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S. Holbrooke-Jones

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## A B S T R A C T

'Glossalalia and other preternatural phenomena in British Evangelical Christianity: 1730-1910.'

S.Holbrooke-Jones.

In refuting the claim of Wesley's critic that 'all the extraordinary gifts and operations of the Holy Ghost belonged only to the apostolical and primitive time,' Part I offers evidence of glossalalia and other preternatural phenomena occurring at various times throughout history:

- 1) In the New Testament it examines evidence for these spiritual manifestations; particularly the primary sources of Acts II and I Cors. XII, XIII and XIV.
- 2) In subsequent Church History it records many instances of glossalalia and other kindred phenomena; paying particular attention to Montanism and Jansenism.
- 3) It assimilates evidence for preternatural phenomena in British Evangelical Christianity during the period 1730-1910 i.e. from the rise of Methodism to the beginning of the modern Pentecostal movement. It lists the following periods of spiritual activity when glossalalia and, or, other preternatural phenomena were frequently manifested:

- a) The Eighteenth Century Revival and the Rise of Methodism.
- b) Edward Irving and the Rise of the Catholic Apostolic Church.
- c) The Port Glasgow Manifestations of 1830.
- d) The Ulster Revival of 1859.
- e) The Welsh Revival of 1904.
- f) The Pentecostal Movement of 1907.

In Part II there follows an appraisal of the evidence offered with:

- 1) a detailed discussion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament and in the writings of St. Paul.
- 2) an examination of the historicity of the evidence for glossalalia and other preternatural phenomena in the New Testament and subsequent Church History.
- 3) a psychological and physiological study of the phenomena in early Methodism, the Ulster Revival of 1859 and in the 1904 Welsh Revival.

The Conclusion lists the incidence of glossalalia and other preternatural phenomena within British Evangelical Christianity (1730-1910) and while acknowledging the doubts about the genuineness of the phenomena, affirm that despite some counterfeits and delusions, a genuine 'heartwork' accompanied by authentic manifestations of the Holy Spirit has taken place.

GLOSSALALIA  
AND OTHER PRETERNATURAL  
PHENOMENA IN BRITISH  
EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY  
1730 - 1910

S. HOLBROOKE-JONES

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**INTRODUCTION**

**PART I : NARRATIVE OF EVIDENCE**

**PART II: APPRAISAL**

**CONCLUSION**

"Glossalalia and other preternatural phenomena in British  
Evangelical Christianity 1730-1910."

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INTRODUCTION

Evangelical Christianity is the religion of inward experience. It is not enough that the facts of religion may be known and appropriated intellectually; the Evangelical must experience his religion emotionally, as well as intellectually in definitive statements. He would go even further and affirm that the Spirit-filled Christian should feel his religion and, as a result, should not be surprised if preternatural phenomena forms part of his religious experience.

But after the 'excesses' of the Commonwealth Period (1649-59) the re-established Church of England turned its back on what Monsignor Ronald Knox describes as 'the religion of enthusiasm' and settled down to the ordered sobriety of the Carolinian High Church Period. The strict enforcement of the Act of Uniformity and the formal repetition of the 1662 Prayer Book offices gave precious little scope for anything verging on preternatural manifestations. Consequently,

by the turn of the century much religion, particularly within the Church of England, had grown cold and formal. There was little to warm the hearts of the people. Sermons were long and dryly intellectual.

Into the Latitudinarian deathly calm of early eighteenth century England thundered the brothers Wesley and the Evangelical Revival. The apostle of the Religion of Experience was John Wesley. Brought up with Charles and his many other brothers and sisters in his father's Rectory at Epworth and educated at Charterhouse and Oxford he was quite plainly destined for the Anglican ministry. At Christ Church he plunged deeply into the reading of devotional literature and was particularly impressed by Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy living and Holy dying'. Following Taylor's advice he began a diary 'writing down how he employed every hour'.

The result was a changed life. Regarding Taylor's book he writes:

'When I met with it in 1726, the nature and extent of inward religion now appeared to me in a stronger light than ever before. I saw that giving all my life to God would profit me nothing, unless I gave my heart to him..... I saw that simplicity of

intention, purity of affection, one design in all we speak or do, and one desire ruling all our tempers are indeed the wings of the soul, without which we can never ascend to God. I sought after this from that hour.' <sup>1</sup>

It was another thirteen years before he was to experience a consciousness of being saved through faith in Christ. On May 24th, 1738, he attended the Moravian meeting in Aldgate Street. Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans was being read:

"Faith, and faith alone justifies. Possessed of it the heart is cheered, elevated, excited and transported with sweet affections towards God. Receiving the Holy Ghost through faith, the man is renewed and made spiritual and is impelled to fulfill the law by the vital energy in himself."

Wesley was to write of that marvellous moment:

"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 mine and saved me from the law of sin and death. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart."

1. Tyerman - 'Life and Times of Rev. J. Wesley' : Vol. I. p.22.

Before his conversion Wesley had been intensely pious but lacked real inward conviction. Now he knew he was saved and possessed power over himself and sin which he had not possessed before. 'He had practised religion; now he experienced its bliss.'<sup>1</sup> But not only his personal faith but his whole public ministry was transformed by his conversion experience. He now preached with a power and conviction that he did not possess before. Moreover, during his 'field' preaching in London, Bristol and elsewhere remarkable scenes occurred among his vast assemblies: crying and shrieking, trembling, groanings, swoonings and prostration often lasting for several days.

Such were the remarkable physical manifestations or 'excesses', depending on one's point of view, that in

1744 the Bishop of Lichfield felt constrained to pen 'A Charge against Enthusiasm'. His object was to prove:

'The indwelling and inward witnessing of the Spirit in the believer's ear, as also praying and preaching by the Spirit are all the extraordinary gifts and operations of the Holy Ghost, belonging only to the apostolical and primitive times and that consequently all pretensions to such favours in these last days are vain and<sup>2</sup> enthusiastical.'

1. Tyerman: Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley
2. Havigton: 'A Charge against Enthusiasm' (1744)

To which Wesley promptly replied in 'The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God' (1744) with:

'It is no sign that a work is not divine because it is not carried on in a way unusual and extraordinary. The Spirit is sovereign in His operations. We ought not to limit God where he has not limited himself. Neither is a work to be judged by any effects on the bodies of men: such as tears, trembling, groans, loud outcries, agonies or faintings: for there is reason to believe that great outpourings of the Spirit, both in prophetic and apostolic ages were not wholly without these extraordinary effects. The same is true respecting religious commotion among the people, for this is the natural result of such a work.' <sup>1</sup>.

The contention of this thesis is that 'all the extraordinary gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit' - including glossalalia and the other Pentecostal gifts, as much as the physical phenomena which accompanied Wesley's preaching - did not belong only 'to the apostolical and primitive times' but may be traced intermittently throughout the Christian era and are to be found as a genuine spiritual experience within British Evangelical Christianity from the rise of Methodism until the upsurge of the modern Pentecostal movement.

1. J.Wesley : 'The distinguishing marks of a work of the Spirit of God.'

PART ONE

NARRATIVE OF EVIDENCE

	<u>Page</u>
I : The Testimony of Scripture	6
II : The Testimony of previous Church History	151
III : British Evangelical Christianity:1730-1910:	159
The Eighteenth Century Evangelical Revival	159
Annus Mirabilis: 1830	179
The Second Evangelical Revival:1859	213
The Welsh Revival of 1904	221
The Pentecostal Movement:1907	249

## THE TESTIMONY OF SCRIPTURE

For the purpose of our study it is first supremely necessary to examine in detail the Scripture record of the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit as described in Acts II vv 1 - 21. This is the fount of Pentecostal teaching and from it flows a series of incidents which are regarded by many Christians within and without Evangelical circles as constituting basic patterns of the Spirit's modus operandi and which may be repeated in some degree within Christian experience through succeeding centuries.

Secondly, for the same reasons, we shall observe at close quarters the manifestations of specific pneumatic phenomena as experienced in abundance in one New Testament Church; namely the Church at Corinth.

### THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

#### a) PENTECOST:

'And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat

upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there was dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this? Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine.

But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words: For these are

not drunk as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; and it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my hand maidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophecy: and I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come: and it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

To facilitate commentary, this crucial passage may be divided into five sections:

- |                                    |                            |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) The Occasion. V.1.              | 4) His Kerygma. vv 22 - 36 |
| 2) The Phenomenon vv 2 - 13.       | 5) The Result of his       |
| 3) Peter's Explanation vv 14 - 21. | preaching. vv 37 - 47.     |

- 1) The Occasion: 'And when the day of Pentecost was fully  
come....' (v.1a)

The occasion was the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost (Greek: pentecoste (hemera), i.e. fiftieth day). This was the Jewish Harvest Festival instituted in Leviticus XXIII vv 15 - 21 and to be celebrated 50 days after the presentation of the 'wave-sheaf' in the Passover week.

W. L. Knox maintains that Pentecost had lost its agricultural significance since Philo's day and had acquired at least a connection with the giving of the Torah or Law.<sup>1</sup> Professor Lampe goes as far as asserting that by the time of Luke the Harvest Feast of Weeks had historical significance as the commemoration of the giving of the Law<sup>2</sup>. Not all authorities accept this connection between Pentecost and the Lawgiving at Sinai. E. Lohse claims that the old form of the feast (the bringing in of first fruits into the Temple) would persist till the destruction of the Temple and only after AD 70 would the Rabbis give the feast the new content.<sup>3</sup> S. Maclean Gilmour states bluntly that 'No association of Pentecost with the Sinai event can be documented from Jewish sources before the 2nd Century.'<sup>4</sup>

1. W.L. Knox: 'Acts of the Apostles' pp. 80 ff, quoted by C.S.C. Williams in 'Acts' p.62.
2. G.W.H. Lampe: Peake's Commentary p.882.
3. Ev. Th. 13 (1953) 429f.
4. J.B.L. 81 (1962) 65.

But James Dunn points out that from the middle of the 2nd Century B.C. Pentecost was undoubtedly regarded as the feast of covenant renewal, for the Book of Jubilees celebrated the giving of the Sinaitic Covenant (as well as the Noahic and Abrahamic covenants) on the Feast of Weeks (Jub. VI vv 17 - 21; XV vv 1 - 24) and the annual renewal of the covenant at Quram, where they seem to have followed the same calendar as we find in Jubilees, most probably fell at the same feast (1 QS 2). Nor should we neglect the renewal of the covenant in II Chronicles XV vv. 10 - 12 took place in the same month as the law-giving at Sinai (Exodus XIX v. 1) and other references which suggest Exodus XIX was the established reading for the Feast of Weeks in the century before Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Contradicting

~~Contra~~ Lohse, Dunn maintains that it is unlikely the Rabbis after A.D. 70 created a new significance for Pentecost de novo; doubtless they took over a tradition of some antiquity and respectability. This does not mean that the concept of the new covenant and of renewal of the law for Judaism all over the world has 'powerfully moulded the story of the Spirit's first appearance.' (see Schweizer TWNT VI 408f; W.L. Knox: Acts of the Apostles (1948) 81 - 84) for indications of such a moulding are lacking. ~~Writes~~ James Dunn<sup>2</sup> writes:

1. See G. Kretschmar, 'Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 66 (1954 - 55) pp. 222 - 9.
2. J.D.G. Dunn: 'Baptism in the Spirit' p.49 (see Koly: 118).

'It is fairly safe to conclude that the thought of Sinai is present. It may even be as Knox suggests: 'devout proselytes no doubt regarded the sending of the Holy Spirit as the giving of the new Torah, written on the tables of their hearts.'<sup>1</sup>

'They were all with one accord in one place.' (v. 1b.)

The question of exactly who and how many were present at Pentecost has divided scholars for decades. Foakes-Jackson maintains twelve only 'were all with one accord in one place', and he quotes Wendt and Blass who follows Chrysostom. Foakes-Jackson also pointed out that the promise of the Spirit in Ch. I. v.8 is to the apostles and reminds us that in v. 14 Peter stands up with the other apostles as though it were on them only that the Spirit had descended.<sup>2</sup> C.S.C. Williams supports his views and writes:

'All' refers probably to the Twelve, not to all Christians.'<sup>3</sup>

However, other recent scholarship is quite adamant that the 'all' refers to the 120 of Acts I: v.15 e.g. Lampe and Haenchen. The latter writes:

1. W.L. Knox: 'Acts' p.86.
2. F.J. Foakes-Jackson: 'The Beginnings of Christianity.' Vol. IV p.16.
3. C.S.C. Williams: 'Acts' p.166.

'It is not only the apostles who receive the Spirit: while they stand forward (v.14) the ecstatic event further extends to the others.'<sup>1</sup>

- 2) The Phenomenon: 'And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind and it filled all the house where they were sitting.' (v.2)

In the 'sound' Professor Lampe finds echoes of the giving of the Mosaic Law:

'Sound recalls Sinai as also does the appearance of fire (v.3.). Moreover, 'wind' and 'spirit' are closely related in Hebrew and Greek speech and thought. And 'wind' and 'fire' appear in the story of the Lord passing by.' (I Kings XIX: v.11 ff)<sup>2</sup>

But Blaiklock who is opposed to probing too deeply in search of Old Testament typology and its fulfilment adds this cautionary note:

'The language of v.2 and v.3 seeks to reduce to simple and intelligible terms an earthly and indescribable experience. Luke faced a similar difficulty in describing the Lord's Ascension

1. Haenchen: 'Acts' p.166.
2. G.W.H. Lampe: 'Peake's Commentary'.

(Ch. I. v 9, 10) and the reserve evident in both narratives is the measure of his regard for truth.'<sup>1</sup>

Blaiklock also takes Foakes-Jackson to task for alleging a certain pre-occupation with dramatic and vivid narration in these and similar contexts, where Luke does not write as an eye-witness. In Luke's defence he writes:

'Wind (v.2) and Fire (v.3) were an accepted symbolism for the powerful and cleansing operation of God's Spirit (Cruden's Concordance).

In this event God was manifesting Himself uniquely at a vital moment in history.'<sup>2</sup>

'It fill<sup>ed</sup> all the house where they were sitting'

Whether this is a private house or the Temple itself is disputed by some scholars. Zahn and Holzman have taken the 'house' to be the Temple. Both Lampe and Williams find in 'filled all the house' a probable reminiscence of the smoke that filled the house at Isaiah's call (Isa. VI. v 4). Haenchen argues against the Temple being the setting for the Pentecostal outpouring:

'Luke always calls the Temple to ieron; 22 times in all. If Josephus on one occasion (Ant. VIII 65ff) gives the name of oikos to the Temple which

1. E.M. Blaiklock: 'The Acts of the Apostles.' p.53.
2. Ditto: p.54.

he elsewhere styles naos, the context still shows unmistakably what he meant. Here that is not the case.<sup>1</sup>

Haenchen confirms Zahn's observation based on Acts XII v.12 that this upper room was in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark. This would explain much if the house to which Jesus went on His arrival in Jerusalem was the home of the earliest evangelist.<sup>2</sup>

'And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire.' (v.3)

Williams sees eschatological significance in the tongues of fire: as the divine presence of Shekinah rested on the pious Jew studying the Law, and as Paul hoped the power of Christ would rest on him (II Cors. XII v.9), so the purifying and consuming flame of the Holy Spirit rested on each apostle. Luke III v. 16 had connected the Holy Spirit with the eschatological fire, cp. Matt. III v. 11f. Now the 'last days' had arrived and in Peter's speech below, Luke is to stress the eschatological nature of the gift of the Spirit.<sup>3</sup> Professors Lampe and Bruce see in the 'fire' a reference to John the Baptist's expectation of the future coming of the 'stronger one', Luke III: c. 16;

'He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire.'<sup>4</sup>

1. Haenchen: 'Acts', p.167.
2. Foakes-Jackson: 'Beginnings of Christianity' Vol. IV. p.17.
3. C.S.C. Williams: 'Acts' pp.62, 63.
4. G.W.H. Lampe: 'Peake's Commentary' p.887. F.F. Bruce. p.56.

Foakes-Jackson suggests the word 'tongues' is chosen because of the later phenomenon of Glossalalia:

'The author emphasizes the external character of the Spirit's manifestation as in verse 2. The use of 'hosei puros' is not to deny the reality of the appearance but to warn the reader that the natural object named does not give an exact description. Fire about the head occurs in both Gentile and Jewish thought as a mark of supernatural favour. (cp. Wendt and Strach ad hoc).'<sup>1</sup>

Haenchen also warns against an over-literal pressing of the description of the Phenomenon in the terse comment:

'We ought not to treat the story as a documentary film.'<sup>2</sup>

'And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.' (v.4)

Only now, when the effects of the gifts are described is the Holy Spirit mentioned. In accordance with Our Lord's promise of Ch.I v.8 and the Baptist's prophecy (Luke Ch.III v.16) the Holy Ghost comes upon or 'fills' the disciples. The outward sign of this spirit-possession is that they begin to speak with

1. Foakes-Jackson: 'Beginnings of Christianity' Vol. IV. p.17.
2. Haenchen: 'Acts' p.167.

other tongues (<sup>h</sup>eterais glossais) under the direct impulse of the Holy Ghost.

The promised consequence of this apostolic baptism in the Holy Spirit is that 'they shall be my witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost part of the earth (Act. I. v.8). The baptism in the Spirit is to empower them for World Mission. Hence Professor Lampe writes:

'Luke thinks of the Spirit as the witness to Christ (cp. the Johannine Paraete) in the mission of the Church and the proclamation of repentance and forgiveness to the world. The Spirit inspires and directs the Church's preaching and inner life.'<sup>1</sup>

The Holy Spirit inspiring and directing the Church's preaching and inner life is manifested chiefly in the prophetic gifts required for the mission; hence the coming of the Spirit takes the form of tongues. The effect of Spirit possession is to enable the apostles to acclaim the gospel to all nations. Foakes-Jackson makes the general observation that the Christian view came more and more to regard the gift of the Spirit as an end in itself, not as part of the preparatory cleansing for the Kingdom. Thus the Spirit Baptism became something given, instead of the instrument of cleansing.<sup>2</sup>

1. G.W.H. Lampe: p.888.

2. Foakes-Jackson: 'Beginnings of Christianity' Vol. IV. p. ~~13~~ 7

Professor Bruce comments:

'The filling with the Spirit was an experience to be repeated on several occasions: (Ch. IV: v. 8, 31; XIII v.9) but the spirit-baptism took place once for all, so far as the believing community was concerned.'<sup>1</sup>

James Dunn<sup>2</sup> is at pains to point out the exegetical errors of modern Pentecostals who hold that salvation, so far as it may be known in this life, is experienced in two stages: first, the experience of being a Christian; then, as a later and distinct event, a second experience of the Holy Spirit. He holds that a complete re-examination of the New Testament teaching on the gift of the Spirit and the relation to belief and baptism is necessary. He seeks to show that for the New Testament writers, Baptism 'in' or 'gift' of the Spirit was part of the event (or process) of becoming a Christian - together with the effective proclamation of the Gospel, belief in (eis) Jesus as Lord, and water-baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus; in support he quotes Denney:

'In Acts, as elsewhere in the New Testament, the reception of the Spirit is the whole of Christianity.'<sup>3</sup>

1. F.F. Bruce: p.56.
2. J.D.G. Dunn: 'Baptism in the Spirit' p.4
3. J. Denney: 'Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels (1906) I. 738.

In commenting on the Acts. II record of the disciples' own baptism in the Spirit, Dunn writes:

'The conclusion for the Pentecostal theology is plain. Their appeal to the experience of the 120 is a broken reed - at least so far as it is based on the record of Luke-Acts. In Luke's understanding of salvation-history the 120 before Pentecost were in a position analogous to that of Jesus before Jordan. They were in the old epoch of salvation and while they may well have experienced many of the blessings of the old age and covenant, they were still outside the new. Only at Pentecost did they enter into that relationship with the Father which was made possible through the death and resurrection and exaltation of the Son and which was affected by the Ascension gift of the Spirit..... What happened at Pentecost is normative for those who would enter the new age, new covenant and the church. The pre-Christian experience of the 120 prior to Pentecost can never provide a pattern for the experience of new Christians now; there is no genuine Christianity 'on the wrong side of Pentecost.'<sup>1</sup>

1. G. Johnston TWBB 239 citing W.R. Forrester: Conversion, 5.

In one sense Pentecost can never be repeated, continues Dunn. The new age is here and cannot be ushered in again. In another sense Pentecost or rather the experience of Pentecost can and must be repeated in the experience of all who would become Christians. As the day of Pentecost was once the doorway into the New Age, so entry into the new age can only be made through that door i.e. the receiving the same spirit and same baptism in the Spirit as did the 120. This is why the great thing which Peter offers above all at the conclusion of his sermon is the Gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts.II. v.38).<sup>1</sup>

On the question of the precise nature of the 'other tongues' Haenchen writes:

'The equation of 'tongues' and dialectos in v.8 shows that speech in different languages is meant for the 'apophthēgēsthai' of v.4b means to speak in a solemn or inspired way, not in ecstatic speech.' (cp. I Cors. VII, XIV.)<sup>2</sup>

Williams takes up this common critical distinction made between Luke's and Paul's presentation of the phenomenon, speaking with tongues, associated with the Spirit:

1. Dunn: pp. 53, 54.

2. Haenchen p.168. See Th. Wb I, 448.

'The distinction is too clear cut. Paul (I Cor.XIII, XIV) is said to have thought of it simply in terms of ecstatic utterance unintelligible to a hearer without an interpreter, and Luke to have thought of glossalalia simply as speaking in a foreign language. But anyone who has been present when others have been subject to strong emotional and spiritual or even alcoholic (Ch. II: v. 15) pressure or stimulus may have observed that words of complete gibberish together with words suggesting a foreign tongue are mixed up when the 'censors' of the psyche are removed. Those who adopt the ordinary critical view tend to overlook that even to Paul glossalalia may well have meant or included speaking in foreign tongues as well as unintelligible speech, not the latter alone. Though Koine Greek and perhaps one or two Aramaic dialects would have sufficed for anyone at a feast at Jerusalem in apostolic days, both Luke and Paul may well have been familiar with much the same phenomenon which included the use of foreign terms or could be interpreted by hearers as such.'<sup>1</sup>

1. C.S.C. Williams: 'Acts': p.63.  
 See also: G.B. Cutten's 'Speaking with Tongues, 1928';  
 G. Pilkington, 'The Unknown Tongues discovered to be English, Spanish and Latin, 1831 (on the Irvingites)'  
 K. Lake, 'Beginnings of Christianity. V, note x. and his 'Glossalalia and Psychology' in the 'Earlier Epistles of Paul, 1911, 241 - 52;  
 or W. Shepherd, 'A New Survey of Science, 1949, 482 ff.

'And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men out of every nation under heaven.' (v.5)

Codex Sinaiticus omits 'Jews'. If this were correct it would mean that the mission to the Gentiles began at the very outset, at any rate according to Luke's view. Lampe observes that this is very unlikely:

'If it were so, the subsequent story would be unintelligible. The crowd was probably made up of devout Jews whose dispersion over the whole world made them symbolical of the future world-wide church.'<sup>1</sup>

Here he is supported by F.F. Bruce who adds the further point:

'..... there is the consideration that the Greek word translated 'devout men' in v.5 appears in the New Testament to be reserved as an epithet for Jews.'<sup>2</sup>

'Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak his own language.' (v.6)

Haenchen asks, Is this phrase the <sup>ch</sup>ekos of v.2 (in

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888
2. F.F. Bruce, p.61.

which case the crowd would first have been attracted by the rushing onset of the Spirit) or the speech of the Christians, when the crowd would have been drawn by their loud ecstatic utterance or the Voice of the Spirit itself? The Question, he comments,<sup>1</sup> is submerged in the mysterious chiaroscuro of the scene. At all events, the assembled pious Jews of the Diaspora are thunderstruck (sunek<sup>ch</sup>the expresses the surprise caused by the miracle<sup>2</sup>). Luke expresses this in few words, as v.4 has made it clear that the Christians are speaking different languages (as in Ch. I. v. 19 dialektos means the vernacular of the country<sup>3</sup>).

W.L. Knox observes:

'It is most unlikely that any Jew of the Dispersion would have understood such native dialects as survived in the remoter regions of the Middle East, since the Jews of the Dispersion were almost entirely city dwellers.'<sup>4</sup>

But Haenchen replies, the Jews in the regions enumerated below did in fact speak either Aramaic or Greek. But Luke has quite another picture in mind and this ought not to be explained away.

1. Haenchen p.168, 169.
2. Haenchen 168. n. 1.
3. Haenchen 169, n. 2.
4. W.L. Knox p. 83.

Luke sees in the crowd of Pentecost pilgrims drawn from all over the Dispersion a foreshadowing of the world-wide mission which was about to begin in Jerusalem. So Professor Lampe writes:

'Luke is accustomed to present great things in terms of single dramatic events; hence the details of the scene should not be pressed. It is a picture of all the nations hearing the Gospel, each in its own tongue, as the Law was believed to have been proclaimed by angels at Sinai to all the nations in their own languages.'<sup>1</sup>

Here he is citing rabbinic tradition:

'When the law was given at Sinai the ten commandments were promulgated with a single sound yet 'all the people perceived the voices' (Exodus XX: v.18) this shows that when the voice went forth it was divided into seven voices and then into seventy tongues, and every people received the law in their own language.'<sup>2</sup>

So now, comments F.F. Bruce, On the reputed anniversary of the law-giving, people 'from every nation under heaven' heard the praises of God, 'Every man..... in his own language.'<sup>3</sup>

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888.
2. Midrash Tanchuma, 26c.
3. F.F. Bruce, p.61.

Luke supposes the apostles were inspired to speak foreign languages. Professor Lampe<sup>1</sup> observes <sup>that</sup> only on this <sup>^</sup> supposition does the story make sense. And Bruce adds:

'The disciples were suddenly delivered from the peculiarities of their Galilean speech and for a moment appeared to share between them a command of most of the tongues spoken throughout the known world.'<sup>2</sup>

E.M. Blaiklock, however, rejects the view foreign languages were spoken at Pentecost by those who had no knowledge of them and who, 'as far as our information goes, promptly forgot them.'<sup>3</sup> He reminds us that the Jews and proselytes of the dispersion would know Greek and possibly Aramaic. No multiple gift of tongues was therefore necessary. Moreover, if it was a gift of that nature then it was a gift which was rapidly withdrawn. He goes on to cite Paul's experience at Lystra (Acts XIV : vv 11-14) - a district where neither Aramaic, Greek or Latin enabled him to perceive the development of an embarrassing situation because its beginnings were obscured by an alien tongue. This in spite of the fact Paul had himself spoken with tongues.<sup>4</sup>

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888
2. F.F. Bruce, p.59.
3. E.M. Blaiklock, p.57.
4. E.M. Blaiklock, p.55.

But Lampe will not have it so; that the phenomenon of multiple languages is an unnecessary intrusion:

'The whole scene is a prophetic summing up in a symbolic picture of what is to be the theme of acts: the Spirit-inspired proclamation to the whole world. It would therefore be to miss the point if we were to object that Diaspora Jews, mainly city dwellers, would be more likely to understand Greek and Aramaic than the local languages of the countryside of the various lands in which they lived, or that it is surprising they knew the apostles to be Galileans.'<sup>1</sup>

Professor Bruce notes that the Galilean accent was easily recognised, 'as Peter knew to his sorrow on an earlier occasion' - being noted for its confusing of the various guttural sounds. (cp. Matt. XXVI : v 73)<sup>2</sup>

'Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappodocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.' (v.9)

Luke's list proceeds from East to West beginning

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888.
2. F.F. Bruce, 'The Book of the Acts' p.59: footnote 15.

with Rome's great rival empire, Parthia, the Biblical Medes and Elamites representing the eastern ends of the south and going through Asia Minor as far as the province of Asia, back along the southern part of Asia Minor to Egypt, omitting Syria and Palestine where a Galilean would not need a special gift of tongues to make himself understood and hence to Cyrenaica, and to those Jewish visitors to Jerusalem who were, like Paul, Roman citizens and might be Greek-speaking or Latin-speaking.

Lampe suggests 'Judea' seems out of place between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia and reminds us that Tertullian (Adv. Judaeos VII) and Augustine (Contra Epistulam Fundamenti VIII) read 'Armenia' for Judea. Furthermore, 'Armenia' appears next to Cappadocia in the table of P<sup>au</sup>l of Alexandria and may be right. Or, he suggests, 'Judea' might be an early interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand how Judea could be omitted from the list.<sup>1</sup>

*even more strongly*

Haenchen pleads with Williams ~~even more strongly~~  
for the exclusion of 'Judea' from the list:

'Judea has been long acknowledged as a late insertion; as is a priori obvious from the fact that its vernacular is not foreign to Jews.'<sup>2</sup>

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888. See also C.S.C. Williams pp.64,65.
2. Haenchen, p. 170.

'Judea must be wrong, being out of place in such a catalogue; it was probably inserted by a Christian Jew who found the omission intolerable.'<sup>1</sup>

But Bruce, while acknowledging the common regarding of 'Judea' as a scribal error, writes:

'If, however, the word is retained, we should probably think of Judea in its widest possible sense, denoting the extent of land controlled directly and indirectly by the Judean Kings David and Solomon from the Egyptian frontier to the Euphrates. This might explain the absence of Syria from the list.'<sup>2</sup>

Haenchen also queries whether Pontus was also a later insertion:

'Perhaps Armenia stood in Luke's model for the list.' But he goes on to counterbalance this suggestion by noting that Pontus was the homeland of Aquila and Priscilla (XVIII. 2) as was Egypt that of Apollos (XVIII. 24) likewise Cyrene was the home of Lucius (XIII. 1) and the unnamed andres Cyrenaiot of XI. 20.<sup>3</sup>

Lampe, Williams and Bruce<sup>4</sup> note the similarity of

1. Williams, p.65.
2. Bruce, p.62.
3. Haenchen, p.170.
4. Lampe, p.888; Williams 64/65; Bruce, p. 61 n.20.

Luke's list to the astronomical catalogue of Paul of Alexandria (A.D. 378). In this catalogue each country of the earth was allocated to one of the signs of the zodiac. In footnote<sup>1</sup> Professor Bruce mentions the suggestion of some modern scholars (Weinstock, F.C. Burkitt) that astrological geography was the key to the understanding of Luke's catalogue, and that Luke consequently, 'however strange his list is, meant in fact to say the whole world'..... all nations who lived under the twelve signs of the zodiac received the gift to understand their preaching immediately. But Bruce adds a cautionary note:

'Whatever may be the literary affinities of Luke's catalogue, we take leave to doubt the presence of astrological considerations in his mind.'

'.....strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes,.....' (v.10b)

Or as the R.S.V. has it: 'Visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes.'

F.F. Bruce asks us to note that these people are the only contingent from the European mainland included in Luke's list:

'No doubt visitors from Greece were present as well, but they are not mentioned.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Bruce, p.61. See J.R.S. XXVIII, 1948, pp. 43 - 46.

2. F.F. Bruce, p.63.

In a footnote he observes that this is an argument against the Burkitt-Weinstock thesis: Paul of Alexandria's list places 'Greece and Ionia' (under the sign of the Virgin) between Asia (under the Lion) and Libya and Cyrene (under the Scales).

Bruce continues:-

'Luke is of course interested in Rome, because it is the goal to which the narrative of Acts is leading. But it is at least a possibility that the Roman Church, whose origins are so obscure may go back to some of these visitors from Rome who heard the gospel in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost and carried it home to the imperial city.'<sup>1</sup>

Foakes-Jackson supports this suggestion:

'By the autumn following the Crucifixion it is quite as possible that Jesus was honoured by the Jewish community at Rome as that He was in Damascus.'<sup>2</sup>

For Haenchen, 'Romans' are Roman-born Jews living as foreigners in Jerusalem and considered to have Latin as their mother-tongue; they form the last group just as Rome itself brings Acts to a close in Ch. XXVIII.'<sup>3</sup>

1. F.F. Bruce, p.63. also Bruce: 'The Dawn of Christianity' p.155 ff.
2. F.J. Foakes-Jackson: 'Peter, Prince of Apostles' p.195.
3. Haenchen, p. 170/171.

'Jews and proselytes' sums up the religious condition of the crowd. Although it symbolises all the nations, the crowd did not actually consist of Gentiles, and the Gentiles mission, adumbrated in this scene at Pentecost, does not begin until Peter goes to the house of Cornelius.

'Cretans and Arabians' (v.11a)

Lampe notes that Crete appears with Cilicia in the astrological table of Paul of Alexandria, and 'Arabia', he suggests might correspond with the 'Red Sea and Indian country' which is the last item in the table. But he concludes:

'These two places, however, seem to have been added as an afterthought, for the list goes from East to West.'<sup>1</sup>

Bruce comments that Arabia in New Testament times was the kingdom of the Nabatean Arabs, east of Syria and Palestine, stretching from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, with its capital at Petra. At the time of Pentecost this kingdom was at the height of its power under its king Aretus IV (9 B.C. - A.D. 40).<sup>2</sup>

If Judea, Crete and Arabia are omitted from the list of nations, then the number consists of twelve, corresponding to the apostles, but without any implication that each apostle

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888.

2. F.F. Bruce, p.64 and II Cors. XI 32.

concerned himself with one particular country. All these visitors, then, heard the ecstatic exclamations of the apostles and their companions. As Bruce writes:

'The praises of God in various tongues were heard frequently in Jerusalem during the great festivals when so many pilgrims from the Diaspora were present in the city (apparently the Jewish authorities sanctioned the use of any language in reciting certain religious formularies - the Shema (Hear, O Israel..... Deut. VI. v) the 'Eighteen Benedictions', and the blessing invoked on meals). Now, to their surprise, these pilgrims heard the praises of God in all the tongues of the Diaspora being uttered by Galileans of all people! The event was surely nothing less than a reversal of the curse of Babel.'<sup>1</sup>

'And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this?'

Haenchen asks why is more not said about the content of this inspired utterance, 'the wonderful works of God'? For him the answer lies in the fact that these 120 Christians could not preach in chorus the first sermon, which won the first

1. Bruce, p.64 and cp. J.G. Davies, 'Pentecost and Glossalalia', J. ThS, N S iii (1952) pp. 228 ff for an argument that the account of Pentecost is dependent upon the account of Babel.

3,000 Jews for Christ. Luke wishes to give this sermon in extenso, however, so he reserved it for Peter as the official spokesman. But in order not to rob Peter of his material he has to make a clear distinction between the pneumatic speech, on the one hand, and Peter's discourse on the other. For that purpose Luke resorts to the phenomenon, with which he was also acquainted, of ecstatic speech. This brought a new motif into the story: ecstatic speech is incomprehensible to most listeners, but so far the languages bestowed by the Spirit have been represented as comprehensible. To avoid self-contradiction, Luke therefore introduces at this point a new group of listeners, the 'others' (eteroi, v.13), who consider that the Christians under the Spirit's influence are drunk. Luke thereby employs one of his favourite devices: opposing two parties, one of which is more or less well-disposed to the Christians, while the other is hostile. At the same time this new factor, the accusation of drunkenness, serves as a bridge to Peter's address.

'We now see why only the essential minimum was said about the content of the pneumatic speech ('the mighty works of God') and why this speech did not induce faith, but only amazement, bewilderment, puzzlement: it must neither anticipate nor detract from the effect of Peter's sermon - the conversion of the multitude. The

advantage gained by Luke in return for this sacrifice is that the ecstatic pneumatic speech and the non-ecstatic discourse of Peter are intimately linked, making the story of Pentecost one great unity.<sup>1</sup>

'Others mocking said, these men are full of new wine.' (v.13)

Williams comments that sweet or new wine would be unfermented.<sup>2</sup> Foakes-Jackson asks, how could the apostles have obtained 'new' i.e. unfermented wine seeing it was yet only Pentecost and therefore before, not after, the vintage?<sup>3</sup> But Bruce argues that the Greek 'gleukos' means 'sweet' wine and he cites Cato in his treatise on agriculture (120):

'Put new wine in a jar, cover the stopper with pitch, place the jar in a fishpond, take it out after the 30th day: you will have sweet wine all the year round.'<sup>4</sup>

Bruce goes on to underline the contrast in Eph.V: v.18 between being 'drunken with wine' and being 'filled with the Spirit.'

1. Haenchen, p.175.
2. Williams, p.65.
3. Foakes-Jackson: 'Beginnings of Christianity' Vol. IV. p.17.
4. Bruce, p.65 (footnote 37).

3) Peter's Explanation: (vv 14 - 21)

'But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them.....'

As the tension reaches its height Peter stands up (statheis i.e. taking up the stance of a Greek orator as in Ch. V. v. 20, XI v.13, XVII v. 22) with the eleven and begins a solemn address (apophtheg<sup>esthai</sup>~~goma~~ i.e. to speak in inspired or solemn fashion but not glossalalia.<sup>1</sup>

'Ye men of Judea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem...' (v.14 b)

Haenchen bids us note in passing that Luke does not think of the crowd gathered at Pentecost as pilgrims in Jerusalem for the feast. He is in fact throughout speaking of diaspora Jews who have taken residence in Jerusalem, and for this he has his reason: he can hardly have the mission's first 3,000 converts, the nucleus of the community secured from among them, streaming off to the four corners of the world within a week of conversion! He therefore supposes (and there is nothing unlikely in it, cp. v.5,) that Jews from all over the world have settled in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

'..... these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day' (v. 15)

Peter begins his explanation of the phenomena by

1. Haenchen, p.178.
2. Haenchen, p. 175.

refuting the accusation of drunkenness; at 9 a.m. it is inconceivable for even drunkards and wassailers have not yet begun to imbibe.<sup>1</sup>

Blaiklock adds further explanation by saying:

'Scrupulous Jews drink wine with flesh, and, on the authority of Exodus XV: v.18, ate bread in the morning and flesh only in the evening. Hence wine could be drunk only in the evening.'<sup>2</sup>

'... this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh....' (v. 16, 17 a)

The disciples' apparent drunkenness has a very different cause; the ecstatic behaviour of the Christians is the fulfillment of the ancient prophecy of Joel (Joel Ch. II vv 28 - 32). The promise of the last days has been fulfilled and the Spirit whose outpouring on Israel was expected at the final consummation has actually come 'upon all flesh'.

The citation of Joel Ch. II 28ff follows the LXX 'much as we have the latter' comments Williams<sup>3</sup> though the Alexandrian text shows traces of closer harmonization with

1. Cicero, Philosophical Discourses II, 41, 104.... ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur.
2. Blaiklock, p.58.
3. Williams, p.67.

it than does the Western text. 'Joel', as Professors Lampe and Bruce point out, is omitted from the Western text. Other prophetic citations also appear in Acts without a mention of the particular prophet by name (cp. Ch. VII v.42, XII v.40, XV v.16). 'Joel' is cited to show that the last days have come, the ancient expectation has been fulfilled and the Spirit is outpoured no longer upon special individuals such as prophets and rulers,<sup>1</sup> and it is through Jesus as the exalted Lord, risen from the dead and ascended into heaven, that the Spirit has been given.

The LXX quotation raises other textual problems in connection with the Western Text, e.g. the Western text, supported by Sinaiticus and other MSS reads: 'in the last days' but the LXX reproduced by Vaticanus and others has 'after these things.'

Haenchen comments that the text of B, *meta tauta* (after these things) is the original:

'In Lucan theology the last days do not begin as soon as the Spirit has been outpoured!'<sup>2</sup>

However, Lampe<sup>3</sup> suggests that the former reading *en tais eskatais h'emerais* (in the last days) explains that Luke

1. cp. Gideon, Judges VI v.34; Samson, Judges XIII v.25; XIV v. 6, 19, XVI. v. 28; Samuel, I Sam. IX v.20; Saul, I Sam.XIX v. 23b, 24.
2. Haenchen, p. 179.
3. Lampe p. 888.

interpreted the LXX phrase as meaning 'in the age of fulfilment' which has begun, although the final consummation is not yet (cp. Ch. I vv. 7 - 8). So that the Church lives in the intermediate age between its inauguration and its completion.

'Upon all Flesh' (v. 17)

Haenchen points out that in the original text 'pasan sarka' does not mean Man in general, but Luke does not yet intend Peter to proclaim the gift of the Spirit to all men, for that would be anticipating the decisive turning-point of the Cornelius episode (Ch. X. v. 44ff, Ch. XI v. 18).<sup>1</sup>

It is quite obvious that the full implication of Joel's words was not realised until a much later stage in the Church's mission. Lampe explains 'all flesh' in this context as meaning all Israel and goes on to suggest Luke may intend the phrase to point to the universality of the Church. Likewise Bruce writes:

'Luke probably sees in these words an adumbration of the worldwide Gentile mission, even if Peter himself did not realise their full import when he quoted them on the day of Pentecost. Certainly the outpouring of the

1. Haenchen, p. 179. and n. 2.

Spirit on a hundred and twenty Jews could not in itself fulfill the prediction of such outpouring 'upon all flesh'; but it was the beginning of the fulfilment. The words as used by Joel may have harked back to Moses' exclamation, 'Would that all Jehovah's people were prophets, that Jehovah would put his Spirit upon them' (Num. XI v.29). The effect of the Spirit's outpouring is the prophetic gift, exercised in visions and dreams and by word of mouth.<sup>1</sup>

'And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophecy.' (v. 18)

The mou added to doulous and doulas against the Hebrew and LXX text turns the slaves of the Jews into the servants and handmaidens of God.<sup>2</sup> Haenchen notes that Joel makes no reference to speech in foreign languages which he says is reason enough why Peter's discourse cannot refer to the miracle of the languages. Ecstatic utterance, on the other hand, is covered by the propheteuein of the quotation.<sup>3</sup>

The Pentecostal tongues, insists Lampe, are a form of prophecy, for they testify of Christ and this is the chief work of the Spirit in the Church and to the world.<sup>4</sup>

1. Bruce, p. 68.
2. Z<sup>for</sup> th K 51 (1954) 161.
3. Haenchen, p. 178 n. 11.
4. Lampe, p. 888.

'And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke; the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and notable day of the Lord come.' (vv. 19 and 20)

Professor Bruce suggests the wonders and signs to be revealed in the world of nature, as described in vv. 19 and 20 may have more relevance in the present context than is sometimes realised:

'.....it was little more than seven weeks since the people in Jerusalem had indeed seen the sun turned into darkness, during the early afternoon of the day of our Lord's crucifixion. And on the same afternoon the paschal full moon may well have appeared blood-red in the sky in consequence of that preternatural gloom. These were to be understood as tokens of the advent of the day of the Lord, 'that great and notable day', a day of judgment, to be sure, but more immediately the day of God's salvation to all who invoked His name.'<sup>1</sup>

In a footnote Bruce invites us to compare the description of the Day of Wrath in Rev.VI: v.12 based on this same prophecy of Joel.

1. F.F. Bruce, p.69 and footnote 49.

'Blood and Fire and vapour of smoke' is omitted in the Western text. Lampe suggests the Western text sees the prophecy as fulfilled in the signs and wonders performed by Jesus and subsequently by the apostles:

'All MSS agree in inserting 'signs' into the LXX text as a first step in the adaptation of the prophecy to the situation of the Church's mission.'<sup>1</sup>

'And it shall come to pass that whoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.' (v.21)

Verse 38 - Peter's answer to the convicted people of Jerusalem who are 'pricked in their hearts' - 'Repent, and be baptized everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sin, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost' - shows that the promise of salvation to those who call on the Lord's name introduces the second aspect of Peter's address: the claim that Jesus who was crucified has been exalted as Lord and Messiah.

4) Peter's Kerygma: (vv. 22 - 36)

In the forefront of his message stands the name of Jesus, here further identified as ho Nazaraios (as in Ch. III

1. G.W.H. Lampe, p.888.

v.6, IV v. 10, Ch. VI v. 14, XXII v. 8, XXVI v. 9) which Luke takes to mean 'from Nazareth'. Jesus is vouched for to the Jews by God through wonders of all kinds which God has done by him in their midst. 'As ye yourselves know' (v. 22) shows that the Galilean miracles of Jesus are generally known.<sup>1</sup>

But Jesus's death on the Cross seems to contradict his divine legitimation through the miracles.<sup>2</sup> For Luke, however, the scandal of the Cross is overcome by the fact that God's own will, as revealed in the Scriptures, is fulfilled therein. As Holzmann observes:

'Thus human freedoms' (cp. aneilate, did slay) 'and divine necessity' (cp. ekdoton, delivered up) 'here go hand in hand; the simplest and probably the oldest way of reconciling oneself to the paradoxical fate of the Messiah.'<sup>3</sup>

The sentence which Jesus' human judges passed upon Him and His human executioners carried out has been reversed, Peter asserts, by a higher court. They put him to death but God raised Him up and loosed the bonds of death which bound Him; it was not possible that God's Messiah should remain in the grip

1. Haenchen p. 180 n.8.

2. Wendt p. 92.

3. Holtzmann p. 35.

of death. If Messiah's suffering was ordained by the determinate counsel of God so was His resurrection and glory.

Peter leads on from the Resurrection to the Exaltation 'to the right hand of God' (v. 33). The word 'exalt' in the Greek, comments Williams,<sup>1</sup> was almost a technical term among early Christians for Christ being exalted to the right hand of God. Haenchen goes on to observe that the Spirit bestowed on the Exalted was not an endowment of which he had need; it was given him only for distribution. That Jesus has poured forth this Spirit can be seen and heard in the Christians who are still under its influence. Hence the ecstatic speaking with tongues is still going on in the background.<sup>2</sup>

In vv. 25 - 28 comes an Old Testament testimony in confirmation of Peter's claim. This quotation is from Psalm XVI vv. 8 - 11, in the LXX version. From the earliest days, the Christian church maintained that the exaltation of Jesus took place in direct fulfilment of God's promise to David. (cp. the quotation from Isa. LV v. 3 in Ch. XIII v. 34). In the psalm here quoted (Peter's argument runs), the words cannot refer to David, for his soul did go to the abode of the dead and his flesh did undergo corruption; no one could claim that David had been rescued from the grave. The words 'Thou

1. Williams p. 69 quoting <sup>C.H.</sup>Dodd, The Fourth Gospel, 247 and 376 n. 2.

2. Haenchen p. 183.

wilt not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let thy Holy One see corruption RSV) refer therefore to King Messiah, whom David himself prefigured and in whose name he spoke these words by the Spirit of prophecy. That a messianic interpretation of the words was current in Jewish tradition is suggested by the gloss on Ps. XVI v. 9 in Midrash Tehillim, 'my glory rejoices over King Messiah.'<sup>1</sup>

A further testimony from scripture follows in v. 34. Originally, comments Williams, this was 'a message from the Lord (Yahweh) to my Lord (the King)' and this phrase became an early testimony to Jesus as Lord.<sup>2</sup> T.W. Manson comments <sup>at</sup> more lengthily:

'David would not call the head of a restored Davidic kingdom 'My Lord' any more than he would have so accosted Solomon. But if the kingdom which David saw by inspiration was the true kingdom of God, he (David) could indeed call the head of that kingdom, 'My Lord'; for that kingdom is of a higher order than his and its head has nobility of a kind that does not rest on pedigree or power. He is greater than David or Solomon: and he is greater in his own way, not theirs.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Bruce p. 71.

2. Williams p. 69.

3. T.W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus 267 n.

The scriptural testimony, joined with that of the apostolic eyewitnesses to the Resurrection, brings the 'house of Israel' the certain knowledge that God has made Jesus the Kurios and Messiah. Here the guilt of the Jews is brought explicitly to the fore: they slew this Jesus! Haenchen softens this when he says that there is no anti-Judaism here, but an attempt to show the man who is to come to faith in Jesus that he is guilty of Jesus' death.<sup>1</sup>

5) The Result of Peter's Preaching: (v. 37 - 41)

Peter's preaching is effective not only in convincing his hearer's minds both also in convicting their consciences. If Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the appointed Messiah, then no guilt could be greater than that of treating Him as He had been treated:

'Recognition of this guilt pierces their hearts.'<sup>2</sup>

They are seized with remorse, and they beg Peter and the other apostles to tell them what to do.

The very form of address they use, andres adelphoi, shows that their hearts are already won over.'

Peter replies (v. 38). Let them repent of their sin and turn to God; let them submit to baptism in the Name

1. Haenchen 183 n. 5.

2. Haenchen 183/4.

of Jesus, confessed as Messiah; and their sins will be forgiven - and much more: they too would receive the gift of the Spirit which had been bestowed upon the apostles themselves. Haenchen<sup>1</sup> comments, by baptism in the name of Jesus Christ the convert comes under the power of Jesus, his sins in consequence are remitted, and he 'receives the Holy Spirit'. The few cases in Acts when reception of the Holy Spirit is separated from baptism are justified exceptions (VIII v. 16, X v. 44, XIX v. 2 - 6). By the time of Luke, it was not every Christian (if it ever had been) who received the ecstatic spirit at baptism e.g. Luke says nothing in V. 41 of the newly baptised speaking in tongues, although according to v. 38 they had received the Holy Spirit.

Williams notices that while Repentance, Baptism, the forgiveness of sins and the receipt of the Holy Spirit are linked together, there is no mention of the laying on of hands.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars seek to excise this verse as an interpolation.<sup>3</sup> It is suggested that the full name 'Jesus Christ' betrays an editor's hand: originally, they maintain, this passage did not refer to water-baptism; and Pentecost was baptism with the Holy Spirit as opposed to John Baptist's water-baptism. But it seems likely that if Acts was edited, the editor was

1. Haenchen 184
2. Williams, Appendix 3. (pp. 287 ff.)
3. Foakes-Jackson, Beginnings of Christianity, I. 340.

responsible for stressing the need for the laying-on of hands before the Spirit could be received, cp. VIII vv. 15 - 17 and XIX v. 6. Owing to the absence of 'editorial' reference to the laying-on of hands, it is probable that this verse is not editorial.

Bruce also notes the extent and diversity of the theological exegesis of v. 38:

'The call to repentance, which is 'Peter's basic and primary demand'<sup>1</sup> here, raises little difficulty. Plainly a change of heart, a spiritual right-about-turn, was essential in those who had so lately rejected their Messiah, not recognising Him in Jesus of Nazareth, if they were to enjoy the salvation which He came to earth to procure for them and which He was now offering them from His place of exaltation. The call to repentance, already sounded by John the Baptist and by Jesus in the years preceding the crucifixion (cp. Matt. III v. 2, IV v. 17, etc.) remained an essential element in the proclamation of the Christian message (cp. Chs. III v. 19, VIII v. 22, XVII v. 30, XX v. 21, XXVI v. 20).

1. Bruce, p. 75 quoting Stonehouse, WThJ xiii (1950 - 1) p. 5.

But with the call to repentance a call to baptism is conjoined. And apparently the command to be baptised occasioned no surprise. The practice of baptism was tolerably familiar to Peter's audience: in particular, John the Baptist had proclaimed 'the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins' (Mark I. v. 4). As John's converts were required to receive baptism in water as the outward and visible sign of their repentance, so Peter's convicted hearers were now required to submit to it. But there are two new features in the rite of water-baptism: it is administered 'in the name of Jesus Christ' and it is associated with the 'gift of the Holy Spirit'. It is administered 'in the name of Jesus Christ' - probably in the sense that the person being baptised confessed or invoked Jesus as Messiah (cp. XXII v. 16). In addition, the person who baptized the convert appears to have named the name of Christ over him as he was being baptized (cp. XV v. 17, Jas. II v. 7); And it is associated with the Holy Spirit. Here a number of interpreters have been conscious of a discrepancy with I. v. 5.<sup>1</sup> There the coming baptism 'in the Holy Spirit' appears to supse<sup>ev</sup>de<sub>^</sub>

1. Jackson and Lake, Beginnings I. pp. 338 ff.

John's baptism 'with water' (and cp. John's own words in Luke III v. 6 and parallels). But here there is no suggestion that water-baptism is to be superseded by Spirit-baptism; the Spirit-baptism has been conferred indeed, but water-baptism remains in force, although it is now given a richer significance in consequence of the saving work of Christ and the descent of the Spirit. The baptism of the Spirit of which it was our Lord's prerogative to bestow was, strictly speaking, something that took place once for all on the day of Pentecost when He poured forth 'the promise of the Father' on His disciples and thus constituted them the new people of God; baptism in water continued to be the external sign by which individuals who believed the gospel message, repented of their sins, and acknowledged Jesus as Lord, were publicly incorporated into the Spirit-baptized fellowship of the new people of God.<sup>1</sup> When the matter is viewed thus, the discrepancy disappears.<sup>2</sup>

1. cp. I Cor. XII v. 13: 'in one Spirit we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks'.
2. See H.G. Marsh, *The Origins and Significance of N.T. Baptism*; F.J. Leenhardt, *Le baptême chrétien*. K. Barth, *The Teaching of the Church regarding Baptism*.

Bruce adds a codicil to his comments on this difficult verse and urges that we distinguish the gift of the Spirit from the gifts of the Spirit:

'The gift of the Spirit is the Spirit Himself, bestowed by the Father through the Messiah; the gifts of the Spirit are those spiritual faculties which the Spirit imparts, 'dividing to each one severally even as he will' (I Cor. XII v. 11).<sup>1</sup>

It is true that Luke thinks of the receiving of the Spirit in particular relation to the impressive outward manifestations which so commonly accompanied that inward experience in the apostolic age; but the free gift which is promised in v. 38 to those who repent and are baptized is the Holy Spirit Himself. This gift of the Spirit may comprehend a variety of gifts of the Spirit, but first and foremost, 'the saving benefits of Christ's work as applied to the believer by the Spirit'.<sup>2</sup>

1. Bruce p. 77.

2. Stonehouse p. 16.

AT SAMARIA

We move on to the next important incident in the Acts narrative which affords material for our study:

'Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them. And the people with one accord gave heed unto those things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did. For unclean spirits crying with loud voice, came out of many that were possessed with them: and many taken with palsies, and they that were lame, were healed. And there was great joy in that city.'

Acts VIII vv 5 - 8.

Philip, like the first martyr Stephen, was an Hellenistic leader and one of the seven deacons appointed by the apostles to help with the administrative work of the growing Christian community.<sup>1</sup> But after his colleague's death and the consequent great persecutions against the Church, Philip was driven from his work in Jerusalem and went north to Samaria to preach the gospel. Professor Blaiklock invites us to note the freshness of Philip's evangelistic methods:

'He moved here and there under the influence of the Spirit. His boldness, too is notable.

1. Acts VI v.5

Following Christ's example (John IV), he took the gospel to the Samaritans.<sup>1</sup>

Williams reminds us that the Samaritans, like the Jews, expected a Messiah, a Taheb or Restorer, possibly 'one who returns' (John IV 25ff).<sup>2</sup> Dunn adds the information that the Samaritan Taheb would introduce 'a period of divine favour, a second Kingdom' by uniting all Israel, crushing her enemies and exalting the Samaritan people.<sup>3</sup> Bruce suggests the Samaritan Messiah was envisaged in terms of the Moses-like prophet of Deut. XVIII 15f.<sup>4</sup> So now by taking the Gospel to the half-caste Samaritans who were loathed by the Jews for their tainted blood and for their separate Yahweh worship on Mount Gerizim Philip launched that evangelization of non-Jews which Paul was to continue.

There is some uncertainty whether the 'city of Samaria' was the city which in Old Testament times actually bore the name Samaria.<sup>5</sup> e.g. for Wendt<sup>6</sup> 'ten polin tes Samareias' can refer only to Sebaste (the old Samaria) but

1. E.M. Blaiklock, p.79.
2. Williams, p. 115.
3. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, p. 63 (cp. J. Macdonald, Theology of the Samaritans (1964) 74f., p. 359/71).
4. Bruce, p. 177.
5. Bruce, 177., Williams, 115.
6. Wendt, 154.

Wellhausen,<sup>1</sup> Zahn<sup>2</sup> and E. Meyer are just as insistent that ~~Seicheon~~<sup>Shechem</sup> must be meant as Sebaste had become wholly pagan.

