JEPTA
Notes for Contributors

Typescripts. Papers should not normally exceed 5000 words including footnotes. An electronic copy of the paper should be sent preferably in MS Word format to William K Kay, (wkay@bangor.ac.uk).

Please do not send your file in a ‘text only’ format. A hard copy version of the paper is no longer acceptable since it means retyping it so electronic versions are preferred.

The real size of paper and styles should be A5, Top margin 1.9 cm, Bottom 2 cm, Left 1.6, Right 1.6 cm, with Palatino 9.5 pt font for standard text, and single spaced. No indents are needed for first paragraphs of sections or after indented block quotes or diagrams or tables. Other paragraphs are indented.

Formats are as follow:
Title has Font 18 centred Palatino.
Author Font 12 Gill Sans, bold, centred 8.4 spacing before, 38.3 after.
Heading 1 Font 12 bold, centred Palatino, 18.45 pt before, 3 pt after.
Heading 2 is italicised 11 font Palatino, bold, centred, 18.45 pt before, 3pt after.
Normal no indent for first paragraphs font Palatino Linotype 9.5 pt and justified, single spaced.
Other paragraphs normal with indent of .4 cm, 9.5 pt and justified, single spaced.
Book reviews are in 2 columns.

Footnote reference number superscript, font Palatino 9.5.
Footnote text font 9 Palatino, hanging 0.3pt.

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In order to guarantee anonymous peer review the name(s) of each of the author(s) and the address where the work was carried out should only appear on a separate first page. The full address of the author should also be included so that he or she can check proofs and receive correspondence. A postal address may be used, but a reliable electronic address is better. Accepted papers will be printed with a brief reference to the place of work of author(s) and electronic contact details. This will be quoted in the first footnote.

Rejected papers will not be returned. However notification of acceptance or otherwise will be made by email.

Abstract: At the head of each paper should be summary of 100-500 (within the 5000 word limit) words and 3-4 keywords on a separate sheet.

Tables and captions to illustrations: Tables may not be printed with the text depending on size. The captions, tables and figures should be numbered by Arabic numerals.

(Cont.. on the end inside page)
The Journal of the Pentecostal Theological Association (JEPTA) is a peer-reviewed international journal which has a pedigree stretching back to 1981 when it began as the EPTA Bulletin. Despite its European origins JEPTA has interests in Pentecostalism world-wide. It aims to promote and report research and scholarship in Pentecostal and Charismatic studies especially in relation to five fields of study:

- Theology
- Pentecostal / charismatic education
- Pentecostal history
- Charismatic history
- Missiology

The journal welcomes interdisciplinary debate and dialogue.

Editorial Addresses

Editorial Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor above. Books for review should also be sent to Dr Kay.
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Editorial

The outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the British Isles is normally dated to 1907. A centenary conference funded by the British Academy was held at St. John’s College, Durham, to commemorate the events that took place there and to further explore the ministry of Alexander Boddy, the prime mover in the series of Sunderland conventions that ran through from 1908 to 1914.

This issue carries many of the papers that were presented at the centenary conference. Michael Harper, himself a key player in the 1960s charismatic movement in Britain and beyond, gives us a wider perspective of what grew out of those extraordinary early days in what now seems to be an idyllic period before 1914. Mark Cartledge, in an analysis of the content of Confidence, the magazine founded and edited by Alexander Boddy, presents a convincing case showing that the theology implicitly in its pages could be summarised by the five-fold gospel. Diana Chapman focuses upon the many women who were involved and traces their lives and work. Neil Hudson reflects upon speaking in tongues and prophecy as they were understood in those early years. Gavin Wakefield explores the ministry of Boddy himself. Carl Simpson, working from German sources, shows how the ripples spreading out from Sunderland reached Germany. My own contribution shows for the first time that the classical Pentecostal denominations must have been impacted by Sunderland because major founding figures all attended its meetings.

It is our hope that these papers, together with other papers presented at the conference, will eventually form the basis of a book to be published in United States and of which more details will be made available when they are known.

Finally, an important administrative matter: please will you ensure that all the payments for this journal for 2009 onwards are sent by early January 2009 to Dr Anne Dyer, EPTA secretary, Mattersey Hall, Mattersey, DN10 5HD. Thank you.

William K Kay
The Waves Keep Coming In

Very Revd Michael Harper

An address given on 20th September 2007 in Durham on the occasion of the Centenary of the beginning of the Pentecostal Movement in Britain, concerning The Pentecostal Wave of the Twentieth Century.

One hundred years ago this month the Pentecostal Movement arrived on the shores of this country. At this time in particular we honour the memory of the Reverend Alexander Boddy, who was God’s instrument in 1907 to bring this Movement to his homeland. We look back with thanksgiving for a wave which has brought many blessings to the people of this country, and glorified the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the Charismatic Movement it has also spread to the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant Churches. But we must not allow ourselves to be mesmerised by the great days of the past; in the words of Lord McLeod of Iona we are called to be ‘fishers of men not keepers of aquariums’. We need to continue on the move and be ever vigilant, for God is constantly renewing his people in the grace and power of the Holy Spirit – there are further waves to come.

We shall be looking in this paper at the waves which have already lapped the shores of this land – the Wesleyan revival of the 18th century, and the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements of the 20th. We shall note their roots as well as their fruits. In this period we have witnessed a new understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctification and in the empowering of God’s people through the experience of Pentecost. Now we need to observe some of the common roots of all this - in particular Pentecostal, Anglican, Methodist and Orthodox - and the fruit that has come and is coming from that sharing process. In the 21st century it is becoming clearer than ever that we do have important common roots, even if we sometimes are not fully aware of them. We can share in the fruits that come

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from this discovery, and experience what I shall argue are the new waves springing from these common roots.

So we shall take a journey through time from the Early Church to Oral Roberts University, and from Aldersgate Street to Azusa Street and All Saints’, Monkwearmouth. Let us start the journey at Aldersgate Street, and the date is May 24th 1738.

1. Wesley’s Roots in the Early Church

On that day John Wesley wrote in his Journal: ‘I think it was five in the morning that I opened my testament on those words ‘there are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature.’ 2 Peter 1:4. Just as I went out I opened it again on those words “Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.”’ The verse from 2 Peter, Wesley wrote in Greek, which was his normal way of emphasising a verse.

He then describes his visit to Evensong in St Paul’s Cathedral. And then he wrote the famous words, ‘in the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street where one was reading Luther’s preface to the Romans. About a quarter before nine while he was describing the change that God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation. And an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even my sins, and saved me from the law of sin and death.’

Kenneth Carveley writing about these words in Orthodox and Wesleyan Scriptural Understanding and Practice says ‘its use of the text from 2 Peter coincidentally unites both eastern deification (theosis) theology with Pietist religion of the heart.’

Another interesting link can be made with two outstanding Anglican divines of an earlier period – Richard Hooker and Bishop Lancelot Andrewes. Donald Allchin reminds us of this in his article The Epworth-Canterbury-Constantinople Axis. Hooker writes in Volume 1 of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity about this ‘participation of the divine nature’, and Allchin comments, ‘for Hooker the phrase from 2 Peter sums up the whole Gospel’. 5

The well known Orthodox writer Nicholas Lossky has written a biography of Lancelot Andrewes in which he writes, ‘the importance given

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2 In chapter 12, ‘The Visitation of the Word’, p. 213.
3 Page 29.
to pneumatology in the theology of Andrewes is to be explained, in my view, by the stress which he puts on the deification of man as the supreme goal of the way of salvation. It is a question of the union of man with God in Christ by the Holy Spirit.\footnote{Lancelot Andrewes, \textit{Le Predicateur} (Paris 1986) page 327}

Much has been and is being written about the links between the Early Church, particularly in the ante-Nicene period, and John Wesley. Two foremost advocates of this have been Albert Outler\footnote{Professor Albert C Outler pioneered the re-discovery of the roots of early Methodism in the Early Church in the 70s and 80s.} in the United States and the English theologian H. A. Hodges\footnote{H. A. Hodges (1905-1976) was Professor of Philosophy at Reading University. According to Donald Allchin, ‘he became convinced that the Catholicism of the Greek East, Eastern Orthodoxy, presented a fuller and more balanced picture of the Christian faith. For him Eastern Orthodoxy became normative.’ Herbert Hodges explains this in a monograph \textit{Anglicanism and Orthodoxy}, (SCM 1955)}, who began life as a Methodist before joining the Church of England, although he felt his real home was in Orthodoxy.

But let us be careful for some of this linking can be exaggerated. We should not dress John Wesley up entirely in Byzantine clothing. Far from it. He read widely and from a great variety of sources – Anglican, Catholic as well as the Greek Fathers. He had plenty of time to read and write because of his widespread travels. On a recent train journey from Cambridge to Manchester and back I read Gavin Wakefield’s excellent book on Alexander Boddy, finishing the last chapter as my train drew in to Cambridge station on my return. But how many books would John Wesley have read if he had taken the same journey on horseback? However, his views were not always consistent with those of the Early Church. For example, as early as 1740 he was forming an opinion that the offices of Bishop and Presbyter were one and the same. Nevertheless the links with the Eastern Fathers in certain vital areas are there for all to see.

We can see a pointer in this direction when the Holy Club in Oxford restored the practice of fasting not only on Fridays but also on Wednesdays, which has always been the Eastern practice. It was first ordered as early as the \textit{Didache} (early 2\textsuperscript{nd} Century). Fasting on Wednesdays was in memory of the betrayal of the Lord, and Fridays of his death on the Cross. John Wesley lived at a time when there was a revival of the study of the early Church Fathers particularly in Oxford where he was a Fellow. For John Wesley
there were two sources that predominated – the writings of St John Chrysostom and the Macarian Homilies, whose true author is unknown, and which were written probably in the 4th or early 5th century.

It was John Wesley’s father Samuel who first introduced his son to St John Chrysostom. Just before his son’s ordination he urged him to read St John Chrysostom’s book *On the Priesthood*. ‘Master it, digest it’ he wrote. And again, ‘Master St Chrysostom’. This was to be a defining moment in the ministry of Wesley. K. Steve McCormick in an article *Theosis in Chrysostom and Wesley: an Eastern Paradigm on Faith and Love* writes ‘what we can state as a thesis here is that Wesley’s most comprehensive response to the question of the nature of the Christian life was that it was faith filled with the energy of love… a result of the discovery of the strand of theosis… borrowed from the Eastern Fathers, most notably St John Chrysostom.’

The Macarian Homilies were another major source for the thinking of John Wesley. One of the most quoted statements of John Wesley in his diary was the entry for July 30th 1736 ‘I read Macarius and sang!’ One notes that this took place nearly two years before his heart warming experience. And Wesley was not alone in his appreciation of the Macarian Homilies. Johann Arndt, a Pietist, was said to know all fifty of them by heart. But it is also clear that it was not unknown for Wesley, although he quoted freely from the Homilies, to leave out passages in them which he did not agree with.

When we look at this period we see that the overwhelming emphasis was on holiness, the pursuit of Christian perfection or entire sanctification. When Conyers Middleton expressed scepticism at reports of miraculous happenings in the first three centuries, Wesley defended them ferociously. But Wesley never encouraged their recovery or their normal use in the Church. For Wesley the purpose of the coming of the Holy Spirit was to make us holy. When the gifts of the Spirit were to be restored was to him something ‘which it is not necessary to decide’.

2. Pentecostal Roots in the Holiness Movement: Aldersgate Street to Azusa Street

We need now to trace the journey through time from Aldersgate Street to Azusa Street, some one hundred and sixty-nine years. Donald W. Dayton has done a well documented survey of these years in his book *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*.

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7 *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, Vol 28 number 1 p.52
Roots of Pentecostalism. It would seem that the first shifts from the Wesleyan to the Pentecostal teaching took place during Wesley’s lifetime and can be traced to the work of John Fletcher, the Vicar of Madeley. Fletcher was Wesley’s designated successor, although in the event he pre-deceased him. For Wesley the ‘moment’ was entire sanctification; but Fletcher started using different language – he talked about ‘receiving the Holy Ghost’, and Wesley objected to this, though their partnership was not affected by the disagreement. Wesley told Fletcher that he believed that all Christians received the Holy Spirit when they were justified.

Fletcher explained it by saying that he saw a difference between Christians who were baptized by the Pentecostal power of the Holy Ghost and those who were not, a view which Wesley could not accept. Technically that made Fletcher a Pentecostal but not Wesley. One other fact which Donald Dayton draws out is the fact that John Wesley very seldom ever mentions the Acts of the Apostles in his sermons or writings. But when we turn to Fletcher we find that he quotes from the Acts more than any other book in the New Testament. As is well known it was the Acts more than any other book which was to come into centre stage in the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.

Methodism, as Donald Dayton points out was to find its real destiny in America. By the mid-Nineteenth Century it had become the most influential Church in the United States. The century is marked by numerous holiness movements and experiences of revival, especially in 1857-58. Oberlin perfectionism and the work of Charles Finney took centre stage for a long period; but then there began to emerge Pentecostal imagery – and the pendulum began to turn in the direction of John Fletcher. More and more the phrase ‘Baptism in the Spirit’ was used – though still connected to the holiness motif.

Then came the American Civil War to disrupt things as the First World War was later to hinder the flow of the Pentecostal Movement. The holiness movements and revivals quietened down – but in the last twenty years of the 19th Century there was a growing turning to the theology of the Holy Spirit and the word ‘power’ became much more commonly used. It was all to lead the way to the Pentecostal understanding of the Holy Spirit. One other thing that happened, which was to have a marked influence on

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Alexander Boddy, was the founding of the Keswick Convention in 1875, which focussed on a second blessing to deal with sin in one’s personal life.

Let us now turn to Alexander Boddy and his roots. He had very unusual links with both Wesley and the Orthodox Church. He was actually distantly related to Wesley. His mother was Jane Vazeille Stocks, who was descended from Mary Vazeille, whose second husband was John Wesley. Her first husband was Antony Vazeille, a French Huguenot, and they had three sons and a daughter. The Bodrys gave the name Vazeille to their son James and their two daughters, Mary and Jane.\(^{12}\) But more important were the roots that he had in the Holiness Movement, particularly in the Keswick Convention, which he attended for the first time in 1876, the year after it was founded.

His contact with the Orthodox Church was also unusual, for at that time there were very few Orthodox Churches in western Europe. But Alexander Boddy was a keen traveller and twice visited Russia. According to Peter Lavin in his study of Alexander Boddy ‘he was attracted by aspects of Orthodoxy such as the devoted humility of its believers, its intense spirituality and the glowing beauty of its icons’.\(^{13}\) He then describes his second visit in 1886, ‘he was to return to Holy Mother Russia escaping from the incredibly soulless western secularism to witness how in Orthodoxy “God came down to earth”’. This time he was to visit the great Solovetsk Monastery in the far north of Russia on the shores of the Arctic. One thing in particular impressed him – a depiction, painted in the dome of the great Cathedral, of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost on the whole church. He wrote about it ‘our traditional idea of the power from on high only falling on the Twelve Apostles does not seem to agree with Acts 1:14-15 and 2:6’. So did this experience in Russia set his mind thinking about a personal Pentecost for all?\(^{14}\)

Alexander Boddy witnessed the life and practices of the Orthodox Church in a variety of areas – one of which was baptism. It is an Orthodox tradition to give a cross to a newly baptised child and hang it around their neck. Alexander Boddy was given one of these crosses when he was in Russia and

\(^{12}\) Gavin Wakefield *Alexander Boddy, Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer*, (Carlisle, Paternoster 2007) - page 55f

\(^{13}\) Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy*, p.10

\(^{14}\) Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy*, pp.40-44. His visit to Solovetsk is also mentioned by Metropolitan Kallistos in his paper ‘Personal Experience of the Holy Spirit according to the Greek Fathers’.
hung it around the neck of his eldest daughter Mary when he baptised her in 1892. There is also an interesting reference to a towel used in the baptism, which makes one wonder if he had baptised her unclothed as is the Orthodox practice. He certainly baptised her by immersion – not triple in the Orthodox way, but seven-fold!

Alexander Boddy’s second daughter Jane recalls that her father brought many icons back from Russia and displayed them prominently in their hall for all to see; he did the same when they moved later into their next parish. Also, if you look at the family photo reproduced in Peter Lavin’s book, you will notice that Mrs. Boddy is wearing a Russian Orthodox cross around her neck.

3. Back to the Early Church - again

We need to see, as a background to all of this, the important role played by the Christians of the United States. Although Methodism was founded in Britain, it developed much more strongly in the United States, becoming one of the largest and most influential Churches in the land. The Holiness Movement was enormously strong in the 19th century in America – spawning many revivals and new denominations. The Pentecostal Movement began in the United States in Topeka, Kansas or Azusa Street, California, whichever view you take, and the Charismatic Movement first hit the headlines in Van Nuys, California, only a few miles north of Azusa Street. The Catholic Charismatic Movement did not start in Rome, although it did get there fairly quickly. Its birth was in Pittsburgh in 1967.

The Americans are also the front runners in another wave which is now lapping our shores, which has roots in the Early Church. It was in the autumn of 1969 that I received my first invitation to teach at Oral Roberts University. I did not know Oral Roberts himself at that time, although I was to meet him a year or so later after he had converted to the Methodist Church, and I had a lot to do with him for several years. But on this occasion my host was the University Chaplain, Revd Bob Stamps, who was a Methodist.

While there, I was invited to attend a service called ‘Vespers’. I was staggered with what I saw and heard. Some of the students were dressed in white gowns and incense was being sprinkled liberally over all and sundry. What on earth was this? My visit had coincided with the beginning of an Eastern Orthodox revival on the Campus, which was to continue for the next decade or so.
During my stay Bob Stamps invited me over to a piano and told me he wanted to share with me a new song he had just written:

Oh welcome all ye noble saints of old
Now before your very eyes unfold
Wonders all so long ago foretold
God and man at table are sat down.

Elders, martyrs, all are falling down
Prophets, Patriarchs are gathering round
Angels longed to see now man has found
God and man at table are sat down.

Here He gives himself to us as bread
Born to die we eat and live instead
Here as wine we drink the blood He shed
God and man at table are sat down.15

I brought the song back to England and it became popular in this country. Does one not see the Orthodox nuances? When I shared the words with an Orthodox Priest – we looked at one another. I said, ‘am I thinking what you are thinking?’ ‘Yes’ he replied – ‘the Rublev icon of the Trinity’.

A book published in the United States called *Coming Home*16 is a collection of testimonies of some eighteen converts to Orthodoxy, coming from a variety of backgrounds – Oral Roberts University, Asbury Seminary, Westminster Seminary, Campus Crusade for Christ and so on.

One of them, now an Orthodox Priest, Father Antony Hughes, was a student at ORU. At his very first class the students were amazed when the professor began the class with the sign of the cross, invocations to the Holy Trinity, and even the Lord’s Prayer had a strange ending. In his closing prayer he mentioned the Theotokos, and read from one of the chosen text books *The Lives of the Desert Fathers*, actually from the life of St Pelagia the Harlot!17

An important development in the last thirty years or so has been the drawing together of some Evangelicals and Pentecostals with some of the Orthodox. There is a practical reason why this is now much easier. Orthodoxy has spread during the 20th century through an increasing tide of migration to the West. In 1907 there were only a few Greek Churches in this country, mostly in sea ports and linked with the shipping business, and there were no Russian, Serbian, Romanian or Antiochian. But now in the United Kingdom nearly every city and sizeable town has at least one and often more than one Orthodox place of worship. In the United States the spread has been at times spectacular, although it needs to be remembered that the first incursions of Orthodoxy in North America came through the spread of the Russian Orthodox Church into Alaska when it was part of Russia, and down the western seaboard as far as California. In some significant cases this development has led to receptions into the Orthodox Church. One can mention particularly the well known Lutheran theologian Jaroslav Pelikan, and the striking instance of the reception of over 2000 Evangelicals into the Antiochian Orthodox Church in the United States in 1987.

The interest in the Evangelical world is being nurtured in the United States through a number of leaders including Father Peter Gillquist, who led the 2000 to embrace Orthodoxy in 1987, and Bradley Nassif, an Antiochian Orthodox layman, who is a Theological Professor in Chicago, and who was deeply influenced by Evangelicals when he was studying at University. He has written a number of books and is developing an open dialogue with Evangelicals. Some of this has been published in the book *Three Views on Eastern Orthodoxy and Evangelicalism*. In this country the Evangelical Alliance has organised dialogue between the Orthodox and Evangelicals and the result of this has been published in the book *Evangelicalism and the Orthodox Church*. In Cyprus there has been a drawing together and the story about this has been recalled in a book *Turning Over a New Leaf: Protestant Missions and the Orthodox Churches of the Middle East*. The WCC

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18 The story of their Pilgrimage has been told by Peter Gillquist in his book *Becoming Orthodox, a Journey to the Ancient Christian Faith*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2004).
19 (Acute, 2001).
has also organised Orthodox-Evangelical Consultations in Egypt and Germany.  

But it is in the Pentecostal world that such dialogue is progressing at an even stronger pace. This has been well summarised by Dr Edmund Rybarczyk in a paper entitled *Mysticism Old and New; similarities in Orthodoxy and Classical Pentecostalism,*  

It was read at a Charismatic Conference in Prague in 1997, where I was the Chairman. Dr Rybarczyk is an Adjunct Professor of Religion in California. He shows clearly the points of convergence which cover the whole area of the ministry of the Holy Spirit. He summarises this when he writes ‘for the sake of revealing Christ to the world it is my conviction that these two traditions... have a great deal they must learn from one another’.  

We see the same convergence in the writings of Dr Simon Chan, a Professor at Trinity Theological Seminary in Singapore and a member of the Assemblies of God. In the book *The Azusa Street Revival and its Legacy* he mentions three emerging trends in global Pentecostalism. The first he describes as the ‘emergence of sacramental theology’, the second, that of authority and continuity. On this he writes, ‘any legitimate apostolic ministry will have to be established on the basis of *historical continuity* with the Apostles, and this means accepting the apostolic succession of ‘traditional Christianity’’.  

As far as the third trend is concerned he writes, ‘an apostolic church ... with a sacramental theology is sustained by a living Liturgy’. This he has developed more fully in his book published by Inter-Varsity *Liturgical Theology, the Church as worshipping Community.* If one links up sacramental theology, apostolic succession and a living Liturgy you really are heading in the direction of the Orthodox Church!  

There is no doubt that the Church which through the centuries has most fully honoured the Holy Spirit, and brought Him most fully into its worship,  

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22 Two Orthodox-Evangelical Consultations have taken place, the first with the theme ‘The Bible, Early Confessions and Tradition’ in Stuttgart in 1993, the second with the theme ‘Proclaiming Christ’ in Alexandria in 1995. A book about them is about to be published by the WCC.


life and ministry has been the Orthodox. Let us look briefly at five areas where this is clear:

First, there has been the strong emphasis in the whole life of the Church on the Trinity, which sees the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit as co-equal. The Church has also condemned the insertion by the Western Church of the *filioque* clause in the Nicene-Constantinople Creed, which weakens the co-equalness of the Persons of the Trinity.

Secondly, the Orthodox Church has always emphasised the Incarnation and thus the work of the Holy Spirit in the conception of Christ in the womb of the Theotokos, the God-bearer.

Thirdly, the Orthodox Church has been the only Church to continue the practice of Christian baptism as the three-fold immersion of the candidate in water, followed immediately by chrismation symbolising the reception of the Holy Spirit and followed then by the candidate receiving their first communion. Again the Holy Spirit is active in the whole baptism process.

Fourthly, in the Orthodox Eucharist (of St John Chrysostom) the service is interspersed with references to the Holy Spirit. It begins, for example, with a prayer to the Holy Spirit which is unique in liturgical practices:

> O heavenly King, Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, who art everywhere present and fillest all things, the Treasury of good things and Giver of life: come, and abide in us, and cleanse us from every stain, and save our souls, O good One.

In the Russian tradition the following words are spoken by the Priest just before the *Epiclesis*: ‘O Lord, who at the third hour didst send down upon thine apostles thy Holy Spirit: take not the same from us, O good One, but renew him in us who pray unto Thee.’

Then follows the important *epiclesis* prayer which the Priest says, ‘send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts spread forth.’ Notice it is a prayer for the Holy Spirit to come upon the people as well as the bread and the wine. Earlier in the service, if there is more than one Priest at the service, a dialogue takes place:

> Pray for me, brother(s) and concelebrant(s)
> May the Holy Spirit descend upon thee and the power of the Most High overshadow thee
> May the same Spirit serve with us all the days of our life.
In another place the Priest prays that ‘the power of the Holy Spirit’ will enable him.

