. Van Eyk or Aimee Semple McPherson attracted media attention, but these were rare events. Usually, one searches the pages of the secular media in vain for anything of significance. 'Why do the newspapers practically ignore evangelistic meetings?' asked the editor of *Good News*?¹⁰² Well might a frustrated historian put the same question.

Denominational journals provide a rich source of background material for the origins of Pentecostalism. Methodist publications, in particular, have a mine of information on nineteenth century evangelism and revival. Similarly, Dowie's periodical *Leaves of Healing* provides an abundant source of pre-Pentecostal materials. After the turn of the century, however, denominational papers seem to have given little attention to specific groups such as Pentecostals. They normally focused only on their own interests, or, at best, on those where there

¹⁰⁰ See P.Duncan, *Pentecost in Australia*, n.d. but c.1947; *The Charismatic Tide*, published by the author, 1978. Duncan was one of the first pastors in the Pentecostal Church of Australia. See Chapter Ten.

¹⁰¹ L.Averill, *Go North Young Man* Springwood, Qld: published by the author, 1992. Averill was a pioneer pastor in the Assemblies of God.

¹⁰² GN 18:7 July 1927, p.8. 'It seems next to impossible to get reports of real Gospel services into the papers any more, much less entire sermons,' lamented the editor, to whom it was a sign of the beginning of the end.

was some perceived common ground between their denominational affairs and those of others. Usually, Pentecostalism did not fall into that category. Hence, articles or reports about Pentecostal activities are rare.

Australian Pentecostals have sometimes made much of the name 'Southland of the Holy Spirit,' alleging it to be prophetic of a great nation-wide revival. Given that this nomenclature was entrusted to de Quiros in 1605 in the hope that the new southern continent would become a bastion of Catholicism, this is a questionable thesis, to say the least.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, Pentecostal revival has found a congenial home in this country and has developed its own distinctive personality.

Although sources vary greatly in both quantity and quality, it is nevertheless possible to set down a useful and comprehensive record of pre-war Australian Pentecostalism which will, I hope, offer valuable insights into the origins, distinctive qualities and significant contribution of this movement to contemporary Christian life and society.

¹⁰³ C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia* Volume One, Brunswick, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1985, pp. 14ff.

CHAPTER TWO

'TESTING' THE SPIRIT

Socio-economic factors, the practice of glossolalia and the nature of Pentecostalism

In recent years, sociological theories of both the Pentecostal movement and Pentecostal phenomena have abounded. These have sometimes been treated with disdain by Pentecostals, in the belief that it is impossible to subject the things of the Spirit to psychological or sociological analysis. However, given that the New Testament itself enjoins us to 'test everything' and to 'test the spirits' to see whether they are from God,¹ there seems no biblical reason to fear in themselves attempts to understand, define or explain spiritual phenomena. From the earliest times, such phenomena have caused varied reactions. The second century charismatic Montanist movement, for example, was seen by the orthodox Church as a dangerous heresy, but by such a notable figure as Tertullian as a genuine work of God.²

Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven* is a sympathetic and in many ways perceptive analysis of the movement. Initially, Cox sees it as having many of the same qualities as city life — in both cities and Pentecostal meetings there is always a sense of the unpredictable that is attractive and at the same time

¹ See 1 Thessalonians 5:20-21 — 'Do not treat prophecies with contempt. Test everything. Hold on to the good.' and 1 John 4:1 — 'Dear friends, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world.'

² Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, c.200, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds), *The Anti-Nicene Fathers* Vol III, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978, pp8f, 597.

disturbing. A generation ago, Max Weber also argued for the necessity of an urban environment for the development of a congregational faith.³ A case in point is the growth of Brazilian Pentecostalism which has reflected the nation’s growing urbanisation since World War II.⁴

Cox sees a number of reasons for the success of Pentecostalism. In the United States, while liberal theologians ‘tried to impart the latest ideas from Europe to their suspicious congregations, the Pentecostal revolution, a genuinely American spiritual revolution, if ever there was one, was bubbling up from underneath.’⁵ At the small Pentecostal mission at Azusa Street, in April 1906, with its one-eyed, poorly educated black preacher William Seymour as its leader, its plank seating and its shoe box pulpit, people found acceptance. Racial barriers were broken down.⁶ The power of God was experienced in unusual ways — healing, tongues, visions, prostrations and other wonders. Within a week of the revival beginning, the San Francisco earthquake added a note of eschatological urgency. It was a ripe climate for revival.⁷

Cox argues that the disillusionment of the early 1900s, the artificiality of life in Los Angeles and the traumatic effect of the San Francisco earthquake all conspired together to create an apocalyptic atmosphere in which the message of hope presented by Seymour, fell on receptive ears. All in all, argues Cox —

The revival persuaded participants that the last Days were indeed approaching and that they were all pivotal actors in the grand new drama that God’s Spirit was preparing to enact. The worm-eaten foundations of Babylon were tottering. The old world was passing away. The glorious city was about to descend. And they, the despised and rejected of the earth were both its beneficiaries and its heralds. No

³ M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* London: Methuen, (1922), 1965, pp.84f — ‘Christianity was an urban religion.’

⁴ Gutierrez and Smith (eds), 1996, p.72.

⁵ Cox, 1994, p.30.

⁶ See Synan, 1989, pp.178ff; Bartleman, (1925), 1980

⁷ Cox oversimplifies the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement by seeing Azusa Street as the starting point. In fact, William Seymour first learned of glossolalia from Charles Parham in Texas, through whom there had been Pentecostal phenomena six years earlier. See Burgess et al (eds), 1988, pp.660f. Also, he is mistaken in his claim that the outpouring at Poona, India, took place after the girls there heard about Azusa Street. In fact, it took place a year earlier. See H.Dyer, *Revival in India* London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1907, pp.41ff.

wonder people came, and no wonder they went forth to proclaim the message to the world.⁸

While all this may be true of Los Angeles, in Australia, the early movement was generally rural. The first known Pentecostal meetings were in country Victoria around 1870.⁹ Then, while the movement formally began in 1908 with Good News Hall in Melbourne, with another congregation in Ballarat (population around 35,000), it found its first most fertile growth in the farming communities of Queensland. In the 1920's, Ayr's population numbered less than 5000. Bowen's was about half that — a decade later only 2619. Cairns, Mackay and Maryborough were all between 10,000 and 15,000,¹⁰ while Toowoomba, Rockhampton and Townsville each numbered around 25,000. It was in these small towns that Pentecostalism was firmly planted. Similarly, in New South Wales, the first purpose-built Pentecostal building was erected in 1919 near Parkes, a community approaching 5000 people. By 1929, of the 34 congregations then in existence, two thirds of them (23) were in country towns.¹¹ In Australia, apart from a couple of churches such as Good News Hall, the early strength of Pentecostalism was clearly outside the cities. To see it as an urban phenomenon is to look through the wrong lens.

Deprivation theories

Weber's distinction between congregational, salvation and rational-ethical

⁸ Cox, 1994, p.60. Compare Butterfield's comments on the historical nature of Christianity and the way in which its most 'daring assertions' have been grounded in 'the ordinary realm of history.' — Butterfield, 1949, p.3.

⁹ See Chapter Three.

¹⁰ GN 18:8 August 1927, p.11 — 'Maryborough is about the nicest little town I've seen in Australia as yet ... The population is about 12 or 14,000.'

¹¹ See Appendix One. In 1933, just over half the Australian population (56%) lived in rural areas. See J.Caldwell in W.Vamplew (ed), *Australians: Historical Statistics* Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987, pp. 24,41. There may have been a mentality among Pentecostals that one church per city/town was enough and that having established a church in a capital city, it was then important to go to country towns where there was no Pentecostal presence. However, this does not seem to have been the case with Good News Hall, for example, who quite early set up suburban meetings. The evidence suggests that Pentecostals went anywhere they could gain a hearing and that rural areas offered greater opportunities.

Table 2.1 Populations of selected Australian cities and towns 1854-1981¹²

	1854	1864	1880	1901	1911	1933	1981
Adelaide	18303 (1861)			175641 (1906)		312619	882529
Ayr			70		1236	4792	8787
Bowen		717 (1871)		1130		2619	7663
Bright		551 (1871)			972	595	1545
Brisbane		12551		54434			942836
Cairns			278	3537		11993	46557
Geelong	20115	16613		17445 (1891)		39223	125279
Mackay		340 (1868)		3597 (1891)	6135		35361
Maryborough		2929 (1868)		10159	9410	14395 (1947)	20111
Melbourne	53235					991934	2578759
Mossman					829		1614
Orange	28 (1851)		1456 (1871)		5263	13780 (1947)	27626
Parkes			1961 (1881)			5846	9047
Perth	1148 (1848)		8447 (1891)		31300	272528 (1947)	809035
Portland		2804 (1861)		2185		4759 (1954)	9353
Rockhampton		6906 (1871)		15461		34988 (1949)	50146
Sydney			99857 (1881)		636353	1235267	2876508
Toowoomba	1183 (1861)			7007 (1891)		26423	63401
Townsville		1140 (1871)		7860 (1886)		25876	86112

¹² Based on figures quoted in G.Aplin, S.Foster and M.McKernan, *Australians: Events and Places* Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987.

religions suggests that Pentecostalism — as a salvation religion — ought to have flourished, like the fourth century African Donatists or the fifteenth century Bohemian Taborites, among the underprivileged.¹³ Since the earliest days of the movement, it has been common to explain involvement in Pentecostal worship as a result of social or personal deprivation. Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals alike, subscribe to this thesis.¹⁴ American religious sociologist Robert Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited* (1979) is a recent strong attempt to argue this case. Anderson suggests that the original Pentecostals were basically economically deprived, socially mobile or people whose lifestyle was disrupted in some way. In Pentecostalism, they found acceptance and fulfilment. He alleges that Pentecostals are basically to be found in 'the working poor from whose ranks the... movement drew the overwhelming bulk of its recruits.'¹⁵ Cox calls this 'a now well-established fact of historical scholarship.'¹⁶

Thirty years ago, British sociologist Bryan Wilson argued that 'oppressive, frustrating and bewildering social circumstances' prompted people to join Pentecostal churches, that Pentecostalism 'thrives among dislocated populations' and that Pentecostals were 'relatively simple people with unsophisticated concepts of doctrine and church government.'¹⁷ In 1986, Nathan Gerrard suggested that 'almost all' the Holiness churches in Southern Appalachia originated from the lower socio-economic levels of society.¹⁸ David Martin, whose particular interest is Latin America, while questioning the prevailing academic dismissal of Pentecostals as 'alien' to the world of the erudite, notes that from the beginning 'Pentecostals were disproportionately poor, black and female.'¹⁹ Other writers agree.²⁰ Ofelia Ortega puts it plainly:

¹³ Weber, 1965, pp.80ff; 95ff.