(D and ~~later~~<sup>later</sup> MSS omit the article and relate the story to a town unnamed<sup>3</sup>) Williams suggests by omitting the definite article 'attested by some Alexandrian MSS', 'a city' may refer not to Samaria or Sebaste itself but possibly Gitta the birthplace of Simon Magus; according to Justin.<sup>4</sup>

Whichever city it was, Philip's visit there was marked by such exorcising of demon spirits from those who were possessed by them and such acts of healing performed on people who were paralysed and lame that great numbers believed his message and were filled with rejoicing. Haenchen comments on the word 'prose<sup>ch</sup>ko' (they listened or gave heed):

'Here and in v.11 it has the same sense as in the LXX.' And in a footnote he goes on to say: 'We cannot equate this with the pisteusai of v.12; it describes a situation, not the act of faith.'<sup>5</sup>

'But there was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one. To whom they all

1. J. Wellhausen, 14.
2. T. Zahn, 273
3. Haenchen, 302.
4. Williams, 115.
5. Haenchen p. 302 n.3.

paid heed, from the least to the greatest,  
 saying, this man is the great power of God.  
 And to him they had regard, because that of long  
 time he had bewitched them with sorceries.'

(Vv. 9 - 11)

A flashback introduces the strange figure of Simon Magus. Before Philip's visit he had been practising magic in the city and leaving the Samaritans open-mouthed with wonder. Justin Martyr, himself a Samaritan, reports in I Apol. 26 3 Dial. I 20 6 that by his time nearly all his countrymen revered Simon as the highest god. Haenchen comments:

'It is clear from the history of his movement that 'the great power' was a Samaritan designation for the supreme deity. Simon declared that this deity had come to earth in his person for the redemption of men.'<sup>1</sup>

Williams commenting on 'some one great' notes that the word 'great' occurs three times in one form or another within 2 verses; he suggests 'perhaps 'megas' (great) should be read as magos, magician'.<sup>2</sup> Bruce prefers to regard Simon as the Grand Vizier of the Supreme God, the channel both of

1. Haenchen p. 303.

2. Williams, p. 115 (see Beginnings of Christianity IV, 96)

divine power and of divine revelation. He observes that J. de <sup>Zwaan's</sup> ~~Zwaan's~~ theory of Simon, the Grand Vizier of the Lord of Heaven is certainly more probable than G.H. Dalman's view that Simon claimed to be God Almighty.<sup>1</sup> Yet Luke cannot say in v.11 that the Samaritans actually 'believed in' Simon, since for him Simon is a mere wizard. He confines himself to the colourless prose<sup>ch</sup>kein - they were all eyes and ears for Simon (as later, in v.6, for Philip); over the long period during which he gave evidence of his magical powers.

'But when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized both men and women. Then Simon himself believed also; and when he was baptized, he continued with Philip, and wondered, beholding the miracles and signs which were done. Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John: when they had prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: (For as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.)

1. Bruce, p. 179, n. 27 (see <sup>G.</sup>Dalman: Words of Jesus (Eng. tr. Edinburgh, 1902) p. 200)

Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost. And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, Saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.'

(vv. 12 - 20)

The narrative steers us back from the past to the present. Philip has come preaching in Samaria - preaching we now learn, of God's coming Kingdom and Jesus' all-powerful name - the people have believed him (the accession to faith is described in the aorist, whereas the imperfect prose<sup>dr</sup>se~~ion~~ was used in vv. 6 and 10 for the preliminary circumstances<sup>1</sup>) and now they come to be baptized, both men and women.

'To the Samaritans' writes Dunn 'Philip's message could only be about the Taheb and must mean the long awaited second Kingdom was about to be ushered in. Coming as Philip did in succession to Simon, working even great signs, they would

1. Haenchen, p. 303 n.5.

welcome his preaching enthusiastically (v.8)  
and accept it unreservedly.'<sup>1</sup>

Although both Haenchen<sup>2</sup> and Bruce say Simon's  
faith is not of the soundest, he believes and is baptized.  
He remains closely at Philip's side and is amazed at the wonders  
he sees:

'Like the magicians of Egypt, he recognized that  
the messenger of the true God had access to a  
source of power that outstripped his own.'<sup>3</sup>

News of Philip's evangelistic progress in Samaria  
was brought to Jerusalem, and the apostles sent two of their  
number to inspect this work. In the earlier years of the  
Christian mission, the apostles appear to have regarded it as  
their duty to exercise a general supervision over the progress  
of the gospel wherever it might be carried (cp. Ch. XI v.22).  
Peter and John were the two sent to Samaria. There they  
discover that Phillip's baptized Samaritan converts still await  
the descent of the Spirit. Haenchen observes:

'The Spirit makes itself known in Acts by the  
gift of speaking in tongues (Zahn 187); as  
this was not in evidence, the Spirit must have  
been absent.'<sup>4</sup>

1. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit p. 63.
2. Haenchen, p. 303.
3. Bruce, p. 179.
4. Haenchen, p.304.

Hence Peter and John put the seal of the conversion of the Samaritans by praying for the descent of the Holy Spirit and laying their hands on them, 'and they received the Holy Ghost.' Simon notes that it is the apostles' action which bestows the Spirit - which Haenchen writes is here imagined, 'As Wendt<sup>1</sup> rightly observed', to be recognizable by the sign of glossalalia. Bruce also writes:

'The context leaves us in no doubt that their reception of the Spirit was attended by external manifestations such as had marked His descent on the earliest disciples at Pentecost.'<sup>2</sup>

Simon's reaction is incomprehensible. There is no indication he himself was excluded from the laying on of hands. On the other hand his subsequent behaviour is incompatible with possession of the Spirit. He does not wish to buy the gift of the Spirit but the capacity to confer it through the Laying on of Hands. He seems to have regarded the bestowal of the Spirit as a specially effective piece of magic.

'Simon's professional instinct appears to have been awakened',<sup>3</sup> hence the apostolic rebuke in v. 20. Peter and

1. Wendt, p. 157.

2. Bruce, p. 181 and n. 34 (see N.B. Stonehouse, 'The Gift of the Holy Spirit' WThJ xiii (1950 - 1) pp. 10f.

3. Williams, p.116, quoting Casey.

John make it quite clear: To hell with you and your money!  
The divine Spirit is not for human trafficking.

Dunn's main thesis is to prove the unity of the act of Christian initiation, Baptism; the Pentecostals are in error to teach a second baptismal experience which they call the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Acts Ch. VIII, he says, has long been the chief stronghold of Pentecostal doctrine (the Baptism in the Spirit) and Catholic teaching (Confirmation). He sets out the problem thus:

- 1) The Samaritans believed and were baptised.
- 2) They did not receive the Spirit until some time later.

'In the context of the New Testament these facts appear to be mutually exclusive and wholly irreconcilable. If they believed and were baptized (v.12) in the name of the Lord Jesus (v.16) they must be called Christians. But if they did not receive the Holy Spirit till later they cannot be called Christians until that time (Romans Ch. VIII v.9). The usual course has been to build on the foundations of vv. 4 - 13 and call in question the statement of vv. 14 - 24.<sup>1</sup>

In Lukan theology, he holds, the language of vv.12ff

1. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, p.55.

means the Samaritans became Christians at that point. Therefore, it is said the statements of vv.14 - 17 record only what they seem to mean:

- Either 1) The Samaritans had already received the Spirit and vv. 14 - 17 record only a charismatic manifestation.
- 2) They record a second reception of the Spirit.
- 3) The gift of the Spirit belongs only to the Laying on of Hands.
- 4) God in his sovereignty withheld the Spirit from the Christians.

The first point is refuted by Luke's explicit statement that before Peter and John's appearance the 'Spirit had not yet fallen on any of them' (v.16) and that only when Peter and John laid hands on them was the Holy Spirit given (v.18) and received (vv. 15, 17, 19).

The second suggestion cannot stand before Luke's unequivocal statements: the Spirit had not yet fallen on them.

Thirdly, why was the Spirit not yet received through Philip's ministry? Why was the promise of Acts Ch. II 38 not fulfilled when its conditions seem to have been met? Some take the bull by the horns and reply: Because for Luke

the Spirit could be conferred only through the Laying on of apostolic hands.<sup>1</sup> But this view, both Dunn and Bruce<sup>2</sup> affirm, cannot stand in the face of Luke's other reports, let alone the rest of the New Testament. How absurd Luke should go to such lengths to demonstrate that the Spirit is given only through the apostles, and then immediately go on to relate the conversion and water baptism of the eunuch by the same unqualified Philip! Or does he mean us to believe that the Ethiopian never received the Spirit?

Dunn concedes that Lampe ascribes to Ananias apostolic status 'for this particular task' i.e. of ministering to Paul.<sup>3</sup> But this is surely to destroy the very thing which the ideas of 'apostle' and 'apostolic confirmation' are designed to safeguard. For it means that any Christian may be commissioned by God as an apostle for some particular task. Again in Acts. XI vv 19 - 24 (The Greeks founding the Antiochene Church) the situation is parallel to Acts. VIII; there is complete silence about any confirmatory coming of the Spirit: Barnabas does not act to remedy a defective situation, but rather acknowledges and rejoices over the already manifest grace of God. The picture of apostles scurrying hither and

1. K. Lake, *Beginnings* IV 92, V 53. Foakes-Jackson 72f. G.H.C. McGregor IB9 (1954) 110; Williams 116; Flemington 41; C.E. Pocknee, *Water and the Spirit* (1967) 28. And explanations long popular in Catholic circles: Chase 26; Lowther Clarke 8; Adler 'Taufe' 97; 110f; Rackham 116.
2. Dunn, p.58. Bruce, p. 182.
3. Lampe, *Seal of the Spirit*, p.68; cp. Swete 95f).

thither up and down the eastern end of the Mediterranean in an attempt to keep up with the rapid expansion of the Christian Gospel, with little time for anything but 'confirmation services' is amusing but incredible.<sup>1</sup>

Dunn affirms that Baptism is the only ritual action required by the Spirit to be received in Ch. II v.38 (Contra Lowther Clarke 17, 21) and is usually the only rite performed (II v. 41; VIII 38; X. 48; XVI. 15,33; XVIII.8). However, the Pentecostalist often ignores the question of ritual act and argues simply: The Samaritans show the reception of salvation is distinct from the reception of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> Thus concludes Dunn:

'They have the unhappy precedent of Christians who have done all that God requires of them and yet have not received the Spirit - a situation they are all too familiar with in their own assemblies.'<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, in regard to the fourth point, one of the most influential English interpretations in recent years has been that of Lampe, who stresses that Samaria was a unique situation and one of the chief turning points in the missionary enterprise.

- Dunn, p. 59.
1. See further G.B. Caird, *The Apostolic Age* (1905) 69 - 71; B.M. 113 - 115; *Seal of the Spirit*, p.67.
  2. Prince Jordan 68; J.D. Stiles, *Gift of the Holy Spirit* 67; Harper, *Power* 26f.
  3. Dunn, p. 59, n. 21.  
Lindsay, 'Chronic Seekers', p. 57.  
*Baptism of the Holy Spirit* (1964)

Before Samaria, a region long at odds with the Jews, could be established as a nucleus for further expansion, the continuity with Jerusalem had to be maintained, otherwise the unity of the Spirit-possessed community would be impaired.<sup>1</sup>

Dunn writes:

'This is undoubtedly the most satisfactory of the explanations so far proposed yet I must confess it leaves me unconvinced. The conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch was an advance of not little significance, yet absolutely nothing is made of it in terms of continuity with Jerusalem. And why did the Spirit await apostolic 'confirmation' in the case of the Samaritans when he did not do so with Cornelius? Again, Antioch was at least as significant a centre of expansion as Samaria, and, as the spring-board for the most important expansion of all (Paul's mission,) even more important than Ephesus, yet Luke does not so much as mention the Spirit in connection with Antioch (except in his description of Barnabas). Nor is there any cementing of the apostolic unity of the spirit in the case of Apollos, surely too strategic a figure to be left unattached to Jerusalem.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Seal, 70 - 72.  
(of the Spirit)

2. Dunn, p.62.

Above all, Lampe's view shows that there are a considerable number of baptized believers who do not have the Spirit and who are not yet incorporated in the Church. Dunn suggests that there is some confusion at this point. Were the Samaritans not incorporated into the Church until the Laying of Hands<sup>1</sup> or were they merely being assured 'that they had really become members of the Church'?<sup>2</sup> This means that belief and baptism 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' do not result in the gift of the Spirit (contra II. v. 38 and the descriptions of the Christian community as *hoi pisteuantes* - II. v. 44), 'a theologically impossible abstraction'.<sup>3</sup>

'In short' observes Dunn 'we are back at the same dilemma as faced the Catholic and Pentecostal above: Can we regard as Christians those who have not received the Spirit and have not been incorporated into the Church)?'<sup>4</sup>

Dunn ventures to put his own solution to the problem when he poses the question: Were the Samaritans Christians before Peter and John arrived?<sup>5</sup> Philip's preaching seems no different from that recorded elsewhere in Acts. The Samaritans response seems entirely satisfactory. And their baptism was

1. Beasley Murray, 118.

2. ditto

3. Dunn, p. 63.

4. Dunn, p. 63.

fully Christian. However, says Dunn, there are a number of reasons for believing not only that their response and commitment was defective but also Luke intended his readers to know this:

- 1) The Samaritans looked for the coming of the Messiah, or Taheb, who would introduce a period of divine favour, a Second Kingdom. By their response to Simon's magic and the high-sounding title they gave him (v.10) their eschatological expectation must have been roused to near fever-pitch.<sup>1</sup> Into this situation came Philip proclaiming the Christ<sup>2</sup> and preaching about the Kingdom of God. To the Samaritans Philip's message could only be about the Taheb and must mean the long awaited second kingdom was about to be ushered in. Coming as Philip did in succession to Simon, working even greater signs, they would welcome his preaching enthusiastically (v.8) and accept it unreservedly.
- 2) The Samaritans seem to have been a rather superstitious people. Their response to Simon was certainly of this nature, indicating little discernment and depth (vv. 9 - 11). The whole area seems to have been caught up in a wave of mass emotion. It is significant how Luke describes their response to Philip: proseko<sup>ch</sup>

1. Bruce p. 179; Conzelmann, Apg. 53.

2. Ho Christos is always used in Acts of Messiah of pre-Christian expectation.

(vv. 6, 10ff.) This suggests that their reaction to Philip was for the same reasons and of the same quality and depth as their reaction to Simon (cp. vv 6 - 8 with v. 10). It is hardly to be compared with Lydia's response to Paul's message (XVI v.4) and the implication is that the Samaritan acceptance of baptism was prompted more by the herd-instinct of a popular mass-movement than by the self- and world-denying commitment which usually characterised Christian baptism in the early years.

- 3) Pistuein also cannot bear the weight usually put on it. (v. 12) It is not here pistuein eis or epi ton kurion but episteusan to Philipo and when pistuein governs a dative object (except perhaps kurios or theos) it signifies intellectual assent to a statement or proposition rather than commitment to God (XXIV 14; XXVI 27). This use of pistuein, unique in Acts, can surely be no accident on Luke's part. He indicates thereby that the Samaritan's response was simply an assent of the mind to the acceptability of what Philip was saying, and acquiescence to the course of action he advocated, rather than that commitment distinctively described elsewhere which alone deserves the name 'Christian' (cp. John II vv. 23 - 25).

- 4) As if this was not enough, Luke immediately adds 'ho de Simon kai autos episteusen, kai baptistheis' and then in the sequel reveals just how little his profession and action mean. Despite his belief and baptism Simon had neither part (meris) nor lot (kleros) in the matter of salvation i.e. his heart was not right before God (v. 21) but was crooked and unbelieving.
- 5) The Spirit's absence from and coming to the Samaritans is the critical factor in this narrative. Luke's aim is to highlight the difference between true and false Christianity, and he does so by devoting most attention to Simon (not Philip or Peter) in order to draw out the ultimate contrast between the Samaritans and Simon. At first each step taken by the Samaritans is paralleled by a similar step taken by Simon: they turn from magic to Philip, so does he; they believe Philip, so does he; they are baptized, indicates they have come to genuine faith, but Simon continues to see and be interested in only the external.

For Dunn then the Samaritans probably misunderstood Philip's message and their response to his Gospel was in any case superficial and defective; it lacked wholehearted commitment in repentance and faith. At their Baptism they were little more than half-Christians. It needed Peter and John's visit to evoke a full flowering of their faith.<sup>1</sup>

1. Dunn, pp. 64 - 67.

THE CONVERSION AND BAPTISM OF PAUL (Ch. IX vv 1 - 19a)

For our next important passage for our study we move on to the Conversion and Baptism of Paul: 'Another favourite passage among Pentecostals.'<sup>1</sup>

1) THE CONVERSION

'And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest. And desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus; and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, What wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man.

1. Dunn, p.73. See also Riggs 110, Harper, Power 27.

And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.'

Ch. IX vv. 1 - 9.

Williams affirms that this event is recorded by Luke three times (XXII 4 ff and XXVI 9 ff.) to emphasize its outstanding importance to him. The wording is somewhat varied in the three accounts but Luke, he suggests, is adapting each to its circumstances.<sup>1</sup> Both Williams and Bruce note there was a large Jewish community in Damascus. They quote Josephus as saying that between ten and eighteen thousand were massacred there in A.D. 66.<sup>2</sup> Hence there would be several synagogues there at the time of Saul's visit and it was to these synagogues he would deliver his letters of mandate from the high priest.

Armed with the high priest's commission, Saul set out for Damascus, accompanied by a suitable escort, and had almost reached its walls when the momentous event took place. About midday (cp. XXII 6; XXVI 13) a light which outshone the sun flashed round him, and as he lay on the ground to which he had fallen, a voice sounded in his ears, addressing him in his Aramiac mother-tongue,<sup>3</sup> 'Saul! Saul! why are you persecuting me?'

1. Williams, p.122.

2. Bruce, p. 194 and Williams 122; see B.J. II 20.2 and VII 8.7.

3. Bruce, p. 195 note 15.

'The Way' (v.2) This is the name by which Christianity is here described (it recurs in XIX 9; 23; XXII 4; XXIV 2).

'Christianity was for the disciples of Jesus, the way (derekh) of all ways in which to walk.'<sup>1</sup>

'A light from heaven' (v.3) In biblical language Luke describes Saul's approach to Damascus. At this point a light from heaven (in XXII v.6 it is called a 'great light'; in XXVI v.13 Paul even says that it was brighter than the noon-day sun) shone about him. (in XXVI v. 13 Paul has it shine round his companions too). This great light causes Paul to fall to the ground. Haenchen writes:

'XXVI. 13 shows that Luke understands this as the effect of 'being dazed and dazzled'. From v. 7 (medena de theorountes) XXVI. 13 ('I saw a light') and XXII. 14 (Paul was appointed 'to see the Righteous One'), taken in conjunction with XXVI.16 ('a witness' that 'you have seen me'), it seems to follow that Saul saw Jesus only inasmuch as he beheld this tremendous blaze of light. Presumably, however, Luke imagined the occurrence in such a way that Saul's companions saw only a formless glare where he himself saw in it the figure of Jesus. This would make it more understandable that Saul should

1. Williams, p.122.

apostrophize the being addressing him with kurie.<sup>1</sup>

'The Voice'; (v. 4) The voice which he heard, suggests Bruce,<sup>2</sup> so far as literary parallels are concerned, is no doubt to be identified with the phenomenon known to the rabbis as the bath qol, 'the daughter of the voice (of God)', the heavenly echo. The solemn repetition of the name of the person addressed is common in divine allocutions.<sup>2</sup> But the voice that Paul heard came to him as the personal voice of the exalted Christ; for when he answered in surprise, 'Who are you, Lord?' he received the reply, 'I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting; rise up, and go into the city, and you will be told what to do.'

Hoi sunodeuontes' (v. 7) i.e. the other members of the caravan. Wendt identifies them as Paul's police escort.<sup>4</sup> But Haenchen disagrees:

'To imagine Paul roving outside Judea with a squad of Jerusalem temple police is enough to place this hypothesis in the realm of fantasy.'<sup>5</sup>

The other members of Paul's party hear the voice

1. Haenchen, p.322.
2. Bruce, p. 195.
3. G.H. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua* p.18 (Eng. tr. London, 1929).
4. Wendt, p. 163 f.
5. Haenchen, p. 322 fn. 5.

without seeing the speaker and are left standing speechless with astonishment and this convinces Haenchen of the objectivity of the phenomenon. Bruce observes that this statement in v. 7 has sometimes been thought to conflict with Paul's statement in Ch. XXVI. 14; 'We were all fallen to the earth' and still more with his statement in Ch. XXII. 9, 'they that were with me beheld indeed the light, but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me.' He writes:

'The first discrepancy is immaterial; presumably the others were able to get up while Saul was still lying flat on the ground. As for the other discrepancy, it has commonly been suggested that while they heard a noise (like the crowd in John XII. 29 who 'said that it had thundered' when Jesus' prayer was answered by a heavenly voice), they did not distinguish an articulate voice. On the other hand, Luke may very well mean here that it was Paul's voice that his companions heard, although they could neither see nor hear the person whom he appeared to be addressing.'<sup>1</sup>

'Paul's blindness' (v. 8.) Williams reminds us of C.G. Jung's suggested psychological explanation for this:

1. Bruce, p. 197.

'St. Paul had already been a Christian for a long time, only unconsciously; hence his fanatical resistance to the Christians, because fanaticism is only found in individuals who are compensating secret doubts. The incident..... on the way to Damascus marks the moment when the unconscious complex of Christianity broke through into consciousness..... Unable to conceive of himself as a Christian, on account of his resistance to Christ, he became blind and could only regain his sight through.... complete submission to Christianity. Psychogenetic blindness is according to my experience always due to an unwillingness to see, that is to understand and to realize something that is incompatible with the conscious attitude..... Paul's unwillingness to see corresponds with his fanatical resistance to Christianity. This resistance is never wholly extinguished..... It broke out in the form of fits..... psychogenetic fits, which actually mean a return of the old Saul complex, repressed through conversion, in the same way that there had been a repression of the complex of Christianity.'<sup>1</sup>

1. C.G. Jung, Contributions to analytical psychology, tr. by H.G. and C.F. Baynes, 1945, p.257.

But Williams will have none of it. For him Jung's thesis is illuminating but quite incapable of proof, and his whole treatment of the subject eliminates the supernatural.<sup>1</sup> Nor will Bruce accept epilepsy as the key to the understanding of Paul's vision. The examples Klausner<sup>2</sup> adduces from Dostoevsky's experiences interest him, but something more than epilepsy is required to account for all that Paul became and achieved. An increase of illumination in the epileptic moment is a very different thing from a total conversion such as Saul experienced - a conversion of intellect, will and emotions, which 'dictated the abiding purpose and direction of his subsequent life.'<sup>3</sup> For Haenchen, that Paul follows his conversion experience with three days fast - 'best understood as a penance' - demonstrates his inward transformation. (v.9)<sup>4</sup> For Dunn, Paul's neither eating nor drinking during the next three days is best understood as the consequence and symptom of a state of shock.<sup>5</sup> It is well known, he writes, that serious mental shocks often have physical consequences.

1. Williams, p. 123.

2. J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul* (Eng. tr. London, 1944) pp. 326 ff.

3. Bruce, p. 195.

4. Haenchen, p. 323. See also Didache VII.4 on the Christian practice of fasting before baptism.

5. Dunn, p. 75 (see also Lake and Cadbury, *Beginnings* IV 102; *Jesus in Rome* 783 c).

## 2) THE BAPTISM

'Ananias': According to XXII 12, Ananias was a devout man according to the law, well spoken of by all the Jews that lived in Damascus. Williams suggests he was a Jewish Christian who had probably been converted independently of the apostles.<sup>1</sup> Bruce suggests on the basis of Acts XXII 12 that he was probably not one of the refugees from the persecution in Jerusalem:

'It appears that the gospel had already made its way independently to Damascus - possibly from the northern base in Galilee. He knew, however, about the persecution in Jerusalem which had dispersed so many of the believers in that city, and he knew of the leading part that Saul had played in it. He knew, too, that Saul had arrived in Damascus with authority to prosecute there the grim work that he had begun in Jerusalem.'<sup>2</sup>

'The Vision' (v.10) In an <sup>h</sup>ororama Ananias is called by the Lord and at once reports himself present and attentive: 'Behold, I am here, Lord.' He then receives instructions from the Risen Christ (v.17 makes this obvious) to go to the street called Straight<sup>3</sup> where Saul is staying and lay his hands upon him for

1. Williams, p. 123. (See also Haenchen, p.323 on Ananias as a mathetes (disciple).
2. Bruce, p. 199.
3. Haenchen, p. 323 n.7.

the restoration of his sight. From the dialogue in vv. 13 - 16 it appears Ananias does not know Saul personally. But he has received ample information from 'many' of Saul's evil deeds - Haenchen comments that these 'many' appear to have come from Jerusalem. Hence a certain time has elapsed since the persecution there. Now Ananias hears that in spite of Saul's recent record as a persecutor, he was a chosen instrument in the Lord's hand.

'The Healing' (vv. 17p 19a) Ananias hesitates no more but hastens away into the house where Saul is staying and at once lays hands upon him, greets him by the title 'brother' and declares himself sent by Jesus that Saul may be healed and be filled with the Holy Spirit. The healing is instantaneous. A flaky substance fell away from Saul's eyes (lepidos in medical literature are scaly crusts forming on the skin; Haenchen says ancient medicine knew of none falling from the eyes.<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that v. 18 reflects a popular conception prompted by Tobit XI. 12: 'To scale away the white films from Tobit's eyes.'

'Paul's Baptism': (v.18b) His sight returned, Saul rose up and was baptized forthwith in the name of Jesus; we suppose receiving his baptism at the hands of Ananias. Commenting on Paul's actual baptism, Foakes Jackson writes:

1. Haenchen, p.325 (See also Beg. IV 104, Bruce 201, Williams 124).

'It is noteworthy that the message of Ananias was that Paul 'should regain his sight, and be filled with the Holy Spirit,' and that in the sequel he regained his sight and was baptised. This is one of the many incidental indications that, at least in some circles of early Christians, baptism was regarded as conveying the gift of the Spirit (cp. XIX 1 ff) But this element is quite lacking in the parallel passage in XXII, where Paul receives his sight before his baptism; baptism is here regarded as 'the washing away of sin', and there is nothing at all about the Holy Spirit.'<sup>1</sup>

But Professor Lampe's conclusion is that in Paul's baptism the Spirit may have preceded Baptism and been connected rather with the recovery of sight and the Laying on of Hands, the sign of unity within the Christian society; he writes:

'On the analogy of VIII v.18; XIX v.6, it is likely the Holy Spirit here denotes the Pentecostal manifestation of the Spirit empowering Saul as an apostolic missionary.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Foakes-Jackson, p. 104.
2. Lampe, in Peake, p. 898.

Dunn, in pursuance of his main thesis as to the basic unity of the Christian initiatory experience, sharply questions the popular conception<sup>1</sup> that Paul's conversion was instantaneous and that his Baptism in the Spirit was a second stage in his spiritual development. He notes that the arguments in favour of an instantaneous conversion on the Damascus road are principally:

- 1) Paul called Jesus 'Lord' (IX 5; cp. I Cors. XII 3)
- 2) Ananias greeted him as brother.

Dunn rebuts the first point by arguing that in each case it is the vocative kurie Paul uses and he notes that kurie often means simply 'sir' - a title of respect rather than a confession of faith (but cp. Haenchen p.322!). Since Paul does not recognise who has thus confronted him he can hardly say he calls Jesus 'Lord'. It is hardly likely <sup>that</sup> kurie of <sub>^</sub> XXII 10 means more.

Contra the second point, he suggests by calling Paul 'brother' Ananias is possibly hailing his fellow Jew with a word of racial kinship. Dunn points out 'adelphos' is used 57 times in Acts - 33 times it is equivalent to 'my fellow Christians' and 19 times is used in reference to the national/spiritual kinship of Jew to Jew. But he goes on to affirm that the absolute use of hoi adelphoi 'The Christians' does

1. Dunn p.73 cp. Holiness teachers, especially 'The Ministry of the Spirit' (1894) p.90.

not become established until IX 30. Even then in XXII 5 and XXVIII 21 it means 'fellow Jews'.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, he suggests, Ananias is more probably simply putting Paul at ease - telling him his past was not held against him. But it is unlikely he would have called 'Christian' one who had neither yet received the Spirit nor been baptized.

Dunn is perhaps on firmer ground in the three factors he goes on to suggest indicate Paul's experience was a unity; his conversion properly speaking was a crisis experience extending over the three days from the Damascus Road to his baptism:

- 1)cp. Acts. XXII 16: In Ananias's eyes Paul had yet to take that step which would clinch his committal and forgiveness. We have no record whatsoever of Paul taking the decisive step prior to his baptism; but we do have Ananias exhorting him to take that step - to have his sin washed away by calling on the name of the Lord Jesus (cp. II. 21; IX 14, 21; Rom.X.13,14) In short Paul did not become a Christian - one of those hoi Epikaloumenoi to onoma kuriou - was not saved (II. 21) until he epikalesetai to onoma autou. The Pauline baptismal references (Roms.VI 4; Col. II.12)

1. Dunn, p. 74.

reflect a very personal and profound experience and imply that for himself Paul's own baptism was the means of his commitment to Christ and the moment of his union with Christ in his death.

- 2) Paul's commissioning: Paul seems to make no distinction between what commissioning he received outside Damascus, and the commissioning he received through Ananias. In Ch. IX the commissioning comes solely through Ananias; in Ch. XXII Ananias' role is more explicit, though an earlier direct word is presupposed in vv. 14ff. In Ch. XXVI Ananias is not mentioned and the whole commission is received outside Damascus. Paul, it appears, in looking back to his commissioning, did not distinguish the means and the time of God's dealings with him. This is most likely because it was all the one evidence and experience, and as such it was impossible to disentangle the various elements in it. And since we can no more separate Paul's experience of conversion from his experience of commissioning<sup>1</sup> we cannot say Paul was converted on the Damascus Road and commissioned three days later, but we must recognise that Paul's conversion-commissioning was one experience

1. G.J. Inglis, *Theology* 36 (1137) 225; cp. J. Knox 98.

which extended over three days; his conversion was completed through Ananias' just as much as was his commissioning.

- 3) Paul's blindness spans three days and forms the connecting link between what happened on the highway and what happened in the house of Judas. The blindness was obviously due, on the psychological level, to the sudden shock of being confronted with the glory of one whom he thought of as a blasphemer and law-breaker justly done to death.

Therefore, concludes Dunn, Paul's conversion was one single experience lasting from the Damascus Road to the ministry of Ananias. As John Wesley says of the three days:

'So long he seems to have been in the pangs of the new birth.'<sup>1</sup>

The experience of being filled with the Spirit was as much an integral part of his conversion as his meeting with Jesus and the three days of solitude and prayer. Paul's conversion was only completed when he called on Jesus as Lord, was filled with the Spirit and had his sins washed away; then and only then can he be called a Christian.<sup>2</sup>

1. Wesley: Notes on the N.T. (1754) Ch. 9 v.9.  
cp. Beasley-Murray, Baptism Today and Tomorrow (1966) 38.
2. Dunn, pp. 77/78.

THE CONVERSION OF CORNELIUS (Ch. X v.1 - XI v.18)

The vision of Cornelius (Ch. X. v.1 - 8)

'Now there was a certain man in Caesaria, Cornelius by name, a centurion of the band called the Italian band, a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, who gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always. He saw in a vision openly, as it were about the ninth hour of the day, an angel of God coming in unto him, and saying to him, Cornelius. And he, fastening his eyes upon him, and being affrighted, said, What is it, Lord? And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine alms are gone up for a memorial before God, and now send men to Joppa, and fetch one Simon, who is surnamed Peter: he lodgeth with one Simon a tanner, whose house is by the sea side. And when the angel that spake unto him was departed, he called two of his household-servants, and a devout soldier of them that waited on him continually; and having rehearsed all things unto them, he sent them to Joppa.'

Bruce writes that the whole story of Cornelius, which 'bears the stamp both of probability and truth',<sup>1</sup> is of great

1. Foakes Jackson, p. 87.

importance not only because it tells how the 'door of faith' was opened to Gentiles but also because it introduces the question of the social intercourse of Jewish Christians with Gentiles and of the admission of Gentiles to the Church without circumcision.<sup>1</sup> That the story was also of great importance for Luke is shown in the length of the narrative and the repetition of salient features.

'Cornelius, a centurion' (v.1)

Cornelius was a specially common name in Rome ever since Publius Cornelius Sulla in 82 B.C. liberated 10,000 slaves who were enrolled in the gens cornelius to which he belonged. Bruce notes that the centurions (officers risen from the ranks in command of 100 men, with responsibility corresponding to a modern army captain) were the backbone of the Roman army.<sup>2</sup>

'A devout man and one that feared God...' (v.2).

Haenchen writes that eusebes, 'devout, pious' denotes a personal quality; phoboumenos ton theon can mean the same (cp. v. 35) but may also imply membership of the group of Gentiles who took part in synagogue services without, by adopting the whole of the law, becoming proselytes i.e. fully-entitled members of the Jewish religious community.<sup>3</sup> However, Bruce is quite sure that Cornelius was a 'god-fearer' in the recognised

1. Bruce, p.215.
2. Bruce, p. 215.
3. Haenchen, p. 346.

Jewish sense, and suggests that such god-fearers formed the nucleus of the Christian community in city after city in the course of Paul's missionary activity. And Cornelius, the god-fearer, gave 'much alms' to the people and prayed to God always (diapantos i.e. continually). Haenchen notes the piety of Cornelius is described in terms reminiscent in the association of prayer and alms of Matt.VI. vv. 2 - 6; I Peter IV v.7f; II Clem. XVI v. 14; Didache XV v.4.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly Williams sees in this kind of piety 'the intermediary doctrinal stage according to which a good Gentile was, by way of exception, taken to be included in the Jewish synagogue', i.e. the 'stage' before Paul's doctrine (Rom. I - II) was accepted that all, both Jews and Gentiles alike, stand guilty before God.<sup>2</sup> To Cornelius then one afternoon (the ninth hour i.e. 3 p.m.) an angel appeared in a vision. His initial alarm at being addressed by the angel was overcome when he was assured that his faithfulness in prayer and almsgiving had not been overlooked by God but had been accepted by Him as a worthy oblation. Bruce notes that the angel's language here is full of sacrificial terminology such as found in the early chapters of Leviticus. 'Are gone up', anebesan, has a parallel in the Hebrew term for a burnt-offering, olah, which literally means an 'ascending'.<sup>3</sup>

1. Haenchen, p. 346.

2. Williams, p.133; see also W.C. van Unnik, cited by Dupont, Problemes, 74 ff.

3. Bruce, p. 216; see note 7.

'Memorial' (v.4)

Williams reminds us that in later Judaism prayer, almsgiving and fasting were recognized ways of atoning for sins beside the offering of sacrifices in the Temple. He goes as far as to say that this memorial before God was as good as a pious Jew's meal offering (cp. Lev. II) or the perpetual offering of incense (cp. Exod. XXX v.8).<sup>1</sup> Haenchen, however, says that any connection with the 'meal offering - which is to make God attentive, so Wendt, - is too remote.'<sup>2</sup>

Immediately Cornelius carried out the instructions he has received in the vision. He dispatches two of his domestic servants and one of his orderlies, a pious soldier like himself, to Joppa to meet 'one Simon whose surname is Peter.'

Peter's Vision (Ch. X v.9 16)

'Now on the morrow, as they were on their journey, and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the housetop to pray, about the sixth hour: and he became hungry, and desired to eat: but while they made ready, he fell into a trance; and he beholdeth the heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending,

1. Williams, p. 135.

2. Haenchen, p. 347, n. 2.

as it were a great sheet, let down by four corners upon the earth: wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts and creeping things of the earth and birds of the heaven. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter: kill and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is common and unclean. And a voice came unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, make not thou common. And this was done thrice: and straightway the vessel was received up into heaven.'

Peter must be prepared for the interview with the god-fearer. There are scruples to be overcome on his side:

'A God-fearer had no objection to the society of Jews, but even a moderately orthodox Jew would not go willingly into the dwelling of a Gentile, God-fearer though he were.'<sup>1</sup>

A special revelation is necessary to overcome <sup>Peter's</sup> ~~Paul's~~ inherited prejudices and win his consent to visit a Gentile. This revelation comes on the day after Cornelius's vision, when the messengers from Cornelius are approaching Joppa. About noon, not one of the usual hours of prayer, Peter went up on the roof of the tanner's house for quiet and prayer. While on the

1. Bruce, p. 216.

roof he began to feel hungry and probably called down for some food. While the food is being prepared the revelation came to him in a vision. In this ecstatic vision Peter sees a large sheet-like object coming down from heaven. Bruce notes:

'Whether it was the awning over the roof, or a sail on the Mediterranean horizon, that assumed this form to his inward eye, need not concern us.'<sup>1</sup>

B.H. Streeter argues that this vision conformed to the laws of dream psychology in a way which guarantees it as a reasonably accurate report of an authentic occurrence.<sup>2</sup> The skeuos - the receptacle - whatever it was (cp. Williams p.136) when it came down to where Peter was, proved to be full of all sorts of quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds, clean and unclean. The vision of these is accompanied by a heavenly voice, 'Rise, Peter! kill and eat.' (v.13)

But Peter has always adhered strictly to the Jewish food laws (Lev. XI) and never eaten anything 'unclean or common'. Haenchen notes the possible presence of clean animals in the skeuos is disregarded.<sup>3</sup> But Bruce suggests Peter was in fact scandalized by the unholy mixture of clean animals with unclean,

1. Bruce, p. 218.

2. B.H. Street,<sup>qv</sup> Hibbert Journal 23 1925 pp. 339 - 41. cp. W.L. Knox, Jerusalem 153

3. Haenchen, p. 348 n. 3.

'This is particularly important when we recall the practical way in which he had immediately to apply the lesson of the vision.'<sup>1</sup>

Peter's adamant protest, *medamos Kurie*, echoes the wording of Ezek. IV. 14: 'Not so Lord - for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean.' (14) Back comes the heavenly voice: 'What God has cleansed, you must not continue to treat as common.' Three times over this interchange takes place before the sheet and its contents are drawn back aloft. Thus, comments Williams, as in Ch. XI, stressing in Hebraic fashion the importance of the event.<sup>2</sup> Bruce explains the implications of Peter's vision thus:

'The abolition of Jewish ceremonial barriers was pressed home in the vision with special reference to food-laws, but Peter soon grasped that its range was much wider. And perhaps, as he thought about the vision, he remembered hearing similar words on an earlier occasion, though he did not then understand their import. No doubt he was present when his Master, disputing with the Pharisees and scribes, insisted that it was not what goes into a man's stomach that defiles him, but what comes out of his heart. (Mark VII v. 14ff). This was

1. Bruce, p. 218; n.15.

2. Williams, p. 135.

in effect an abrogation of ceremonial food-laws and much else of the same character, but it was not until later, as a result of his experience on the roof at Joppa, that Peter appreciated this. It is to Peter, probably, that we owe the remark appended to the Gospel narrative of Jesus's dispute with the Pharisees on this subject: 'This he said, making all meats clean.' (Mark VII. 19b).<sup>1</sup>

The Messengers of Cornelius arrive (Ch. X vv. 17 - 23a)

'Now while Peter doubted in himself what this vision he had seen should mean, behold, the men which were sent from Cornelius had made inquiry for Simon's house, and stood before the gate. And called, and asked whether Simon, which was surnamed Peter, were lodged there. While Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him, Behold, three men seek thee. Arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing: for I have sent them. Then Peter went down to the men which were sent unto him from Cornelius; and said, Behold, I am he whom ye seek; what is the cause wherefore ye are come? And they said, Cornelius the centurion, a just man, and one that feareth God, and of good

1. Bruce, p. 219.

report among all the nation of the Jews, was warned from God by an holy angel to send for thee into his house, and to hear words of thee. Then called he them in, and lodged them.'

Haenchen comments that Peter is 'sorely embarrassed' over the meaning of the vision. Though lost in meditation (v. 17a) he has now returned to normal consciousness from the state of akstasis when the messengers of Cornelius appear at Simon's door.<sup>1</sup> Still wrapt in thought as to the import of the vision Peter does not hear their call, but the Spirit of God 'by an inward monition'<sup>2</sup> gave him to know that some men were looking for him, and that he was to go with them without any doubt or hesitation. Williams comments:

'Both (The Spirit of v.19 and the angel of X. v.3) are the expressions of God's will through Christ for men.'<sup>3</sup>

No one else in the house apparently having heard the mens' call Peter himself opens to them. Haenchen notes that the writer is concerned to show that he, and no other Jew, lets the Gentiles in. And he enquires what the messengers want of him. v.22 briefly recapitulates the contents of vv. 1 - 5. What is new is that Cornelius wishes to 'hear words from Peter.' By this

1. Haenchen, p. 348.
2. Bruce, p. 220
3. Williams, p. 135/6.

time the meal which Peter had called for was ready, and he brought the men in to share it. Not only so, but he provided accommodation for them overnight, as it was too late to set out for Caesaria after he had entertained them.

Peter enters the house of Cornelius (V. v.23 b. - 33)

'And on the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And the morrow after they entered into Caesaria. And Cornelius waited for them and had called together his kinsmen and near friends. And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man. And as he talked with him, he went in, and found many that were come together. And he said unto them, Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; But God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean. Therefore came I unto you without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for: I ask therefore, for what intent ye have sent for me? And Cornelius said, Four days ago I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house,

and behold, a man stood before me in bright clothing, and said, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God. Send therefore to Joppa, and call hither Simon, whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of one Simon a tanner by the sea side: who, when he cometh, shall speak unto thee. Immediately therefore I sent to thee; and thou has well done that thou art come. Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God.'

The tired messengers from Cornelius rest before returning with Peter to Caesaria, accompanied by six Jewish Christians from Joppa (cp. XI. v.12) Bruce comments: 'In view of the novelty of his mission, Peter acted wisely in taking some Christians of Joppa with him.'<sup>1</sup> Cornelius is expecting Peter's arrival and has invited together his relatives and closest friends. So the audience is set for Peter's speech and, at the same time, the founding of the congregation in Caesaria is prepared for.

Peter begins by impressing on his audience how unprecedented is his coming; it is unlawful for any Jew to mix with members of another race. Bruce puts it: 'to mix in Gentile society is taboo for a pious Jew.'<sup>2</sup> (but cp. Haenchen, p.350 n.4).

1. Bruce, p.221.

2. Bruce, p.222.

But now God has shown Peter that one should call no man unclean. Bruce asks us to note the terms of his vision on the housetop at Joppa taught him to call no food common or unclean if God pronounced it clean; but he was quick to grasp the analogy between ceremonial food laws and the regulations affecting social intercourse with non-Jews.<sup>1</sup>

Why Cornelius sent for the Apostle is only very gradually made clear. He describes the vision he had seen three days previously, at the very hour at which he was now speaking, the hour of afternoon prayer: It was in accordance with the directions he had received from his angelic visitant (X. v.3) that he had sent for Peter. He thanks Peter for coming so promptly (v. 33): 'Now we are all present here before God, ready to hear all that the Lord has commanded you to say.'

The Gentiles hear the Good News: (Ch. X. vv. 34 - 43.)

'Peter opened his mouth' (anoixas to stoma, v. 34) This expression is one that is used to express the solemnity of this decisive moment which sweeps away the racial prejudice of centuries. The words of Cornelius confirm the lesson that Peter himself had learned at Joppa: it was plain, then, that God had no favourites as between one nation and another, but any man who feared Him and acted rightly was acceptable to Him,<sup>2</sup> no matter what nation he

1. Bruce, p.222.

2. Bruce, p.224 n. 39.

belonged to. This was a revolutionary revelation to Peter. Yet, suggests Bruce, it was implicit in the teaching of the early prophets. They insisted that God's choice of Israel was an act of grace, not of partiality, and that it called for a response of obedient service, not of careless complacency:

'If, as Micah said, the Lord's primary requirements were that a man should do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with his God (Micah VI.8), then a Gentile might fulfil these requirements as well as an Israelite.'<sup>1</sup>

Peter's speech, which Foakes Jackson pronounced 'peculiarly appropriate to the occasion'<sup>2</sup>, is devoted almost entirely to a summary of the apostolic preaching. Some acquaintance with the main outline of the story of Jesus is presumed, but more details are given than in the summaries of Peter's earlier speeches (cp. Ch. II. 14ff; III. 12ff; IV. 8ff; V. 29ff). C.H.Dodd suggests 'that the speech before Cornelius represents the form of kerygma used by the primitive Church in its earliest approaches to a wider preaching.'<sup>3</sup> Bruce goes on to suggest that the scope of the kerygma, as attested by this address of Peter's is almost exactly the scope of Mark's

1. Bruce, p.225.

2. Foakes Jackson, p. 93.

3. C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, p. 56.

Gospel, beginning with John's baptism, and going on to tell of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, Judea, and Jerusalem, of His crucifixion and resurrection, followed by the insistence on personal witness and on the coming judgement, with the offer of forgiveness through faith in Him here and now.<sup>1</sup>

Peter may have spoken in Greek but Bruce suggests it is more probable he spoke in Aramaic through an interpreter - Papias records Peter even at a later date used the services of an interpreter.<sup>2</sup> This speech is even more strongly marked by Aramaisms than his speeches recorded in the earlier chapters of Acts:

'The presence of Aramaisms, of course, is a sign that the speech is not Luke's free invention, but rather literal reproduction of what he found in his source (whether that source was written or oral). The Greek of vv. 36 - 38 in particular reads somewhat awkwardly as also do the fairly literal renderings in our common English versions, but it can be turned back word for word into grammatical and intelligible Aramaic.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Bruce, p. 226 (see C.H. Dodd, 'The Framework of the Gospel Narrative.' ExT xliii (1931-2) pp. 396ff.)
2. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History iii. 39.
3. Bruce, p. 226 (cp. C.C. Torrey, Composition and Date of Acts, pp 27, 35f. F.F. Bruce, The Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles, p.9.)

'The Gentiles Receive the Holy Spirit (Ch. X. vv. 44 - 48)

'While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.'

Peter had not yet finished his address when the 'Pentecost of the Gentile world' took place.<sup>1</sup> The Holy Spirit falls on all his listeners 'as on us at the beginning' (XI. v.15) But we note that the order of events differs markedly from that which was seen on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem, so far at least as the hearers of the apostolic message was concerned. In Ch. II. v.37ff, the order was conviction of sin, repentance and faith, baptism in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and the reception of the gift of the Holy Spirit. Here the reception of the Spirit comes first. There is no explicit

1. Bruce, p. 229. G.W.H.Lampe, 'The Seal of the Spirit', p.66.

mention of faith in the immediate context, but it is inevitably implied; it is suggested more definitely in Peter's report to the assembled Church in Jerusalem in Ch. VI. v.17 (where, suggests Bruce, his words 'when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ' clearly mean that the Gentiles received the Spirit when they believed)<sup>1</sup> The repentance of these Gentiles is also mentioned in Ch. XI. v.18 and in Ch. XV. vv. 7 - 9 Peter expressly links the Gentiles reception of the Spirit with the fact that they believed and had their hearts cleansed by faith.

The descent of the Spirit on these Gentiles was outwardly manifested in much the same way as it had been when the original disciples received the Spirit at Pentecost: they spoke with tongues and proclaimed the mighty works of God (cp. Ch. II. v.11). Apart from such external manifestations, none of the Jewish Christians present, perhaps not even Peter himself, would have been so ready to accept the fact that the Spirit had really come upon them. Williams comments that the Western text, by adding 'other', stresses that foreign tongues were meant, and asks us to note the variant reading in Mark XVI. v.7.<sup>2</sup>

Only after the descent of the Spirit on the believing Gentiles were they baptized. Bruce suggests that had Peter not

1. Bruce, p. 230.

2. Williams, p. 138.

been confronted with a divine fait accompli in the descent of the Spirit on Cornelius and his friends, he might not have taken the initiative in baptizing them as he did. But as it was, God had plainly accepted them, and Peter had no option but to accept what God had done: 'Who was I to resist God?' (Ch. XI. v.17):

'And as for the laying on of apostolic hands, it is obvious that (whatever inference we may draw from the silence on this subject in Ch. II) nothing of the kind took place before they received the Spirit, and nothing is said about its taking place subsequently.'<sup>1</sup>

The editors of *Beginnings of Christianity* argue that water-Baptism was unnecessary after spirit-baptism and that XI. v. 16 implies that water-Baptism was not in fact used on this occasion but interpolated by a redactor of Acts. Williams rejoins that this seems needlessly sceptical; the contrast was not between John's water-Baptism and Christian Spirit-Baptism but between the former and water-plus-Spirit Baptism which Jesus Himself had undergone; cp. Luke III. 21ff.<sup>2</sup>

Bruce also argues the appropriateness of water-baptism in this situation:

1. Bruce, p. 230.

2. Williams, p. 138.

'The reception of the Spirit, be it noted, was not looked upon as a substitute for baptism in water. This baptism was rather the due response to the divine act.'<sup>1</sup>

Professor Lampe also comments in support of water-Baptism in this situation:

'On this extraordinary occasion, unique except for Pentecost, the coming of the Spirit is unmediated. This does not make Baptism (and presumably the Laying on of Hands) superfluous but indicates that those whom God has chosen must forthwith be received into the Christian community by Baptism. On this marvellous occasion Baptism is not the effective sign of the coming of the Spirit but follows it.'<sup>2</sup>

Dunn, pursuing his unitary view of Christian Initiation, writes that with Acts X, the story of Cornelius, the Pentecostal is in difficulty from the start:

'There appears to be no grasp between the conversion of Cornelius and his Spirit-Baptism.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Bruce, p.1.
2. Lampe, Peake's Commentary, p. 900.
3. Dunn, p. 79.

Pentecostals, seeking to maintain their two stage view of Christian Initiation, usually try to fit the facts of Cornelius' Conversion into their own preconceived ideas and argue along one of three lines:

- a) Cornelius 'was born again before Peter preached to him.'<sup>1</sup>
- b) Cornelius came to faith and was cleansed in heart (XV. v.19) during Peter's sermon. The gift of the Spirit followed in close suggestion, but as a distinct act of grace.<sup>2</sup>
- c) The two things happened simultaneously, and though indistinguishable in this case, they were even here distinct acts of God.<sup>3</sup>

a) cannot be Luke's view. It was only through Peter that the message which led to Cornelius's belief and salvation came (XI. 14; XV.7); only then that God 'visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name' (XV.14); only then that God 'granted life-giving repentance to the Gentiles' (XI. 18 NEB) and 'cleansed their hearts by faith' (XV. 9). Dunn writes that Luke would by no means wish to question the spiritual standing of an OT saint or of a pious Jew before God. (e.g. Luke XVIII.14). Cornelius came up to the highest standards of Jewish piety,<sup>4</sup> and even before his

1. K. Southworth, The Pentecostal I No.4. (1965) 7.
2. Pearlman 317f; Riggs III; D. Gee, Pentecost (1932) 20; Lindsay 32.
3. Stiles 69; Price, Jordan 71; Harper, Power 28; and in Holiness teaching, A.T. Pierson, The Acts of the Holy Spirit 86.
4. Bruce, p.215; Williams,p. 133.

meeting with Peter was 'acceptable to God' (X.35; see X.2, v; cp. X. 15; XI.9). But for Luke what made a man a Christian and brought him into the salvation of the new age (the before-and-after watershed for the NT generally) was belief in Jesus Christ and the gift of the Holy Spirit:

'Peter was ready to accept Cornelius into his company and friendship from the first,<sup>1</sup> but only when the Spirit fell upon him did Peter realise that he must now accept Cornelius into the Community as a Christian as well.'<sup>2</sup>

The evidence will hardly accommodate either the second (b) or third (c) of the Pentecostal arguments. Dunn urges us to notice when the Spirit fell on Cornelius: it was whilst Peter was speaking of the forgiveness of sins which the believer receives (X. 43f). Peter had said nothing of the gift of the Spirit (as he did in Acts II. 38), but had just begun to speak of belief and forgiveness. The natural implication is that Cornelius at that moment reached out in faith to God for forgiveness and received, as God's response, the Holy Spirit (cp. XI. 17; XV.9), not instead of the promised forgiveness but

1. X.15 and XI.9 are, of course, talking about ritual defilement. The cleansing of the heart takes place only during Peter's visit (XV. 8f.)
2. Dunn, p. 80.

as the bearer of it (cp. Gal. III. 2f). The Spirit was not something additional to God's acceptance and forgiveness but constituted that acceptance and forgiveness. The Spirit thus given affected Cornelius in various ways but it was the one gift.

Similarly, when Peter recounts the incident to the Church at Jerusalem (XI. 1ff), he records Cornelius's angelic visitant as saying: 'Call for Simon.... who shall tell thee words whereby thou and all thy house shall be saved (XI. 14f). The obvious implication is that the gift of the Spirit is what affected the salvation of Cornelius; for the message, which Cornelius had been told would result in his salvation, in the event resulted in nothing other than the outpouring of the Spirit. On hearing that God had given the same gift to Cornelius as he had given to themselves, the Judean Christians concluded: 'This means that God has granted life-giving repentance to the Gentiles also' XI. 18 NEB) - the gift of the Spirit was also God's gift of *metanoia eis zoen*. In fact Ch. XI. vv. 14 - 18 concentrates exclusively on God's acceptance of Cornelius; Cornelius was saved, was baptized in the Spirit, was given the Spirit, was granted repentance unto life - all synonymous ways of saying: Cornelius became a Christian. For Dunn, Cornelius is a prize example of one who had responded to

God as far as it was possible for him to respond, but was not yet a Christian. His repentance and faith had not yet reached that level or been turned to that object, which would enable Luke to call them *metanoia eis zoen* and *pistis eis Christon Jesoun*; and so he was without the forgiveness and salvation they bring. He only entered into this Christian experience when he received the Spirit:

'....it was this experience which Luke once again specifically designates 'the baptism in the Spirit'. Here at least, therefore, the baptism in the Spirit is God's act of acceptance, of forgiveness, cleansing and salvation, and not something separate from and beyond that which made Cornelius a Christian.'<sup>1</sup>

1. Dunn. p. 82.

PAUL AND THE DISCIPLES OF JOHN AT EPHESUS:

'And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus; and finding certain disciples, he said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, And when Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spoke with tongues, and prophecied. And all the men were about twelve.'

Acts XIX: vv 1 - 7.

'Apollos' (v.1)

In Ch. XVIII v.25 we learn that for all his fervour and eloquence, Apollos knew only the Baptism of John. It

required Aquila and Priscilla to explain to him the way of God 'more perfectly' (v.26b). Then together they laboured for the Lord at Ephesus: Apollos being greatly used to win many of the Jews in the local synagogue for Christ. It is while Apollos is across the Aegean in Corinth that Paul arrives in Ephesus.

'certain disciples' (v.1)

Bruce writes that at Ephesus Paul met a dozen men (cp. v.7) whose knowledge of Christianity was in much the same defective condition as Apollos's had been before he met Priscilla and Aquila.<sup>1</sup> Blaiklock makes more of the influence of Apollos. He sees the little group at Ephesus as a relic of his 'immature ministry in the city'. He even suggests that Apollos's message and personality had a distinctiveness which tended to collect a personal following (cp. I. Cors. III v.4):

'Paul deplored such sectarianism and it may have been important (for Luke) to set on record the inadequacy of the pre-Pauline theology at Ephesus.'<sup>2</sup>

Both Bruce and Haenchen stress that Luke's use of *mathetes*, 'disciples', infers that the twelve were Christians:

'This is a term which he commonly uses for Christians, and had he meant to indicate that they were disciples not of Christ but of John

1. Bruce, p. 384/5.

2. Blaiklock, Tyndale Commentary, p.155.

the Baptist (as has sometimes been deduced from v.3) he would have said so explicitly.<sup>1</sup>

'Have ye received the Holy Spirit since ye believed.' (v.2f).