Fifthly, there are the Feasts of Theophany and the Transfiguration of Christ, both of which have a very prominent place in the Orthodox Church. Theophany is the name given to what in the West is called Epiphany. In the West the liturgical focus is on the visit of the Magi to Christ after his birth in Bethlehem. But in the East the focus is on the baptism of Christ in the river Jordan, which is an event which has never been given the same emphasis in the West. The importance of Christ’s baptism is the manifestation of the Trinity – the voice of the Father and the coming of the Holy Spirit as a dove on Christ. In the Early Church this was seen as the pattern for Christian baptisms, at least until the heresy of Adoptionism caused the emphasis to shift.

As far as the Feast of the Transfiguration is concerned – the Orthodox Church has given it great prominence from the 4th century, whereas in the West it appeared first in the 9th century and only fully in the 15th. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey, once wrote, ‘Orthodoxy has a much greater grasp than we in the West of the significance and meaning of the Transfiguration’. The Orthodox see again in this incident the Trinity – the voice of the Father and the cloud that overshadowed them signifying the presence of the Holy Spirit.

Perhaps this is the right place to leave our study – with Christ on Mount Tabor. This is where we all can share. This is where our journey can take in Aldersgate Street and Azusa Street. It is a pity that the Wesleys and so many others have tended to limit the sources on this subject mostly to the ante-Nicene period. The Emperor Constantine is seen as a cut off point. So the Early Methodists did not seem to know the writings of the most charismatic of all the Church Fathers – St Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022) and later the immensely important contribution of St Gregory Palamas (1296-1359).

St Gregory argued that Christians can and do experience the divine light. He sought to answer the question – how can humans know God and the God who is by nature unknowable. He answered this by teaching that we know the energies of God, but not his essence. Metropolitan Kallistos writes, ‘God is Light, and, therefore, the experience of God’s energies takes the form of Light. The vision... is not a vision of some created radiance, but of the

27 Metropolitan Kallistos in his lecture ‘Personal Experience of the Holy Spirit according to the Greek Fathers’ focuses on the writings of St Symeon.
Light of the Godhead itself – the same light of the Godhead which surrounded Christ on Mount Tabor.’

Thus the Orthodox see the Transfiguration not only as an experience that Christ received – but as something we can experience ourselves. One immediately thinks of the story of St Seraphim of Sarov and his encounter with Nicholas Motovilov. St Seraphim taught that the true aim of the Christian life was the acquisition of the Holy Spirit of God, and this was the subject of their discussion in the forest. They were both to be transfigured:

Then Father Seraphim took me very firmly by the shoulders and said ‘my son, we are both at this moment in the Spirit of God. Why don’t you look at me?’

‘I cannot look, Father’ I replied – ‘because your eyes are flashing like lightning – your face has become brighter than the sun, and it hurts my eyes to look at you.’

‘Don’t be afraid’ he said, ‘at this very moment you yourself have become as bright as I am. You yourself are now in the fullness of the Spirit of God; otherwise you will not be able to see me as you do.’

Then – bending his head toward me, he whispered softly in my ear: ‘thank the Lord God for his infinite goodness toward us… But why, my son, do you not look me in the eyes? Just look and do not be afraid; the Lord is with us.’

Motovilov then described a blinding light that spread for several yards lighting up not only St Seraphim, but the whole snow covered landscape. The reported conversation ends with these words from St Seraphim, which are deeply charismatic in their essence, ‘when the Spirit of God comes down on a man and overshadows him with the fullness of his presence, then that man’s soul overflows with unspeakable joy, for the Holy Spirit fills with joy whatever He touches…’. Metropolitan Kallistos describes this experience as ‘the brightness which is nothing less than the uncreated energies of God – the light which spreads round them is identical with the divine light which shone around our Lord at his Transfiguration on Mount Tabor.’

In the Orthodox Church there are numerous examples of this in the experience of the dead bodies of saints. For example the death of St Sergius

of Radonezh ‘the saint’s face gleamed like snow, not as the face of a dead man, but with a living radiance, or as the face of an angel....’

We also see this in the days of the Wesleys. Charles Wesley wrote this verse about the death of Mrs Mary Horton:

The grace that saved our happy friend,
Which made her faithful to the end,
And decked her head with rays,
We shall for us sufficient prove,
And strive, in humble fear and love,
To perfect holiness.

One of Charles Wesley’s most famous hymns was based on the Transfiguration:

Christ whose glory fills the skies
    Christ the true the only Light
Sun of righteousness arise
    Triumph over all the shades of night;
Dayspring from on high, be near;
Day-star in my heart appear.

Dark and cheerless is the morn
    Unaccompanied by Thee
Joyless is the day’s return,
    Till Thy mercy’s beams I see,
Till Thou inward light impart,
Glad my eyes and warm my heart.

Visit then this soul of mine;
    Pierce the gloom of sin and grief;
Fill me, Radiancy divine;
    Scatter all my unbelief;
More and more Thyself display,
Shining to the perfect day.

So let me summarise and look in general at the map of where our journey has taken us. Our entire journey is about the restoration of elements of the revelation of Christ to the world through His Body, the Church. We have seen how, through God becoming Man and through the action of the Holy
Spirit, we can become holy people – as we become partakers of the divine nature. We have also seen that Pentecost was essentially the empowering of the people of God that they could not only be like Christ in his nature, but do the works that He did. Both are made possible by the moving of what is in the head to the heart, which is at the centre of the life and practice of the Eastern Orthodox Church. As the 4th century desert father Evagrius has put it, ‘one who prays truly will be a theologian, and one who is a theologian will pray truly’. This is often quoted today as putting into words the patristic ideal of how theology relates to the spiritual life. But today the focus of the new wave is shifting to the nature of the Church itself, her sacraments, liturgy and authority. To understand this we need yet again to return to the Early Church – the golden age of Christianity.

But beware! In the history we have covered we have seen the new waves of the Spirit rejected by those who have experienced the old ones. Many leaders of the Holiness Movements rejected and condemned the Pentecostal Movement and its leaders. The Revd Alexander Boddy, when he shared at Keswick what had been happening in Sunderland, found very little interest and support. The Charismatic Movement was not received with open arms by many Pentecostals, especially when it surfaced in the Roman Catholic Church. Let us weigh all things carefully, let us test the spirits, but let us then-welcome the new waves as they come in, and bathe ourselves in them.

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Martin, Troy W., ‘John Wesley’s Exegetical Orientation: East or West?’;

Bundy, David, ‘Christian Virtue: John Wesley and the Alexandrian Tradition’
The Early Pentecostal Theology of Confidence Magazine (1908-1926): A Version of the Five-Fold Gospel?

Mark J. Cartledge

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to attempt to articulate the overall theology emerging from the pages of a popular magazine. This is a publication very much shaped by its editor, Alexander Boddy, but always in conversation with others. These others include people close to him, Mary his wife, Pastor T.B. Barratt who introduced Boddy into the Pentecostal experience and Mr Cecil Polhill the man behind the Pentecostal Missionary Union and close friend. There are contributions from far and wide and individuals write in from around the British Isles, Continental Europe, North America, India and Africa. There are many voices from around the globe and yet these voices are positioned in such a way as to harmonise with an emerging Pentecostal understanding that is theologically reflective. Of course, being Pentecostal this theological reflection is offered through testimonies, sermons and speeches, letters, conference reports and songs. It represents what commentators have called ‘oral theology’, ‘non-academic theology’, or more recently ‘ordinary theology’. There is so much material that it is difficult to do justice to it in such space as I have available to me. Therefore what I intend to do is to attempt to sketch out the contours of this theology in fairly broad brush strokes, but with a particular task in mind. Given the limitations of space, it is inevitable that material cited will be representative and illustrative.

I wish to test a hypothesis, namely that the theology of Confidence and by implication Alexander Boddy was based upon a five-fold Pentecostal understanding of the gospel. That is, Jesus is conceived as saviour,
sanctifier, baptiser, healer and coming king. Although the phrase ‘five-fold gospel’ appears not to be used, I want to test the idea that components for such a theology are largely in place, but with a degree of ‘local variation’, that is with a British/European flavour. This understanding is captured by a statement that appeared in consecutive issues of *Confidence* from April 1911 to January/February 1917:

The first number of *Confidence* was issued in 1908 by the present Editor. It was welcomed by very many. He has gladly continued, therefore, to edit and issue it each month since. It was the outcome of a Spiritual Revival which commenced at All Saints’, Sunderland, September, 1907. Visitors journeyed from all parts of Great Britain and from the Continent to receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. In most cases they returned joyfully, to become centres of blessing. A yearly Conference has been held each Whitsuntide. Visitors from home and foreign lands gather in large numbers, and return to spread the blessing further. *Confidence* was the first British Pentecostal Paper which told of this Outpouring with the Sign of Tongues. This paper travels to nearly every country on the Globe. *Confidence* advocates an unlimited Salvation for Spirit, Soul, and Body; the Honouring of the Precious Blood: Identification with Christ in Death and Resurrection, etc.; Regeneration, Sanctification; the Baptism of the Holy Ghost; the Soon-Coming of the Lord in the air (1 Thess. iv. 14); Divine Healing and Health (Acts iv. 13).

It is not clear why this statement was dropped from the beginning of 1917, although it might suggest that this five-fold paradigm was being undermined elsewhere in the British movement around this time. It was obviously an important one for the middle years of the magazine, perhaps suggesting a theological centre as well as a chronological one.

In order to test the five-fold gospel hypothesis I shall survey relevant items published in *Confidence* under five heading: Regeneration and Conversion, Sanctification, Baptism in the Spirit, Healing and Health, and The Second Coming.

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3 *Confidence*, IV.4 (1911) p.75. All references to *Confidence* are from the digital Revival Library edition, King’s Centre, High St, Bishops Waltham, Hants, SO AA, UK; Email librarian@revival-library.org.
1. Regeneration and Conversion

In the pages of *Confidence* the theology of justification, the new birth and conversion seem to merge together and there does not appear to be a clear statement on justification as the declaration of righteousness. Instead, fitting with the pneumatological emphasis, the new birth and conversion are dominant, with the forgiveness of sins stated or implied. It is clear that Alexander Boddy fits well within the Victorian Evangelical Anglican view of regeneration and conversion, which would have been popular during his day. The Christian life begins by being born again and conversion is the manner in which the person seeks God and receives this new birth. The key articles in *Confidence* illustrate the way Boddy and others express their views.

In April 1909 Alexander Boddy wrote an article entitled ‘Born from Above’, in which he articulated the standard evangelical theology of conversion at the time based on Jn 3.2. The repentant sinner is to accept Christ Jesus by simple faith as his or her redeemer and ask the Holy Spirit to unite him or her to Christ, their Head, into his death and resurrection. This was followed by an anonymous article in 1922 (presumably written by Boddy), which reiterates much of the earlier article. The standard creation-fall-redemption narrative is in evidence. The article closes with a statement to be used by those committing their lives to Christ and seeking the new birth:

A PERSONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW BIRTH

(i.) I fully believe that the Lord Jesus is willing to save my soul, and to save it to the uttermost.

(ii.) I do with my whole heart trust Him now, and trust Him absolutely. I trust His precious shed Blood (His Redeeming Sacrifice for me).

(iii.) As one on a sinking ship gladly gets into a life-boat, so I confidently place myself in Thy merciful and mighty keeping Lord Jesus. Thou wilt save me now, and eternally. (Thy sheep shall never perish.)

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5 *Confidence*, II.4 (1909) pp. 95-98.
(iv.) Though the great adversary of my soul may seem to gain the victory over me, I will continue to believe that I am saved by Christ (‘Reconciled by His death and saved in His life,’ Rom. v., 10).

(v.) I read, ‘Whosoever believeth on Him (the Lord Jesus) shall not perish, but have everlasting life (John iii., 16). I believe, and therefore I shall not perish, for I accept the gift of God, eternal life.

(vi.) Holy Spirit of God, I trust Thee now to make all this real in my life. I accept in fullness this Birth from above as Thy Divine Gift. I am now a new creature in Christ Jesus. Dead indeed unto sin, but ALIVE unto God in Jesus Christ my Lord.  

Mary Boddy in a number of articles in 1909-1910 outlined an understanding of sin and salvation which would have been commonly accepted in evangelical circles of the period containing the Fall, the effects on human nature and God’s judgment on this fallen nature. Satan is the agent of the Fall and tempter of Adam and Eve but also of the people of God to this day. Nevertheless, it is possible in Christ to ‘pass out of the old creation’ and on into the new creation. This is actualised through a ‘death-union’ with Christ whereby we die to our old life, which is hidden in Christ (Rom 6.11), and we are ‘anointed unto God’ with the Spirit who ‘quickens’ us into newness of life in Christ, the new creation. In the third article on the same subject a chart is offered, which has four main features: (1) the old sinful man (Eph 4.22) resulting from the Fall of Adam; (2) salvation through death: Christ died for us (Rom 5.6; 1 Cor 15.3) and we have been crucified with Christ (Gal 2.20) and buried with Christ in his death (Rom 6.7; Col 2.11-12); (3) Christ has risen (Acts 1.11); and (4) there is now a new creation through Christ (2 Cor 5.17) through the power of the Spirit of Christ (Acts 19.6; Lk 24.49). A new creature is also sanctified unto God, that is, the ‘entire separation from sin, and entire separation unto God’, which is obtained by the sacrifice of Christ who is our sanctification. The same eternal Spirit that ‘begat’ the Second person of the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, now ‘begets’ those in Christ. He convicts us of sin and illuminates the life of

6 Confidence, 131 (1922) pp. 54-56 (p.56).
7 Confidence, II.12 (1909) pp. 276-278.
10 Confidence, III.3 (1910) pp. 61-63.
11 Confidence, III.4 (1910) pp. 84-86.
Christ to us, taking the things of God and declaring them to us.\textsuperscript{12} Indeed our triune being of spirit, soul and body is possessed by the Triune God as the eternal Spirit has commanded that light shine in our hearts: Christ the light of life dwells there and the Spirit makes us a temple of his presence.\textsuperscript{13} In the final article, she focuses on the love of God that sustains the universe and which will not be satisfied until it finds final expression in the presentation of the Bride by the Bridegroom.\textsuperscript{14}

2. Sanctification

There is obviously a debate as to where \textit{Confidence} would be placed with regard to the theology of sanctification. Would it be in the Wesleyan or the Keswickian tradition? Alexander Boddy was a member of the ‘Pentecostal League of Prayer’ organised by Reader Harris, which clearly believed that ‘entire sanctification’ rooted out sin from the human life (Wesley) rather than merely repressing it (Keswick).\textsuperscript{15} Donald Dayton notes how Holiness and Keswick leaders hurled insults at each other, with the Holiness teachers labelled ‘eradicationists’ and the Keswick teachers ‘suppressionists’ regarding the sinful nature of humanity.\textsuperscript{16} But Boddy seemed to have had a foot in both camps, occasionally attending the Keswick conventions and being influenced by his Bishop, Handley Moule, an advocate of Keswick teaching. Wakefield notes a letter written by Boddy to Moule stating, with regard to the Pentecostal League of Prayer, ‘I do not like all the methods of the leaders, nor the way in which doctrines they teach are often enunciated’.\textsuperscript{17} It is not entirely clear what Boddy is objecting to by the term ‘enunciated’: the substance or the means or manner by which the substance is communicated. Nevertheless, it does raise the question as to where

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{Confidence}, III.5 (1910) pp. 108-110.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{Confidence}, III.7 (1910) pp. 162-163.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Confidence}, III.7 (1910) pp. 186-187.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Dayton, \textit{Theological Roots}, p.105.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Wakefield, \textit{Alexander Boddy}, p.91.
\end{itemize}
Boddy and other *Confidence* writers locate themselves in this area. With this question in mind, I now turn to extracts from *Confidence* in order to get a flavour of the kind of language and theology in use.

Boddy attended a Conference in Hamburg, Germany, in December 1908, and this was reported in the following issue of *Confidence*. On the first morning of the conference Boddy was called upon to report the things that were happening in the UK and was asked some questions, which is reported as follows:

Evangelist Reiman, of Pritzwalle, asked, ‘Did all who so received their Pentecost at Sunderland and elsewhere speak in Tongues? *Answer:* “Yes, in this movement we have only called that a ‘Pentecost’ which was attested by the speaking in Tongues.”’ Pastor Voget, of Bunde, in East Friesland, asked: ‘Was entire sanctification a condition for receiving such a Pentecost? *Answer:* “Yes most emphatically. The teaching as to the Clean Heart has always been on the lines of Rom. vi., 6 and 11. Union with Christ in His Crucifixion, His Death and Burial, then union with Him in Resurrection and Ascension, followed by Pentecost with the same tokens as at Cesarea (Acts 10: 44-16)”.

The phrases ‘entire sanctification’ and ‘clean heart’ suggest a Wesleyan understanding of holiness and this is affirmed by Boddy in his reply, while the emphasis on Rom. 6:1-14 also suggests the language of Keswick. In the following issue the Conference was reported further and Boddy wrote: ‘Of course the human vessel that is to be meet for the Master’s use must be sanctified (2 Tim. 2: 21) and purged or cleansed. Thus we see three steps: (1) Justification through the Blood, (2) Sanctification by union with Him in Death and Burial, and (3) the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with this helpful sign (tongues) as a divine encouragement’.

T.B. Barratt in his article of October 1909 stated that Christians who have gone on with God have sought a definite ‘heart-life’ experience of sanctification. This is given through the Blood of Christ, just as in regeneration the Spirit applies the efficacy of the atonement to holiness. This

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18 *Confidence*, II.1 (1909) pp. 5-6 (p.5).
21 *Confidence*, II.2 (1909) p.33.
means a conviction of sin, and leading on of the believer to full liberty in Christ and perfect victory over all known evil:

Thus, having by faith identified himself with Christ (FULLY) in death and life (Gal. 2:20), the seeker becomes FULLY SANCTIFIED by the Power of the Blood and the Spirit, and is PERFECTLY HOLY (1 Peter 1:16) through that same Blood and by that sanctifying Power, in the SIGHT OF GOD, and is therefore ‘acceptable to God by Jesus Christ’ (1 Peter 2:5).22

Barratt continued by saying that this does not mean absolute perfection but it does mean complete victory over sin, the flesh and the devil. This is only possible through the sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost and the blood of the Lamb. A person displaying a holy life reveals perfect hatred towards that which is not in harmony with the will of God and a pure desire to do his will. ‘Holiness means a will resigned fully and wholly to God, placed under the Blood and permeated with the Holy Spirit.’23 Ideas expressed here seem more Wesleyan than Keswick with the emphasis on full sanctification and victory over ‘all known evil’, resonating with Wesley’s definition of sin (transgression of a known law), even if the use of the word ‘victory’ is Keswick language, it was also standard Holiness language of the time.

Therefore, it can be suggested that the language associated with both Wesleyan and Keswickian holiness traditions appears to be present. On balance, I want to suggest that the view of sanctification found within the pages of Confidence leans more in the direction of Wesley rather than Keswick, although I recognise that they are linked in a number of respects. There appears to be a greater focus on the Wesleyan inner purity of the heart as a post-conversion experience rather than Keswick’s emphasis on a way of living, a process that begins with a crisis.24 This finding is contrary to the assumption of those, like Edith Blumhofer and Ian Randall, who stress the influence of Keswickian at the expense of other Wesleyan influences.25 The

22 Confidence, II.10 (1909) p.221.
23 Confidence, II.10 (1909) p.222.
controversy and split in the American Pentecostal movement because of the ‘finished work’ teaching of William H. Durham from May 1910 appears to have had only limited influence on British Pentecostalism of this period. William Faupel assumes that Boddy was an advocate of the ‘finished work’ position and cites his recollections of a 1912 visit to the USA in Confidence and his desire for unity as support. However, I would suggest that his concerns over Pentecostal unity did not mean that he had personally abandoned a Holiness paradigm. In the article cited by Faupel we also read regarding the camp meeting at Colegrove, Los Angeles, that: ‘Pastor Manley was temporarily a minister of this little flock, which tends strictly to the old truth of Regeneration, Sanctification, and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit’. These words would sound rather odd coming from a ‘finished work’ advocate!

3. Baptism in the Spirit

The findings of the above two sections suggest that we are clearly within a three-stage paradigm, which has resonance with early American Pentecostalism. It is certainly the case that there is much that is similar with the key doctrine of Baptism in the Spirit as one would expect with the influences from across the Atlantic Ocean. There are many different articles, conference addresses, letters and testimonies about the Baptism in the Spirit in Confidence.

In the first year of Confidence Boddy regarded tongues as the ‘seal’ of Pentecost, that is a supernatural sign of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost as distinct from the continuous gift of tongues. He did allow for others to differ in detail on this matter but for him ‘Pentecost means Baptism with the Holy Ghost with the evidence of the Tongues’. The means of receiving ‘Pentecost’ was articulated by three steps: (1) repentance towards God; (2) faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, believing in the power of his blood and the promise of his word, believing that you have received it; and (3) yielding to the Holy Ghost in your spirit, mind and body; ‘[y]ield to the Holy Spirit as

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27 Confidence, V.11 (1912) pp. 245-246 (p.245).
29 Confidence, 1 (1908) p.18.
love yields to love’.

This understanding is still present in the later years (1919), as demonstrated in his advice to those seeking to know the Baptism:

So, (A) Come to Christ for forgiveness (and accept it whole-heartedly). If there is restitution to be made, make it.

(B) Walk in the Light now, and believe that the Blood of Jesus Christ cleanses for all sin (I John 1:9), and will keep clean.

He comes Himself to cleanse. If any man will open I will come in (Rev. 3:20).

So (Rom. 6:11) ‘Reckon yourself to be dead unto sin and alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ This is true sanctification.

(C) Expect now a Pentecostal immersion in the Holy Ghost, and an Enduement from on high (Acts 1:5 and 8)

(D) If at Caesarea (Acts 10:44-46) those Gentile believers had the joyful experience of the Holy Ghost Himself speaking through them because they believed on Jesus and His Salvation, we may expect the same. (So also on the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem, Acts 2.)

Similarly, T.B. Barratt, in his article of October 1909, having described the nature of the converted and sanctified Christian continues by stating that there are some who have also received the Holy Ghost in a special way as their ‘POWER FOR SERVICE’. Just as John the Baptist foretold of the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire (Jn. 1:33; Matt. 3:11), and Paul speaks of being filled with the Spirit (Eph. 5:18), so Jesus says that the disciples will receive POWER after the Holy Ghost has come upon them (Acts 1:8). He explains:

Now this again is a NEW AND DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE of the Holy Spirit’s operation within. The third person of the Trinity has taken FULL POSSESSION of body, soul, and spirit; and with Him Christ and the Father of us all. The Trinity cannot be separated. Whatever glorious experiences we may have had ere this, they have all surely been a preparation for this fuller and more perfect reign of God within and through us. It becomes possible for the Spirit to use us at will, as our will is perfectly subject to His. We thus receive power for service, not as machines, but by a constant act of obedient free-will. We are ready for all manner of service (Acts 2:16-18, 1 Cor. 12). We have now power to

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30 Confidence, 6 (1908) pp. 23-24 (p.24).
31 Confidence, XII.2 (1919) pp. 19-21
perform any act or duty to which God may call us. It does not therefore mean power merely for holy living, but especially for performing holy works.32

Barratt observes that when this experience occurs the believer knows that it has happened by the immediate outward sign of speaking in tongues (Acts 2, 10, 19).33

4. Healing and Health

Healing in and through the name of Jesus Christ is very much part of the gospel to be proclaimed by Pentecostals. Confidence contained a good many articles, sermons, book extracts, and testimonies proclaiming the blessing of healing for many Pentecostal brothers and sisters. The magazine contains the testimonies to various illnesses, including cancers and tumours, spiritual healing, and the raising of the dead. I shall, however, focus on the main articles, which seek to explain the nature of healing for Pentecostals.