¹⁴ For example, the editors of the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* declared, 'Beginning among the poor and marginalised, the movement's adherents may now be found in all socioeconomic strata ...' #1 October 1992, p.3.

¹⁵ Anderson, 1979, p.225.

¹⁶ Cox 1994, p.261.

¹⁷ Wilson, 1970, pp.72,89f.

¹⁸ N.Gerrard, 'The Holiness Movement in Southern Appalachia,' in W.E.Mills (ed), *Speaking in Tongues: a Guide to Research in Glossolalia* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986, p.205.

¹⁹ D.Martin, 'Space for the expansive Spirit,' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 28 March 1997.

'I have visited Pentecostal churches in Chile, Peru, Nicaragua, and Brazil. In almost all of them, I have found the poorest and most excluded strata of society. Pentecostalism has become the 'religion of the poor' in Latin America.'²¹ American Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan describes the Pentecostal movement as 'essentially a religion of the socially disinherited and the economically underprivileged.'²²

Roger Thompson describes Australian Pentecostalism, too, as 'a refuge for victims of economic recession and the vicissitudes of rapid social change.'²³ Australian sociologist Alan Black questions this hypothesis and suggests there are other possible considerations.²⁴ He points out that contemporary Australian Pentecostalism attracts people from a wide cross-section of the population and that 'theories such as that Pentecostalism attracts predominantly the socially or economically deprived, do not appear to apply in either Australia or the United States at the present time.'²⁵ Nonetheless, he states categorically that 'in its early stages' the Pentecostal movement in both countries attracted 'mainly people from lower social strata.'

Hollenweger tends to agree, but points out that it is only when people *feel* deprived that they seek refuge in groups like Pentecostalism. He also alleges

p.8.

²⁰ See Gutierrez and Smith (eds), 1996, pp. 44f.

²¹ Ofelia Ortega, 'Ecumenism of the Spirit,' in Gutierrez and Smith (eds), 1996, p.172. Celia Loreto Mariz sees a number of contributory factors for Pentecostal growth in Brazil, all of which are centred around the ways in which Pentecostalism provides a haven for the poor and underprivileged. These include —

- the warm welcome received at the door
- the emphasis on spiritual rather than material riches
- the building of self esteem (eg by an emphasis on dressing well for church)
- mutual support networks through the church community
- compensation for social powerlessness by experiences of supernatural power
- giving meaning to irrational events through faith in the providence of God
- deliverance from spirits and spells
- protection by the power of faith from danger
- modernising elements such as encouragement to read and study
- an emphasis on rebirth

See C.L.Mariz, 'Pentecostalism and Confrontation with Poverty in Brazil,' in Gutierrez and Smith (eds) pp.135ff.

²² Synan, 1989, p.177.

²³ R.C.Thompson, *Religion in Australia* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994, p.136.

²⁴ Alan Black, 'Pentecostalism in Comparative Perspective' in Black, 1991, p.112ff.

that through glossolalia 'power of expression' is restored to people 'without identity and powers of speech' and that they are healed from 'the terror of loss of speech.'²⁶ Cox follows a similar line. 'Pentecostals succeed,' he argues, 'because they respond with such effectiveness not only to the religious awakening but to a tidal change in what religion itself is and what it means to people.'²⁷ The expansion of megacities, the shrinking of provincial towns and the resulting dislocation of traditional frameworks, including those of religion, has left many people disillusioned with old ways and structures. Pentecostalism offers them 'new forms of community' —

At first, this message appealed mainly to the most disenfranchised; those with little stake in the status quo, people with no reason to hope that things would improve. To these wretched of the earth the pentecostals held out the possibility of a radically new order that would come about not because of the patchwork efforts of mere mortals but by the action of a loving God.²⁸

Clearly, there are many instances where socially deprived people have found refuge and expression in tongue-speaking communities. Calley's thesis on the West Indian sects in Britain is a case in point.²⁹ Among other things, Calley noted that people who were despised in the world could become leaders in the context of their congregation, on the basis of their charismatic gifts. On the other hand, as Mayers points out, there are others who like the authoritative and definitive leadership that often emerges in Pentecostal assemblies, in contrast to the often uncertain direction being given in the world.³⁰ During World War II, a Queensland pastor reported that the fear of invasion coupled with a bereavement in the church caused many young people to turn back to

²⁵ Black, 1991, p.113.

²⁶ Hollenweger, 1988, pp. 459, 465. A similar point is made by David Martin — 'Certain people hitherto dumb or tongue-tied found their tongue and felt they had a voice in the Church...' — D.Martin and P.Mullen (eds), *Strange Gifts? A Guide to Charismatic Renewal* Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p.68.

²⁷ Cox 1994, pp.103f.

²⁸ Cox 1994, p.105.

²⁹ Calley, 1965.

³⁰ Mills, 1986, pp.414f.

God.³¹

In recent times, questions have been raised about the validity of deprivation theories.³² It now appears the proposition may have been flawed from the very beginning. Cerillo asks —

Were most Pentecostals so economically disinherited, so out on the fringes of society, as suggested by historian Anderson, that they were people whose lives the concept of Progressivism fails to embrace or capture? Interestingly, as Goff makes clear, Parham himself came from a rather economically and socially secure home, studied for three years at Southwest Kansas College, was a talented speaker and obviously had leadership abilities.³³ Although his intellectual and spiritual orientations may have put him at odds with the prevailing religious and academic orthodoxies in late-nineteenth century America, at least socially and economically the young Parham hardly fits the mold [sic] of the marginalised.³⁴

Virginia Hine asserts that even if deprivation theories were once acceptable, they are not now. Evidence is mounting that they are simply inadequate to explain the emergence of the Pentecostal movement.³⁵ The spread of the charismatic movement through the middle-class members of historic denominations since the 1960s is in itself evidence to the contrary. Cox agrees that by the mid-twentieth century, the tide had changed, and it was now among the young and rising affluent that Pentecostalism burgeoned. Here was a new form of disenchantment. The consumer culture had failed to meet the greatest needs — those of the heart and the soul.³⁶

Weber distinguishes between the likely origins of congregational, prophetic, salvation and rational-ethical religions, but in many ways, Pentecostalism is a blend of all four. It is clearly congregational, a form of religious expression which Weber suggests can only develop in an urban environment. It is

³¹ AE 8:4 March 1942, p.14.

³² It should be noted that when the despised and rejected find satisfaction and blessing through the Spirit, this is a fulfilment of the Christian gospel. Jesus placed great emphasis on preaching good news to the poor (Matthew 11:5; Luke 4:18).

³³ Charles Parham (1873-1929), one of the earliest Pentecostal pioneers in the USA. See Burgess et al (eds), 1988, pp.660f.

³⁴ Cerillo, *Pneuma* 15:1 Spring 1993, p.81.

³⁵ Mills, 1986, pp.439ff. See also Williams in Martin and Mullen (eds) 1984, p.76.

prophetic, with a deep sense of proclaiming the Word of God, and sometimes triumphalist, a trend which is usually seen among the privileged. It is salvation-oriented, which Weber argues would place its origins in the lower classes. It is strongly ethical, which suggests a bourgeois mentality.³⁷

In the light of this, it is interesting to assess the accepted wisdom about Pentecostal origins in reference to Australia. In simple terms, deprivation theories just do not work here. The early Pentecostal pioneers did not stem from the disenfranchised. They were not the outcasts or neglected of society. Typical ground-breaking Pentecostal males were likely to be farmers, or small businessmen, or gainfully-employed workers in industry, solid members of the community with stable families, a reasonably secure economic position and a willingness to use their initiative. Pentecostal married women considered their families their primary responsibility but took a keen interest in church or community affairs. Single women may well have had little hesitation in giving themselves to itinerant evangelism or to active involvement, and even leadership, in the local church.

The socially and economically deprived were not strongly represented in these early congregations. From the earliest days of the movement, with the first Pentecostal meetings in Portland, Victoria, in 1870, attempts were made by detractors to dismiss the participants as ignorant, poor people, but the evidence was non-existent.³⁸ Even during the Depression and early post-Depression years, there was little unemployment among the members.³⁹ Some of the younger, unmarried women carried out home duties. Otherwise, the majority were gainfully employed.

³⁶ Cox, 1994, p.105.

³⁷ Weber, 1965, pp.80ff, 95ff.

³⁸ See Chapter Three.

³⁹ Dorothy McKenzie, personal interview, 25 September 1991. In one family, the father spent most of his time in the country seeking work, and so was not numbered among the members. Of course, it was not unusual for men to do this in the 1930's. See S.Gray and P.Hempenstall, 'The Unemployed' in B.Gammage and P.Spearritt (eds), *Australians 1938*, Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987, p.327ff.