Bruce suggests that the normal relation between receiving the Spirit and believing is better indicated in the ARV (with ERV and RSV) than in the AV so he renders it: 'Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?' This question, writes Bruce, suggests strongly that Paul regarded them as true believers in Christ. Similarly Lampe comments:

'Paul would not have expressed the surprise implicit in v.2 if these were non-Christian followers of John the Baptist.'<sup>2</sup>

The twelve explain in answer to Paul's question that they had not even heard whether there is a Holy Spirit. Most writers recognise the difficulty of this passage, e.g. Foakes Jackson writes:

'The concept of 'Holy Spirit' was strange neither to Jew nor Greek; both were familiar with the idea of inspiration.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Bruce, p. 385. See also N.B. Stonehouse in WThJ xiii (1950-51), pp. 11ff. G.W.H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, p.75. Haenchen, p.553, Wellhausen, p.39; Knopf 618, Preuschen 115, Loisy 718, Zahn 673, Beg. IV 237, Käsemann 136.
2. Lampe, p.916.
3. Foakes-Jackson. See also pp. 312f. of this study.

Williams asks us to note that the Western text softens the reply thus: 'We have not even heard that some receive Holy Spirit.'<sup>1</sup> However, Haenchen will not allow any weakening of their answer - as in Wendt (p.272) 'whether there is a Holy Spirit on earth for men,' and Beyer (114) 'they had not heard that the Spirit of the last times 'now is here.' - Haenchen is quite adamant: 'The Holy Spirit is completely unknown to them (the twelve)!'<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, both Bruce and Blaiklock assert that as former followers of John the Baptist they must have known John had spoken of a coming baptism with the Holy Spirit. (John Ch. I. vv. 26, 33).<sup>3</sup>

'Unto what then were ye baptized?' (v. 3).

Paul then goes on to enquire about their baptism. This, suggests Bruce, implies a connection between the reception of the Spirit and baptism. He assumes that they have been baptized (an unbaptized believer is not contemplated in the New Testament<sup>4</sup>) but regards it as anomalous that baptized persons should not have received the Spirit (cp.II. v.38). The twelve answer 'Unto the baptism of John.' (v.3). Theirs, then, was the pre-Pentecostal baptism as proclaimed and administered by

1. Williams, p. 220.
2. Haenchen, p. 553 n.3.
3. Bruce, p. 385; Blaiklock, p. 155.
4. Bruce, p. 386 n.10.

John the Baptist - a baptism of expectation rather than one of fulfilment, as Christian baptism now was. Paul goes on to instruct them in the relationship of the Baptism of John to Christian baptism:

'The Johannite rite was closely bound up with John's proclamation of Jesus as the Coming One. But now that Jesus had come and accomplished His mission on earth, now that He was raised from the dead and exalted at God's right hand, whence He had sent the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, an anticipatory baptism was inappropriate and inadequate.'<sup>1</sup>

'When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (v.5)

According to Zahn, Aquila was 'without question, the one who did the baptizing.'<sup>2</sup> Bruce notes that this is the only account of re-baptism found in the New Testament. The apostles themselves appear to have been baptized with John's Baptism (some of them certainly were), but no question of re-baptism seems to have arisen for them; probably their Pentecostal endowment with the Spirit transformed the preparatory significance of the baptism which they had already received into the consummative significance of Christian baptism. But

1. Bruce, p. 386.

2. Zahn, p. 675 n.92.

these Ephesian disciples had received no such Pentecostal endowment. They were therefore baptized again in a Christian sense, and when Paul laid his hands on them, they received the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal fashion.<sup>1</sup> As with the converts at Samaria (Bruce suggests an intended parallel here between the imposition of Paul's hands on these men and the imposition of Peter's and John's on the Samaritan converts in Ch. VIII v.17) so here, baptism is followed by the laying on of hands by an apostle and that in turn by the gift of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

The whole incident, for Lampe, is of great significance: the twelve are the original nucleus of the Ephesian Church, the future headquarters and focal point of Paul's Gentile mission and the place where he spent a longer time than in any other centre, as the Twelve had been the nucleus of the church in Jerusalem:

'By Paul's laying on of hands they are associated in the apostolic mission and receive the Pentecostal Spirit of the missionary enterprise, manifested in tongues and prophesying. Like the establishment of a new centre mission in Samaria this too is a major turning point in the history of the Gospel and

1. Bruce, p. 386.

2. Williams, Appendix 3.

a new focus of the Pentecostal Spirit comes into being through the presence of Paul.<sup>1</sup>

The baptism of the 'disciples' at Ephesus is described by Dunn as 'the other foundation passage for Pentecostal theology of Spirit baptism.'<sup>2</sup> A strong case, he suggests, would contain three major strands:

- 1) The twelve Ephesians were Christians (mathetai, hoi pisteusantes) before Paul met them - Christians, that is, who had not received the Holy Spirit.<sup>3</sup>
- 2) Paul's question in XIX v.2 seems to imply that for Paul one could be a Christian and yet not have (received) the Spirit.<sup>4</sup> Dunn notes that this view has the weighty support of Lake, Beginnings V p.57 and W.L. Knox, Acts p. 88.
- 3) The time interval between the Ephesian's baptism and Paul's laying on of hands means that there was a time interval between conversion (which precedes baptism) and the coming of the Spirit (which followed the laying on of hands.)<sup>5</sup>

1. Lampe, p. 916.

2. Dunn, p. 83.

3. E.C.Miller, Pentecost Examined p.51; H.G. Hathaway, A Sound from Heaven, p.32; Horton, p.5; Pierson p.126-8.

4. Harper, Power p.29; Prince, Jordan, p.69f; Riggs p.54; Stiles p.8; Lindsay p.35; in Holiness teaching see Cumming p.143f.

5. Prince, Jordan, p. 70; Harper, Power, p. 29; Ervin, p. 103f.

On the first point, Dunn asks, Did Luke regard the twelve Ephesians as already Christians before their encounter with Paul? He rejoins, their ignorance of the Holy Spirit and about Jesus, and the fact that Paul did not count their earlier baptism sufficient but had them undergo baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus, indicates a negative answer. He questions Luke's description of them as mathetes. He agreed that in Acts mathetai usually equals 'Christians' but suggests the XIX v.1 usage is unique:

'It is the only time that mathetai is not preceded by the definite article. Now hoi mathetai used absolutely always has the sense in Acts of the whole Christian community of the city or area referred to, not just 'Christians' generally, but the whole body of disciples as a single entity: e.g. hoi mathetai en Ierousalem (VI. v.7); hoi en Damasko mathetai (IX. v.19); hoi mathetai (en Ioppe) (IX. v.38); hoi mathetai apo Kaisarias (XXI. v.16). hoi mathetai is almost a technical term for Luke. 'The disciples' act as one (XIX. 30), are ministered to and consulted as one (XX. v.1), are one as the target for false teachers (XX. v.30), are one so far as the decisions of the council affect them (cp. neck - singular - XV.10).

When he wishes to speak of a smaller group than the whole body, Luke either qualifies his description of hoi mathetai precisely (as in (IX.25) or else he speaks of 'some of the disciples' (kai ton matheton - XXI. 16). Luke's description of the twelve as tines mathetai therefore probably implies that the twelve did not belong to 'the disciples' in Ephesus - a fact confirmed by their ignorance of basic Christian matters.<sup>1</sup>

That these tines mathetai were not disciples in the full Christian sense is also supported by Foakes-Jackson,<sup>2</sup> Williams<sup>3</sup> and others. Dunn goes on to suggest that there must have been many like them who had some contact with John or Jesus only at a certain point in their ministries:

'They had heard enough to be deeply impressed and received 'the baptism of John'. But soon afterwards they had to leave the area where John or Jesus was working and lost contact with the whole movement. There would inevitably be a very wide spectrum covering all who had responded in some way and at some time to the Gospel. e.g. there would be those who knew

1. Dunn, p. 84.

2. Foakes-Jackson, p. 237 on Chrysostom's view.

3. Williams, p. 200.

only the repentance baptism of John; those who knew and believed in no more than John's teaching; those who knew Jesus only at some particular point in his ministry and through some particular incident; those who knew Jesus only in the flesh and had not yet realised the significance of his death or heard of his resurrection; those who knew only the early preaching and teaching of the first few days after Pentecost; and those whose faith was developing and deepening in different directions. And when we include the others won by the teaching of these groups, with some stressing one aspect of the message above the rest and others ignoring or forgetting important parts of the message (not to mention interaction among the different groups) the spectrum covers an infinite variety. This inherently probable speculation is strongly supported by the evidence of Mark IX. 38-40; Matt. VII. 22f; Acts. XIX. 13-16; and from what Luke says of them - their description their baptism, their (lack of) knowledge - the twelve Ephesians are most naturally seen as coming from this context.... in short, the twelve are

disciples, but do not yet belong to the disciples; i.e. they are not yet Christians.'<sup>1</sup>

The second argument assumes that Paul was dealing with Christians, and so asks a question appropriate to Christians. But Dunn denies that this assumption is firmly grounded. For the Paul of the Epistles it was impossible for a man to be a Christian unless he had received the Spirit (Romans VIII. 9). The Paul of Acts XIX is no different, writes Dunn, for his second question implies that the Spirit is received in connection with baptism; it was inconceivable to him that a Christian, one who had committed himself to Jesus as Lord in baptism in his name, could be yet without the Spirit. That is why the Twelve had to go through the full initiation procedure. It was not that Paul accepted them as Christians with an incomplete experience; it is rather that they were not Christians at all.<sup>2</sup>

Nor will Dunn accept the third argument that vv. 8f relate to two quite separate procedures - conversion preceding baptism and the coming of the Spirit following the laying on of hands. This view fails to recognize the fact that baptism and laying on of hands here are one ceremony:

'When Paul learned that they had not received the Spirit, he immediately enquired after their baptism, not their faith, and not any other ceremony.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Dunn, p. 83/5

2. Dunn, p. 86.

3. Dunn, p. 87.

Therefore, he concludes, v. 3 implies a very close connection between baptism and receiving the Spirit. It was a single conversion experience, the highpoints of which were their commitment to the Lord Jesus in baptism and their reception of the Spirit manifested in tongues and prophesying. Hence, for Dunn, the Twelve Ephesians are further examples of men who were not far short of Christianity, but were not yet Christians because they lacked the vital factor - the Holy Spirit. He points out the parallel case of Apollos as very instructive:

'He too 'knew only the baptism of John' and needed fuller instruction about 'the way of God' (XVIII. 25f). But unlike the Twelve mathetai he was not re-baptized, for he differed from them in one, the one crucial respect: he already possessed the Spirit (XVIII.25), whereas they did not.'<sup>1</sup>

1. Dunn, p. 88.

I CORINTHIANS: CHs. XII - XIV:

We have seen that as far as the expressly stated experiences of the Church in Acts is concerned, genuine conversion-initiation is <sup>often</sup> accompanied by the startling manifestation of speaking with tongues - glossalalia - and its kindred phenomenon, prophesying. In one NT church above all others - Corinth - these manifestations were regularly experienced not only as confirming signs but as an integral part of primitive Christian worship. Hence we now turn to the first Epistle to the Corinthians Chs. XII - XIV to examine in detail the nature and place within the Christian community of these manifestations.

Clearly from the context, Paul, has been asked to pronounce on the gift of speaking with tongues, and the whole section from Ch. XII - XIV v.40 including the exhortation to love (Ch. XII. vv. 1 - 13) is essential to Paul's argument. The Corinthians' question seems to have been framed in such a way as to imply that the surest sign of the presence and power of the Spirit is glossalalia, (recognized by Bruce, Lampe and others as known in modern times):

'.....glossalalia - utterance in languages not normally used by the speakers, as a result of appropriate stimulation of what since 1861 has

been known as Broca's area, the centre of articulate speech in the third frontal convolution of the dominant cerebral hemisphere.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly Professor Lampe:

'Paul is alluding to a gift latent in many people of all times to utter noises, intelligible or not, under stress of deep emotion or when the 'censor' of the psyche is removed by hypnosis, narcotics or drugs.'<sup>2</sup>

'Now concerning spiritual (gifts) brethren, I would not have you ignorant.' (v.1)

Blaiklock and Bruce both note the uncertainty as to whether 'gifts' should be added after 'spiritual'; the word pneumatikon being of undeterminate gender. It could denote 'spiritual' (men) or 'spiritual' things. Blaiklock comments:

'Usually it is held to refer to 'spiritual things' i.e. the spiritual 'gifts', and this is likely, though we should notice that the immediate context is full of references to persons.

1. F.F. Bruce: New Century Bible: 1. & 2 Corinthians p.117.
2. G.W.H. Lampe: Peake's Commentary, p. 961 (cp. G.B. Cutten 'Speaking with Tongues.')

However, there is not a great deal of difference, for both Paul and the Corinthians are thinking of the men who exercise the gifts. The word pneumatikon is not the usual one for the spiritual gifts, Charisma being the common term.<sup>1</sup>

Paul's first point then in replying to the Corinthians' question is that it is the source and context of an utterance that are all-important, not the fact of its inspiration. He knew that the phenomena of both glossalalia and prophecy could be paralleled in paganism:

'Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led.' (v.2)

Bruce comments that the idols might be dumb, unlike the living God who speaks, but the 'demons' which they represented exercised malign power over the worshippers of the idols. In classical literature, Apollo was particularly renowned as the source of ecstatic utterance, as on the lips of Cassandra of Troy, the priestess of Delphi, or the Sibyl of Cumae; at a humbler level the fortune-telling slave-girl of Acts XVI. v. 16 was dominated by the same kind of 'pythonic' spirit. Paul does not suggest that any prophecy or glossalalia

1. Blaiklock, Tyndale Commentary, p.166.

at Corinth proceeded from such a source; he simply reminds his readers that there are inspired utterances other than those produced by the Spirit of God.<sup>1</sup> Hence he continues:

'Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' (v. 3)

Those claiming to speak in the Spirit at Corinth are to be tested (cp. v.29 and I John Ch. IV. vv. 1 - 3). If the spirit-possessed person curses Jesus by saying 'Jesus is anathema' he is not possessed by God's Spirit as is one who says that Jesus is Lord. The genuinely spiritual man is to be known by his utterances. It is only by the Holy Ghost that a man can really speak of Christ as Lord.

Paul will return to the question of glossalalia and prophecy and deal with it in more detail in Ch. XIV. v.2f.; now he goes on to state some general principles about spiritual gifts:

'Now there are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but the same God which worketh all in all. But the

1. Bruce, p. 117.

manifestations of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues; but all these worketh that one and the self same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will. (vv. 4 - 11).

The Spirit is one, but the 'distributions' (diareseis, R.S.V., varieties) of his gifts are manifold. Each member of the Church receives some spiritual gift which is a manifestation of the Spirit. Bruce comments:

'There is no warrant for saying that one such gift manifests his presence more than another. Some gifts may be more extraordinary and spectacular than others, but it does not follow on that account that those who receive them are more spiritual than others. And however various in character the gifts may be,

all are given for the common good - a ~~figure~~<sup>point</sup>  
 illustrated later by the figure of the body  
 (vv. 12 - 27).<sup>1</sup>

Likewise Professor Lampe comments:

'The Spirit is the donor in each instance and  
 each gift contributes to the corporate life  
 of the Body of Christ.'<sup>2</sup>

In vv. 8 - 10 nine forms of spiritual 'manifesta-  
 tions' are enumerated, 'probably in descending order of value'  
 comments F.F. Bruce:

(a) the utterance of wisdom; (b) the utterance  
 of knowledge. (Paul presumably intends some  
 distinction between sophia (wisdom) and gnosis  
 (knowledge). Bruce comments, the distinction  
 is not clear to us; the former, however, calls  
 for special qualities of maturity and insight  
 cp. Ch. XI. v. 6 - 13; XIV. v.6). But Leon  
 Morris<sup>3</sup> suggests that the former term denotes  
 the highest mental excellence. 'Knowledge' he  
 suggests is associated with 'mysteries, revelations  
 and prophecies' (cp. XIII. v.2; XIV. v. 6).  
 This invests the term 'knowledge' with the

1. Bruce, pp. 118, 119.
2. Lampe, Peake, p. 961.
3. Morris, p. 170/171. I Cor.

significance of supernatural knowledge, a meaning which is common in Hellenistic Greek, more especially among the mystery religions. Paul thinks of all wisdom and knowledge that the Christian may have as coming from the Spirit. (c) faith; not, says Bruce,<sup>1</sup> the saving faith which is basic to all Christian life, but a special endowment of faith for a special service (cp. Ch. XIII. v.2b). The difficulty for Morris is seeing what this special faith is over against the common faith that all believers have: 'Unfortunately there is little to guide us.' Paul proceeds to speak of things like healing and the working of miracles, so that probably he has in mind a special faith which is associated with miraculous operations (cp. XIII. v.2).

(d) Gifts of healing (distinguished from ordinary medical skill) such as are amply documented in the Gospels and Acts. Morris notes that 'Healing' is plural in the Greek which perhaps means that there were healings for various kinds of sickness and disease and is in harmony with modern Pentecostal teaching on

1. Bruce, p.119.

this subject.<sup>1</sup> (e) the working of miracles (dynam<sup>e</sup>ies, mighty works) which, like those in the Gospels and Acts (cp. Acts Ch. II; vv.22,43) were 'signs' of the New Age.<sup>2</sup> Morris comments, we can only conjecture what the term 'working of miracles' is meant to cover. As it is mentioned immediately after healings and preceded by 'to another' it would seem that miraculous cures are not meant. He reminds us that Jesus himself did miracles other than healings, like the stilling of the storm, and the feeding of the multitudes, but there is no record of his followers doing such things. However, Morris draws our attention to the prophecies in Mark XVI that believers would cast out devils, take up serpents and drink poisons without coming to harm.<sup>3</sup> Calvin suggests in 'working of miracles' we see the kind of thing that is meant in smiting Elymas with blindness (Acts. XIII. v.11) and the death of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts. Ch. V. 1-10).

(f) prophecy; i.e. inspired speech. In the OT the prophets were men who spoke the word of God to their generation. Nowadays the element

1. See p.282f of this study.

2. Bruce, p.119.

3. Morris, p. 171/172. See A. Cole, Tyndale NT Commentary, p.258.

of prediction in their prophecies is often minimized, but it should not be overlooked. On occasion the ability to predict the future accurately might be regarded as the mark of the true prophet. Yet the emphasis is not on prediction, but on setting forth what God has said. This too is the function of the prophets in the NT. Prophecy might be occasional (Acts. XIX.6) or a settled office (vv. 28ff). Here Paul probably has mostly in mind the second class, though his expression is broad enough to include both. His point is that the Spirit gives to some the ability to utter inspired words, which convey the message of God to the hearers. (g) the ability to distinguish between spirits - that gift of spiritual discernment by which, in particular, genuine and counterfeit prophecy could be recognized for what they are. (cp. v.29 and comment below) (h) various kinds of tongues; a special form of ecstatic speech used to glorify God (cp. Acts. II v.11b) i.e. praise and adoration expressed in worship and extensively manifested at Corinth. Usually being unintelligible and under the influence of the

Spirit, it requires a further special charismatic gift - the interpretation of tongues.

And all these charismatic gifts 'worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will,' (v.11) or as G.W.H. Lampe puts it:

'All gifts are given in proportion to the Spirit's will and all grace-gifts freely conferred.'<sup>1</sup>

'The image of the body and its members' (vv. 12 - 27)

'For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were

1. Lampe, Peake, p. 962.

the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary; And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. For our comely parts have not need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked: That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.'

The exercise of the various gifts of the Spirit by members of the Church 'for the common good' is now compared to the functioning of the various parts of the body for the health

of the whole. As the body is one and has many members, so also Christ also is one and has many members; as all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so the members of the church, though many, are 'one body in Christ, and individually members one of another.' (Roms. XII v.5)

It is through baptism in the Spirit that believers in Christ - we all, Paul and his converts alike - have become members of his body. Bruce notes that this is the one place in the NT outside the Gospels where the baptism of the Spirit is mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Already in Ch. I. v.13ff Paul has appealed to the one baptism into Christ as pointing the Corinthians away from their factions and rivalries to the essential unity of believers in Christ. The same thought is put in different form here. Jews and Gentiles, bond (i.e. slave) and free, all alike are baptized into one body. This unity transcends any distinction that may exist.

'By one Spirit' (v.13)

Commentators draw our attention to the fact that the Preposition by (en) in this phrase does not point to the Spirit as the baptizer, but as the one in whom we were all baptized - not an exclusive elite of 'spiritual persons':

1. Bruce, New Century Bible, p.120.

'Faith-union with Christ brought his people into membership of the Spirit-baptized community, procuring for them the benefits of the once-for-all outpouring of the Spirit at the dawn of the new age, while baptism in water was retained as the outward and visible sign of their incorporation 'into Christ' (Gal. III. v.27).<sup>1</sup>

Dunn comments more fully:

'As the one passage in Paul which speaks explicitly of baptism in the Spirit, I Cor. XII v.13 is crucial for the Pentecostal. Various attempts have been made to bring this verse into line with his theology.

(a) Paul is here speaking neither of water-baptism nor of baptism in the Spirit, but of a third baptism - baptism by the Spirit, which is another name for conversion.<sup>2</sup> (an interpretation for the most part abandoned by neo-Pentecostals<sup>3</sup>) Dunn notes that this view is chiefly based on the RSV translation, but the arguments that en has instrumental

1. Bruce, p. 120/121. (see Morris, p.174).

2. Riggs, p. 58; D.J. du Plessis, *The Spirit Bade Me Go* (1963) p. 70; Lindsay 6; (and see Brunner p.40).

3. Dunn, p.127 n.36.

force is supported by many scholars.<sup>1</sup>

However, the interpretation is almost certainly to be rejected. In the NT *en* with *baptizein* never designates the one who performs the baptism; on the contrary, it always indicates the element in which the baptisand is immersed (or with which he is deluged) - except, of course, when it is part of a fuller phrase like *en te eremo* or *en to onomati*. And in each of the six passages which speak of Spirit-baptism (Matt. III. v.11; Mark I. v.8; Luke III v.16; John I. v.33; Acts I. v.5; XI.16) the Spirit is the element used in the Messiah's baptism in contrast to the water used in John's baptism.

(b) A more subtle argument is to give *eis* the force of 'in', 'for (the sake of)', or 'with a view to'.<sup>2</sup> But while Luke often uses *eis* instead of *en* in a local sense, the confusion is rare in Paul, so that we can always assume that in Paul it has the basic sense of 'motion towards or into' some goal.<sup>3</sup> In this case the

1. Kennedy, p.239 f; Oepke, TDNT I p.539; Moffat†186; Cullman,<sup>^</sup> Baptism 30.
2. W.F.P. Burton, My Personal Experience of Receiving the Holy Spirit; K. Southworth, The Pentecostal I No.3 (1965) 8-9; Prince, Baptism, p.8; Jordan, p.53 - 55; Harper, Fire, p.8f., 11f.; cp. Barth, Taufe 352.
3. Turner, Grammar III, p.255.

goal is the one body, and the effect of baptism in the Spirit is incorporation into the Body, or alternatively union with Christ (so Gal. III v.27; Rom.VI. v.3f.). Paul is talking about the operation and effect of Spirit baptism, not the place of its performance. In no case can baptizein eis bear the sense of 'to baptize (as already) in'. (It is the sense of 'baptized (as already) in' for which Price is striving. He has obviously forgotten Mark I. v.9. He likewise misunderstands Matt. III v.11 and the significance of NT baptism as the Rubison step of commital without which faith and repentance were dead.)<sup>1</sup> Nor can we take eis = 'for' here. The object of eis is a state not an action (as in Matt. X. v.10), and after a verb of motion like baptizein, eis can only have the sense of movement towards so as to be in. There is no real parallel therefore with Matt. X. v.10 and I. Cor. XVI. v.1.

In short, once the initiatory and incorporative

1. Dunn, p.128 n.40.

significance of the metaphor is grasped, the Pentecostal arguments fall to the ground. For Paul, to be a Christian and to become a member of the Body of Christ are synonymous. Thus, unless recourse is had to semantic sleight-of-hand with en or eis, there is no alternative to the conclusion that the baptism in the Spirit is what made the Corinthians members of the Body of Christ, that is, Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Paul concludes Ch.XII with a further list. He now enumerates 8 kinds of members with special functions. The list has several points of contact with the list of 9 spiritual manifestations in vv 8-10 but the two lists do not completely correspond. Bruce comments:

'Probably neither is intended to be exhaustive.'<sup>2</sup>

'God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers.' (v.28)

The explicit 'first'....second.....third mark these out as exercising, in Paul's estimation, the three most important ministries. 'Apostles', like Paul himself, were doubly qualified for their ministry by having seen the risen Christ (cp.IX: v.1) and having been specifically called by Him

1. Dunn, p. 127/129.

2. F.F.Bruce, p.122.

to this service (cp. Ch.I. v.1) 'Prophets' declared the mind of God in the power of the Spirit; their importance was not comparable to that of the great prophets of Israel, for their ministry was directed in the main to the requirements of the moment rather than to the enunciation of permanent principles; but Paul places a high value on this gift and urges his readers to seek it earnestly (Ch.XIV. v.1). 'Teachers' had as their special business the instruction of their fellow members in Christian faith and practice.

'Workers of miracles' and 'healers' have appeared in the earlier list. 'Helpers' may have been those who were specially deputed to attend the poor, weak or sick members. 'Administrators' were the 'helmsmen' of the Church, who directed its life and action. Last of all in this list come 'speakers in various kinds of tongues'. In the list of vv.8 - 10 'tongues' are linked with interpreters of 'tongues' but interpretations of tongues are not included in this list.

'Are all apostles?.....Do all interpret?' (vv.29 - 30)

The seven questions here amounting to a third list of spiritual gifts in descending order of value are each introduced by the Greek negative *me*, implying the answer 'No'. F.F. Bruce paraphrases Paul thus:

'It would be as preposterous for all to have one

and the same gift as for all the parts of the body to perform 'one and the same function.' Once more he inculcates the principle of diversity in unity, and incidentally explodes any tendency to claim that all spiritual persons must manifest glossalalia.'<sup>1</sup>

'But covet earnestly the higher gifts': (v.31a)

(The greater ones: meizona) i.e. probably those which unlike 'tongues' come near the head of the lists in vv.8 - 10, 28 and 29f. Obviously apostleship was not open to the Corinthian Christians but Paul urges them to cultivate an ambition for the other leading gifts, especially prophecy. (XIV. v.1)

'And I will show you a still more excellent way' (v.31b)

There is something higher even than the greatest of these gifts and yet something that is within the reach of the humblest and most ordinary believer. Bruce ~~renders~~ it:

'And yet beyond all this I am showing you a way (a way to reach the highest goal, to achieve the noblest ambition).'<sup>2</sup>

Leon Morris notes that some feel that Paul means that love is the more excellent way to the gifts:

1. F.F. Bruce, 'New Century Bible' p.123.
2. F.F. Bruce, 'New Century Bible' p.124.

'This is possible grammatically, but Paul's treatment of love does not leave the impression that it is simply a means to an end. Love is to be pursued for its own sake.'<sup>1</sup>

1. Leon Morris: 'Tyndale N.T. Commentary' p.180.

CHAPTER XIII :

'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And although I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing..... Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.'

## Ch. XIII

Professor Bruce suggests that this 'lofty exhortation to love' was an independent composition of Paul's introduced here because of its relevance to the situation within which he was dealing.<sup>1</sup>

However, C.S. Williams will not accept it as a Pauline interpolation; for him it is 'a dithyrambic outburst

1. F.F. Bruce: 'New Century Bible' p.124.

typical of Paul's inspired utterances linked to Chapter XII by Ch.XIII. vv 1 and 8, and to Ch.XIV. v.1 by its theme of self-giving love or agape.'<sup>1</sup>

For Bruce agape is the first of the nine graces of Gal.V. v.22f which make up a mature Christian character and provides conclusive evidence of the Spirit's indwelling presence. These Fruits of the Spirit, he holds, are more important than the Gifts of the Spirit:

'A Christian community can make shift somehow if the gifts of Ch.XII be lacking: it will die if love be absent. The most lavish exercise of spiritual gifts cannot compensate for lack of love.'<sup>2</sup>

'If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels' (v.1)

This is not a reference so much to natural eloquence as to a supernatural endowment with glossalalia. The speech of angels is mentioned in the pseudepigraphia and in rabbinical literature e.g. Job's daughters are said to have used it in praising God (Testament of Job 48-50) and Johanan ben Zakkai is said to have been granted the ability to understand it.

(TB. Baba Batra 143a; Sukkah 28a) Comments Bruce:

1. C.S. Williams, 'Peakes Commentary' p.962.
2. F.F. Bruce, p. 124.

'We need not infer that the power to speak with angels' tongues was actually claimed in the Corinthian Church.'<sup>1</sup>

'Charity never faileth: but...prophecies...shall fail...  
tongues.. shall cease; ... knowledge...shall vanish away.' (v.8)

R.S.V. gives the true interpretation; Love does not belong to this age alone, but reigns in the eternal order. But the gifts of the Spirit - prophecies - tongues - knowledge - will pass away for they are but temporary manifestations: the fruit of the Spirit abides.

Having dealt with the variety of spiritual gifts and the essential unity of their possession in the body of Christ (Ch.XII) Paul goes on in Ch.XIII to show that love is pre-eminent above all else. Now he is in a position to deal specifically with the question of 'tongues' in Ch.XIV.

1. F.F. Bruce, p.125.

I Corinthians Ch. XIV vv. 1 - 40: Paul's Teaching on Tongues  
and Prophecy:

'Follow after charity and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may propheesy. For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries. But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church. I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophecied: for greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying. Now, brethren, if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you except I shall speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine? And even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So likewise ye, except ye utter by the

tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air. There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without edification. Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me. Even so ye, forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church. Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach

others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men. In the law it is written, With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe. If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad? But if all prophecy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: And thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth. How is it then, brethren? When you come together everyone of you has a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying. If any man speak in an unknown tongue,

let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God. Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints. Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only? If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord. But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant. Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues. Let all things be done decently and in order.'

Having dealt with the variety of spiritual gifts and the essential unity of their possessors in the Body of Christ, Paul has gone on to show that agape, love, is pre-eminent above all else. Now he is in a position to deal specifically with the question of 'tongues'. He is at pains to make crystal clear that the exercise of this gift is legitimate: 'I would that ye all spoke with tongues...(v.5). But at the same time he curbs the exaggerated respect the Corinthians paid to it. Throughout this passage he steadily insists that the gift of prophecy is much to be preferred to it: 'I want you even more to prophecy.' He who prophesies is greater than he who speaks in tongues....' (v.5, v.19). Tongues should not be exercised in public unless there is an interpreter. (v.28). Edification of the congregation must be the prime consideration. (v.3, 4, 5)<sup>1</sup>

'Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophecy.' (v.1)

'Follow', diokete, has the idea of pursuit with insistence; it 'indicates a never terminating action.' (Grosheide). It is right to desire (the same word: zeloute, is rendered (covet earnestly' in XII. v.31), spiritual gifts. But among those gifts Paul gives the first place to prophecy:

'It (prophecy) denotes something rather like our

1. Bruce, New Century Bible, p.130.

preaching, but it is not identical with it. It is not the delivery of a carefully prepared sermon, but the uttering of words directly inspired of God.<sup>1</sup>

'For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh not unto men but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries.' (v.2)

Throughout the discussion Paul actually refers to speaking in 'a tongue' or 'tongues'. There is nothing in the Greek corresponding to 'unknown' in vv. 2, 4, 14, 19, 27.) The reason given for the inferiority of 'tongues' is its unintelligibility. The man exercising this gift is engaged in private communion with God. Bruce puts it:

'If a man uses glossalalia in his private devotions - if it brings him more into the presence of God - good and well: God reads his mind, but so far as the others are concerned, he utters mysteries (i.e. riddles with no solution) in the Spirit (on the assumption that his glossalalia is prompted by the Spirit of God).<sup>2</sup>

'That the church may receive edifying' (v.5b)

The edification - building up - of the church is the

1. Morris, Tyndale Commentary, p.190.
2. Bruce, p. 130.

purpose for which spiritual gifts have been given. Tongues, while edifying the possessor, cannot edify the congregation unless a worthy interpreter be available. (Therefore, he who speaks in a tongue should pray for the power to interpret.' v.13 RSV). Prophesying in the power of the Spirit, on the other hand, cannot fail to achieve the 'upbuilding and encouragement and consolation of the congregation'. (v.3)

'For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.' (vv. 14 & 15).

Up to this point Paul has concentrated on the value of the gifts to others rather than to those who exercise them. Now he points out that a man who prays in a tongue is not using his understanding (nous). Morris comments:

'This passage is very important for its insistence on the rightful place of the intellect. Notice that this is secured without any diminution of spiritual fervour. Paul is not arguing for a barren intellectualism. There is a place for the fervour so strikingly exemplified in the use of 'tongues'. But it must be allied to the use of the mind, and

this 'tongues' does not provide.'<sup>1</sup>

The two activities Paul singles out for mention are prayer and singing - functions especially appropriate to public worship and dominant features in Pentecostal-type worship.

Hence Morris goes on to point out:

'It is still worth emphasis that these activities must be such that worshippers can enter into them wholeheartedly, with the mind as well as with the spirit.'<sup>2</sup>

For, as Paul himself points out in v.16, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned - the initiated persons, the enquirer who cannot interpret the words of thanksgiving - say 'Amen' intelligently? Hence, if an individual member of the congregation receives the gift of tongues, and wishes to use it for the benefit of the whole congregation, he should pray for the power to interpret the glossalalia into language which the whole church understands. i.e. Tongues plus interpretations edify the whole congregation and are therefore equivalent to prophecy.

Wherefore tongues are for a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not.' (v.22a)

Bruce comments that in the law (here used of the whole OT) there is a divine oracle suitable to the Corinthian situation.

1. Morris, p. 194/5.

2. Morris, p. 195.

When Isaiah warned his fellow citizens of the folly of their ways, they mocked him for using baby talk: Saw la-saw, qaw la-qaw, 'for precept must be upon precept, line upon line': Isa. Ch. XXVIII v.10 (These terms have been variously explained as names of letters of the alphabet recited by children when learning their ABC or as imitations of glossalalia utterance.) Accordingly, Isaiah assures them that since they would not listen to Yahweh's lesson when it was communicated in elementary Hebrew, they would learn it from the foreign speech of Assyrian invaders. 'For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people.' (But by men of strange lips and with an alien tongue the Lord will speak to his people. RSV). In this sense the message of God conveyed in unfamiliar language was a sign... for unbelievers.<sup>1</sup> From the clause, 'says the Lord' with which Paul concludes his quotation in v. 21, J.M.P. Sweet, following E.E. Ellis, infers that Paul may be adapting to his present purpose a piece of early Christian anti-Jewish polemic. Bruce, however, concludes that Paul's point is that a divine communication in strange tongues addressed to the deliberate disobedient will but confirm them in their disobedience; they will remain all the more unbelievers.<sup>2</sup> For Leon Morris the connection with the present argument is not obvious. He writes:

1. Bruce, p. 132.

2. Bruce, 133.

'Perhaps Paul means that, as those who had refused to heed the prophet were punished by hearing speech that was not intelligible to them, so would it be in his day. Those who would not believe would hear 'tongues', and not be able to understand their wonderful meaning.'<sup>1</sup>

Considered in this way tongues are for a sign to unbelievers. They point to God's judgment. Prophecy, by contrast, is directed to believers. It brings them to the veritable message of God. In conclusion on this section, we should note that certain commentators<sup>2</sup> argue from this text for the similarity of both the Acts Ch. II and I Cors. Ch.XII - XIV manifestations of tongues and suggest glossalalia in known tongues was also included in the tongues manifestations at Corinth.

'Let all things be done unto edifying.' (v.26c)

If edification is to be the aim in the worship of the Church at Corinth, then there must be orderliness and balance. As 'tongues' presented the principle difficulty, Paul deals with this subject first. The rule for the exercise of glossalalia - by two, or at the most by three and that by course - i.e. two or three at most, each having a fair share of the time available.

1. Morris, p. 197.

2. Lampe, Peake, p.888; J.G.Davies; JTS N.S. 3 (1952) pp.28-31, 228ff. Dawson Walker, 'The Gift of Tongues.'

It seems that sometimes those exercising the gift had spoken simultaneously, which must have roused great confusion. Paul forbids this. Nor must tongues be used unless there is an interpreter. Leon ~~Comments~~ observes:

'This shows us that we must not think of 'tongues' as being the result of an irresistible impulse of the Spirit, driving the man willy-nilly into ecstatic speech. If he chose he could keep silence, and this Paul instructs him to do on occasion.'<sup>1</sup>

'For ye may all prophecy one by one that all may learn, and all may be comforted.' (v.31)

Bruce writes that the natural sense of v.31 is that the ability to prophecy, at least on occasion, is open to most, indeed to all members of the Church, although only a few (v.29) may exercise it at any one meeting. In Ch. XI. v. 4f. prophesying appears to be as common an exercise as praying, and that on the part of men and women alike, so real and pervasive was the sense of the Spirit's presence and power in meetings of the church.<sup>2</sup>

'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.' (v.32)

Prophecy is likewise subject to regulation. Just as in the case of 'tongues' there should be no more than two

1. Morris, p.199/200.

2. Bruce, p. 134.

or three prophets speaking at one service (v.29). Nor is the utterance of a prophet to be given uncritical acceptance but it is to be tested by those qualified. Morris notes that 'the other' (v. 29) is plural. It may refer to all the rest of the prophets, but, as in Ch. XII. v. 10 we read of 'discerning of spirits', it is more likely to mean 'the others who can discern'.<sup>1</sup> But Bruce argues that in Ch. XII v.10 'the ability to distinguish between spirits' is given to others than prophets, so the others here are more probably the hearers in general.<sup>2</sup>

'For God is not the author of confusion.' (V. 33a)

Again as with tongues, there is no thought here of prophesying under an uncontrollable impulse: the prophets rational mind is expected to be in command, even in moments of inspiration, so that they can speak or refrain from speaking at will, whichever may be more expedient.

'Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak....' (V. 34)

As women have played a notable part in subsequent revivals of religion e.g. The Port Glasgow Manifestations and in the modern Pentecostal Movement,<sup>3</sup> it is essential to note

1. Morris, p.200.
2. Bruce, p. 134.
3. See pp. 194f. of this study.  
249f.

Paul's dictates on the role of women in the church. Bruce comments:

'After the recognition in Ch. XI v.5ff of womens' 'authority' to pray and prophesy, the imposition of silence on them here is strange. We must, of course, beware of accommodating Paul's views to ours, but here the difficulty lies in accommodating the views expressed in these two verses to Paul's clear teaching earlier in this letter. Some commentators have solved the problem by observing that vv. 34 - 35 come after v.40 in the Western text, and concluding therefore that they are in origin a marginal gloss (based perhaps on I. Tim. II. v.11f), which was later copied into the text. G. Zuntz considers that this intrusion 'interrupts the evident connexion between vv. 33a and 36' and regards the Western position as 'an unsuccessful attempt at removing the hitch' which 'witnesses to the early existence of the insertion'.<sup>1</sup>

Bruce continues his comment:

'If we regard these two verses as integral to the text (or even as a Pauline fragment out of context), the imposition of silence on women may be explained by v.35 as forbidding them to interrupt proceedings

1. G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* (1953), p.17.

by asking questions which could more properly be put to their husbands at home, or by taking part with more ardour than intelligence in the discussion of prophetic messages. (It is doubtful, however, whether such expressions as 'they are not permitted to speak' and 'it is shameful for a woman to speak in church' can be understood to mean no more than this.)<sup>1</sup>

Leon Morris notes Paul's concern for the status of women:

'This is a further application of the principles on which he there (Ch. XI. v.2ff) acted. Christian women ought not to be 'forward', they should not seek needlessly to flout the accepted ideas of the day.'<sup>2</sup>

William Barclay similarly comments:

'In all likelihood what was uppermost in his mind was the lax moral state of Corinth and the feeling that nothing, absolutely nothing, must be done which would bring upon the infant Church the faintest suspicion of immodesty. It would certainly be very wrong to take these words of Paul out of the context for which they were written.'<sup>3</sup>

Hence, Morris suggests that we must exercise due caution in applying his (Paul's) principle to our own very different situation.

1. Bruce, pp. 135/136

2. Morris, p. 201

3. W. Barclay, The Daily Study Bible, p. 152.

'Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophecy and forbid not to speak with tongues.' (v. 39)

In keeping with his attitude all along, Paul enjoins his friends to seek prophecy and to permit speaking in tongues. But public worship is very important and everything in it - prophecies, tongues with interpretation, female contributions, if any, must be done in as seemly a manner as possible, and with due regard for order (v.30).

\* \* \* \* \*

As a codicil to Paul's teaching on glossalalia we conclude with Dr. Dawson Walker's analysis of the phenomenon:

- 1) The speaker in an unknown tongue speaks not to men but to God and therefore edifies himself not others.  
(Ch. XIV vv. 1-4)
- 2) The particular form of speech is Prayer or Thanksgiving  
(vv. 2, 13, 14, 15, 16 and cp. Acts. II v.11)
- 3) The language of glossalalia is unintelligible - without an interpreter it is like a trumpet call giving no clear call. (vv. 7 and 8)
- 4) The tongue may also be in a foreign language. (vv.10 and 11).<sup>1</sup>

1. Dawson Walker: 'Speaking in Tongues.' (See also Lampe, Peake, p. 888 and J.G. Davies: JTS N.S. 3 (1952) pp. 28, 31.

THE TESTIMONY OF CHURCH HISTORY

The Sub-Apostolic Church

It is clear that preternatural manifestations, particularly speaking in tongues, continued after the death of the apostles. Ireneus, writing at the end of the Second Century, speaks of 'those who prophecy and have visions.'<sup>1</sup> Also he refers to a continued healing ministry and even the raising of the dead. He tells too of those who:

'through the Spirit do speak of all kinds of languages and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men and declare the mysteries of God.'<sup>1a</sup>

Even in these early days there were some claiming that these gifts became extinct with the death of the last Apostle. Justin Martyr's evidence, about 120 A.D., contradicts this:

'It is possible now to see among us women and men who possess gifts of the Spirit of God.'<sup>2</sup>

But it was with the rise of Montanism that the gifts of the spirit swing right into the centre of controversy. Montanus, a converted priest of Cybele, appeared on the scene in either 157 (according to Epiphanius) or 172 (according to 1.& 1a.2. M. Harper: 'As at the Beginning' p.19 (Adv. Hayes v.vi)

(Eusebius). He had brought with him from paganism a strongly developed gift of ecstasy. As a Christian it was easy for him to associate this with the type of prophecy, or speaking with tongues, that had been dominant in the Corinthian Church of St. Paul's day and had probably never died out.<sup>1</sup>

It was a marked feature of his utterances that they seemed to owe nothing to the independent reason or personality of the speaker, but come by actual dictation of the spirit that possessed him. According to Montanus, this was something quite fresh and evidenced the beginning of a new age in which the revelation of the Christ had been superceded by that of the Spirit.

He went on to speak of himself in terms that he was himself an Incarnation of the Holy Spirit as Jesus had been of the Logos. Such were the multitudes that flocked to the Montanist 'Heaven' at Pepuza in W. Phrygia that the towns of Asia were robbed of every Christian they contained. In their zeal and their ascetism the Montanists seem to surpass their contemporaries. But the Church, a society founded on the Incarnation, could not have the Christ superceded, even by the Paraclete. Nor could it have the New Testament standard set aside by the new Montanist scriptures, however much they purported to be direct revelation of the Holy Spirit. Consequently the

1. J.W.C. Wand: 'A History of the Early Church'. p.57.

Church was forced to close the canon of scripture as a safeguard against the Montanist accretions. The Montanists themselves were discredited and, although the Church was loathe to quench anything which claimed to be the working of the Holy Spirit, they were condemned by the Asiatic Synods in 200 A.D. This led to the excommunication of the Montanists and the beginning of a lengthy schism.

Montanism received a fresh burst of life when it took root in Africa where it found a people very like in temperament to its native Phrygians, and where it also found a new leader in Tertullian. The conversion of this, the greatest Christian latin writer, took place in 205 A.D. and started a succession of Montanists in Africa. He had grown tired of the spiritual deadness and lax discipline he had found in the Catholic Church. Now in his closing years he found that which had been missing in his Christian experience within the 'Church of the Holy Ghost' where, he writes, 'all the gifts of the Spirit were operative.'<sup>1</sup>

But with Tertullian's death and the loss of his leadership Montanism settled down to steady decline, and with the extinction of the sect the gifts of the Spirit finally disappeared from the pages of early Church history.

1. M. Harper: 'As at the Beginning', p.19.

That the excesses of Montanism caused a reaction in favour of order and episcopal administration cannot be denied. But reasons for the complete disappearance of the spiritual gifts seem to be elsewhere. John Wesley was adamant in his opinion of the matter:

'The causes of their decline was not as has been vulgarly supposed because there is no more need for them, because all the world were become Christians... the real cause was: the love of many, almost all Christians so called, was waxed cold... this was the real cause why the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit were no longer to be found in the Christian Church: because the Christians were turned heathen again and had only a dead form left.'

#### Subsequent Church History

However, Conybeare in his article in Encyclopaedia Britannica denies the total disappearance of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the Mediaeval Church. He writes:

'The same morbid and abnormal trance utterances occur in Christian revivals in every age, for example, among the mendicant friars of the Thirteenth Century.'

But Knox, in his 'Enthusiasm', is scornful when he comments on the above:

'It sounds well until you examine his evidence for glossalalia in early times. He refers to Timaeus; the 6th ~~Aensial~~ <sup>Aeneid</sup> De anima of Tertullian, but in each case there is reference to ecstatic prophecy but no mention of strange languages.'<sup>1</sup>

Knox perhaps overpresses his point in his rigid requirements for evidence of glossalalia. Sufficient, surely, it should have been for him that there were preternatural phenomena at all in the 'dry' Mediaeval Church. e.g. The mendicant friars, inter alia.<sup>2</sup>

For Michael Harper the light does not begin to dawn until the Reformation.<sup>3</sup> He quotes from Sauer's 'History of the Christian Church' that Martin Luther himself was endowed with all the gifts of the spirit including 'tongues'. Certainly he experienced the supernatural in a remarkable way. We see for instance his faith in divine healing in a letter written in 1545 to a friend asking advice about a sick person:

'When you depart lay your hands upon the man again and say, 'These signs shall follow them that believe; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.'

1. R.A.Knox: 'Enthusiasm', p.550
2. Görres: 'Die Christlich Mystik', p.189f.
3. M.Harper: 'As at the Beginning', p.20 (History of the Christian Church Vol.III. p.406)

Luther's great Catholic contemporary, S. Francis Xavier, regarded as one of the most Christ-like men who ever lived, believed he could work miracles 'and willed to do so'. Not only is he recorded as speaking languages he had never learned while on his missionary journeys but also as practising the healing gift in curing a snake bite on one occasion and later healing a little child.<sup>1</sup>

There are certain hints at preternatural phenomena among the Anabaptists and Early Quakers.<sup>2</sup> But Nathaniel Spinkes describes the Anabaptists and Quakers as 'victims of enthusiasm but not as having spoken with tongues.'<sup>3</sup>

Knox, scornful as ever, doesn't deny the existence of glossalalia in this period: 'to speak with tongues you had never learned was, and is, a recognized symptom in cases of alleged diabolical possession. It was never claimed as a symptom of divine inspiration until the end of the Seventeenth Century.'<sup>4</sup>

Knox is referring to a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Jansenists and the Camisards, both of France. The Jansenists were the followers of one Cornelius Otto Jansen (1585-1638). His writings in the 'Augustinus', a summary

1. Joseph Marie Cros: 'St. Francis de Xavier, sa vie et ses lettres' p.392.
2. Burrough's 'Preface to <sup>The</sup> Great Mystery'
3. Nathaniel Spinkes: 'The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised'.
4. R.A. Knox: 'Enthusiasm', p.551.

of Augustine's works, formed the credal basis of Jansenism.

They may be summed up under two main headings:

- 1) without a special grace from God, the performance of His commandments is impossible to men.
- 2) the operation of grace is irresistible; and hence, that man is the victim of either a natural or a supernatural determinism, limited only by not being violently coercive.

Given such theological assumptions, it is not surprising the Jansenists evinced something of this supernatural determinism in their practice of worship. Ecstatic utterances during self-induced convulsions were regular occurrences, particularly among the Jansenist prophetesses. Lavington records that 'For vive! -uncontrollable laughter was also common during these convulsions'.<sup>1</sup> Knox himself cites the Jansenist Chevalier Folard as speaking in a tongue, namely Slavonic. Though the disparaging Knox adds the rider that he was credited with this on slender grounds.<sup>2</sup> Harper, as might be expected, claims unreservedly that 'there were widespread and remarkable manifestations among the Jansenists in France later that century.'<sup>3</sup> Here his chronology appears to be wrong as the Jansenists preceded

- 1. Lavington: 'The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared'.
- 2. R.A. Knox: 'Enthusiasm', p.552.
- 3. M. Harper: 'As at the Beginning', pp 20, 21.

by fifty years that persecuted group of French Huguenots familiarly known as the Camisards.

In 1688 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes which up to then guaranteed the safety and religious liberties of his Protestant subjects. Now, the Camisards who refused to submit or flee, conducted a guerilla war against Louis in the district of the Cevennes. Under the constant threat of rigorous persecution and the daily threat of violent death, a remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit took place among the Camisards. Spiritual phenomena seemed particularly prevalent among the Camisard children, some of whom spoke in tongues. One child aged no more than three years is recorded as having preached a sermon to the assembled brethren in perfect French 'for three quarters of an hour with appropriate gestures.'<sup>1</sup>

'There is little doubt' writes J.C. Edwards, 'Such tongue-speech was of the ecstatic kind. Here, as in the Montanists, the Jansenists, the Early Quakers, we recognise a sudden awakening of the spiritual nature, and intense emotions of overwhelming fear and rapturous joy.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Heath, R. 'Little Prophets of the Cevennes' Enc.Brit. 9th Edit. Vol.IV, p.745
2. J.C. Edwards: 'Commentary on I Cor., p.222.

BRITISH EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EVANGELICAL REVIVAL:

I : John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism

Contrary to the often repeated jibe that the gifts of the Spirit are only meant for the spiritually and culturally immature, these manifestations seem at times to attract intellectual giants: Tertullian, the Latin theologian of the West, to Montanism; Pascal, the brilliant philosopher of France, to Jansenism; and John Wesley, Oxford don, to Evangelicalism.<sup>1</sup>

Educated at Oxford, ordained into the Anglican ministry, he was evidently gifted with great powers of intellect and during his time at University displayed deep personal piety. Yet, for thirteen years after his ordination in 1725, he was very dissatisfied with his progress in the Christian life. He considered himself yet only 'almost a Christian'. Yet he worshipped daily, communicated weekly, constantly took part in family prayer, he had set times daily for private devotions. And his overriding motive in all this was 'to please and honour God'. Yet he still felt this disquietude of heart and said he was only 'almost a Christian'.

1. M. Harper: 'As at the Beginning', p.21.

His doctrinal views were impeccable: he believed the Word of God was best understood in its literal sense - unless the literal sense contradicted some other. He firmly believed in the change wrought in the heart by the Holy Spirit; he believed himself to be regenerate or Born Again. He had had many remarkable answers to prayer; He believed in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, yet he said of himself: 'all this while I have been beating the air, and seeking to establish my own righteousness, instead of submitting to the righteousness of Christ which is by faith. Before, I willingly served sin, now it was unwillingly, but still he served it.

This was Wesley's decidedly unhappy spiritual condition before he and his brother left for Georgia. It is not surprising his ministry there should be a short one, unhappy and unsuccessful; not least in a spiritual sense.

However, the Wesley brothers' contact with certain Moravian Christians during their voyage to Georgia and continuing contact in London after their unhappy return led to a complete change in the Wesley brothers' outlook. First, the Moravian leader, Peter Bohler, taught John Wesley that true faith in Christ was accompanied by dominion over sin; constant peace, arising from a sense of forgiveness; this saving faith was given in a moment - in an instant man is turned from wickedness

161

and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Spirit.

Doctrines which would have seemed strange indeed to a high Anglican with his weekly communion thirteen years before. But now, deeply impressed by the sincerity of the Moravians, Wesley yearned for this kind of experience - the spontaneous conversion, the radical turning about of a man's whole being, of which Bohler spoke.

It was on May 24th, 1738, that Wesley entered into a conversion experience.<sup>1</sup>

Now this newly converted 'saint' became a man much more open to the influence of the Holy Spirit. For Wesley, Pentecost was as much a reality in the church of his day as ever it was in apostolic times. There were those alive in his day who professed all the gifts of Pentecost; namely the 'French Prophets' - Huguenot refugees, descended from or connected with the Camisard movement and now settled in London. Speaking in tongues was commonly practised among them. Charles Wesley records how he by chance happened to share an inn bedroom with a man who turned out to be one of the French Prophets or at least one of their English adherents:

'Before he undressed for the night' wrote Charles, 'he knelt by his bedside and gobbled like a turkey-cock.'

1. See, p. 3

Another English adherent of the French Prophets was a certain Mr. Lacey who claimed to speak Latin; a language he had never learned. For which Nathaniel Spinkes rebukes him for his many solecisms.<sup>1</sup>

From most of the clergy the French Prophets received nothing but amused scorn. But Wesley was very sympathetic. His own, almost miraculous, conversion experience had broadened his outlook, some would say, almost to the point of credulity. If this was the work of the Holy Spirit, Wesley would be the last to try to quench it.

In his journal he records being present at a meeting of the 'French Prophets' on January 28th, 1739. A prophetess is about to prophecy:

'Presently after she leaned back in her chair, and seemed to have strong worship in her breast with deep sighings intermixed. Her head and hands, and by turns, every part of her body seemed also to be in a kind of convulsive motion. This continued about ten minutes, till at six she began to speak.'<sup>2</sup>

Of this and similar manifestations among the French Prophets Wesley had no doubt whatsoever that they were true

1. Nathaniel Spinkes: 'The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised'.
2. Wesley's Journal: 28/1/39.

workings of the Holy Ghost and as much the fruit of Pentecost as the phenomena of Acts and I Cors.<sup>1</sup> An abundance of alleged spiritual phenomena also accompanied Wesley's opening years as an itinerant revivalist preacher. Many of these are categorised in detail in his journal, but it was also Wesley and Whitfield's custom to speak and write in general rather than particular terms about the workings of the Holy Spirit at their various assemblies.

For example, at Burslem Wesley held one of the most remarkable love-feasts he had ever witnessed, for here, he records, had been 'such an out-pouring of the Spirit as had not been in any part of the Kingdom; particularly in the meetings for prayer. Fifteen or twenty were justified in a day; some of them the most notorious abandoned sinners in all the country.'<sup>2</sup>

To George Whitfield on February 20th, 1739 Wesley wrote concerning a meeting in 'St.James's Square where one young woman has been lately filled with the Holy Ghost and overflows in Joy and Love.'

We notice how at Burslem Wesley does not venture to describe just how the Spirit was outpoured. One might speculate, was it in 'strange tongues' or ecstatic prophecy? But that

1. Tyreman: 'The Life and Times of Rev.J.Wesley' Vol.I  
Morton J. Kelsey: 'Speaking with Tongues', p.54.

2. Tyreman's 'Life' : Vol.III, p.493.

would be reading too much into the evidence. Yet again at St. James's Square he does not give more detail than refer to a 'filling with the Holy Ghost'. Dare one ask were there other stranger phenomena in addition to the young lady's overflowing in Joy and Love? On the basis of the evidence it seems unlikely.

Similarly George Whitfield writes in his journal for March 5th, 1739 concerning the contemporary Welsh Revivalist leader, Howell Harris: 'He is full of faith and the Holy Ghost'. How he is filled with the Holy Ghost he omits to say.