At the first Sunderland Conference it was stated that there had been a number of divine healings and exorcisms performed. The key text used was James 5:14, which accents the ‘prayer of faith’.34 This text appears as the key one to inform Boddy’s practice of praying for healing.35 In answer to a letter he published in Confidence, he outlines the steps he had used ‘since about 1892’ guided by this text in praying for the sick. The anointing with oil and prayer for healing follows a request from the sick person, not in church, with no robes and in the vicarage, with the sick person kneeling at the dining room table. ‘If a ‘sister’ her hat is removed’. The patient and others are kneeling but the ‘Elder’ is standing. He asks for God’s guidance, blessing and presence and reads ‘deliberately and sincerely’ the text of James 5:13-16. After which, he invites the patient to confess anything that might hinder the healing. The Elder then rebukes the sickness and the evil powers behind it, placing the sufferer under the precious Blood of Jesus for cleansing and so the person is ready to receive the healing. He pours a few drops of olive oil into his left palm and prays that God would sanctify the oil, making it a channel of ‘spiritual blessing’ and a symbol of consecration to service. He then with a finger from his right hand dips it into the oil and touches the

32 Confidence, II.10 (1909) p.222.
33 Confidence, II.10 (1909) p.223.
34 Confidence, 3 (1908) p.18.
35 Confidence, VII.6 (194) pp. 110-111, 113-114.
forehead of the patient in the ‘Name of the Lord’ and in the full name of the Trinity, and then place the left hand with whatever oil is left on the head of the person. He then lays both hands on the person and asks that the pierced hands of Christ rest on the sick person to impart his life. If wise and convenient he may lay one hand on the ‘seat of trouble’. Then he asks the person to thank God and praise him. With the person still kneeling the Elder prays a blessing over the believer again placing his hands upon the head: ‘The Lord bless thee and keep thee: The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee and give his peace, and the fullness of his life for evermore’. He states that it is the prayer of faith that saves the sick and so Elders should be people of faith, but the sick one especially should have faith in Christ as the ‘Great Healer’.36

Alexander Boddy also addressed the clergy of Durham diocese on the subject of ‘Faith Healing’ and whilst acknowledging the role medicine plays and that hospitals will be necessary ‘until the end of the Great Tribulation’, he advanced the idea that sickness is from the Devil and a result of the Fall, and that rebuking the enemy results in healing.37 Boddy suggests that there are two sides to healing, negative and positive: first one must get rid of the evil and second one must be filled with the life of the Lord, for salvation or wholeness is from the Lord. It is through the cross that sickness is defeated because ‘by his stripes we are healed’. Therefore we must take hold of the authority of the cross and the Blood and rebuke Satan. As the pain lessens and the person begins to feel better, so faith rises. Here it is perhaps worth observing the language in use and how later Pentecostals would develop a theology of healing captured in the phrase ‘healing in the atonement’.

5. The Second Coming

It is arguable that the expectation of the imminent return of Christ was the significant aspect to the theology of Confidence and that the other features must be seen as fitting into this overarching concern. Many of the issues of Confidence begin with the words of new songs, emerging from the context of praise and worship. By far the most dominant theme is the second coming of Christ, as illustrated by titles such as: ‘The Bride is getting Ready’, ‘Caught Up’, ‘The Midnight Cry’, ‘Be Ye also Ready’, ‘He is Coming’, ‘Soon’, ‘Surely I come quickly’, ‘The Coming of the Lord’, ‘Behold, I Come!’, and ‘When our King Comes’. Visions, sermons and addresses, articles, extracts

36 Confidence, 129 (1922) pp. 21-22.
37 Confidence, III.1 (1910) pp. 8-11, 14-15 (p.8).
from books, as well as criticisms of the precise date of the Rapture and Tribulation, suggest a definite preoccupation with the eschatological. There is so much material on this subject that I shall once again need to restrict my selection to representative positions.

The eschatological expectation of an imminent return of Christ was signalled in the first issue of Confidence, where the Pentecostal experience was likened to the promised ‘Latter Rain’, to speed the ripening of the harvest before the end. The waiting church is experiencing ‘sublime and supernatural preparations’ for the moment as the midnight cry of ‘Behold the Bridegroom cometh; go forth to meet him’ is ‘echoed and ‘re-echoed in holy joy from land to land by thousands of Spirit-inspired voices’. It is ‘a watch of Spirit-enkindled love and worship, of welcome and expectation; a watch of Spirit-empowered service and co-operation in the divine programme so blessedly nearing fulfilment’.

The first Sunderland Conference was regarded as an auspicious occasion because to gather together so many people in such short a time suggested that this ‘Latter Rain’ outpouring was a foretaste of what God is going to do in preparation for the return of Jesus. At the evening meeting of 10th June 1908, Miss Barbour from Wimbledon proclaimed that the End was near because certain signs had been given: (1) the biblical dates point to about 1914 (based on specific OT calculations); (2) the Jewish people are returning to the Land as never before; and (3) the Lord is revealing directly to the hearts of people that he is coming soon. This was followed by an address by Miss Elizabeth Sisson from the U.S.A. who stated that as soon as his people are ready, the Lord will come. At the moment the Bride is not ready just as the first-fruits of the harvest are not yet displayed.

The ‘day of the Lord’ is described by Boddy as containing a number of scenes in sequence. These include: (1) the watchnight, the waiting for the coming of Christ by his faithful; (2) in the morning of the ‘last day’, the Lord comes and the first resurrection of the saints takes place; (3) afterwards in heaven the saints are rewarded and there is the marriage supper of the Lamb; on earth there is the Tribulation led by the figures of Satan, the Anti-Christ and the False prophet, with possible successive translations of the saints; (4) at noon the Lord descents on the Mount of Olives with his saints and the battle of Armageddon takes place with Jesus being victorious; (5) the

38 Based on Dt 11.10-15, see Faupel, The Everlasting Gospel, pp. 30-36.
39 Confidence, 1 (1908) p.19.
41 Confidence, 3 (1908) pp. 17-18.
millennial reign of Christ begins from Jerusalem to whole of the world; (6) in the evening there is a short revival by Satan before his utter destruction with his supporters; (7) the closing scenes of the last day see the second resurrection of the impenitent dead and those who are still in the grave before the Great White Throne; and the eternal ages commence with a new heaven and a new earth, when God is all in all and those who love the Lord will receive their crowns of righteousness. In another article Boddy offers a similar version with a diagram depicting ‘The Seven Ages of the World’s History and the Soon Coming of the Lord’. The ‘day’ is given further time allocations with the tribulation lasting between 2.5 years and 40 years (the diagram has 3.5 or 7 or more years!). This demonstrated that he believed in a version of pre-tribulation pre-millennialism.

The experience of Pentecost was sometimes associated with the anticipation of the rapture, as noted by Pastor Jonathan Paul in 1911. The experience of Pentecost led him to look for the coming of the Lord very soon, just like a bride waiting for the bridegroom. He likened tongues to ‘the veil’, so that when he is singing in tongues in his heart it is as if he has his veil and feels enclosed within it. Just as tongues edify the speaker, so to look on Jesus as the coming bridegroom also edifies. We live at the time of the midnight cry, ‘Behold, the bridegroom comes!’ A conversation printed in September of 1911 suggests that the ‘heavenly anthem’ (singing in tongues) is so evocative of heaven itself that there is a view that the saints will be speaking or singing in tongues when the rapture occurs and thus find themselves singing in the air.

Conclusion

The material from the magazine Confidence cited above suggests that there are indeed five strands present, although the British vehicle of Confidence appears to configure these doctrines differently to American Pentecostalism. I have not found the language of the ‘five-fold gospel’ anywhere in the magazine. However, I would argue that the key ideas are clearly present,

44 Based on the dispensationalism of John Nelson Darby, the founder of the Plymouth Brethren, see Faupel, The Everlasting Gospel, pp. 29, 97-98.
46 Confidence, IV.7 (1911) pp. 152-153.
47 Confidence, IV.9 (1911) p.204.
even if the precise formula is not used. Three points are worth emphasising by way of a conclusion.

First, there is a clear emphasis on revivalism,\(^48\) that is, an expected end-time final outpouring of the Spirit and a gathering in of souls prior to the imminent return of Christ. This is noted from the statement issued by the International Pentecostal Consultative Council meeting in Amsterdam in December 1912 when it declared that the present outpouring of the Spirit with the manifestation of spiritual gifts was ‘granted by the Lord in these last days before His coming for the edifying and perfecting of the Body of Christ, and its preparation for the ‘Rapture’ (Eph. 5:12; 1 Thess. 4:17)’.\(^49\) The theology of Confidence must be understood within this overarching theological feature because it saturates every other theological theme.

Second, Ian Randall in his book on the nature of Evangelical spirituality between 1918 and 1939 argues that essentially early Pentecostalism is influenced by Keswick and Brethren traditions and that ‘strong Wesleyan roots’ are absent.\(^50\) Per contra, I would suggest that early British Pentecostalism was influenced by Wesleyan thought more deeply than is usually acknowledged, and that this is important for early British Pentecostalism because it affords a stronger resonance with the early American three-stage process (regeneration, sanctification and baptism in the Spirit) prior to the ‘finished work’ (conversion includes sanctification) division in the USA from 1912.\(^51\) What I think still needs to be elucidated more precisely is the progression from the Wesleyan position found in the pages of Confidence to the early statements of faith in the classical denominations of Elim, the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Faith Church. Malcolm Hathaway observes that William O. Hutchinson, the founder of the Apostolic Faith Church in 1911, moving from holding a three-stage Christian experience to a two-stage one around 1914. This is seen in the Apostolic Faith Church’s first full statement of faith recorded in Showers of Blessings.\(^52\) As noted earlier, the fivefold statement containing the three stages was dropped from 1917 without being replaced by anything else.

Third, despite the emphasis on the Holy Spirit, there is principally a Christ-centred spirituality, which focuses on the atoning sacrifice, ‘the Blood’, as the means of forgiveness and cleansing. The believer identifies

\(^{48}\) Confidence, IX.10 (1916) pp. 159-161.
\(^{49}\) Confidence, V.12 (1912) p.277.
\(^{50}\) Randall, Evangelical Experiences, pp. 206-207.
\(^{51}\) Randall, Evangelical Experiences, p.207.
\(^{52}\) Hathaway, ‘The role of William Oliver Hutchinson’, pp. 43, 56.
with Christ in his death and resurrection and is justified and sanctified in preparation for empowerment – the power comes from the Spirit of Jesus. The Holy Spirit is always understood as working with Christ for the sake of the eschatological purposes of God. There are glimpses of a broader Trinitarian theology at work, especially in the writings of Boddy, and this is seen in the link to a tripartite anthropology – soul, spirit, body, which again is interpreted soteriologically. The Christological centre, despite all the emphasis on pneumatology, resonates strongly with early Pentecostalism elsewhere and reinforces the five-fold gospel structure of the theology. I suspect that for Boddy it was the Anglican tradition through its liturgy that provided a Trinitarian framework, although the potential of this for informing his overall Pentecostal theology is not fully realised.

It is inevitable that such a study should raise a number of questions and perhaps be slightly controversial, but I would suggest that the hypothesis that Confidence was a vehicle of a version of the five-fold gospel in all but name has substantial corroboration, at least from 1908 to 1917, and I look forward to colleagues re-testing this hypothesis in due course.

The Role of Women in Early Pentecostalism 1907 – 1914

Diana Chapman

Abstract

This paper examines the crucial role of early Pentecostal female pioneers in Britain. It gives brief biographical sketches of some key players and highlights the context of Alexander Boddy and the Sunderland Conventions in facilitating their ministries. It also addresses the dilemma these ‘prophesying daughters’ posed for those whose interpretation of scripture sought to limit their authority.

Introduction

The role of women in the early days of Pentecostalism could easily be overlooked but careful research shows that they were not just peripheral but central to the narrative. In fact I would go as far as saying that their ministry was indeed crucial in the initial stages of the movement.

However this is not immediately obvious in reading classic Pentecostal histories which only contain fleeting references to women. This invisibility is exemplified by the title of Donald Gee’s book These Men I Knew which actually contains biographies of four women.

But even a cursory reading of Confidence paints a different picture, where their vital role as Pentecostal pioneers shines through in every edition. Of

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1 Diana Chapman is a PhD Cand who has already written Diana Chapman, ‘Searching the Source of the River’ - Forgotten Women of the British Pentecostal Revival 1907-1914, (London, Push Publishing 2007). Her email contact is Diana@chapman22.com
4 Confidence a monthly magazine published in Sunderland from April 1908 to 1926
course the editor of *Confidence* was no less than Alexander Boddy himself so we can thank him for their inclusion and promotion in the magazine that chronicled the revival.

In its pages we read of women preachers, teachers, evangelists, pastors and prophets. Women led prayer groups, missions and churches and were even church planters. They were editors, writers, reporters and administrators. They travelled around Britain carrying the Pentecostal message speaking regularly at the various conventions. Women opened their homes as Pentecostal ‘homes of rest’ and healing homes.

Women were not slow to volunteer as missionaries, sent out by the PMU after a period of training at the Ladies’ Training Home in London, whose principal was... naturally... a woman.

It was common for women to testify to divine healing and to the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and their experience of speaking in tongues; in fact it was encouraged as was the exercise of spiritual gifts. Their authoritative teaching whether at conventions or in the pages of *Confidence* (which had an estimated 20 thousand readers in its heyday in 1910) helped lay a foundational theology for the emerging movement. Some women ministered in their own right and others were part of husband and wife teams where the wives certainly did not play second fiddle to their husbands.

It was a time in society when women were pushing traditional boundaries seen most clearly in the suffrage movement yet these women did not take their cues from the secular world but from the freedom the outpouring of the Spirit gave them.

### Your Daughters will Prophesy

For seven years from 1907 to 1914 women rode the crest of the revival wave. *Acts 2:17-18* was clearly the context which gave them permission to minister.

‘In the last days, God says, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your young men will see visions, your old men will dream dreams. Even on my servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit in those days and they will prophesy’.

Their prophetic understanding of scripture placed them firmly in the days of the ‘prophesying daughters’. Interestingly though, I have not discovered one tract, article or book written by these early Pentecostal women using these verses or any others to validate their ministries.
For them, it was axiomatic as the anointing of the Holy Spirit on their lives gave them the authority to function according to their gifting. These were exceptional times and like Wesley in the 18th century⁵, those who were unsure accepted the extraordinary calls that God in his sovereignty gave to women under these exceptional circumstances.

This is where these Pentecostal women differed from those who had gone before them. Initially the prophetic nature of ministry took precedence over the need to worry about more restrictive verses and millennial expectation made it seemingly unnecessary to defend their ministries with a body of theological literature.

Our Pentecostal sisters stood in a line of women ministers who can be traced through the Post Reformation sects to Methodism and 19th century revival movements, the Holiness and Healing Movements which were in vogue at the turn of the century and the women of the Welsh revival.

Since Quaker Margaret Fell wrote Women’s Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed by the Scripture in 1666, both men and women, had sought to give a scriptural basis for women’s ministry. I mention an American Holiness woman, Phoebe Palmer, in this respect. Not only did she minister powerfully in Sunderland in 1859 but wrote a significant book, The Promise of the Father⁶, explaining the ‘latter rain’ argument⁷; that even though women have not been allowed to preach down through the ages of the church, they did so in the New Testament and are being restored to that role as a ‘specialty of the last days’.

**First Fruits in the Year 1907**

**Catherine Price**

The chronological events of the year 1907 leading to the outpouring in Sunderland begin with Mrs Catherine Sophia Price who goes down in Pentecostal history as the first person to speak in tongues associated with the revival. It was around midnight in early January while she was kneeling in

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⁷ Deuteronomy 11:14; Joel 2:23.
worship at her home in Akerman Road, Brixton that she says, ‘strange sounds fell upon my ear. It was another language than my own – soft, flowing, beautiful’.8

She records that the next morning she laughed for one and a half hours until she was quite powerless. During that week she had been attending convention meetings in London and that night she gave a public message in tongues and interpretation.

Catherine had been leading a small prayer group at her home who were praying for revival. Throughout the summer the meetings continued. Donald Gee called them the ‘first definitely Pentecostal meetings established in England’.9

Many received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit and she recalls, ‘A few of us who met for prayer at the beginning will never forget the awe of God’s holy presence in the room when everything in it gently rocked’.10

She corresponded with Alexander Boddy who recognised the significance of ‘The little band in Brixton who had been blessed in the house of that child of God, Mrs Price’.11 She was counted as one of the leaders of the movement and such was her standing that her signature appeared amongst the thirty other respected leaders who signed the London Declaration in 190912 a response to the Berlin Declaration with its hostility to the ‘tongues movement’.

**Margaret Cantel**

Also during the year 1907, as a young bride, Margaret Cantel, accompanied her husband, Harry, from Dowie’s Zion City in Chicago to London where together they led a Pentecostal work in Upper Street, Islington, one of the first in the country.

After her husband’s untimely death in 1910, to her credit, she continued to lead the work and in 1912 it became incorporated in her home in Highbury which Donald Gee says ‘became one of the best known and best beloved Pentecostal centres not only in London but the whole of the British Isles and far beyond’.13

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9 Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p.21
10 Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, p.60
11 *Confidence*, August 1910, p.195
12 *Confidence*, December 1909, p.289
13 Gee, *Wind and Flame*, pp.80-83
As a young man in 1913, Gee was first taken there by his mother and after one meeting knelt by his bed at home and was filled with the Holy Spirit. He preached his first sermon at Margaret’s home and was influenced by many contemporary and future Pentecostal leaders who ministered there.

He later reminisced, ‘We met in a large room of an ordinary house…it was easy to imagine oneself in first century meetings in Corinth or Ephesus, and particularly when the same spiritual gifts were manifest’.  

Alexander knew and respected the Cantels and her ‘home of rest’ and her meetings were often promoted in Confidence as a place of hospitality and blessing especially after she had been widowed, left with a young son and needed a source of income. In a testimony, Margaret tells us that she received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit in Sunderland when Mary Boddy laid hands on her.

Not just confined to ministry at her home, Margaret shared national platforms with well known Pentecostal leaders of the day. She exercised considerable influence in the early days of the movement. In 1924 she was the only women among a group of fifteen who met in Birmingham to prepare a constitution for the Assemblies of God. Later that year a consolidatory conference was held at her home. Her house also brought together two Pentecostal streams as George Jeffries of Elim and Donald Gee were both frequent visitors.

**Events at Sunderland**

**Mary Boddy**

We now turn to the events at Sunderland as they began in September 1907. Mary Boddy played a pivotal role not just as wife to Alexander but as a minister in her own right especially in the area of divine healing and the laying on of hands to receive the Baptism of the Spirit.

She wrote about her personal experience of both in a pamphlet called, *The Testimony of a Vicar’s Wife*. Her healing from asthma and bronchitis in 1899 had a profound effect on her life and from that time on she exercised a healing ministry and taught authoritatively on the subject. Even though she still struggled with ill health she continued to testify and never recanted her beliefs.

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14 Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p.33  
15 Mary Boddy, Pentecost at Sunderland: Testimony of a Vicar’s Wife, n.d.
In her testimony she explained how her healing was accompanied by a revelation of the finished work of Christ on the cross; that identification with Him in His death means we can enjoy His resurrection life which does not include sin and sickness.

Throughout the ensuing years and in various ways these truths emerge in her teachings at conventions around Britain or as a prolific writer in Confidence. It also ignited Alexander’s interest in divine healing. The second edition of Confidence in May 1908 was devoted to the subject and the first Sunderland Convention in June addressed many of the same issues. Mary’s pamphlet, Divine Health and Healing was available for purchase.

When Barratt visited Sunderland, Mary was in the south of England and it was not until September 11th that she returned and through the laying on of his hands received her Baptism in the Spirit and spoke in tongues.

‘I knew God had come…my mouth began to quiver, my tongue began to move, and a few simple words were uttered, as I yielded to the Holy Ghost. Much to my astonishment, I began to speak in a foreign language – Chinese I think’.16

From then onwards she was used to impart this gift to others who travelled to Sunderland for that purpose. Smith Wigglesworth knelt under her hands in the vicarage and was filled with the Spirit and spoke in tongues in November 1907. Pentecostal leader, Stanley Frodsham, and Dutch pastor, Gerit Polman received the same blessing in 1908, to name a few, as did many others at conventions in different parts of the country.

There was still a strong Holiness emphasis in her teaching. In effect she taught that a second blessing of sanctification was required believing that the Holy Spirit would only fill a ‘cleansed vessel’. Her teaching booklet, Pleading the Blood was made available and she often used the phrase, ‘the oil followed the blood’,17 referring to Leviticus 14.

Mary’s local ministry took place in the more informal settings of the parish hall, vestry and vicarage. After the first convention, Pastor Barratt’s wife Laura wrote, ‘The vicarage is a busy place, people come with sick bodies and tired souls and all are helped’.18

16 Testimony of a Vicar’s Wife
17 Ref: Leviticus 14:1; Confidence, August 1908, pp.4-6; As a tract, ‘Pleading the Blood’, Sept 1909.
18 Confidence, July 1908, p.5
She regularly spoke at the annual Sunderland Conventions and was well received. One visitor commented that Mary was ‘wonderfully taught of God and [had] a rare gift of expounding His Word’.19

Her proud and rather biased husband wrote in Confidence, introducing one of her addresses, ‘These notes cannot reproduce the living voice and fire of the speaker…This address should be pondered over sentence by sentence and read again and again and returned to later once more’.20 Looking back over two years of revival he was able to say that no one had given him more able help than his wife.

The influence Mary had on early Pentecostal theology has probably been underestimated. Her teachings and addresses fill the pages of Confidence and she expounded the scriptures to gatherings around the country. Mary’s name also appears alongside her husband’s on the London Declaration. Yet Mary always cautioned to ‘get taken up with Jesus’ not the gifts. She called her ministry ‘the ministry of Jesus’.

In 1910 Stanley Frodsham was able to comment that ‘…Pentecostal people the world over, look with particularly loving eyes to Sunderland and the vicar and his wife’.21

The Sunderland Conventions

The first Sunderland Convention in June 1908 provides us with a six day window which illustrates something of the role and ministry of women. It was a gathering of the Spirit baptised or sympathisers who were seeking to live out the democratising effect of the gospel as expressed in Galatians 3:28. Just as the early church grappled with the understanding of what it meant to be part of the new humanity whose identity was ‘In Christ’, so we see a reflection of this as we take a glimpse of this first convention.

In a report of the convention Alexander wrote, ‘…we felt that we were knit together by a love that burst all bonds of church organization and social position, and made us truly one in Christ Jesus’.22 In such a setting roles and function based on gender gained an irrelevancy as Mary and the women delegates from other parts of Britain and Europe exercised their God given gifts as they were empowered by the Holy Spirit.

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19 Confidence, August 1909, p.177
20 Confidence, July 1909, p.153
21 Confidence, January 1910, p.5
22 Confidence, June 1908, p.13
It is evident that women were not just ‘behind the scenes workers’ but addressed the convention with authoritative teaching and preaching in the main sessions. In many areas of ministry they seemed to be more active than men especially that of prophecy. Their contributions were manifold and their wisdom valued as they shared from experience how to administer the blessings of Spirit Baptism.

It was the same story in each succeeding convention. In 1911, Alexander wrote in *Confidence* that ‘only those that are at one with him in regard to the ministry of women who have received gifts’ (amongst other criteria) need come to the convention. He went on to say that the conventions were not for airing controversial points but for sharing the blessing of Pentecost.

At one time or another most of the prominent women in the Pentecostal movement ministered at Sunderland and also at the many conventions around the country including those at Sion College in London which Cecil Polhill organised from 1909. It is worth noting that we do not find them speaking at women’s conferences but at mixed gatherings where if the reports are anything to go by, they were well received.

**Other Key Women**

Some of the key women in the early days had a ministry in different denominations and movements that pre dated their Baptism in the Holy Spirit but it was this experience that thrust them into the forefront of Pentecostal ministry. It is to several of these we will now turn.

**Lydia Walshaw**

At the first Sunderland Convention we are introduced to Mrs Lydia Walshaw who had led a missionary prayer group called Emmaus in her home in Halifax since 1885. She testified to her Baptism in the Spirit and claimed to be the first women in Halifax to speak in tongues. She lived into her nineties and Granny Walshaw was to influence several generations of Pentecostal men and women. Her work was later to become an Elim assembly.

Prayer and missions were her passion and her little group gave thousands of pounds over the years to the missionary cause. She hosted her own Pentecostal conventions in Halifax and was an acceptable national speaker, always down to earth in her presentation. Donald Gee said that she helped

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23 *Confidence*, February 1911, p.36

140 THE JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
keep the Pentecostal testimony real when some of the men speakers were in danger of becoming super-spiritual.

Lydia was what we would call ‘a character’ and Gee sums her up nicely with this insightful comment, ‘[She] was one of those personalities that seem to flourish in the early years of a revival movement before it has had time to solidify into a denomination’.24

**Eleanor Crisp**

Eleanor Crisp or Mrs Crisp as she was formally called was another ‘character’, a rather formidable one, who became the principal of the PMU Ladies’ Testing and Training Home in Hackney, London in 1910. Alexander called her ‘a baptized lady of great experience’. Prior to taking this role she had been involved in the Holiness and Healing Movement and led the local YWCA of three hundred girls.

There is no doubt she gave her life to mould a generation of women who gave themselves wholeheartedly to foreign missions. Known for her strict discipline, she taught them, encouraged them and sent them out (after choosing their outfits!)

Her male colleagues on the PMU council held her in a little awe but she was well respected throughout the movement in Britain. As a confident and clear speaker she graced national platforms including Sunderland and her teachings were often printed at length in *Confidence*.