Given that nearly one third of the work force may have been unemployed in 1932,⁴⁰ it is clear that the membership of these churches was not typical of the community at large. Rather than being a congregation of the disenfranchised seeking help, the Pentecostals regularly gave themselves to help the disenfranchised. The Bernhardt home at Ovingham, South Australia, for example, was often open to the needy — whole families being accommodated at times.⁴¹ Similarly, the Apostolic Mission House at Mile End had a steady flow of homeless and needy people living there. There was a small fund at the Mission for the help of the poor.⁴² The Fabians, brother and sister, purchased a new Ford motor car between them in order to carry those who had no transport of their own.⁴³ 'People in the church had means,' recalled Iris Wahlquist. 'My father always had work. He wasn't a wealthy man but we weren't on the poverty line or anything like that. But there were some unemployed people... who came looking for help.'⁴⁴ At Good News Hall, in North Melbourne, for several years, there was a comprehensive program of ministry to the poor and needy, with hundreds of unemployed men being fed and clothed every day. Often, jobs were found for them as well.⁴⁵

It is difficult to compare the occupations of Pentecostal people with those of the community at large, because it is impossible to obtain precise figures for any given year. In 1939, there were approximately 70 Pentecostal congregations. It is difficult to know how many people were involved. In the early 1990s, there were around 100 people per ordained minister.⁴⁶ It is

⁴⁰ The unemployment rate during the height of the Great Depression was 28.99% in 1932 (Trade Union figures — Butlin estimates were 19.74%) and still almost ten per cent in 1939 (9.7% — Trade Union figures; 8.76% — Butlin estimates). See G. Withers, A. Endres and L. Perry, 'Labour' in Vamplew, (ed), 1987, p. 52.

⁴¹ D. McKenzie, personal interview, 25 September, 1991.

⁴² N. Fabian, personal interview, 15 August 1991; D. McKenzie, personal interview, 25 September, 1991.

⁴³ N. Fabian, personal interview, 15 August, 1991.

⁴⁴ I Wahlquist, personal interview, 19 November 1991.

⁴⁵ See Chapter Seven. It cannot be argued that the number of unemployed people seeking help at Pentecostal churches validates deprivation theories as all missions and charitable organisations during the Depression experienced similar approaches from the needy.

⁴⁶ *Minutes of the Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee*, 28 February 1995.

probable, however, that the average was considerably lower in 1939. Records suggest that a figure of 50 or less per church would be more likely.⁴⁷ This would represent a total constituency of 3 500 at most. Given that most women were engaged in domestic duties and that a significant number of attendees were children, there may have been a maximum of 1 200 employed persons.⁴⁸ I have been able to analyse the occupations of 206 Pentecostal people over a 35-year period including the names and occupations of 72 pastors and preachers and of 134 active members, which represents around 15% of the total.⁴⁹ In the case of some pastors and evangelists, the occupations listed are those in which they were engaged prior to entering the ministry, or those which they continued to pursue, in order to underwrite their church work. It may be that there were other less involved people whose lifestyles might present a different profile, but there does not seem any sound reason to suspect this. Also, only 32 women are included because prior to World War II, few were employed outside the home. For many of those who are listed, the nominated occupation ceased when they married. In the cases where, over a period of years, there was more than one job, I have recorded the primary one.

On occasion, too, it is not clear whether the occupation was that of employer or employee (eg carpenter). In these cases, I have usually opted for 'employee'. It is also difficult to draw exact parallels with government figures, as sometimes the grouping of jobs is different. In the 1947 census, for instance, shop keepers were included with shop assistants, although the former were self-employed.⁵⁰ Even allowing for these difficulties, a comparison of Pentecostal employment

⁴⁷ For example, the Apostolic Mission in Adelaide had around 30 people; in 1937 only a dozen people attended the members' meeting at Ballarat. See *Minutes of the Apostolic Mission* 31 December 1936; 24 October 1937; 16 April 1939. There were about 60 people in Perth in 1928 — GN 20:5 May 1929, p.16. On the other hand, there were 200 in Maryborough — GN 19:6 June 1928, p.13.

⁴⁸ Another variable is found in the fact that my list of Pentecostal occupations is spread over three decades. I have assumed that it is representative of given slices of years within that overall period.

⁴⁹ This is not a high percentage but compares favourably with acceptable responses to surveys and questionnaires. See Appendices Seven and Eight for details.

⁵⁰ Although 1947 is technically outside the scope of the period of this thesis, the figures are the nearest available after 1939.

Table 2.2 Pentecostal occupations in Australia 1910-1947



figures with those of the community at large is illuminating.⁵¹ For example, there was a significantly higher percentage of professional and business people in Pentecostal churches than in the community (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3). Whereas around one in ten Australians was engaged in professional employment, over one in five of the group surveyed was so employed. The majority of these were in the lower rather than the higher professional bracket, including several clergymen who transferred from other denominations, with few engaged in high level management. The percentage of small business people was dramatically higher than that for the community — one in five as against one in thirty. Of considerable interest is the fact that the number of workers in industry was about half the national figure. The pattern that emerges is not unlike that of the Victorian Wesleyans in the previous half-century who were 'predominantly petty-bourgeois' with most church attenders

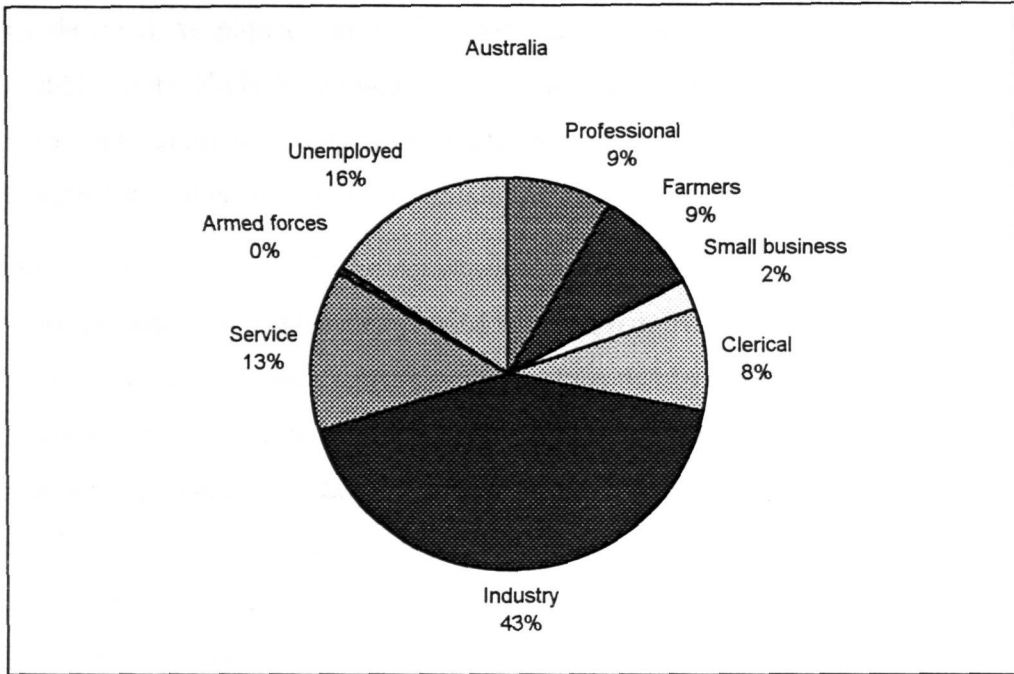
⁵¹ See Appendix Six.

⁵² Although 1947 is technically outside the scope of the period of this thesis, the figures are the nearest available after 1939.

⁵³ See Appendix Six.

being either proprietors of small businesses or skilled tradesmen.⁵⁴

Table 2.3 Occupations Australia 1933



The suburbs from which people came may have reflected a similar picture but there is insufficient data to draw a firm conclusion. In South Australia, for example, while there were a couple from Bowden or Mile End, both inner suburbs in lower socio-economic areas, most members were scattered widely over a range of some 35 different suburbs. There were about ten from Prospect and half a dozen from Kensington-Norwood. Otherwise, no meaningful pattern of social origins emerges.⁵⁵ Similarly, in Sydney, while some of the earliest meetings were held in the older suburbs of Leichhardt and Balmain, others were conducted in comfortable, prestigious Northbridge.⁵⁶ In Melbourne, the first Pentecostal church was in North Melbourne, but the second was established in Caulfield, and later Brighton.⁵⁷ And as we have already seen, many Pentecostals lived in country towns or on farms.

⁵⁴ R.Howe, 'Social Composition of the Wesleyan Church in Victoria During the Nineteenth Century,' in JRH June 1967, p.210.

⁵⁵ Personal research.

⁵⁶ N.Armstrong, personal interview, October 1993; GN 18:6 September 1927, p.19; 20:3 March 1929, p.5.

⁵⁷ Age, 12 October 1922; *Minutes of the Southern Evangelical Mission*, 1927.

It is interesting to note the professions and/or occupations of some of the early leaders of the churches in Adelaide. Annie Chamberlain served full-time as a captain in the Salvation Army for over ten years.⁵⁸ Later she was proprietor of a produce store and manager of a boarding house for blind people. In 1923, she moved to a large house in the inner middle class suburb of Hyde Park.⁵⁹ Her son-in-law, Norman Priest, had a small business in Prospect, where he was also the local Postmaster, before he left Adelaide in 1926 to enter full-time ministry.⁶⁰

Pauline Heath, the leader of the Apostolic Mission, had been in business for nearly five years at the time of her conversion as proprietress of the Lone Hand Cafe in Rundle Street.⁶¹ Gustav Jansen was a school teacher of German descent who had spent about ten years teaching in South Australian country schools at remote Elliston and then at the Lower North towns of Terowie and Watervale. For a couple of years, he dabbled in land broking at Point Pass, then returned to his home town of Eudunda where he tried his hand at running a motor garage. He became a Justice of the Peace, and moved between Adelaide and Eudunda, spending most of his time in Adelaide. He took up a retail agency and eventually bought a house at Mile End that was devoted to the work of the Mission.⁶²

Hines Retchford was a commercial traveller. In 1927, he 'relinquished his secular occupation to devote all his time to gospel work' with the South

⁵⁸ L. Priest, interview, 17 September 1991.