For April 16th 1739, he records:

'I heard of one that had received the Holy Ghost immediately upon my preaching Christ.'

Again no mention of how the Holy Ghost came upon the new convert. Was it as at Caesarea in Acts X?

Again for April 16th he records:

'At Cheltenham preached with extraordinary power to over 2,000 people. Some were so filled with the Holy Ghost that they were unable to support themselves under it.'

Similarly, a general description only. People in

groups or as individuals are described as being 'justified', being 'filled' or having 'received' the Holy Spirit. Obviously something spectacular happened in each case but nothing is said about any particular manifestation of the Holy Ghost. But of one other phenomena in Wesley and Whitfield's early field-preaching there is ample evidence; that of the paroxysm or prostration.

The most spectacular and frequent phenomenon during the Eighteenth Century Evangelical Revival was that of the paroxysm, <sup>a</sup> kind of fit brought on by emotional stress arising from the preaching of one of the great Revivalists. This would last but for a short time or might lapse into unconsciousness for some considerable time, even a period of some days. These paroxysms and prostrations would often be accompanied at the onset of the fit by alarming shrieks, crying out as if pierced by a sword, tremblings, groanings, gnashing of teeth, abuse, as if Devil-inspired, and swoonings,

Such were frequent and alarming accompaniments to the preaching of John Wesley. Yet, broadly sympathetic to what he was convinced were genuine Holy Spirit manifestations, he did not denounce or forbid them. Almost it seemed at times he had an unhealthy interest in every detail concerning each particular phenomenon. Certainly he recorded each occurrence

in the minutest detail.

His carefully detailed records and descriptions of these weird happenings begin with his Journal entry for January 21st 1739. The paroxysms, apparently, first occurred during his preaching in the Minorities, London. They occurred again on a larger scale at Bristol on April 17th. Here Wesley records:

'During the exposition of Acts 4 a woman cried aloud, with the utmost vehemence even as in the agonies of death. But we continued in prayer, till a new song was put in her mouth....soon after, two other persons ....were seized with strong pain, and constrained to roar for the disquietness of their heart. But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour.'

It was at Bristol also <sup>Wesley</sup> witnessed in large numbers during his field-preaching: Roarings, Groanings, Gnashings, Tellings, Cursings, Blasphemies and Despairings.

Knox suggests the use of an elaborate prayer-technique to induce these manifestations:

'There is a cry, or a roar; usually (not always) the afflicted person drops to the ground; you can see that he or she is something in the position of the

demoniac healed after the Transfiguration; Satan is letting his prey go, with utmost reluctance. The bystanders fall to prayer; if there is no immediate deliverance the interrupter is carried out, and prayer goes on, often till late at night.

In these, as in other cases of religious convulsions we are often told that it took so many strong men to hold the energumen down (six or seven in the case of Thomas Maxfield).<sup>1</sup> Sometimes interior struggles of these people who could not 'find Christ' were prolonged several days, though in such cases the outward manifestations were only intermittent.<sup>2</sup>

Wesley, as may be expected, shares nothing of Knox's scepticism, and his comment on similar happenings on March 1st 1742 sums up his complete acceptance of these phenomena as genuine Holy Ghost manifestations:

'The Power of the Lord was present both to wound and to deal.'

Further paroxysms occurred at Newcastle on November 23rd, 25th, 1742. And of the whole series of nine evangelistic meetings from January 1st 1739 to July 3rd 1749 Knox observes 'all had the atmosphere of a Pentecostal visitation.'

1. Wesley's Journal: 27/10/39.

2. R.A.Knox: "Enthusiasm", p.550

On June 15th and October 28th, 1739, certain phenomena occurred which resembled similar activities a century before among the Jansenists at S. Medard. Preaching at Wapping he was surprised to observe convulsive motions of the body occurring among several of his hearers. He comments on the convulsionaries of Wapping in answer to his critics:

'Theirs was like none of the many hysterical and epileptic fits which I have seen.'

A further link with the phenomena among the Jansenists were certain instances of 'Fou rire' - uncontrollable laughter. At Bristol on May 9th 1740 he records, obviously unsympathetic to the happening as a true Holy Ghost manifestation:

'I was a little surprised by some who were buffeted by Satan in an unusual manner, by such a spirit of laughter they could in no wise resist.'

Again on May 23rd, presumably still at Bristol, he writes of:

'Two who maintained laughter could always be controlled were themselves overtaken by it. They laughed whether they would or no, almost without ceasing. Thus they continued a spectacle to all, for two days; and were then, upon prayer made for them, delivered in a moment.'

The foregoing, then, are examples of the alleged preternatural phenomena which accompanied and frequently interrupted the field-preaching of John Wesley: Paroxysms, prostrations, convulsions, Fourive and the inevitable verbal din of: 'Shriekings, Groanings etc.' But as Methodism settled down into a highly organized and tightly disciplined religious society, still nominally at least, within the Established Church, so the frequency and violence of the more spectacular manifestations diminished. The opening years - the decade 1730-40 saw the high-tide of the strange phenomena which were part and parcel of the Eighteenth Century Evangelical Revival.

However, there are always exceptions. And from time to time a sermon was still accompanied by strange occurrences as members of the congregation dropped down in a dead faint or cried out to heaven.

When John Wesley was preaching at Stroud in 1765 'A young man dropped down and violently cried to God.... a young gentleman cried out: 'I am damned' and fell to the ground. A second did so quickly after and was much convulsed, and yet quite sensible.'<sup>1</sup>

On June 17th, 1770, Wesley recorded, after addressing

1. J. Wesley 'Journal'.

the children at Whitby:

'I observed one little maid in particular who heaved and strove for some time till at length she was constrained to yield and broke out into strong cries and tears.'<sup>1</sup>

As late as 1788, Wesley records a remarkable, some might say, a hair-raising, incident at Bristol:

'About the middle of the discourse while there was attention still as night, a vehement noise arose and shot like lightening through the congregation. The terror and confusion was inexpressible. The people rushed upon each other with utmost violence: benches were broken in pieces and nine-tenths of the congregation seemed to be struck with the same panic. In about six minutes the storm ceased, almost as suddenly as it arose. I believe none can account for it without pre-supposing some preternatural influence. Satan fought lest his Kingdom should be delivered up.'<sup>2</sup>

Wesley, for all his success in establishing a numerous and thriving religious society, lived and died a Church of England man. He firmly held that Methodism was but an evangelistic ginger-group within the organizational life of the

1. Ibid.

2. Tyerman's 'Life' Vol.III. p.531.

National Church. For this reason he was careful to avoid allowing his meetings to clash with the laws of divine service and encouraged them to communicate regularly at their own parish church.

To the very end of his life he implored his followers not to desert the Church:

'Ye yourselves were at first called in the Church of England,' he told them, 'and though ye have and will have a thousand temptations to leave it, and set up for yourselves, regard them not; be Church of England men still; do not cast away the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you and frustrate the design of Providence, the very end for which God hath raised you up.'<sup>1</sup>

But as the years went by the Methodist movement grew so big and gathered so much momentum that the slender ties which held it to the Church were broken, and the Wesleyans as a whole drifted away into separatism.

John Wesley died in 1791 having maintained his vigour almost to the end. On his eighty-fifth birthday he wrote in his diary his rules for health, which include rising each day at 4 a.m., preaching at 5 and travelling at least 4,500 miles a year. This he had been doing constantly for fifty years,

1. J. R. Moorman: 'A History of the Church in England', p.300.

borne on by his intense conviction that his every action was under the immediate direction of God. Never was there a man more dedicated to the preaching of the Gospel. He was also a man intensely interested in the preternatural phenomena which so spectacularly punctuated his preaching. But this was as froth compared with the essence of his preaching. All he really cared for was the conversion of souls. For this reason every sermon was preached with such earnestness that it might well have been the last that he would ever preach or his congregations ever hear. And in this lay the secret of his success. At a time when the sermons in the parish churches were often cold and dull, Wesley was preaching to crowds which sometimes numbered as many as 20,000 people; and at a time when the Church as a whole seemed indifferent to the fate of the masses, Wesley was bringing them hope and confidence. He taught them that someone cared for them. He taught them where joy and peace might be found. He brought them the love of God.

## II: Other great Evangelical preachers:

The amazingly blessed peripatetic ministry culminating in the rise of Methodism was not an isolated movement of the Holy Spirit. It was but part of a wider movement which was

affecting the Church in many ways. This wider movement of the Spirit, commonly called the Evangelical Revival, began as a protest against two things:

- 1) The frivolity and dissipation of society in the early part of the Eighteenth Century
- 2) the meagre theology and frank worldliness of the Hanoverian church.

At first the great Evangelical preachers, men like John Berridge, Fletcher of Madeley, Henry Venn, William Romaine, worked within and through the Church of England into which, like Wesley, they had been ordained. In the beginning they would not have dreamed of following his example in going outside the parochial system. But, like Wesley, they were literalists, or to use a relatively modern misnomer, fundamentalists in their attitude to Scripture. In theology they were divided, most being Calvinists who believed in the predestination of the elect, with George Whitfield as their acknowledged leader. While others, like Wesley, were Arminian; believing equally firmly in free will, and salvation open to all who accepted Christ.

The main object of the Evangelical clergy, whatever their basic theology, was to deliver their message to as many people as possible, whether in Church or out of it. They were men on fire with their message. They had something vital to say:

Man, they declared, is not the noble creature that some would call him; he is fallen and totally depraved. He is therefore in need of salvation, and salvation is through Christ alone and dependent upon faith. The acceptance, by faith, of Christ as Saviour was called 'conversion', and this conversion normally took place quite suddenly at a moment which would be remembered and treasured for the rest of one's life. But conversion was not the end. It led on naturally to Sanctification and growth in grace. This the believer found through prayer, through Bible-study, through sermons, and to some extent through the sacraments.

This was the new type of preaching and 'new' Gospel which fell about the amazed ears of thousands who flocked to hear the great Evangelical preachers. And a sermon by Whitfield, Berridge or Venn was often accompanied by the same startling occurrences as punctuated Wesley's preaching. Whitfield records in his journal for New Year's Day 1739:

'Attended a Love-feast in Fetter Lane. I was present with some sixty Moravians. At 3 a.m. the power of God came upon them <sup>so</sup> as mightily, that many cried out for exceeding joy. Others fell prostrate on the ground. And all joined in singing: 'We praise thee, O God.'

Even more remarkable were the scenes when John Berridge

was preaching at Everton. On one occasion

'the text was, 'Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.' When the power of religion began to be spoke of, the presence of God really filled the place. And while poor sinners felt the sentence of death in their souls what sounds of distress did I hear! The greatest number of those who cried or fell were men; but some women, and several children, felt the power of the same almighty Spirit, and seemed just sinking into hell. This occasioned a mixture of various sounds, some shrieking, some roaring aloud. The most general was a loud breathing, like that of people half-strangled and gasping for life. And indeed almost all the cries were like those of human creatures dying in bitter anguish. Great numbers wept without any noise; others fell down as dead; some sinking into silence, some with extreme noise and violent agitation. I stood on the pew seat, as did a young man in the opposite pew, an able-bodied, fresh, healthy countryman. But in a moment, while he seemed to think of nothing less, down he dropped with a violence inconceivable. The adjoining pews seemed shook with his fall. I heard afterward the stamping of his feet, ready to break the boards, as he lay in strong convulsions at the bottom of the pew.

.....Among the children who felt the arrows of the Almighty, I saw a sturdy boy, about eight years old, who roared above his fellows, and seemed, in his agony, to struggle with the strength of a grown man. His face was red as scarlet; and almost all on whom God laid his hand turned either very red, or almost black.' <sup>1</sup>

An apt conclusion to this momentous period of English Church history might be to allow Wesley himself to make his own apologia for the phenomena which were such a controversial feature of his earlier evangelistic ministry. During his life time and since they have been sneered at by his enemies; even Whitfield, whose ministry was accompanied by <sup>few</sup> ~~no~~ such results, regarded the phenomena with suspicion and dislike. <sup>2</sup>

i) The phenomena were real, not pretended, and often ended in genuine conversions.

'You deny' writes Wesley at the time, 'You deny that God does now work these effects; at least that he works them in this manner. I affirm both; because I have heard these things with my own ears and I have seen them with my own eyes. I have seen very many persons changed, in a moment, from the spirit of fear, horror, despair to the spirit of love, joy and peace; and from sinful

1. From the report of an eye-witness, transcribed by John Wesley into his Journal on May 28th, 1759.

2. <sup>ev</sup> Tytman: 'Life and Times of Wesley' Vol.I. p.264

desire, till then reigning over them, to the pure desire of doing the will of God.'<sup>1</sup>

ii) Why were these phenomena permitted? Wesley's answer is as follows:

'Perhaps it might be because of the hardness of our hearts, unready to receive anything unless we see it with our eyes and hear it with our ears, that God in tender condescension to our weakness, suffered so many outward signs of the very time when He wrought this inward change to be continually seen and heard among us. But although they saw 'signs and wonders' (for so I must term them) yet many would not believe. They could not indeed deny the facts, but they could explain them away.'<sup>2</sup>

iii) How were these extraordinary circumstances brought about? Five years after the phenomena ~~after~~ when he had heard all that his enemies had to say - when such convulsive agitations no longer happened - and when he had sufficient time to test the genuineness of 'these remarkable Bristol and Kingswood conversions' and to form a calm judgement upon the whole matter, he wrote:

'The extraordinary circumstances that attended the

1 & 2. Wesley's Works. Vol.III. p.127.

conviction or conversion of the people may be easily accounted for either on principles of reason or Scripture:-

- a) Reason: 'For how easy it is to suppose that a strong, lively and sudden apprehension of the heinousness of sin, the wrath of God, and the bitter pain of eternal death should affect the body as well as the soul, during the present laws of vital union - should interrupt or disturb the ordinary circulation and put nature out of its course? Yea, we may question whether, while the union subsists, if it be possible for the mind to be affected, in so violent a degree, without some or other of those bodily symptom following.'
- b) Scripture: 'it is easy to account for these things on principles of Scripture. For when we take a view of them on this light, we are to add to the consideration of natural causes the agency of those spirits who still excel in strength, and, as far as they have leave from God, will not fail to torment whom they cannot destroy; to tear those that are coming to Christ. It is also remarkable that there is plain scripture precedent of every symptom which has lately appeared.'<sup>1</sup>

1. Wesley's Works. Vol.III. p.127

ANNUS MIRABILIS : 1830

a) Edward Irving and the Rise of the Catholic Apostolic Church

Edward Irving might have been ranked with the names of Tertullian, Pascal, Wesley and others who have been attracted to 'Spiritual' Christianity had he not been led astray into the wilderness by certain baneful influences.

Born in 1712, the son of a tanner, in Annan, Dumfrieshire and baptised into the Church of Scotland, he soon showed his ability in graduating M.A. at Edinburgh University at the age of 17. However, his distinctions at University was athletic rather than academic, according to Hasting's Dictionary.<sup>1</sup>

However that may be, in 1809 he entered the Divinity Hall to begin his studies for the Church of Scotland ministry. During this period he supported himself by teaching mathematics. In fact Whiteley<sup>2</sup> says he was able to combine his divinity studies with running the Mathematical School at Haddington. At the age of 19 he was appointed head of Kircaldy Academy.

Along with his pedagogic career he also became a probationer of the Church of Scotland. But in 1819, now aged 27,

- Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
1. Hasting's ~~Dictionary of Religion~~.
  2. H.C. Whiteley 'The Blinded Eagle' S.C.M.

he severed his Kircaldy connections and went to Edinburgh. In the same year he was offered his first ministerial post as Assistant to Dr. Thomas Chalmers, minister of St. John's, Glasgow. Chalmers had a unique parish and was himself a national figure.

From the start of their association it was evident Chalmers and his assistant were poles apart. Irving described his senior colleague as a 'benevolent autocrat' and his whole conception of the Church, her destiny and policy were completely different. But no open clash occurred between the great man and his prodigy. Irving suppressed his frustrations by throwing himself whole heartedly into pastoral visiting; particularly of the poor who resided in the parish in great numbers. A notable feature of his early ministry was Irving's almost extravagant generosity. On receiving a small legacy he gave it away to the poor at the rate of one pound per day until it was all gone in a matter of weeks.

His preaching ability was soon brought to the notice of the wider Church and in 1821 he accepted a call from the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, London. His appointment was described as 'to strengthen this outpost of the Church of Scotland.' Little did the tiny congregation of expatriate Scots, then in a desperate plight, know what tumultuous days lay ahead of them.

H.C. Whitley comments, 'It is odd Irving received only one call.' He suggests that a man of Irving's abilities and from such a notable parish might have had the pick of several. But he goes on to show how in this something more of Irving's character is revealed: 'He was incapable of stooping to policy or ingratiating; his manner no doubt alarmed the middle-class mind.'<sup>1</sup> Already then something near pride and even eccentricity was apparent in the young minister newly arrived from Scotland.

At the age of thirty Irving was ordained in his home church at Annan. And his ministerial authority continued to be derived from the Annan Presbytery throughout the remainder of his Church of Scotland ministry. He preached his first sermon in the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden in July 1822 and his fame as a preacher spread immediately. Soon many of the Quality were attending the church of this fashionable Presbyterian preacher. Among them were Peel, Coleridge and Canning, who alluded to Irving and his eloquence in the House of Commons. Soon his congregation lost its distinctive Church of Scotland complexion. Before the year was out, crowds besieged the little church. From fifty, in one quarter applications for sittings rose to fifteen hundred. Irving's fame now seemed secure.

H.C. Whitley in asking: 'What was the extraordinary

1. H.C. Whitley: 'The Blinded Eagle'. S.C.M.

force that could hold the best of the day riveted throughout sermons of astonishing length, draws out something more of Irving's greatness. For he quotes in answer to his own question from Mrs. Oliphant,<sup>1</sup> an eye witness of Irving's ministry:

'Not genius or eloquence alone, but something infinitely greater; a man all visible in the Laws of revelation, striving mightily with every man he met, in an entirely personal unity which is possible to few. There was nothing of pretence but absolute sincerity for anyone who cared to put it to the proof.'<sup>1</sup>

To this eulogy Whitley himself adds the following observations:

- 1) 'Irving's own life was tirelessly built, centred on Christ's truth. Some <sup>hours</sup> ~~laws~~ every day, however broken he felt, were given to his study.'
- 2) 'His door was always open - his most pressing preparation laid aside for every call on him.'

Such was the character and intellectual and spiritual stature of Edward Irving at the beginning of his London ministry: preacher of extraordinary power and influence; indefatigable student and a diligent and often generous pastor. Furthermore, he had a facility in writing to which would soon be geared the brain of a first-class theologian.

1. M.O.W.Oliphant: 'Life of Edward Irving' 1862.

In 1823 came his first publication: 'Orations'; this he dedicated to Chalmers. It consisted of what he described as 'a new type of religious address, to present divine truth to the public in a form alike more comprehensive and more vital than conventional echoes of a narrow and moribund evangelicalism to which the ear of churchgoers had become accustomed.'

This 'publishers' blurb made two revealing points about Irving: he was no Evangelical in the sense of Wesley, Whitfield and their Anglican contemporaries. Secondly, his writings showed considerable originality and independence of mind, spiced with a confidence in his own powers suggesting Irving was not without personal vanity.

His second publication was 'An Argument for Judgement to come'. This foreshadows a type of prophetic teaching which together with the exercise of spiritual gifts was soon to constitute the popular conception of Irvingism.

Despite this prodigious amount of work in addition to his ministerial duties, he managed to find time for Spanish lessons. He needed Spanish to translate into English an obscure book by a Spanish American Jesuit: 'The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty.' The chief importance of this translation

by Irving lies in the preface which Irving himself wrote and contains some of his best and most mature thought.

His theological writings had already revealed a certain independence of mind. Now this latest publication was to lead directly to a fateful stage in his ministry.

The millennial character of 'The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty' attracted the attention of one Henry Drummond, a wealthy businessman turned politician who was devoted to eschatological speculation. Irving was invited by Drummond to Albury House, his country seat, to the first of several conferences. The first gathering was innocent enough: a mixed assembly of good religious brains. The subject of the first conference was The Second Coming; a subject which was to take increasing hold on Irving from now on.

The Albury Group, as Irving and his friends came to be called, concluded, at this their first conference, that the 1260 days of Rev.XI.3 referred to the number of years between the appearance of Justinian's Digest and the execution of Louis XVI. Therefore, they adjudged, in 1830 the last days would indeed be upon them! Soon Irving became the acknowledged leader of the Albury Group.

'This' comments Whitley, 'is why Irvings' genius ended in

the desert. The egotism of this religious enthusiast (Drummond) with wealth, power and wit and yet no responsibility outweighed commonsense.'

The tiny Scots church in Hatton Garden now being far too small for his vastly swollen congregation, a new church was speedily built and opened in Regent Square. But now there was no <sup>c</sup> scrambling for seats. The interest of the floating <sup>^</sup> population waned. 1,000 sittings remained and were regularly filled. Irving was content.

Then came the first whisper against his doctrine from an obscure clerical busybody in the London Presbytery. Unwisely, although in character, Irving hastily published his replies without the permission <sup>of</sup> and consultation with his brother clerics. The effect was to start a great controversy on the Nature of Christ. Irving wrote:

'It is the same stuff as human nature, transformed by the Spirit but not different in essence.'

But more cautiously, Irving withheld publication of a further book of sermons till he had considered every implication of this point. When he felt the Church was in error in shortening its teaching, he brought them out with additional sermons on the full significance of the Incarnation.

'Far from being unorthodox' comments P.E.Shaw, a more recent writer, 'Irving went back to the older, sounder orthodoxy, that of the Fathers and the Councils, and one from which later thinking had departed.'

With his doctrinal views 'aired', if not wholly suspect, Irving came into contact with other independent-minded fellow churchmen. He met McCleod Campbell on a lecture visit to Scotland. Campbell, minister of Rhu, was convinced of the doctrine of 'assurance of faith' which, in conjunction with his belief in the universality of the Atonement, was soon to arouse much opposition from his congregation and higher authority. The main thesis of his principal work, for which he has subsequently become famous, if not notorious, was that the spiritual context of the sufferings of Christ, rather than their penal character, made atonement for sin.

Through his friendship with Robert Storey, minister of Rosneath, Irving met Alexander Scott of Woolwich who constantly urged him that the apostolic gifts of healing, prophecy and speaking with tongues were given for all time; although temporarily lost through lack of faith.

The taint of unorthodoxy grew stronger and despite his eminence in London, among the Quality he was nothing less than a prophet, he was left unacknowledged and almost ignored by the Kirk. The London presbytery occasionally used him for a

fast-day sermon or for writing a pastoral letter to all lapsed Scots in London.

Nor was Scotland any more encouraging. When he prepared to visit Edinburgh again in 1829 he could find no one to offer him a pulpit. And in order to give him a voice in his own church the prebytery at Annan sent him to the General Assembly as its elder. But his commission was disallowed and he was ignominiously shown to the door.

'After his rejection by his own Church and Land Irving cannot be blamed for turning to the Albury Circle' comments Whitley.

In 1830 the gathering storm broke with the impeachment of Irving's disciple McCleod Campbell of Rhu. Then another close associate of Irving's, Maclean of Dreghorn was condemned; he had become Irving's disciple for life after Irving's ordination charge. And Alexander Scott also was condemned.

With his associates broken, now, if he had wished to save himself, was the time to keep silence. Instead, again showing what the less kind would call his egocentricity, Irving chose this of all times to publish his new book on the Incarnation which proved to be theological dynamite:

'I believe my Lord did come....in that very state which God had put it after Adam's sin, did suffer its sorrow and pain.....and by His faith and patience did win for Himself the name of the Man of Sorrows and the Author and Finisher of our faith.'

Now all the many envious of Irving, his prestige, position and personal gifts, had their chance at last. The Church found the new publication heresy. The London Presbytery challenged him. They intended to try him for his doctrine of the Incarnation. Irving, however, playing a trump card indeed, denied their authority claiming 'that by trust deed of the National Scotch Church he was responsible to a Scottish Presbytery alone.'

By this time Irving firmly held the gifts of healing, prophecy and teaching were being restored to the church. Consequently when Irving heard the news of the Port Glasgow<sup>1</sup> manifestations he was already predisposed by character and antecedent at once to accept them as a baptism of the Holy Spirit and Fire. But instead of going north Irving held special prayers at 6.30 a.m. in the Regent Square church for guidance and wisdom for the General Assembly.

At 6.30 p.m. on the same day the Prayer Meeting resumed with full 100 people and their constant prayer was that the ancient gifts of the Spirit might be restored to them. Then

1. See p.194.

two members of the congregation were seized with a supernatural experience and spoke in an unknown tongue and then breaking into English ejaculations and exhortations. Their prayers had been heard and the Holy Ghost was again manifesting himself as at the beginning.

'For some time Irving would not allow the manifestations in the service' records Whitley. He means, in the first place, he would not allow the utterances within the context of the Prayer Meeting. Those who were seized had to rush to the vestry there to cry out. Again Whitley comments: 'But Irving had gone too far. If this was the answer, how could he refuse to have it in church?' Here, surely, he means, if this was indeed the answer to fervent prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit, how could he prevent these spiritual happenings occurring within the worshipping community; at public services as much as the two main daily prayer meetings.

Irving took the decisive step of making trial of the Spirits of the prophets by right of his ministerial commission. Satisfied beyond doubt that these were genuine Holy Spirit phenomena, he invited the people at the prayer meetings to come and witness for themselves, which they did with terrifying consequences.

A crowd of 1,000 assembled on dark November mornings for the early morning prayer meeting and for the Sunday prayer

meetings as many as 2,000 assembled. The sensation among the vast prayer meetings when tongues broke out reached fever pitch. At one point it took all Irving's personality and force of prayer to keep down a riot.

Presently he took the logical step of making room for the Voice of the Spirit in the public worship at Regent Square. First of all in the early service then in the main ones, pausing at set points for what he termed the testimony.

The public outcry at this was fearful. Some idea of the high regard and considerable interest attached to Irving's outstanding ministry up to that moment can be seen in that the Times roundly condemned the whole proceedings. Even Thomas Carlyle came down in person and ranted about 'bedlam and chaos'. While Irving sat, humble but unyielding, his face in his hands. All his deacons <sup>save one</sup> left him ~~save one~~ as a protest. The church trustees, 'having remonstrated early and late' now took counsel's opinion as to how they could get rid of him.

Irving, revealing his complete conviction of the genuineness of the Regent Square phenomena, wrote to his deacons:

'My dear Brothers, there is nothing I would not surrender to you, even my life, except to hinder what I most clearly discern to be the work of God's Holy Spirit.'

Irving having warded off an attack on his doctrinal

orthodoxy immediately faced an onslaught from a new direction. He was summoned before the London Presbytery on the paltry charge of allowing public services to be interrupted by persons not members or licentiates of the Church of Scotland.

Then the arm of the church trustees and the London Presbytery, who all along had denied the reality of the spiritual gifts, was suddenly strengthened by the public recantation of their former testimony by two of the prophets - Notably Robert Baxter whose retraction reached printed form in:

'A Narrative of Facts' (London 1833)

Irving's last moving appeal to the trustees made no impression. He was found unfit by the Trustees and deposed from his charge. Next morning, as the crowds gathered for early prayers, they found the gate locked against Irving, and themselves. Henceforth, Irving had to resort to open-air preaching and was obliged to book halls for the celebration of Holy Communion by his still numerous following. The final blow from the church he loved and tried to serve according to his lights came in 1833. Not satisfied with his London downfall, the Annan Presbytery revived the old charge of heresy. He was accused on the basis of his last publication on the Incarnation - he had described Our Lord as sinful; he was deposed.

From the moment of his ministerial deposition the

Catholic and Apostolic Church began to take shape. The spiritual gift which was dominant was plainly prophecy. Through prophetic utterances, the Holy Ghost spoke to the Church as he had in Agabus' day, as he had in the time of Montanus. Irving had dutifully tested the spirits when the manifestations first occurred and acknowledged the utterances as truly the authentic voice of the Holy Spirit. How then could any Christian not listen to and obey such prophetic utterances?

It ~~is~~ meant in fact that by recognising the prophets as genuine, Irving had virtually handed over leadership of the new spirit-filled community - that remnant expelled with him from Regent Square - to the prophets. He himself claimed no exceptional spiritual gift consequently he now became a follower rather than a leader.

Now a completely new authority was set up over the embryonic Catholic Apostolic Church in the person of two apostles appointed by prophecy. Prophecy also declared that the Church of Scotland having withdrawn Irving's commission, his position of 'pastor-angel' of the congregation must remain in abeyance. When the prophetic voice proclaimed his re-instatement he was allowed to resume his office only by ordination at the hands of the new apostolate.

Not surprisingly, Irving, who in intellectual and spiritual stature stood head and shoulders over his 'superiors', was not happy in the new situation:

'Something of the unhappiness and lostness of Irving in this period was evident in his sermons: the glow and fire was gone; gone also was the striking word, passionate phrase. Apt was the comment of his contemporaries: he is burning out.'

The light went out altogether, remarkably soon after. Irving died on December 7th 1834 and was buried, rather surprisingly in view of his own church's coldness and final rejection in his lifetime, in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral.

Thomas Carlyle, a friend and also fierce critic of his Pentecostal period, is best left to say the last word:

'My poor friend, Irving; men thought him daft: but he was dazed. I have heard that the eagle becomes blind in gazing with unveiled eyes upon the sun.

Thus Irving tried to do what no man may do and live - to gaze full into the brightness of the Deity, and so blindness fell upon him.'

B) The Port Glasgow Phenomena

Compared with the almost simultaneous happenings at Regent Square, London, the Holy Spirit manifestations at Port Glasgow in Scotland were set in quieter, less formal and certainly less tense circumstances. There had been no chain of events leading to the moment of crisis as in Edward Irving's life. These Scottish manifestations were entirely spontaneous, arising from the simple, Bible-based faith of very ordinary Christian folk living in and around Port Glasgow.

In his letters, Thomas Erskine,<sup>1</sup> Scottish theologian, paints the setting of this strange story 'in a cottage at the head of the Gareloch' - lived two sisters, Isabella and Mary Campbell, both remarkable for their beauty and saintliness of character. Isabella died young, beloved and revered as a saint in her short life, and later the place where she prayed, beside the burn, became something of a shrine.

On a Sunday in March, 1830, Mary Campbell fell ill with the same sickness as her sister. Godly friends knelt round her bed praying, rather surprisingly, not specifically for Mary's recovery, but for nothing less than full restoration of the gifts of the Primitive Church. Suddenly, as if possessed by a superhuman strength, Mary broke forth speaking in an unknown tongue in loud ecstatic utterances for more than an hour.

1. Thomas Erskine: 'Letters : 1830-1835'

Opposite the Gareloch, across the Clyde, lay the town of Port Glasgow. There lived James and George MacDonald, twin brothers, and their sister. Two years before they had become extraordinarily devout, reading nothing but the Bible. Furthermore they had begun to attend the preaching of a certain 'Rev. Mr. Campbell' - none other than McCleod Campbell, 'advanced' theologian, a close friend and disciple of Irving's and minister of Rhu, a neighbouring parish. 'Yet', records Erskine, 'Until the eve of the miraculous manifestations in them, the subject of spiritual gifts did not at all attract their attention.'

The twin brothers, MacDonald, worked as shipwrights in a Port Glasgow shipyard. At home their sister Margaret apparently lay dying. Her sister said later:

'Mrs - and myself had been sitting quietly at her bedside, when the power of the Spirit came upon her. She said, 'There will be a mighty Baptism of the Spirit this day.' And she broke forth in a most marvellous setting forth of the wonderful works of God. This continued for 2 - 3 hours in mingled praise, prayer and exhortation.'

At dinner-time James and George came home from the shipyard and their sister Margaret addressed them at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James that he might be

endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost immediately, James, at the window, calmly said: 'I've got it.' Then he walked to Margaret's bedside and addressed her in these words:

'Arise and stand upright.' He repeated these words and took her hand and she arose.

That same evening James wrote to Fernicarry, where the Campbell sisters lived 'at the head of the Gareloch', telling Mary the startling news and urged her to a similar act of faith. When Mary Campbell read his 'command to arise' - 'at the voice of Jesus, I was surely made in a moment to stand upon my feet, leap and walk, sing and rejoice: O that men would ~~praise~~ praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!'<sup>1</sup>

Whereupon she arose from her bed, apparently restored instantaneously to health, and then began to speak with tongues and exercised a gift of prophecy.

After her recovery, Mary Campbell lived during the summer of 1830 at Helensburgh

'Here there were meetings innumerable and manifestations extraordinary. To speaking in tongues was added writing in an unknown tongue! The gift of prophecy was widely exercised - inspired exalted utterances, opening up some obscure scripture passage; enforcing some neglected duty, or breaking forth ecstatically into prayer or praise.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Psalm 107:vv 8,15,21 and 31.

2. Thomas Erskine: 'Letters: 1830-1835'

On one occasion Mary Campbell announced that she was speaking Turkish or the language of the Pelew Islanders and she added, in English, that she was going to convert the heathen by these means.<sup>1</sup>

Crowds now began to gather round the attractive young enthusiast: 'merchants, divinity students, advocates etc.' From Edinburgh, Dr. Thomas Chalmers with whom Edward Irving served as an assistant,<sup>2</sup> wrote to Rev. Robert Storey, minister of Roseneath - another acquaintance of Irving's - asking for information about the Port Glasgow phenomena, and, if possible, for him to obtain a copy of some of the writing in an unknown tongue. Storey at once visited Mary Campbell at Helensburgh. On leaving her she held his hand and she spoke in an unknown tongue for one hour! Not surprisingly, Storey reported back to Chalmers in Edinburgh:

'These things are of God and not men.'

The area of the Port Glasgow manifestations was now enlarged. To the spiritual gifts already in use was added the gift of Interpretation, and by both brothers MacDonald these gifts were in constant use. They were then bestowed upon others and prophetic utterances abounded. The excitement grew intense and the crowds of visitors continued to multiply. Wrote the sisters MacDonald:

1. 'Knox, ~~quoting~~ Drummond: 'Enthusiasm' p.146. quoting Drummond H.

2. See p.179

'The house has been filled every day with people from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland.'

News of the Port Glasgow manifestations reached London and a delegation of five was sent north from the Regent Square Church to investigate; they stayed three weeks before returning south to pour out their joyful news of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost on the MacDonalds. Very significantly similar manifestations began to occur from then on in the Regent Square church.

Another independent witness had followed them to Port Glasgow. So impressed was he with what he discovered he stayed six weeks with the MacDonalds in their humble home. This independent witness was Thomas Erskine; a man of considerable intellectual, literary, and spiritual powers. Educated at Edinburgh University, in 1810 he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates. On succeeding to the family estates at Sinlathen, he gave up the Bar and devoted himself to the study of theology; making personal contacts with religious and philosophical thinkers of diverse views in many countries. His writings included: 'Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the truth of Revealed Religion' (1820); an 'Essay on Faith' (1822); 'The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel' (1828) and the 'Brazen Serpent' (1831).

This was the calibre of the independent witness who descended upon the MacDonalds at Port Glasgow to investigate the alleged phenomena for himself. His six weeks sojourn led to his complete conviction of the reality of these Scottish manifestations and his entire impressions he embodied in a tract: 'On the gifts of the Spirit' (183). He wrote that he saw nothing in Scripture against the re-appearance or continuance of the gifts - in fact he saw a great deal of internal evidence in the West Country (of Scotland) to prove their genuine miraculous character, especially in the speaking with tongues.

The theatre of spiritual manifestations now moved to London. Erskine had great hopes that the Pentecostal outpourings would bring a 'healing of the hurt' - the iniquitous divisions, as he saw them, between the denominations. Instead the switch of emphasis from Port Glasgow to London saw the emergence of yet another sect - the Catholic Apostolic Church with its apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors; notable among the apostles was not Irving, but Henry Drummond who with the Albury Circle had played a decisive part in bringing Edward Irving into his present predicament.<sup>1</sup>

But, for Erskine, this was very far from the 'healing of the hurt' which he had been long seeking to bring the churches together. Now, for the first time, he began to doubt

1. See p. 184

and distrust the efficacy, even the reality, of the 1830 'Outpouring of the Spirit'. Writing to Lady Elgin on March 18th, 1834, he said:

'The circumstances which shook me regarding James MacDonald on two occasions when he spoke with remarkable power. I discovered the seed of his utterances in the newspaper. MacDonald had read foolish rumours of George IV's death - that the Minister had some reason for keeping it quiet until arrangements were made..... This remained in James MacDonald's mind and was uttered in the power of the Spirit.'<sup>1</sup>

Erskine also acknowledged the possibility of other prophetic utterances of war in N.Europe, which were not fulfilled as it proved, emanating from the same sources.

It seems that the MacDonalds, from the time of the visit of the London Delegation, were originally strong supporters of Edward Irving. But, by 1834 the year of his death, their attitude towards the embryonic Catholic and Apostolic Church had changed radically. Writing to Rachel Erskine on April 10th Erskine mentions he has heard from James MacDonald at Port Glasgow that 'the Spirit among them had testified against the London Mission: They were deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Letter to Lady Elgin: 18/3/34.

2. Letter to Rachel Erskine: 10/4/34.

Erskine, despite his initial enthusiasm and later disillusionments, never recorded the alleged words of the Holy Ghost dictated through the MacDonalds. The MacDonalds were against bringing anything into existence which might be put into opposition to the Bible. This particular point was grounds for a further quarrel with 'The London Mission'; the latter insisting on putting tongues before the Bible.

Howbeit, by 1837, Erskine is entirely disillusioned by both the 'London Mission' - now the Catholic and Apostolic Church - and also with the MacDonalds and their Port Glasgow connection. In a note appended to his Treatise on Election he writes:

'In two former tracts I have expressed my conviction that the remarkable manifestations which I witnessed in certain individuals in the West of Scotland about eight years ago were the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. Since then I have come to think differently and I do not believe that they were so. But I still continue to think that for anyone whose expectations are formed by and founded on the declarations of the New Testament the disappearance of these gifts from the Church must be a greater difficulty than their reappearance could possibly be.'<sup>1</sup>

Yet for all Thomas Erskine's disillusionment, there was about the Post Glasgow manifestations, at the beginning at

1. Thomas Erskine: 'Treatise on Elections' 1837.

least, something which was strikingly fresh and spontaneous. Unprecedented by any preparation - apart from fervent prayer of short duration, with no working up of tension, it was just an incident of simple Christian folk crying out in their need to the Almighty for healing and spiritual strength. Their need was met in, what was to them, a fully satisfying and completely spontaneous manner.

H.Henderson sums up all comment on the 1830 phenomena this way:

'The Movement was a rural Montanism on a small scale. At best both were earnest protests against a wordly church and an unspiritual religion. As such they did their work well and with all their extravagances and excrescences deserve to be remembered.' <sup>1</sup>

1. H.Henderson: 'Erskine of Finlathen: Selection and Biography'

THE SECOND EVANGELICAL REVIVAL: 1858-59

Within the United Kingdom the Second Evangelical Revival began in Ulster. And Northern Ireland, for all its dour Scots/Irish citizens, had witnessed the outpourings of the Holy Ghost in a previous century. In the years 1625-34 the long and zealous labours of the Prebyterian clergy began to be blessed. 'With the revival of religion, a remarkable improvement in the habits and demeanour of the people was speedily effected.'<sup>1</sup> Remarkable for our study was the many instances of swoonings, violent breathings, convulsions and prostrations which occurred during public worship.

Ulster then, for all its Presbyterian sobriety, had known Revival, accompanied by startling manifestations, before. Setting the scene for the 1858 Revival, W. Gibson<sup>2</sup> describes the spiritual condition of the Irish Presbyterian Church up to then as, 'Laodicean wanderings towards Unitarianism,' but also refers to a steady process of purification and preparation going forward in the years prior to the Revival. First, part of this process was a return to orthodoxy by many of the clergy, in their preaching and teaching, followed by auspicious indications of returning spiritual life. Secondly, again underlining the important part played by the clergy and a strong point of contact with the period of steady preparation which preceded

1. Reid and Killin: 'History of the Irish Presbyterian Church' Vol.I. p.114f.
2. W. Gibson: 'The Year of Grace'.

the 1625 Ulster Revival, a generation of energetic and devoted ministers had been raised up ~~ca~~ which was burdened for Revival. At the same time there was among both clergy and laity a growing conviction of the insufficiency of all human agency; and an intense longing for the descent of Divine Influence. Thirdly, open-air preaching was again practised: Sabbath-Schools multiplied. Prayer-meetings grew up in many districts: sacred music was cultivated. There was also a growth of Bible Classes; for adults, as well as children, and a great increase in tract distribution.

Early in 1858 there came the news of the American Revival. The seed of this was a few prayer-meetings in New York. At first only a faithful few attended these early morning gatherings for prayer for Revival. Soon the numbers increased, astonishingly, to hundreds who crowded into these, by now, inadequate buildings. Gibson at once visited North America to see the out-working of the Revival for himself and noted its noiseless character and freedom from tumultuous agitations - clearly unlike other periods of Revival e.g. Kentucky in 1805 and Jonathan Edwardes' evangelistic campaign in New England in the early Eighteenth Century. Gibson adds this comment on the 1858 North American Revival:

'The absence of physical concomitants in the late effusion of the Spirit is a theme of general congratulation.'<sup>1</sup>

1. W. Gibson: 'The Year of Grace' p.325

The Ulster Revival, which ensued, was to be startlingly different.

The birthplace of the Revival in Northern Ireland was the Connor district. And 'in the spring of 1858 a very interesting work of grace began to manifest itself in a congregation in the neighbourhood of Ballymena'<sup>1</sup> - this, presumably, is the Ahogill First Presbyterian Church. In Killin's 'History of the Irish Presbyterian Church' an account of the opening stage of the Revival is recorded:

The Rev. J. H. Moore, pastor of Connor, writes to the General Assembly:

'During the succeeding months, and throughout the winter, a silent work of grace was gradually extending over the whole congregation of Connor, insomuch that, when spring arrived, that some hundreds had been savingly brought under its benign influence.'

In its early stages, then, the local revival in Connor followed the New York pattern. This 'silent work' went on to pervade a large portion of Belfast, Ballymena, Coleraine and Londonderry, where vast multitudes assembled to engage in religious exercises. It penetrated into secluded rural districts where no means whatever had been employed to produce excitement, and where the minister, in the first instance, often looked

1. Reid and Killin: 'History of the Irish Presbyterian Church' Vol. III. p. 509.

unfavourably on its manifestations. At the commencement nothing remarkable appeared among the worshippers except the ordinary indications of earnest attention and profound emotion. But as the work extended some cried out in agony, strong men became weak as infants, and many persons, of both sexes, were stricken down.

W. Gibson places the first manifestations earlier than J. Moore. As early as January 1859 he records an incident at Crossgar, Co. Down:

'A young man supposed himself dying. Rev. J. G. Thompson the local minister, pays him a visit. The young man is in a great state of bodily weakness. Thompson learns he had been sick of soul prior to his bodily sickness, and the former is the cause of the latter. The young man said he had been greatly impressed by a sermon preached on Judges III, v. 20. Alarmed on account of his sin and the punishment due, the young man said he could get no rest day or night. He loudly cried for mercy and did not cry in vain. He knocked and the door was opened to him. He obtained pardon and peace after a severe struggle by which he was left in a state of severe weakness. He was unable to walk for 2-3 days and not fit for 2 months. When he was first afflicted he complained of a heavy weight about his heart which he

considered was associated with the idea of sin. This was removed when the Holy Spirit came into his heart.'<sup>1</sup>

Orr also records instances of prostration at Ahogill as early as March 14th of that year:

'A layman preached in the rain and scores were prostrated under an intense conviction of sin.'<sup>2</sup>

The work in Ahogill, from the outset, was largely characterised by these physical effects, which henceforth to a greater or lesser extent marked its onward progress. Such instantaneous seizures, so different in their character from the slow methods to which the Church had been accustomed, was naturally regarded with some suspicion and alarm, as introducing a new process in regeneration. And not without an internal struggle were many brought to admit their genuineness. It was impossible to deny that most blessed results were to be found associated with these affections, and that Society in all its aspects was undergoing a wondrous transformation.

W.Gibson was a close and detailed observer of the Ulster prostrations and describes for us what he calls the 'Stages of the bodily affection':

'This is preceded by a longer or shorter period of an agonising sense of sin; sometimes lying dully on the conscience for weeks and months together, sometimes

1. 'The Year of Grace': Ch.IV.

2. Orr: 'The Second Evangelical Awakening' p.42.

overwhelming, as in a moment, by its intolerable pressure and violently demonstrative in its manifestations.'

He lists four distinct stages in Prostration:

- 1) An awful apprehension of impending evil - all one can do is await the issue. A period of fierce wrestling, real or imagined, with the Evil One, whose personality is apprehended with terrible distinctness.
- 2) A very sudden transition from deep depression to a calmer state. A sort of waking dream. Arms stretched forth as if to embrace a cherished object. Utterances: 'O, Blessed Jesus, Come!'
- 3) A sense of relief. Assurance of forgiveness prompting an outburst of rapturous praise. New born happiness seeks audible expression - a dominant desire to commend Christ to all around.
- 4) Languor and exhaustion - natural re-action from the intense excitement - strong men were often unfitted for work for any manner of days. <sup>1</sup>

In April the same kind of visible phenomena occurred in Ballymena, and it is worthwhile to compare Gibson's analysis of the Ahogill prostrations with S.J.Moore's 'analysis of the remarkable happenings in Ballymena'. This he recorded in his

1. W.Gibson: 'The Year of Grace' pp.50, 51

'History of the Presbyterian Revival in Ballymena' :

- 1) The extra conviction of sin made the burden of sin loathsome and intolerable.
- 2) An intense fear, in some cases accompanied by extreme physical weakness or collapse lasting minutes, hours or days.
- 3) Memory is revived 'inconceivably'; past sin remembered vividly, as well as long forgotten passages of Scripture learned in childhood.
- 4) Once through their 'trying experience', converts are united in glorifying Christ, in demonstrating affection for the brethren; in anxiety for the unconverted and in delight in Bible reading; the illiterate made strenuous efforts to read. <sup>1</sup>

Gibson, the keener observer and probably more spiritually attuned, gives a profounder analysis of each stage in the prostration but omits Moore's homely details which make the experience ring so true to the Evangelical Christian.

A third witness of 'these remarkable happening' is the Ballymena observer for March 26th 1859 which throws a more detailed, if less sympathetic light on -

'The Extraordinary Religious Excitement at Ahogill.'

1. S.J.Moore: 'History of the Presbyterian Revival at Ballymena'

'The movement in this immediate neighbourhood has assumed the startling character of unexpected and instantaneous 'conversions' accompanied by the physical and spiritual operations of some overwhelming power upon the minds and bodies of the parties so converted..... In this extraordinary agitation of mind and body, the penitent continues to struggle for an indefinite period - generally for less than 2 days; and finally becomes impressed with a gladdening sense of peace and grace, quite as suddenly as he has previously been impressed with fear.

From that moment he is apparently a changed and converted man; he has been, as he affirms, born anew, and he proclaims his conversion as having been accomplished by the direct intervention and visible agency of the Holy Spirit. He is then one of the confirmed and takes rank and fellowship with the others who have passed into new life by a similar ordeal.....

But it is greatly to be feared something is seriously wrong - that a species of self-delusion or superstitious fanaticism is prevalent in the neighbourhood, which if not speedily attended to, may eventuate in lamentable consequences. The local clergy seem to be aware of this, and possibly with a view to prevent the realities of

genuine religion in a proper light, a public meeting, under the direction and management of Presbyterian ministers, was convened in the Presbyterian Church at Ahogill on the 14th.

The congregation was immense - hundreds were unable to obtain admittance and the new converts the 'confirmed' from all parts of the neighbourhood, were present on this occasion. Soon after commencement of the services an impulse to address the audience fell suddenly, and apparently with all the power of prophetic inspiration upon one of the 'converted' brethren. Every attempt to silence or restrain him were impossible. He declared a revelation had been committed to him, and that he spoke by command of a power superior to any ministerial authority. Defying every effort at control he proceeded to vociferate phrases with a rapidity and fluency which excited the most intense astonishment and created a panic of very serious alarm among the audience. Consequently with the situation near panic the meeting was cleared.

When the premises were empty the streets of Ahogill presented another scene which baffles all powers of description. The leading 'convert' - a comfortable farmer and a member of the congregation - assisted by several other speakers of the 'confirmed' class, addressed

the people numbering some 3,000. The chief speaker proclaimed pardon to all sinners, inviting them to come forward and receive the spirit of adoption, which he declared himself commissioned to impart - occasionally holding up his hands and bidding the people to receive the Holy Ghost.

The immense assemblage appeared to be thoroughly paralysed. Amid a chilling rain, and on streets covered with mud, fresh 'converts' moved by the fervency and apostolic language of the speaker, fell upon their knees in the attitude of prayer; a spark of electricity appeared to have animated and impressed a large number of the audience; and it has been confidently affirmed that some who went to mock were heard to pray.

Such are the local effects of the extraordinary movement and the result is that the devotees continue firmly rooted and grounded in the belief they are under the immediate inspiration and guidance of the Divine Spirit. Their meetings are multiplied in numbers, and the 'new births' are daily upon the increase.<sup>1</sup>

While the Ballymena Observer's correspondent is obviously not at home with Evangelical terminology and casts

1. Ballymena Observer: 23/3/59.

considerable doubt upon the genuineness of the manifestations, he records the happenings at Ahogill in such a detailed way that it is quite clear the whole atmosphere, both within the meeting-hall and later in the street outside, was one of Pentecostal visitation.

The pattern ~~is~~ closely resembles that of the First Evangelical Revival in that glossalalia is absent among the manifestations. However, as with Wesley and his followers, the same Pentecostal phraseology recurs - the converted brother who spoke with all the power of prophetic inspiration; his claim that a divine revelation had been committed to him; the vociferate phrases uttered with rapidity and fluency - very near, surely, if not actually, to Irvingite prophecy? And later, in the streets outside, the leading convert bidding the people to receive the Holy Ghost! - and all this, plus the startling and very numerous prostrations - almost identical to those occurring during the preaching of Wesley, Whitfield and Berridge a century before - makes the Ulster Revival of 1859 a worthy candidate for inclusion in our study.

The Revival continued throughout the remainder of the year into 1860. In June at Belfast most of the Evangelical churches were open and crowded for weekday services. Friends of the Revival in Belfast estimated that 10,000 were converted in the weeks and months which followed; only a small proportion

violently by prostration. The Belfast News Letter for that month recorded that 'cases of conviction and conversion without bodily effect exceeded those that were effected by 100-1'.

In early July the Revival broke out at Portadown. Many services, attracting thousands, were held in the open air and there were numerous cases of bodily prostration.

By January 1860 the Revival reached Dublin but here there were few cases of prostration or outcry. The Revival in South and West Ireland was also entirely without the startling effects of Ulster.

There was another manifestation which tended to be overlooked in the widespread interest in the more spectacular ones: visions. This is referred to by E.A. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath, in his pamphlet 'The Work and Counterwork.' Archdeacon Stopford visited Belfast at the height of the Revival to ascertain for himself what he says he had already suspected, that the manifestations, especially prostration, were due in his opinion to hysteria rather than the direct work of the Holy Spirit. His observations are considered more fully in Part II of this study: 'Appraisal'.<sup>1</sup> But it is appropriate here to record that he mentions visions among the Revival manifestations:

1. See p. 377

'Visions are one of the most ordinary phenomena of hysteria. Almost every girl struck in Belfast has visions, and would be greatly disappointed if she had not. These visions are naturally mistaken for revelations from God. And this is the more natural as these are often attended with a remarkable flow of ideas and words which I have before noticed as being so easily mistaken for the gift of prayer. Therefore, it is easy to imagine how little consequence the Scriptures become to the ignorant person who believes they have a direct revelation from God. This is Irving and his prophetesses over again!'<sup>1</sup>

Among the criticisms levelled at the Ulster Revival is the suggestion that things too often got out of hand at Revivalist meetings because there was insufficient direction of the movement and control of events from the ministers and parish clergy. However that may be, the Revival and its effects, both spiritual and physical, received close scrutiny from the two major denominations in Ulster: the Irish Presbyterian Church and the Church of Ireland (Episcopal).

In July 1859 the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church met in Dublin. Two whole sessions were devoted to consideration of 'this gracious visitation:

1. E.A. Stopford: 'Work and Counterwork, or the Religious Revival in Belfast with an explanation of the Physical Phenomena'. p.57

'A feeling of intense solemnity prevailed; and many present at these conferences joyfully testified that they had never been so much refreshed and improved by deliberations at a church judicatory. The following resolutions were passed:

- 1) We desire to express profound thankfulness to God that it has pleased him to pour out this Spirit on so many of our congregation. And that we recognize with reverence and awe, and at the same time inexpressible joy, that sovereign and infinite grace, which not withstanding our many shortcomings, has bestowed upon us such evident and abundant tokens of divine favour.
- 2) The Assembly prayed for wisdom, power, love and a sound mind to know what it ought to do in this time of special visitation.
- 3) The brethren were earnestly reminded of the necessity of guarding on the one hand against cherishing undue suspicion of the reality of the work of the Holy Spirit; and on the other of adopting any course of procedure whereby our people may be led to mistake bodily impressions, or even convictions of sin, for genuine conversion to God.
- 4) We would earnestly entreat all our ministers and members to watch against the introduction, from any quarter, or error in doctrine or practice, lest Satan

should get advantage over us, and the Spirit of Truth be forced to withdraw.<sup>1</sup>

Not only Presbyterian congregations, but also Church of Ireland congregations had been affected and often greatly increased in numbers by the Revival. Consequently Bishop Knox, bishop of the united diocese of Down, Connor and Dromore invited all his parish clergy to Belfast to hear their opinions regarding the Revival 'which had his careful support'.<sup>2</sup> All agreed it was a work of God but there was some difference of opinion among the clergy regarding prostrations. Some regarded them, like Stopford, as produced by hysteria, others believed them to be a divine method of conviction.

Whatever the source of the spiritual phenomena, physical or supernatural, certain hard facts attested to the effectiveness of the Revival in general: all classes seemed as if awed by the presence of a great and mysterious visitation; religion was the common topic of discourse; houses of worship (on weekdays) were crowded, drunkenness checked, crime declined:

'In 1857 in Connor: 37 drink offences. 1858 - 11; 1859 - 4. Prisoners for trial at Antrim Quarter Sessions: 10 in 1859; half the number for 1858!

At Ballymena Quarter Sessions in 1860 there were no indictments. Similarly at Londonderry in 1860: no indictments.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Reid & Killin: 'History of the Irish Presbyterian Church Vol.III. pp.509f.
2. Orr: 'The Second Evangelical Awakening'. p.42f.
3. Reid & Killin: 'History of the Irish Presbyterian Church.

The 1859 Revival elsewhere in the United Kingdom

A. Scotland

Again, quite surprisingly, it was among the dour Scots Presbyterians that the Revival was accompanied by physical manifestations. These were frequent; dominant among them, as in Ulster, were prostrations. Port Glasgow gained prominence as a centre of the Revival, and the 'North British Daily Mail' of August 25th 1859 recorded there a 'remarkable awakening'.<sup>1</sup> A notable revivalist meeting took place in Provost Bookmyre's store with 2,000 present and numerous prostrations. The newspaper mentions nothing of speaking in tongues or any of the other rich profusion of spiritual gifts so abundant during the 1830 visitation.

All the reports of the Revival in Scotland contained instances of prostration, and the 'Nonconformist' of October 26th 1859 describes this Scottish manifestation as: 'similar physical phenomena as occurred in Ulster.'<sup>2</sup> In the capital, Edinburgh itself, two physical manifestations only were displayed in Carrubber's Close Mission during the course of the Revival. Nevertheless, the movement traversed the whole breadth of the land reaching as far north as the Orkneys where the physical manifestations displayed themselves 'with the usual deep conviction followed on occasion by prostration.'<sup>3</sup>

1. North British Daily Mail: 25/8/59.
2. The Nonconformist: 26/10/59
3. Orr: 'The Second Evangelical Awakening'.

The critics of the Scottish Revival movement were answered at the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. Concerning the prostrations, Mr. Kelma of Glasgow claimed that, although they might be explained from natural causes, the Spirit of God had used them for purposes of good.