She personally exercised the gift of interpretation of tongues and she continued to voice the hope that her girls would be given the ‘gift of languages’. Gee called Mrs. Crisp, ‘a remarkable woman’ and ‘one of the outstanding personalities in the early years’.25

**Polly Wigglesworth**

Polly Wigglesworth, wife of legendary Smith, was the preacher in the family for over twenty years at their Bowland Street Mission in Bradford until they both experienced, albeit at different times, the Baptism in the Spirit in 1907. It was then that as a couple they began to minister at Pentecostal centres in different parts of Britain.

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25 Gee, *Wind and Flame*, p.61
1909 saw the first of their annual Easter conventions in Bradford when 40-50 were baptised in the Spirit. Reporting in Confidence Alexander noted that Smith and Polly were ‘always a team’. Their ministry was fruitful and Smith said that life for the Wigglesworths was ‘like living at the time of the Acts of the Apostles’. Sadly, Polly died prematurely in 1913.

Polly’s influence in the early days of Pentecostalism outlived her as Smith was able to say, ‘All that I am today, I owe under God to my precious wife. Oh she was lovely!’

Christina Beruldsen

Mention must be made of Christian Beruldsen who travelled to Sunderland from Edinburgh with her husband in January 1908 with the express purpose of receiving the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. They had attended a Baptist church but her life was transformed and when she returned home began meetings in her house. She was at the first Sunderland Convention acting as an interpreter for the Norwegian delegation and often testified at subsequent conventions.

From 1910 she held annual conventions in Edinburgh and began a church there in 1911. Later that year she started a mission at Leith Docks. Three of her children went to China as missionaries. Her name is also appears on the London Declaration.

Alexander gives her all the credit when he wrote that the ‘assembly [was] established by Mrs Beruldsen’ and reports in Confidence tell of ‘remarkable times of blessing…in Leith which Mrs Beruldsen and her helpers recently opened’.

Significantly this was the assembly that Donald Gee took over in 1920.

Missionary Ladies

An overview of the role of women would not be complete with out mentioning the intrepid women who were sent out by the PMU as missionaries. Lucy James of Bedford and Kathleen Millar of Exeter were the

26 Confidence, April 1909, p.4
27 Confidence, October 1908, p.15
29 Confidence, October 1916, p.170
30 Confidence, August 1911, p.189
first two missionaries who left for India in February 1909. According to Polhill there was no shortage of volunteers but these sisters were the only ones who were ‘ripe for going forth’ without training.

The ensuing years saw young women trained at the home in Hackney and as proud holders of the Certificate of the Union sail initially to India and China and later to Africa. Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan called them, ‘missionaries of the one way ticket.’

Letters ‘From Our Own Missionaries’ took pride of place each month in Confidence and they were read out at missionary meetings and conventions. These women were the heroes of the day as they responded to the call to evangelise the nations. Because of the intense interest in overseas missions we know more about them than some of the other women who stayed at home.

**Women from the States**

Women ministers from the States were given a platform at the Sunderland Conventions. Writing of Elizabeth Sisson’s visit in 1908 Alexander said, ‘We thought we had never heard such an incisive, spiritual and clever speaker’. Carrie Judd Montgomery was another welcome visitor in 1909 and Alexander referred to her as ‘the honoured editress’ as articles from her magazine Triumphs of Faith were frequently reprinted in Confidence where she was the cover girl on the December 1914 edition.

**Local Women**

Little of this information would be available to us without two women, Margaret Howell and Mabel Scott who acted as secretaries at Sunderland from 1907 to 1910 and were responsible for assembling Confidence and sending it out worldwide.

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31 Confidence, March 1909, p.75
33 Confidence, March 1913, p.49
34 Triumphs of Faith was a monthly journal devoted to Holiness and Healing edited by Carrie Judd Montgomery from 1881 to 1947.
Alexander Boddy

In mentioning some of these women who had key roles in the early days, the comments that Alexander makes shows his support and promotion of them. In 1909 we read of his endorsement of a testimony given by American itinerant minister, Lillian Garr.

‘The Lord has poured out his Spirit upon the WOMEN. The women are breaking the alabaster box at Jesus’ feet. The old long-necked cruse only dropped a drop at a time of the precious ointment. Mary wanted to break it, for she wanted the Lord to be generously supplied. Pentecost has cut many loose and given Him all that they have and are, to pour out ungrudgingly and unstintingly’.35

As well as his theological sympathies, Alexander moved in circles where women had effective public roles. He had seen women revivalists in Wales who ministered with Evan Roberts and the prominence of women at the Keswick Conventions. Women were also active in the Pentecostal League who were very active in the Sunderland area.

His travels abroad no doubt broadened his mind. Barratt’s wife, Laura and other women were leaders in his church in Norway. In New York he had visited the Glad Tidings Mission led by Marie Burgess and seen the involvement of women at Azusa Street. In 1914 he accepted the invitation to Carrie Judd Montgomery’s camp meeting in California.

In Confidence he promoted a booklet by the League’s Reader Harris called Female Ministry as well as Dr. A.J. Gordon’s well argued 1894 article, The Ministry of Women.36 He also expressed a desire to attend Maria Woodworth-Etter’s meetings and was keen that his readers obtain copies of her book Signs and Wonders.37

His theological training under J.B. Lightfoot38, a supportive bishop, Handley Moule,39 a commitment and hunger to follow the Spirit’s leading.

35 Confidence, July 1909, p.152
37 Confidence, 1919, p.7
38 Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, wrote a commentary on The Epistle to the Ephesians (1868) which contained a long essay which expounded the notion that the original governance of the early church was in the hand of the presbyterates (on the model of the Jewish elders), whose members were also called bishops.
and a willingness to be experimental gave Alexander the freedom to allow authority in ministry determined not by tradition or gender but by the anointing and the gifting of the Holy Spirit working through individuals.

A Woman’s Place in the Church

The 1913 Sunderland Convention had addressed ‘The Task of the Pentecostal Movement’ and the conclusion reached was that ‘The first tasks are within the church and then in the realm of evangelism’. Ecclesiology was taking priority over mission. Central to this was the task to restore the Apostolic Faith.

It was in this context that a topic on the agenda at the 1914 convention was ‘A Woman’s Place in the Church’. A restorationist reading of scripture posed a dilemma regarding the ministry of women. As Pentecostal historian Edith Blumhofer says, ‘Taking everything in the New Testament literally gives us both daughters speaking their visions and women keeping silent’. Fuel to the fire came from the line taken by the American Assemblies of God formed that same year where official restrictions were put in place declaring that women should not exercise independent leadership.

Many of the views expressed at the debate would raise a few eyebrows today but perhaps that serves as a reminder that we all have our own cultural, traditional and theological lenses and should not judge too harshly these men (one woman, Mrs. Polman of Holland, was present) as they grappled with these issues.

Not surprisingly there was a consensus regarding the prophetic element in women’s ministry, that ‘a spirit baptised woman, had the same privilege in the church as a man to use every gift God had given her’ but central to the discussion was the question of her authority over men. Pastor Jonathan Paul from Berlin seemed determined to place what he considered scriptural restrictions on women in the authoritative roles of teaching and leadership.

39 Following the 1905 Keswick Convention, Bishop of Durham, Handley Moule wrote a prayer and had it pasted in every prayer book in the Church of England: ‘Revive O Lord we humbly beseech Thee the work of Thy saving grace in the church universal, in our Church of England, in our diocese and in our parish in which we dwell and in our own hearts…’

40 Confidence, June 1913

41 Confidence, November 1914, pp.208-214

Various points of view were aired based on scriptures from 1 Corinthians 11 and especially the end verses of chapter 14, ‘Women should remain silent in the churches’. 1 Timothy 2:12 was well chewed over, ‘I do not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man: she must be silent…’

And there was an appeal to a mixture of Genesis 1 and society’s assumption that women ‘needed to know their place’ (upstairs, downstairs fashion).

Among some of the rather confused views, the discussion also served to show how prevailing cultural prejudices regarding the nature of women influenced biblical interpretation. Pastor Paul cautioned that a women spoke more from the heart than from understanding so must not teach.

Pastor Voget said that women needed ‘training and guiding by a brother with discernment so they are not in danger of going too far’. There was the old chestnut of the Lord ‘taking a Deborah’ when no men would respond. Sympathy was extended to women ‘ministering alone’ and it was expected that when men came to help, the woman would hand over the work with gratitude.

However it was conceded that ‘there might be exceptions and those exceptions are made by God’. Myerscough, from a Brethren background said, ‘Let it be a distinct call from God before they broke the rule’.

The discussion generally failed to take account of the social and cultural contexts of the verses in 1 Corinthians and 1 Timothy but rather blanket statements were made such as, ‘St Paul said the woman shall not teach’ and ‘Paul said plainly that a woman shall not be the governor of a man’.

Alexander chaired this discussion and his comments showed his breadth of understanding. He reflected on his visit to a Protestant church in Nazareth where men and women sat separately and during the meeting the half veiled women would whisper to one another. He said that Paul would have been familiar with this cultural setting and that’s what lay behind his admonition that, ‘Women should remain silent in the churches’, but...he goes on to say, covering his bases, ‘That would not refer to women who might be filled with the Holy Ghost, speaking in smaller assemblies or special conference meetings’.

He also made another comment supportive of his own ministry with Mary, ‘Where the husband and wife worked in harmony there was little or no difficulty, for they two were one’.

Although not present at this debate, we get an insight into Cecil Polhill’s traditional views on women’s participation from a letter he wrote in 1921 where he clearly sees the laying on of hands as a priestly function.
He said, ‘The only instance Scripture gives of the laying on of hands for the baptism, was by elders, and there is no instances of women having done so. With us the custom is for the ‘venuit tyro’ in faith and practice, to do so, including quite young girls. I have always thought there was something wrong here.’ (Polhill’s underlining)43

1914 saw the end of the Sunderland Conventions as Britain was embroiled in the First World War and according to Gee, this marked the end of the initial period of the revival.

Conclusion

In light of the above one wonders whether women would have had such freedom in the early years of British Pentecostalism without such a charismatic figure such as Alexander Boddy at the helm who happened to be married to such a gifted wife. It was certainly an exceptional time calling for an exceptional response from both men and women. The prophetic context took precedence over church tradition and theological preferences and propelled women into the vanguard of the movement. Their ministry roles were manifold and their contribution invaluable.

Acts 2:17-18 was permission enough for these prophesying daughters, yet ironically, it was the literalist reading of the New Testament which created a theological ambiguity which they were unable to reconcile and which helped lead to their demise.

So one hundred years later, let us celebrate these women’s contribution to British Pentecostalism and whilst still endorsing the prophetic nature of ministry let women know the empowerment of the Spirit and the Word, ministering with Confidence because of not in spite of a biblical foundation.

As Harvey Cox noted in his book *Fire from Heaven*, ‘Wherever the original Pentecostal fire breaks through the flame extinguishing literalist theology, women shine’ 44

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43 Personal letter written by Cecil Polhill to Mr Mundell on July 25th 1921 held at the Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey Hall, Mattersey. (*venuit tyro* – not a common expression but used to mean any person who had just come into the experience of the Holy Spirit; *venuit* Lat. ‘to come’ *tyro* Lat. ‘a recruit or beginner.’)

Dealing with the Fire: Early Pentecostal Responses to the practices of speaking in tongues and spoken prophecy.

Neil Hudson

My introduction to Pentecostalism came in the mid-1970s at what might be seen as the twilight of classical Pentecostalism in Britain. Although much of Pentecostal practice was beginning to be challenged by the Charismatic Renewal, I was able to witness Pentecostal activities that had been unchanged and unchallenged since the 1920s. In particular, I was entranced by the frequent messages in tongues. Although all were encouraged to transition through the Tarrying Meeting to the place of being adept tongues speakers, the gift was normally exercised by a small handful of saints in the Sunday morning services. They would present unintelligible utterances followed by (usually) the pastor who would make sense of the message, beginning this with the words, ‘Thus saith the Lord: ....’

In retrospect, it is unsurprising that the use of the prophetic gift was not as readily demonstrated. Tongues and interpretation operated as de facto prophecy. Few would have claimed to have operated in the prophetic gifting, and indeed if they had, we would have thought them a little too big for their boots. At least tongues and interpretation appeared to need more than one person for it to be used. Certainly, the thought that, within 10 years, we would have had seminars where we would be encouraged to experiment with prophetic messages would have had us reaching for our heresy detectors. It would also have made us wonder at what would happen to the redundant tongues speakers and their sidekick interpreters.

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1 A paper prepared for, ‘Pentecost at Sunderland: Centenary Conference on Pentecostal Origins in Britain’ 19-21 September 2007 St John’s College, Durham. Neil Hudson is a lecturer with the Institute for Contemporary Christianity, London, Email dn.hudson@ntlworld.com
The experiences raised many questions in a young teenager’s mind. It would be much later that I would recognise that the questions and tensions were old ones: indeed were the ones raised in the debates at the pre-Great War Sunderland conventions.

This paper aims to outline the responses made to the phenomena in the early years of British Pentecostalism.

**Speaking in Tongues as spiritual vindication**

For the Pentecostals, the fact that they could point to a tangible experience that vindicated their claim to have had a secondary spiritual encounter was a relief. Thirty years prior to the outbreak of tongues in Britain, the Holiness Movement, one of the primary feeders into the Pentecostal experience and subsequent Movement, had impressed upon Evangelical Christians the possibility of further Christian experiences which would empower them for Christian service and enable them to live victorious Christian lives. This teaching was welcome to those who had grown accustomed to believing that the Christian life was one of dogged persistence with the constant likelihood that one would fail God. The Brighton Record, a document produced for the Holiness Convention held in Brighton in 1875, explained the attraction of the Holiness message, ‘The Victorians who heard Smith felt that they had been freed from the heavy hand of a stern God. They professed a new joy in a relationship in which it was ‘possible to walk with God, and to ... please him’. However, there was a fundamental difference for the Pentecostals; they had a sign by which they could be assured that they had received a specific spiritual blessing, the gift of tongues.

Andrew Murray’s call for Christians to believe that they had received the Spirit even though there was ‘no new experience, and no feeling, and no excitement, and no light, but apparently darkness’, did not leave many feeling assured that they had experienced real spiritual blessing.

This was the experiential genius of Pentecostalism and the source of contention with their Holiness brothers and sisters. Had it not been for the exercise of the gift of tongues, it seems certain that Pentecostals would have been allowed to remain part of the Holiness Movement. As it was, they were

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ostracised because of their insistence that the gift of new languages that they had encountered was the same as that in the scriptures.\(^4\)

However, the experience of the Pentecostals and the gift of tongues must not be thought to have been limited to the actual use of *glossalalia*. It involved a much richer experience than simply the belief that they were able to speak in a heavenly language.

This was evident in the early testimonies.

### Early Testimonies

Catherine Price had been praying earnestly for revival when, sitting alone sometime after midnight after the rest of the family had retired to bed, she had a mystical experience that has clear echoes of the mysticism of writers such as Julian of Norwich.

While praising Him I had a vision of Jesus upon the cross. It was dark, He extended His arms to me and said, ‘Come to Me’. Oh! The unutterable love and compassion in His voice. I obeyed, and groaned in the Spirit, seeming to suffer with Him. Then the darkness fled and I was raised to Him in glory. Involuntarily I threw up my arms to praise Him and suddenly they seemed to be charged with electricity and a power came upon me and I praised Him in another tongue .... The interpretation was ‘Glory to Jesus, the bleeding Lamb’... The next morning the Holy Ghost came in mighty power, causing me to laugh as I had never done in my life .... and speaking in four or five languages sometimes giving the interpretation ... The same evening I went to another meeting ... and the same Spirit came upon me again causing me to speak in three languages with the interpretation.\(^5\)

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\(^4\) O. Chambers, ‘Tongues and Testing’, *Tongues of Fire* (January 1908) 3. He wrote ‘Everywhere the teaching, based on the “signs and wonders” of “Tongues,” reveals it to be wrong.’

\(^5\) ‘A Pentecost at Home, Testimony of a Busy Mother’, Leaflet. This is undated, but predates a series of other ‘Leaflets on “Tongues”’ produced by Bodd\y around May/June 1907. (There is a reference to another leaflet printed in May 1907). It can be assumed that Catherine Price’s testimony was produced in the spring of 1907 – i.e. after Bodd\y’s visit to Barratt in March 1907 and before the first of the series on Tongues. Bodd\y subsequently published the text in *Confidence* in August 1910, ‘The Pentecostal Movement’, 192-197. Catherine
For these earliest Pentecostals, their experiences led them to a heightened awareness of Jesus’ presence in their lives and the extent of his work on the cross. In a series of leaflets edited by Alexander Boddy, explaining how the gift of tongues was being experienced, it was the stress on the believer’s mystical encounter with Jesus that was most pronounced. Boddy reported that he had ‘seen a quiet, unassuming servant of God, filled suddenly with a power not his own, as he adored the Lamb. Strange words at last poured in ecstasy (sic) from his lips, and it was evident he was in the actual presence of Jesus’.  

What is clear from these earliest testimonies is that the individuals had experienced intense spiritual encounters in which speaking in tongues was a part, but was not necessarily the most significant aspect of the experience. Barratt, in an interview, argued that ‘we do not make the talking in tongues the chief thing. The chief thing is the unveiling of the Holy Ghost. The other comes as the outward sign’. It is significant to note that at this time even Boddy had not spoken in tongues, despite fervent prayer being offered on his behalf. This would not happen until December 1907. Perhaps more surprising is Barratt’s admission that he had spoken in tongues ‘only four or five times’. This seems a surprisingly low number of occasions. One might have reasonably expected him to have been a regular user of the gift. However, it does indicate that the desire to put the gift of tongues into some perspective was reflected in his own experience. It seems that at this time the use of tongues was mostly as a signifier of the reception of the Pentecostal experience.

Real languages?

The local newspaper was most interested in the claims made by these small groups of Pentecostal Christians that they had spoken in previously

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Price never became a recognised leader amongst the Pentecostals. Apart from her story being the first recorded account of tongues speech in the twentieth century, she seems to have had little impact on the development of the Movement. She had one article published in Confidence, ‘Behold the Lamb of God’ (October 1910) 235-238.

6 A.A. Boddy, ‘These signs shall follow’, nd, ‘Leaflet on “Tongues”’, no. 3.  
7 ‘Speaking in Tongues: Rival Pentecostals’, Sunderland Echo (2 October 1907).  
8 ‘Speaking in Tongues: Interview with Pastor Barratt’, Sunderland Echo (4 October 1907).
unlearned languages. Barratt explained this as the difference ‘between the real gift of tongues and speaking in tongues’.\(^9\) The ‘real’ gift involved foreign languages. The evidence for these languages was presented by Mary Boddy who, although she acknowledged her lack of a facility in Chinese languages, indicated that she felt that some Chinese had been heard spoken by one of the believers. She felt that she was on safer ground in claiming that an English woman had spoken in a European language since she had heard her say, ‘Ja, ja, ja’.\(^10\) The reference to the hearing of the Chinese language may relate to her daughter’s experience. In the tract publishing her testimony, a Mr D. was present when her daughter spoke in tongues. He had previously been to China and recognised words that were spoken.\(^11\)

The exotic nature of these experiences cannot be overemphasised. Strange languages, awesome mystical visions, physical responses of being overwhelmed and falling to the floor,\(^12\) being overcome with tears or laughter\(^13\) were included in a heady mix for these early Pentecostals. They had to try and make sense of the experiences within their own frame of reference. The Jesu-centric nature of the experiences is understandable in the light of their backgrounds. Coming from an Evangelical background that held the person of Jesus, his death on the cross and the attendant salvific blessings in the highest regard, it is no surprise that the visions focused on these themes. What is less obvious is why they insisted that the tongues spoken were foreign languages. This was believed extensively for the first few years of Pentecostalism.

Pentecostals wanted the gift of tongues to have an obvious utilitarian function. Perhaps because the attendant spiritual experiences were so ecstatic, it had become more important that the gift the Christian was left with

\(^9\) ‘Speaking in Tongues: Interview with Pastor Barratt’, *Sunderland Echo* (4 October 1907).

\(^10\) ‘Mrs Boddy’s Ideas: It may be a Spiritual Language’, *Sunderland Echo* (2 October 1907).

\(^11\) A.A. Boddy, ‘Young People at Sunderland’.

\(^12\) Mary Boddy explained to the reporters, ‘It was not right to say that people threw themselves on to the floor. “They sink down”, she remarked, “No-one can stand against the power of the Holy Ghost when he comes to them.”’ ‘Mrs Boddy’s Ideas’.

\(^13\) These were fairly regular recurring themes in Pentecostal testimonies. Boddy’s own experience was of being prayed for in Oslo when ‘tears of joy coursed down my cheeks and the spirit of holy laughter took possession’. A.A. Boddy, ‘Tongues in Norway’, Leaflets of “Tongues”, no. 6.
was of real earthly use. The most obvious arena for the use of this vocal gift was in overseas mission. Pentecostals used Acts as their paradigm to understand what had happened to them. They believed they were living in the last days on the basis that Peter in Acts 2 had said that ‘It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit...’ (Acts 2:17). The logic was that they had received the Spirit, therefore they must have been living in the last days. It made sense that God would be willing to bypass the mind in order to get the vital work of evangelization completed ahead of the eschatological denouement. It was also a neat completion of the circle. The first Pentecost witnessed foreigners hearing the disciples speaking ‘in our own tongues the wonderful works of God’ (Acts 2:11). What could be more appropriate than that this final outpouring of the Spirit would also be accompanied by the ability of disciples to speak in foreign tongues in the whole known world. This also fitted the Victorian mindset perfectly.

The late Victorians prized the utilitarianism of the entrepreneur over the theorising of the intellectual classes. What was deemed to be most useful practically, rather than accurate theoretically, became most important. Tangible results rather than philosophical artistry was prized above all. Houghton commented, 'The man of action [was exalted] at the expense of the thinker and the artist.'

The fin de siècle Evangelicals had bought into this worldview completely. They wanted to get the work done. If the work was world-wide missions then it needed to be completed as soon as was possible. If God had seen fit to enable this to happen via the gift of missionary tongues, then it would have seemed to have made perfect sense.

However, by 1909 it had become clear that although some would continue to testify to an ability to speak in other languages, this was, at best, sporadic. Certainly, it could not be relied on for missions work. In August 1909, Boddy wrote of the disappointment felt by missionaries when they found that they could not preach in the native languages they had believed they had received via the Spirit. In the same year, he went further in warning people against going overseas thinking they had spoken in foreign languages, stating, ‘I feel it is only right to say that from among the very many who have gone abroad after the Pentecostal blessing we have not yet received one letter stating that

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15 A.A. Boddy, ‘Seven hallmarks of Heaven upon the Pentecostal Baptism with the Sign of Tongues’, Confidence (August 1909) 180 (180-183).
they have this miraculous gift. I long to receive or see such a letter.’16 Typically, however, he encouraged people to continue to believe that tongues had an inherent usefulness. In this case, he believed that it might indicate that an individual should intercede for the country whose language was thought to have been spoken.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, everything seemed clear. The gift of tongues was the constant sign to anyone who had received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. It seemed unlikely that anyone would receive a missionary-language, but if the tongue was interpreted it would be edifying to the rest of the congregation. The quest for the corporate usefulness of tongues was settled by the custom that identified tongues and interpretation as functional prophecy.

**Unsettled Hearts**

At the 1908 Whitsuntide Conference, Boddy began a discussion about prophecy by acknowledging the problems that were being encountered when unknown visitors came from abroad. He suggested that to ensure that unstable people were not leading services, they should bring with them letters of commendation. Of equal concern was the fact that sometimes it was possible to give prophecy according to one’s own thoughts and desires, i.e. in the 'flesh' rather than as a direct result of the prompting of God. Boddy warned against using interpretation of prophecy as a means of determining actions in one’s own personal life. He claimed that there was no scriptural authority to make tongues the ‘Urim and Thummim oracle for details of daily life’.17 This reaction against personal directive prophecies and interpretation of tongues was strengthened after Boddy’s visit to the German Conference in December 1908. He spoke of ‘many troubled, loyal and suffering souls’ who had ‘opened their hearts to us in letters from time to time regarding personal prophecies' which had become a ‘source of perplexity’.18 This would become one of the fundamental reasons for the breakdown in relationships between the Apostolic Churches and their classical Pentecostal counterparts. The former believed that God directly guided the church through prophecy. Thus it was logical to believe that all of one’s life could be so directed. The majority

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17 A. A. Boddy, ‘Opening Meetings of the Conference’, Confidence, June 1908, 9.
of classical Pentecostals refused to believe this possibility because the
opportunities for false prophecy with its attendant damaging effects on
people were so great.

**Pentecostal Reactions to Directive Prophecy**

In September 1910, Boddy warned against personal prophecies on the
grounds that they had caused trouble when people had used them.