⁵⁹ The term 'middle class' is commonly used in the context of contemporary Australian social structures, although the concept of 'class' is not obvious. While it would be oversimplifying matters to refer to a 'classless society', the lines of division are blurred. In the period covered by this thesis, there was a plain differentiation between rich and poor, but no easily recognised 'middle class.' In the context of this discussion, the term refers primarily to economic levels and to those people whose earnings or assets were average or above average, but who would not be classified as 'rich'. See Stuart Macintyre, 'Class' in G. Davison, J. Hirst and S. Macintyre (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* South Melbourne: Oxford, 1999, pp. 1310ff; T. H. Irving, 'Class' in G. Aplin, S. Foster and M. McKernan (eds), *Australians, A Historical Dictionary* Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987, pp. 78f.

⁶⁰ See Chapter Twelve and Appendix Ten.

⁶¹ *The News*, 30 November, 1927.

⁶² See the appropriate Trade Directories, 1912-1939. Also, N. Fabian, personal interview, 15 August, 1991; D. McKenzie, personal interview, 25 September, 1991; GN March 1927, p. 19; AN 1:1 September 1 1929, p. 1.

African evangelist F.B. Van Eyk.⁶³ A.W. Allen had a painting and decorating business. H. Weber was an electrical engineer. L.B. Wheaton had a grocery store. Phil Lovell set up his own electrical business when he moved to Queensland, to pastor a small church there.⁶⁴ Norman Fabian, who became honorary pastor of the Apostolic Mission, worked as a clerk in the Treasury Department. In 1940, he resigned both his job and the church to join the Armed Forces.

Among the lay people in the Apostolic Church were young Laurie Wahlquist, who was later to be for many years a senior executive in the Motor Industry⁶⁵; Ross McNeill who became a sharebroker, with his own company,⁶⁶ and Iris Bladon, who was a school head mistress.⁶⁷ F.C. Payne of the Apostolic Mission was an engineer who was responsible for a number of inventions, including a new fuse box.⁶⁸ Later, he established a scenic garden in the northern foothills of the Mount Lofty Range. O. Chenoweth was a hairdresser and tobacconist at Norwood. Ernie Long owned Charming's Sports Depot, in the city's commercial centre. Francis Bernhardt was a blacksmith and moulder.⁶⁹ Among those in clerical jobs were Ruby Broadbent, who worked as a clerk in the Adelaide Town Hall, Marj Fabian, a typiste and ledger machinist at Woodroffe's soft drink factory and John Kirwan, a shop assistant. Those in skilled trades were mainly dressmakers, in the case of the women, and mechanics, in the case of the men, including Perce Rogers, nick-named 'the screwdriver king' because of his ability to fix almost anything.⁷⁰

In describing John Cavill, Charles Anstis and John Adams, some of the leaders

⁶³ *The News*, 5 October 1927.

⁶⁴ Phil Lovell, personal interview, 6 September 1991.

⁶⁵ Laurie Wahlquist, personal interview, 19 November 1991; M. Hurst, personal interview, 14 August, 1991; Phil Lovell, personal interview, 6 September 1991.

⁶⁶ N. Fabian, personal interview, 15 August 1991.

⁶⁷ Alan Geoffrey (Dick) Bain, personal interview, 20 August 1990; M. Hurst, personal interview, 14 August 1991.

⁶⁸ N. Fabian, personal interview, 15 August 1991.

⁶⁹ D. McKenzie, personal interview, 25 September 1991; 1930 Sands and McDougall *Trade Directory*; AN 6:3 March 1935, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Personal interviews. A. Bain, 20 August 1990; M. Hurst, 14 August 1991; Frank Elton, 11 September 1991.

at Good News Hall, North Melbourne, Jeannie Lancaster wrote that their reputation stood just as high in the commercial world as in the religious — a tribute to both their spirituality and their economic position. Cavill was a builder; Anstis was originally a blacksmith and then later a poultry farmer; Adams was a barrister.⁷¹

The overall picture that emerges of these early Australian Pentecostals is of an enterprising group of people, able to take initiative and often possessing leadership qualities. They were the kind of people who were willing to take risks, to try new ideas and to explore new concepts. It is interesting that Martin has made a similar observation about Pentecostals generally. Of South American Pentecostals, he notes that they are 'self-improving, self-confident and devout,' and even though found initially among the poor, they are not afraid to 'lay the axe to popular culture' and to set about introducing change.⁷²

Some evidence for a deprivation theory may be found in the surge forward from 1930 to 1935 with the ongoing work of F.B. Van Eyk, the ministry of William Booth-Clibborn in Brisbane and the emergence of the Apostolic Church through William Cathcart and John Hewitt. The positive, joyful, celebratory approach of these men offered people in a depressed community something to hope for and something to be glad about. The result was three new church groups — the Elim Foursquare Church (1929), Glad Tidings Tabernacle (1929) and the Apostolic Church (1930).⁷³ On the other hand, well before the effects of the Depression were being felt, there was similar expansion through the work of A.C. Valdez in Melbourne in 1925 and a year later with F.B. Van Eyk in Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Queensland and the resultant establishment of both the Pentecostal Church of Australia and the Apostolic Faith Mission.⁷⁴

Tertiary education was not as common among the Pentecostals as in the

⁷¹ GN 17:10 October 1926, pp10ff.

⁷² D. Martin, 'Space for the expansive Spirit,' TLS 28 March 1997, p.8.

⁷³ See Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten.

⁷⁴ See Chapters Eight and Nine. Although it is not the subject of this thesis, the explosive growth of the movement in the 1980's and 1990's raises yet a different set of questions.

community generally.⁷⁵ Of 87 pastors, for example, only a dozen had attended university (5) or seminary (7) and only eight had undertaken Bible school training. Two of the latter had also completed a post-secondary course.⁷⁶ In this respect, the contrast between Pentecostalism and the Brethren, in many ways a similar kind of church group, is striking. While both bodies eschewed traditional denominationalism and ecclesiastical structures and majored on congregational involvement and an experience of God, the Brethren were noteworthy for the level of education represented among their members.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, there were some Pentecostal people with university education. Dr Ruby Davy, the first woman in South Australia to earn a doctorate of music, led the choir for a short time at the Apostolic Church.⁷⁸ Mina Brawner and Robert Duguid, who, was for many years an Apostolic elder, were both medical practitioners.⁷⁹ John Adams was a barrister from Dunedin, New Zealand.⁸⁰ Sarah Jane Lancaster was a school teacher, as were several other

⁷⁵ Compare H.Mol, *The Faith of Australians* North Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985, pp.18f.

⁷⁶ See Appendix Eight. These figures represent the maximum possible numbers. It may be that less than seven actually attended seminary.

⁷⁷ One hundred recognised Brethren pioneer leaders included at least 42 university graduates and a dozen doctors, several lawyers and high ranking army or navy officers. John Nelson Darby, the founder of the Brethren, was himself no mean scholar. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, he was called to the Irish Chancery Bar. Later he was ordained into the Church of Ireland. He was fluent in French, German, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. In the late nineteenth and early and mid-twentieth centuries, Brethren scholars included people like Samuel Tregelles, B.W.Newton, H.L.Ellison, W.E.Vine, Professor S.H.Hooke, G.H.Lang, W.J.Martin and the young F.F.Bruce. The Brethren publishing houses Pickering and Inglis and Paternoster produced substantial theological books. Henry Frowde, MA, became manager of the London office of the Oxford University Press.⁷⁷ Conferences for biblical and theological exposition were popular. See H.Pickering, *Chief Men Among the Brethren* London: Pickering and Inglis, 1961; J.D.Douglas, *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* Grand Rapids: Regency 1978, pp.282f; F.F.Bruce, *In Retrospect: Remembrance of Things Past*, London: Marshall Pickering, 1993, pp.20ff; 74ff; 110f; 112ff; 120; 150; 167, 315. It may also be of interest to note that among the one hundred leaders were ten of noble birth — including Lord Congelton, Sir Edward Denny, Lord Farnham and Sir Robert Anderson. See Pickering, 1961, pp. 1, 35, 44, 46.

⁷⁸ J.McCabe, personal interview, 18 September 1991; K.Kirwan, personal interview, 11 September, 1991. Dr Davy was awarded a Doctorate in Music from Adelaide University in 1918. According to the inscription on her tombstone in the West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide, she was a descendant of the Earl of Litchfield. She wrote the music to lyrics by Apostolic leader William Cathcart entitled 'Welcome to Australia,' written in tribute to visiting British pastors, but, according to Kath Kirwan, left the church before it could be performed.

⁷⁹ GN 19:12 December 1928, p.10. I knew Robert Duguid personally.

⁸⁰ J.Dowie, 'Satan the Defiler,' LH 14 May 1904, p.100.

women in the movement.⁸¹ B.Buley, who led the choir at Richmond Temple, had earned two academic music awards.⁸² Miss Flett, a foundation member of the Apostolic Church in Perth held an M.A. degree.⁸³

Theological education, however, was regarded with some suspicion, although the value of a sound education was readily accepted. At Good News Hall, a small Bible school was established to give those who enrolled a 'thorough working knowledge' of the Scriptures in a course which would both improve their English and strengthen the memory. Practical experience in public meetings and open air work was also offered, together with part-time work in the print shop.⁸⁴ The approach was utilitarian and practical; the aim was to train men and women to evangelise. In 1925, the Pentecostal Church of Australia also established a Bible Institute, which was short-lived, but later redeveloped into what is now known as the Southern Cross College.⁸⁵ But there was a genuine hesitancy about the effect of formal theological studies on a student's faith and a conviction that the local church was God's preferred school of biblical training. We are indebted to Lancaster for a clear statement of the Pentecostal position.⁸⁶ In a lucid and irenic article, she begins by lamenting the fact that, in spite of a spirited attack on Peake's *Commentary* by the Methodist patriarch W.H.Fitchett, who, she said, described it as 'deadly poison packed in beautiful phrases and reflections,' the Victorian Methodist Conference in March 1923 endorsed its use in the training of probationers. She asked why Christian teachers should upset in the minds of their pupils that faith which had already brought them out of the bondage of sin, and sent them forth as flaming evangelists to preach the Word. She herself knew of two 'fine young men' who were baptised in the Holy Spirit in Melbourne around 1907 or 1908 who were 'on fire for God.' One had trained for the Methodist ministry and had now lost

⁸¹ F.Lancaster, interview, 18 December 1993.