Orr comments on the Revival in Scotland; although his concluding sentence is open to question:

'There was not the degree of controversy in Scotland as in Ireland: the manifestations in Ireland were completely novel.<sup>1</sup> The Scottish leaders knew what to expect.'

B) Wales:

No instances of the more dramatic manifestations occurred during the course of the Revival in Wales apart from an incident at Dolgelly.<sup>2</sup> In his history of the 1859 Welsh Revival, J.J.Morgan records:

'The Calvinist pastor at Dolgelly received a message that the young people were in distress in the vestry of the church: 'I saw there the most terrible spectacle of my experience: some were on their knees, some were on their faces, completely overpowered. The following Sabbath was unparalleled to me and to the Dolgelly

1. J. Edwin Orr: 'The Second Evangelical Awakening' (cp. p. 203 of this study.)

2. cp. Orr. p. 80

congregation. There were loud outcries from souls in agony, and 35 sought a place in God's house.<sup>1</sup>

C) England:

The Revival in England was particularly active and successful in the West Midlands. Beginning a little later than in Ulster, the movement had moved from Walsall, Wednesbury and West Bromwich to Birmingham, Derby and Sheffield. A distinctive feature of the Revival in the West Midlands were the 'Hallelujah Bands'; crowds of Revivalist enthusiasts massed at vantage points in the streets, firing off 'Hallelujahs' like volleys of musketry.<sup>2</sup> However, in general, the 1859 Revival in England, unlike Ulster and Scotland, was unaccompanied by the more dramatic manifestations of the Holy Spirit.

1. J.J.Morgan: 'The '59 Revival in Wales'. p.113.  
J. Pennhewis 'The Awakening in Wales' p.3.  
2. 'The Leicester Mercury',  
'The Revival' 17/11/1864.

THE WELSH REVIVAL OF 1904

Wales, like Ulster, was a land of periodic revivals. At the time of the Eighteenth Century Revival and the Rise of Methodism, 'all Wales was ablaze' with religious revival led by such men as Howell Harris<sup>1</sup> and Daniel Roberts<sup>2</sup>. When the revival receded, Wales had gained the Calvinistic Methodist Church and much of its rich hymnology. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century another revival led by John Elias with his theological sermons, William of Wen with his philosophical sermons, proclaiming doctrines of grace, each in his own way, overpowering their hearers, throwing them into a religious ecstasy, and once again the large congregations shouted and sang with joy. This second Revival, writes J. Cynddylan Jones, 'gave us our Theology'<sup>3</sup>. Dr. Owen was rendered into the vernacular: 'The Person of Christ', 'Justification', 'The Work of the Holy Spirit'; together with Matthew Henry's Commentary and other Puritan books.

'In the absence of light literature, the farmers and peasantry spend their long winter evenings pondering over these books, discussing their

1. See Whitfield's comment, p.164 of this study.
2. Intro. 'The Awakening in Wales', p.1.
3. 'The Awakening', p.3.

teaching in their adult Sunday Schools and their week evening meetings. The result: they became thoroughly grounded in the fundamental doctrines of Salvation. Puritanism entered the blood of Welshmen.....<sup>1</sup>

By 1850 the enthusiasm of those former days had died out, but another nine years later, coinciding with the Second Evangelical Revival in Ulster and England,<sup>2</sup> a third revival broke out in Wales. Humphrey Jones, a young Wesleyan minister, caught the fire of the American Revival, crossed the ocean to convey the flame to his own land. After four months his nervous system broke down. But he had not laboured in vain. He imparted his fire to a neighbour - Rev. David Morgan, a Calvinistic Minister; a man of splendid physique. He toured the country from Holyhead to Cardiff, speaking as one inspired, towered high above all his compeers during the three years of his strange uplifting. Crowds hung upon his lips, the ungodly cried out in agony of soul, the saints shouted for joy - noise like the noise of many of waters. All the country was aflame. It was computed 100,000 converts were added to the churches. What was left after this wave of religious fervour had subsided? The number of places of worship in Wales had been doubled,

1. 'The Awakening', p.3.

2. See p.220 of this study.

thousands of schools had been built, three national colleges established - all testifying to an intense love of learning. As J. Cynddylan Jones puts it in his introduction to 'The Awakening in Wales':

'Every Revival, like the overflowing of the Nile leaves a rich deposit behind to fertilize the national character.'<sup>1</sup>

This was the historical seedbed for the fourth and greatest revival of religion in Wales. Henri Bois refers sardonically to the 'social aspect'; that the Welsh, having little by way of attraction in their homes, turned their chapels into a kind of cabaret'.<sup>2</sup> But Mrs. Penn Lewis, a more spiritually minded observer, according to J. Cynddylan Jones,<sup>3</sup> spotlights for her a more serious element in the years immediately prior to the Revival: isolated cottage prayer-meetings where prayer had been offered to Almighty God for a great out pouring of His Spirit in Revival.

In 1904 'the waters broke' and Revival burst upon a startled Wales. Mrs. Penn Lewis was convinced that the 'preparatory work of the Holy Spirit explains why the river of God appeared to break out in so many districts at the same time

1. 'The Awakening', p.5.

2. Henri Bois: 'Le Reveil au pays de Galles'.

3. 'The Awakening' p.5.

in November 1904: Carmarthen, Morriston, Swansea, both Church of England and None, Neath, Bridgend (in 1904 there commenced a remarkable demonstration of the Spirit), Dowlais, Monmouthshire, Cardiff, Penarth (600 converts added to one church; drunkards, thieves, gamblers and others being rescued, and are now among the best workers in the service of Christ.)<sup>1</sup>

Hollenweger is more specific as to the actual place of the origin of the Welsh Revival. He writes:

'The Revival in Wales, which played such an important part in the origin of Pentecostalism, began in Joseph Jenkin's church in New Quay on Cardigan Bay. After a sermon, Miss Florrie Evans went to Jenkins. She told him she could not acknowledge Jesus as her Lord because she could not know in advance what he would demand of her. The conversations which followed were without success. But at a testimony meeting in Jenkin's church she said, 'If no one else will, I must say that I do love my Lord Jesus with all my heart.' These words had an indelible electric effect on the congregation. Instantly the Holy

1. Penn Lewis, 'The Awakening', p. 62

Spirit came down upon the meeting. They were all seized with indescribable excitement, a flood of tears burst forth. One after another all stood up and placed their lives under the rule of God. The revival had begun. Now at last there was proof of the presence of God, for he was in the midst of them.<sup>1</sup>

Those converted included Evan Roberts, his brother Dan Roberts, the Davies sisters - 'The Singing Sisters' who later accompanied him - Mrs. Mary Jones, Evan Lloyd Jones and Sydney Evans.<sup>2</sup> However, Professor Hollenweger appears to be unsure of the place of Evan Roberts' conversion when he goes on to mention 'the powerful evangelistic talent' of Seth Joshua, a Methodist minister, by whose preaching Evan Roberts was converted.<sup>3</sup> However and wherever Evan Roberts was converted, he rapidly became the dominant figure in the Revival. Mrs. Penn Lewis in fact describes him as 'the spearhead of the Welsh Revival'. Here she is supported by Henri Bois, Protestant professor ~~for~~ <sup>at</sup> Montauban. As a professor of theology and psychological analyser of religious phenomena, he had, suggests Professor Hollenweger, the necessary equipment for a proper judgment.<sup>4</sup> And it was as a shrewd and

1. Hollenweger, 'The Pentecostals', p.176 (see Henri Bois, *Le Reveil dans le pays de Galles*, p. 62; W.T.Stead, 'The Revival in Wales', p.36f; J. Jenkins, *South Wales Daily News*. 16.XI.1903.
2. Hollenweger, p.177.
3. Hollenweger, p.179.
4. Hollenweger, p.193, n.1.

also a sympathetic observer of the 'middle' period of the Revival that he quotes a local magistrate's view of Evan Roberts' role in the 1904 spiritual awakening in Wales:

'That which distinguishes the present Revival from other Welsh Revivals is the place qu'y occupe<sup>par</sup> le role qu'y joue la figure centrale, Evan Roberts.'<sup>1</sup>

Evan Roberts was born on August 6th 1878, at Loughor, into a family of ten children. At the age of 12 he started work at the local pit as a door-boy. A sign of his already strong faith was his custom of taking his bible with him to the pit for prayer later. On one occasion an explosion occurred in the pit and the bible was scorched, but retrieved to be used on many other occasions. As he grew to manhood, so he began a man's job - cutting coal at the coal face. But Evan Roberts was not destined to spend his life at the coalface. At the age of 24 he left the pit and entered a Methodist preparation school for the Ministry.

It was in the Spring of 1904 that he experienced his first manifestation of the Holy Spirit; what he later called his 'Baptism in the Spirit'.

'For 13 years I prayed that I might receive the Spirit. I had been led to pray by a remark of

1. Bois, 'Le Reveil au pays de Galles,' quoting Sir Marchant Williams.

William Davies, one of the deacons: 'Be faithful! Supposing the Spirit were to come down and you were not there. Remember Thomas and how much he lost from not being present on the evening of the Resurrection.'

So I said to myself: 'I want to receive the Spirit at any price.' And I continually went to meetings despite all difficulties. Often, as I saw the other boys putting out to sea in their boats, I was tempted to turn round and join them. But no. I said to myself, 'Remember your resolution to be faithful,' and I would go to the meeting. A Prayer Meeting on Monday evening at the Methodist Chapel. A Prayer Meeting for the Sunday School on Tuesday evening at 'Pisgah'. A meeting at the Church on Wednesday evening. Band of Hope meeting on Thursday evening. I supported all these faithfully for years. For ten or eleven years I prayed for revival. I spent whole nights reading accounts of revivals or talking about them. It was the Spirit who in this way was driving me to think about revival.

One Friday evening that Spring (1904) as I was

praying at my bedside before going to bed, I was taken up into a great expanse - without time or space. It was communion with God. Up to that time I had only had a God who was far off. That evening I was afraid, but that fear has never come back. I trembled so violently that the bed shook, and my brother was awakened and took hold of me, thinking I was ill.

After this experience I woke each night about one o'clock in the morning. It was the more strange, as usually I slept like a log and no noise in my room was enough to wake me. From one o'clock I was taken up into communion with God for 4 hours. What it was I cannot tell you, except that it was of God. About 5 o'clock I was again allowed to sleep until about 9 o'clock. I was then taken up again and carried away in the same experience as in the early hours of the morning, until about midday or one o'clock.

At home they questioned me, and asked why I got up so late... But these things are too holy to speak of. This experience went on for about 3 months.<sup>1</sup>

1. Hollenweger, pp. 179/180.

Mrs Penn Lewis adds Robert's expansion of what actually happened on the day of his Baptism in the Spirit in a personal interview before his death:

'Lying in bed one day I felt vibrations. My body began to tremble. I got out of bed and was kneeling by my bedside. I was lifted up and my lips began to move in utterances which cannot be uttered. There was a tremendous sense of joy which came over me.'<sup>1</sup>

This then clearly implies that Evan Roberts was given the gift of speaking in tongues; or at least glossalalia accompanied the moment of his spirit baptism. To glossalalia was added a further spiritual experience: visions: to Sydney Evans, a close friend, he wrote of his vision 'of all worlds being lifted up to Heaven, and I came to see the mightiest revival Wales has ever known.'<sup>2</sup> W.T. Stead reports a conversation with Roberts in which he claimed to have seen a vision of no one less than God Himself:

'For the space of 4 hours I was privileged to speak face to face with Him as a man speaks face to face with a friend. At 5 o'clock it seemed to me as if I again returned to earth. 'Were you

1. Penn Lewis, pp. 43/44.

2. 'The Awakening'.

dreaming?,' I (Stead) asked. 'No, I was wide awake.' ..... 'May I ask,' I said, 'If He of whom you speak appeared to you as Jesus Christ?' 'No' said Mr. Roberts, 'Not so, it was the personal God, not as Jesus.' 'As God the Father Almighty?' I said. 'Yes,' said Mr. Roberts, 'And the Holy Spirit.'<sup>1</sup>

Roberts himself called the experience in his bedroom described above, the Baptism of the Spirit and distinguished it sharply from conversion.<sup>2</sup> Bois describes Roberts further visions and overwhelming experiences, and also those of the young women who accompanied him and assisted him as evangelists and especially in prayer. cp. the biographies of Annie Davies, Marie Jones, Joseph Jenkins, Evan Lloyd Jones and Sidney Evans.

Evan Roberts began his public ministry while still a Methodist probationer in his own town. At a Revival meeting in September 1904 at which he and a mere 19 young people were present, he prayed: 'Bend us, O Lord!' Then the Holy Spirit came and mounted his whole being. From then on 'Calvary's Love' became the theme of the Revival. For his own part Evan Roberts was willing to play the role God wanted him to do. He was extremely sensitive to the leading of the Spirit:

'Evan Roberts moved as God moved him.'<sup>3</sup>

1. W.T.Stead: 'The Revival in the West.' p.43.
2. Bois, p.78.
3. Penn Lewis, 'The Awakening.'

The Welsh Revival can be said to have definitely begun when Evan Roberts asked for a Prayer-Meeting after Evening Service. During the Prayer Meeting on October 13th, 16 adults and 1 little girl were converted. On November 5th, 60 young people came forward to receive Christ as Saviour. This dramatic increase in numbers roused the whole town. Consequently the chapel building was packed every ensuing night by townspeople until 3 a.m. Soon the entire population was transformed into a praying multitude:

'It is remarkable to realise,' writes Mrs. Penn Lewis, 'that this move of God rested on the obedience and faith of one young man, Evan Roberts. He obeyed the call of God to Loughor and before his very eyes the Lord fulfilled His word.'

In fact the Revival meetings were so unusual that the Cardiff newspaper, Western Mail, sent a reporter, Austin, to follow Roberts, as for six months he preached without a break. Austin's first report read:

'A remarkable religious revival is now taking place at Loughor. Evan Roberts is causing great surprise in Mara Chapel. Many who had disbelieved Christianity in former years had now returned to the faith.'<sup>1</sup>

1. Western Mail: 1/12/04.

The Western Mail also published every month a tract with reports and sermons of the Revival. The other main Welsh papers also gave regular reports on <sup>Evan Roberts as did the whole church press of Europe.</sup> Evan Roberts himself shunned publicity. He refused all interviews with newspapers. He walked cautiously before the Lord in prayer lest the Holy Spirit be grieved. For he knew without the presence and power of the Holy Spirit nothing lasting could be accomplished. 'Lord, bend the Church,' was his constant prayer.<sup>1</sup> i.e. he meant, remove all human resistance to God's will. He himself was convinced that nothing else would answer but a Revival by the Holy Spirit of the awareness of the Love of God on the Cross of Calvary. An observer of the Welsh Revival writes:

'The Revival has brought us back to the Cross of Christ - everywhere multitudes throng to hear the Holy Spirit baptised young students speak.'

Of these Revival meetings Henri Bois observed:

'Le puissance suggestive de l'atmosphere ambiante est enorme dans les reunions galloises.'<sup>2</sup>

Mrs Penn Lewis writes movingly and graphically of the scene that occurred constantly during the course of the Revival:

1. Penn Lewis, p. 49.

2. Bois, 'Le Reveil au pays de Galles.' p.250.

'Under the constraint of an unseen power the chapels were filled with eager people at all hours of the day, and the services took their own course under the control of the Holy Ghost presiding as 'the executive power of the Godhead.' Prayers, testimonies and singing broke out in seeming disorder, yet acknowledged by all to be the most harmonious order. The Revivalist would enter during the meeting, sometimes unknown to those present until he rose with some word to the people. The burden of his message would be 'Obey the Holy Ghost' and when one in the meeting would break out into prayer whilst he was speaking, he would calmly 'give place' and show to others his acknowledgment of the presidency of One greater than he.

At some point perhaps Mr. Roberts would 'test' the meeting, and put to it the 4 definite steps necessary to salvation, which, he said, the Holy Spirit had given to him to urge upon the people.

- 1) The past must be made clear by sin being confessed to God and every wrong to man put right.

- 2) Every doubtful thing in the life must be put away.
- 3) Prompt and implicit obedience to the Holy Ghost.
- 4) Public confession of Christ.

Forgiveness of others as an essential to recovering the forgiveness of God was often emphasized, as well as the distinction between the Holy Ghost's work in conversion and in baptizing the believer with the Holy Ghost. In truth, the Revivalist was giving the full Gospel as preached at Pentecost, and like Peter's message, it received the co-witness of the Holy Ghost and produced Pentecostal results. 'Repent' - change your mind toward God, and put away wrong to your neighbour. 'Remission of sins will then be given you, and ye shall 'Receive' the Holy Ghost, if you will obey Him and publicly bear witness to Christ.

Indescribable scenes took place at the meetings. Sometimes a very torrent of prayer, and then of song, would sweep over the audience, and hundreds of souls would rise to declare their surrender to God, the congregation bursting out into joyous thanksgiving in hymns of gladness.

But the Revivalist's (Evan Roberts' - Mrs. Penn-Lewis shows a pious diffidence in mentioning him personally) special burden always was the 'Church'. 'Bend the Church and save the World,' was his cry. The word 'bend' in Welsh conveying the meaning of submission to God, and the taking away of resistance to His will. And his own aim seemed to be first to get the Christians right with God so that the Spirit might break out in converting power upon the unsaved. And Calvary was the power both for sinner and saved. The Revivalist would break down in heart-anguished sobbing when he touched the theme. 'You would not be cold if you had come here by Calvary,' was the burden of many prayers. The hymns rang with Calvary, the most often sung was 'Pen Calfaria' - the mount of Calvary - an exultant song of triumph telling of Christ's victory over death and hell at the Cross. Another hymn sung with melting power was 'Dyma Gariad' - 'Here is love vast as the ocean.' The people sang without books, for these hymns had been in their memories from childhood, but now quickened and used by the Spirit they rang out as never before. Many of the 'sweet singers of Wales' were drawn by the Spirit of God into His service, and often would be

heard a sweet warbling voice like a nightingale's trill breaking out into a hymn whilst the people were bowed in prayer. 'A singing Revival' it truly was. Souls were sung to Christ, and exulted over in song when one. The spirit of gladness and praise filled all hearts, as thousands rejoiced in a new found assurance of salvation. The Spirit of God did his own work of convicting, and many were the evidences of His power working through hymn and testimony....'<sup>1</sup>

J. Cynddylan Jones also testifies to the repeated emphasis on the importance of the Baptism in the Spirit during the Revival meetings:

'Today in Wales all is spontaneous. The dynamite is working, explosion after explosion, and is it to be wondered there is tumult and confusion? Much importance is attached to the work of the Spirit - at least in the initial stages of the Revival. Now the question coming to the forefront is: 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?'

(Acts XIX.2).

Thousands of believers in our churches, like the

1. Penn-Lewis, pp. 48/50.

disciples at Ephesus had received Christ, but had never received the Holy Ghost. The mark of Christ's blood was upon them, but where was the mark of the Spirit's anointing? Saved themselves, they made no attempt to save others. The present Revival whilst not obscuring the doctrine of the Cross has brought into prominence the doctrine of the Spirit. Thousands of Christians who had received the Christ have now received the Holy Ghost and as a consequence they are filled with the Spirit of service - no task seems to them too hard for Christ's sake. The Revival has again united conscience and the Holy Spirit. Many Christians who love gentility and moderation would like to receive the Baptism of the Spirit without the baptism of Fire. For 4 months there has been a marked change - prayers have been boiling and whole multitudes have been thrown into a state of extraordinary fervour. Now our young people flock to the services, prayers flow spontaneously from their lips like water from the spring. Praise ascends to heaven like the carols of birds in spring. No forcing, no inviting - spontaneity characterises the proceedings from end to end. No one is ashamed of confessing Christ

as his or her Saviour - Shame is on the other side.'<sup>1</sup>

What of the spiritual manifestations which accompanied the Revival meetings? Such manifestations as occurred were certainly not confined to the leader of the Welsh Revival. e.g. Mrs. Penn-Lewis writes: 'The Spirit of God worked a mighty power in signs and wonders.'<sup>2</sup>

Among these signs and wonders we may list:

- 1) Glossalalia: Evan Roberts himself claimed to speak with tongues. Hollenweger, in fact sees the origin of the Pentecostal Movement in Wales and writes:

'Among the 'children of the Revival' (Plant y Dieuygiad) from Wales, speaking in tongues became very prominent in the early days of the Pentecostal Movement.'<sup>3</sup>

- 2) Prophecy: Mrs. Penn-Lewis writes:

'A wondrous spirit of liberty strikingly bears the marks of Pentecost, for in the surcharged atmosphere in the upper room in Jerusalem ALL began to speak! Young people hitherto shy before their elders have had their tongues loosed, to speak or pray without fear of rebuke. It is now no uncommon thing to see a young girl of 18 speaking under the evident

1. J. Cynddylan Jones: 'The Awakening in Wales,' pp. 6, 7.
2. Penn-Lewis, p. 65.
3. Hollenweger, p. 184.

control of the Holy Spirit whilst in the big pew sit ministers and elders oft times with tears coursing down their faces. The servants and handmaidens are prophesying as foretold by Joel.<sup>1</sup>

Henri Bois was also impressed by the prophetic spirit exemplified by many of the young people present at the revival meetings:

'Et ce qui frappait le visiteur, c'était de voir des mineurs rudes, illettrés, d'une intelligence très ordinaire, qui étaient absolument inconnus dans l'Église, qui n'avaient jamais pris part à aucun service public, se lever dans une assemblée et s'exprimer avec aisance, une volubilité, une clarté, une éloquence véritablement extraordinaires. Un homme doux, calme, <sup>nouveauté</sup> novateur, <sup>ou</sup> soudain, sous l'influence de l'Esprit pour parler la langue religieuse.'<sup>2</sup>

Moreover in his important chapter on 'Etude Psychologique sur les réunions gauloises' we even find the following:

'On a vu, dans cette ordre, des phénomènes encore plus suprenants à l'époque des persécutions chez

1. Penn-Lewis, p. 64.
2. Henri Bois, p. 251.

les huguenots cevenois, par exemple: des paysans, des paysannes, ne parlant que le patois, and subitement en état de transe et prêchant ou prophetisant en français.<sup>1</sup>

Evan Roberts himself was held to possess the gift of prophecy through his Baptism in the Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

- 3) Xenolalia: Young men and women who knew little Welsh nor benefited from services in Welsh, under the influence of the Revival use prayer in unknown Biblical phrases and peculiar idiomatic expressions connected with Welsh prayer.<sup>3</sup>
- 4) Visions: Others, besides Evan Roberts, claimed to have seen visions. Mrs. Penn-Lewis writes:

'The Holy Spirit made Calvary the centre and source of the blessing and there are many traces of a remarkable revival of the Cross to the 'eyes of the heart' (Ephes. I. 18.). An evangelist tells how he was praying with others in a certain house one day, when the Lord revealed himself to the servant girl in a 'clear vision of the Cross with herself at the base.' and her 'experience and power in the service which followed, was most touching.'

1. Henri Bois, p. 251.
2. Hollenweger, p. 181.
3. The Yorkshire Post: 22/12/04.

In a meeting too, at Carmarthen, a worker arose and asked why it was she saw the Cross of Calvary before her vision night and day.<sup>1</sup>

5) Physical Deliverance of Souls: One gambler and drunkard, since conversion, was perfectly restored to 'normal health.' At another place, in a meeting the power of the Spirit was so intense, that the Missioners could not pray for deliverance for souls manifestly held in bondage by the evil one, but were constrained irresistibly to 'command' the adversary to release his captives, and numbers were thus set free by the power of God.<sup>2</sup>

6) The healing power of Christ: Some told of a minister taken ill while in normal health in the midst of public worship; he appealed to the Lord and was instantly healed. Other significant characteristics of the Welsh Revival were:

1) 'The hour-long singing': Of the Revival singing at the Evan Roberts meetings a local newspaper commented: 'Unless it has been heard, it is unimaginable.' The Revival singing also attracted the attention of Henri Bois:

'Enorme est le role joué par le chant dans le Reveil.' 'Si parfois les Gallois prient en

1. Penn-Lewis, p. 65.

2. Penn-Lewis, p. 66.

chantant il est vrai de dire aussi qu'ils chantent  
 en priant; c'est qui se produit dans ce que l'en  
 appelle en gallois le hwyl.<sup>1</sup>

- 2) Hwyl: A typically welsh phenomenon, described by Martin Schmidt as:

'A liturgical intonation of the part of the preacher  
 at the end of the sermon.'<sup>2</sup> Bois describes it  
 more fully: 'It is a half-spoken, half-sing scale  
 in a chromatic or minor key, which ends in a hymn,  
 or a cry of thanks or repentance. The scale is  
 not always that of our tonal system.'<sup>3</sup>

- 3) Prayer: Henri Bois was deeply affected by the quality and  
 fervour of the prayers uttered at the Revival Meetings at  
 which he was present. He quotes several prayers which he  
 heard and which are remarkable for their brevity and naive  
 simplicity. A young woman asked for the conversion of  
 her menfolk 'if only for the sake of the little children  
 you have given them.' Someone else prayed: 'Before we  
 had to wait so long for your answer when we prayed. But  
 now you answer by return of post.'<sup>4</sup> Professor Hollenweger

1. Bois, p. 321.

2. M. Schmidt: Art. 'Wales', RGG 3rd ed. vol. VI. Col. 1537.

3. Bois, p. 278.

4. Bois, p. 312; Paxton Hood, 'Christmas Evens.' p.235.

also records that boys and girls took part in the prayers. The congregation commented on the prayers with sighs, Amens, and sometimes even with loud laughter. Often the whole congregation prayed together in concert or in spontaneous confusion.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Penn-Lewis, however, denies that there was confusion in the course of the Revival Meetings:

'Prayers, testimonies and singing broke out in seeming disorder, yet acknowledged by all to be the most harmonious order. The Revivalist would enter during the meeting, sometimes unknown to those present until he rose with some word to the people. The burden of his message would be 'Obey the Holy Ghost,' and when one in the meeting would break out into prayer whilst he was speaking, he would calmly 'give place' and show to others his acknowledgment of the presidency of One greater than he.'<sup>2</sup>

- 4) Interruptions: Like the prayers, the short addresses<sup>3</sup> were also commented upon by interruptions. But, notes Bois, it is possible for those interruptions to lose their

1. Hollenweger, p. 177.

2. Penn-Lewis, p. 48 (see also p. 62).

3. Hollenweger notes a further characteristic of the Revival - the decline of the sermon. p. 177. (cp Penn-Lewis, p.62).

spontaneous freshness and be introduced as a matter of form at points where they are quite out of place. Thus for example when someone was reading 'They neither marry nor are given in marriage' (Matt. XXII. 30) someone uttered a heartfelt 'Amen'. The preacher looked at the interrupter and said, 'I understand you have had enough of it!'<sup>1</sup>

Such were the 'spiritual manifestations accompanying the Welsh Revival: Glossalalia, Prophecy, Xenolalia, Visions and the less spectacular phenomenon listed above. Mrs Penn-Lewis, 'one in complete sympathy with all spiritual movements', <sup>was</sup> ~~who~~ utterly convinced of the reality of the Holy Spirit's working in the services and prayer meetings; she writes as if all the Pentecostal gifts were fully manifested. But Henri Bois, academically trained and experienced observer, although he himself admits he was a comparative late-comer on the Revival scene, writes that he finds little evidence, if any, of the more spectacular manifestations such as accompanied the Eighteenth Century and 1859 Ulster Revivals, especially paroxysms and 'striking'.

'En ce qui concerne les manifestations physique extraordinaires, le Reveil Gallois me parait être des plus sobres et des plus modérés comparativement aux Reveils anterieurs.

1. Bois, p. 304.

Je n'ai jamais vus dans les réu<sup>n</sup>ions aux quelles j'ai assiste ce q'on a vu en Angleterre du temps de Wesley, ce q'on a vu en Amerique, m<sup>ê</sup>me en Suisse, des gens tombant a terre comme foudroyés, dans un état de catalepsie qui durait des heures, des gens soissant les pliers du temple pour n'etre pas entraînés dans l'enfer qu'ils croyaient voir sous leur pieds..... Il est bien vrai que j'ai visité le Reveil gallois plusieurs mois apres le debut de son explosion. Et il y avait indeniabliment un certain apraisement de l'effervescence premiere.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

What of the tangible effects of this fourth Revival in the history of Wales? The practical effects of the 1904 Revival were felt at both national and local level and closely parallel those of the 1859 Ulster Revival; although the Welsh gave more overt acknowledgment to the direct working of the Holy Spirit:

'The Spirit of God did his own work of convicting, and many were the evidences of His power working through hymn and testimony. A young man would return his prize medal and diploma because he had

1. Bois, p. 251.

gained it unfairly. A grocer would return money picked up in his shop, and kept although knowing the one who kept it. Long-standing debts were paid. Stolen goods returned. Prize-fighters, gamblers, publicans, rabbit-coursers, and others of the class rarely touched by ordinary means came to Christ, and quickly the world knew the results. Magistrates were presented with white gloves in several places - because there were 'no cases'. Public houses were forsaken. Rowdiness changed to soberness. Oaths ceased to be heard, so that, it was said, in the collieries the horses could not understand the language of the drivers. The reading of light literature was exchanged for Bible reading, and shops were cleared of stocks of Bibles and Testaments. The Bible Society sold three times as many Bibles in 1904 as in the previous year. Prayer meetings were held in collieries underground, in trains and trams and all kinds of places.

All the world bore testimony to these practical evidences of the power of God. Managers of works bore witness that the amount of work turned out

by the men since the Revival had been more than they had known for years, and magistrates did not hesitate to make known their approval of the ethical fruits of the awakening.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Penn-Lewis's evidence as to the practical effects of the Revival is amply supported by both Henri Bois and W.T. Stead; in fact Hollenweger writes:

'Every observer agrees that the upheaval caused by the Revival overcame the craze for gambling, drunkenness, idleness and prostitution over wide areas for at least half a generation.'<sup>2</sup>

Nor were the effects of the Revival only sociological and ethical. The practical effects were clearly evidenced within the churches themselves:

'(The Revival) not only swept down the mining valleys as a torrent, cleansing and healing as it went, but it silently enveloped the machinery of the churches, and lifted them, so to speak, into a new spiritual sphere. The traditional bonds of years were broken. Prejudices of the past vanished. Not only in the meetings held by the Revivalists, but in ordinary services, the Spirit

1. Penn-Lewis, pp. 50/51.

2. Hollenweger, p. 183.

of God - hitherto often considered but an influence - was honoured as the 3rd Person of the Trinity and given his place of presidency over the Church. Pastors allowed the services to take any form that might arise from the movement of the Spirit. Anyone might rise to speak or lead in prayer without fear, and sermons were put aside when the need arose. In an overflowing tide denomination barriers between the People of God were submerged. Wondrous scenes were witnessed: Churches on unbrotherly terms for many years were reconciled, and united meetings held. In some districts clergy and Free Church ministers freely meet together in the worship of God. Families were re-united; long-severed friends were reconciled; children restored to parents; offended churchmembers re-took their places among the People of the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

Commenting on the 1904 Welsh Revival as a whole the Methodist Recorder concluded:

'The Church has experienced a great quickening. Many ministers and people have testified to new joy and power, and to the receiving of a new Baptism of the Holy Spirit.'

1. Penn-Lewis, pp. 62/63.

THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT: 1906 - 1910

I. Its Origin:

John Wesley had already taught a further experience in the life of the converted Christian and this he called variously 'entire sanctification' or 'perfect love'.<sup>1</sup> This Methodist teaching - also called the 'second blessing' or 'Baptism in the Spirit' - was adopted and simplified by the evangelists and theologians of the Holiness Movement which thrived in both Great Britain and America.<sup>2</sup> One of the sources of the British Holiness Movement was the Keswick Convention; an annual gathering of British Evangelical Christians for Prayer, Bible Study and Addresses which began in 1875 with the aim of 'The promotion of practical Holiness.'

Holiness theologians such as Charles Finney, D.S. Moody, R.A. Torrey and T.C. Upham had great influence on both sides of the Atlantic. While they consistently taught a further experience for Christians which they called the Baptism in the Spirit, they also exercised a social and political influence. e.g. Finney was involved with Asa Mahon in the struggle for the Negroes, for Womens' University Education, and for the Workers. And on the basis of his experience of the

1. J. Wesley, A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, 1765.
2. 'The Pentecostal Movement in Great Britain' p. 150.  
by Donald Gee.

Baptism in the Spirit T.C. Upham proposed the foundation of a League of Nations.<sup>1</sup> But of the writings of these Holiness teachers the only ones to influence the Pentecostal and revival movements were those which were concerned with the theory and practice of the Baptism in the Spirit; the philosophical, political and social endeavours of the Holiness evangelists were forgotten. Their theory of the two distinct turning points in Christian experience - Conversion and Sanctification - remained. 'The only difficulty was to find the criteria for the second crisis experience. This uncertainty was removed by the early Pentecostal Movement.'<sup>2</sup>

This Holiness teaching received a strong spiritual stiffening from the 1904 Welsh Revival, the immediate precursor of the Pentecostal Movement. In fact Hollenweger writes:

'The Revival in Wales played such an important part in the origin of the Pentecostal Movement.'<sup>3</sup>

We have already seen what pre-eminence was given to the role of the Holy Spirit in the Welsh Revival and the repeated insistence on the necessity for the Baptism of the Spirit in the life of the converted Christian. Furthermore, people who were to become leading personalities in both the British and

1. Hollenweger, p.21.

2. Hollenweger, p. 21.

3. Hollenweger, p. 176.

American Pentecostal Movement were directly influenced by the revival in Wales e.g. The Jeffreys brothers were products of the Welsh Revival Movement (Maesteg). Donald Gee was converted by the preaching of the Welsh Methodist Seth Joshua. 'The father of the British Pentecostal Movement', the Anglican priest, Alexander A Boddy, took part in the revival movement in Wales and worked with Evan Roberts. He was convinced that the Pentecostal Movement was a direct continuation of the revival (in Wales).<sup>1</sup> Joseph Smale and Frank Bartleman, Baptist preachers who had been influenced by the revival in Wales, worked at a Negro Holiness Church. Smale came from Wales in July 1905.

## II: In America:

'The Pentecostal Movement was born in a stable. So was Christianity!'<sup>2</sup>

A key figure in the story of the Pentecostal Movement is Charles Parham, Methodist Evangelist, who founded Topeka Bible School, Kansas in 1900. As the first principal of the new college he encouraged his students to study the Biblical evidence for the Baptism in the Spirit. On examining the

1. Hollenweger, p. 184.

2. Harper, 'As at the Beginning', p. 23.

N.T. in particular they came to the conclusion that the answer to the question lay in 'speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.' The 40 students, male and female, including 12 ordained ministers, began to pray that they might be baptised in the Spirit as on the Day of Pentecost.

'As they were praying one of the students - Agnes Ozman - remembered that on three occasions in the New Testament hands had been laid on those desiring this blessing. So she asked Charles Parham if he would lay hands on her. At first he refused, but then agreed to do so. As he laid hands on her head 'a glory fell upon her, a halo seemed to surround her head and face' and she began to speak in tongues. It was 7 p.m. on December 31st, 1900.'<sup>1</sup>

But Parham's early Pentecostal pioneers were largely cold shouldered by their friends and few further outbreaks occurred in other centres.

'By 1906 there were only about 1,000 who had received the blessing in the entire United States.'<sup>2</sup>

Then one, W.J Seymour, an ordained negro and former student at Patham's Houston Bible School came to Los Angeles to preach at a small negro church. Seymour, preaching on

1. Harper: p. 26.

2. Harper: p. 27.

Acts. Ch. II v.4, insisted that tongues were a sign of the Baptism of the Spirit. The older members of this Holiness Church had claimed the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit' for years, and here was a stranger telling them they were only 'sanctified' and that there was yet another spiritual experience. The woman pastor put Seymour out.<sup>1</sup>

Finding the doors shut in his face, W.J. Seymour began to hold meetings at 214, North Bonnie Brae Street. On April 9th, 1906 'the fire came down' at a prayer meeting and people experienced the Baptism in the Spirit. It appears that the first to receive the Baptism of the Spirit was an 8 year old Negro boy. Many, mostly members of the Church of the Nazarene and other Holiness denominations, experienced the Baptism of the Spirit. Their meeting place became increasingly unsuitable - for one thing the neighbours complained of the noise - so they moved to rented accommodation at 312 Azusa Street, an old livery-stable cum Methodist chapel, cum lumber yard.

For 3 years without interruption prayer meetings took place here with speaking in tongues, singing in tongues and prophecy. Stories of the Azusa Street revival, in a distinctly legendary form,<sup>2</sup> are retold amongst Pentecostals;

1. Hollenger, <sup>wa</sup>p.22.

2. Hollenger, <sup>we</sup>p.22.

e.g. 'They shouted 3 days and 3 nights. It was the Easter season. The people came from everywhere. By the next morning there was no way of getting near the house. As the people came in they would fall under God's Power; and the whole city was stirred. They shouted there until the foundation of the house gave way, but no one was hurt.'<sup>1</sup>

'It was in this simple building that a sect became an international movement which was to circle the globe and fifty years later penetrate the sophisticated circles of the Episcopal and other churches.'<sup>2</sup>

The early stages of the revival met bitter opposition from the Holiness churches, and other churches also; they were a laughing stock of the press:

'Faith gives Quaint Sect new languages to convert Africa. Votaries of odd religion Nightly see 'miracles' in West Side Room. Led by Negro Elder. The leaders of this strange movement are for the most part Negroes.'<sup>3</sup>

Originally Parham was the leader of the Azusa Street revival; Bloch-Hoell quotes the letterheads of the

1. P E 6.4.1946, p. 6.
2. Harper, p. 28.
3. New York American 3/12/06

Azusa Street Revival which he found in T.B. Barratt's papers:

'The Apostolic Faith Movement. Charles F. Parham, <sup>1</sup>  
 Projector:  
 W.J. Seymour, Pastor  
 (Oct. 1906)

But from November 1907 Parham's name no longer appears on the official letterhead. In 1908 the whites withdrew.<sup>2</sup> Yet according to the Apostolic Faith Movement confession of faith (Hollenweger Appendix p.513) the Azusa Street Mission lasted till 1923. In theology it belongs quite clearly to the Pentecostals who profess the 3-way stage of salvation:

1) Conversion (also called Regeneration) 2) Sanctification (a definite fixed time; the second blessing) Pastoral theme - the Holy Spirit can only enter purified hearts. 3) Baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues.

In contrast to Azusa Street, the majority of Pentecostal groups soon reduced the 3-stage pattern to a two-stage one. By the end of 1906 there was already 9 Pentecostal assemblies in Los Angeles, some of which were not on good terms with each other.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Hollenweger, in fact, sees little to exult about in the Azusa Street Revival. He writes in his considered judgment:

1. Bloch-Hoell II p.48.
2. Bloch-Hoell, II p.54.
3. Hollenweger, p. 23.

'The Pentecostal experience of Los Angeles was neither the leading astray of the Church by demons (as the German Evangelical movement claimed) nor the eschatological pouring out of the Holy Spirit (as the Pentecostal Movement itself claims) but an outburst of enthusiastic religion of a kind well known and frequent in the history of Negro Churches in America which derived its specifically Pentecostal features from Parham's theory that speaking with tongues is a necessary concomitant of the Baptism of the Spirit.'<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, during the three years of the Azusa Street revival people came from all over the world to witness what was going on. Meetings continued throughout the night as hundreds came to receive the blessing of the Baptism in the Spirit. Many more wrote to learn about what was going on. One of them was a Norwegian Methodist minister with the surprisingly English name of Thomas Ball Barratt; what he learned about the Azusa Street Revival was to spark off in him a desire to experience the Baptism of the Spirit for himself and to share the experience with others.<sup>2</sup>

1. Hollenweger, p. 23.

2. Harper, p. 28f.

III: The Apostle to Europe:

The founder of the Pentecostal Movement in Europe was T.B. Barratt. By birth a Cornishman; his country of adoption, Norway. In the autumn of 1905, now a well-known Methodist minister in Oslo, he disembarked in New York on a fund-raising expedition for his Oslo City Mission. But those with money to give away were far more interested in the needs of the San Francisco Fire victims and Barratt's mission was a complete failure. But it was while he was in New York he was to experience something of far greater value and which would revolutionise not only his own life but many thousands of others - the Baptism in the Spirit.

Significant is the fact that his failure to raise money for the Oslo City Mission had brought him to his knees in despair. Later in his autobiography he wrote:

'All the trials I had passed through during the last year in America brought me down, deeper down before the Lord, seeking, praying, weeping.'

It was at this time he heard about the revival which was taking place in Azusa Street in Los Angeles. He never visited Los Angeles but was in close correspondence with Azusa Street. He heard in particular from a Mrs. Mary Throop who urged him to seek 'this blessing':

'We are praying the full pentecostal baptism upon you so that you may be equipped for His service as you never have been.....'

On Sunday, October 7th, he attended a Communion Service in the house of his host. After the service T.B.Barratt went upstairs to his room, locked the door and remained there all day fasting and praying. Shortly before 5 p.m. 'the fire fell'. He had to hide his face in a towel so as not to disturb his neighbours, as he shouted aloud his praises:

'I was seized by the Holy Power of God throughout my whole being and it swept through my whole body as well...'  
was how he afterwards described it.

But he did not as yet speak in tongues. In fact Harper recounts<sup>1</sup> he did not at that time expect tongues as a definite sign of the blessing, so he wrote to his Los Angeles friends about this. They urged him to press on to receive the gift of tongues also:

'The speaking in tongues,' they wrote, 'should follow the baptism. If you had remained under the power until the Lord had finished, you undoubtedly would have spoken in tongues..... Some go several days after the baptism before speaking.....'

On November 16th T.B.Barratt received what he now

1. M.Harper: 'As at the Beginning' p.32.

longed for - the gift of tongues - and with it a further deep experience of the Holy Spirit, so that later he doubted whether his October experience had in fact been the Baptism in the Spirit. On this occasion he was attending a meeting and hands were laid on him by a Norwegian Christian who happened to be there. While he was being prayed for someone saw a crown of fire over his head and a cloven tongue as of fire in front of the crown. He was immediately, in his own words, 'filled with an indescribable power, and began to speak in a foreign language as loudly as I could..... I am sure that I spoke seven, or eight different languages - they were clear and plain.'<sup>1</sup> He also began to sing and dance in the Spirit,<sup>2</sup> and so continued until about 4 o'clock in the morning. He spoke too of 'waves of God's love' sweeping over him, and of the spirit of supplication being given to him.

On December 8th Barratt sailed back to Norway and tried to introduce the Pentecostal Movement. In his own magazine, Byposten, he printed the account of his own baptism in the Spirit and later some 16 Norwegians received the experience. The news spread quickly across Europe and letters arrived at Barratt's home from many countries asking for information and inviting him to speak at meetings. In this way the Pentecostal Movement established itself in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Britain, Germany and even in India.

But, generally, the reception he and his 'new' doctrines

1. Vevdens Gang 4.1.1967

2. Byposten 12.1.1907

1

received in his own country, Norway, was hostile. The years ahead saw much criticism and conflict between the church authorities and Barratt who seemed to thrive on controversy. Ultimately in 1916, he and others reluctantly resigned from their churches and formed a Pentecostal church in Oslo. J.B.Barratt remained the pastor of the Filadelfia Church, as it was called, until his death in 1940. Barratt wrote over 60 books and pamphlets and played a vital part in the development of the Pentecostal Movement in Europe. In fact, he has rightly been called the Apostle of Pentecostalism in Northern Europe.

III: The Pentecostal Movement in Great Britain:

That the Pentecostal Movement was reared in the nursery of the Holiness Movement has already been stated. That which was true in America was also true in the British Isles. As early as January 1891, the periodical 'Tongues of Fire, Herald of Pentecostal Mission' had been published in London. It criticized the deadness or coldness of much of the professing Christianity of the day and stated the aim of the Pentecostal Mission as to spread Scriptural Holiness by unsectarian means and these were invited to join in the work 'who believe in the Baptism of the Holy Ghost as a definite blessing received after conversion.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Social-demokraten, 4.1.1907, printed 'Idiot Factory' headline.  
 2. 'Tongues of Fire : Herald of Pentecostal Mission':  
 January 1891.

The leader of the 'Pentecostal Mission' was Reader Harris and the Pentecostal Mission (or Pentecostal League or Pentecostal Prayer Union) published a number of leaflets on the subject. Meetings were held regularly in Bristol, East Croydon, Folkestone, Plymouth, Chelsea, Brixton, Sunderland, Birmingham and Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

By 1907 'Tongues of Fire' was advertising Pentecostal League Centre Meetings in 130 different places in the United Kingdom; among the speakers was Oswald Chambers.

'A study of the periodical from 1891-1907 shows this interdenominational Holiness Movement was in perfect harmony with the Holiness Movement as a whole, in doctrine as well as activity.'<sup>2</sup>

But in 'Tongues of Fire' for April 1907 comes the first notices on glossalalia. Rather surprisingly in view of the protracted Holiness Movement teaching on the 'Baptism of the Spirit' these notices were very critical of 'speaking in tongues'.<sup>3</sup> In July came another editorial hotly opposed to the 'new movement' - presumably the new Pentecostal teaching originating in Azusa Street and coming to England via Barratt in Norway - and denying its claim to 'higher truths and special gifts'. In September 1907 Oswald Chambers himself, perhaps the most influential of the leading Evangelists<sup>ca</sup> of these days, wrote

1. 'Tongues of Fire': December 1893.

2. Bloch-Hoell: 'The Pentecostal Movement'

3. Sir R. Anderson, *Spivik Manifestations*, 3rd ed. 1909; *Tongues of Fire*, April 1907, p.6; July 1907, p.6; Sept. 1907, p.9; Oct. 1907, p.11; Jan. 1908, p.7; -cp. N. Havpev, pp. 23, 93.

against what he termed: 'Spiritual ecstasy tongues'.

The real attack began in November, 1907:

'The Gift of Tongues is not a necessary evidence of the Pentecostal Baptism with the Holy Spirit - on the contrary; it is a stanic counterfeit!'<sup>1</sup>

J.B.Barratt was not even mentioned by name and the new movement was disdainfully written off by the periodical as:

'The people from America and from other parts of the world, sent by the Devil.'

And yet the 'Tongues of Fire' campaign against the 'tongues movement met with no great success. Despite hostile propaganda the new Pentecostal movement became established in Devon and Monkwearmouth in Co.Durham. In fact in the January issue for 1908 the periodical had to admit:

'Throughout the latter part of 1907 the League (The Pentecostal League) has suffered much through this strange movement, with its deplorable accompaniments.'

When one sifts through the available records for what was a year of profound importance in the history of British Evangelical Christianity, it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that the religious press had hatched a conspiracy of silence on the new Pentecostal Movement. 'Apart from one favourable article in 'The Christian' by a Dr.Mercer, who had seen something of the movement at first hand while passing through Oslo,

1. 'Tongues of Fire' : Nov.1907

263

there was stony silence.<sup>1</sup>

However, it was left to the secular press to headline the activities of a certain Rev. Alexander A. Boddy and the 'strange things' at Monkwearmouth, Sunderland:

'I wonder if His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has heard of the Rev. Alexander A. Boddy?' wrote a reporter of the Daily Chronicle on October 13th, 1907.

'Does he ever, I wonder,' the report continued, 'mount the watch-tower of his episcopal stronghold at Lambeth and peer out towards the North?'<sup>2</sup>

Alexander Boddy played a key part in the introduction of the new Pentecostal Movement into England. A Church of England clergyman, he had gone to All Saints, Sunderland as a curate in 1884. He became vicar two years later and remained there until 1922, when he went to Biddington until his death. Before ordination he had been a solicitor, and had also written travel books. While in Sunderland he became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He became an enthusiastic supporter of the Keswick Convention, a movement for the deepening of the spiritual life, which had been founded towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1895 he published his only religious book, significantly called 'the Laying on of Hands'.

The Welsh Revival of 1904-5 had a marked influence

1. 'As at the Beginning' : p.37.

2. Daily Chronicle : 13/10/07.

on Mr. Boddy, - as it had upon the Azusa Street meetings in America and J.B. Barratt in Norway. With many others Boddy visited the revival centres in Wales and met the young leader of the revival - Evan Roberts.

A decisive event for the Pentecostal Movement in England was Alexander Boddy's visit to Oslo in March 1907. He had heard about Barratt's activities and went to see for himself. So impressed was he by what he saw he wrote to several English newspapers on his return:

'My four days in Oslo can never be forgotten. I stood with Evan Roberts in Tonypany, but have never witnessed such scenes as those in Norway.'

He also embodied his Oslo experiences in his own Leaflet N.6. 'Tongues in Norway'.<sup>1</sup> In fact so enthusiastic was he that he invited Barratt to England to address a church meeting in Sunderland.<sup>2</sup> However, it appears Barratt was unable, or was reluctant, to accept Boddy's invitation at that time, but Boddy continued to badger him into making the trip.

Meanwhile Boddy lost no opportunity for preparing for Barratt's eventual visit. At Keswick Convention that year (1907) he distributed thousands of copies of a tract he had written called: 'Pentecost for England'. He met a cool reception and

1. A.A. Boddy: Leaflet No.6: 'Tongues in Norway'.

2. By posten 23/3/07.

few seemed to share his zeal. Nevertheless Boddy was undaunted; he continued to badger Barratt into coming and continued to prepare for his visit by conducting revival meetings. These were greatly successful. The result was when Barratt did arrive at Sunderland in August 1907 he found he was to address an audience gathered from all over England.

No time was lost. That same evening a prayer meeting was held in the church vestry. The next day Barratt preached at Evening Prayer. There was an after meeting which continued in a very un-Anglican fashion until 4 a.m., and the first three members of All Saints' were filled with the Holy Spirit as on the Day of Pentecost, 'speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.' At once the news spread and the national press got wind of it and there appeared the startling headline of:

'STRANGE REVIVALIST SCENES - VICAR'S CHILD TALKS CHINESE'<sup>1</sup>

Another reporter told of 'staid unemotional matrons taken home to bed o' night 'drunk with ecstatic joy.'

There amongst others was the pianist from the cinema; he too was converted and sent from house to house and told people what Jesus had done for his soul. A dancing teacher had also been converted, as well as the notorious prostitute of

1. Harper, p. 38.

Cwntwrch, and so had one who had been an ordinand, but had now sunk to the level of a tramp.<sup>1</sup>

During his comparatively short stay of seven weeks J.B. Barratt was kept tremendously busy. The revivalist meetings were held in the large vestry of All Saints' Church. They were quiet and orderly and there was no working up of people's emotions. Some who came from the Salvation Army found them a little 'flat' compared with their own gatherings. Occasionally Mr. Boddy held an all night 'waiting meeting'. Mrs. Boddy received the Baptism in the Spirit before her husband, and was very active counselling people.<sup>2</sup> It was she who opened the door to the plumber from Bradford, Smith Wigglesworth, later to become a well-known and much loved Pentecostal leader. It was she who talked with him, prayed with him and led him into the experience of the Baptism in the Spirit.

Professor Hollenweger records that among the many who received the Baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues were future leaders of the Pentecostal Movement e.g. G.R. Polman, Holland as well as Smith Wigglesworth, 'all of whom worked in Britain', Stanley H. Frodsham, 'who worked in Britain and later in the U.S.A. and others.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Pfingstgousse 5/25 23.2.1913 pp. 107ff.

2. Harper, p. 38.

3. Hollenweger, p. 184.

'Just as Azusa Street had been used in America, so now this staid Anglican Church became the mecca for pilgrims seeking the experience of God's Spirit. They travelled up from London and the south coast - Yorkshire and Wales and many did not return disappointed.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Boddy describes his own baptism of the Spirit as follows:

'Taking a nap in the afternoon, I awoke feeling my jaws working on their own account. My jaws and tongue began to work, but there was no voice.' About midnight 'it seemed to me as if an iron hand were laid over my jaws. Both jaws and tongue worked incessantly, speaking and praying with very little intermission until 4 o'clock in the morning.'<sup>2</sup>

Through his efforts the parish hall of All Saints, Sunderland, became a centre for those in Britain who sought the experience of the baptism of the Spirit. A silent witness of those unforgettable days of blessing was erected at the entrance of the parish hall in the form of a memorial tablet with the

1. Harper, p. 39.  
 2. Fleisch, II/2 p.76.

eloquent description:

'September, 1907. When the fire of the Lord  
fell it burned up the debt.'

For in fact, as a result of the revival, a considerable debt  
on the building was paid off in a short time.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to his revivalist preaching Barratt was  
an intensely active propagandist for the Movement during his  
stay in England: he published in all five tracts:

- 1) 'A Friendly talk with Ministers and Christian workers  
on the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.'
- 2) 'When the Fire Fell, or God's dealings with one of his  
children.'
- 3) 'The Pentecostal Visions.'
- 4) 'The Pentecost with tongues - not of the Devil.'
- 5) 'Pentecost for children - the two first cases in England.'

The majority attending Barratt's meetings belonged,  
not surprisingly, to the Holiness Movement - either Church of  
England, Methodists or others. And by October 13th, when  
Barratt left England, the Pentecostal Movement now had a  
considerable number of followers. But still the Daily Chronicle  
observed:

'The movement has had no great success. Of great

1. L. Steiner, Mit folgenden Zeichen, p. 41. Harper, p. 41.

importance is the fact that well known Christians - F.B. Meyer, G.J. Pierson and Oswald Chambers are against it.'<sup>1</sup>

Gee in his history of the Pentecostal Movement confirms this when he writes, 'by April 1908 there were only five hundred spirit-baptized in Great Britain.'<sup>2</sup>

Alexander Boddy's enthusiasm did not wane. In the following year (1908) he held the first of many Annual Whitsun Conventions at Sunderland. And Barratt himself returned on many occasions to address these Sunderland Conventions up to 1933. The text above the platform was:

'Fervent in Spirit!'<sup>3</sup>

For the first few years, Alexander Boddy and other leaders of the Pentecostal Movement in England opposed the organization into a sect of what they wanted to preserve as an interdenominational revival. On November 3rd 1907 i.e. shortly after Barratt's return, Boddy warned with prophetic insight against such an organization:

'There is just as much danger, sooner or later, for a Pentecostal Church (so-called), as for any of the churches which have risen or fallen.'<sup>4</sup>

1. Daily Chronicle: 13/10/07
2. Donald Gee: 'After Pentecost' p. 48f.
3. 'As at the Beginning' p. 40
4. Gee, After Pentecost, p.88.

To the day of his death Alexander A. Boddy remained a priest of the Church of England, although for many years he was a leading personality in the international Pentecostal Movement. He regarded it as a revival within the Church, and for this reason associated himself in 1909 with the work of the Pentecostal Missionary Union which was meant as a body within the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Another leader of the Pentecostal Missionary Union was Cecil Polhill, the squire of Howbury Hall, Bedford, who had been at Eton and as one of the 'Cambridge Seven' (a group which also included C.T. Studd) had formerly been a missionary in Tibet. He had received the baptism of the Spirit in Los Angeles.<sup>2</sup> It made a great impression on the Pentecostals that he, a wealthy upper-class landed proprietor, should preach in their meetings and should share his hymn book at street meetings with a servant girl.

Up to the outbreak of the First World War, Alexander Boddy and Cecil Polhill continued to exercise a strong influence and Boddy consistently urged:

'Receive the Baptism in the Holy Spirit, but remain in your church, whatever the denomination may be.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Hollenweger, p. 185.
2. Hollenweger, p.22ff.; Harper, p. 41.
3. D. Gee, Wind and Flame, p.112.