The Lord, too, has kept us at Sunderland from over-eagerness for
personal messages, or exalting any human being into an oracle for
personal guidance through tongues, interpretation, or prophecy (!). Havoc has been wrought in different places through yielding to this, and we will not cease to warn against the danger. Faith will receive a staggering blow sooner or later where this is persisted in, and a blessed work for the Lord may be broken up.¹⁹

Mrs Polman, co-leader of the Dutch Pentecostals, spoke at the London Conference in 1912 and denounced the place of personal prophecy apart from operating as a confirmatory word completely. At length, she warned against the practice of relying on prophecy at the expense of the Bible. Her basic premise was underlined in Confidence for emphasis,

Therefore, we have to warn people about personal messages, even if they seem beautiful ... I keep to the Word, and I tell you that the work in England will be much better if you do not listen to personal messages. Your little circles will be more blessed if you put them out. We put them out. We love to listen to the Word.²⁰

Boddy emphasised his support of her teaching by giving examples of people being misguided as a result of personal prophecy, by for example, travelling abroad because the name of some town or country kept coming to mind. Boddy recognised that the source of prophecies was not simply either God or Satan. He recognised that prophecies could be the result of ‘the workings of the unconscious mind’.²¹ Therefore, his advice was to present any directive prophecy to the leadership of local churches for their confirmation. However,

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²⁰ Mrs Polman, ‘Personal Messages: Their dangers’, Confidence, February 1912, 32.
even with local confirmation this would be the exception to the general use of prophecy. Quoting the German leader, Friemal at the 1911 Sunderland Convention, he wrote, ‘He [God] warned me with deep solemnity that I was never to use this gift to give directions for outward life’.  

The prophecies that were deemed to be acceptable were generalised hymns of praise delivered with a stylised religious phraseology. For example, Mrs Polman’s interpreted song in tongues was reprinted in Confidence as ‘... He is fair, He is faithful. Who is calling? The Holy One of Israel. Heaven and earth glorify Him, the whole creation sings His praises ... Worship Him, He is the Son of God, who came in the flesh and went down to death for you, and who is now in glory and we see Him crowned. Hosannah! Hosannah! Hosannah!’ This was followed by another longer ‘message’ addressed in the first person from God to his people urging them to seek Him, which would involve suffering and the need for the Word to become more of a reality for them’.  

It is interesting that it was deemed safe for these general prophecies to be written down, whereas anything specific should be treated with utmost care, unless, of course, it was a personal warning from God to disregard personal prophecies, as in the case of Friemal!  

This belief that spiritual gifts had a value - but ultimately only a relative value - caused the delivery of the vocal gifts to become quickly stylised. Since it was not deemed acceptable for prophecy to be directly and specifically engaged with the concerns of individuals, it became generalised religious formulae designed to be comforting to the hearer, but rarely leading to any ethical changes of behaviour. By 1971, one Pentecostal leader would reflect on his disappointment the use of prophecy since he had expected ‘an edifying utterance through the Spirit; when what followed was a jumble of miscellaneous observations’.  

Inevitably, after the initial euphoria of the experiences, there needed to be a period of evaluation. This happened most noticeably at the Annual Conventions hosted by Boddy in Sunderland. These conferences were the focal point for many British and European Pentecostal believers. They were occasions for fellowship at a time when Pentecostals could feel very isolated. They were also occasions when leaders could speak together about some of

22 A. A. Boddy, ‘Difficulties as to prophecy’, Confidence, February 1912, 38. The italicised section is in the original.  
the core Pentecostal issues that were being faced in local churches. Boddy’s significance to early Pentecostalism was seen in these Conventions. He gave Confidence to the leaders to explore their own positions and also to learn from one another. In providing the transcripts of the discussions in his magazine Confidence, he was able to affect the development of understanding on a much wider scale. In the period up to the First World War, he was the cipher for what would become seen as orthodox Pentecostalism.26 The leaders’ gathering saw the clear re-evaluation of the part played by tongues in the believer’s life.

What did SPEAKING IN Tongues signify?

Boddy began his Pentecostal ministry with a clear belief that the gift of tongues was the sign of having received the Spirit. However, as has been noted, he distinguished between the ability to speak in tongues, that being a sign of the indwelling Spirit and the reception of the gift of tongues, which could be used continuously.27 This distinction between tongues as a sign and a gift was held almost universally, particularly within Elim. However, Pastor Jonathan Paul of Germany challenged this view, on the grounds that some who had spoken in tongues had not subsequently lived holy lives. For the German pastors, sanctification was the central foundation for all future experiences of the Spirit. Because some believers were able to speak in tongues whilst living an unsanctified life, it was assumed that it was possible to receive the gift of tongues at regeneration, rather than solely as an initial sign of the Baptism in the Spirit. Clearly reflecting their Wesleyan roots, they believed that the experience of Perfect Love, rather than the sign of the gift of tongues, was the mark of being filled with the Spirit.28 Consequently, Paul

26 The alternative national Pentecostal leader was William Hutchinson, the leader of the Apostolic Faith Churches.
27 A. A. Boddy, ‘Tongues as a Seal of Pentecost’, Confidence (April 1908) 18. This was the first issue of Confidence.
believed that the gift of tongues could be received at conversion and refused to accept that the gift of tongues was an infallible, or even a necessary, sign of being baptised in the Spirit. Boddy was influenced by this view and, by the close of 1910, argued that tongues did not indicate the Baptism of the Spirit, if love was not present in the believer's life.

By 1911, Barratt was appealing to the Pentecostals who disagreed with each other regarding this issue of initial evidence, to allow the Spirit 'to bridge over the difficulty'. He suggested that whilst all could be filled with the Spirit, where speaking in tongues was evident, the experience was 'a special and gracious evidence of the Holy Spirit's in-dwelling presence'. Gerrit Polman, a Dutch Pentecostal leader, recognised that some had been baptised with the Spirit, and yet had not spoken in tongues, whilst others, due to the evident lack of change in their lives, had spoken in tongues but had not yet received the Spirit. He believed that too much emphasis had been placed on the gift of tongues as a sign, which had led to people trying to encourage the use of tongues through manipulative methods. Supporting Boddy, the sign he believed should be manifested was love, rather than tongues.

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30 J. Paul, ‘Was sollen und wollen die Pfingstgrusse?’, Pfingstgrusse 1.1 (February 1909) 31, cited in Van der Laan, ‘The Proceedings’, 81, wrote, ‘We are not of the opinion that only those speaking in tongues have received the Holy Spirit. Likewise speaking in tongues is for us no evidence in itself that someone has been filled with the Holy Spirit’. This was repeated in the 1912 Declaration of the International Pentecostal Consultative Council that met 4-5 December in Amsterdam. Present were Boddy, Polhill, Polman, Barratt, Humburg, Paul, Voget, Reuss.


32 T. B. Barratt, ‘An Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity (Part 1)’, Confidence (February 1911) 31.

33 T. B. Barratt, ‘An Urgent Plea for Charity and Unity (Part 2)’, Confidence (March 1911) 64.

34 G. Polman, ‘The Place of Tongues in the Pentecostal Movement’, Confidence (August 1911) 177. This would be attacked in later Elim publications. H.W. Greenway, TITLE MISSING (London: Elim Publishing Co., n.d., 8) stated, ‘Prayers for a “baptism of love” are without scriptural warrant and can be misleading. We are not to wait for love to fall upon us’.
Tongues and the Second Coming

Pentecostals had always been keen Adventists. Indeed, many of the early reports of the interpretation of tongues stressed the fact that that Jesus was returning imminently. For example, Boddy reported that during his visit to Norway this message had been constant. ‘The near coming of Christ seems to be impressed upon everyone who thus comes under the power of the Spirit. The message of nearly everyone is ‘Jesus is coming’.’ That this was a theme that was repeated in and around Boddy’s vicarage and church might be indicated by Boddy’s daughter’s experience of speaking in tongues being followed by the simple interpretation, ‘Jesus is coming’. The link between Spirit baptism and the second advent was also stressed by Boddy’s wife, Mary. She understood their experiences as being the preparation of the Pentecostals for the rapture. In 1911, Jonathan Paul continued this theme linking the second advent with the gift of tongues that had recently been experienced. He understood the gift of tongues to be the ‘midnight cry’ of Matthew 25. According to him, tongues functioned as the firstfruits of heavenly existence. He believed that the language of heaven would be the same as the tongues people were currently receiving; the Lord was thus preparing a people for eternity. He wrote, ‘When I am speaking in tongues, I am studying the language so that I might meet my Bridegroom.’

Wrestling with excesses

The ecstasies that some Pentecostals engaged in meant that they were prey for any number of unhelpful sensual or extreme ascetical practices. One of the roles Boddy felt had been designated to him was to be the one who warned impressionable Christians against such unbalanced practices. Generally he was level-headed about such issues and clear in his denunciations. However, it was obvious that for other leaders, the excesses were causing them to re-evaluate the Pentecostal movement itself.

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35 A. A. Boddy, ‘Tongues in Norway’, Leaflets on Tongues, no.6. That this was a constant theme might be indicated that Boddy’s daughter’s experience of tongues was followed by the simple interpretation, ‘Jesus is coming’. A.A. Boddy, ‘Young People at Sunderland’, Leaflets on Tongues, 10.
36 A. A. Boddy, ‘Young People at Sunderland’, Leaflets on Tongues, 10.
**Confidence** was the most significant British Pentecostal magazine during this time, although it was not the only one of its kind. T. M. Jeffreys had become the joint-editor of one of the alternative magazines, Omega, with Moncur Niblock in March 1910. On its inception, the intention of the magazine was clear. It would not publish news as *Confidence* was doing, but would be ‘devoted entirely to the teaching of what deeper and fuller revelations of His word God is giving to His children in these last days’. Accordingly, the magazine was an eclectic mixture of articles ranging from the faith-healing teaching of the American, Dwight Yoakum to extracts from the first epistle of Clement and the Shephard of Hermas, Christoph Blumhardt, William Law and Blaise Pascal. It embraced the more Catholic mystical elements of Pentecostalism’s ancestry. However, it was within these pages in August 1911, that Jeffreys launched an attack against the dangers he perceived within Pentecostalism.

If by the ‘Movement’ is meant those assemblies and missions where the gift of tongues is exercised unduly and unscripturally, and where they teach that it is the sign of the Baptism in the Holy Ghost and where they plead the word ‘blood’ rapidly as a method to obtain the gift of tongues, and where they teach sinless perfection or doctrines that are dangerously near it, and where there is no discipline or control, and where fleshly manifestations take place and where more prominence is given to messages in tongues and interpretation than to the Word of God as it is found in the Bible - then I may say that I entirely disassociate myself from it as a Movement. I believe in the Baptism in the Holy Ghost, and believe that perfect love is a truer sign that a person is filled with the Holy Spirit than tongues.

He denied that he was retreating from the blessings that he had experienced over the past three and a half years, but closed by saying, ‘I cannot believe the things described above which are being done in so many places, are the work of the Holy Spirit. May God keep us from fanaticism and fleshly manifestations.’

His outburst had a marked affect within the Pentecostal constituency and in May 1912 he wrote a letter to Boddy and the readers of *Confidence* assuring them of his continued involvement in the Pentecostal Missionary Union and its council. He reassured readers that ‘I still believe in the Baptism in the Holy

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Spirit accompanied by the Sign of ‘Tongues’. Applauding the Council and the Pentecostal Missionary Union for being a healthy corrective against false teachings, he pledged his continued identification with the Pentecostal Movement. However, it indicated that some of the leaders who had been associated with the Pentecostal movement from its earliest days were beginning to be embarrassed by some of the actions of the members. It would be inevitable that some would want to distance themselves from the excesses. This became more pronounced by the 1914 Convention.

Taylor comments on these discussions as revealing ‘the disparate nature of embryonic Pentecostal theology’. Boddy had established himself and Confidence as the focal point for unity in diversity. The discussion, and willingness to report the fundamental disagreements, may also reflect Boddy’s growing willingness to take a less rigorist stand concerning the relationship between Spirit baptism and tongues. Taylor is correct in suggesting that Boddy, influenced by the moderate position of his European counterparts, came to view tongues as insufficient evidence of holiness. Although he continued to hold to the sign of tongues as being the evidence of Spirit baptism, the overall value was recast into a sharper perspective.

The invited speakers at the 1914 Convention included the German party once again, but this would be the last time they would be able to visit England for a number of years. The gravity of the political situation was clear and a phrase often repeated during the week was ‘the sense of responsibility’. The Conventions had always included a strong adventist theme. The European crisis merely served to highlight this in 1914. On the Tuesday evening Boddy spoke of ‘the unrest in the different departments of life, see what unrest exists in the industrial world, think of the uprising of the democracy in many parts of the world - in China, in Turkey and in other parts ... we believe the meaning of it is that the end of this age, the Pentecostal age, is drawing near.’ For Boddy it was axiomatic that the Lord’s return was imminent.

The Spring of 1915 saw the climax of Boddy’s leadership of the Pentecostal Movement. His genius had been in providing a focal point for disparate

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41 ‘Pastor Jeffreys and the Pentecostal Missionary Union’, Confidence (May 1912) 114. He referred to the edition of December 1911. This may either then refer to a second, similar editorial as that in August 1911, one that is no longer extant, or it may be a mistaken reference to the date.

42 Taylor, Publish and be Blessed, 232.


groups and individuals to gather around. His tolerance and breadth of vision had allowed him to attract a wide range of speakers and delegates to the Conventions and an extensive readership of Confidence. This had enabled him to propagate a vision of spiritual renewal that would renew the traditional churches without them having to resort to the formation of new denominations. However, the outbreak of the first world war effectively marked the end of his leadership and his vision. By the close of the war, the circulation of Confidence had reduced drastically and a new generation of leaders had emerged. With the new generation came a desire for Pentecostal denominations and clarity in the belief in the evidential link between tongues and the baptism in the Spirit.
The Human Face of Pentecostalism: Why the British Pentecostal Moment began in the Sunderland Parish of the Church of England Vicar Alexander Boddy

Gavin Wakefield

Abstract

In September 2007 a conference was held in Durham and Sunderland to celebrate and reflect on the remarkable Pentecostal outpouring which began in the UK in 1907 in Sunderland. In this paper I seek to set the scene by offering a narrative of the Boddys, the human face of Pentecostal renewal in the UK. It was their leadership and example which gave energy and stability to the new movement – they were absolutely crucial to its growth. I will therefore explore their backgrounds as a means of helping to explain why this happened. I suggest that we find clues in the context of Sunderland and in the lives of Alexander and Mary Boddy. My approach is largely through an historical narrative.

Key Words: Alexander Boddy, Mary Boddy, Sunderland, industrialisation, leadership

While the Sunderland meetings are generally accepted by historians to be the key starting point of the Pentecostal movement in the UK, it is good to

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2 Some of this material draws on my book Gavin Wakefield, Alexander Boddy: Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), especially chapters 4 and 5
acknowledge earlier events. There had been a few reports of Pentecostal happenings in the 19th century, notably associated with the Irvingites in the 1830s and with the preaching tour of Phoebe Palmer in the 1860s. More immediately, in early 1907, Catherine Price of Brixton in south east London, had a deep experience of God, which included speaking in tongues. This led to a series of prayer meetings in her home and a few people received baptism in the Spirit. Alexander Boddy was aware of this meeting and included the testimony of Catherine Price in his pamphlet, *Pentecost for England*, distributed at the Keswick Convention in the summer of 1907.

But with those caveats most commentators have recognised the series of meetings hosted by Boddy in September 1907 as the public start of the Pentecostal Movement. So first, what was it about Sunderland that made it a promising location for the Pentecostal Movement?

### The social and religious context of north east England and Sunderland

Visiting the City of Durham makes one conscious of some of its historical associations, most powerfully its Romanesque cathedral, symbolising the status of successively the Community of St Cuthbert and then the Prince Bishops of Durham. This was where Boddy studied theology and then was ordained as a minister in the Church of England.

In 1880 when Boddy was ordained, the City of Durham was a university town but also at the heart of a massive industrial region. In the late nineteenth century County Durham was a key location for British industrial output. Coal had been mined from medieval times, but production increased dramatically in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth: the industry was still expanding in the first two decades of the twentieth century, at its peak in 1923 employing 170,000 workers, 15% of the national total of miners.³

To transport the coal local entrepreneurs had developed railways, first wooden and then metal. The first public railway in the world ran just south of here, from Stockton to Darlington. The metal for the rails was mined and smelted locally, especially in the Derwent valley west of Durham, and the steel works at Consett founded in 1840 grew to be one of the biggest in the country.

Besides the railways the other big user of steel was the shipbuilding industry. The Newcastle works on the River Tyne are perhaps the more

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³ Martin Bulmer ‘Employment and Unemployment in Mining 1920-70’ in Martin Bulmer (ed.) *Mining and Social Change* (London: Croom Helm, 1978)
widely known but in fact around 1900 the shipbuilders on Wearside at Sunderland produced nearly as many ships. Between them the shipyards of north east England are said to have produced a quarter of the entire world tonnage at this period (1900-1913).

This industrial and urban nexus may sound familiar from the descriptions of the growth of Pentecostal churches in the later twentieth century, for example, in Korea, Latin America and Africa. The French sociologist of religion, Daniele Hervieu-Leger has made an extensive and innovative case for taking seriously the local history of religion. She has argued that a collective chain of memory and tradition is important in helping individuals become part of a religious community. She writes of it: ‘Of its essence fluid and evolutionary, collective memory functions as a regulator of individual memory at any one moment.’ The historical evidence suggests that industrial Sunderland was a fruitful context for the birth and development of a variety of new religious groups, in a way that offers confirmation of Hervieu-Leger’s thesis.

As the town grew in population it became clear that the Church of England was not capable of keeping up with the number of people. In 1780 there were three parishes and just four buildings. Two of the parishes, Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth, had ancient and decrepit buildings and the clergy were generally slow to respond to the enthusiasm of the non-conformist chapels. By the mid-nineteenth century extensions were being built to existing church buildings, and new parishes created, as happened with All Saints, Monkwearmouth in 1844. Nonetheless this had left considerable scope for non-conformist developments.

Even in the seventeenth century Sunderland was said to have been a strongly puritan town, and local historian Geoffrey Milburn attributes the

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4 A good overview of local industry can be found in R.W. Sturgess (ed.) The Great age of industry in the North-East (Durham: Durham County Local History Society, 1981).
7 Based on Geoffrey Milburn, Church and Chapel in Sunderland (Occasional paper No. 4 Department of Geography and History, Sunderland Polytechnic, 1988), p., 2-12
outspokenness and tolerance of the community to it being a sea port. Perhaps as a result the parish churches of Sunderland and Monkwearmouth had evangelical leanings, and John Wesley was able to worship and preach regularly in both churches. Charles Wesley was the first to preach a Methodist sermon on Wearside on 16 June 1743, and wrote in his journal: ‘Never have I seen greater attention in any at their first hearing.’ John went on to visit Sunderland more than 30 times between 1743 and 1790, preaching at St Peter’s Monkwearmouth at least 15 times. He was especially positive about Sunderland folk, noting on one of his earlier visits in 1752, ‘I rode to Sunderland, where I found one of the liveliest societies in the north of England.’ And on his last visit in 1790: ‘Here it is plain, our labour has not been in vain!’

The work of Methodists in Sunderland was extended by the early arrival of Primitive Methodists in the 1820s. They quickly became established, with the town being a circuit centre by 1823 and a year later one of four District Centres for England. The Primitive Methodists had begun in 1807 as a revivalist movement within Wesleyan Methodism; its leaders were much influenced by an American Methodist revivalist, Lorenzo Dow, thus providing an early example of the important interaction between American and British revivalist movements. This movement had a strong appeal to coal miners, shipyard workers and artisans in many parts of England, enabling them to gain responsible positions with its organisation, and this was notably true in Sunderland. By 1832 they were writing of a revival in their Circuit and were able to pay for a second preacher, and a missionary to the Channel Islands.

The 1851 Religious Census showed that Methodism as a whole – it was in five groupings - was strong in Sunderland, with just over 40% of all worshippers attending the variety of Methodist chapels, compared with a

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8 Details in this paragraph from Geoffrey Milburn, The Travelling Preacher: John Wesley in the North East 1742-1790 (Wesley Historical Society (NE Branch), 1987; 2003²), pp.51-61
9 John Wesley, Journal, iv, p.24
10 Wesley, Journal, viii, p.72
11 Geoffrey Milburn, Primitive Methodism (Peterborough: Epworth, 2002), p., 44
12 Milburn, Primitive Methodism, p.5
national average of about 25%, with the Primitive Methodists in Sunderland unusually more numerous than the Wesleyan Methodists.\textsuperscript{14}

Sunderland continued to be a strong centre of Primitive Methodism in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first theological college of the movement was set up in Sunderland in 1868.\textsuperscript{15} However, all was not well: in 1875 a new chapel was opened in a more affluent area and this crystallised a growing division between a centralising tendency in the national leadership and resentment at this amongst local people. In a desire to maintain ‘its original simplicity and power’\textsuperscript{16} over 300 members withdrew from Primitive Methodism to form ‘Christian Lay Churches’. The term ‘Runaway Ranters’ was also applied to them, perhaps hinting at a less than positive reputation. The episode is an indication of the continuing independence of thinking in Sunderland in a denomination which was becoming more established and respectable. Such thinking played its part in helping to create a pool of people ready to respond to Boddy’s meetings in September 1907, for the ‘Prims’ were still strong in the area at the centenary celebrations of May 1907.

There were contributions to religious fervour from visiting preachers, including Walter and Phoebe Palmer in 1859 and Moody and Sankey in 1873. There was a local revival in the pit villages around Sunderland in the 1860s and 1870s, largely lay led, by both men and women, and in the town William Gelly was employed as an evangelist from 1870.\textsuperscript{17} Around 1879 a young Bramwell Booth, son of William and Catherine Booth, was holding ‘All Nights of Prayer’ in Sunderland: these events combined a call to holiness of life and prayer meetings, to help anyone seeking deeper spiritual experience’, according to Catherine Booth.

With this wealth of religious memory in the area and the contemporary pool of religious seekers encouraged by the Pentecostal League of Prayer, the Methodist chapels, the Salvation Army and Boddy’s own work it becomes plausible that the new religious experience should take hold in the town.

**Four key influences on the Boddys**

\textsuperscript{14} Geoffrey Milburn, *Religion in Sunderland* (Occasional paper No. 3 Department of Geography and History, Sunderland Polytechnic, 1982), p., 33

\textsuperscript{15} Milburn, *Primitive Methodism*, 41

\textsuperscript{16} Letter to *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 16 February 1877, reprinted Milburn, *Primitive Methodism*, 45

\textsuperscript{17} Milburn, *Primitive Methodism*, 44
I have provided a much fuller description of the Boddys’ lives elsewhere.\textsuperscript{18} However, I do want to bring out four key influences in their lives, more particularly Alexander’s, as we know more about him. This requires me to give you enough biographical information along the way in order to make sense of the story.

\textit{Alexander’s Upbringing in Manchester}

He was born in 1854 in Manchester, the third son of a clergyman who had worked for many years in one of the roughest parts of Manchester. The area of Cheetham where Boddy grew up, the parish of St Thomas, Red Banks, was a very poor area of Manchester in a period when rapid industrialisation was going on and before the later urban improvements of the Victorian age had really kicked in.

The area was described by Engels in \textit{The Condition of the Working Class} from his own witness observations. He depicted the scene from Ducie Bridge over the River Irk:

At the bottom the Irk flows, or rather, stagnates. It is a narrow, coal-black, stinking river full of filth and rubbish which it deposits on the more low-lying right bank [the Red Bank side]. … Above Ducie Bridge there are some tall tannery buildings, and further up there are dye-works, bone mills and gasworks. All the filth, both liquid and solid, discharged by these works finds its way into the River Irk, which also receives the contents of the adjacent sewers and privies. … There is an unplanned and chaotic conglomeration of houses, most of which are more or less unhitable. The dirtiness of the interiors of these premises is full in keeping with the filth that surrounds them.\textsuperscript{19}

As a son of the vicar Boddy would have been very aware of the poverty around them, and there can be little doubt that this gave him a sympathy with the poorest in society, whether in his own parish or on his travels. Examples of this were seen in his practical support for families affected by a severe coal miners strike in 1892, and his help for peasants travelling on the river boats in Russia.

\textsuperscript{18} Wakefield, Alexander Boddy

\textsuperscript{19} Friedrich Engels, \textit{The Condition of the Working Class} (ET, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971\textsuperscript{2}), pp., 60-62
But there was more to the parish than its poverty. First, there was a large Irish Roman Catholic immigrant community, whose religious needs were met by an Italian mission. They held outdoor processions as well as services in their own new church. This public expression of Catholicism was very new in 1850s England, with toleration of Roman Catholics growing from a low base.