⁸² *Richmond Temple Souvenir*, 1939, pp.14,15.

⁸³ *Acts* '89, November 1989, p.14.

⁸⁴ GN 12:8 September 1923, p.21.

⁸⁵ AE July 1926, p.5.

⁸⁶ GN 12:8 September 1923, p.14f.

his zeal; the other trained as an Anglican and was now a ‘High Church cigarette smoker.’ She went on —

Admittedly, a thorough knowledge of the Word of God is a necessity, and it is an advantage to be able to speak, read and write plain English, and have a working knowledge of the origin and history of the Holy Scriptures, but it is not necessary to go to a theological college to get these...

No; a member of the true Church, which is Christ’s body, should receive his training in that Church; wherein the Holy Spirit has set some as teachers. What for? That the saints may be *perfected for the work of the ministry* (1 Cor 12:28; Eph.4:11,12).

She urges those teachers who ‘mutilate the Word of God’ to leave the Scriptures alone. Why, having eaten up all the good pasture, must they tread down the rest with their muddy feet? On the other hand, she commends the Presbyterian T.J.Smith, a leader writer for the *Argus*, and, according to Susan Emilsen, the ‘fundamentalist’ Professor of Old Testament Studies at the Presbyterian Theological Hall,⁸⁷ for his endorsement of the Scriptures. In spite of her distrust of theological seminaries, she might consider making an exception in his case. Ultimately, the spirit of Pentecost was the telling factor. The risk of losing the fire of God was just too great.

When the Pentecostal Church of Australia commenced, there was a similar suspicion of theological training. This was understandable given that neither C.L.Greenwood nor A.C.Valdez, the two founding evangelists, had completed their basic education and Bible teacher Kelso Glover turned his back on seminary studies in order to evangelise. In his advocacy of life in the Spirit, Glover related the old gibe about ‘theological cemeteries’⁸⁸ — a gibe that would be often repeated in Pentecostal circles in the years to come.

⁸⁷ S.Emilsen. *A Whiff of Heresy* Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press. 1991. pp.20, 133.

⁸⁸ AE, September 1926, pp.4,5.

Other factors

Cox sees a number of other factors which he suggests help to explain the emergence of Pentecostalism. He focuses on the extraordinary prominent place music has played in the movement, especially jazz. 'Jazz and Pentecostalism belong together,' he says. Each was once ridiculed. Each finds its origins in Black America. Each majors on improvisation.⁸⁹ In Latin America, the rise of Pentecostalism was more complex, including factors such as giving expression to those who had formerly been without it; the neglect of the traditional Catholic Church; or, the very opposite, a natural development from the spiritualistic foundations laid by that Church. In Italy, it was a kind of reincarnation of the mystic saints. In Korea, it reshaped some of the traditional characteristics of shamanism and flourished by the Korean genius for organisation. In Africa, the movement responded to the free-flowing African style of corporate activity and, far from separating itself from the local culture, absorbed it and dignified it.⁹⁰

What about Australia? It is difficult to identify any specific factors here which have been significant. Although there has been an upsurge in sociological research in the last decade, through agencies such as the Christian Research Association and the National Church Life Survey, there is virtually none for the early years of the Pentecostal movement's existence. Apart from his reference to deprivation theories, Alan Black suggests factors such as the charismatic style of leadership; the opportunities provided by Pentecostal churches for individual initiative, including those not formally qualified for traditional ordained ministry; and the clearcut belief system.⁹¹

Fundamentally, all these suggestions still leave unanswered the basic question of why Pentecostalism has flourished and bloomed in so many different and varied seed-beds. As both Cox and Martin have made very clear, Pentecostalism's 'astonishing adaptability to local cultures and situations' has

⁸⁹ Cox, 1994, 143ff.

⁹⁰ Cox 1994, pp.143-259.

⁹¹ Black, 1991, pp.113ff.

been one of the intriguing aspects of the movement.⁹² Somewhere, if it is deemed a genuine work of God, it should meet a fundamental human need that transcends culture, economics and race. Cox hints at this when he suggests that an encounter with God is at the heart of Pentecostalism.⁹³ Cepeda *et al* point out that churches which cultivate the love of God and true Christianity will thrive 'because people need these things at all times, not just during crises.'⁹⁴

Bernado Campos argues that Pentecostalism cannot be properly understood without an appreciation of the spiritual dimension —

The failure to consider Pentecostal spirituality and its theological perspectives would deform any hermeneutic of Pentecostalism Sociological interpretations usually fail to appreciate the meaning of a community's religious experience to the community itself. For instance, it is impossible to understand Pentecostal growth without exploring the doctrine of sanctification, which is the motor of its aggressive evangelism.⁹⁵

Baptism in the Holy Spirit

From its inception, the distinctive feature of Pentecostalism has been the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the accompanying sign of *glossolalia* (Greek: γλωσσα = 'tongue'; λαλεω = 'I speak'). Other features of the movement such as its commitment to the Scriptures, its emphasis on the second coming, its strong belief in healing, its concern for holiness, its focus on evangelism were all to be found in other churches and religious organisations — but not speaking in tongues. This was a unique phenomenon which resulted in a unique group. Frank Macchia writes —

Pentecostals regard tongues as a kind of primary sacrament or *καιρος* event that signifies, while participating in, the empowerment of the Spirit in the Christian life. Tongues are the 'new sign of the Christian Church,' according to Thomas Barratt,

⁹² Martin, TLS, 28 March 1997, p.8.

⁹³ Cox 1994, pp.304ff.

⁹⁴ R.Cepeda, E.Carrillo, R.Gonzales and C.Ham in Gutierrez and Smith (eds), 1996, p.108.

⁹⁵ B.L.Campos, in Gutierrez and Smith (eds), 1996, p.43. Williams agrees: 'Any study of glossolalia needs to take full cognisance of how glossolalics themselves understand the phenomenon.' See Martin and Mullen (eds), 1984, p.72.

the ‘root and stem’ out of which all other spiritual gifts grow, according to Edward Irving, and the ‘spiritual rest of the new covenant,’ according to the Oneness Pentecostal J.L. Hall.⁹⁶

For Pentecostals, the process of Christian initiation includes three major aspects. The first is repentance and faith in Christ. The second is baptism in water by immersion, in which this new-found faith is demonstrated. The third is baptism or infilling with the Holy Spirit,⁹⁷ the initial sign of which is speaking in tongues.⁹⁸ Such empowered tongue-speech means the ability to pray in a language which has never been learned. This language is seen as a gift of the Holy Spirit, an elevating, non-rational expression of worship, framed in words which originate in the human spirit, rather than the human mind (1 Corinthians 14:14f).⁹⁹ New converts are encouraged to pray to God for the coming of the Holy Spirit, often on their knees. They normally pray aloud, asking God to fill them and then praising and thanking Him for doing so. Usually, during this time, they begin to utter non-rational sounds which soon become fluent. This phenomenon may be accompanied by emotional expressions such as tears or trembling or laughter, but such expressions are not always either expected or present. Those who are baptised in the Spirit usually report greater intimacy with God, a deeper commitment and a sense of joy and/or peace. The ability to pray in tongues is normally ongoing. The common idea that baptism in the Spirit always results from a trance-like state or is accompanied by feelings of ecstasy is erroneous. Those who speak in tongues are usually aware of what is happening around them and are able to stop or start speaking at will.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ F. Macchia, ‘Tongues as a Sign: Towards a Sacramental Understanding of Pentecostal Experience,’ *Pneuma* 15:1 Spring 1993, p.69.

⁹⁷ Also described in the New Testament as receiving the Spirit, receiving the gift of the Spirit, having the Spirit fall upon you or being sealed with the Spirit (Acts 2:38; 8:15-17; 10:44-48; 11:15f).

⁹⁸ These three are expressed in the words of the apostle Peter on the day of Pentecost — ‘Repent and be baptised, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins. And you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit’ (Acts 2:38, NIV).

⁹⁹ 1 Cor 14:14-15 — ‘For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays, but my mind is unfruitful. So what shall I do? I will pray with my spirit, but I will also pray with my mind; I will sing with my spirit, but I will also sing with my mind’ (NIV).

¹⁰⁰ These observations are based on my own extensive pastoral and professional experience

On the basis of Paul’s statement in the classic thirteenth chapter of Corinthians (‘if I speak with the tongues of men and of angels’), Pentecostals have argued that the languages they speak may be either human or heavenly in nature. Biblical commentators on the Scriptures are varied in their opinions about this. Alford accepts that the biblical record should be taken literally as referring to human speech, but adds, ‘whatever those tongues may be.’¹⁰¹ Findlay sees both tongues of men and of angels as ‘mystic utterance’ and suggests that perhaps Paul had heard angelic languages in his experience in the third heaven (2 Corinthians 12:2).¹⁰² Pentecostal scholar Gordon Fee suggests the Corinthians believed that when they spoke in tongues they were communicating ‘in the dialect(s) of heaven.’¹⁰³

Unfortunately, little sociological or psychological research has been done in Australia on glossolalia, and certainly, there was none prior to 1939. A discussion of these aspects necessarily depends heavily on more recent research from overseas. Nevertheless, given that the nature and practice of glossolalia is clearly consistent in many English-speaking countries,¹⁰⁴ it can probably be fairly assumed that the conclusions drawn can be transferred to the Australian scene. Furthermore, as the practice of glossolalia seems to have been consistent since its inception as a twentieth century phenomenon, contemporary research and speculation can be applied as readily to its occurrence in the 1920s as in the 1990s. In a study of the origins of the Australian movement, it is therefore appropriate to examine the most common recent understandings of the nature and origin of tongue speaking and to interpret them in the light of the historical context.