Professor Hollenweger records that Boddy's counsel was generally accepted: 'Up to the 1920s many Pentecostals still belonged to other churches.....'<sup>1</sup> However, Michael Harper writes in less ~~sanguinary~~ <sup>Sanguine</sup> terms. The war<sup>y</sup> and Boddy's failing health led to a loss of effectual control. 'By 1918 Mr. Boddy was a shadow of his former self.' Although he continued to be vicar of All Saints until 1922, he was to play no further active part in the development of the Pentecostal Movement. By the end of the war the Movement was becoming what Boddy had prophetically warned against - a denomination, and the (main-stream) churches had virtually turned their backs on it. In fact the Anglican and Free Churches had barely been touched!<sup>2</sup>

1. Hollenweger, p. 207

2. Harper, p. 41.

#### IV : Pentecostal Doctrine and Practice

##### A) Pentecostal doctrine:

Pentecostal doctrine is Evangelical in theology i.e. based upon the plenary inspiration of Scripture which forms the supreme authority in matters of faith and practice. But Aimee Semple McPherson, American Pentecostal leader and 'prophetess' laid down the four basic doctrines of the Pentecostal Movement:

'Jesus Christ, the Saviour

Jesus Christ, the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost

Jesus Christ, the great Physician

Jesus Christ, the coming King.'

T.B. Barratt himself expanded on this, particularly on 'Jesus Christ, the Baptizer', with the following definition:

'It is seen therefore much of what is taught are fundamental truths accepted in all evangelical denominations. Yet there is a difference, as the Pentecostal Revival seeks to return as much as possible to the doctrine faith and practice of original Christianity in all matters.....What really distinguishes us from the other ones in this way (i.e. the Baptism with the Holy Spirit) is our definite

claim to be baptized in the same way as the 120 at Pentecost, a Spirit baptism accompanied by the speaking in tongues, as was also the case on the four other occasions related in the Acts.'

And in 1912 he wrote:

'All the gifts of grace referred to in I Cors. 12. can be expected in our day and have, to a certain extent, been conveyed by the Spirit in various countries in our time.'

Bloch-hoell's comment on this, however, is the following:

'But not all the Gifts of Grace are equally dominant in Pentecostal doctrine and practice. On the whole the Pentecostal Movement favoured the sensational charismata; namely Speaking in Tongues with, or without, interpretation, prophecy and healing.'<sup>1</sup>

'Speaking in Tongues', he affirms, 'is regarded as of greater importance in the Pentecostal Movement than the other Gifts of Grace' - this is open to debate:

Oswald Smith, a popular Pentecostal writer, puts the opposite point of view: tongues may be the least in value, for that reason it is an excellent gift to begin with!<sup>2</sup>

1. Bloch-hoell: 'The Pentecostal Movement' Ch.VI
2. Oswald Smith: 'The Revival we Need'.

The reasons Bloch-hoell gives for believing the Pentecostal Movement gives pride of place among the charismata to Tongues are the following:

- 1) It is the only Biblical charismata not mentioned in the Old Covenant.
- 2) It is the evidence for the Baptism in the Spirit.
- 3) It is the means of gaining Christian assurance.
- 4) In the beginning of the Pentecostal Movement it was believed necessary for mission work.

T.B. Barratt, writing on Tongues, claimed one must distinguish between 'broken ecstatic' speaking in tongues which accompanies Spirit baptism and the Gift of Tongues itself - by which you can speak in tongues at any time and have it under control. i.e. there is a distinction between Tongues as a sign and Tongues as a Gift. The former is for all (Acts II:4) and the latter not for all (I Cors.XII:30)

B) Pentecostal Practice:

i) Glossalalia:

G.B.Cutten in his standard work on speaking in tongues analysed four types or degrees of glossalalia.<sup>1</sup>

A: Inarticulate sounds or utterings: Hans Rust divides these into 1) word-formed utterance 2) syllable-formed utterance.

1. G.B.Cutten: 'Speaking in Tongues' pp 169 ff.

- B: Articulate sounds or pseudo-language: Alliterations and reiterations are very common in this group: this is the most frequent form.<sup>1</sup>
- C: Articulate and combined language-like sounds: articulate or fantasy language; language-like glossalalia.
- D: Automatic speech in a real language: either a native language or xenolalia i.e. a real language previously unknown to the speaker.

All types occur in the Pentecostal Movement but not with equal frequency. Bloch-hoell makes an additional comment:

- i) Automatic speech in a native language is close to inspired or prophetic speech. This was common among Camisards and spirit-mediums, but only seldom occurs in Pentecostal Movement.
- ii) Xenolalia: this was probably a very frequent form in the Middle Ages. Gorres 'Die christlich Mystic'<sup>2</sup> includes several examples of supposed xenolalia from the Middle Ages; also examples in Montanism and Masiman.<sup>2a</sup> Xenolalia is also heard among Spiritualists.<sup>3</sup> In the early Pentecostal Movement xenolalia is claimed to be the most frequent form; some of the pioneers of the

1. G.B.Cutten: 'Speaking in Tongues' p.177.  
 2. Gorre: 'Die christlich Mystic' II:p.189f.  
 2a Masiman Edison: 'Das Zungenreden geschichtlich und  
 3. H.Rust p.32. Psychologisch untersucht (Tübingen 1911)  
 Das Zungenreden.  
 Eine Studie zur kritischen Religionspsychologie.

movement believed this would be a means of converting the heathen.

Bloch-hoell cites two examples of Xenolalia recorded in Barratt's magazine *Byposten* in 1907.

'A sister from this town received the gift of tongues in the same evening and spoke distinct English; for one thing she said this sentence: 'I am loved of you'. She cannot understand a single word of English.'

'In the same year a Danish minister, Rev.H.J.Myyind, relates, during a stay in Oslo, a person who spoke in tongues for the first time uttered twice the following words, which were so simple and distinct everybody could remember them. He did not know any language other than Norwegian and Swedish: 'Malinka (three times) - Russian for 'a small kind of bread.' Dobra (three times) - Russian for 'is good'. Gut (three times) - German for 'good'. Oui (three times) - French for 'yes'. You love your King (three times) Sacramenta (three times) - Spanish and Italian for 'curse' or strong affirmation. Later on he praised God with several words in English and German.'<sup>1</sup>

Barratt himself writes of his own xenolalia during his Baptism of the Spirit:

1. *Byposten*: 9/3/07.

'At least eight languages I spoke that night. How could I know they were different languages? The positions of my mouth I felt were different. The Power took my jawbone and my tongue and expelled the languages clearly and distinctly, while nothing in myself held back the Power. Once I felt a pain in my throat, then I believe it was Welsh that I spoke, a language I know of. Another time there were nasal sounds, probably French, Italian, I definitely believe I spoke.'<sup>1</sup>

- ii) Interpretation: this was not common in the early Pentecostal Movement because of a general belief that the glossalalia manifestations were in fact xenolalia. Bloch-hoell writes, sceptically as it seems:
- 'But glossalalia was obviously not xenolalia. This factor together with criticism of Methodist and Pentecostal biblicism created a demand for interpretation of public speaking in tongues.'

However, this statement does little justice to the plain scriptural statement that the gift of interpretation was of equal value to that of glossalalia and in the Corinthian Church at least was something contemporaneous with tongues not consequent to it.<sup>2</sup>

1. J.B.Barratt: 'When Fire Fell'. p.130
2. 1 Corinthians XII and XIV.

278

Moreover Barratt is already publishing a statement on Interpretation as early as 1908. He declares:

'Interpretation took place in four different ways:

- A: After a person has finished speaking with tongues the meaning of the spoken word is comprehensively interpreted, but not translated word by word.
- B: The Interpretation may be just an outline of the glossalalia message.
- C: It may be given little by little and sentence by sentence.
- D: Or it may be given word by word.<sup>1</sup>

Carter writes that the first two forms of interpretation are most common. The interpreter 'will be in the Spirit at the time when the utterance in other tongues is given, so that the words will be registered on his spirit, and he will feel the urge to speak what God gives him.'<sup>2</sup>

Aimee Semple McPherson has left us her own personal testimony of her gift of interpretation. During her Scandinavian tour she records:

'The next meeting where a message in tongues was given through the brother, I yielded to the Spirit who seemed literally to lift me to my feet and spoke to me in English the interpretation of the message which had been given in tongues. I was amazed to find how easy it was.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Byposter: 14/11/08

2. H. Carter: p.112.

3. Skibsted: 'Sannheten om Tungetalen' p.27ff.

'It is purely spiritual ability to receive the contents of what is spoken and communicate it in a language which is known to the interpreter and those listening.'<sup>1</sup>

But Aimee adds a cautionary note:

'If there is no unction upon the interpreter, his message may consist of his own thought instead of the inspired words of the Spirit.'

Here we have an echo of distant Irvingism. It was for attempting an interpretation when not in the Spirit that Edward Irving roundly reprovved a certain Mr. Pilkington at the Regent Square church and accused him of impiety.<sup>2</sup>

On the subject of interpretation Donald Gee observes:

'We have noticed that usually, if interpretation is given, it is only something which the preacher would almost certainly have said in the ordinary course of his sermon.'<sup>3</sup>

'Emotional preaching especially inspires glossalalia. Certain elements are therefore frequently present in these messages: eschatological statements, often with reference to the Parousia, appeals for conversion, and praise.'<sup>4</sup>

The following Interpretation is a complete message in Tongues:

1. Skibsted: 'Sannheten om Tungetalen' p.27ff.
2. Drummond: 'Pilkington's Evidence' p.167 of Edward Irving's circle.
- 3 & 4. Donald Gee: 'Concerning Spiritual Gifts' pp 37, 58, 94.  
See also Donald Gee 'After Pentecost' pp. 53 ff.

'Behold the Living God is walking in your midst. The Holy Ghost is in this assembly. Blessed are they who have ears to hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches: time is very short. Soon the Lord will appear to take above the clouds. Time is very short. God chooseth unto Himself vessels by the Spirit and useth whom He will. Be obedient every single one. There are several in this assembly, I choose him. I will anoint thee. Nothing shall hurt thee. Who can resist my cause? The truth shall conquer. The Satanic powers are in full action, but my cause shall conquer, and the saints with me.'

iii) The Gift of Prophecy:

This particular phenomenon is less prominent in the Pentecostal movement than tongues. It is not identical with general preaching; it is 'a supernatural utterance, inspired by God, in a known tongue.' It is spontaneously inspired speaking and quite different from sermons which are the result of preparation.

Glossalalia is a more typical manifestation of ecstasy than prophecy, although it should be noted glossalalia + interpretation = prophecy.

1. Korsets Seir: 4/6/21: p.2f

It will be remembered how dominant was prophecy in the Regent Square manifestations and how Irving lost the leadership of the Irvingite movement once he acknowledged the genuineness of the prophetic utterances in his congregation.<sup>1</sup> The Pentecostal leaders have displayed a more cautious attitude. Bloch-hoell comments:

'Genuine prophecy cannot bring about anything contrary to the Word of God, although it can reveal secrets from the past and in the future.'<sup>2</sup>

iv) Supernatural Healing:

When the Pentecostal Movement began in Azusa Street, Los Angeles, healings were almost as frequent as glossalalia. But the practice of this spiritual gift gradually became intermittent.

a) The Doctrine of Healing:

The doctrine lying behind the practice of the gift may be summed up under the following headings:

1) Sickness is regarded as a general consequence of the Fall. 'Because man fell into sin', wrote T.B.Barratt, 'sickness, distress and misery entered the world.'

2) The basis of supernatural healing is the Atonement:

1. See p.192 --

2. Bloch-hoell: 'The Pentecostal Movement' Ch.6

'Jesus bore our sicknesses. He has purchased healing for both body and soul. The Sacrifice of Calvary is for our bodies as well as for our souls.

- 3) Healing necessitates faith. Christ acted as our substitute, bearing our sickness, and by His atonement He has made possible the believer's deliverance from all diseases. Healing is received by faith.

#### The Practice of Healing:

Supernatural or divine healing is practised within the Pentecostal Movement in several ways:

- 1) Intercession for the sick with reference to James V:14ff, is practised by anointing with olive oil and the laying on of hands; a prayer service being performed as a rule by the pastor and the elder of the Church.
- 2) Another practice, more typical of the Pentecostal Movement, is the activity of well known Pentecostal preachers who have (or who are believed to possess) special gifts of healing. While all Christians can be baptized with the Spirit and speak with tongues, the gift of healing is exclusive.

It must be noted the Pentecostalists believe there are as many different kinds of healing gifts as there are different diseases which afflict the human body:

H. Carter writes:

'If one had all the gifts of healing, then all sickness could be removed.'

According to Pentecostal belief, healing can fail if the person who prays for the sick does not possess the special gift of healing corresponding to the actual disease. Although more frequently lack of faith is said to be the cause of unsuccessful healing. T.B. Barratt himself categorically declared insufficient knowledge of the Scriptures and lack of faith were the reasons some sick persons were not healed despite sincere prayer.

Barratt has left us his testimony to his own practice of the gift of healing and it makes a fitting conclusion to this section:

'Isn't it known then that kindest Christian friends can often be attacked in their bodies by evil powers which bind them to some sickness? I always rebuke, either in silence or aloud, every spirit of sickness before I pray with people, so that I shall not be attacked myself. This I have done ever since I was in America. And I will advise everybody who prays with the sick to do it.'

- 3) The Pentecostal Movement has revived the custom of using aprons or handkerchiefs as a means of healing.<sup>1</sup> At a healing service, or at an ordinary Pentecostal meeting when the sick are invited to come forward for the Laying on of hands, such cloths etc., are brought forward. Prayer in the Name of Jesus is offered over them on behalf of some absent friend or relative and the 'healing cloth' is then conveyed to the sick person's bedside for application to the affected part of the body.

1. Acts XIX:vv 11 and 12.

PART TWO

APPRAISAL OF EVIDENCE

1)	<u>THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT</u>	<u>Page</u>
	a) IN THE OLD TESTAMENT	285
	b) IN THE WRITINGS OF S. PAUL	292
2)	<u>THE HISTORICITY OF THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR PRETERNATURAL PHENOMENA</u>	
	a) IN THE NEW TESTAMENT	328
	b) IN SUBSEQUENT CHURCH HISTORY	346
3)	<u>A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE PHENOMENA</u>	
	a) IN EARLY METHODISM	355
	b) IN THE ULSTER REVIVAL	376
	c) IN THE 1904 WELSH REVIVAL	398
	*****	
	CONCLUSION	410

I : THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

a) The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament

1) 'Ruach' - the divine activity of God:

The word 'Spirit' or in the Hebrew, 'Ruach', is used in the Old Testament on some of the occasions when the sacred writers wish to speak of the activity of God. This 'activity word', ruach, is employed on special occasions such as the Creation (Genesis I : v.2); the stirring up of Gideon to sound the trumpet (Judges VII : v.18) and, above all, when prophecy is in question.

Whiteley comments on the doctrine of the Spirit in the Old Testament:

'The Spirit is never a permanent endowment of men but always an occasional activity of God.'<sup>1</sup>

Gunkel, in writing of this divine activity, speaks of it in material terms: 'The Holy Spirit in Jewish thought is a Lichtstoff,'<sup>2</sup> - he claimed that ruach in the Old Testament, even as applied to Jahweh, is materially conceived. The fact that ruach = wind as well as Spirit in the Old Testament is not to be taken to suggest, as Wendt held, the Spirit is immaterial like the wind; the wind is in fact material and so also is the Spirit.

1. D.E.H.Whiteley: 'The Theology of St.Paul' Ch.5

2. H. Gunkel: 'Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes' p.47.

But W.D. Davies<sup>1</sup> observes that although there are passages where the Spirit in the Old Testament seems to be materially conceived (e.g. Ezekiel Ch.XXXVII) we must question Gunkel's emphasis. Surely it is not the materiality of 'ruach' that is to the fore in the Old Testament, but its quality as power, vitality, activity or life - its essence is power not substance.

It is frequently asserted that the Spirit in the Old Testament is given creative cosmic functions. It is true there are passages where this is so but this aspect is easily over-emphasised. Davidson writes:<sup>2</sup>

'The operation of the Spirit of God upon the material world is rarely emphasised in the Old Testament.'

Moreover Rees<sup>3</sup> can only refer to eight verses in which the Spirit is active in creation in the whole Old Testament.

Still more illuminating is Wood's study<sup>4</sup> in which he points out that in pre-exilic literature:

'The Spirit is always used of God's activity directly.'

1. W.D. Davies: 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' Ch.8. p.183
2. Davidson: 'The Theology of the Old Testament' p.120.
3. Rees: 'The Holy Spirit' Ch.I. pp 12f.
4. Irving F. Wood: 'The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature' p.7.

In the post-exilic passages of the Old Testament, 'ruach' has come to denote the normal breath-soul as the principle of life in man; cp. Ezekiel XXXVII: 5, 6, 8 which at the same time retained the connotation of supernatural influences e.g. the prophetic consciousness accredited to Ezekiel II : 2.

The exilic and post-exilic periods, however, saw a change. The growth of interest in cosmogony in these periods led to the close association of the Spirit with the work of Creation and it is significant that it is to these periods that all the passages quoted by Rees belong.

When we come to later Judaism - what Davies describes as the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, we find, however, a reversion to pre-exilic emphasis. Again the Spirit is confined in the operation entirely to man; it no longer acts in nature at all, and Wood writes:

'The seemingly simple fact of dropping the relation to external nature from the idea of the Spirit forms the greatest single crisis in history.'<sup>1</sup>

2) The Communal Aspect of the Spirit in the Old Testament:

That which differentiates the Old Testament belief from that of the New Testament is that in the Old Testament the Spirit is bestowed only on certain special individuals,

1. Irving F. Wood: 'The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature' p.76.

whereas in the New Testament the Holy Spirit is given to the whole community. So wrote Newton Flew,<sup>1</sup> following Gunkel.<sup>2</sup> And this belief has been ~~blown up~~<sup>come</sup> into a generally accepted truism over recent years: i.e. the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament is given to a handful of isolated individuals almost for their personal benefit, compared with the general outpouring in the New Testament upon 'all flesh'.

But such a statement of the case does not do justice to the Old Testament e.g. I.F.Wood claimed that although in the Old Testament the Spirit is conferred on individuals, the individuals are so endowed not for their own sake but for the sake of the nation.

'The personal experiences of the private Hebrew,' he writes, 'are not ascribed to the Spirit of God but only those which bear directly or indirectly for good or ill upon the progress of national matters.'<sup>3</sup>

And W.D. Davies writes:

'Even in its earliest forms it is clear that the Spirit in the Old Testament has a national reference. It is possession of the Spirit that equips the national leaders, the judges (ch.XV : 14, VI : 34) and Kings (I Sam. X : 6; II Sam.VI : 12) for their functions.'<sup>4</sup>

1. N.Flew: 'Jesus and His Church' pp 150 ff.
2. Gunkel: 'Die <sup>iv</sup>W<sub>A</sub>kingen des Heiligen Geistes' p.29.
3. I.F Wood: 'The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature' pp 9f.
4. W.D. Davies: 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' Ch.8. p.203.

Moreover, prophecy itself, the activity of the Spirit par excellence, is directed always not to the individual but to the nation as a whole. The appeal of the prophets is invariably to the 'House of Israel' e.g. Amos III, IV, V; Hos. IV, V, IX, XIV; Isai. 1:4; Jer. I:4, Ezek. III:1.

It is in the prophet Ezekiel, however, that the communal aspect of the Spirit's activity appears most clearly. In his famous vision of the Valley of Dry Bones, the Spirit appears as the organizing principle of national unity. Despite his emphasis on the responsibility of the individual, the prophet Ezekiel desires the spiritual renewal of the individual Israelite only that the nation as a whole may be re-integrated. cp. Ezek. XXXVII : 11 - 14.

Again in Deutero - Isaiah, as it is commonly called, this strictly communal activity of the Spirit appears:

'I will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed and my blessing upon thine offspring.'<sup>1</sup>

Skinner's comment on this is:

'Once more the gloom of the present is lifted up by the promise of a brilliant future: the Divine Spirit shall be poured out on Israel and strangers shall esteem it an honour to attach themselves to the people of Yahweh.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Isaiah XLIV : 3.

2. Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges : Isai:XL-XLVI: p45

Also there is the well known passage in Joel II : 28-29:  
 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour  
 out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your  
 daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams,  
 your young men shall see visions: and also upon the  
 servants and handmaids in those days will I pour out  
 my spirit.'

Comments Davis<sup>e</sup>

'Whether we interpret these words to mean that in the  
 latter days prophetic inspiration, dreams, visions and  
 prophecies will become democratized or, as did the Early  
 Church, that in addition to such phenomena there would  
 also be a spiritual change of heart among the people,  
 the communal reference is unmistakable.'<sup>1</sup>

Finally, it is noteworthy that in the descriptions  
 of the ideal ruler of the latter days, the Messianic King, the  
 Spirit is made to rest upon him as the source of all his regal  
 virtues: Isai. IX : 2.

So, too, the very different figure of the Servant in  
 Deutero - Isaiah, which is almost certainly communal, is also  
 endowed with the Spirit to fulfil his work: Isai. XLII : 1.

It is now clearly shown that there is traceable in

1. W.D.Davis<sup>e</sup>: 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' Ch.8: p.204

Old Testament teaching on the Spirit a persistently communal reference. Although it should be noted that this aspect in the later books of the Old Testament is not very manifest. So too when we pass to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha we can only trace the 'national' significance of the Spirit in that it will be plenteously bestowed upon the Messianic ruler of the nation e.g. Enoch LXII : 2 and Psalms of Solomon : XVII : 37f.

~~Concludes~~ E.F. Scott ~~concludes~~ ;

'They (the above references) show that Isaiah's conception of the Messiah as endowed with the whole power of the Spirit had now established itself as an integral element in the apocalyptic hope.'<sup>1</sup>

1. E.F. Scott: 'The Spirit in the New Testament' p.51.

B) The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the writings of St. Paul.

1) Its Origin:

a) Stoicism and its possible influence:

There is no reasonable doubt that Paul would be acquainted with Stoic conceptions. His birth-place - Tarsus - was the home of a number of Stoic philosophers. A basic concept of Stoicism was that of the World-Soul: an assertion that the whole universe was only one substance, 'one Physis in various states and that one substance was Reason or God.'<sup>1</sup> One term is used to describe this one underlying Physis of all things - that which denotes breath or wind, or pneuma. And W. Scott's definition of Stoic pneuma in which man lives and moves and has his being in a 'living and thinking gas' is not inappropriate.<sup>2</sup>

According to some scholars, not only can we assume Paul's familiarity with some popular Stoic conceptions which were current in his day, but there is evidence he used these in his presentation of the Gospel e.g. Johan Weiss comments on 1 Cor.I : 15f 'In him all things consist' - 'here Christ takes exactly the same position which the World-Soul has in the Stoic system; he is the innermost, animating

1. Edwyn Bevan: 'Stoics and Sceptics' p.41.

2. W. Scott: 'The Bible and the Greeks' p.122

cohesive principle of power in the natural universe and in the realm of the Spirit and therefore identical with the life-creating Spirit of God which penetrates the whole world and pours into the souls of men.'<sup>1</sup>

He also writes of Paul's idea of Christ:

'The fixed outlines of the personality has he softened and dissolved and replaced by the idea of formless, impersonal, all-penetrating being.'

And he goes on to suggest:

'We are to understand Paul's language about the Spirit-language in which he speaks of 'being in the spirit', of 'walking in the spirit' etc. - in the light of these conceptions.'

Another scholar, W.L.Knox<sup>2</sup> has claimed that the expression 'body' applied to the Church goes back to the Stoic idea that the Cosmos was a body and the Divine mind either in its Head or the Spirit which animated it.

In line with this trend of thought would be an assertion that the Spirit should be interpreted in materialistic terms. J. Weiss<sup>3</sup> in fact describes the Spirit as a fluid which surrounds us and also

1. Johan<sup>nes</sup> Weiss: 'History of Primitive Christianity' Vol.II p.465.
2. W.L.Knox: 'St.Paul and the Church of the Gentiles' : pp.161f
3. Ibid p.464

penetrates us - an idea which can be traced quite naturally to the Stoics. And Weiss regarded the spirit as almost a physical kind of life which Christians come to share - 'a symbiosis with the Lord.'<sup>1</sup> Scripture verses which seem to suggest something of this kind are 2 Cor. IV : 16f; Col. III : 3f; Romans VIII : 2; Ephes. I : 13; 2 Cor. I : 22; V : 5; Romans VIII : 11~~4~~

If we were to accept this view of the Spirit as a kind of material, it would greatly ease our understanding of 1 Cor. XV : 44 where Paul contrasts the earthly body with the soma pneumatikos of the world to come which will be his through the Resurrection. Therefore, the body, or organ of personality, would have a 'material' of a 'spiritual' kind through which to express itself in the world to come, just as it had 'material' of flesh and blood for the same purpose in this world.

However, that Paul does in fact regard the Spirit as a kind of material or substance is dismissed by Rawlinson:

'It is absurd to infer that St. Paul thinks of the Spirit as being literally or semi-literally a fluid in such verses as: 'In one Spirit we were

1. Ibid p.463

all baptized into one body whether Jews and Greeks, whether bound or free and were all made to drink of one spirit.<sup>1</sup>

Buchsel will not, however, dismiss the suggestion so lightly. In his view the use of such a term as fluid to describe Paul's understanding of the Spirit helps to reserve the essentially personal character of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup> The Spirit is so closely related to Christ and to God, and the relation of the Christian to Christ 'in the Spirit' is so thoroughly of the 'I - Thou' type based upon a personal act of faith that we must throughout think of the spirit in personal terms.

W.B. Davies comments sympathetically:

'The use of such a term as fluid in the description of personal being must seem to us peculiarly unfitting. But it cannot be sufficiently emphasised that it might not have been so for Paul. We may admit the term *pneuma* might have borne for Paul a certain physical nuance and that in 1 Cor. XV : 44 it is thought of as a kind of physical substance.'<sup>3</sup>

Although he adds that this is not necessarily due to the influence of Stoic ideas; it may be explained in the light of Jewish usage.<sup>4</sup>

1. Rawlinson: 'The New Testament Doctrine of Christ' p.159
2. 'Der Geist Gottes in Neuen Testament' pp. 396-410
3. W.B. Davies: 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' p.183 4. 161d 196

T.A. Lacey, siding with Rawlinson, dismisses the idea altogether that Paul used Stoic concepts. He illustrates this in writing on 'the relation of the Spirit to the cosmos.' For Stoicism the cosmos is saturated with pneuma; the spirit, the anima mundi. But in 1 Cors.II : 11f Paul distinguishes between the Spirit of this World and the Spirit of God. Lacey suggests Paul deliberately rejects the Stoic concept of the Spirit since the phrase used by Paul characteristic of Stoicism is 'to pneuma tou kosmou'. The argument is, at Athens Paul was tempted to present the Gospel in terms of Stoic immanence. Therefore he quotes from Aratus, a Stoic poet of <sup>C;</sup> ~~A~~licia. But this attempt to interpret the Gospel in such terms proved a miserable failure. Paul, humbled by this experience, arrived at Corinth determined not to know anything 'save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified'<sup>1</sup> - 'reverts to the thoroughly Hebraic concept of the Spirit as transcendent.'<sup>2</sup>

1. 1 Cors.II : 2.

2. T.A. Lacey: 'The One Body and the One Spirit' pp 62f, 244

B) Hellenistic Mysticism:

Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup> particularly, among others, interprets the doctrine of Paul in the light of Hellenistic mysticism. This is a theory not without its attraction. For the Hellenistic world's widespread desire for 'gnosis' was a reaction against arid rationalism. This was a desire, however, which should not be confused with a desire for the intellectual understanding for the meaning of things. By 'gnosis' Reitzenstein means the vision of God which gives an intimate personal insight into ultimate reality. This experience is intense and highly emotional and it delivers him from the tyranny of 'heimarmene'. It illumines its possessor and gives him 'soteria' and finally it is this which defines him. The person who possessed such 'gnosis' might be called 'gnostikos' or pneumatikos - the most common term. And such a person was contrasted with the merely natural man who possessed no 'gnosis' - the psychikos.

In the Mithraic rite there is in the pneumatikos a kind of double personality: through the pneuma the pneumatikos is led to the vision of God while his human or 'physical nature' remains earthbound. Even when his earthly body commits sin the pneumatic is unconcerned because his essential ego dwells above the strain and stress of this world. His earthly body may still be subject to the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune but he

1. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen pp. 308f, 333f.

himself is divine. And it is in the light of Mithraic and other pneumatic experiences of Hellenistic mysticism that Reitzenstein would have us understand Paul.

There are four salient points which Reitzenstein uses to build his thesis and we deal with each one in turn:

i) I Cors.I : 3

Paul emphasizes that his preaching is 'in the Spirit', and that he has received the Spirit of God which can reveal to him the deep things of God - His Wisdom. With this Spirit of God he contrasts the normal or natural spirit of man - this cannot comprehend the things of God, and the man who possesses the natural pneuma only is merely psychikos; he cannot sit in judgement on him who possesses the divine pneuma, the pneumatikos.

In distinguishing between the spirit in the natural man (psychiko) and the Spirit of God in the pneumatikos, Reitzenstein holds Paul is presupposing the usage of the term pneuma found in magical sources where it is used in this two-fold sense. He also holds that in Paul's teaching may also be discerned a three-fold division of men parallel to the three classes of people distinguished in the Mystic religions as Unbelievers, Proselytes and the Teleioi.<sup>1</sup> e.g. Paul identifies pneuma with nous, an identification which was only possible because in Hellenistic circles the pneumatikos was also

1. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen. p.320

considered to be 'en nous'. In view of all this, Reitzenstein claims that all uses of pneuma in Paul are paralleled in Hellenistic documents.<sup>1</sup>

W.E. Davies<sup>2</sup> argues strongly against this hypothesis. Referring to the use of pneuma to signify both a quality of man and of God, he writes: 'It has been already seen that this two-fold usage is easily applicable in the terms of the ruach of the Old Testament which is used in the same ways. So too Paul's distinction of the sarkikoi psychikoi and pneumatikoi is best explained in the light of the Old Testament anthropology. Paul's conception of sarkx and pneuma correspond to those of the Old Testament bāsār and ruach.' He quotes Wheeler Robinson as showing how the Pauline psyche is parallel to the Old Testament nephesh which stands for the principle of life:

'The Old Testament usage had evolved a psychological term ruach with high associations and was tending to confine the originally general term nephesh to the lower aspects of consciousness: hence the developed Pauline contrast of the corresponding Greek adjectives (pneumatikos and psychikos).'<sup>3</sup>

Reitzenstein can only quote one example of the use of psychikos and only refers to one instance of the use of

1. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen : p.312
2. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: p.110
3. The Christian Doctrine of Man: p.109

pneumatikos when he quotes from Wessly's Zauber papyri where Eros is addressed as:

'Lord of all spiritual perception (pneumatikos aisthseós) of all hidden things.'

Secondly, Reitzenstein gives no real evidence for his statement that the mystery religions distinguished the three classes that he mentioned. Thirdly turning to Pauline identification of pneuma with nous we find that the two passages where this occurs are quotations from the LXX and therefore according to H.A.A. Kennedy 'cannot form the basis of any general hypothesis.'<sup>1</sup>

ii) Reitzenstein points out in I Cors.XV and elsewhere Paul bases his Gospel on the fact of the Resurrection. The validity of his kerugma rests upon the reality of his experience of the Risen Lord whom he has seen. His gospel is no mere human affair derived from tradition or evolved from any consultation with other apostles. Once the light of the Risen Christ, who is Spirit, had broken in upon him, he had no need to confer with flesh and blood as to the essentials of his Gospels; these he knew of himself through the Spirit.

Such an attitude, claims Reitzenstein, corresponds to the experience of the Hellenistic mystic.<sup>2</sup>

1. H.A.A. Kennedy: 'St.Paul and the Mystery Religions' p.159

2. Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen: p.77f

It follows from this that Paul no longer needs to know Jesus after the flesh, kata sarka. The historic Jesus is of no significance to him. It is the guidance of the Spirit that matters and Paul can be independent of the words and teaching of Jesus. 'As a pneumatikos he is undergoing a metamorphosis from glory to glory since he is not merely human but already subject to pneuma.'<sup>1</sup>

But W.H.Davies cannot accept this:

'Here Reitzenstein has gone astray. First, this is a misinterpretation of the phrase kata sarka in II Cor.V:16. This phrase does not mean that the Jesus of history no longer interests Paul; the phrase should in any case be taken with eidamen.'<sup>2</sup> He goes on to quote Rawlinson: 'For St. Paul there is only one Christ - Jesus of Nazareth. What he is repudiating is not a fleshly kind of Christ but a fleshly kind of knowledge. In virtue of the new life which he now lives in Christ Jesus he no longer forms his judgements, whether about Christ or about anyone else, kata sarka but in accordance with what he describes as 'the mind of the Spirit'. (Roms.VII:4)<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, Davies in refuting Reitzenstein's hypothesis, writes:

1. Die Hellenistischen <sup>religi</sup>o<sup>sa</sup>en: pp.357f.
2. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: p.195
3. Rawlinson: 'New Testament Doctrine of Christ' p.90

'Reitzenstein's view of Paul at this point ignores that conscious dependence on the example and words of Jesus for moral guidance.... there is abundant evidence in the Pauline epistles that the words and life of Jesus were normative for Paul.'<sup>1</sup>

Moreover Davies asks us to note that the term Paul employs in connection with the dictates of Christ is not such as would be suitable in description of the inward promptings of the Spirit. The term epitage (I Cors.VII:6) which, while it could be used of the commandments of Christ, would be unsuitable if used of pneumatic revelations.

'Without deciding whether Paul actually identified the Spirit with Christ, or not, we can assert that they are at least brought into closest possible relations.'  
(II Cors.III:vv 17,18)

This means that in all his pneumatic experience, ecstatic and other, Paul was still governed by his knowledge of the Jesus of history.

iii) Reitzenstein claims to find instances of so-called double-personality inherent to the mystery religions, also in the writings of Paul. He finds instances of this in 'I am crucified with Christ...(Gals.II:24) and 'I will come to

1. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: p.195

visions and revelations of the Lord... (II Cors.XII:1f)

When Paul says 'I am crucified with Christ' Reitzenstein would have us see that by this means Paul has appropriated to himself the experience of Christ. The outward historical act of the Crucifixion has been re-enacted in his own soul. The expression derives from Paul's experience that en Christo his old life has died, his past ideals, ambitions and pride were all crucified.

To this suggestion Davies replies that when Paul speaks of Christ living in him he is not referring to any ecstatic experiences whereby his own individuality is submerged. True, the old ego, by which he means not his individuality, but in Lightfoot's phrase, his 'natural man', the slave of the Old Covennant,<sup>1</sup> is dead, but he himself still lives in the flesh and his relation to Christ is determined by an act of personal commitment by faith.

It is not necessary to find any connection in this passage (Gals.II:20) with the kind of double-personality that Reitzenstein referred to in Hellenistic circles, Davies again quotes H.A.A. Kennedy:

'The relation of the human, individual Paul to Jesus, the historic person is never lost in a vague and impalpable experience.'<sup>2</sup>

- 1. J.B.Lightfoot: 'Epistle to the Galatians' p.119
- 2. 'St. Paul and the Mystery Religions' p.148

When we turn to II Cors.XII:2-4 the case is different. Here we are clearly dealing with an authentic ecstatic experience in which Paul believed he had been to a third heaven, and indeed was not sure whether or not his material body had journeyed there with him. Moreover, there are various other details in the Epistle that confirm the view Paul had ecstatic experiences:

- i) His Conversion is described by him in such terms (Acts IX:3f)
- ii) He could speak in tongues (II Cors.XII:9; Acts XVIII:9; XXII:17)
- iii) He heard God speak to him and so, too, Christ (II Cors.XII:9, Acts XVIII:9; XXII:17)
- iv) His preaching and his works are 'in the Spirit'.

Paul's visit to the other world in ecstasy then is no isolated phenomenon in his experiences. But there are, suggests W.H.Davies,<sup>1</sup> certain things to consider before we agree with Reitzenstein that Paul was a thorough-going pneumatikos such as in Hellenism, despite his ecstatic experiences:

- i) Such experiences were known among the Rabbis of Palestine so we need not postulate any Hellenistic influence here (cp. B. Hag. 13<sup>b</sup>)
- ii) It is important to emphasize that Paul does not claim such experiences are of primary significance. Especially

1. 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' p.198

noteworthy is his revaluation of the Gifts of the Spirit in I cors.XII:1f, where he clearly places the spectacular phenomenon of spirit-possession in subordination to the supreme gift of love. 'For Paul the true supernatural is never the supramundane visions of the pneumatic but agape.'<sup>1</sup> (I Cors.XII:1f)

Hence in describing his experiences in II Cors.XIII Paul is almost apologetic. He never makes a parade of his strange journey to Paradise, as the pneumatic in Hellenism must have done to some degree, and he never makes any vision he may have had, however helpful to him personally, the basis of any of his teaching.<sup>2</sup> This agrees with the view that it was not the guidance of the Spirit unchecked and uninformed that was regulative for Paul.

iv) The fourth and final point on which Reitzenstein builds his hypothesis is that he has to explain away the words of the historic Jews quoted by St.Paul, particularly his account of the Eucharist, by claiming the words of Jesus were necessary for the cultic practice of the Church. In short, he maintains that, for Paul, Christianity is a mystery centring round the Lord Jesus who has died and risen again. In this light he

1. Ibid.

2. cp. Edwyn Bevan: 'Sibyls and Seers' p.60

explains passages where Paul speaks of being baptized into Christ's death etc.

However, there arises the question whether the Hermetic literature, the Mithras liturgy and magical papyri can be used as evidence for the mystery religions at all, as they are by Reitzenstein. He seems to assume that there was a recognised Hellenistic mystery theology attached to the various kinds of cults and that this theology can be illustrated from the sources named above. Indeed, there seems no justification for assuming that the teaching of documents such as Corpus Hermeticum was bound up with the cultus at all. Davies observes:

'We cannot assume because the Spirit plays an important part in the Mithras liturgy and magical texts that the Spirit played an equally important rôle in the mystery religions. Although we hear of prophets in the latter, they do not appear to have been very significant, and the piety of the mystery religions, so far as we can judge, does not appear to have been of a pneumatic character.'<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, Davies maintains that it is clear that these documents (the <sup>1</sup>mythraic liturgy and magical texts where the idea of pneuma is prominent) are post-Christian and therefore the possibility should not be excluded that they reveal the influence of Christian pneumatology.<sup>2</sup>

1. 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' p.200 (quoting F.Buchscl)

2. Ibid. p.200

In concluding our discussion of Hellenistic and Stoic influences in the pneumatic writing of Paul we are bound to note that throughout the discussion we have had to refer time and time again to Old Testament and Rabbinic conceptions of the Spirit. Thus the materiality of the Spirit in Paul and the non-cosmic character of its activity we found to correspond to what is taught in Rabbinic sources. This then surely is the direction in which we should seek help for understanding Paul's teaching of the Spirit.

C) The Communal aspect of the Spirit in St.Paul; its antecedents in Rabbinic Judaism:

For Paul the Spirit should be the possession of every individual Christian e.g. the Apostle himself is convinced that he personally has been delivered from the 'law of sin and death' by the Spirit (Roms.VIII:2). His own preaching is in the power of the Spirit (I Cors.II:4) and he can claim for himself that he has the Spirit of God (I Cors.VII:40). His Epistles make it clear that it was the Spirit that led the individual Christians to accept the message of the Gospel (I Thess.I:6) and called them to personal sanctification (I Thess.V:23). The Spirit is poured forth into the heart of every Christian (Gal.IV:6) who is to regard himself as personally joined to Christ as is a wife to her husband (I Cors.VI:17). The Christian's body has become a temple of the Holy Spirit (I Cors.VI:19). Further, the Spirit differentiates between Christians conferring upon them differing charismata (I Cor.XII-XIV).

However, W.B. Davies warns against regarding the work of the Spirit in an unduly individualistic way:

'To isolate this individual nature of its activity is to distort Paul's whole conception of the Spirit..... more noticeable is his emphasis on the Spirit as the source of Christian fellowship and unity (cp. Ephes.II:18f;

IV:3f).<sup>1</sup>

1. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism : p.201

For Paul the Spirit is not only the life of the new man, but of the New Israel, the Church. The latter is the Body of Christ and is animated by the Spirit (I Cors.XII, XIII). The solidarity of all Christians with one another and with their Lord, through the one Spirit, is such that Christians as a Body no less than as individuals constitute a temple of the Holy Spirit. (I Cors. XIII:16f)

It is wholly consistent with this teaching that the gifts of the Spirit are bestowed not for individual self-gratification but for the upbuilding or edification of the whole company of Christian believers (I Cors. XII:14f):

'Pneumatic phenomena of whatever kind are to subserve the common weal.'<sup>1</sup>

This is no more than is to be expected, as the supreme expression of the Spirit is agape (I Cors.XIII) and this by its very nature was constitutive not only of a community of the like, but of the unlike. The Church, the fellowship created by the Spirit, knew neither Jew nor Greek, (Gals.III:28; Roms.X:12) bond nor free, male nor female, and membership in it involved a sharing of material no less than of Spiritual benefits.

In the light of this we may conclude that intensely personal as was the experience of the Spirit in Paul, he never regarded

1. Ibid 201

it as something peculiar to himself. Pronouns used by him in contexts dealing with the Spirit are almost always in the plural number - in short the Spirit, for Paul, implies community; to be possessed by the Spirit was, according to Anderson Scott, to know 'life of a new quality, life which awakened deeper levels of personality and related men to one another and to God in a bond which neither death nor life could break.'<sup>1</sup>

E.F.Scott, however, suggests Paul's emphasis on the communal nature of the Spirit arises from his missionary experience:

'Paul is compelled to think of the Church. His converts consisted of little groups which maintained themselves with difficulty in the midst of great alien populations. Only as they held together, supporting one another in their new faith and practice, could the mission be kept alive.'<sup>2</sup>

W.D.Davies agrees with Scott that much of the theology of the Apostle is determined by his ethical and pastoral concern. Doubtless his emphasis on 'the unity of the Spirit' owed something to this source. But it is, as he says, misleading to regard this emphasis as primarily the outcome of missionary expediency. This, surely, is

'to make the Church account for his conception of the Spirit; it is to make the Spirit ancillary to the Church and not

1. Anderson Scott: 'The Fellowship of the Spirit' p.46.
2. E.F. Scott: 'The Spirit in the New Testament' p.124

constitutive of it; it is to reduce the 'unity of the Spirit' to the level of the motto of a Co-operative Society.'<sup>1</sup>

No interpretation of Paul's doctrine of the Spirit can be accepted which does not regard it as integral to the whole of his thought and not merely an aspect of his missionary strategy or pastoral technique. We are on much safer ground, therefore, when we seek to relate Paul's teaching on the communal aspect of the Spirit to Old Testament and Judaistic antecedents.

We have already seen that while the Spirit in the Old Testament is conferred on individuals, these same individuals are so endowed not for their own sakes but for the sake of the nation.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Old Testament prophecy, as the activity of the Spirit par excellence, is directed always not to the individual but to the nation as a whole. This appears especially clear in the prophecies of Ezekiel where the Spirit appears as the organizing principle of national unity cp. Ezek. XXXVII:11-14. It is also seen especially that in the descriptions of the ideal ruler of the latter days, the Messianic King, the Spirit is made to rest upon him as the source of all his regal virtues. cp. Isa. IX:2.

There is, then, as has been clearly shown, traceable in Old Testament teaching on the Spirit a persistently communal

1. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: p.203

2. See p. 288

reference. Our next task is to enquire whether this aspect of the Spirit's activity prevailed in Judaism.

Rabbinic Judaism: its communal doctrine of the Spirit:

However saintly an individual might be, the Rabbis of Judaism considered, only if he lived in an equally 'worthy' environment could he receive the Holy Spirit. His milieu had to be such as to make possible his reception of the latter. Thus God had spoken to Moses and the same was true of all the other prophets, only because of the merit of Israel; he was in short a 'worthy' man in a 'worthy' community. We read:

'Not only with Moses alone did God speak because of the merit of Israel but all the prophets were spoken to by God as a result of the merit of Israel.....'<sup>1</sup>

And again:

'Under no circumstances did prophets prophesy but because of the merit of Israel'<sup>2</sup>

Closely associated with this is the way in which the dwindling of prophecy or the cessation of the Spirit was traced to the increasing sinfulness of Israel. e.g. In Sifre Deuteronomy Rabbi Eliezer (A.D.80 - 120) when he came to the Scriptural verse:

'And because of these abominations the Lord thy God is driving them out before thee.' Deut.XVIII:12 - remarked:

1 & 2. Mekilta Pisha.

'What harm we cause ourselves! since he who clings to impurities a spirit of impurity rests upon him.'

And he goes on to ask:

'Why is the Holy Spirit so little in evidence in Israel?

He answers with the quotation:

'But your iniquities have separated between you and your God.' (Isai.LIX:2) - A sinful nation is no longer a suitable environment for the Holy Spirit.

Statements have been recorded about certain of the Rabbis that although they personally were worthy of the Holy Spirit they were nevertheless debarred from its enjoyments because of their sinful age. e.g. Josefta Sirtah 13.3:

'One man is present here who is worthy of the ruach - ha-gôdesh but his generation is not worthy of it.'

Another time the sages were in session at Jabneh and they heard the Bath Qol announce:

'There is one man present in this conclave who is worthy of the ruach-ha-gôdesh but his generation is unworthy of it.'<sup>1</sup>

In the light of this, for Rabbinic Judaism no individual in isolation, like the magician of the Hellenistic world, could receive the Spirit; it was necessary for him in order to do so to live in a particular milieu.

1. Josefta Sirtah 13.3. pp.318-19.

W.B.Davies comments:

'The significance of this for the understanding of Paul will be clear. His insistence on the essentially social nature of the Spirit's activity falls into line with Rabbinic thought..... It is doubtful if Paul would ever have claimed that he himself had the Spirit unless he had been convinced that he belonged to a peculiar community which was also experiencing the Spirit.'<sup>1</sup>

An apparent contradiction in Rabbinic Judaism relating to the work of the Holy Spirit:

It is a common Christian conception that the Holy Spirit ceased its activities during the Rabbinic period - that is, between the close of the Old Testament Canon and the opening of the New Testament. However, there is a curious contradiction on this issue within Rabbinic Judaism. On the one hand we find the fact often stated that the Holy Spirit had ceased altogether from 'Israel'. In this connection there were three views:

The first connected the cessation of the Spirit with the destruction of the First Temple. There were five things which existed in the first temple lacking in the second:

1. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. p.207



- e.g. 1) Rabbi Aha (300 A.D.): 'He who learns in order to do is worthy to receive the Holy Spirit.'<sup>1</sup>
- 2) Rabbi Yudan (350 A.D.): 'Whosoever openly makes known the words of Torah, he is worthy of the Holy Spirit.'<sup>2</sup>
- 3) The celebrated dictum of Rabbi b.Jair (A.D.165-200): 'The Torah leads to watchfulness, watchfulness to strictness, strictness to self-control, self-control to purity, purity to piety, piety to humility, humility to sin fearing, sin fearing to holiness, holiness to the Holy Spirit and this last to the Resurrection of the dead.'<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of these passages Abelson and Marmorstein have claimed that the Holy Spirit was regarded by the Rabbis as actively present in Israel.

'The Rabbis' writes Abelson, 'did not relegate the possibilities of the Holy Spirit to any one particular section of time. Although strongly particularist in many respects, there were other in which they were emphatically universalist. This was one of them. The possession of the Holy Spirit was not for them limited to the past, neither was it the exclusive property of their own time. It was a gift from God for all time, which everyone could

1. Leo. Rabba 35.<sup>7</sup>
2. Song of Songs Rabba 1:8
3. Mishna Sotah 9.15.10

attain to provided he used the right means.<sup>1</sup>

However, W.B.Davies challenges this view by pointing out that two of the rabbis cited belong to the 4th Century A.D. And reminds us that there has been much discussion as to the significance of R.Phirehas b. Jair's words. It has been suggested that they are Essene in character and therefore not such as could strictly be quoted as evidence for Rabbinical Judaism. Buchler<sup>2</sup> rejects their Essene character, but even if we follow Buchler, it is noticeable that this passage and all the others quoted make no claim to the actual possession of the Holy Spirit, but only to the possibility of this, among those faithful to the demands of Torah.

Davies sums up an intensive discussion<sup>3</sup> on this apparent contradiction, with the words:

'The evidence, both direct and indirect, of belief in the frequent activity of the Holy Spirit in Rabbinic Judaism is unconvincing. The weight of evidence suggests this activity was regarded as a past phenomenon in Israel's history, a phenomenon which had indeed given Israel its Torah, its prophets and the whole of the Scriptures, but which had ceased when the prophetic office ended. We are not, however, to regard Rabbinic

1. 'The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature' p.268.
2. Buchler: 'Types of Palestinian Piety' pp.42f.
3. 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' : pp.208-215.

Judaism as an arid desert scorched to barrenness by its belief in a transcendent God who no longer revealed Himself to His people. On the contrary the phenomena experienced in Rabbinic Judaism - the belief in the Shekinah, the Bath Qol, the possession by some of the rabbis of the gifts of prediction,<sup>1</sup> healing<sup>2</sup> and other miracle-working, as Marmorstein<sup>3</sup> suggests - these are all eloquent of the awareness of the new presence of God and we need not deny that these may have been individuals who were conscious of the Holy Spirit as active in their lives. Nevertheless, as the whole of Rabbinic teaching makes abundantly clear, it was the Torah given on Mt.Sinai in a past age that was regulative for all life.'

We may therefore assume that Paul was reared within a Judaism which, to say the least, tended to relegate the activity of the Holy Spirit to the past. It was also a Judaism which cherished a strong expectation of the coming of the Holy Spirit in the future. Quotations cited above from Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah and Joel showed how vital was this expectation in the Old Testament and we cannot doubt the abundant Messianic speculations of Rabbinic Judaism utilized this expectation. Some rabbis, in fact, took a sarcastic attitude towards those who claimed possession of the Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

1. Josefta Sotah 13.5  
 2 & 3. Archiv fur Religions wissenschaft pp 286f.  
 4. b.Baba Bathra 12a

A REVIEW OF PAUL'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
AGE OF THE SPIRIT

1) Its Reality:

Paul is best understood as a Pharisee who believed that the Messiah had come. He would naturally expect certain accompaniments of this fact - in this he was not disappointed. In becoming a Christian Paul entered a new community and in the pneumatic phenomena that marked the life of that community, in its enthusiasm and power he saw proof of the advent of the Age to come. Davies comments:

'It is doubtful if the mere Messianic claims of Jesus would have made much difference to Paul. e.g. Rabbi Akiba accepted the Messianic claims of Bar Kokba and this did not seem to have any very extraordinary significance for him. And it is clear that in time the title <sup>Christos</sup> ~~Christos~~ was used by Paul without any strictly Messianic connotation, merely as a proper name for Jesus.'<sup>1</sup>

What lent reality to the Messianic claims of Jesus was the presence of the Spirit; the awareness of a Supernatural Power at work in the community, which issued in ecstatic experiences and in a dramatic moral improvement; phenomena which cannot be paralleled in contemporary Judaism.

1. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: p.216 (A.E.J.Rawlinson: The New Testament doctrine of Christ p.74)

2) Its Creative Activity

In his understanding of the work of the Spirit, Paul's mind reverted to the thought of creation; to the origin of life. Now, for him, Christ is the Second Adam who has become life-giving Spirit, and He is contrasted with the first Adam of whom we read in Genesis that 'God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen.II:7)

So the Spirit is essentially creative, life-giving, and for Paul the whole of the Christian life in its ethical no less than in its ecstatic aspects in the expression of the activity of the Holy Spirit. Love, joy, peace, righteousness and every moral triumph are regarded by Paul as the fruit of the Spirit. (Gal.V:22)

It is sometimes suggested that Paul eticized the Spirit e.g. Gunkel<sup>1</sup> insisted that Paul transformed the idea of the Spirit found in the primitive church from being merely a miracle-working power into the very source and sustainer of the Christian ethical life. Lagrange<sup>2</sup> went even further and claimed Paul reversed what he found in Rabbinic Judaism where the Holy Spirit, so he would have us believe, is never the source of the good life but its reward, and to back up his argument

1. Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes: pp.72f  
2. Lagrange: 'Le Judaisme avant Jesu Christ. p.443

he quotes the famous words of R. Phir b.Jair.<sup>1</sup>

Gunkel's view is refuted by Newton Flew in the words:

'it is unjust to the evidence to declare that Paul ethicized the idea of the Spirit as though that idea had been non-ethical before. We do not minimise the spiritual and intellectual greatness of Paul, if we insist that he was not the first to discern that the Holy Spirit is and does.'<sup>2</sup>

W.B.Davies, in refuting Lagrange's view, again reminds us of the not improbable Essene associations of R.Phin. b.Jair. He also quotes isolated Rabbinic sayings which present the Holy Spirit as the source of all good. But he bases his main case against Lagrange on the character which the Spirit had already acquired in the Old Testament:

'Already in the Old Testament the Spirit had been ethicized; it was the Spirit that inspired the prophets who discerned between the precious and the vile; it was the Spirit that would create in the revived Israel of Ezekiel's vision a new heart; it was the Spirit that would inspire the ruler of Messianic times with counsel, wisdom and righteousness.'<sup>3</sup>

1. See p. 316
2. Newton Flew: 'Jesus and His Church' p.144
3. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: p.219

To sum up, while it is true Paul did not ethicize the spirit, on the other hand it is clear that he did bring order into a very confused understanding of the activity of the Spirit which seems to have prevailed in the thought of the primitive church:

- 1) For him to be a Christian was to be in the Spirit (Rom.VIII:9)  
This was the great distinguishing mark between a Christian and a Jew. The Jew was still under the Law. The Rabbis might speculate as to who might, or might not, possess the Holy Spirit, but, for all this, the Sinaitic Law was supremely regulative, not the Spirit.

At Pentecost the waters of the Spirit had been poured out in dramatic fulfilment of Joel's ancient prophecy (Joel II:28) and the apostles and disciples of Christ had drunk deeply of them (Acts II:4). Or to change the metaphor, at Conversion and Baptism the Christian became indwelt by the Spirit; hence he was now a member of a spirit-filled community, the Church - the true Temple of the Holy Spirit. (1 Cors.III:16; 11 Cors.VI:16)

- 2) As the source of new life in Christ it was the Holy Spirit who was the agent of Regeneration - the New Birth was the mysterious work of the Holy Spirit (Titus III:5).

Elsewhere Paul expresses the concept of the new life in Christ by the word ΚΤΙΖΩ, to create (Ephes II:10) and the product of this creation is called a ΚΑΙΝΗ ΚΤΙΣΙΣ

(a new creature) II Cors.V:17; Gals VI:15 or a ΚΑΙΝΗ

ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

~~ανθρωπος~~ (a new man) Ephes.IV:24. The Christians growth

in holiness following his spiritual re-birth; a process

in which he experienced an increasing awareness of a

distinct separation from the world and the flesh,

i.e. his sanctification, was also the direct and special

operation of the Holy Spirit. (Acts XX:32; XXVI:18;

1 Cors.I:2; 1 Thess.V:23).

- 3) The third activity of the Holy Spirit was the manifestation of the Fruits of the Spirit. As the process of sanctification produced genuine subjective holiness in the maturing Christian so the fruits of the spirit, rather than the works of the flesh, would become increasingly dominant:

'....the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.....' (Gal.V:22,23)

- 4) Finally, the bestowal of the charismatic gifts was also a direct activity of the Holy Spirit following on Regeneration and Sanctification:

'The word of wisdom; the word of knowledge; faith; gifts of healing; the working of miracles; prophecy; the discerning of spirits; divers kinds of tongues; the interpretation of tongues.' (1 Cors.XII:8-10)

The charismatic gifts of the Spirit are quite distinct from the fruits of the Spirit enumerated in Gals.V. And nowhere were they more richly profuse in manifestation than in the Church at Corinth. Apparently the problems confronting Paul at Corinth centred largely on an over emphasis on the importance of the more spectacular charismatic gifts, particularly speaking in tongues, within the local congregation. These were being given a status equal, if not superior to, the less spectacular fruits of the Spirit.