Second, by the 1850s the area had become a very large Jewish ghetto, at this stage with Ashkanasi Jews fleeing from Tsarist pogroms in Eastern Europe. They lived here initially in massive poverty, crowding houses, establishing meetings and building a synagogue which opened in 1858.

In fact there were three synagogues opened close to Boddy’s home in the time he was in Manchester and he would have seen the Jewish community daily, though personal contact is likely to have been limited, and possibly non-existent.

Nonetheless, the presence of these groups meant that Boddy was raised in a mixed faith area and had more awareness and openness to other ways of seeing God than many mid-Victorians would have.

**Keswick Convention/Holiness movement**

The Boddys were evangelical Anglicans, by upbringing and conviction. The four-fold criteria of the eminent historian of Evangelicalism David Bebbington identify evangelicals through their emphases on the cross, conversion, the Scriptures and activism; these are all readily found in both Alexander’s and Mary’s writings.

Within that context the Keswick convention of the 1870s onwards was important to them, with its stress on personal faith and holy living. Alexander attended the second of these annual meetings in 1876 and was evidently impressed, for that point his faith became more personal and he determined to seek ordination rather than go into the law. We don’t know when Mary attended, but their daughter Jane testified in her memoir that both her parents valued the Keswick Convention.

The Keswick emphasis on holy living remained with them throughout their lives, even though they later felt that the Keswick convention needed to take on the Pentecostal experience. Alexander went in 1907 for example to distribute leaflets *Pentecost for England* in preparation for Barrett’s visit that autumn.

It is worth noting that Keswick had a more Romantic turn than much of Evangelicalism. Its setting in the heart of the Lake District was no accident, and many leaders were well disposed to the Lake District poets, and their view of nature. In turn this led to a broader doctrinal base for the movement.
in the late nineteenth century than for much of contemporary Evangelicalism, and indeed than its later reputation might suggest.

Inspiration from Keswick for the young Boddy confirmed him as an Evangelical, but I suspect it also appealed to his romantic nature evident from his travel writings. Such a background would enable him to feel he was being faithful to his evangelical background whilst being open to other expressions of faith. Keswick itself was not mainstream evangelicalism at this period and its influence on Boddy will have been important in broadening his interpretation of his faith.

**Experience through travelling**

During the 1880s Boddy took time to travel to Western and Eastern Europe, North Africa and North America and he wrote a number of travel books, including two he donated to Durham University library. Because of his books he became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

His seven travel books reveal his wonderful eye for detail and colour, and his sense of adventure.

Nothing could be more inspiring than to stand on the flying bridge and view one of the grandest sights in creation, as the wave mountains of the Atlantic ever rolled past, or to sit on the upper topsail yard as it swung from port to starboard, looking down on the vast tract of heaving waters, bounded only by the distant horizon circle, where the green-blue sea met the grey-blue sky dappled with fluffy cloudlets all torn and wind-driven.

Adopting local vocabulary when he had arrived in Kairwan he wrote in breathless fashion:

Returning to my room, I push everything against the lockless, boltless door, lie at last on my pallet, very tired, and am soon in dreamland. Yes I am back in the Middle Ages now? Verily it is the year of the Hedjra 1300, and I lie beneath the shadow of the walls of Kairwan! Oh Shade of Okhbah the Mighty, and Spirit of Lord Muhammed’s Companion, be hospitable to a Wanderer from the Isles of the North!20


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Travelling also provided theological material, this time selected from his trip to northern Russia. In this passage he reflected on Whitsunday on a painting of the first Pentecost, ending with an interesting comment on the book of Acts:

In the dome of the great cathedral and the monastery at Solovétsk is a striking representation of the first Christians gathered on the first Whitsunday, looking up with glorified faces as the flaming baptism of the Holy Ghost falls upon the infant Church. In the centre of the foreground is the mother of our Lord also receiving the gift. Our traditional idea of the power from on high only falling on the twelve apostles does not seem to agree with Acts i.14,15, and ii.6.21

Here we have Boddy open to learn from a very different tradition, an openness itself unusual for the time. Furthermore he was willing to have his understanding of the Bible developed through this non-verbal means, again very unusual for an evangelical of his time.

His breadth of spirit is further demonstrated by comments spread through his descriptions of Russia: he was warm about the Christian beliefs and practices of the Russians, but still prepared to critique what they did. For example, whilst appreciating the place of icons he is unhappy about images of God.22 His sense of fairness comes across when he reminded his readers that the Bible was read more widely in Russia than was generally assumed.23 The book ends with a Biblical comment on our fellowship with Christians in other countries:

Those who have gone forth sympathetically to view other lands than their own, will join with me, I am sure, in realising that the words spoken on Mars’ Hill are true as to our brothers and sisters, though they be Russian brothers and sisters:-

‘God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth.’24

22 Boddy, *With Russian Pilgrims*, p.250
23 Boddy, *With Russian Pilgrims*, p.252f
24 Boddy, *With Russian Pilgrims*, p.295
The same breadth of vision was shown in a sermon preached at St George’s church, Jerusalem in the 1890s when he urged unity amongst Christians and mutual respect:

We Christians have many ways of worshipping Christ the Lord. Too often each one is ready to condemn all others, and to do it, perhaps, in great ignorance.

The solution, interestingly, is to pray for the Holy Spirit to pour out his love:

Oh, for an outpouring of the Holy Ghost until heats overflow to one another in love! There is no other solution of these difficulties but the yielding to the full possession of the Spirit’s power. The spirit of condemnation and criticism in our Church, at home and abroad, will be flooded out with the spirit of love.\textsuperscript{25}

Boddy had embarked on his travels with an openness to others already in place. His meetings with people of many backgrounds extended his willingness to explore new ideas and to see how they fitted with his faith.

\textit{Spiritual experiences}

During this period, the 1890s and into the new century, Boddy’s spiritual quest took priority over his travelling, and he had a number of significant experiences. These were in part shared with Mary.

In 1892 Alexander realised that he had not personally appropriated the doctrine of justification by faith. He was helped in prayer by a visiting missionary from Ceylon which gave him confidence that his sins were forgiven. As Boddy wrote later, ‘We knelt together, and I arose with full assurance that my sins were forgiven me for His Name’s Sake.’

This was an important step forward spiritually but he still believed there was more to come. Later that year whilst celebrating a quiet communion service for the feast of St Matthew and the anniversary of his ordination he met God in a profound way; in his own words:

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It was on the 21st September, 1892, at about 8.40 in the morning, in All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth, … that the Holy Spirit in infinite love came upon me …. It overwhelmed me; my voice broke, and tears were in my eyes. I knew he had come, and that I was “fulfilled with His grace and heavenly benediction”. When the service was over I praised him in the words of the Doxology. The longing of my heart was satisfied: my constant prayer was answered.26

Later he regarded this as the first of seven very significant occasions on which he knew something of the love of God through the Holy Spirit.

In 1899 Mary, who was never a very well woman, experienced healing of asthma through faith in God. In her own testimony in 1907 Mary described how her eagerness to work in the parish led to poor health, especially chronic asthma and bronchitis. She began to read the Scriptures on the matter of Divine Healing and became convinced that Christ could bring physical healing.

After many months of prayer, God spoke to me from John v.,39-40, on the 23rd of February, 1899, and as I believed the Word and received Jesus to come into me as my physical life, He did so, and I was made whole.27

As a result of her healing Mary discovered she had a gift of healing and regularly prayed with and laid hands on sick people. Their daughter Jane remembered that the family rarely saw a doctor, for if they were ill her father would anoint them with oil and her mother lay on hands. According to Jane her father did not have the gift of healing but used a service of Anointing the Sick and taught on the subject of healing. She believed that his prayers, faith and compassion helped many. She herself asked him to pray with her when ‘in a bad mood as an adolescent’ which she found brought her peace.28 Boddy’s own later reflections were that he began to anoint sick people with oil from 1892, and it was after Mary’s healing that they rarely consulted doctors.29 This length of involvement in a healing ministry was to prove

27 Mary Boddy, “Pentecost” at Sunderland: the Testimony of a Vicar’s Wife, p.2
29 for the first see Confidence April 1922, p.21; for the second see Confidence January 1910, p.15
invaluable later, and Mary began an extensive teaching ministry by writing of ‘Health and Healing in Jesus’ in the second issue of *Confidence* in 1908.\footnote{see Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy*, pp.172-8 for discussion of his theological understanding of healing}

**Integration**

These four influences – upbringing in a poor and multi-faith context, the holiness movement, travelling to new contexts, and spiritual experiences – might be seen to combine in Boddy’s trip to the Welsh Revival in December 1904. He spent time with Evan Roberts and was obviously impressed with what he saw.

He returned to Sunderland and began a prayer meeting for revival. He was welcomed to speak in Methodist Chapels, Mission Halls and other places and he organised a number of open air meetings, including one with 15,000 people in Roker Park football stadium. News of the Pentecostal outpouring in Azusa Street in 1906 was welcome to him and it was through a long chain of connections that in 1907 he invited T. B. Barrett from Oslo to hold meetings in his parish.

**Conclusion**

In identifying reasons for the beginnings of the Pentecostal Movement in the social and religious history of Sunderland and in these four influences on the Boddys we should not ignore the personal gifts that both Alexander and Mary brought. Alexander had enormous energy, organisational skills and writing and publishing skills, honed over many years. Mary had a deep personal faith allied to writing ability and a perceptive theological mind; her theological contribution has yet to be full appreciated, though Diana Chapman has started that process for us.\footnote{Diana Chapman, *Searching for the Source of the River: Forgotten Women of the British Pentecostal Revival 1907-1914* (London: PUSH Publishing, 2007), chapter 3}

The Pentecostal Movement would have happened in Britain without the Boddys, but the Movement took its shape in its early stages because of their gifts and personalities, expressed in the context of industrial Sunderland. Their breadth of pastoral and spiritual experience, and their theological understanding provided the Movement and its other leaders with stability and points of reference. Without them the Pentecostal Movement would have
been a weaker and poorer thing and so it is good to thank God for them at this Centenary.
Jonathan Paul and The German Pentecostal Movement –
The First Seven Years, 1907-1914

Carl Simpson

Abstract
The German Pentecostal Movement began in 1907 but too few people are aware of its history or origins. In Confidence, published 1908 - 1926, A. A. Boddy preserved many vital insights into the genesis of the German Pentecostal Movement. Some articles were reproduced in the German magazine Pfingstgrüße, 1909 – 1919, originally edited by Jonathan Paul who became the prominent leader of Pentecost in Germany. Both publications were established to promote Pentecostalism and provide invaluable primary source material in the form of editorials, teaching, sermons, stories and testimonies, mostly long forgotten, recording exciting days, reminiscent of the Early Church. Germany provided European Pentecostalism with some key leaders, preachers and teachers, principally Jonathan Paul, but also Emil Meyer, and Emil Humburg and Carl Octavius Voget. The first seven years were marked by influential conferences, a major attack against the Pentecostals in the form of the Berlin Declaration, and the formation of the Mülheimer Verband, not a denomination but a Pentecostal association. The influence of Azusa Street and North American Pentecostalism cannot be ignored, but a separate and unique European Pentecostal development can be identified, with Germany exerting major sway.

Introduction
The year 2007 marks the centenary of the Pentecostal Movement in Germany. In general, all movements have a founder who normally becomes the responsible leader. In the case of German Pentecostalism the acknowledged leader in its early days was Jonathan Paul, but he cannot be construed to be the founder, since he was not present at the Kassel revival of 1907, where the first outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Germany occurred. Paul’s leadership

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was recognized by both supporters and antagonists of Pentecost within Germany, and more widely after the Hamburg Conference in 1908 where he began to interact with his contemporaries, A. A. Boddy (1854-1930)\(^2\) and T. B. Barratt (1862-1940)\(^3\). Allan Anderson identifies the early years of Pentecostalism as the ‘decisive heart of the movement’\(^4\). In Germany this critical period, which includes the unprecedented attack of the Berlin Declaration, the Pentecostals’ response and the formation of the Mülheimer Verband, can be extended to the outbreak of World War I, on 1\(^{st}\) August 1914, the first seven years.

The first seven years of German Pentecostal history were exciting days and reports proliferated of great conferences attended by thousands, spiritual gifts in evidence, speaking in tongues, interpretation, prophecy, healings, even someone raised from the dead!\(^5\) All this happened in spite of (some might even argue because of) concerted opposition from churchmen culminating in the Berlin Declaration of 15\(^{th}\) September, 1909 which branded the Pentecostal Movement as ‘from below’.\(^6\)

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\(^5\) Emil Humburg, ‘Raised from the Dead’, *Confidence*, 3, 7, (1910), 159-160. This notable miracle took place in Mülheim on Ruhr when during Easter 1910 a young woman of 22 years was raised from the dead. She had been lifeless for 2½ hours, during which time a brother and four sisters prayed fervently but to no avail. Humburg was summoned late at night and gives a remarkable eyewitness account.

Pentecost Reaches Europe

When Boddy heard that Barratt had introduced the Pentecostal blessing to Norway, he made a trip to Oslo in early March 1907 and was instrumental in inviting Barratt to Sunderland for the meetings at All Saints, Monkwearmouth, in the autumn of that year, which then became the cradle of Pentecostalism in England. In the spring of 1907 Jonathan Paul (1853-1931), a German State Church pastor, working as a full-time evangelist, had also visited Barratt in Oslo. He was accompanied by Emil Meyer (1869-1950) of the Strandmission Hamburg, but it seems unlikely that they met Boddy at this time. Meyer received the Spirit baptism in Norway, evidenced by glossolalia. Paul returned, convinced of the genuineness of the work, but claiming that he had not personally received anything new in Norway, and that he went to become acquainted with the new Movement.13

A Catastrophic Beginning to Pentecostalism in Germany

During the month of July 1907 a revival broke out in the town of Kassel, in meetings conducted by the evangelist Heinrich Dallmeyer (1870-1925).14

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12 Paul had received the Spirit-baptism after the nature of Moody and Finney, on 17th June 1890, and did not receive glossolalia until 15th September 1907 in Bad Liebenzell.
Despite the fact that Jonathan Paul became the most prominent leader of German Pentecostalism he was never present in Kassel.  

In Hamburg at the Strandmission, Dallmeyer met two young Norwegian sisters Dagmar Gregersen and Agnes Thelle, who had been Spirit baptized in Barratt’s meetings. He invited them to accompany him to evangelize in Kassel. The meetings held in the Blue Cross Hall, ran from 7th July to 1st August and at first were very orderly, with many people being filled with the Holy Spirit, evidenced by glossolalia, and healings. Gemeinschaftsbewegung leaders Haarbeck, Modersohn and Schrenk all visited Kassel and although uncertain what to make of it were convinced it was a genuine move of God. Unfortunately Dallmeyer permitted certain behaviour to go unchecked, and as time went on, there were many carnal manifestations. Ultimately the threat to public order was so great that the meeting was closed by the police, at the order of the city government officials.  

Initially the scandalous events of the Kassel Revival appeared to be a catastrophe, which Fleisch adjudged as merely a prelude to the Pentecostal Movement in Germany, but it was from there that Pentecostalism spread to other parts of the country. Less than eighteen months later the participants at the Hamburg Conference in December 1908 came from 18 different locations in Germany showing how widespread the Pentecostal Movement had become. The Kassel meetings may have been proscribed but the flame of Pentecost had been kindled in Germany, and was not extinguished.

18 Giese, Jonathan Paul, 125. Dallmeyer had been present in Brieg in April 1907 when Paul had warned of the need to test the spirits. Critically he failed to heed this wise advice.  
20 Fleisch, Die Pfingstbewegung, 49.  
The Barmen Conference 1907

In the months following Kassel, Heinrich Dallmeyer renounced his involvement claiming that he had been deceived by a false spirit. His concerted attacks on the Pentecostals caused a division of opinion in the Gemeinschaftsbewegung so a conference was held at Barmen on the 19th and 20th December 1907, attended by thirty-four leading German Churchmen, to discuss the tongues-speaking movement. Paul’s biographer Giese states categorically that Jonathan Paul was not present, indeed it is unclear if he even received an invitation. This important Gnadau Conference receives scant attention from Giese who seems content to move the scene directly to Hamburg, December 1908, where Paul finally had the freedom to present his own beliefs, the nature of his Sanctification experience, and to discuss them with esteemed Pentecostal colleagues in the light of Scripture. It appears that Giese was in error as both Fleisch and Krust list Paul among the Barmen Conference participants. It is indicative of a tendency among Mülheim historians to date the beginning of the German Pentecostal Movement as the Hamburg Conference, 8th – 11th December 1908, rather than the unfortunate events of Kassel.

There may have been a deliberate attempt by the Gnadau leadership to keep Paul away from Barmen, since Krust suggests that those present expected him to be excluded from the Gnadau Union. With his charismatic personality and personal integrity, he was known by all, and despite his perfectionist teachings, well respected in the Gemeinschaftsbewegung before 1907. Paul’s open willingness to testify of having received glossolalia on 15th September 1907 had exacerbated the tension within the

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22 Krust, 50 Jahre, 55.
23 Emil Meyer, letter to T. B. Barratt, Confidence, 1, 1, (1908), Supplement 2.
24 Giese, Jonathan Paul, 145.
26 Krust, 50 Jahre, 58, and Fleisch, Die Pfingstbewegung, 72.
27 Krust, 50 Jahre, 65.
28 There is a debate on whether the German Pentecostal Movement began in 1907 in Kassel, or in 1908 at the Hamburg Conference. See Schmidgall, Hundert Jahre, ‘Terminus a Quo’, 230-239.
29 Krust, 50 Jahre, 58.
30 Schmidgall, From Oslo to Berlin!, 93.
Gemeinschaftsbewegung. Doubtless the leadership wished to protect members of the Movement from the deleterious effects of wrong doctrine, dubious practices and a false spirit, but it appears that the organizers of this particular conference were working towards an agenda to discredit the new Pentecostal movement, prompted by a fear that a schism would divide the Gemeinschaftsbewegung.

Such an anxiety appears well-founded, as observed in the following anonymous contribution to *Confidence* providing information about the Gemeinschaftsbewegung and how its very nature contributed to the rapid spread of Pentecostalism in Germany, but ultimately at great cost to the parent body.

In 1907, when the Pentecostal Movement began, a great division took place all over Germany in all the Gemeinschaft’s Mission Halls. (These were fertile soil for the Movement, which spread rapidly into all the large towns, and also the smaller ones, for there are countless centres of the Gemeinschaft Movement everywhere.) The fact of these Gemeinschaft Mission Halls made the spread of the Movement easier and more rapid than with us in England, where there was no such Gemeinschaft Movement.

Barmen concluded with a resolution that all Church publications, whatever the persuasion, should observe a one year period of silence about this (Pentecostal) Movement. In December 1908 the German Pentecostal leaders felt that the time had come for that silence to be broken and called their own conference in Hamburg.

The Hamburg Conference

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33 A. A. Boddy, ‘Pentecostal Conference in Germany, December 8-11, 1908’, *Confidence*, 1, 9, (1908), Supplement, 1. Boddy is incorrect as he remarked that Barmen had advised only six months of meditation upon the issues surrounding the Pentecostal Movement.

The moratorium imposed by Barmen meant that the earliest issues of *Confidence* tell little of what was happening in Germany but focus rather on the excitement of the first Sunderland Conference in 1908, which was an international gathering.\(^{35}\) Apparently there were no Germans in attendance,\(^{36}\) but from 1909 to the outbreak of World War I a large group of German pastors attended the Sunderland Whitsuntide conferences, and their ministry always formed ‘a dominant side of the Bible teaching’.\(^{37}\) Both Boddy and Barratt were invited to attend the Pentecostal Conference in Hamburg, hosted by Emil Meyer (1869-1950).

The Hamburg Conference of December 1908 was an international event with some 50 people present, 16 of whom were women,\(^{38}\) from six countries, including two individuals who had been present at Azusa Street in Los Angeles, Cecil Polhill and the Swede, Andrew Johnson. Jonathan Paul found himself in the milieu of the acknowledged leaders of Pentecost in Europe such as Boddy, Barratt and Polman. Just over three years after the event, Boddy recollected ‘…fifty preachers and evangelists came together from all parts of Germany’.\(^{39}\) One may not take such a statement literally as the number present is more or less correct but probably less than half were actual leaders, only about a quarter held ministerial credentials, and ten of the fifty were not from Germany!

Boddy emphasized the love and fellowship\(^{40}\) in addition to the helpful discussions of Pentecostal topics such as *glossolalia* as initial evidence, the Gift


\(^{36}\) Neil Hudson, ‘The Earliest Days of British Pentecostalism’, 65, named ‘the effusive Martin Gensichen’ as the only German pastor at the first Pentecostal conference, quoting from Gee, *These Men I Knew*, (Nottingham: Assemblies of God, 1980), 43. He appears to be in error since it is in direct contradiction of T. Jeffreys, ‘A Retrospect of the Sunderland Convention’, *Confidence*, 3, 6, (1910), 125, attending his third Whitsuntide Conference, who stated that Gensichen, Voget and Reghely were “new faces” in 1910.

\(^{37}\) Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 42.

\(^{38}\) A full list of conference participants in the first edition of *Pfingstgrüße* 1, 1, (1909), 4, replicated, almost exactly, the register published in *Confidence* in December 1908, which stated that it was compiled one of Brother Meyer’s workers. Two more names appear in *Pfingstgrüße*, a total of 52.

\(^{39}\) A. A. Boddy, ‘Days in Germany’, *Confidence*, 5, 1, (1912), 6.

\(^{40}\) A. A. Boddy, ‘Pentecostal Conference in Germany, December 8-11, 1908’, *Confidence*, 1, 9, (1908), 24.
of tongues and xenolalia.\textsuperscript{41} The Hamburg Conference decided on the publication of a new magazine entitled Pfingstgrüße (Pentecostal Greetings), with Jonathan Paul as its editor, to be the official voice of German Pentecostalism. In its first issue, Paul cautioned that speaking in tongues was not considered proof of the Baptism with the Holy Spirit, for him the Fruit of the Spirit was the main thing.\textsuperscript{42} Boddy exhibited a different opinion. ‘Pentecost means the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the sign of “Tongues”’,\textsuperscript{43} he averred, although he would not stipulate this as a rule for others.

Pfingstgrüße published Barratt’s reports of three cases of xenolalia.\textsuperscript{44} Such positive testimony was intended to place tongues-speaking in a favourable light amongst German Churchmen. Unfortunately, the lines were drawn with many of Jonathan Paul’s colleagues in the Gnadau Union taking entrenched positions with regard to tongues, the Pentecostal Movement, and against Paul as its leading figure. Before long, events would take a decisive turn, which would shape the destiny of the Pentecostal Movement in Germany throughout the twentieth century and beyond. Proving the usefulness or validity of glossolalia or xenolalia was unlikely to convince those who believed its whole origin to be demonic. Boddy’s report that at Hamburg Pastor Paul gave some deeply spiritual messages in tongues, with interpretation,\textsuperscript{45} only provided his antagonists with the ammunition needed to condemn him.

Boddy’s invitation to Paul to share the platform with Barratt at Sunderland in June 1909, with Germany selected to open the Sunderland Conference that year\textsuperscript{46}, was both an indication of the trust inculcated and evidence of the acknowledged prominence of Paul to the Pentecostal Movement in Germany. The following announcement contains some striking information:

At the European Conference, held in Germany, December 1908, it was decided that the Conference at Whitsuntide at Sunderland should be the

\textsuperscript{41} Confidence, 2, 1, (1909), 6-7.
\textsuperscript{42} Pfingstgrüße, 1, 1 (1909), 1-2.
\textsuperscript{43} A. A. Boddy, ‘Pentecostal Conference in Germany, December 8-11, 1908, cont.’, Confidence, 2, 2, (1909), 33.
\textsuperscript{44} Pfingstgrüße, 1, 2, (1909), 8. First, a lady from Lappland had heard someone speaking in her own language; second, a young girl spoke in good German, in the Spirit; and finally a young Spaniard was converted after hearing a message in tongues, which was actually Spanish.
\textsuperscript{45} Confidence, 1, 9, (1908), Supplement, 2.
\textsuperscript{46} Confidence, 2, 1, (1909), 2.
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, to which Pentecostal Leaders and Workers from all lands should be invited.\(^47\)

The Hamburg Conference was referred to as the European Conference, not merely a national conference for Germany, and this body made a legislative decision that the next gathering at Sunderland should be the International Conference, i.e. for Europe and the rest of the world.