Frank Macchia has proposed that tongue-speaking has a kind of sacramental significance for Pentecostals. He describes it as ‘the audible medium for

over the last four decades.

¹⁰¹ H. Alford, *The Greek Testament*, Volume II, Chicago, 1968, p.585.

¹⁰² W.R. Nicholl, *The Expositor's Greek Testament* Volume II, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967, pp. 896f.

¹⁰³ G. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991, p.630.

¹⁰⁴ This is a general observation based on my own reading over many years and my own personal experience of meeting with Pentecostal people both in and from England, the United States, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, and also in countries where English is widely spoken such as Israel, Malaysia and Singapore.

realising the presence of God to empower and heal.’ Acknowledging Pentecostalism’s apprehension about liturgical forms, he goes on to suggest that there might still be ‘a “chaotic” or “inchoate” sacramentality in Pentecostal worship.’ The term ‘sacrament,’ he argues, implies some interaction between the divine dynamic and the physical or material sign, in this case the visible/audible sign of tongues. Macchia notes that the Zwinglian influence on Protestant Christianity has tended to deter Pentecostals from attributing anything more than symbolism to a sacrament. Perhaps, he suggests, a more Calvinistic view might be beneficial.¹⁰⁵ Calvin laid down three essentials for a valid sacrament — the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and faith,¹⁰⁶ all of which are elements present in the Pentecostal experience. Even though Pentecostals do not acknowledge tongue-speaking as a sacrament, it may well be argued that it does offer them a highly perceptible symbol which, given its immediacy and potency, achieves more of a sacramental function in the believer’s life than the traditional liturgical ordinances.

Some scholars believe that glossolalia is actually an innate human ability which is manifested under the impact of a powerful spiritual impulse. Arnold Bittlinger, for instance, writes —

Psychologically, the only explanation that satisfies me is the fact that this [glossolalia] is a potential capacity, dormant in most people, awakened in the Christian by the Holy Spirit and filled with meaning.¹⁰⁷

Reformed Church scholar Vern Poythress is inclined to agree. ‘It seems,’ he writes, ‘that the capacity for free vocalisation is a normal, God-given capacity,’ which, he argues, can be learned by anyone. Tongue-speaking is ‘Christian religious competent free vocalisation.’¹⁰⁸ Linguist Chris Kenneally describes

¹⁰⁵ F. Macchia, ‘Tongues as a Sign,’ 1993, pp. 61ff.

¹⁰⁶ J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, IV, iv. (1559) Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960.

¹⁰⁷ A. Bittlinger, *Gifts and Graces*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967, p. 100.

¹⁰⁸ V. Poythress, ‘Linguistic and Sociological Analyses of Modern Tongues-Speaking: Their Contributions and Limitations,’ in Mills (ed), 1986, pp. 469ff. It should be noted that glossolalia is not only found among Christians. Since earliest times, there have been many documented occurrences in non-Christian societies and religions. The main difference between Pentecostal glossolalia and non-Christian glossolalia is that with the former, the expectation is that everyone will speak in tongues, as a normal part of everyday devotional life, while with

glossolalia as ‘a universal human experience.’¹⁰⁹ Researcher Virginia Hine expresses a similar opinion.¹¹⁰ William Samarin suggests that human beings have a natural language-creating ability. He describes tongue-speech as ‘an expression of the ineffable.’¹¹¹ Ken Chant argues strongly that the ability to exercise glossolalia is a natural human ability which the coming of the Spirit awakens, not a supernatural ability given by the Spirit.¹¹²

Whether the biblical writers would agree with this is questionable. In Luke’s first record of glossolalia, although he is careful to say that it was the disciples, not the Holy Spirit, who spoke in other tongues, it was only ‘as the Spirit enabled them’ (Acts 2:4). Certainly, the early Pentecostals had no doubt that glossolalia was a supernatural gift from God. Richard Beaglehole, one of the first Australians ever to exercise glossolalia, clearly saw the phenomenon as entirely of God —

For a time I was lost to everything and when I came to myself, my lips were trembling... and I heard the Spirit’s voice, for He had taken possession of my throat and tongue, and *was speaking through me* in other tongues.¹¹³

Charles Enticknap, another of the Pentecostal pioneers, told he felt ‘a marvellous sense of God taking hold of all my vocal organs... and then came a flood of other tongues.’¹¹⁴

There was also a belief in xenolalia — that, at least on some occasions, to speak in tongues was to speak an actual, human language. This view was

the latter, the practice has normally been restricted to shamans or priests or witch doctors and is usually expressed only through ecstatic states or trances. For a useful summary of the research on non-Christian glossolalia, see the chapter by anthropologist L.C. May, entitled ‘A Survey of Glossolalia and Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Religions,’ in Mills (ed), 1986, pp.53ff. This paper first appeared in the *American Anthropologist* 58(1), 1956, pp.75ff. See also R. Spittler, ‘Glossolalia,’ in Burgess et al (eds), 1988, pp.335ff.

¹⁰⁹ C. Keneally, *Other Tongues*, unpublished thesis, University of Melbourne, 1990, p.10.

¹¹⁰ V. Hine, ‘Personality Differences Between High and Low Dogmatism Groups of Pentecostal Believers,’ in Mills (ed), 1986, p.460.

¹¹¹ Quoted by Hine in Mills, 1986 (ed), p.453.

¹¹² K. Chant, *Clothed with Power*, Kingswood, NSW: Ken Chant Ministries, 1993, p.114.

¹¹³ R. Beaglehole, ‘God Baptised in Portland, Victoria, Nearly Fifty Years Ago,’ GN 1:1 April 1910, p.4. See Chapter Three for more on Beaglehole.

¹¹⁴ C. G. Enticknap, ‘Address given at the Christian Revival Crusade, Rosewater, SA,’ 17 October 1965. Quoted in Chant, 1984, p.46. The idea of the Spirit speaking through a believer might have been seen in the light of the biblical statement that God did special miracles

common overseas. In Zion, Illinois, a new group of Pentecostal believers claimed that German, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Norwegian and Chinese had been spoken among them, prompting a local journalist to suggest that secondary students struggling with foreign language studies should ‘get the Pentecostal Spirit’ to improve their grades.¹¹⁵ Parham taught that glossolalia was given to hasten the task of world evangelisation by enabling believers to preach immediately to the heathen. He was not alone in this. Others shared this conviction. As attempts to put this hypothesis into practice soon proved ineffective, the idea did not survive very long.¹¹⁶ There is little evidence that Australian Pentecostals believed they could preach in tongues, but the conviction that tongue-speaking could be understood if you happened to know the language was prevalent. On more than one occasion, there were anecdotes of people hearing an expression of tongues, claiming that their own language was being spoken and that they understood the message.¹¹⁷

Others dismiss such claims out of hand. Anderson, for instance, with a cavalier abandonment of the scientific spirit, argues that since it is plainly impossible for anyone to speak a language they have never learned, there must be some other explanation.¹¹⁸ John Kindahl is not so high-handed, but points out that there is simply no documented evidence of xenolalia —

Of the hundreds of thousands of occasions on which glossolalia has been uttered, there is no tape recording that can be translated from a language spoken somewhere in the world... If glossolalic utterances were somehow real languages, it would seem that there would exist somewhere in the world evidence that the speaking in tongues was in fact such a foreign language.¹¹⁹

‘through the hands of Paul’ (Acts 19:11). See Chapter Nine for more on Enticknap.

¹¹⁵ E. Blumhofer, ‘Charles F. Parham’s 1906 Invasion: a Pentecostal Branch Grows in Zion,’ *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Fall 1986, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ See Cerillo Jr, ‘Origins,’ *Pneuma* 15:1 Spring 1993, p. 83; Anderson, 1979, pp. 90ff.

¹¹⁷ Joyce Whitburn, personal interview, 22 March 1997; K. Chant, 1993, p. 117. I personally know two people who have understood an utterance in tongues and another three who have been told that they were speaking a known language — in every case, a language unknown to them personally. The languages concerned were, in the case of the first two, German and English, and in the others, Arabic, French and Hebrew. I could add that I have confidence in the veracity and integrity of these witnesses.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, 1979, p. 19.

¹¹⁹ J. Kindahl, ‘Psychological Observations,’ in Mills (ed), 1986, p. 363.

Although it is now over twenty years since Kindahl made this claim, there seems little reason to question its general accuracy. Poythress argues that to validate any incident of xenolalia, controlled experimental conditions need to be in place which, given the spontaneous and inspirational nature of glossolalia, is extremely difficult to achieve. Hence, he claims, the possibility of real languages being spoken cannot be either proven or disproven by normal research procedures. Further, until every single case of glossolalia is investigated, the likelihood of genuine examples of xenolalia occurring and being identified is still theoretically possible.¹²⁰

Not everyone agrees. Weber sees tongue-speaking as the result of a cataleptic state resulting in actions 'that normal neurological functioning could never produce.'¹²¹ Behm refers to the 'babbling of glossolalia.'¹²² Victor Budgen and R.E.Baxter are convinced that glossolalia is usually the result of emotional or psychological manipulation. Anthony Hoekema argues that linguists have found no resemblance between tongue-speaking and normal language and concludes it is 'ecstatic speech.'¹²³ Linguist William Samarin claims that although there may be some superficial similarities between tongue-speech and normal speech, 'Glossolalia is fundamentally not a language.'¹²⁴

The New Testament writers thought differently. As Ford points out, the biblical word γλῶσσα generally means 'tongue' (ie the physical organ) or 'language.'¹²⁵ MacDonald puts it plainly: 'The Greek word γλῶσσα means 'language'... Not mouthing nonsense syllables ...'¹²⁶ Had the biblical writers wanted to, they could have used an alternative term such as

¹²⁰ Poythress, in Mills (ed). 1986, p.476.