Paul's apostolic answer to these problems is contained in the XII, XIII and XIV Chapters of 1st Corinthians. His rulings are to be seriously heeded by his readers for, he says, a true prophet or spiritual man will discern what he writes is a command of the Lord:

- 1) So that the possession of these spiritual gifts may not cause spiritual pride, jealousy, or even a spirit of division, he begins by declaring that all these charismatic gifts, so abundantly evident at Corinth, are but manifestations of the one Holy Spirit of God, and

to each one who possesses such a gift is given the manifestation of the spirit for the common good. Be it speaking in tongues, prophecy, the working of miracles, gifts of healing, all are inspired by one and the same spirit 'who apportions to each one individually as he wills.' By comparing the human body with its different interacting members, to the Church as the Body of Christ, Paul illustrates how every gift, however spectacular or humble, is to be used in the service of Christ's body, the Church. He infers that not all Christians possess the same gifts e.g.

'Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret?

He concludes by urging his readers to seek the higher gifts.

- 2) Chief among these higher gifts (strictly the first, in order, of the fruits, not the gifts, of the Spirit: Gal.V) is Love: Christian agape, desiring the highest good for one's neighbour. Hence, speaking in tongues, prophecy, even a super-abundant faith, may be spiritually remarkable and tremendously valuable for building up the Church, but if their possessors within the Christian community are without genuine agape: love, then their charismatic gifts benefit them nothing:

tongues will cease, prophecy will fade away but love, the more excellent way, never ends.

- 3) Paul then goes on to place speaking in tongues in its proper perspective within the whole experience of the charismatic gifts and to set it in its proper place within the context of worship. Love is to be the chief aim of every Christian believer yet also he is earnestly to desire spiritual gifts. In no way does Paul discourage the Corinthians' enthusiasm for seeking these new spectacular spiritual expressions. Next to Love, he places prophecy as the gift most to be desired. Prophecy is superior to tongues in that prophecy can be understood by all who are present, even unbelievers, whereas tongues, being in an unknown tongue, edify only the individual charismatic. Prophecy - inspired utterance; be it 'a revelation or knowledge or prophecy or teaching' - is in a known language and therefore speaks to men for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation. We should, however, note Paul does not discourage the practice of speaking in tongues: 'Now I want you all to speak in tongues' (1 Cor. XIV:5) but adds, he wants them even more to prophecy.

On the practice of speaking in tongues Paul can

speak with deep personal knowledge: 'I thank God  
 that I speak in tongues more than you all-' But  
 he adds that the possessor of such a gift should also  
 pray for the power of interpretation so that the whole  
 brotherhood may be edified. Within the context of  
 Christian worship there are to be no more than two  
 or three tongues utterances with interpretation. But  
 if there is no one with the gift of interpretation  
 present let the speaker in tongues keep silence in  
 church and speak to himself and to God.

Similarly with prophecy, the higher gift, two  
 or three only shall speak and the others present are  
 to weigh what is said. Above all, worship is to be  
 conducted in an orderly and seemly manner 'for God  
 is not a God of confusion but of peace.'<sup>1</sup>

1. 1 Cors.XIV:v.33

II : THE HISTORICITY OF THE DOCUMENTARY

EVIDENCE FOR PRETERNATURAL PHENOMENA :

a) IN THE NEW TESTAMENT:

AUTHORSHIP

The first problem to be considered is the authenticity of the Acts narrative which is so basic to our research. Doubt has been expressed in some quarters as to whether the same hand wrote the Acts of the Apostles as did the Gospel of Luke.

The case against the single authorship of Luke and Acts was built up by A.C. Clarke<sup>1</sup> on the basis of statistics of vocabulary; particularly in respect of particles and conjunctions. But W.L. Knox<sup>2</sup> after re-examining Clarke's contention concludes that:

'Clarke's linguistic researches..... tend to prove that the same hand is responsible for the final compilation both of Acts and of the Gospel.'

Further support for the traditional authorship comes from G.W.H. Lampe who writes:

'There seems no reason to doubt that it is the hand of Luke 'The beloved physician.'<sup>3</sup>

1. A.C. Clarke: 'Acts of the Apostles' (1933) p.395ff.
2. W.L. Knox: 'Acts of the Apostles' (1948)
3. G.W.H. Lampe: 'Peake's Commentary' p.882

LUKE AND PAUL:

The second problem about the historicity of the New Testament documentary evidence for preternatural phenomena is less simple to resolve; it lies in the apparent divergencies between the Lukan evidence in Acts and the Pauline evidence in 1 Cors. XII-XIV. Dawson Walker sums up the problem thus:

'There is an apparent contradiction between the two principal authorities as to the essential character of the gift (of speaking in tongues). St. Luke in Acts and Paul in 1 Cors. are almost the sole informants upon the nature and working of this spiritual gift, and one of the chief difficulties is to reconcile their apparently discrepant accounts of the phenomena. e.g. Acts Ch. II vv 1-13 describes the divinely bestowed power of speaking in foreign languages. But in I Cors. XII and XIV the phenomenon of tongues is described as rapt ecstatic utterance, unintelligible and needing interpretation but not necessarily involving the use of foreign languages.'<sup>1</sup>

It is fashionable in some scholarly quarters to regard Paul as the primary and trustworthy authority. While some modern scholars tend to discount the 'difficult' statements of Luke as due to his misunderstanding or to his deliberate

1. Dawson Walker: 'The Gift of Tongues'.

manipulations of the materials at his disposal. This method of disposing of 'difficult' material seems hasty if not downright unscientific. For it is possible, as Dawson Walker posits, to maintain the reliability, not the untrustworthiness, of Luke as a historian.

First, bearing in mind the analysis of New Testament evidence for speaking in tongues etc. in Part I, page 64 let us survey the historical interpretation of Acts II and I Cors.XII and XIV; first, the Patristic view, and then the Modern view:

a) The Patristic View:

Origen in his commentary on Romans first propounded the view that the Pentecostal phenomenon of glossalalia was a permanent endowment of the apostles with a miraculous knowledge of all those foreign languages in which they were to preach the Gospel. He also regards St.Paul as a possessor of the gift of speaking foreign languages, although not a Christian on the day of Pentecost. He even goes as far as interpreting I Cors.XIV:18 as referring to Paul speaking in foreign languages.

Gregory Nazianzen and Jerome both follow Origen and regard the phenomenon as one of foreign speech. Gregory of

Nyssa gives tongues a two-fold interpretation:

- 1) Like Origen and the others he too interprets the gift as a power of speaking in foreign languages.
- 2) He goes on to connect Pentecost with the Tower of Babel.

St. Chrysostom agrees with him and also compares the Pentecostal phenomena with the Tower of Babel. He agrees with Augustine that each of the recipients at Pentecost possessed the power of speaking in many different languages.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible to trace in the patristic comments certain developments:

- 1) A certain pushing of the interpretation in greater detail, as in the Patristic statement that each apostle spoke all languages.
- 2) There is a certain attempt to claim a definite place for this phenomena in the Divine order as in comparing glossalalia at Pentecost with the Dispersion at Babel.
- 3) One fixed idea underlies all the Patristic exegesis from first to last: the phenomena of Pentecost was a divinely bestowed power of speaking foreign languages.

1. Cramer's Catena on Acts II:4

b) The Modern View:

The above 'permanent' view of glossalalia held by the Fathers of the 4th and 5th Centuries has now been abandoned by nearly all Protestant commentators. The Modern approach is to interpret Pentecost from I Corinthians; albeit, the commentators differ widely in their resulting views of the historicity, or otherwise, of Luke's narrative. Some show a scornful disregard for Luke's account as 'pure fiction' (Zeller) 'Historically worthless' etc. At the other end of the spectrum, so to speak, are those who regard Luke's narrative as an amplified and slightly distorted version of the original event.

Typical of scholars who discount the Lukan narrative in Acts II as historically worthless is Zeller whose criticisms are purely destructive e.g. 'The basis of fact is quite superfluous for this portion of our narrative.' Also Ramsay, commenting on Acts II:5-11, writes: 'Another popular tale seems to obtrude itself.'<sup>1</sup>

Among those who hold Luke probably misunderstood the Pauline phenomena when writing Acts is Bartlett who comments:

'Paul's description reflects the normal facts touching the gift of tongues in the Apostolic Age. He quotes the prophecy about God speaking to His people 'by men of strange tongues' as exemplified by glossalalia. It is

1. Ramsay: 'St. Paul the Traveller'

quite possible in time confusion arose between the two senses of the word 'strange' and this crept into the account in Acts. The fact at the bottom of glossalalia in any form was one and the same. In it men were raised about their normal selves by a Divine impulse.'<sup>1</sup>

Such passages are typical specimens of the agreements and disagreements of modern critical procedure. Their general agreement is to take Paul's information in I Cors. XII and XIV as primary and normative; but they differ in their treatment of Acts II e.g. the English commentators - Plumptre, Knowling, Farrar and the modern writers G.W.H. Lampe and J.G. Davies - seem to be in fairly general consensus of opinion that the phenomena at Corinth and Jerusalem are generically identical but agree that the specific form of glossalalia at Jerusalem was speech in foreign languages. Some writers, like Farrar, hold the Acts II manifestations of spiritual power was, in their view, unique and not afterwards repeated. Farrar comments:

'At Corinth there is not the least connection with foreign languages..... I do not see how any thoughtful student can avoid the conclusion of Neander, 'Any foreign languages spoken at Pentecost were only something accidental and not an essential element of the language of the Spirit.'<sup>2</sup>

1. J.V. Bartlety: 'The Apostolic Age' pp.13, 14.

2. F.W. Farrar: 'The Acts of the Apostles'

Other writers, however, contend that foreign languages may well have formed part of the glossalalia at Corinth as well as at Pentecost e.g. Professor Lampe in commenting on the Pentecostal Xenolalia writes:

'It does not follow Luke has in fact misunderstood the nature of 'speaking in tongues' that was practised at Corinth. That Phenomena may have included both unintelligible utterances and speaking in foreign tongues.'<sup>1</sup>

Lampe appears to base his contention on J.G. Davies's important article in the Journal of Theological Studies New Series Vol.III p.228. In this article Davies rejects the view that I Cors. XII-XIV and Acts II are inharmonious in that I Cors.XIIif describes glossalalia in terms of incoherent ecstatic utterances of a kind witnessed at 'revivalist meetings,' whereas Acts II refers to speaking in foreign languages. He will not accede to the view that the speaking in tongues of Acts II vv 6b-11 is an interpolation by someone who misunderstood the Pauline phenomena (cp Kusopp Lake 'The Beginnings of Christianity'). He writes:

'The falsity of the contention of editorial manipulation becomes apparent if this whole section of Acts II is examined in relationship with the passage in the LXX on which it is

1. G.W.H. Lampe: Peake's Commentary p.888

evidently based e.g. Genesis XI vv 1-9.<sup>1</sup>

Genesis XI vv 1-9 describes the scattering of Mankind over the face of the earth and their division into different nations with different languages.

Acts II v 1 - 13 describes the reunification of mankind in their understanding of the divine message.

Therefore, contends Davies, the account of Pentecost is dependent on the account of Babel. He suggests the parallel use of words in each passage as 'immediately obvious' e.g:-

Genesis XI v.7: 'Go to, let us go down, and there  
confound their language.'

Acts II v.6b: 'The multitude came together, and were  
confounded.'

There is, he suggests, a contrast between the two passages:

'In the first pericope only one language is about to be disrupted. In the second many spoke but are understood in unison by their hearers. In the one, the consequences of God's action is that men cannot understand each other's speech. In the other the consequence of God's action is that the divinely

1. J.G.Davies: J.T.S. N.S.3(1952) pp 28-31

inspired speech is intelligible. While the result of God's intervention at Babel results in the confusion of language and disunity, the result of the Holy Spirit's descent at Jerusalem is the confusion of the people at discovering their unity!'<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from the examination of the interdependence of the accounts of Babel and Pentecost, Davies goes on to contend, that even if Acts II vv 6b-11 were excised, the remaining narrative would still involve the identification of glossalalia with speaking in foreign tongues. It is therefore necessary to consider whether its description in Acts was written by someone unacquainted with glossalalia. He then goes on to suggest the importance of understanding what glossalalia was, or, what Paul understood it to be:

In I Cor<sup>s</sup>, XIV, amongst other details, Paul specifies:

- 1) Glossalalia is unintelligible to the majority of people but is capable of being interpreted.
- 2) glossalalia is a sign to unbelievers.
- 3) glossalalia is the fulfillment of prophecy.

In seeking to determine the significance of the word *ewmneuein* and its cognates, Davies suggests their usage

1. J.G.Davies J.T.S. N.S.3(1952) pp 28-31

in the LXX and the New Testament needs to be considered. They are employed by Paul only in I Cors. XII and XIV in connection with glossalalia. Of 21 instances of the use of *ewmneuin* and its cognates in the LXX and the New Testament, apart from 7 occurrences in I Cors. XII and XIV, one refers to a satire or figurative saying; 2 to an explanation, and 18 have the primary meaning of translation. Davies concludes:

'Evidence such as to warrant the assertion that the word used by Paul of interpreting glossalalia carries with it the strong suggestion of translating a foreign language.'<sup>1</sup>

That this is the apostle's view of the phenomenon is supported by his loose quotation of Isaiah XXVIII vv.11, 12:

'By men of strange tongues and by the lips of strangers will I speak unto this people; and not even thus will they hear me.'<sup>2</sup>

The unintelligible language of the Assyrian invaders will be heard as a judgement on them for their rejection of the clear and intelligible message of the prophet. To similar effect, suggests Davies, Paul argues glossalalia is a sign of judgement on unbelievers. Nor is this passage from Isaiah

1. J.G. Davies: J.T.S. N.S 3 (1952) pp.28-31

2. I Cor. XIV v.21 quoting Isai. XXVIII vv.11 and 12.

alone in the Old Testament. The same theme of the unfamiliar language of foreign invaders as a sign of retribution is in Isaiah XXXIII v.19, Deuteronomy XXVIII v.49 and Jeremiah V v.15. Against such a background it is reasonable to assume Paul understood glossalalia to be talking in foreign languages - especially as there is no good ground in the text for thinking otherwise.

Davies admits it is possible to argue against such an interpretation. e.g. In I Cor~~o~~.XIV vv.7 and 8 Paul is speaking of musical instruments and says that 'If there is no distinction in the sounds, the hearer will not know what is being piped or harped.' It is possible to argue if Paul identified glossalalia with foreign speech he would not have suggested that there was no distinction between the sounds, since in any language there must be such.

But Davies implies that this would be to press the analogy too far: Paul is concerned to assert that just as inanimate objects which produce a noise must produce sounds that can be appreciated by the hearers e.g. a trumpet must be understood by soldiers, so the human voice must have significance for the hearer. From v.19 it is quite apparent Paul considered it possible to enunciate words in a tongue, although the majority would not understand them.

He concludes:

'There seems therefore no adequate room for denying Paul understood glossalalia to be in foreign languages. Consequently there is no conflict between his description and the account in Acts II, which is a unity.'<sup>1</sup>

Dawson Walker, also takes the conservative view, and his conclusions strongly support the contention of J.G. Davies:

- 1) 'The Patristic view is not tenable', he holds. Was not the ability to speak in other languages a superfluous endowment? Surely, he suggests, Greek and Latin were quite sufficient for the apostles to be understood in all the places the scriptures record they preached? Nor is there any subsequent New Testament allusions to the possession and display of such powers in their evangelistic work e.g. Paul did not understand the Lycaonian language (cp Acts XIV: 8-18) and there is extant the famous remarks of Papias that even the Apostle Peter needed Mark to accompany him 'as his hermaneutés'.<sup>1a</sup>
- 2) The Radical view that Luke's account is to be rejected ought to be disregarded: 'Such a method of criticism appears uncritical and unscientific.' He goes on to

1 Ibid

1a Dawson Walker: 'The Gift of Tongues'

... illustrate a similar instance of comparing Luke unfavourably with Paul. He quotes Hensley Henson writing on the Resurrection:

'I Cors.XV is the earliest testimony to the Resurrection of Christ. Therefore, St.Paul repudiates a materialistic conception of the Resurrection. But St.Luke implies a Risen Christ who is a precise contradiction of the Pauline concept. i.e. Paul speaks of a pneumatikos soma - a spiritual body. But Luke says the Risen Christ was of flesh and blood, ate, could be felt, etc. Therefore, concludes Hensley Henson, these two divergent accounts cannot be harmonised and Luke being the later account must go.'<sup>1</sup>

But Dawson Walker will not accept this mode of reasoning, he pleads:

'In our present state of knowledge this is presumptuous dogmatism about Christ's or any other resurrection body. We know too little of spiritual matters. There may well be all possible relationships between them.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Hensley Henson: Hibbert Journal. Vol.II p.487
2. Dawson Walker: 'The Gift of Tongues'

Similarly, he argues, in the case of speaking in tongues. The two authorities are difficult to harmonise. But the wisest course, he suggests, is to wait for fuller knowledge. A better understanding of psychical phenomena may one day make certain, what already seem highly probable, these are not two different accounts but both are at the same time true.

Dawson Walker suggests a key to the solution of the problem will be found either in regarding the phenomena at Jerusalem as generically identical with that at Corinth but modified by circumstances peculiar to that one occasion of Pentecost, or the key to the solution will be found with those who not only claim the fundamental and generic identity but also boldly maintain foreign languages were a phenomenon at Corinth also.<sup>1</sup>

Two authorities already cited, Knowling and Farrar, dogmatically affirm: 'There is no connection at Corinth with foreign languages.' Yet it is possible for conservatives like Dawson Walker to argue the precise opposite:

'Tongues at Corinth did include foreign languages.

This view is as old as Origen for he renders

I Cors. XIV:17 as: 'in the tongues of all nations.'

Jerome and Theodoret interpreted I Cors.XIV:v2 similarly.

1. J.G.Davies: J.T.S. N.S.3 (1952) pp 28-31.

But all three - Origen, Jerome and Theodoret misconceived the nature of the gift - as one given for the evangelising of the nations. Whereas in both Acts II and I Cors. tongues are a language of worship and adoration addressed to God and not man.'<sup>1</sup>

Dawson Walker also cites two contemporary supporters of the view foreign languages were part of the tongues phenomenon at Corinth:

- 1) Alford writes: 'The phenomena at Jerusalem and Corinth are 'one and the same.'<sup>2</sup>
- 2) Also A. Wright: 'I am forced to the conclusion that though some of St.Paul's illustrations undoubtedly favour the theory of incoherent noises, yet his application of them does not do so, and, on the whole, foreign languages are certainly implied.'<sup>3</sup>

There are other features in the text of I Cors.XII and XIV, suggests Dawson Walker which support the view that not only were the Jerusalem and Corinthian phenomena generically the same but also foreign languages may well have occurred in the tongues phenomena at Corinth as well as at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost:

- 1. Dawson Walker: 'The Gift of Tongues'
- 2. H. Alford: 'How to study the New Testament: Vol.3: The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles'
- 3. A. Wright: 'The Acts of the Apostles.'

- 1) 'Glossa' in Attic use may mean, by itself, either a foreign word or foreign speech (cp. Aristotle Rhetoric III 2 al) Therefore it is not impossible Paul refers to foreign languages in 'glossa<sup>15</sup> lalein'.
- 2) Paul speaks of 'kinds of tongues' (gené glosson I Cors XII:28) i.e. the gift of tongues took different forms. I Cors.XIII may not improbably point in the same direction.
- 3) When Paul wishes to enforce his view that glossalalia was only a sign for the unbeliever, he quotes a prophecy of Isaiah XXVIII:v.11 - a threat that God would speak to his rebellious people by the Assyrian invader with his strange language. This implies Paul did regard foreign languages as having a place among the phenomena in question.
- 4) Dawson Walker's assertion that foreign languages were used in the tongues phenomenon at Corinth explains the apparently contradictory assertion in I Cors.XIV:22 that tongues are a sign not for believers but for unbelievers (cp. v.23). May it not be there were indeed occasions when xenolalia emanating from within Christian worship would arrest the attention of the passer-by or casual

visitor to the congregation in the same way as happened on the morning of Pentecost itself (Acts II:8f)?

Therefore, we may conclude Paul's language in I Cor. XII and XIV doesn't exclude the supposition foreign languages were indeed part of the glossalalia at Corinth.

Finally, we may now summarise this examination of the various views on the historicity or otherwise of the Acts and Pauline evidence for glossalalia under the following headings:

- 1) There is general agreement among both the Fathers and modern critical scholars that at Pentecost the recipients of the Holy Ghost did utter praises to God in Tongues other than their own i.e. in foreign languages, and some of the bystanders heard, or thought they heard, these praises being uttered in their own particular tongue. One exception being E.M. Blaiklock.<sup>1</sup>
- 2) A series of Fathers, probably under Origen's influence, interpreted the Pentecostal gift as a permanent endowment to speak all foreign languages. Some believed the Pentecostal phenomenon of Acts II to be in fact a reversal of the Tower of Babel incident. (Gen.XI)
- 3) The generally accepted procedure now is to test the historicity of Acts II by reference to I Cor. XII-XIV, the result varies with the views of the different critics

1. E.M. Blaiklock: 'Acts of the Apostles' (Tyndale Commentaries) p.57

e.g.:-

- a) Some entirely discredit Acts II - Zeller, Ramsay.
- b) One or two have vague suspicions of embellishments and exaggerations - Bartlett, Blaiklock.
- c) Some English scholars regard the two sets of phenomena as generically identical but the circumstances of Acts II are peculiar to Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost - Plumptre, Knowling, Farrar, Lampe, Davies and Bruce.

b) In Subsequent Church History:

One problem concerning the nature of the evidence for continuing manifestations of preternatural phenomena is the alleged lack of clear historical testimony to the phenomenon of speaking in tongues, glossalalia. Conybeare is a popularly cited authority used to substantiate the thesis that all the Pentecostal gifts continued to be exercised spasmodically throughout church history to the rise of the modern Pentecostal movement. Conybeare writes:

'The same morbid and abnormal trance utterances occur in Christian revivals in every age. e.g. among the mendicant friars of the thirteenth century, among the Jansenists, the early Quakers, the converts of Wesley and Whitfield, the persecuted prophets of the Cevennes, the Irvingites.'<sup>1</sup>

But R.A. Knox strongly denies the existence of any certain documentary evidence for the existence of glossalalia in church history between the close of the Apostolic Age and the rise of the modern Pentecostal movement. He writes:

'Conybeare's article sounds well until you examine his evidence for glossalalia in early times. He refers to the Timaeus; the VIth Aenied; de anima of Tertullian. In each case there is a reference to ecstatic prophecy, but there is no mention of a strange language.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.XIV

2. R.A. Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.550

He goes on to quote two authorities in support of his contention:

- 1) Nathaniel Spinkes refers to Camisards; Spinkes's contemporary, 'one Francis Hackett'; Anabaptists; Early Quakers; as 'Victims of enthusiasm' but not as having spoken with tongues.<sup>1</sup>
- 2) Drummond, writing about possible parallels with glossalalia in church history, doesn't say the Montanists, Schismatic Franciscans, Anabaptists, Early Quakers actually spoke with tongues.<sup>2</sup>

R.A.Knox himself comments:

'The absence of glossalalia among early Methodists is remarkable..... I cannot recall a single allusion in all his journal of the gift of tongues.'<sup>3</sup>

Knox makes a point here which is often ignored by well-intending writers who support the modern Pentecostal revival within the great denominations: Wesley himself does not claim to have spoken in tongues, nor is there any explicit record in his Journal of actual glossalalia amid the profusion of other phenomena. He writes to the Bishop of Gloucester:

'As to speaking with tongues.....it is not even pretended I lay any claim at all.'<sup>4</sup>

1. N. Spinkes: 'The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised.'
2. Drummond: 'Edward Irving and his circle.'
3. R.A.Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.551
4. Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester: 'Wesley's Works': Vol.XI. p.119

Again, in his famous conversation with Bishop Butler, usually abbreviated when quoted and therefore inaccurate, he denies the personal possession of any special gift of the Holy Spirit:

The Bishop to Mr. Wesley:

'I will deal plainly with you. I once thought you and Mr. Whitefield well-meaning men; but I cannot think so now. For I have heard more of you; matters of fact, sir. And Mr. Whitefield says in his Journal: 'There are promises still to be fulfilled in me.' Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing - a very horrid thing.'

Wesley: 'My Lord, for what Mr. Whitefield says, Mr. Whitefield, and not I, is accountable. I pretend to no extraordinary revelations or gifts of the Holy Ghost; none but what every Christian may receive, and ought to expect and pray for.'<sup>1</sup>

Having argued strongly against the possibility of speaking in tongues being a continuing phenomenon within the life of the Church, Knox then demolishes his case at a stroke by saying he doesn't deny the existence of glossalalia in the period under discussion:

1. J. Wesley: 'Journal' Vol. II. pp. 256-257

'To speak in tongues you had never learned was, and is, a recognized symptom in cases of alleged diabolical possession. It was never claimed on a large scale as a symptom of divine inspiration until the end of the Seventeenth Century i.e. by the Huguenots of the Cevennes and the Jansenists..... and was practised by a handful of simple people in the neighbourhood of Port Glasgow.'<sup>1</sup>

Of these tongues manifestations, he comments caustically:

'Judged by merely human standards, a child prattles no less convincingly.'

But Knox has in fact claimed tongues were no mere childish plaything - 'they are recognized symptoms in cases of diabolical possession.' At other times he more moderately suggests certain eye-witness records imply that the inspiration behind the phenomenon was not the Devil but Man himself. In the case of some at least of the French prophets he suggests hysteria indicates the phenomenon's all too human origin. He quotes Wesley's detailed description of one of the French prophets in action:

'Presently after, she leaned back in her chair, and seemed to have strong workings in her breast, with deep sighings intermixed. Her head and hands, and by turns, every

1. See p. 194

part of her body, seemed also to be in a kind of convulsive motion. This continued about ten minutes, till at six, she began to speak.'<sup>1</sup>

~~Comments~~ <sup>comments,</sup> Knox, 'The symptoms in this case are more definitely hysterical.....'<sup>2</sup>

As far as the phenomena in early Methodism is concerned he suggests its origin is not hysteria but is induced by the use of an elaborate prayer technique:

'There is a cry, or a roar, usually (not always) the afflicted person drops to the ground; you can see that he or she is something in the position of the demoniac healed after the Transfiguration; Satan is letting his prey go, with utmost reluctance. The bystanders fall to prayer; if there is no immediate deliverance the interrupter is carried out; and prayer goes on, often till late at night.'<sup>3</sup>

But it is the Irvingite prophets and prophetesses, he suggests, who brought the human contrivance of tongues to a fine art:

'Sometimes they worked themselves up in a mediumistic fashion:

'Her whole frame was in violent agitation, but

1. J.Wesley: 'Journal' 28/1/39
2. R.A.Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.552
3. R.A.Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.550

principally the body from hips to shoulders, which worked with a lateral motion. The chest heaved and swelled, the head was occasionally raised from the right arm, which was placed on the forehead while the left hand and arm seemed to press and rub the stomach. She was but a few seconds in this state when the body swayed, the neck became stiff the head erect; the hand fell on the lap, the mouth assumed a circular form, the lips projected, and the Tongue and English came from her in an awful tone.'<sup>1</sup>

Comments Knox, 'The Irvingite prophetess clearly disposed herself for ecstasy.'<sup>2</sup>

The key to the understanding of Knox's equivocating attitude towards the historical evidence for tongues manifestations lies in his unwillingness or inability to concede that such glossalalia is in fact genuine i.e. divinely inspired. If he is not scorning such phenomena as symptomatic of diabolical possession, he is looking for some anthropocentric explanation: hysteria, artificial contrivance, and even a human interpretation of actual tongues messages. e.g. He finds it unreasonable of Irving to reprove Pilkington at his Regent Square church for impiety by attempting an interpretation when

1. A.L.Drummond: 'Edward Irving and his circle'. p.167: 'Pilkington's evidence.'  
 2. R.A.Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.552

not in the Spirit. He notes almost with derision that Tongues were regarded by Irving and ~~Co.~~<sup>his followers</sup> as a gift to be used without any appeal to the understanding.<sup>1</sup> Again on the Port Glasgow manifestations he quotes Drummond thus:

'It looks as if the Macdonald brothers did not expect their utterances to be interpreted by any natural means. James Macdonald when repeating over the concluding words of his utterance which were 'disco capito' said, 'And this is the interpretation: The shout of a King is among them.'<sup>2</sup>

As a parthian shot, Knox quotes the Encyclopaedia of Religious Denominations in support of his case; particularly as an assessment of the Irvingite movement:

'After much diligent enquiry no satisfactory evidence could be found that it was a real language spoken by any portion of mankind. It was then concluded to be, in the literal sense of the expression, an unknown tongue and viewed merely as a sign of the Holy Ghost.'<sup>3</sup>

So there we have it: Knox is really after a human explanation of the tongues manifestations, even a human interpretation of tongues messages. That they may genuinely be inspired by the Holy Ghost is of no real importance to him:

1. R.A.Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.552.  
 2. A.L. Drummond 'Edward Irving and his circle' p.144.  
 3. Encyclopaedia of Religious Denominations p.262

But if they could be understood by the human mind then this would give them credibility - in his ears. However, if his conclusions about tongues manifestations are to him unsatisfying, by airing his views on them in such detail he has at least conceded the genuineness of the historical evidence for tongues within the life of the Church.

III : A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL STUDY  
OF THE PHENOMENA :

'The issue is..... whether the very numerous conversions of the Evangelical Revival were in fact what history supposed them to be: a genuine work of divine grace in which men and women were set free for spontaneous living, or whether they were simply due to a process of psychological manipulation in which Wesley and his preachers imposed their beliefs on people whose capacity for genuinely independent thought and action had been broken down by the ordeals of evangelism.'<sup>1</sup>

Ramage's observation on Wesley's evangelistic work suggests a general theme for this whole section on the psychological and physiological aspects of the phenomena: the issue is in fact whether the numerous and varied phenomena ranging from glossalalia to prostrations listed in Part I of this thesis are what history supposed them to be: a genuine work of the Holy Spirit or the spectacular results of psychological manipulation in which unscrupulous preachers imposed their beliefs on people whose capacity for genuinely independent thought had been broken down by the ordeals of evangelism.

1. Ian Ramage: 'The Battle for the Free Mind.' Fact or Fiction. p. 98

a) Early Methodism

From the beginning of his field preaching and the startling manifestations which often accompanied it, John Wesley had his critics who suggested little if anything of the Holy Ghost was responsible for the wild scenes which so offended the eyes and ears of the staid churchmen of the mid-eighteenth century. Bishop Lavington and others peremptorily dismissed the prostrations, groanings and shriekings as sheer 'lunacy and hysteria'.<sup>1</sup> Likewise the poet Southey, later in the century had no doubts whatsoever that the phenomena were anything but divinely inspired:

'Like Mesmer and his disciples, Wesley has produced a new disease, and he accounted for it by a theological theory instead of a physical one.'<sup>2</sup>

Wesley himself, in answer to his critics, denies the phenomena are really manifestations of lunacy, for all lunacy, he holds, is nothing less than diabolical possession. However, a latter day critic of Wesley and all forms of what he describes as 'religious enthusiasm', R.A. Knox, is convinced that not merely lunacy but the direct inspiration of the Devil himself is indeed responsible for the phenomena; particularly speaking in tongues. He goes on to quote against Wesley two extracts from his own Journal:

1. Lavington: 'Works' Col.II:3

2. Quoted by R.A. Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.550.

- i) 'The afflicted person sometimes spoke in the character of the devil.'<sup>1</sup> Knox comments wryly, 'Wesley here confines himself to prayer and hymn singing as the only incantation!'<sup>2</sup>
- ii) At Bristol, Wesley was 'a little surprised by some who were buffeted by Satan in an unusual manner, by such a spirit of laughter they could in no wise resist.'<sup>3</sup>

However, a modern critic, not unsympathetic of Wesley and his evangelistic methods is Dr. William Sargent. He agrees that the phenomena that accompanied much of the field preaching was caused neither by the indirect or direct inspiration of the Devil nor was it divinely inspired. His contention is that the phenomena were in fact caused by physiological group excitation.<sup>4</sup>

To appreciate fully what Dr. Sargent means by physiological group excitation we must survey something of his field of research. During World War II he was engaged in the mental rehabilitation of service men at a neurosis centre. Certain drugs were administered to a carefully chosen patient and, as it started to take effect, an endeavour would be made to make him relive the episode that had caused his breakdown - escaping from a blazing tank or crashed aircraft. The consequent marked improvement in the patient's nervous condition was

1. J. Wesley: Journal: 24/10/39

2. R.A. Knox: 'Enthusiasm' p.550

3. J. Wesley: 'Journal': 9/5/40

4. W. Sargent 'Battle For the Mind' p.18

attributed to the releasing of the original emotional symptoms - fear or anger.

It was discovered that a patient could sometimes be restored to mental health, not by his re-living a particular traumatic experience under the influence of drugs, but by stirring up in him, and helping him to discharge, strong emotions not directly concerned with that experience. Outbursts of fear or anger thus deliberately induced and stimulated to a crescendo by a therapist would frequently be followed by a sudden emotional discharge.

This new development in mental therapy coincided with Sargent's reading of Pavlov's book 'Conditional Reflexes and Psychiatry'. Pavlov, the great pre-war Russian Behaviourist Scientist, had begun comparing the results of disturbances of brain functions noted in his animals with those noted in human beings. He was not inhibited in his researches by the Western World's cultural repugnance to comparing man and dog: Man, in addition to his brain and nervous system, has an independently acting metaphysical soul, which it is assumed helps to control his ethical behaviour and dictates his spiritual values. In this strongly and widely held view, animals have brain but no souls; which makes odious any comparison between the behaviour pattern of men and animals.

Pavlov, insisted experimental facts, however limited

in their range, which can be repeatedly tested and checked, should take precedence over broader and vague psychological speculations. Thirty years of research convinced Pavlov that the basic temperaments of his dogs approximated closely to those differentiated in man by the ancient Greek physician, Hippocrates. e.g.

- 1) Hippocrates's 'choleric' type, Pavlov described as 'Strong excitatory.'
- 2) Hippocrates's 'Sanguine type', Pavlov described as 'lively' a more balanced temperament.

On the basis of the results of his experiments with dogs, which he repeatedly tested and checked, Pavlov concluded the normal response to imposed stresses or conflict situations by both these types were increased excitement and more aggressive behaviour.

It seemed to Sargent as if Pavlov's intensive experiments on changing animal behaviour provided evidence which would help explain why certain methods of bringing about similar changes in men were successful. It had been his own experience in a wartime neurosis centre, particularly his success in treating schizophrenia with insulin shock therapy, which had been the starting point in his thinking. Now he had been led to connect these experiences of what he calls drug abreaction with the physiological mechanics used by Pavlov in his experiments on

animals. This in turn led him to a further connecting link - Wesley's mass conversion of the common people of England in the Eighteenth Century.

One afternoon, when the abreaction technique was being applied to the more normal victims of severe battle stress or bombing stress, Sargent happened to visit his father's house and picked up Wesley's Journal for 1739/40:

'His eye was caught by Wesley's detailed reports of the occurrences 200 years before of almost identical states of emotional excitement, often leading to temporary emotional collapse which he induced by a particular sort of preaching. This phenomena often appeared when he had persuaded his hearers that they must make an immediate choice between certain damnation and the acceptance of his own soul-saving views. The fear of burning in Hell induced by his graphic preaching could be compared to the suggestion we might force on a returned soldier, during treatment, that he was in danger of being burned alive in his tank and must fight his way out of it,'<sup>1</sup>

Sargent then, somewhat incongruously, compares what he calls 'Wesley's group excitatory preaching and its dramatic effects on his listeners with Pavlov's methods he used to alter the behaviour of dogs.

1. W. Sargent: 'Battle for the Mind' Introduction: P 18

'The two techniques seemed startlingly similar' he comments. In the U.S.S.R. and Red China the results of Pavlov's experiments on dogs seem to have influenced the techniques used for the eliciting of confessions, for brainwashing and inducing sudden political conversions.<sup>1</sup> So, Sargent suggests, the numerous conversions and other phenomena of the Evangelical Revival were also a form of brainwashing obtained not by drugs or conditional reflexes but by the application of mental pressure by Wesley and the other leaders of the Revival. Even the rousing Evangelical hymns as much as Wesley's sermons are regarded as part of this 'mental pressure' by Sargent:

'Charles Wesley's hymns are addressed to the religious emotions rather than to the intelligence.'<sup>2</sup>

Quite seriously he goes on to suggest that the reason for modern Methodist preaching being less effective is because the present fashion is to address the intellect rather than to stir up strong emotions in a congregation. He almost goes out of his way to draw attention to the enormous potentialities of the technique of physiological group excitation as demonstrated by Wesley. He goes on to remind us that this potentiality is admitted by less sympathetic Catholic writers e.g. R.A. Knox.

In his monumental work 'Enthusiasm', Knox emphasises the variety and range of religious viewpoints that can be firmly

1. Pavlov: 'Conditional Reflexes and Psychiatry'  
T.P. Frolov : 'Pavlov' and his School'.  
2. W. Sargent : 'Battle for the Mind' p. 84.

implanted in many minds under excitatory stress. He has much to say about Wesley but is less concerned with understanding the mechanics of the process than with the fundamental philosophy:

'How to explain these phenomena - Camisard child prophecy, Jansenist convulsion or Methodist swoonings, or Irvingite glossaly - is a question that need not detain us. What is important is that they are all part of a definite type of spirituality, one which cannot be happy unless it is seeing results. Heartwork, Wesley called it; the emotions must be stirred to their depths, at frequent intervals, by unaccountable feelings of compunction, Joy and Peace etc., or how could you be certain that the Divine touch was working on your soul?'<sup>1</sup>

Sargent also reminds us that the techniques of group excitation has many spectacular forms in the United States - R.A. Knox, he notes, shows how closely the behaviour of some American congregations resembles that once noted by Wesley in the British Isles:

'Trembling, weeping and swooning away, till every appearance of life was gone and the extremities of the body assumed the coldness of a corpse.'<sup>2</sup>

Again from Knox's 'Enthusiasm' he notes that numbers of people could even be persuaded by revivalists to believe that behaving like certain animals was a sign of possession by God:

1. R.A. Knox: 'Enthusiasm'  
2. W. Sargent (quoting Knox): 'Battle for the Mind' p.115 (quoting Knox)

'When attacked by the 'jerks' some leapt and grimaced like frogs. 'The Barks' consisted in getting down on all fours growling, snapping the teeth and barking like dogs - these people were particularly gifted in prophecies, trances, dreams, rhapsodies, visions of angels, of heaven and of the Holy City.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus Sargent substantiates his thesis by quoting this Catholic writer. However, Rev. G. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, warned Catholic writers they could not afford to be over critical of the excitatory methods used by other sects:

'The person who best understood the art of excitatory religious emotion was the founder of the Jesuits. This was the most violent and extensive religious excitement in history.'<sup>2</sup>

It was then, posits Dr. W. Sargent, the same psychological processes which produced the weird gyrations of the voodoo cults, personality changes in Pavlov's dogs that also caused the phenomena which accompanied the field preaching of John Wesley and his fellow Evangelical revivalists.

A modern Evangelical scholar who contests this thesis is Ian Ramage, a New Zealand Methodist clergyman. He notes that the only previous Conservative Evangelical reply to

1. W. Sargent: 'Battle for the Mind' (R.A.Knox 'Enthusiasm') 115
2. G. Salmon: 'Evidence of the Work of the Holy Spirit'

Sargent is that of M.H. Jones who criticises Sargent for loose and fanciful New Testament exegesis and a failure to recognise the place of the Holy Spirit in Christian conversion. Jones insists the main issue should be dealt with on theological rather than psychological ground.<sup>1</sup>

However, Ramage writes:

'It is important to try and meet Sargent as far as possible on his own ground.'<sup>2</sup>

Ramage goes on to quote from another writer who purports to do just that: Owen Brandon's 'Battle for the Soul':

'Not everything Sargent says will be acceptable to all evangelists, but the value of his contribution to the scientific understanding of the conversion process can be assessed only by a careful reading and weighing of his thesis.'<sup>3</sup>

Owen Brandon seems to accept without question Sargent's claim to show similarity, so far as mental process is concerned, between psychoanalysis, political brainwashing and religious conversion.

'Precisely this claim must be questioned', argues Ramage, and it is one of the aims of his essay to show that

1. M.H. Jones: 'Conversion, Psychological and Spiritual'.
2. I. Ramage: 'The Battle for the Free Mind' : Ch.1 p. 17
3. Owen Brandon: 'Battle for the Soul' p.51.

while there are forms of conversion and evangelism (pseudo-conversion and spurious evangelism) which are psychologically similar to brainwashing and indoctrination, genuine conversion and evangelism should be clearly discriminated from these on psychological grounds.

To begin with Ramage indignantly rejects Sargent's suggestion that the contemporary church should use brainwashing for benign purposes. He echoes the words of William Robinson:

'The New Testament gives us a picture of God's relationship with men in which the appeal of God is always to the responsible choice of the individual.'<sup>1</sup>

'Moreover,' adds Ramage, 'in Christian conversion the whole movement is not toward enslavement but towards the liberation of personality. Jesus said he came 'to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them ~~them~~ that are bruised.' To his disciples he said: 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' Hence, brainwashing, concludes Ramage, even for benign purposes is not morally neutral. Such methods are not evil because they are used by the Communists. They are intrinsically evil no matter who uses them and to what purpose.

Having roundly condemned Sargent's unethical suggestion that the Christian Church continue to use this kind of brainwashing,

1. Rev. W. Robinson: Article 'Personal Persuasion'.  
The London Quarterly & Holborn Review  
(July 1962) pp. 212 ff.

Ramage turns to refute his main thesis.

First, he maintains that the most serious confusion in Sargent's book is his consistent failure to distinguish between the mind and the brain. He holds a materialistic view of the body-mind relation. Such a view may be either what is termed Naturalism or Epiphenomenalism:

- a) Naturalism - In psychology this is developed in the Behaviourism of J.B. Watson and his school. It implies the whole life and experience of man is to be understood in terms of bodily processes which are themselves a series of mechanical reactions to external stimuli. Man, therefore, is thus nothing but a complex stimulus response machine.
- b) Epiphenomenalism - a view which does not deny the reality of mind completely, but it is not considered to play any part whatsoever in guiding bodily behaviour. op. a speedometer in a car - while it records from moment to moment something of the activity of the mechanism of the car, it cannot of itself influence or alter the performance of the car in anyway.

All such materialistic views of the body-mind relation are subject to the same quite serious objection:

'If the human mind is of such a subordinate status as the materialists claim,' writes Ramage, 'a mere epiphenomena or physical process in the brain, without any independence of thought or expression, then it cannot possibly arrive at the truth about anything - or at least it cannot express that truth in speech or writing.'<sup>1</sup>

Hence, Ramage argues, the activities of mind - thoughts, feelings and ideas - cannot be physical; they are a different order of reality. Whatever Sargent denotes by these terms, there seems no doubt that man's 'immortal soul' and 'the mind' in the broadest sense of the word are certainly both involved along with the 'brain' and the 'nervous system' in all the variety of phenomena that are dealt with in his book. He cannot help dealing with these wider aspects of personality, and instead of putting them on one side as he would like to do, what he does in effect, is to subsume the whole lot under 'the brain' and the nervous system which man shares with the dog and other animals.

Secondly, on the question of Pavlov's famous dogs, Ramage observes:

'The parallels which Sargent discovered between the behaviour of Pavlov's dogs and some of his cases of battle neurosis and the classification of different temperamental re-actions requiring degrees of sedation

1. I. Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind': *Mind and Brain* p. 25. ~~Ch. Dogs and Men.~~

are all extremely interesting but I do not believe that they tell us more than part of the story.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far, Ramage suggests, they are significant only under the conditions of modern warfare, brainwashing, or in cases in which the particular conditions of Pavlov's experiments are most nearly stimulated. Pavlov's experiments do not give any reason to believe we have a master clue for the understanding of neurosis in general i.e. the effort to understand neurosis takes us past the point where conditional reflexes, temperamental types, simple physiological stresses will tell us much that is relevant.

There is a second and more radical reason why Pavlov's experiments with dogs are of limited value in interpreting human behaviour: both Pavlov and Sargent speak so confidently of 'alteration in brain function' or transmarginal inhibition of the cerebral cortex that readers of 'Battle for the Mind' may overlook the fact that all these changes in brain activity are as yet matters of hypothesis, not scientific observation. If it is reasonable on the basis of observed behaviour to infer that there are certain changes in brain activity, it is just as reasonable to infer that there are other changes in brain activity also viz. psychological changes, emotional and cognitive changes of various kinds in the experience of the dog, that accompany the changes in his overt behaviour.

1. I. Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind' Ch. Dogs & Men. p. 39.

Therefore, while Pavlov's picture of his dogs in terms of observed behaviour and hypothetical brain changes may not be at all untrue, it is never more than part of the picture:

'Certainly another half of the facts are inaccessible to us: e.g. the dog's struggle to discriminate between various stimuli; its experience of frustration as a threat to its basic security, its effort to cope with or avoid over-stimulus or changes in mood or emotional experience due to debilitation, drugs or glandular surgery.'<sup>1</sup>

On the question whether man may legitimately be compared with a dog, Ramage observes that it is reasonable to infer from observed behaviour there are quite large differences in intelligence, social and 'cultural' capacity. It is difficult to say what these differences are, for we know nothing of the inner life of dogs.

The real point of Ramage's objection to a cold comparison of Man with Dog arises from scientific method: dogs are not dogs simply as Pavlov described them. There is much more to dogs than his physiological explanations, and this makes comparison between the two on the basis of Pavlov's experiments very hazardous except in extremely limited situations.

1. Ian Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind' Ch. Dogs and Men p.42

Thirdly, it is necessary to distinguish between the different types of psychological process, which Sargent fails to do:-

- i) There is the direct imposition of extreme emotional stress and strain leading to abnormal behaviour and to what Pavlov calls 'terminal exhaustion' with the possible inhibition of brain function, emotional repression and breakdown viz. experiments on dogs, terror and fatigue in brain washing.
- ii) There is the release of repressed emotion - emotional abreaction. This may involve temporary collapse and exhaustion - this is not a process of breakdown but of recovery. This process is accomplished:
  - a) By weakening or lowering a degree of repression i.e. by drug abreaction or the transference situation of psycho-analysis.
  - b) By weakening repression on the one hand and building up the force of repressed emotion trying to get past it on the other e.g. Sargent in 1944 at his neurosis centre.

An examination of the bewildering variety of religious phenomena in Sargent's book 'Battle for the Mind' would probably show some would belong to each of above categories. From the viewpoint of Christian ethics and theology it is considerably

important to know to which of the above category an alleged conversion belongs, or what type of conversion an alleged process of evangelism seeks to promote, e.g. blatant brain-washing, religious or otherwise, belongs to the first category - the process of breakdown under strain. On the other hand Christian conversion per se belongs to the second category of healing processes, with the breaking of repression and consequent enlargement of conscious personality and the appearance of spontaneous behaviour in the place of compulsion.

Fourthly and lastly in refuting Sargent's thesis Ramage turns to consider in detail Wesley's evangelistic methods. He reminds us of the gist of Sargent's accusations:

- 1) Wesley by the powerful and effective use of hell fire preaching so terrorized his hearers many of them collapsed under the strain.
- 2) They - his hearers - broke out in violent emotional reactions.
- 3) When they finally reached a state of exhaustion and abnormal suggestibility these were persuaded to accept Wesley's brand of salvation and handed over to the Methodist societies for systematic indoctrination. For parallels he cites the ordeals of certain primitive religions; communist brain washings, and experimental stress imposed on Pavlov's dogs.

These bizarre emotional reactions are the same as

those observed in voodoo cults; the irrational conduct of the victims of battle neurosis and the ultra-paradoxical behaviour noted by Pavlov in his dogs:

'The final collapse is that state of 'terminal exhaustion' which supervenes in many different circumstances when the cortex of the brain, strained beyond endurance by 'transmarginal stimulation' responds with a state of protective inhibition.'<sup>1</sup>

To support his thesis Sargent quotes from Wesley's Journal a few accounts of strange phenomena: hysterical outbreaks, swooning, roaring, screaming, violent paroxysms, convulsions and states of collapse among some of the people. These incidents were mostly confined to the early years and a large number of them were in Bristol.

What real evidence does Sargent bring? Very little. Anyone who is acquainted with the literature of early Methodism or who will take the trouble to read any of the standard lives of John Wesley will realise Sargent's picture of Wesley as a Hell-Fire preacher who achieved his great success by making a tremendous assault on the emotions is completely misleading.

'I have carefully examined all the examples of emotional excitement which Sargent cites from Wesley's Journal and I can find nothing either in the quotations or their context to give any grounds for his suggestion that they

1. Pavlov: 'Conditioned Reflexes and Psychiatry'

were brought on by a particular sort of preaching, such as he describes.<sup>1</sup>

There is no evidence in Sargent's book of his having read Wesley's sermons - 141 are available. In these published sermons there are few references to hell, and none of the long harrowing descriptions of the torments of the damned used by other revivalists ( e.g. J.E. Finney) with such effect. In fact Wesley's theology was refreshingly different from that of the majority of his Evangelical contemporaries. He rejected their Calvinist doctrine that men are predestined to hell by the arbitrary decrees of a just God, and here he is prepared to imperil his biblical literalism by asserting quite dogmatically: 'No scripture can mean that God is not love.' Whatever else he thought about hell, Wesley made it abundantly clear no one ever went there simply by the intention of God. Hell was only 'for those who in spite of all the warnings of God, resolve to have their portion with the devil and his angels.'

On the same theme of Hell, in a 'Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion,' Wesley writes:

'By salvation I mean, not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell, or going to heaven; but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity, a recovery of

1. I. Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind' Ch. 'Fact and Fiction'

the divine nature; the renewal of our souls after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy and truth.'<sup>1</sup>

Although Wesley faced men and women with this existential choice, and did it with an effectiveness that has seldom been equalled in the history of the Church, he was much too profoundly aware of its nature to imagine that men could be terrified into making a saving response to the offer of God's grace.

Among the 141 sermons extant of John Wesley only one has Hell for its theme. Nor apparently was this one of his favourites. Between 1747 and 1761 he kept a very full Sermon Register - there is no mention whatsoever in it of the sermon on hell. The only entry in the whole Journal in which it is mentioned is for 26/4/69. Then it was preached at the brick kilns near Derry.

Mention must also be made of a striking feature of early Methodism: hymn singing. Knox had described the fervent signing of Wesley's followers as 'his only incantation' - assuming the ensuing phenomena was devil inspired! Sargent, however, dismisses the rich hymnology of Charles Wesley with the cryptic remark:

'His hymns are addressed to the religious emotions rather than to the intelligence.'<sup>2</sup>

1. J. Wesley: 'A Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion'
2. W. Sargent: 'Battle for the Mind'. P. 84.

Ian Ramage ripostes:

'This remark displays no more understanding of his sources than one would expect.'<sup>1</sup>

There is certainly much vigorous religious emotion in these hymns, much joy and gratitude to God, much love to God and men, but they are also packed with doctrine and the intellectual content of the faith. They do not rely on the pretty trimmings of some traditional hymns but are filled with the theology of the Incarnation. There is a great deal in them about the Love of God, but very little about Hell.

Most of the spectacular manifestations, which Sargent alleges were caused by physiological group excitation, were confined to the very early years of Methodism: 1739-43.

Ramage comments:

'I have carefully examined the Journal covering this period and there are less than twenty occasions recorded when a large number or a whole congregation was affected. In most cases there is no instance of the spread of physical symptoms or other highly emotional reactions by crowd contagion at all, and only a handful of people, or sometimes a single individual affected in a large crowd. e.g. there is nothing to parallel the wild outbursts of religious enthusiasm or mob hysteria that was a feature of the New England Revival of the same period.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Ian Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind' p.13<sup>2</sup>  
2. Ian Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind' p.141

There are seven accounts of such phenomena quoted in the 'Battle for the Mind'. In most of them only one or two people in a large crowd were affected; in only one instance were the reactions spread throughout the crowd by emotional contagion. There is even less evidence of hell-fire preaching. In four out of the seven instances there is no mention of hell-fire - this is not mentioned by Sargent!

We may conclude then that when all the evidence is carefully scrutinised Doctor Sargent's hypothesis rests upon little solid foundation. He has not shown convincing evidence that the preternatural phenomena which accompanied Wesley's preaching were in the great majority of cases actually caused by physiological group excitation; nor has he shown at all that Wesley used high-powered hell-fire preaching to cause mental stress and collapse in order to win his Methodist converts.

b) The Ulster Revival:

'1859 is ever memorable in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. For some time before, a growing seriousness had been observable among the people in many districts, public religious ordinances had been more largely attended and here and there faithful ministers had been cheered by witnessing decided cases of conversion.

It was in the Spring of 1858 that a very interesting work of grace began to manifest itself in a congregation in the neighbourhood of Ballymena. And in the course of 1859 the awakening pervaded a large portion of Belfast, Coleraine and Londonderry where vast multitudes assembled to engage in religious exercises. It penetrated into secluded rural districts where no means whatever had been employed to produce excitement. Where the minister, in the first instance, often looked unfavourably on its manifestations. At the commencement nothing remarkable appeared among the worshippers except the ordinary indications of earnest attention and profound emotion; but as the work extended some cried out in agony, strong men became weak as infants, and many persons of both sexes, were stricken down.

The Revival took the whole population by surprise.

The physical manifestations were strange and unaccountable to the multitude; and were mixed up with much excitement. But withal 1859 was eminently entitled to the designation 'The Year of Grace.'<sup>1</sup>

However, not everyone agreed with the Chronicler that 1859 was entirely a 'Year of Grace'. Among the critics of the Revival, particularly its physical manifestations, was E.A. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath. In his pamphlet 'The Work and Counterwork or the Religious Revival in Belfast with an explanation of the Physical Phenomena' he admitted that there was much good in the revival movement. He acknowledged that all he met during his visit to Belfast agreed that a serious attention to religion had been widely awakened in the minds of thousands who had never thought seriously of it before. Yet at the same time, he alleges, there existed a 'counterwork' dishonouring to the Holy Spirit and antagonistic to the Scriptures as our sole revelation from God, founded on delusion by which it is very difficult to avoid being deluded, and sedulously propagated by means injurious alike to the welfare of souls and bodies.<sup>2</sup>

This counterwork took advantage of a bodily illness which had come to be co-existent with the revival movement, though not co-extensive with it. It was generally assumed

1. Reid & Killin: 'History of the Irish Presbyterian Church' Vol:III, p.509.
2. E.A. Stopford: 'The Work and Counterwork' p.6.

that this illness was either necessary or naturally or at least beneficially and instrumentally connected with conversion.

These assumed the illness is new and unknown; a view defended by the 'mysterious connection between body and soul' e.g. if the soul is actually overwhelmed and prostrated with sorrow for sin, the body as a natural consequence would be prostrated too.

With this latter view Stopford concurs. But he asks, are the Belfast manifestations of this nature - or how far are they attributable to disease? Is it a new thing or one whose influence on religion is already known?

In his critique of the Ulster Revival, especially the preternatural phenomena in Belfast, Stopford seeks to show:

- 1) The Belfast manifestations are only ordinary phenomena of a well known form of disease.
- 2) Its very nature is antagonistic and not favourable to true religion.
- 3) The present results and consequences are injurious to woman's nature and subversive of the Word of God as the sole foundation of faith.
- 4) This affection is only accidentally, and not properly, connected with true conversion and religious revivals can be (and ought to be) wholly disconnected from it.