**1909 - A Critical Year**

At the Mülheim Conference, in July 1909 there were many messages in tongues with interpretation. In a sermon Jonathan Paul is quoted as saying, ‘Would He give me a devil when I ask for the Holy Spirit?’\(^48\) Clearly this was intended to be a rhetorical question, but in September a number of leaders of the Gnadau Union provided an answer. Unhappy with the Pentecostal Movement and what they considered its excesses, their intention was to put a stop to its development, so they issued the Berlin Declaration, on 15\(^{th}\) September 1909.\(^49\) Jonathan Paul was the only person named, and repudiated, by the 56 signatories\(^50\) who purposefully gave him no opportunity to attend and defend himself. The clear intention was to link German Pentecostalism with Los Angeles which they believed to be infected with demon spirits. From Kassel onwards, lying spirits were at work, some people actually possessed, and as such the movement could not be accepted as God-given. The whole Pentecostal Movement was condemned,\(^51\) and the phrase ‘from below’ was used deliberately, but ambiguously, to denote human or demonic

\(^{47}\) _Confidence_, 2, 3, (1909), 76.


\(^{49}\) Finis, ‘A Quest for Holiness’, 117-120.

\(^{50}\) Ernst Giese, _Und flicken die Netze_ (Marburg: Giese, 1976), 133-134 stated that following an exchange of letters with Hermann Schöpwinkel in 1965 and 1966 he had ascertained the following disturbing features. The resolution was voted upon but none of those present personally signed the declaration, rendering it invalid and making it impossible to retract any signatures. It was also a private matter, and did not officially represent the committees or ruling boards of any of the bodies represented.

\(^{51}\) Reghely, ‘Ein Neues Pfingsten’ _Pfingstgrüße_, 2,1, (1909), 2. The Berlin signatories stated that they were not waiting for a new Pentecost but rather for the Lord’s Second Coming.
spirits at work, rather than the Holy Spirit. Other grounds for condemnation included manifestations similar to Spiritism, allegedly unbiblical female ministry, and the teaching of perfectionism inexorably linked to Paul as its leader.52

The first post-Berlin Declaration Conference was held in Mülheim from 28th September to 1st October 1909, with a massive attendance of 2,500,53 far in excess of any similar gathering organized by the Gemeinschaftsbewegung. Here the Pentecostals issued their response, the so-called ‘Mülheim Declaration’ of the 29th September 1909, which displays a spirit of love and reconciliation but also clearly outlined the beliefs and practices of Pentecost.54

The entire audience rose to their feet to display their approval of this answer to the Berlin signatories.55 Sadly, the opponents of Pentecost were not about to change their minds. Nevertheless, an ironic development was reported by Brother Beyerhaus from Berlin; a new Pentecostal group was meeting in the very room where the Berlin Declaration had been compiled and signed, in Koppen Strasse 70.56

The opposition kept lukewarm people away and had the effect of purifying the fledgling Pentecostal gatherings.

The Role of Women

Boddy noted that in Germany the sisters were not expected to speak much (but sometimes acted as interpreters)57 and sat to one side. At this time, women were little used in ministry although there were exceptions like Eleanor Patrick, leader of a Pentecostal work in Frankfurt,58 who first used glossolalia at Hamburg in 1908,59 and some served as deaconesses.60 Whereas Mary Boddy and Wilhelmine Polman were both prominent in Britain and Holland respectively, the wives of the German leaders remained very much in

52 Van Der Laan, Sectarian Against His Will, 62.
55 Confidence, 2, 10, (1909), 228.
56 E. Beyerhaus, letter to the editor from Berlin, Confidence, 2, 12, (1909), 280.
58 E. Patrick, letter to the editor, Confidence, 2, 8, (1909),186.
60 A. A. Boddy, ‘Pentecostal Conference in Germany, December 8-11, 1908’, Confidence, 1, 9, (1908), Supplement, 4.
the background, giving warm welcomes and extending marvellous hospitality to visitors.\(^{61}\) The freedom exercised by Wilhelmine Polman, can only be understood as one recognizes the influence of both the Salvation Army and the Christian Catholic Church as being forerunners of Dutch Pentecostalism.\(^{62}\) The wives of the founders of both movements, Catherine Booth and Jane Dowie, were permitted and encouraged to exercise ministry, so Gerrit Polman’s wife followed in their footsteps. In Germany, among the precursors to Pentecost there were no such precedents of leaders’ wives being given such ministerial responsibilities. Even in 1913 Jonathan Paul acknowledged that the topic of women ministry in the church was a much disputed one.\(^{63}\)

**A Growing Movement**

In December 1909 a Pentecostal Conference was held in Breslau with many powerful healings (30 in one meeting!), and numerous messages given prophetically. Letters from all over the Fatherland were read out requesting prayer for healing, detailing opposition and persecutions, but also recounting many blessings. Despite the Berlin Declaration and formal opposition, the Pentecostal work was growing.\(^{64}\) By 1912 the Movement had grown mightily in Germany, so that an anonymous visitor wrote that the country was honeycombed with Pentecostal missions and assemblies, many thousands of men and women baptized in the Holy Spirit, and the Gifts of the Spirit manifested more than anywhere else. In addition there was a marked Spirit of Brotherly Love.\(^{65}\)

**International Influence**

Boddy ascribed the success of the movement in Germany to solid leadership\(^{66}\) and good teaching. When the party of German leaders arrived at the Sunderland Conference in June 1910, Thomas Jeffreys remarked that ‘the best wine was now coming’.\(^{67}\) Paul, Voget, Humburg and Gensichen are all

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61 A. A. Boddy, ‘Days in Germany’, *Confidence*, 4, 11, (1911), 260.
65 Anon., *Confidence*, 5, 2, (1912), 43.
66 A. A. Boddy, *Confidence*, 3, 6, (1910), 131.

186 THE JOURNAL OF THE EUROPEAN PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
recorded as having preached or taught during Conferences in Sunderland, and Paul made himself available for personal counselling particularly for those seeking the Spirit baptism. Another reason for the growth of the movement in Germany was its organization, even though in the early days there were no Pentecostal denominations.

German Pentecostal leaders had a major role in European Pentecostalism, as can be seen in the Declaration of the International Council agreed upon in Amsterdam, December 1912. Jonathan Paul chaired the session and the Declaration set out the teachings and beliefs of this body of leaders who represented the Pentecostal believers of Europe. The Declaration was signed by Boddy, Barratt, Polman, Paul, Voget and Humburg among others, and shows the influence of the German leaders. On Spirit baptism, it is significant that this august body did not insist that tongues should be regarded as initial evidence, but rather that it would be evidenced by ‘the fruit of the Spirit and the outward manifestation, so that we may receive the same gift as the disciples on the Day of Pentecost’. If someone had spoken in tongues it was to be seen as part of a progressive work of the Spirit. This certainly reflected the German position at that time but was a major departure from the classical position originating with Charles Parham in 1901 and popularized by the Azusa Street Revival which asserted categorically that glossolalia was the first evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

The Mülheimer Verband

Sadly World War I impeded travel, personal contacts, and the further growth of European Pentecostalism. The early halcyon days were never to be repeated, and it would be many years before German Pentecostal Leaders achieved such prominence again. Early Pentecostalism in Europe has to be seen as a renewal movement, with interested parties coming from a variety of denominational backgrounds, seeking to bring a new blessing from God to revitalize the churches. Eventually, across Europe the opposition from within the established churches forced many to leave and form their own Pentecostal church denominations. Shortly before World War I, a union of churches based on those who had sought and maintained fellowship at the Mülheim

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Conferences was created on 2\textsuperscript{nd} February 1914 with Emil Humburg (1874-1965) as its leader, and Jonathan Paul as its national evangelist.\textsuperscript{71} The formation of the Mülheimer Verband (Mülheim Association) provided an opportunity for fellowship among the various Pentecostal groups and, since it was not the original intention to separate from the Gemeinschaftsbewegung, a limited company called the ‘Christliche Kolportage GmbH’\textsuperscript{72} was set up. This had two immediate advantages: first, rather than registering as a Church, all group members (Pentecostal fellowships) and individual members could retain their denominational affiliation, hence Jonathan Paul could remain a Lutheran. Second, as the name suggests, the new company printed, published and distributed literature which promoted the Pentecostal cause, including a translation of the New Testament into contemporary German completed in 1914\textsuperscript{73} which was partly Paul’s work. The fact that this is, to date, the only Pentecostal Bible translation is a comment on the paucity of Pentecostal theological scholarship but also a tribute to Paul and his colleagues from the German Pentecostal Movement.

The Mülheimer Verband was unique in that it allowed leaders and local churches to stay within their denomination but to maintain fellowship with other Pentecostals. Hollenweger made the following observation: ‘These churches, although the oldest Pentecostal organization in Germany, have been consistently ignored by most Pentecostal authors writing in English.’\textsuperscript{74} An unfortunate oversight since Hutten acknowledged the uniqueness of the Mülheimer Verband and elevated this group to be ‘a point of reference for the other Pentecostal bodies in Germany and the world’.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{71} Junghardt and Vetter, \textit{Ruhrfeuer}, 210.
\textsuperscript{72} Schmidgall, \textit{From Oslo to Berlin}, 94. Its full title was “Christliche Kolportage Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung” (Christian Colportage Association Limited) organized 2nd February 1914.
\textsuperscript{73} The Mülheim New Testament was published in Mülheim by the Christliche Kolportage GmbH on 14th December 1914. \textit{Pfingstgrüße}, 7, 11, (1914) 88.
\textsuperscript{74} Walter J. Hollenweger, \textit{Pentecostalism: origins and developments worldwide} (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), 335.
Conclusion

The early years of the German Pentecostal Movement are inescapably linked to Jonathan Paul as its first leader. Both Paul and the Mülheimer Verband were subject to many fierce attacks, probably more than any other Pentecostal Church in the world,\(^76\) and the formal nature of the Berlin Declaration created an orthodoxy within German evangelicalism from which Pentecostals were excluded.\(^77\) Nevertheless, the German Pentecostal Church grew in numbers and influence due, in no small measure, to the stable and wise leadership of Jonathan Paul who was highly respected by contemporary leaders of Pentecostalism in Europe as a preacher and teacher, with a unique grasp of Pentecostal theology. He did not hold the doctrine of initial evidence, and challenged this on the international stage so that the German position held sway in the Declaration of the International Council in 1912. Paul’s wider influence diminished because of isolation during World War I, and never regained its former state, partly because of his age, but in the first seven years of German Pentecostal history he modelled servant leadership and inspired a Pentecostal movement that in those days was the envy of many other lands. In 1914 Paul wrote an article entitled ‘Seven Years of German Pentecostalism’\(^78\) in which he described the Pentecostal Movement as a loud wake-up call to the Body of Christ. He extolled the gift of tongues, spoke of incurables who were healed and of the extraordinary love for God and the brethren experienced since the movement began. He explained away the opposition by quoting a German proverb ‘Where God builds a church the devil builds a chapel nearby’.\(^79\)

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\(^76\) Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 337.
\(^77\) Finis, ‘A Quest for Holiness’, 114.
\(^79\) In German the proverb reads “Wo Gott eine Kirche baut, baut der Teufel eine Kapelle daneben”.
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Sunderland’s Legacy in New Denominations

Revd Dr. William K Kay

Abstract

This article traces the results for the twentieth century classical Pentecostal denominations in Britain of the Sunderland experience if Pentecostal empowerment. There were three main streams of classical Pentecostal denomination – Apostolic Faith Mission, The Elim Movement and the Assemblies of God.

Introduction

In examining the contribution of the seven Sunderland conventions to the development of the Pentecostal movement in Britain, I make a number of assumptions. These assumptions are that the pentecostal movement begins in a state of disorganisation and, through a process of networking, conferences, emerging consensus and organisational initiatives, gradually turned into a series of discrete and separate denominations incorporating recognisably Pentecostal distinctives. The eventual variations between the denominations are partly doctrinal and partly administrative, and these differences depend upon factors that lie outside Sunderland. Sunderland is therefore important in the transitioning stage from the initial disorganised state to the eventual organised state.

In response to Alexander Boddy’s invitation, T B Barratt came to Boddy’s parish on Saturday the 31st of August 1907 and spoke the following day after the evening service to a small group in the vestry. The meeting continued into the early hours of Monday morning and there, on the premises of the

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Established Church, the first collective British speaking with tongues took place.

In April 1908 Boddy published the first edition of Confidence and was able to say that more than 70 people had ‘received a baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Seal of Tongues’ (page 5) in Sunderland since September the previous year and that there were now altogether probably more than 500 people in Britain who had had the same experience. As he put it, ‘earnest pilgrims have come from all parts, and many have returned rejoicing and have been spreading the fire’ (page 5).² In the same issue Boddy was able to list 33 Pentecostal centres (32 excluding Sunderland) in Great Britain and Ireland.³ Each centre was accompanied by the name of a representative or correspondent.

It is impossible to believe that 32 different centres had sprung up directly as a consequence of contact with Sunderland, and Boddy never claimed that this was the case. Many of the centres were small and some had had a pre-existence as independent meetings with spiritual leanings which, in response to what was happening at Sunderland, took on Pentecostal characteristics. Confidence later explained how key members of these congregations had come to speak in tongues. Among those named in connection with the first tranche of Pentecostal centres was William Hutchinson of Bournemouth.

Sunderland and Confidence

It is convenient to consider the Sutherland conventions and the magazine Confidence together. Neither would have been as influential as it was without the support of the other. Alexander Boddy chaired all the conventions and edited all 141 issues of the magazine with the result that they were a coordinated expression of his ministry.

Sunderland

² Confidence, September, 1908, 5, reported that Boddy had held 500 Pentecostal meetings in addition to regular parish work in Sunderland in the previous 12 months. About 100 people had received a definite baptism in the Spirit as a result.

³ Centre is Boddy’s word. Some were congregations, others prayer meetings and others seem to have been private houses where Pentecostal events occurred. The point is that the word has a general meaning.
The first conference at Sunderland was held 6-11 June 1908. The format established there appears to have been maintained with minor variations until the last conference in 1914. Essentially a theme was chosen and speakers were invited. There was worship where Pentecostal gifts were exercised and, in some or all of the conferences, chaired discussion was held in which various points of view were expressed. Many of the Sunderland sermons were reprinted in Confidence, as also were the discussions. It is therefore possible to gain an idea of the content of the ministry to which attenders were exposed as well as the range of opinion held by proto-Pentecostals.

In addition to the preaching and discussion, the Sunderland conference also issued a number of statements either by the International Advisory Pentecostal Council or by other gatherings. In this way the Sunderland convention also acted as an authoritative voice at a time when Pentecostalism was new, open to the derision of the secular media and to the more informed but still essentially prejudiced attacks of the religious press. Boddy was sensitive to the dangers of fanatical and wild behaviour and careful not to give the critics of incipient Pentecostalism grounds for their polemic. His status as an Anglican cleric undoubtedly helped to make Pentecostalism respectable – and respectability should not be seen as an entirely negative bourgeois concept in this context.

So when we come to examine the legacy of the Sunderland conventions within the Pentecostal denominations that were founded in the first part of the 20th century, we can anticipate examples of direct learning from Sunderland in terms of doctrine, experience and organisation. Sunderland, in other words, provided a template for later Pentecostal conferences and conventions and methods by which contentious issues might be addressed, acceptable doctrinal norms might be disseminated and a wealth of information communicated through testimony about experiences that could be regarded as safe, sane and free of the demonic. Yet, we can also postulate deliberate reaction against the stance of Sunderland as, for example, in the eventual rejection of Boddy’s opinion that the Pentecostal outpouring ought

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4 Confidence, December, 1909, p.287, 288, also printed a firm declaration signed among others by Boddy, Polhill and Hutchinson, made in London, about the evidential value of tongues in connection with the ‘Baptism in the Holy Ghost’. The International Advisory Pentecostal Council (originally called International Pentecostal Consultative Council) first met in Amsterdam in December 1912 and then in Sunderland in May 1913 and again in Sunderland in 1914. Barratt attended the first meeting but resigned over the Council’s failure to make tongues the sign of the baptism in the Holy Ghost (see Wakefield, 2007, p142).
to be contained within existing denominational structures rather than by the formation of new specifically Pentecostal groupings.\(^5\) In this sense Sunderland’s legacy exists in two forms, the legacy of emulation and the legacy of reaction.

Having said this, it has to be admitted that it is difficult to disentangle with certainty the legacy of Sunderland from the legacy of other conferences and conventions. As a Boddy pointed out in June 1910,

> When the first conference was held at Sunderland, Whitsuntide, 1908, there were no other conferences. Now there are many in Great Britain during the year. They have increased so much that we thought it possible there would not be the same large gathering here, but instead it has been larger, [with] more visitors from a distance, and, of course, more local attendances. The meetings at night were crowded out. We believe our parish hall holds about 700 when very full.\(^6\)

The same preachers who attended Sunderland also travelled to other parts of Britain. For instance in 1909 T B Barratt recorded in his journal that he had attended a conference in London in May, the Sunderland conference in June and then, immediately after this, a conference in Bournemouth.\(^7\) Similarly there was a conference in London for two days in January 1911 attended by about 500 people at which among others, Boddy, Cecil Polhill and Pastor Polman of the Netherlands spoke.\(^8\) Other conferences seem to have arranged their dates around the Whitsun holiday that Boddy had established as his own.

**Confidence**

The first edition of *Confidence* came out in April 1908 and was used to advertise the forthcoming convention. Boddy already had experience of circulating his tracts like the one that he had given out at Keswick and knew a little about printing and about circulating printed materials.\(^9\) The first edition

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\(^5\) As in the case of Assemblies of God, cited later.

\(^6\) *Confidence*, June 1910, pp.127 and 128.

\(^7\) *Redemption Tidings* 1st February, 1934, p.5.

\(^8\) *Confidence*, January 1911, p.3.

\(^9\) The first edition of *Confidence* gives a list of free Pentecostal publications available from the All Saints vicarage. The publications included a set of
of Confidence, like the tracts, was free though printing costs were notified to readers and donations implicitly solicited. The May 1908 issue stated 3,000 copies were printed and by January 1910 the print-run had risen to 4,000 and a year later this had gone up to between 5,000 and 6,000. Boddy estimated that they were roughly five readers for every issue printed so that his total readership amounted to nearly 30,000, of whom some were overseas.10

In the first issue Boddy gave an explanation for launching the venture. Believers who had received the Pentecostal blessing were encouraged to discover that they were not alone even if they were ‘attacked by doubt and difficulty’ (page 3). For this reason the first edition contained reports from all over the United Kingdom where Pentecostal activities were in progress. A special supplement included a letter from T B Barratt giving an account of a heavily-criticised meeting that had taken place in Barmen, Germany, in December 1907. ‘We cannot obtain any opportunity to reply in the columns [of the religious papers]’ with the result that a new publication was needed. Barratt’s tone is level and his comments factual but the entire episode demonstrates the swirling fear and uncertainty surrounding the appearance of Pentecostal phenomena.

Like the convention, the magazine also inspired copiers. Stanley Frodsham launched Victory in 1909; Fragments of Flame launched by Cecil Polhill gave missionary news between 1908 and 1925, Showers of Blessing, published by the Apostolic Faith group, lasted from 1910 to 1926 and Riches of Grace or to give it the Welsh name, Cyfoeth Y Gras was published by The Apostolic Church in Wales from April 1916 onwards.11 None of these magazines competed directly with Confidence. Some addressed the interests of emergent Pentecostal denominations while Polhill’s was deliberately interdenominational and attempted to attract financial support for missionary work.

British Pentecostal denominations

articles by T. B. Barratt as well as a series of testimonies and short pieces by Boddy himself.

10 Confidence, January 1910, p.12.
Four British Pentecostal denominations emerged in the period before 1925. These were the Apostolic Faith Church (1911), The Apostolic Church (in Wales) (1916), the Elim Pentecostal Church (1915) and the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1924). Founding members of all of them attended the Sunderland conventions. We can deduce this from the names of those present and from the fact that in 1910 a group of 25 Welshman were present of whom some were from Penygroes. One way and another, therefore, all four denominations were influenced by Sunderland and what it stood for.

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12 The building in Bournemouth opened in 1908 and was reported on in *Confidence* (November 1908, p.23, 24). It was named Emmanuel Mission Hall but it was not until afterwards that Emmanuel could be said to have linked up with other congregations in a quasi-denominational manner. Only in 1911 was Emmanuel renamed Apostolic Faith Assembly and then later that year Apostolic Faith Church. Incidentally, J. E. Worsfold (1991) *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, p.31, puts the date for the opening of Emmanuel Mission Hall at 1909 but this must be incorrect.

13 Assemblies of God changed its name and is now Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland. The Elim Pentecostal Church also changed its name on more than one occasion. Similarly The Apostolic Church (in Wales) is also sometimes delimited by a geographical restriction. The names are relatively unimportant because there is continuity between the earlier and later groups of churches to which the changed names are attached.

14 *Confidence* June 1910, 125. Reference to Penygroes, where the Williams brothers were, is given on page 131.

15 In what follows, reference is made to the main leaders of the new British Pentecostal denominations. But it is also true that a host of minor figures also attended included James Tetchner, J. Reginald Knight who was an Elim minister from 1927 and E. J. Phillips. I am grateful to Desmond Cartwright for this information. Smith Wigglesworth also attended Sunderland and received his Spirit-baptism there in 1907 at the hands of Mary Boddy. He can hardly be called a minor figure, but he was not associated in any formal way with the Pentecostal denominations. D. N. Hudson (2001), ‘The earliest days of Pentecostalism’, *JEPTA*, 21, 2001, 49-67, points out that there were also group of other Sunderland-attending leaders like the Walshaws from Halifax and Henry Mogridge from Lytham, Lancashire, who led prayer groups or growing meetings that later became Pentecostal assemblies of one kind or another.
Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith Church

The story of William Oliver Hutchinson (1864-1928) is often omitted or reduced in accounts of British Pentecostalism because, though he started with great promise, he ended as an isolated figure adhering to doctrines that the vast majority of Pentecostalists rejected. Yet to Hutchinson goes the honour of erecting the first purpose-built Pentecostal building in Britain. He left the Baptist Church, acquired land and built Emmanuel Mission Hall. This was opened on 5th November 1908. Less than two years later he founded Shower of Blessing which may have had a circulation of about 10,000 copies per year.

In the period between 1908 and about 1912 Hutchinson was an invited speaker at several international conventions and, from the coverage given to him by Confidence, it would appear that his preaching and doctrine were entirely acceptable to the majority of Pentecostal sympathisers. Hutchinson made an impact on the mini-revival in the Kilsyth area to which Boddy, in March 1908, had been an ‘overwhelmed’ visitor. No less a person than Cecil Polhill, evangelical Anglican to his bones, spoke at the opening of the Bournemouth church later that year. In 1909, T B Barratt treated the Bournemouth convention as one worthy of his time and preaching. Hutchinson was a signatory to the London statement on baptism in the Spirit in 1909 and his travelling ministry enabled him to link up with proto-Pentecostal assemblies in south Wales that had vivid memories of the revival and still retained revivalistic features. As we have seen Hutchinson attended Sunderland in 1908. In 1910 he attended again but this time as an invited guest to share in the preaching on the topic of divine healing. Boddy thought his sermon ‘wonderful’.

Hutchinson’s position began to fall apart as far as other Pentecostals were concerned after 1910. He began to believe that the ‘spoken word’ by which he meant prophecies or interpretations of utterances in tongues should be treated as if they were canonical Scripture and that any disobedience to such utterances should be treated as disobedience to God. Prophecies, in

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17 Since Confidence peaked at about 6,000 copies per issue, I find Worsfold’s figure of 10,000 improbable. Perhaps Hutchinson claimed a readership of 10,000, which would put his circulation at about 2,000 copies, a much less expensive print-run.
18 Confidence, April 1908, p.8
19 Confidence, December 1909, p.287.
20 Confidence, June 1910, p.138
Hutchinson’s opinion, should not be judged – thereby contradicting the specific New Testament injunction of 1 Corinthians 14.29. Speaking two years later Hutchinson was to say ‘we passed through great testings on believing the “Spoken Word”’.\(^\text{21}\) A year later, Hutchinson began to make a doctrine of the practice of ‘pleading the blood’. This practice entailed either speaking the word ‘blood’ rapidly and frequently or else in prayer calling the word out. The practice was equated with the Old Testament notion of sprinkling blood upon the altar to sanctify it. In the New Testament dispensation pleading the blood was seen as an ultimate defence mechanism to prevent any demonic interference in the mind and life of the individual. So, to plead the blood produced a form of inviolability that, at the same time, guaranteed the free and pure operation of the Holy Spirit. The two practices, treating interpretation/prophecy as infallible and pleading the blood, reinforced each other since the second guaranteed the first. About two years later in 1912 Hutchinson was appointed as the first apostle of his church in response to direction given by spiritual gifts.\(^\text{22}\) Once installed into apostolic office, he was raised beyond criticism to a place where he was incapable of error. At a conference in Bournemouth in 1914 *Showers of Blessing* reported on preaching and prophecy and then ‘almost all the congregation came forward and laid their all at the apostle’s feet, Pastor W Hutchinson, God’s anointed apostle. Men, women and even children reverently kneeled down, some brought their jewellery, others money…’\(^\text{23}\)

After this, in 1916, the Welsh churches seceded.\(^\text{24}\) By 1917 Hutchinson was preaching about the man-child in the book of Revelation and claiming the term denoted a special group called out of the church, an overcoming company of the elect destined to be raptured before the anti-Christ inaugurated the great tribulation.\(^\text{25}\) Alongside this doctrine Hutchinson

\(^{21}\) Hathaway, (1996). Worsfold (1991, p.121) quotes Hutchinson’s son-in-law ‘now to deal with the difference between the written and spoken word. Going straight to the root of the matter there is no difference at all, because if it is the Word of God – whether written or spoken – it cannot be anything else but God’s Word and therefore in that sense the same, identically’.