¹²¹ Weber, 1965, p.159.

¹²² J.Behm, 'Παρακαλεω' in G.Friedrich (ed) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* Volume VIII. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968, p.813.

¹²³ V.Budgen, *The Charismatics and the Word of God*, Welwyn, Herts: Evangelical Press, 1985, pp.71ff.

¹²⁴ Samarin, in Mills (ed). 1986, p.388. See also W.Samarin, *Tongues of Men and of Angels*, New York: Macmillan, 1972.

¹²⁵ J.M.Ford, 'Towards a Theology of "Speaking in Tongues"', in Mills (ed), 1986, p. 277 — 'Γλῶσσα through the New Testament is used for human speech.'

¹²⁶ W.MacDonald, 'The Place of Glossolalia in Neo-Pentecostalism,' in Mills (ed), 1986, p.225.

βατταλογεω which means 'to babble,' an expression Jesus used in regard to heathen prayers (Matthew 6:7). It is also interesting to note that the verb used in Acts 2:4 to describe the Spirit's enabling one to speak in tongues implies nobility of speech.¹²⁷ For Pentecostals, identifying glossolalia with the biblical phenomenon is sufficient to dismiss the idea that it is gibberish.¹²⁸

Australian writer Nader Mikhael argues that tongue-speaking is the result of hypnosis. His major thesis is that other revivalistic phenomena such as falling to the floor, shaking, trembling, groaning, crying, trances and the like are caused by hypnosis — albeit unwittingly — and suggests many similarities between the effects of hypnosis and charismatic phenomena.¹²⁹ In discussing the phenomenon of being 'slain in the Spirit,'¹³⁰ Mikhael shows that McNutt's description of people likely to do so (young female, artistic, African or Latin ancestry) or unlikely to do so (elderly male, Anglo-Saxon, German, serious childhood, takes responsibility early in life, determinedly self-controlled) compares favourably with the description of people likely to be subject to hypnosis (young, female, Latin, Spanish, exhibitionist) or unlikely to be subject to it (suspicious, Anglo-Saxon, German, analytical).¹³¹ He argues that because tongue-speakers sometimes behave in other ways which are suggestive of hypnosis, the languages they speak fall into the same category. A more mellow view of the relationship between glossolalia and hypnosis is presented by Australian psychologist John Court who suggests that an altered state of consciousness (ASC) is a common denominator for all manifestations like

¹²⁷ The word is ἀποφθέγγεσθαι. It occurs only three times in the New Testament — here, later in the chapter to describe Peter's Pentecostal preaching and in Acts 26:25 to describe Paul's defence before King Agrippa. It was used in ancient times of a poet or an inspired singer. Thayer describes it as referring to 'dignified or elevated discourse' and says it was employed of wise men and philosophers. The consistent meaning is one of meaningful, profound speech. John Chrysostom (AD 347-401), the 'golden-mouth' bishop of Antioch and Constantinople, says the apostles spoke 'profound utterances...the things they spoke were wonderful' (*Homily 4*). See G.Kittel (ed) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* Volume One, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964, p.447.

¹²⁸ See C.G.Williams, 'Speaking in Tongues,' in Martin and Mullen (eds), 1984, pp.72ff. Williams doubts that glossolalia is actually a language, but denies that it can be dismissed as 'gobbledgook.'

¹²⁹ N.Mikhael, *Slaying in the Spirit — the Telling Wonder* Punchbowl:1992, pp.17ff

¹³⁰ 'Slaying in the Spirit' is a term used to describe the relatively common charismatic practice of falling to the floor when prayed for.

¹³¹ Mikhael, 1992, pp.35ff

glossolalia whether Christian or not. Prayer is an altered state of consciousness and so, therefore, is tongue-speech. This does not invalidate glossolalia any more than it invalidates prayer. To enter or leave the ASC is still a matter of personal choice. Furthermore, to describe speaking in tongues as an expression of an ASC is not to explain it. Court recognises it as the result of the infilling of the Holy Spirit.¹³²

Others have argued that tongue-speakers are mentally or emotionally deficient. George Cutten, a Baptist minister and educator, set the pace in 1927 when he alleged that Pentecostals were people who found it hard to express themselves in normal speech, were generally of low mental ability and had little capacity for rational thought. Cutten made further assumptions of psychopathology, hysteria and schizophrenia which were commonly and uncritically accepted.¹³³ On the other hand, Stanley Plog found no evidence of atypical personality patterns among the Pentecostal group he researched and nor did L.P. Gerlach. They did note, however, that many church groups attract people who are already psychologically troubled and that this could affect the results of personality tests.¹³⁴

Interestingly, investigations have shown a high degree of emotional and psychological stability among glossolalics. Hummel notes that studies by the United Presbyterian Special Committee in the United States in 1970, and other research by Kildahl, McDonnell and Samarin produced no evidence for the view that those who speak in tongues were emotionally unstable or prone to ecstatic excesses. In fact, the results indicated the contrary.¹³⁵ Kildahl himself writes —

Almost invariably, they (the tongue-speakers) said they were more cheerful, more joyful and more optimistic as a result of speaking in tongues. They were less depressed and less pessimistic and had a pervading sense of God's presence and

¹³² J. Court, *Hypnosis, Healing and the Christian* Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997, pp.76ff. See also Patrick Dixon, *Signs of Revival* Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1994. Dixon's discussion addresses a range of phenomena, without particular reference to glossolalia, but it is clear that he would see glossolalia as falling within the general area of ASC's.

¹³³ Hine in Mills (ed), 1986, p.442

¹³⁴ W.E.Mills, 'Glossolalia as a Sociopsychological Experience,' in Mills (ed), 1986, p.431

¹³⁵ C.Hummel, *Fire in the Fireplace*, Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1978, pp.199ff.

strength within themselves...They all seemed to report that being filled with the Spirit had made them better able to cope with frustration, and better able to show greater patience and stability in dealing with others.¹³⁶

South African experiments showed that people who exercised glossolalia were more stable, less bothered by tensions, more sensitive and displayed ‘a greater ability to renounce immediate satisfactions for long-term goals.’¹³⁷ Cyril Williams agrees¹³⁸ as does Virginia Hine.¹³⁹

Bittlinger argues the beneficial side of glossolalia. He quotes Walter Hollenweger’s phrase ‘the psycho-hygienic function’ of praying in tongues and then goes on to talk of such prayer transcending the value of psychoanalysis. He refers to several psychiatric reports of tongue-speakers being positively influenced by the experience, including the South African study already mentioned.¹⁴⁰ Wayne Oates, who disapproves of glossolalia, grudgingly admits that the practice does meet psychological needs such as fear, anxiety, loneliness and the like.¹⁴¹

Sub-conscious origins

E.M.Pattinson, a medical doctor, argues that just as a child learns to speak by copying language sounds and then combining them in a meaningful pattern, so people who speak in tongues bring into awareness glossolalic sounds they have heard previously. In regard to those who speak in tongues without ever having heard anyone else, the situation is similar, but in this case they still have in their subconscious minds memories of thousands of sounds they have heard

¹³⁶ Kildahl in Mills (ed), 1986, pp. 364f

¹³⁷ M.Kelsey, *Tongue Speaking: the History and Meaning of Charismatic Experience* New York: Crossroad, 1981, p.204f.

¹³⁸ Williams in Martin and Mullen (eds), 1984, pp.76ff.

¹³⁹ Hine in Mills (ed). 1986, pp.446ff. Hine recounts a situation in which four psychologists were given the results of personality tests undertaken by a traditional church group and a radical tongue-speaking group. The clinicians were asked on the basis of the results alone to identify each group. They all assigned to the traditional group the results which showed them to be less neurotic, less distressed psychologically and less repressive. In fact, these were the results for the Pentecostals

¹⁴⁰ Bittlinger, 1967, p.99f.

¹⁴¹ F.Stagg, E.G.Hinson and W.Oates (eds), *Glossolalia: Tongue Speaking in Biblical, Historical and Psychological Perspective*, Abingdon, 1967.

previously, and these can be reproduced in an acceptable combination when required¹⁴². John Russell, who received the Spirit on 9 May, 1911, believed he was speaking Hindustani, because he had heard his father, who had lived in India, speak it previously. A modified form of Pattinson's theory might be argued here — namely that Russell was simply reproducing subliminal memories of sounds he had unwittingly absorbed. However, for Russell, the transformation in his life required more to justify it than hidden recollections of foreign sounds. 'There had been a great change in me at my conversion,' he wrote ten years later, 'but there was a greater change now... It doesn't matter what great and learned men say against it; I know what God gave me that Saturday.'¹⁴³

Jung offers the theory that glossolalia is a kind of somnambulism in which, like walking or talking in one's sleep, some other part of the personality takes control of our actions.¹⁴⁴ Marvin Mayers argues similarly that tongue-speech resembles aphasia, a disorder of the central nervous system which disrupts the ability to communicate in normal fashion. The result, like schizophasia or talking in one's sleep or childish pseudo-language, is a form of speech which lacks normal communication patterns, but which is still a valid linguistic form.¹⁴⁵

Similar to this is the suggestion of cryptomnesia, that during people's lifetimes, they hear various foreign and strange words which they unintentionally store in their subconscious thinking, and then innocently verbalise in the effort to produce glossolalia.¹⁴⁶ Given the not inconsiderable pressure that is sometimes sincerely, but not always advisedly, applied to people to speak in tongues, it is not inconceivable that something like this should occur. However, given also the easy fluency with which tongue-speakers express themselves, and the

¹⁴² Mills, 1986, p.407.

¹⁴³ J.Russell, 'Saved to Serve,' GN 14:10 November 1923, p.13.