From the reports of the Belfast phenomena which reached

him, Stopford became convinced that the 'movement of the hands, arms, head etc., the expression of the countenance, the sounds of the voice, the cries, the screams, the moans, the coughs 'had each a peculiar character, unlike anything else; they were, he concluded, symptomatic of a definite nervous disorder. He himself visited Belfast to confirm his theory. There, viewing for himself the Revival, he records<sup>1</sup> he 'heard sounds he had heard 30 years before - at Irving's chapel: a woman speaking in an unknown tongue. That same cry he recognized in unmistakeable form in his visit to Belfast. In fact he concluded from his own eye-witness observations that all 'cases' in Belfast were unmistakeably hysterical and 'so was every case described to me.' Nor, he added, was there any reason to believe the physicians doubted this.

Stopford asks: 'Did the preaching of Christ's apostles produce hysteria?' He replies: 'Christ went about healing all manner of sickness among the people.'<sup>2</sup> Nor on the day of Pentecost and the first tongues manifestations was there any trace of hysteria. Therefore the disease in Belfast could no longer be treated with Prayer Meetings and singing. It had become a case for moral treatment by the clergy under the advice and guidance of the Christian physician conversant with physiology and psychology.

1. E.A. Stopford: 'The Work and Counterwork' p.7.

2. Matthew: Ch.X:v.1.

Then, in the partial light of the medical knowledge of mid-Victorian Britain, Stopford, who had lectured his clergy on the nervous system and hysteria, writes in some detail on the 'Action of Hysteria':-

'Certain nerves proceeding from the spine govern all the expressions (except action) which the body can give to the feelings of the mind - the branches of these nerves extend to the eyes, face, lips, chest and the region of heart and stomach. In the normal state these nerves are moved to action by real emotion of the mind, and are subject to its direction and control. In the state of health tears, sobs, facial expressions, the movement of the lips, the tones of the voice, the sensations of the throat and chest, 'weight about the heart', stomach sickness, all are, or may be, natural expressions of mental feeling.

In the Hysterical state, the vegetative nerves (a partially distinct system, independent of the cerebral system and which partly constracts and is partly connected with the cerebral system by the sympathetic nerves) and the sense of physical feeling predominate and govern the nerves of expression absolutely discharged from the direction of mind or will. Hence all action of the nerves of expression, so affected, as far as the action is produced by hysteria, although identical in outward form with that which is natural, ceases to be any expression

of the emotions of the mind, and becomes only the expression of diseased physical feeling.'<sup>1</sup>

Stopford is not unsympathetic to 'emotional' religion. But he writes that there was a tendency to confound hysteria with the natural excitement of emotional feeling:

'I believe firmly that any revival of true religion must depend chiefly on proper cultivation. A reaction against hysteria will throw us back into coldness and deadness.'<sup>2</sup>

But he goes on to warn his readers about the nature of hysteria: it is of the nature of the disease:

- 1) To attach to any idea connected with self.
- 2) To be propagated by sympathy.
- 3) To imitate any form of hysteric action seen or heard of.'<sup>3</sup>

He is not saying that real sorrow and mourning for sin does not sometimes exist in the paroxysm of hysteria - it does! But words used while in that state, especially when the words express only a vague indefinite sense of distress on account of sin, without compunction for particular sins (which he feared was a common case in Belfast) afford no proof that such feeling is genuine or real, however sincerely it may be believed in by the patient at the time. The existence of such real feelings

1. E.A. Stopford: 'The Work and Counterwork' p.19.

2. Ibid. p.21

3. Ibid. p.23

can only be believed on the evidence of previous feeling or subsequent conduct. Stopford goes on to observe:

'Here I have found it invariably acknowledged to me, by those who urged the universality of this conviction of sin and the cry for mercy and the feeling of peace as proof of the spiritual origin of the affection, that in a great number of cases it is already proved by the subsequent evidence of the lives of the persons and in very many instances too, by the subsequent confession and testimony of the persons themselves, that there never was any real influence of the Spirit of God on their hearts and that all these expressions, however sincere at the time, were entirely delusive and worthless.'<sup>1</sup>

Stopford affirms that the hysteria he has witnessed during his stay in Belfast was in fact excited by nothing less than frenzied prayer and preaching. He describes in detail one sermon that he heard which had given him the impression that the preacher carefully studied how hysteria might be produced. The sermon which he describes as 'typical' was on Dives and Lazarus. It contained nothing of the love of Christ, nor of the guilt of sin. There was nothing in it to awaken the conscience. 'Hell' was the one cry, and the sole object aimed at was to produce a sensation of the intensified torture of physical self-feeling. Some passages were wholly

1. E.A. Stopford: 'The Work and Counterwork' p.23

without ideas: the 'existence of Dives' and 'endless duration' were put together, repeated again, transposed, reversed, inverted, with infinite variety and art, until nothing in the nature of an idea to occupy the mind remained but the prolongation of the physical self-feeling of agony. 'This part of the sermon was the most laboured and studied piece of composition I ever listened to,' comments Stopford. 'For there was evidence precisely here that the chief labour of preparation was bestowed; precisely here, where every idea had disappeared, that the preacher bestowed the whole force of voice, and tone, and gesture - a fact observed in other sermons before.'<sup>1</sup>

As expected, when all sense and meaning was gone, the preacher had his base and unmanly triumph in evoking a wild and long-continued scream of hysteric agony, which, as it rose more and more wild, did effectually silence the preacher and left him standing in his pulpit with a most self-satisfied air, until her tardy removal enabled him to proceed. In the production of these effects, the use of the hand in pointing to individuals evidently plays a large part and is carefully studied and applied.

'It is not necessary to recur to mesmerism to account for this phenomenon,' writes the Archdeacon. 'The action of the hand had been studied on other grounds:

1. E.A. Stopford: 'The Work and Counterwork' p.41

persons are wrought up, as above, to a state of self-feeling of personal torment, as far as possible disconnected from any exercise of the understanding, or any appeal to the conscience, and then the motion of the hand comes in; not in direct influence on any selected individual, as a mesmerist would do, but skillfully made to bear, like a squinting eye, on as many as possible, as if it rested on each alone; this to embrace the largest number of chances. This pointing of the hand is the last appeal to intensified and agonized self-feeling wrought up to 'cruel expectation' by an artfully judicious pause. This is not mesmerism; it is a mere trick, too often successful.'

'Such preaching', concluded the Archdeacon, 'can no more convert the heart, than the burning of the cities of the plain or the destruction of the old world by the Flood change the fallen nature of Man. It can only produce hysteria.'<sup>1</sup>

But Stopford not only condemns such sermons as deliberate contrivances to produce hysteria, he also warns of what he calls a 'sympathetic power'; it too can produce hysteria:

'Hundreds of mill girls in Belfast have prayed and are praying to be 'struck' (i.e. prostrated).....in a

1. E.A. Stopford 'The Work and Counterwork' p.41.

church a girl's mind may dwell on impressions before received, or she may come there having prayed to be 'struck', and hoping for it there: in either case, the result may follow during a sermon, and yet not be caused by the sermon; and one case if not promptly checked may produce twenty more in persons similarly predisposed, and in all this she may be blameless.<sup>1</sup>

This general expectation, desire, or fear of being 'struck', which was mainly owing to the course taken in public preaching, is also a powerful agent, for which those who promoted it were responsible.

'It is not to be attributed to the Act of God,' declared Stopford.

He then examines the popular notion of the day that the general awakening to religion in Belfast had arisen from solemn feelings about religion induced by the physical manifestations, hysteria or otherwise. He poses the question:

'Why destroy an illusion if it is productive of so much good?'

The answer he provides himself:

- 1) Having in the Scriptures a true and certain revelation from God as the only means of bringing men to the knowledge of His truth, he could not look on delusion or imposture as lawful or a useful means of working out that same end.

1. Ibid. p.44

- 2) Notwithstanding some good may at first have arisen from the impressions made by the bodily affection, through the ignorance of their nature, yet the delusion as it had then developed was:
- a) Subversive of religious reverence.
  - b) Antagonistic to the Scriptures as the sole revelation from God and as the foundation of our faith.
  - c) dishonouring to the Holy Spirit.
  - d) Ruinous to man in its effects.<sup>1</sup>

The Archdeacon gives special mention to one particular 'fruit of hysteria': visions:

'Visions are one of the most ordinary phenomena of hysteria. Almost every girl struck in Belfast has visions, and would be greatly disappointed if she had not. These visions are naturally mistaken for revelations from God, and this is the more natural as these are often attended with a remarkable flow of ideas and words which I have before noticed as being so easily mistaken for the gift of prayer. Therefore, it is easy to imagine how little consequence the Scriptures become to ignorant people who believe they have a direct revelation from God.'

He concludes:

'This is Irving and his prophetesses over again!'<sup>2</sup>

1. E.A. Stopford: 'Work and Counterwork' p.46

2. Ibid 57

It is very interesting to read a modern writer's view of the Belfast phenomena; that of Dr. William Sargent, an eminent present day medical authority, particularly on mental diseases and their treatment. In his book, 'Battle for the Mind', he puts forward the thesis that the physical manifestations in religious revivals are in fact the product of physiological group excitation; this was for him notably so in the phenomena which accompanied the rise of Methodism the excitatory agent being, in his view, Wesley's preaching:

'Stopford also felt far deeper research was needed to explain the phenomena appearing at the great revival in Ulster.....He correctly compared the more remarkable Revival symptoms with hysterical ones, and with the phenomenon of hypnosis. Stopford warns against the dangers and risks of using such methods, but is honest enough to write:

'.....testimonies received leave me no room to doubt that the Revival movement in the North has been attended by the suppression of drunkenness and profanity: by the general reformation of moral character: by increased interest in everything pertaining to religion.'<sup>1</sup>

Another modern writer, J. Edwin Orr, highly evaluates Stopford's critique of the Ulster Revival:

1. W.Sargent: 'Battle for the Mind' Ch.VI

'The best and most constructive criticism of the Revival is the pamphlet by the Archdeacon of Meath, the Venerable E.A. Stopford. It has been recognized by the Journal of Psychopathic Medicine and Mental Pathology as 'not less remarkable for the cordial recognition of the devotional movement than for the indignant denunciation of the attendant hysteria.'<sup>1</sup>

However, one at least of Stopford's own contemporaries does not share this general acceptancy of 'The Work and Counterwork' as the authoritative work on the Ulster Revival. William Gibson writes in his 'Year of Grace': a history of the Ulster Revival of 1859:

'It is greatly regretted while warning against the counter work he (Stopford) did not give due prominence to the 'Work' itself. He made a short visit to Belfast going the rounds of some congregations where there was nightly an intense excitement, and not having sought out any of the locations where he might have had an opportunity of learning at least as much, among a more intelligent class of the population, of the real character of the movement. He heard harangues which he regarded as a specimen of the style of address then prevalent in town and country and which he represents as made up largely of coarse and harrowing appeals prolific

1. J. Edwin Orr: 'The Second Evangelical Awakening' p.182

of hysteria, while the prayers were of the same character.

However excellent his aim, he left unhappily, a false impression in the minds of the multitude who were satisfied to follow without inquiry in the wake of such an able writer. His statement was eagerly caught up by the 'Works' opponents but for the most part it was set at naught.<sup>1</sup>

The general view taken of the phenomena by the religious portion of the public, contends Gibson, was, that on whatever theory they might be accounted for, it was a great thing if, under any circumstances, men were awakened from the almost universal death-sleep into which they had fallen. From the beginning of the Revival there was a general impression that the strange excitement, as this great movement was ushered in, might have a profound moral significance:

'So insensate are the generality of men, that nothing can exceed their indisposition to realise the spiritual and invisible; and why should not the quickening Spirit, through the medium of strange and startling things on earth, arouse the dormant intellect to the far stranger things in heaven? - a trumpet call to arouse the sleepers from their fatal slumber?'<sup>2</sup>

1. Wm. Gibson: 'The Year of Grace: A history of the Ulster Revival of 1859'.
2. W. Gibson: 'The Year of Grace' Ch. XIX pp. 326 ff

Gibson is convinced that whatever was the solution of these 'visitations' there was no doubt by their suddenness they surprised and awed the mind of the community. A sensible and solemn dread, not unmingled with superstition, fell upon the most hardened and abandoned - those who before had mocked, were seized with mortal terror, like criminals whose hour had come. Nevertheless, Gibson admits the Revival movement and its 'accessories' in Northern Ireland were not always treated wisely by those who regarded them as due to the direct influence of the Spirit of God. If such views had prevailed extensively it would have been difficult to say what excesses would have been committed and what occasion would have been given to the adversary to speak reproachfully.

'Well for Ulster,' comments Gibson 'and for religion, that throughout the country there was a body of educated and enlightened ministers who from the outset set themselves to repress extravagance and excess.'

The disorders that had taken place in some quarters were largely to be attributed either to the lukewarmness of those who might have been expected to direct the movement, or to the too ardent temperaments of others who allowed themselves to be borne along, irrespective of the course it took, upon every outflow of the tide of feelings. Yet these bodily agitations were not an indispensable feature of the revivalist movement:

in Conra, records Gibson, the 'gracious work' continued for 18 months without violent agitations before public attention concentrated on it. Hundreds had been led to a 'serious consideration' and passed through a spiritual crisis, under the silent operations of the truth: nor had there been in all that time throughout the district any outcries or prostrations at the revival services and prayer meetings. However, Gibson does take up Stopford's point as to a Biblical warrant for such agitations. He writes, while bodily agitations are not necessary, there are instances in the Bible in which 'gracious affections' would seem to have been accompanied by much physical depression. He questions whether in fact no such results were attendant on the personal ministry of our Lord and His apostles - not even at Pentecost?<sup>1</sup>

Gibson boldly faces the unavoidable fact that the majority of contemporary medical opinion supported Stopford's contention that the Belfast phenomena were largely hysteria-based. He admitted that the 'recognized organs of the faculty in London and Edinboro' took substantially the same view of the physiological features of the movement (in Ulster) as the Archdeacon of Meath, regarding them, if not decidedly hysterical, as yet of the nature of irregular hysteria - a morbid condition produced by some emotion seeking for itself an outlet denied through its

1. viz: Saul in 1 Sam. XIX 23b, 24; cp. Acts II:v.13

natural channels of activity - the pent up force producing a paraxymal fit proportionate in severity and duration to the original strength of the feeling, or from the exhaustion resulting from efforts to repress it, the movements occurring in no fixed order. Gibson quotes contemporary physiologists, Drs. Carpenter and Carter:

'Emotive force will manifest itself in outward effect, now operating downwards, if unduly excited, on the automatic nerves, in which case its action will be seen on the physical energies; or again, taking both an upward and downward direction at the same time, when a complete result may be evolved. The phenomena produced, in so far as action on sensorium, are regarded as manifestations of a disordered state of the nervous system, to which the general name hysteria is applied.

All nervous affections have an extraordinary power of self-propagation, wither by sympathy, or by that 'expectant attention' which in periods of great excitement, and even in some of the more alarming epidemics, such as cholera, operates frequently as a predisposing cause e.g. the epidemics of the Middle Ages and the French convulsionaries of Jansenism.'

Gibson is not prepared to reject the medical testimony but he questions whether 'even with the aids of science in its

present state of advancement' it can account for all the pathological phenomena by any purely physical theory. In any case, he argues, can we remove them from Divine superintendence and control. He is prepared to grant that the phenomena 'under review' can be satisfactorily explained on physiological principles, but, he contends, that would not sever the connection between these manifestations and the finger of God in them. In support of his case he quotes the Edinburgh Medical Journal of January 1860:

'The anti-revivalists are quite in error if they imagine that when they have proved the 'cases' to be hysterical they have disposed of the whole case. It is quite possible that even in these instances salutary impressions may co-exist with the ebullitions of emotional feeling and the symptoms of actual disease.'<sup>1</sup>

That there was truly 'a gracious work' of the Holy Spirit is evident in some at least of the Ulster phenomena he attempts to show by reducing the 'cases' to three heads:

- 1) Those in whom the bodily effects are traceable to strongly excited mental action - the greater number of cases Gibson contends. He writes:

'Mental action, I am persuaded, as a general rule, is the immediate and invariable antecedent of the bodily affection.'

1. Edinburgh Medical Journal: Jan. 1860

Although he was aware of a few cases reported in which the parties are unconscious of any mental impression anterior to the physical prostration.

- 2) There were other cases of which the only satisfactory solution was attributable to the principle of sympathy. Gibson offers this advice:

'Ministers, when about to gather the wheat into the garner, should faithfully winnow the heap!'

- 3) Cases which in whole or part may be ascribed to the operation of nervous disease. He doesn't deny such a disease was running parallel 'with the present spiritual movement'. To be aware of its existence was the first step in the process towards its proper treatment. That it may be either checked or stimulated past experience, had been sufficiently established, especially in America. Gibson observes wisely:

'It is all important for the sake of those who are subjects of them (nervous diseases) as well as for the character and credit of the work with which they may be accidentally associated, that is so far as they are merely corporeal, they be kept in their own proper place of relative insignificance. There is a tendency to cultivate prostrations as the starting point in the process of conversion.'<sup>1</sup>

1. W. Gibson: 'The Year of Grace' p.338

That there were phenomena in the Ulster Revival arising directly from hysteria and sympathetic action he has never denied and Gibson adds a cautionary note for revivalists of all ages to mark, learn and inwardly digest. He quotes a learned divine of his time, Dr. Hodge:

'The apology made in Corinth for the disorders which Paul condemned, was precisely the same as that urged in defence of these (Ulster) bodily agitations:

'We ought not to resist the Spirit of God', said the Corinthians; and to all who encouraged these bodily agitations, Paul's answer is crystal clear:

'No influence which comes from God destroys our self control: The Spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.'<sup>1</sup>

Yet, while he freely admits the existence of unnecessary even painful excrescences among the Ulster phenomena, he consistently lays the main emphasis upon what he truly believes to have been a Divine activity of the Holy Spirit in the Revival; a spiritual activity which was productive of much that was laudable and good. In his Twentieth Chapter he lists what he believes to be a precious harvest far outweighing and overshadowing an incidental crop of thorns and thistles:

1. 1 Cor. XIV:v.32.

- 1) A narrative like the present ('This Year of Grace') is fitted to revive the faith of the Church in the omnipotent grace and energy of the Holy Spirit.
- 2) Such a movement (the Revival in Ulster) illustrated the rapidity with which God can bring about, in accordance with the sure word of prophecy, His purposes of mercy to the world.
- 3) There is, he holds, a marked coincidence between the leading features of the Awakening (in Ulster) and those which characterized the working of the Spirit in apostolic times: this is Acts II:v46 in truth!
- 4) We learn that for the conversion of the world we need no other Gospel - the forces the Church now possessed are amply sufficient for the greater ends of her existence.
- 5) We learn also the true theory and solution of the problem of Christian union:  

'Let a Baptism of the Holy Ghost be given and what before was a pleasing theory, beautiful to contemplate, impossible to realise, becomes without effort an actual reality.'
- 6) The Revival casts a new light upon the duties and responsibilities of Christians. It had called forth

a new power of prayerful effort among true-hearted and devoted church members. Before the Revival the labours of the clergy had not been seconded by the prayers and efforts of their own people. This hindrance had now been removed!

As a post-script on the Ulster Revival and its immediate after-effects Gibson quotes another contemporary divine, Flavell Cooke:-

'We cannot expect the power working in the revival to exert the same energy, although we trust the effects may be abiding. An analogy of what the Revival means to the Church being what the inundation of the Nile is to Egypt. Let us do as the husbandmen of that land - dig channels, open all sluices, remove all obstacles, small and great that the fertilising water may flow over every foot of parched ground - we ought not to reckon on its being high-water long!'

c) IN THE 1904 WELSH REVIVAL:

Mrs. Penn-Lewis had painted in glowing terms a detailed and sympathetic picture of the Revival and its main characteristics and effects.<sup>1</sup> Henry Bois and W.T. Stead are also sympathetic to the revival but write from a more detached point of view. Great interest and sympathy was also expressed on the Continent e.g. the journals of the Evangelical Movement in Germany provide a continuous account of the Revival in Wales. In Germany these accounts helped to raise the expectation of a revival 'almost to boiling point.'<sup>2</sup> Fleisch goes on to speak of the leader of the Revival:

'It is evident that Evan Roberts is conscious that he has received a gift of prophecy through his baptism of the Spirit.'

E. Lohman defended the revival against all criticisms with the argument:

'What do they mean? They mean nothing other than we will not repent.'<sup>3</sup>

L. Parker shared with many others the conviction that 'a new

1. See pp. 232ff. of this study.

2. Fleisch I p. 447.

3. E. Lohman, Auf der Warte, 2/44 29.10.05, pp. 7f.

Pentecost, a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit' had come.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously in any criticism of the Revival Evan Roberts is a key figure. In understanding him and his experiences light may be shed on the generally experienced phenomena of the Revival. In fact Hollenweger suggests that the considered judgment given by Bois is not only important for an assessment of Roberts, it also forms a valuable guide for an assessment of the revival in Wales and the Pentecostal Movement.<sup>2</sup>

Commenting on Evan Roberts' baptism in the Spirit, Henri Bois writes:

'During that time Roberts was working for the examination for the school at Newcastle-Emlyn.' He speaks of an *idée fixe* which Roberts had of receiving the Baptism of the Spirit at any price. This *idée fixe* was accompanied by the hope of revival:

'Evan Roberts' subconscious was continually and increasingly charged up until the discharges took place: that is, the extraordinary experiences which are reported at Loughor, Newcastle-Emlyn and Blaeanmerch.'<sup>3</sup>

1. L. Parker, *L'Evangeliste*, 53/2 13.1.1905, p.6.
2. Hollenweger, p. 182
3. Bois, p.73.

Bois interprets these experiences as a 'taking up'; a feeling of expanse, and the loss of sensation of space and time. The experiences were repeated at school, although there, probably for external reasons, they were reduced to half an hour. During a period of illness they once more grew longer: 'In the last four nights I was bathed in sweat (the results of the cold and of communion with God.)'<sup>1</sup>

W.T. Stead, who gave the most important report of the experiences, refers in his account to similar phenomena in the history of the Church (St. Teresa, Jacob <sup>B</sup> Boehme, George Fox, Ignatius' Loyola) and interprets these phenomena with the aid of William James' Varieties of Religious Experiences. Bois says of Stead, that this psychological excursus shows that 'it is perfectly possible to be carried away by the revival, and yet to possess and retain in one's mind a proper concern with religious psychology.'<sup>2</sup>

Very different opinions exist about Evan Roberts. Many Welsh people see in him a true prophet who was the instrument of a miraculous revival. Dr. Walford Bodie, on the other hand, who was himself a hypnotist, regarded Roberts as a highly talented hypnotist.<sup>3</sup> Others saw in him an honest but misguided

1. Bois, p. 73.

2. Hollenweger, p. 180; H. Bois, p. 76.

3. Bois, 484.

preacher of the gospel. Every journal of the German Evangelical movement spoke of him in terms of highest enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> Peter Price, however, spoke of a genuine and a false revival in Wales.

The latter, he claims, took place under the influence of Evan Roberts. He accuses him in particular of an exaggerated opinion of himself, and says that according to Roberts there was a 4th person of the Trinity, Roberts himself:

'He does not conduct himself like one who is led by the Spirit, but as one who leads the Spirit.'<sup>2</sup>

Similarly Bois observes:

'Everything that comes from his subconscious is regarded by Roberts as the guidance of the Spirit, while everything that comes from reason or from the good advice of his friends is human counsel.'<sup>3</sup>

Peter Price also disparages him on account of the depressions, the frequent dark moods into which he lapsed when anything went wrong, his habit of breaking obligations he had made by an appeal to the Spirit, and his other habit of turning up during the course of a service and not at the beginning of it. The

1. See p. 39 of this study.

2. P. Price, Western Mail, 31.1.05.

3. Bois, quoted by Hollenweger, p. 182.

Western Mail published the lengthy controversy between Price and Roberts' followers in a pamphlet, 'The Rev. Peter Price and Evan Roberts'. Roberts did not intervene in the dispute.

Hollenweger records that in time Roberts seems to have become so unhinged and overstrained by his numerous meetings, mental upheavals and telepathic experiences that he had to withdraw to recover. This, he suggests, explains his later rejection of all 'super-spiritual things and his polemic against the Pentecostal Movement.'<sup>1</sup>

Donald Gee, who was brought to the Pentecostal Movement by the Revival in Wales, compares Evan Roberts with the healing evangelists of Pentecostalism. In his view the revival in Wales touched only a small thickly populated mining district in S. Wales. It never reached England and maintained its full intensity for only about a year. At its highest point it carried everything before it like a spiritual torrent. Many glorious and permanent results remain in the form of individual conversions, and it is still possible to point to them at the present day..... However, the acknowledged leader of the movement, Evan Roberts, remained an enigma right up to the time of his death a few years ago. By his own decisions he withdrew into silence and carried out no further public work for the Gospel. The revival

1. Hollenweger, p. 182. See also Zeitschrift fur religionpsychologie I. 1907, p. 471; cp. E. Roberts and Mrs. Penn-Lewis, War on the Saints, 1912.

disappeared, and has made these valleys in Wales almost inaccessible to any further divine visitation. The faithful in Wales have a nostalgia for the past but unfortunately nothing else. Gee also regrets the national pride of the Welsh and their cult of leading personalities.<sup>1</sup>

Evan Roberts's mystical experience which he called his Baptism in the Spirit may be paralleled with the Apostolic Pentecostal experiences of Acts Ch. II in that he too thereupon began a period of intense evangelistic activity. However, on the question of his possession of the actual charismata of glossalalia, prophecy etc. it is fair to say that the evidence is not strong e.g. neither Bois nor Stead record instances of glossalalia in either Roberts' personal experience nor in the revival meetings; although, as has already been stated,<sup>2</sup> Bois self-confessedly was a late arrival on the scene. Mrs. Penn-Lewis' sole testimony,<sup>3</sup> however, may well represent Evan Roberts' later (much later?) reflections on his Baptism in the Spirit; perhaps sub-consciously inspired by current neo-Pentecostal phenomena. Nor, while undoubtedly the Revival singing was a spectacular feature, is there firm evidence for the modern neo-Pentecostal phenomenon of 'Singing in the Spirit'. In fact, in Henry Bois'

1. De. Gee, V d V 48/12 Dec. 1955, p.5.

2. See p. 214 of this Study.

3. See p. 229 of this Study.

view, *hywl*, that phenomenon peculiar to the Welsh Revival is a throw-back to one of the most primitive forms of human expression, and two conditions are necessary for it to take place. There must be a people whose means of expression is hampered (the suppression of the Welsh language) but which at the same time is above average in its musical ability. If these two conditions are satisfied, this people is thrown back upon a form of expression which goes back to a more primitive period of human history. This explanation by Bois is based on the belief that singing preceded speech in human evolution.<sup>1</sup>

Two features which especially invited criticism of Roberts' leadership and influence over the Revival were the almost exaggerated role that he assigned to the guidance and inspiration of the Spirit, and, secondly, the use he made of his alleged telepathic abilities:

1) The Guidance of the Spirit: Professor Hollenweger writes:

'He made all his journeys dependent upon the 'guidance of the Spirit', which could lead him to call off obligations to speak which he had undertaken, with an appeal to the Spirit, and to go to another meeting instead. One day he withdrew without motive into silence. Only

1. Hollenweger, p. 178.

Annie Davies was allowed to look after him and to communicate with him in writing. He kept an exact journal of the 'seven days of silence'. The greater part of his notes have been published in the Western Mail and are of great psychological value. He gives an exact date and time for every entry. He writes:

'I am pleased, because I have been moved by the eternal Spirit to write it. I do not know what the notebook you bought for me cost but I know to-day that it is priceless. It has become very dear to me because of the precious things it contains. It contains a large amount of our experience while we were passing through that strange period.'<sup>1</sup>

It also seems, writes Henri Bois, that Evan Roberts is intending to set the notebook beside the writings of the NT when he sends it to a certain Mr. Jones with the words:

'Dear Mr. Jones, You can have this prayer. It will be a blessing to thousands, for it is the fruit of the Holy Spirit. I want thousands of copies to be printed without altering a word or a

1. Hollenweger, p. 181; Bois, p. 460

comma or a verse, and particularly want the parts I have underlined to be preserved, for they give it life. The Holy Spirit puts soul into it and makes it a living prayer.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Hollenweger's conclusion is that Roberts' identification of the spontaneous and the outpourings of the subconscious with the Holy Spirit, and his suspicion of the rational, is highly questionable.<sup>2</sup>

2) His Telepathic Abilities: Not only was Roberts a prophetic type, 'hypersensitive, nervous and not a particularly good speaker,'<sup>3</sup> but he had an unusually acute sense of what was happening in the audience he faced, its tensions, its resistances, cares, fears and questions. Hollenweger observes that there is a connection between these perceptions and his visions and telepathic abilities. Bois cannot understand why the use of telepathic abilities should be a sin, a view which led some to reject Henri Bois' judgment, and led some to reject Evan Roberts. Bois writes, these telepathic powers 'are not the cause but the effect' of his inner life,<sup>4</sup> and are compared by Bois with those of Pascal, Paul, Socrates, Descartes and the prophets of the OT.

1. Bois, p. 461.

2. Hollenweger, p. 182.

3. Hollenweger, p. 182.

4. Bois, p. 408.

There is, he suggests, no reason to be suspicious either of the prophets of the OT or of Roberts because of visions. 'Nothing could be more wrong than to regard them as unhinged.'<sup>1</sup> According to Bois, Roberts had the gift of seeing what he thought, and could convey this in a dramatic form to his audience, e.g. he once made all the men between 33 and 34 years of age stand up. He then burst into tears and for sometime could not speak for weeping. 'What if these young men whom you see were crucified and had to suffer the terrible price of Christ'. At this the meeting broke into the passion hymn *Dyma gariad fel y moroedd* (Streams of Love and Grace).<sup>2</sup> In Liverpool he cried out: 'There are 5 people here who are stopping the revival. They must leave the meeting. 3 of them are preachers of the Gospel, and are envious in their hearts because of the many conversions; *Pluga nhw, Dhuw* (Humble them, O God.).'<sup>3</sup>

In his own considered criticism of the Welsh Revival Professor Hollenweger<sup>4</sup> writes:

'To give a 'natural explanation' of the revival in Wales is not to condemn it.'<sup>5</sup> One 'natural

1. Bois, 406

2. Bois, p. 413

3. Bois, p. 475

4. Hollenweger, p. 183

5. E. Ponsoye; ~~review of Bois~~, *Charisme au XXe siecle*, review of Bois' *Le Reveil au pays de Galles*  
4.10.1906.

explanation' which can be given is its context  
 in the peculiar history and characteristics of  
 Wales.<sup>1</sup> This approach would not condemn the  
 revival in Wales for theological statements  
 which from a Reformed point of view are  
 question~~able~~. It would agree with Henri Bois  
 and Stead<sup>2</sup> that the way to loosen the grip of  
 the vices of drunkenness, which destroyed whole  
 villages, and gambling and prostitution, all of  
 which have an emotional basis, is not better  
 instruction but better, purified, decent emotional  
 feeling. The chapel replaces the public house.  
 Stead rightly remarks that you do not send a  
 sluggard a tract on astronomy to give him a better  
 explanation of the sunrise; you shake him  
 thoroughly.<sup>3</sup> Every observer agrees that the  
 upheaval caused by the revival overcame the craze  
 for gambling, drunkenness, idleness and prostitution  
 over wide areas for at least half a generation.  
 When this aspect is considered one must revise  
 one's judgment, although one may still regret the  
 neglect of theological study and the naive  
 identification of mental upheaval with the Holy

1. E. Durand, *Journal de Bruxelles*; *Chretien Belge* 55, 1905 p.109.
2. See M. Lelievre, *L'Evangeliste* 53/4 27.1.1905, p.13;  
53/5, 3.2.1905, p.17; 53/12, 24.3.1905 pp 45f.
3. W.T.Stead, *The Revival in Wales*, p. 26.

Spirit in the revival in Wales and in the Pentecostal movement which arose from it. Professor Hollenweger also notes two practical effects of the Revival:

'The first step towards an intellectual attack on the problems which rose from the revival can be seen in the libraries and reading rooms which came into existence everywhere.'<sup>1</sup> Secondly, Hollenweger also notes that much in the spiritually remarkable revival in Wales helped to overcome the unchristian superiority of men over women.<sup>2</sup>

So perhaps we ought to let Mrs. Penn-Lewis have the last word when she again affirms that much, perhaps a great deal, of the Revival happened independently of Evan Roberts:

'The mighty tidal wave swept hither and thither - men knew not how or why. The Spirit of God found his own channels; and districts unvisited by Mr. Evan Roberts had extraordinary manifestations of the power of God. Lists of converts were sent to the newspapers, giving a record of professed conversions of over 70,000 names by December 1904 - just 2 months only since the life-streams broke out at Loughor, the number reaching over 85,000 by the end of March 1905.'<sup>3</sup>

1. Stead, p. 35ff.

2. Hollenweger, p. 183. (Stead, 32)

3. Penn-Lewis p. 53

3. Penn-Lewis, p. 53.

### CONCLUSION

That Eighteenth Century Bishop of Lichfield who exclaimed with much vehemence to John Wesley that 'All the extraordinary gifts and operations of the Holy Ghost belonged only to the apostolical and primitive time', has been amply refuted by the mass of documentary data available for our researchers.

In our preliminary review of the 'apostolical and primitive time' we have shown how preternatural phenomena have long been part of the religious experience of Man. We have explored the incidence of spiritual phenomena back through the Bible and have indicated the following:

- 1) In the Old Testament glossalalia is noticeably absent but the gift of prophecy may be traced back to the patriarchs themselves. Such spiritual gifts, however, are few and bestowed upon a select band of individuals isolated in time and circumstances. Yet these spiritual gifts - prophecy, divination, visions, healings, miracles, feats of strength - were not conferred solely for individual benefit but for the benefit of the Old Testament Church and Nation of Israel, which were co-terminous. The Prophets point men forward to Messiah who will one day pour out the Spirit upon all flesh.

2) In the Rabbinic Period (between the Testaments) we have discovered further teaching on the Spirit which is an important antecedent to the thought and practice of St. Paul. The increasing sinfulness of Israel is held by Rabbinic teachers to be the reason for the dwindling of prophecy and the cessation of the Spirit. Certain individuals in this period were deemed worthy of the Spirit but were debarred from its enjoyment because of their sinful age. No individuals could receive the Spirit in isolation; to do so it was necessary to live in a particular milieu. Not all Rabbinic teachers agreed that the Holy Spirit had entirely ceased his operations within Israel and W.H. Davies records the following spiritual phenomena in the Rabbinic period: the beliefs in the Shekinah, the Bath Qol, the possession by some of the gifts of prediction, healing and other miracle working.<sup>1</sup>

3) In the New Testament

a) The Gospels declare Jesus to be not only Saviour but also Baptizer. He would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. The Baptism of His followers by the Holy Spirit would be their empowering for World Mission. The list of evidential signs in Mark XVI: vv 9 - 20 may be

1. W.H. Davies: 'Paul and Rabbinic Judaism' pp. 208-215.

held to be a concise summing up of the preternatural phenomena which were to be manifested after the Pentecostal outpouring and were to be fulfilled in detail in the ensuing history of the Early Church.<sup>1</sup>

b) The Acts of the Apostles

i) Pentecost and Peter's Sermon: The promised baptism by the Holy Spirit of the 120 disciples is described as the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy that God would pour out his spirit on all flesh. Manifestly Pentecost was not a pouring out on 'all' flesh, hence it is more correctly described as the beginning of the fulfillment. Further effusions were to take place; notably the Gentile Pentecost of Acts X, and, as we shall see, also at sporadic intervals throughout ensuing Church history. The Pentecostal phenomena are an attempt to describe the indescribable. Yet speaking in tongues is indicative of the Apostolic commission to preach the Gospel to every creature. Tongues manifestations, in themselves, are primarily acts of praise-worship, 'declaring the wonderful works of God.'

In his sermon to the Jerusalem multitude, Peter declares that the sentence which Jesus'

St. Mark:

1. A. Cole: Tyndale N.T. Commentaries, p. 258.

human judges passed upon Him and His human executioners had carried out had been reversed. They put him to death, but God raised Him up and loosed the bonds of death which bound Him: it was not possible that God's Messiah should remain in the grip of death. He was exalted to the right hand of God who had bestowed on the Exalted One the Spirit for His distribution. That Jesus had poured forth His Spirit could be seen and heard in the Christians who are still under its influence. In response to the crowds evident remorse at his words, Peter urges them to repent and he baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins and then they would receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. They were then baptized; 3000 souls in number.

In Acts Ch. II v.38 (cp. Ch.XIX. v.1f.) the reception of the Spirit is closely related to water baptism. Baptism is the only ritual act required by the Spirit to be received and, in Acts, is usually the only rite performed. Water Baptism continues to be the external sign by which individuals who believed the gospel message, repented of their sins, and acknowledged Jesus as Lord, were publicly incorporated into

the Spirit-baptized fellowship of the new people of God. There is here no mention of the laying on of hands as part of their Christian initiation nor is it stated that the baptizands spoke with tongues.

- ii) Acts and Modern Pentecostal Teaching: The modern Pentecostal teaching of a two-stage Christian experience - Conversion being distinct from a subsequent Baptism in the Spirit - has no solid foundations in Acts. When examined those passages which have been long regarded as supporting the Pentecostal position are seen to afford little firm evidence. e.g. The Samaritans' response and commitment to Philip's gospel was defective. At their baptism they were only half-Christians. It needed Peter and John's visit and the Laying on of Hands to evoke a fullflowering of their faith. Nor can Paul's initiatory experience be described as in two distinct stages. Dunn<sup>1</sup> has shown that his conversion was not instantaneous but a crisis experience extending over three whole days; from the Damascus Road to his Baptism, with his blindness as the connecting link. Nor were the

1. J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Ephesian 'disciples' Christian in a Pauline sense. Paul's question (XIX v.3) implies a close relation between the reception of the Holy Spirit and baptism. For him it is anomalous that baptized persons should not have received the Spirit. Hence his baptism of the Twelve in the name of Jesus, followed by his Laying on of Hands 'and they spake with tongues and prophecied.'

iii) The Sovereignty of the Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit is clearly seen to be sovereign in Acts. He and his operations are not to be moulded into any pre-conceived form. e.g. the Baptism of the Spirit sometimes occurs at the time of water baptism, sometimes is subsequent to Baptism and, in Cornelius' case at least, preceded Baptism. Nor was the Baptism of the Spirit always accompanied by impressive outward manifestations. cp. Philip and the Ethiopean (VIII 26f.) 'Rather was the Spirit now regarded as a gift no longer bound to any outward sign.'<sup>1</sup>

On occasion the apostles fulfilled an important role in the reception of the Spirit through their Laying on of Hands (cp. Samaria and Ephesus). On other occasions non-apostolic figures fulfilled the function (cp.

1. Dunn, p. 184; cp. Heitmuller, IM NAMEN JESU: p. 88ff.

Ananias). In the case of Cornelius, the Baptism in the Spirit was entirely unmediated in any tactile sense.

c) I Corinthians Chs. XII, XIII and XIV

In giving a detailed and vivid word picture of the preternatural manifestations evident in this NT church, particularly glossalalia and prophecy, Paul provides the answer to the question: 'What is the surest sign of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit?' His answer is that neither glossalalia nor any of the more spectacular signs are the surest witness to the spirit-possession of a Christian believer. The surest sign of the presence and power of the Spirit is Agape, Love (I Cors. XIII v.1f.) Love is pre-eminent above all else. For Love alone will endure and reign in the eternal order. But the gifts of the Spirit will pass away for they are but temporal manifestations.

In enunciating for us the 'commandments of the Lord' on these matters (I Cors. XIV v.37) he also provides us with information about the Baptism of the Spirit and other charismatic manifestations profusely abundant in the church at Corinth:

- i) The Baptism of the Spirit: Through the Baptism of the Spirit believers become members of Christ's body. This Baptism in the Spirit is not a

second experience but is equated with Conversion and incorporation into the fellowship of believers.

ii) The Charismatic Gifts: In his illustration of the figure of the Body, he teaches that the one Spirit distributes a wide variety of spiritual gifts. Each believer receives some spiritual gift which is a manifestation of the Spirit. All gifts are given for the common good - the edification of the Church - again illustrated by the figure of the Body. Paul's teaching of the principle of diversity in unity also explodes any tendency to claim all spiritual persons must manifest glossalalia (I Cors. XII v.30). Nevertheless, believers are hidden 'covet earnestly' the best gifts of which prophecy is superior and desirable for all to practice. But Agape, Love, is even higher. It is the first of the 9 graces which make up a mature Christian character (Gal.V. v.22) and provides conclusive evidence of the Spirit's indwelling presence. Hence, Love is supremely desirable.

iii) Tongues (Glossalalia): Part of Paul's purpose in I Cors. XII - XIV is to set speaking in tongues in its proper perspective within the life and worship of the Church at Corinth. He says that

Tongues is a legitimate manifestation. It is not to be forbidden, rather its practice is to be encouraged (I Cors. XIV v.5). It is a form of Prayer: praise and adoration addressed to God. It is of benefit to the individual believer in that it edifies him. It may be expressed either in unintelligible sounds (the tongues of angels?) or in known languages; but at Corinth the former seems the most common manifestation. Hence Paul forbids speaking in tongues in public worship, for such unintelligible sounds can edify no-one but the possessor of the gift. If an individual member of the congregation receives the gift of tongues and wishes to use it for the benefit of the whole congregation he should pray for the power to interpret glossalalia into a language which the whole church understands. Otherwise he is to remain silent unless someone is present who has the gift of interpretation. Speaking in tongues with interpretation is equated with prophecy. Glossalalia in the presence of non-Christians is a sign of God's judgment. The punishment lies in the fact that unbelievers are able to hear the tongues sound but are not able to understand its wonderful meaning.

iv) Prophecy: Prophecy, by contrast to tongues

without interpretation, is directed to believers. It is distinct from preaching in that it is not a prepared address. It is speaking in the common tongue under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit some aspect of the will of God. Such prophecy in the power of the Spirit cannot fail to achieve the express purpose of all the charismatic gifts - edification, 'the upbuilding, and encouragement and consolation' of the whole congregation. Prophecy is open to all members of the congregation, both men and women.

- v) The Testing of the Prophets: All alleged spiritual messages are not to be gullibly accepted. Paul lays down his own test in I Cors. XII v.3: 'Wherefore I give you to understand that no man speaking by the spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed.' Moreover, St. John himself confirms this in I John IV vv. 1 - 3:

'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ

is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is the spirit of anti-Christ, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.'

The testing of the prophets was probably a special function of those with the charismatic gift of 'discerning of spirits.'

- vi) The Place of the Intellect: Paul insists on a rightful place in Christian worship for the intellect. The spiritual fervour exemplified in the use of tongues must be allied to the use of the mind. Both tongues and prophecy can be controlled and are not the result of the irresistible impulse of the Spirit. Worshippers, especially the 'unlearned', must be able to enter into prayer and song in public worship wholeheartedly with the mind as well as the Spirit.
- vii) The Place of Women in Christian worship: Paul's imposition of silence on women, despite his recognition of their right to pray and prophecy in public, may be understood as Paul's forbidding them to interrupt proceedings with questions which could more properly be put to their husbands at home; nor were they to seek needlessly to flout the accepted ideas of the day

and bring upon the infant church the faintest suspicion of immodesty. Hence we must exercise due caution in applying Paul's principle to our own very different situation.

viii) Public Worship: For Paul, public worship is very important and everything in it must be done in as seemly a manner as possible and with due regard for order. Not more than 2 or 3 may give a message in tongues with interpretation during the service and then it must be done by turn. Similarly with prophecy: only 2 or 3 may speak and then their words must be open to the judgment of others. If one sitting by has a sudden revelation in the Spirit, then he who is speaking must give place. All parts of the act of worship, including tongues and prophecy, are to be for the edification of the whole congregation.

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4) In Church History:

Now we can go on to answer our Eighteenth Century Bishop with evidence not of the cessation of these manifestations but of their continuance throughout ensuing Church history:

a) In Early, Medieval and subsequent Church History we have shown evidence for spasmodic outbreaks of spiritual activity often accompanied by startling manifestations: e.g. prophecy, ecstatic utterance, visions, healing gifts, glossalalia, convulsions, prostrations etc. notably in Montanism, the Mendicant Friars of the Thirteenth Century: Luther, at least among the Reformation Fathers; the Quakers: the Jansenists; the Camisards and the French Prophets.

b) In the main period of our study; from 1730-1910 i.e. from the Rise of Methodism to the modern Pentecostal movement, we see similar preternatural phenomena are to be found at times in rich profusion within the experience of British Evangelical Christianity:-

i) In the Eighteenth Century Evangelical Revival:

Prostrations, Paraxysms, Convulsions, Fou rire, healings and at least one instance of glossalalia.

It should be noted:

1) Neither Tongues nor Prophecy formed a regular

part of the religious experience of the Early Methodists or other Evangelicals. The Elin scholar, Charles J.E. Kingston,<sup>1</sup> and the Roman Catholic Pentecostalists, Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan<sup>2</sup> assert the opposite. However, the careful sifting of evidence and confirming of place-names and dates has yielded only one isolated instance of glossalalia in the whole Evangelical Revival - that of Wesley's lieutenant, Thomas Walsh.

- 2) Both John and Charles Wesley knew of and were not unsympathetic to the French Prophets of their own day who did practice speaking in tongues and prophecy. And tantalisingly both John Wesley and George Whitfield use in their journals such general descriptions of phenomena as 'being filled with the Holy Ghost' and 'Such an outpouring of the Holy Ghost etc.' It might be tempting to suggest that these general descriptions do not exclude the possibility of tongues and prophecy were it not for the fact that on other occasions Wesley carefully tabulates each preternatural phenomena as it

1. Charles J.E. Kingston: 'Fulness of Power'. p.177.
2. Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan: 'Catholic Pentecostals'.

occurs and never is there a mention of tongues or prophecy in his list of Strikings, Prostrations etc. Hence this noticeable absence of tongues in the spiritual experience of the Early Methodists is a factor to be borne in mind by latter day Pentecostalists who insist on Speaking in Tongues as the necessary outward sign of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

- 3) For John Wesley the Strikings, Prostrations, Paroxysms etc. experienced by many of his converts were evidence of their Baptism in the Spirit. The Christian experience of these grown men and women of mid-Eighteenth Century Britain may be paralleled with that of the Samaritan Christians of Acts VIII and the Ephesian Christians of Acts XIX. Not that the Baptism in the Spirit of Wesley's converts was a second stage experience but that such faith as they professed before their conversion was superficial and defective and must throw the then almost universal and indiscriminate practice of Infant Baptism very much open to question. On the basis of the Acts' pattern, as Professor Dunn

shows,<sup>1</sup> they did not become Christians until their Baptism in the Spirit which was contemporaneous with their Conversion.

- ii) In 1830: 'The Annus Mirabilis': Glossalalia, prophecy, automatic writing, healings.
- iii) In the Second Evangelical Revival (notably Ulster): Prophecy, prostrations, visions.
- iv) The 1904 Welsh Revival: Glossalalia, Xenolalia, healings, prophecy, visions.
- v) The Pentecostal Revival of 1907: manifestations of all the Pentecostal gifts.

Much in Pentecostal teaching is a legacy from Anglicanism through the mediation of Wesley (Jeremy Taylor, William Law)<sup>2</sup> They are therefore certainly not a heretical group within Protestantism. Their articles of belief are very nigh indistinguishable from those of any conservative Protestant group.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, their intense and fervid faith, the warmth and generosity of their fellowship, their missionary zeal and support of charitable institutions are wholly admirable and authentically Christian. However,

1. Dunn, Baptism in the Spirit, pp. 55ff. and pp. 83ff.
2. W.J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 185.
3. Horton Davies, Christian Deviations, p. 83f.

on the basis of our examination of the NT evidence it must be concluded that they are in error on 2 specific points: 1) their insistence on glossalalia as the one and only sure sign of the Baptism in the Spirit, and 2) their insistence on regarding the Baptism in the Spirit as a necessary second stage in Christian Initiation quite distinct from Conversion. Such scripture evidence as they claim in support of these beliefs is far from convincing.

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As in the experience of the NT church so in the experience of the Church throughout subsequent history: the Holy Spirit is sovereign in all His activities both within the great denominations and in His dealings with the individual, and often isolated, believer. For in both ancient and recent Church history no set historical patterns presaging these pneumatic activities can be discerned: on some occasions persecution was the seed-bed from which they stemmed; at other times long and careful cultivation by faithful pastors of the Word saw their labours blossom into spontaneous revival of religion and spectacular manifestations of the Spirit. Not infrequently the spiritual deadness of the orthodox churches saw a revival movement originate from lay sources among people

who had turned back to the Bible and were prepared in simple faith to take God at His word. Nor were the manifestations of the Holy Spirit always the same in every period of His activity. In some revivals glossalalia was a spectacular feature of His work, in others the striking or paroxysm was the main characteristic with little or no mention of glossalalia.

'Truly, the wind blows where it wills,  
and you hear the sound of it, but you  
do not know whence it comes or whither  
it goes.'

..... (John III: v.8)

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Even so, our Eighteenth Century Bishop of Lichfield might still observe of this weighty testimony against him:

'All pretensions to such favours in these last days are vain and entusiastical.'

Are these alleged preternatural phenomena vain and entusiastical pretensions: Or are they what history supposed them to be: a genuine work of the Holy Spirit; or are they in fact caused by other agencies?

Some contemporaries of Wesley dismissed the phenomena as 'sheer lunacy and hysteria'. R.A. Knox was convinced that the direct inspiration of the Devil himself was responsible for the Methodist phenomena and, incidentally, all cases of glossalalia. A modern critic of Wesley and his evangelistic methods is Dr. William Sargent.<sup>1</sup> He believes that the phenomena: prostrations, paroxysms, strikings etc. were caused neither by the direct or indirect inspiration of the Devil nor were they divinely inspired. He contends the phenomena were in fact caused by physiological group excitation. Wesley's 'Hell fire' preaching, he alleges, and even

1. W. Sargent: 'Battle for the Mind.'

his rousing Evangelical hymns built up such mental pressure and emotional excitement that it led to a temporary emotional collapse in the form of a paroxysm or prostration of varying duration. Ian Ramage rejects the view. Sargent's hypothesis rests upon little solid foundation: he had not shown convincing evidence that the preternatural phenomena which accompanied Wesley's preaching were in the great majority of cases actually caused by physiological group excitation, nor had he shown at all that Wesley used high-pressured hell-fire preaching to arouse mental stress and collapse in order to win his Methodist converts.<sup>1</sup>

The most notable critique of the Ulster Revival of 1859 and its phenomena, again mostly prostrations, strikings etc. was E.A. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath.<sup>2</sup> He sincerely believed much spiritual good had come through the Revival. But he also believed there existed a counterwork 'dishonouring to the Holy Spirit and antagonistic to the Scriptures as our sole revelation from God.' This counterwork was founded on a delusion, for it took advantage of a bodily illness which he identified as hysteria. While not unsympathetic to emotional religion, he declares there was in the Revival a tendency to confound hysteria with 'the natural excitement of emotional feeling.' The hysteria he witnessed in Belfast was, he affirms, brought on by frenzied prayer and preaching and the resulting

1. Ian Ramage: 'Battle for the Free Mind'.

2. E.A. Stopford: 'The Work and Counterwork'.

'striking' or prostration 'was not to be attributed to the act of God.' Stopford's conclusions are strongly challenged by W. Gibson!<sup>1</sup> In the course of a short visit to Belfast, and not the surrounding countryside, Stopford had attended only congregations where there was 'a nightly excitement'. And not having sought out 'a more intelligent class of the population,' he failed to learn about the real character of the movement. Consequently he left a false impression of the Revival and its phenomena which was eagerly caught up by the 'Works' opponents.

Perhaps John Wesley's reply to his critics is applicable in all those case where doubts have been expressed as to the genuineness of the alleged manifestations:

'We ought not to limit God where he has not limited himself. Neither is a work to be judged by any effect on the bodies of men; such as tears, tremblings, groans, loud outcries, agonies or faintings; for there is reason to believe that great outpourings of the Spirit both in prophetic and apostolic ages were not wholly without these extraordinary effects. The same is true respecting religious commotion among the people, for this is the natural result of such a work.'

1. W. Gibson: 'The Year of Grace'.

On the question of the genuineness or otherwise of glossalalia, a modern R.C. writer, K. McDonnell, observes:

'From a theological point of view, the question of whether or not tongues is a real language is irrelevant, although the Pentecostals insist that it is. Pentecostal literature is full of instances, admittedly rare in proportion to the frequency of tongues, in which the language was recognised.' <sup>1</sup>

In the final analysis it is the New Testament phenomena ensuing from the Pentecostal outpouring which is the basic pattern of all subsequent genuine spiritual manifestations. Of these New Testament phenomena Austin Farrar<sup>e</sup> makes the profound observation:

'We may read the New Testament for what it tells about prophetic inspiration through the spirit of Pentecost, in the hope of constructing some account of the phenomena. But we learn only of the externals: that the Spirit appeared to act compulsively, that prophets had difficulty in withholding their utterances until suitable occasions, that they supposed themselves to be heirs of the true Israelite prophets and imitated their behaviour, that it was taken for granted by all that they were really possessed, that tests were applied

1. Kilian McDonnell: 'The Spirit and Pentecostalism'. p.112.

to prove whether their possession was of God or Beelzebub, that some of their utterances were particular predictions and others rebukes which laid bare the innermost thoughts of their hearers.

All this is of interest so far as it goes, but it does not tell us what sort of yeast it was that worked in those exalted minds: indeed we are tempted to complain that the primitive Christians were too much impressed by the froth.<sup>1</sup>

In the times of spiritual revival in subsequent Church history perhaps latter-day Christians have been too much impressed by the 'froth' - the spectacular phenomena of glossalalia, prophetic utterances, the paroxysms, the miraculous healing. Some at least may have been deceived by deliberate counterfeit, either humanly or devilishly contrived. Perhaps many were deluded by bodily illness, namely hysteria. Yet within and beneath the 'froth' of the various and often profuse manifestations which overlaid the great revivals of religion, particularly in the period of our study: 1730 - 1910, and within the context of British Evangelical Christianity, a genuine 'heart-work' has gone on. A heartwork which has stood not only the test of time but also the classic Scripture tests:

1. Austin Farrar<sup>e</sup>: 'The Glass of Vision' pp. 55-6.

- 1) How far did it and the manifestations which accompanied it point to Christ?
- 2) To what extent did it edify and build up the Church?

Beneath the 'froth' of glossalalia, prophecy, healings etc. the yeast of the Spirit has continued to ferment century after century working a saving work in individual personalities, within whole denominations, within entire nations, liberating, transforming, and enriching many thousands of human lives and the societies in which they lived.

GLOSSALALIA AND OTHER PRETERNATURAL PHENOMENA IN BRITISH EVANGELICAL

CHRISTIANITY: 1730 - 1910'

S. Holbrooke-Jones

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- B.J. = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus)
- Ev. Th. = Evangelische Theologie
- I.B. = The Interpreter's Bible
- J.B.L. = Journal of Biblical Literature (Philadelphia)
- J.T.S. = Journal of Theological Studies
- J.R.S. = Journal of Roman Studies
- P.E. = Pentecostal Evangel
- R.G.G. = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 2nd ed. Tübingen 1927 - 31;  
3rd ed. 1957 ff.
- T.B. = Babylonian Talmud
- T.W.B.B. = Theological Word Book of the Bible
- T.W.N.T. (also Th. Wb.) = Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,  
G. Kittel ed. Stuttgart 1932 ff.
- V. v V. = Verheissung des Vaters (Zurich 1909 - 1968)
- W. Th. J. = Westminster Theological Journal
- Z.K.G. = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
- Z. th K. = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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