\(^{22}\) Worsfold, p.121 says ‘Hutchinson even used the word “infallible” when it came to describing the nature of the ministry of the voice Gifts’ (original capitalisation).

\(^{23}\) Worsfold, p.87.

\(^{24}\) A full account of the marathon meeting and the walk-out is given by Weeks (2003, p.45).

\(^{25}\) Hathaway, (1996). See also Worsfold, p.149.
embraced British-Israelism declaring that Daniel’s fifth kingdom was the British Empire and that George V was the king of Israel. After other defections, Hutchinson died in 1928.

**Sunderland and Hutchinson**

Hutchinson’s attendance at Sunderland in 1908 would have led him to hear a variety of messages and, probably, to read the issue of *Confidence* that recounted the details of conference sessions. He would have heard Boddy saying that ‘speaking from Scripture, we see no warrant for expecting a message in tongues for details of daily life and guidance’. He would have gathered that ‘probably all the Nine Gifts have been in evidence during the conference’ a statement suggesting that the gifts had already been enumerated by counting from 1 Corinthians 12. He would have heard a discussion on prophetic messages brought before the conference by Boddy himself. Here he would gather that ‘even earnest Baptised ones had unconsciously spoken “in the flesh” and that “there was no scriptural authority or precedent for making tongues (with interpretation) into a Urim and Thummim Oracle for details of daily life’. Within the discussion one of the ladies present, Miss Schofield, pointed out that ‘I find it a great help to recognise the influence of the unconscious mind’, which might lead to erroneous prophetic utterance. According to Miss Scott, ‘there is a subtle danger of continuing in the flesh after a message is being given in the Spirit’ and that some of the Apostolic Faith Missionaries from Azusa Street who went out to Africa died. And this was despite the fact that they had been apparently called ‘by the Spirit’.

On the same day there was discussion of the return of Christ and a Miss Sisson stated that ‘the Dragon is longing to swallow up the Man-child... [with the result that] the Warrior-spirit is necessary’. In the final act of the conference testimonies given in the morning included one by a leader (Pastor T. Jeffreys of Waunlwyd) in South Wales against following human leaders. Like others in Wales he had

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28 *Confidence*, June 1908, p.15. Original capitalisation.
29 *Confidence*, June 1908, pp.15, 16
30 *Confidence*, June 1908, p.17.
mistakenly accepted ‘the teaching of one who had caused many to turn from God’s best in these days’.  

Taken together these discussions appear to have largely fallen on Hutchinson’s deaf ears. He seems to have been impervious to any doubt about prophetic utterance or of the trivialising of such messages in respect of commands for daily life. The discussion of the man-child seems to have lodged in his brain but to have issued in an elitist doctrine that was disastrously schismatic.

It is therefore possible to argue that the 1908 conference had little beneficial effect on Hutchinson and that its warnings and hesitations were brushed aside. It is also possible to speculate that behind the doctrine of the man-child or the doctrine of British-Israelism lay Charles Fox Parham’s book, A Voice Crying in the Wilderness, which gave credence to both these topics. The book was published in 1910 and known in Pentecostal circles. We can hardly blame Boddy for failing to mount a critique of Parham’s writings since they must have been only occasionally and superficially known in Britain but, if Hutchinson had assimilated them, then we have identified one source of his subsequent spiritual opinions.

The 1910 conference centred on divine healing and Hutchinson himself contributed to the preaching. There was a message by Mary Boddy on Isaiah 53.4 emphasising healing in the atonement and there was a memorial service commemorating the burial, on that day, of Edward VII. What we can say is that Hutchinson’s strong views, on healing and on the role of Britain in the world, would hardly have been challenged by what he heard or by the favourable reception given to his own preaching. In short, the legacy of Sunderland to the ministry of Hutchinson is one of reaction. He rejected the critical, careful, balancing elements of the conferences and instead took hold of other less well defined and submerged elements, the dark side of Pentecost.

George Jeffreys and Elim

The relation between the Jeffreys Brothers, George and Stephen, and the Sunderland conventions is altogether more positive. George Jeffreys was converted during the Welsh revival of 1904 and baptised in the Spirit with speaking in other tongues in 1910. There are questions about whether he received his baptism in the Spirit at the hands of William Hutchinson in

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31 Who was Jeffreys thinking of? My guess is that he is referring to Jessie Penn-Lewis.
Bournemouth or in south Wales. If the latter, then Jeffreys took steps in later life to protect himself from guilt by association with the bizarre theological positions adopted by Hutchinson. In 1912 George Jeffreys was offered a free place at the Pentecostal Missionary Union’s (PMU) school run by Thomas Meyerscough thanks to the generosity of Cecil Polhill. The two brothers, referred to in Confidence as ‘the Welsh revivalists’, preached wherever they were invited to go and undeniably stirred the embers of revival in South Wales. Unannounced Boddy went to see them in March 1913 and, after observing them in action, invited them to speak at Sunderland. Confidence regularly thereafter reported the progress of the brothers so we can trace their steps to Llanelli, Plymouth, Ireland, Hereford, London and Belfast.

The themes of the 1913 Convention were ‘the task of the Pentecostal movement’ and ‘the conditions of an apostolic revival’. In a sense of Boddy appears to have already decided the answer to these questions and arranged the preaching schedule accordingly. So he reports the task of the Pentecostal movement has been to ‘stir up the people of God for the edification of the body of Christ... restoring apostolic gifts... [and] preaching the gospel to the world as a last call of the Lord’. He took the apostolic revival as being fired by meetings that were led by the Holy Ghost and forwarded by preaching in the ‘demonstration of the Spirit and power’.

**Sunderland and the Jeffreys Brothers**

The Sunderland conventions appear to have had an entirely beneficial impact upon the Jeffreys brothers. They introduced the two young men to a much wider circle of Christians than they were accustomed to and helped them


33 **Confidence**, October 1913, p.205.

34 **Confidence**, March 1913, p.47. They joined forces with Dan Roberts, the brother of Evan, at one point.

35 **Confidence**, May 1914, April 1915, May 1915, August 1915, October 1915, November 1915, January 1916, and frequently thereafter.

36 **Confidence**, April 1913, p.74.

37 Although they were both invited, only George is mentioned as preaching at the 1913 convention. Stephen did, however, join George for a mission in Silksworth near Sunderland once the convention ended, **Confidence**, December 1913, p.244.
understand the role of the Pentecostal movement in relation to the rest of the church and, by extension, the rest of the world. By public affirmation, their preaching and beliefs in healing and tongues were confirmed and, in passing, they learnt the importance of national publicity in the print media. The 1913 convention also had a valuable consequence of issuing a rebuttal of Mrs Penn-Lewis’ book, *War on the Saints*.\(^{38}\) The book was effectively a repudiation of Pentecostal phenomena in the Welsh revival as well as a fear-driven tract about deceiving spirits in the last days. The handling of this rebuttal was dignified and logical and did not go out of the way to provoke contention, something that both brothers appreciated.\(^{39}\) Perhaps the only unforeseen negative consequence of the conventions was that John Leech, later a strong advocate of British-Israelism and influential on Jeffreys, spoke at Sunderland and, if the two men had not met before, George would have had heard him there. At the time Leech offered an innocuous sermon expounding aspects of kenotic Christology.

**John Nelson Parr, the Carter brothers and Assemblies of God**

British Assemblies of God came into existence as a result of the coordination of apparently disconnected events organised by different people. The most important agent was John Nelson Parr who convened a gathering of some 15 people in Birmingham in 1923.\(^{40}\) Both he and the other protagonists in these events – particularly Donald Gee and the Carter brothers – left behind their own accounts of the formation of Assemblies of God and the preceding events. Yet, the best version by far is to be found in Richard Massey’s *A Sound*

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\(^{38}\) *Confidence*, June 1913, p.111. The statement was issued by the International Advisory Council (Pentecostal).

\(^{39}\) In their various ways the brothers later became embroiled in controversies, Stephen with the scurrilous Horatio Bottomley and George with the rest of Elim. As much as possible, the brothers kept the lid on controversy. Or take Boddy’s comment ‘There has been renewed opposition of late in England against the truth and experience of the Pentecostal Baptism. The Editor of *Confidence* does not feel that bitterness should be met by bitterness. He regrets the lack of generosity and chivalry in some of the things recently written’ (*Confidence*, September 1912, p.202).

\(^{40}\) Massey, (1987), p.92 discusses the conflicting evidence about who was present and settles on 15 people, among them Harold Roe, who provided the room in Aston where they met.
William K. Kay

*And Scriptural Union* (1987) which rationally harmonises the various accounts and explains contradictions, omissions and variations. To a large extent, this paper will follow Massey, though in the era preceding 1914 will draw on other sources as well.

In 1974 John Carter recalled,

Right up to the time of the formation of this Fellowship in 1924, God had been pouring out his Holy Spirit in this country for 17 years, and many Pentecostal congregations had come into existence, mainly through eager believers visiting the annual conventions at Sunderland. Up to this point there was no organised fellowship, each group being quite independent, except for those who had linked up with the Elim church or the Apostolic Church. These unattached groups of believers had no wish to become affiliated with the centrally-governed bodies having in many instances suffered from denominational connections because of their Pentecostal experience. They supported their own local conventions as well as the national conventions held in Kingsway Hall, London, and at Preston and Bradford. The one connecting medium was the quarterly magazine entitled *Confidence* published by the Church of England vicar at Monkwearmouth, Sunderland.  

In the same sermon John recalled the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) of 1909 and the Bible School at Hampstead for training Pentecostal missionaries. By 1920, his brother Howard had been appointed its principal. At this time there were therefore the two main organised Pentecostal bodies (Elim and the Apostolic Church) and an interdenominational missionary society with a feeder training school supported by diverse independent Pentecostal assemblies. Both Carters had attended Sunderland in 1912 and a year later, as a result of seeing report in *Confidence*, participated in the launching of a small Pentecostal mission in a suburb of Birmingham. They began a second

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41 The sermon is simply entitled ‘Given at the Jubilee Rally, Birm.’ and is kept at the Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey, Carter was born in 1893 and so aged about 80 at the time he preached at the rally, 50 years after AoG’s founding.

assembly in another part of the city in 1915. Meanwhile they continued visits to Sunderland, also attending in 1913 and 1914.

The Hampstead School of which Howard Carter became principal had started under the auspices of Thomas Myerscough. In Myerscough’s days both W P F Burton and George Jefferys had been students – as good an advertisement for Bible college training as one is likely to get! Myerscough was associated with the Preston assembly from which the young Burton had left England for his heroic labours in the Congo in 1914. In 1922 Burton, while on furlough, had attempted to call the various Pentecostal assemblies together so as to coordinate missionary support. Burton’s name heads a broadsheet listing those who called a two-day conference in Sheffield, May 23-24 1922, and George Jefferys’ name is also prominently displayed. But Sheffield envisaged a ‘council of leaders rather than a confederation of assemblies’ with the result that the proposal fell to the ground. In 1923 Archie Cooper of South Africa, who knew Burton, itinerated the British assemblies on a preaching tour but also took the opportunity (probably instigated by Myerscough who in turn was responding to Burton) to sound them out on a new collaborative scheme. Myerscough, as Massey points out, appreciated Nelson Parr’s gifts and so encouraged him to build on the encouraging responses to Cooper’s enquiries.

Parr proceeded slowly, first by getting the agreement of Myerscough and others, and afterwards by calling together a representative group of leaders who met over a garage in Birmingham in 1924. This meeting then approached about 80 congregations and a second meeting was held at Highbury in London the same year. The deliberations of the two meetings resulted in agreement to form an organisation that safeguarded the autonomy

46 Womersley, Wm F P Burton, p.32. Confidence, August 1911, p.190. There is reference to Burton speaking at a Pentecostal conference in London in January 1912. See Confidence, in February 1912, p.36.
of local congregations because ‘at that time we were fanatically opposed to any form of denominationalism’. Parr’s reasons for drawing together Assemblies of God were fivefold: to preserve the testimony of the full gospel; to strengthen fellowship; to exercise discipline over immoral believers; to present a united witness; and to save assemblies from falling into unscriptural practices. Massey focuses on three reasons: the harsh treatment meted out to Pentecostal pastors who became conscientious objectors during the 1914-18 war; the havoc created by teachers of universalism; and divisions caused by the wrong use of prophetic gifts. By ‘wrong use’ they had in mind the teachings of the Apostolic Church which was still under the influence of Hutchinson. Parr took the model for his constitution from American Assemblies of God although he does not anywhere appear to have acknowledged this in print. Massey’s case, however, is overwhelming. The year after British Assemblies of God had been formed the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) amalgamated with the new denomination with the result that the aims of Burton (and Cooper) had been achieved. As for British Assemblies of God, it found itself at a stroke armed with an overseas dimension.

**Sunderland and Assemblies of God**

Although British Assemblies of God was formed 10 years after the last Sunderland convention, Sunderland bequeathed at least five positive components to what became, until the early 21st century, the largest Pentecostal denomination in Britain. First and most general, was the notion of making decisions as result of a lengthy and open deliberation. Sunderland did not include any system for voting, as the Assemblies of God until very recently always did, but the notion of a conference with its chairman and the delegates who discussed propositions was carried over into the Assemblies of God in a way that is much more difficult to believe would have been the case had the example of Sunderland not been set. It is true that both Elim and the

49 See a typescript of a conversation between the Carter brothers entitled *Those Early Days*, p.1. The typescript is kept at the Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey, and the conversation took place in the early 1970s. Howard is speaking.

50 These reasons are given in Parr’s letter of invitation to the leaders who met at Aston in 1924.

51 Massey, ‘A sound and scriptural’, p.76.

52 Voting was removed progressively during the 1990s and more or less completely dispensed with by 2007.
Apostolics also held conventions that were chaired in a similar way but, Assemblies of God particularly, was almost to a fault driven for more than 70 years by the debating of propositions.

Second, the position taken on speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit-baptism could have been derived from Sunderland even if, eventually, the Sunderland position on the role of evidentiary tongues was softened. Nevertheless, by the time when the Carter brothers attended Sunderland, at least two statements about the role of tongues had been published in Confidence and, indeed, it is arguable that Boddy’s own position on the matter was not modified to deny his earlier stance (tongues as a ‘seal’ of Spirit-baptism). In this connection Parr’s autobiography gives Sunderland an honoured place in the initiation of the Pentecostal revival as well as stressing the role of tongues.

The Rev A. A. Boddy planned a great Whitsuntide Convention at All Saints, Sunderland, and the chief speaker was Rev. T. B. Barrett (sic). We decided to send brother Dan Parsley to this convention and bring back a report. He came back and told us that it was just like the Acts of the Apostles. Jesus was gloriously magnified, many were speaking other tongues. Many miracles of healing were seen in the name of Jesus... we became very desperate and we decided to hold a Christmas Convention... we invited two or three from Kilsyth and Preston who had been Baptised in the Spirit and spoken in tongues. Many people had been to Sunderland and the Pentecostal revival had spread to Preston, Lytham, Kilsyth, Blackburn, London and other places.

Third, the eschatology of Sunderland was a fundamental to its main thrust and development. It was the time of the bridal call, the midnight hour, the last birth pangs of the age before the return of Christ. There was no disguising the Adventist fervour within Sunderland’s ranks and such fervour was shared by and transferred to the infant British Assemblies of God.

Fourth, a belief in healing – healing in the atonement – was also to be found in Assemblies of God. This was a position that Nelson Parr had reached and, again, it is possible that there were other influences outside Sunderland that converged on this belief. Some of the Parr’s writings suggest that he had read

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53 E.g. Confidence, December 1909, p.287 and Confidence, April 1908, p.5.
Parham, for instance. Nevertheless, despite Boddy’s own more nuanced position, his wife’s teaching was always almost uncomplicatedly in favour of a divine healing doctrine.

Fifth, as John Carter’s recollections show, he and his brother participated in the formation of an early Pentecostal mission because of what they read in Confidence. This points to the publicising impact of Confidence in its capacity to help proto-Pentecostals find each other and work together. Boddy may have foreseen that Confidence would encourage little Pentecostal groups but he may not have anticipated that the Pentecostal groups themselves would grow larger as a result of the publicity that his listings would give them. And, in the case of John Carter, he joined the early Elim Evangelistic Band and worked with George Jeffreys in Ireland for a while. Given that Confidence supported Jeffreys, Carter must, in those early days, have felt safe in joining the new Pentecostal enterprise. In this sense Boddy acted as a kind of one-man vetting agency whose quality mark was trusted.

Insofar as Assemblies of God illustrated a reaction against Sunderland, it is clear that the formation of another Pentecostal group was, in itself, not something that Boddy would have smiled upon: ‘The Editor of “Confidence” does not feel that the Lord’s leading in these days is to set up a new Church, but to bless individuals where they are’. This said, it is also true that T B Barratt, whom Boddy respected deeply, took the opposite position. Barratt believed that in view of the rejection of Pentecostalism by the established churches, there was no option before Pentecostal believers than to found their own denominations, as he himself had done in Norway. Barratt’s position was not sectarian. As he wrote in 1926

55 In their visceral rejection of medical science both refer to the connection between the Greek word for medicine (pharmakia) and sorcery. See Charles F Parham, A Voice Crying in the Wilderness (Baxter Springs, Kansas, 1910, 4th edn 1944), p.41, and J N Parr, Divine Healing, (Springfield, Gospel Publishing House 1955).

56 Cf. Boddy’s position in Confidence, Mark 1910, pp.175-179 and Mary Boddy’s views on Isa. liii., 4: ‘SURELY He hath borne our sicknesses and carried our pains’ (Confidence, June 19110, p.132. original capitalisation).

57 To complete the Assemblies of God picture it is necessary also to add the name of E W Moser, treasurer of the PMU, who was also linked with Sunderland since it was in the All Saints Vicarage at Sunderland that the Union had been founded. Moser was present at the inaugural meeting in Aston where Assemblies of God was born.

58 Confidence, March 1911, p.60.
I am willing to have an Alliance with any of God’s people, and cooperate with them, even if their views are not correct in some matters, according to the light God has given me…I found it right to found a Pentecostal Church in Oslo. We have over 1000 baptized members now, and crowds attend our services.\textsuperscript{59}

Finally, we know that Boddy did not take a pacifist position which, when Parr wrote the original constitutional minutes of Assemblies of God, he was careful to do. So far as we can see this was entirely Parr’s initiative even if both the Carter brothers and Donald Gee had been conscientious objectors.

**Conclusion**

Of the conclusions that might be drawn, we present four here.

1. The founding members of Pentecostal denominations recalled the Sunderland meetings with affection. Representatives of all the denominations had attended one of the conventions. In their own accounts of the beginnings of British Pentecostalism, they were quick to pay tribute to the spiritual banner that had been raised in Sunderland by Alexander Boddy. Naturally, as the years passed, the influence of Sunderland receded but, conversely, during the time of its greatest influence, spin-off conventions and publications reflecting with greater or less accuracy its ethos and emphases multiplied and diffused its effect. For the seven crucial years preceding the catastrophic events of World War I, Sunderland shaped British Pentecostalism and exercised a profound influence.

2. Sunderland was concerned with missions and supported the Pentecostal Missionary Union. This is partly because Boddy very rapidly appreciated the international dimension of the Pentecostal outpouring. Many sensed a missionary calling and needed a sending agency, and found a suitable one through Boddy and Polhill’s PMU. This provided the future AoG with its missionary focus. Boddy also corresponded with preachers from overseas and invited them to speak at the convention. He reported on revivals and Pentecostal events in different parts of the world and sent out *Confidence* to many countries of the world. Anyone associated with Sunderland quickly came to appreciate that they were involved with a major spiritual event. They also were led to understand that missions needed to be

\textsuperscript{59} T. B. Barratt letter to E J Phillips dated 17\textsuperscript{th} August 1926 and held in the Donald Gee Centre, Mattersey.
funded and that major international events could be fitted into pre-
millennialist eschatological schemes.

3. Sunderland’s contribution to the doctrinal formation of Pentecostalism was extensive. There were, it is true, those like Hutchinson who heard its message and went off in their own direction. But the majority of visitors appreciated the balance and general rationality of what was presented to them. This was Pentecostalism without scandal or dissension engendered by heterodoxy. While early Pentecostalism in the United States was damaged by a form of Unitarianism, British Pentecostalism escaped these pains and, when the infamous Berlin Declaration of 1909 was issued in Germany, Boddy was able to offer advice and support to his German brothers. Indeed, it ought to be possible to make a similar examination to the one presented here of Sunderland’s impact both on German and Dutch Pentecostalism.

4. Paths crossed in Sunderland and there must have been considerable networking among conference attendees. The British Pentecostals knew each other personally and came quickly to have defensible opinions on contentious issues like those concerning the use of prophecy. While it is true that Hutchinson and the Apostolic Church took a different position from the majority of British Pentecostals, it is also true that the Apostolic Church in Wales reined in the effects of prophecy by drawing up a powerful constitution that created an environment in which prophets were required to work. In this way there was a check on the ministry of New Testament prophets and, eventually, the Apostolic Church and the two other British Pentecostal denominations, Elim and the Assemblies of God, were able to resume fraternal relations, as the Unity Conference of 1939 demonstrates.
Book Review

Pauline Christology: An exegetical-theological study
*Gordon D. Fee*,

Gordon Fee has again produced an impressive contribution to New Testament and Pauline studies in the shape of a thorough and meticulous investigation of Paul’s Christology. The volume is divided into two major sections: the first being an analysis of each epistle in the Pauline canon in chronological order, seeking to render its contribution to Paul’s view of who Christ is. The second section is a synthesis of the major findings in the first part, in which Fee demonstrates how comprehensive was the Christological emphasis of the apostle to the Gentiles – an apostle whose theocentric worldview was equivalently Christocentric.

In part 1, each epistle of Paul is subjected to the most meticulous examination for explicit or implicit Christological content. (In doing this Fee makes the surprising discovery that “practical” works such as Corinthians actually contain more Christological content than the supposedly intensely Christological prison epistles.) At the end of each such thematic exegesis of an epistle he includes some extremely useful appendices, listing the particular texts that he has examined and giving an analysis of the usage of the names and titles of Christ within them.

The synthesis in part 2 aims at outlining the particular aspects of Christology that feature in the Pauline correspondence. Beginning with “Christ, the Divine Saviour”, which concept he believes is most central to Paul’s view of Jesus Christ, he proceeds to set out other titles and functions of Christ: the pre-existent and incarnate Saviour, the Second Adam, the Jewish Messiah and Son of God and Exalted Lord. The final chapter is devoted to a consideration of Paul as proto-Trinitarian.

Two appendices complete the work: the first his rebuttal of the notion that in the Pauline thought-world Christ was seen as Wisdom personified – a theme that he returns to regularly in the body of the work – and the second a discussion of Paul’s use of *kyrios* in citations and echoes of the Septuagint.

Fee acknowledges that in all of Paul’s writings there is only a single section that can be
considered Christological in the classical sense of the term, and that is Colossians 1:15-20. This is because for Paul Christology in the sense of stating who Jesus Christ is as a person could scarcely be separated from what Jesus Christ has accomplished and still does. For that reason his Christology could be summed up as: Christ is the Divine Saviour. There can be no magnificent but sterile theologia gloria in Paul’s consciousness, but a dynamic and divine person who does things: saves, redeems, renews, forms, sends and awaits. However, behind the description of this person doing these tremendous things there must be Person themselves — and it is this Christology, this notion of what sort of Person Paul envisaged Christ to be, that Fee seeks to discover in this book. He emerges convinced that, among other things, to Paul Christ was pre-existent with the Father, and that the stoutly monotheistic Paul considered Jesus Christ to be Kyrios = Yahweh.

Whether for private interest, for a prescribed work for students, or simply for an excellent reference work on Pauline texts and thinking, this book is a must-have for every New Testament theologian’s bookshelf.
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