¹⁴⁴ Mills, 1986, p.435.

¹⁴⁵ Mills, 1986, p.409.

¹⁴⁶ Cerillo, 1993, 84.

richness of language and vocabulary employed, it stretches credulity to see this as an adequate explanation.¹⁴⁷

Pre-conceptual prayer

Basing his comments on the writings of the Swiss psychologist Piaget, Oates suggests there is a parallel between the first language development of a child and glossolalia. A little child, he argues, talks for the satisfaction of talking, without knowing or caring if anyone else is listening, because it is 'intensely satisfying.'¹⁴⁸ In the same way, glossolalia is satisfying, but not intellectually meaningful. Pattinson agrees. He claims to find in glossolalia resemblances to the early speech qualities of a child prior to the time when he begins to use adult language.¹⁴⁹ Hummel sees tongue-speaking as a kind of 'pre-conceptual' prayer, a way of expressing oneself to God in non-rational speech, with sounds beyond those of conceptual language,¹⁵⁰ a view which may echo a biblical perspective.¹⁵¹

Cox proposes three dimensions of 'primal spirituality' which he believes the Pentecostal movement has helped people to recover. These are primal speech, primal piety and primal hope. He sees primal speech as giving people a language of the heart in an age when speech has been 'emptied and pulverised.' As for primal piety, often expressed through dreams and visions, it came 'at just the point in history when both the rationalistic assumptions of modernity and the strategies religions had used to oppose them were all coming unravelled.' Then primal hope reflects the millennial outlook of the Pentecostal movement, with its sense of immediacy and imminence concerning the return

¹⁴⁷ This comment is based largely on my own extensive experience and observation of glossolalia in many churches and in several cultures over some 45 years.

¹⁴⁸ Stagg et al. 1967, p.85.

¹⁴⁹ Mills, 1986, p.431. See also Martin's comments in Martin and Mullen (eds). 1984, p.63.

¹⁵⁰ Hummel, 1978, pp.201ff.

¹⁵¹ Paul claimed that those who spoke in tongues spoke 'divine mysteries' (1 Corinthians 14:2). Jesus taught that a child-like attitude is essential if we are to apprehend the kingdom of God (Matthew 18:3). However, Paul also drew a distinction between 'child-like' and 'childish' (1 Corinthians 14:20). For him, glossolalia might be the cry of a child to a father (cf Romans 8:15). But it was not infantile

of Christ.¹⁵² There is no doubt these factors were true of early Pentecostalism in Australia — as they still are today. Glossolalia was from the beginning the distinctive ingredient. There are many extant testimonies of dreams and visions.¹⁵³ And the eschatological position of the movement has always been prominent.¹⁵⁴

The language of feeling

Although he does not mention Paul’s reference to ‘groans that words cannot express’ (Romans 8:26), Richard Hutch argues that glossolalia is in this category of expression.¹⁵⁵ He describes the place and purpose of what he calls the ‘ritualisation of experience’ by which human beings relate to the world around them. He sees a similarity between tongue-speech and two ‘very evident pre-semantic (and pre-verbal) human sounds,’ namely laughing and crying. He goes on —

Both of these sounds not only express strong feelings; they also serve to demarcate where language proper ends and non-linguistic utterances begin. In other words, crying and laughing are strategic psychological responses by which an alteration and juxtaposition of a new world of meaning is made to stand over and against a more rigidly structured, cognitively organised and controlled world of meaning... In themselves, crying and laughing are essential liminal aspects intrinsic to the ritualisation of all human experience. The ritual dimension of the practice of tongue-speaking would appear to capitalise on this fact... The ritual dimension of such praying would appear to imply that glossolalic utterances are amalgamations of the sounds of crying and laughing.¹⁵⁶

Hutch goes on to argue that crying and laughing are ‘the most basic of expressive utterances.’ From the earliest Pentecostal meetings, such expressions of feeling were common. Testimonies from the beginning talk both

¹⁵² Cox, 1994, pp.81ff.

¹⁵³ For example see GN 9:1 February 1923, p.16; 18:10 October 1927, p.11; 19:2 February 1928, p.29; 24:10 October 1933, p.9. See further on visions in Chapter Fourteen.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter Thirteen.

¹⁵⁵ Mills, 1986, pp.393ff.

¹⁵⁶ Mills, 1986, p.394; Williams in Martin and Mullen (eds), 1984, p78.

of weeping and of great joy, often accompanied with laughter.¹⁵⁷ In an article entitled, ‘Sighs Too Deep for Words: Toward a Theology of Glossolalia,’ Macchia follows a similar line. Linking the biblical phenomenon of glossolalia with the self-disclosure of God that took place at Pentecost, Macchia sees in tongues an expression of wonder at God’s presence. But this sense of wonder cannot be expressed in normal language. So through glossolalia, the inexpressible finds expression —

The closer one draws to the divine mystery, the more urgent it becomes to express oneself and, concomitantly, the less able one is to find adequate expression. This is the crisis out of which tongues breaks forth. Any attempt rationally to communicate the experience ends it, for to reflect upon and rationally communicate an experience is to distance oneself from it already. Tongues is a way of expressing the experience without ending it. The experience and the expression become one.¹⁵⁸

The title of Macchia’s article is extracted from the writings of Paul, who speaks of the Spirit helping us to pray ‘with sighs too deep for words,’ a phrase which many take to refer to glossolalia, and which plainly speaks of a non-rational or trans-rational form of prayer.¹⁵⁹

These theories add weight to the concept that glossolalia is a natural human experience, reactivated by the Spirit. But otherwise, while describing the nature of tongues and its effect on the life of the individual, they do not satisfactorily explain how glossolalia actually occurs or where the ability to speak fluently in a language never learned originates. Explaining why people use the gift does not tell us how they are able to do it.

A response to rationalism

E.G.Hinson makes the interesting observation that the rising incidence of glossolalia in recent years has paralleled the spread of rationalism.¹⁶⁰ What

¹⁵⁷ GN 1:1 April 1910, pp.8, 21; 1:5 January 1913, pp.12, 20; Jordan, 1969, p.51

¹⁵⁸ F.Macchia, ‘Sighs Too Deep for Words: Toward a Theology of Glossolalia,’ JPT, #1 October 1992, p.62.

¹⁵⁹ Romans 8:26f. The Greek expression used by Paul suggests language which can be articulated, but not in the normal way; that is, inexpressible, but not unexpressed.

¹⁶⁰ E.G.Hinson, ‘The Significance of Glossolalia in the History of Christianity,’ in Mills (ed), 1986, p.200.

Pentecostals have been saying, in effect, is that religion is not primarily an affair of the mind, but of the heart. William MacDonald argues a similar point.¹⁶¹ Hinson comments on Wayne Oates’ view that we live in a time when it is unpopular to talk about God. ‘Whereas Victorians repressed talk about sex, we repress talk about religion,’ he says. Oates’ argument is that tongue-speaking is a protest against this restriction.¹⁶² Drawing a distinction between a holistic view of life and a dichotomous view, Mayers presents a similar case. ‘Tongues grow out of a holistic world and life view in which one object is not set definitively from another object; rather each object is seen as part of a larger whole.’¹⁶³ Some churches, he claims, are dichotomistic, and hence see no place for tongues.

In summary, the practice of glossolalia is a recognition of the validity and place of religious experience. To say that a pianiste, for example, plays her instrument to give her a sense of accomplishment, significance and value may be quite true. If she is retiring and ignored in other respects, her playing may well fulfil a genuine and deeply-felt sense of deprivation and frustration. But this is not an explanation of her ability to make music in the first place. Her musical gifts can be perfected by practice and expressed by determination and skill. But these cannot bestow on her a talent for music if she does not already possess it. Similarly, psychological and sociological explanations of the reasons why people speak in tongues are clearly of value. But ultimately, they are incapable of a definitive explanation of the nature and origin of the practice itself.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ MacDonald in Mills (ed), 1986, p.225.

¹⁶² Hinson in Mills (ed), 1986, p.193.

¹⁶³ M.K.Mayers, ‘The Behaviour of Tongues,’ in Mills (ed). 1986, p.417.

¹⁶⁴ C.S.Lewis’s concept of Transposition is relevant here. Lewis readily concedes that glossolalia may arise from natural, hysterical or even pathological causes, but argues that this is to over-simplify the matter. The realm of the emotion, he suggests, is far more complex than that of the senses and hence the same action may derive from very different emotional stimuli. To deny the possibility of a genuinely spiritual or divine origin for glossolalia is like someone who lives in a two dimensional world denying the reality of a further dimension; or like insisting that because an acute angle in a drawing represents a similar angle in real life it cannot also represent the concept of depth. So for Lewis, Transposition means viewing phenomena like tongue-speaking, as far as this is possible, ‘from above.’ So ‘those who spoke with tongues, as St. Paul did, can well understand how that holy phenomenon differed from the hysterical phenomenon — although, be it remembered, they were in a sense exactly the same.

As I will attempt to argue in this thesis, it is Pentecostalism's ability, not only to encourage people to experience the presence of God, but to enshrine that experience in an audible, visible, sacramental and sanctifying encounter called baptism in the Holy Spirit, which has been its unique drawing power. As glossolalia offers a tangible experience of God, it defies a purely cognitive or rationalistic approach to Christianity. Yet it satisfies the need for observable criteria, too. Being experienced by the speaker and observable by others, it is both subjective and objective. Psychologically, sociologically and historically, it resists satisfactory analysis. But as a historical phenomenon, glossolalia will not go away. Stubbornly, it remains the significant factor in the emergence of Pentecostalism. And the emergence of Pentecostalism remains the significant factor in the reawakening for the whole Church to the validity and indeed the necessity of an experiential encounter with God.

phenomenon.' See C.S.Lewis, 'Transposition' in *Screwtape Proposes a Toast* London: Collins (Fontana), 1965, pp.75ff.