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Ordination and Licensing of Ministers
within the Assemblies of God: Doctrinal Conflict, Railroads, and Relationships

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by

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Abstract

Since the Protestant Reformation, ordination within Protestant and evangelical movements has been a largely underemphasized field of study. Some historians have overlooked it entirely, while others have failed to grasp its overall significance to Christian belief, practice, and history. Studies on revivalism are prolific, but in-depth analyses of ordination practices within revivalism and specific revivalist denominations have been lacking. This study defends Robert Mapes Anderson's thesis that cooperation, consolidation, and controversies in the Assemblies of God between 1914 and 1916 were due to the political struggle between two rival leadership groups. By comparing ministerial lists, mapping ministers' location information, and tracking ministerial affiliations across the Churches of God in Christ and in the Assemblies of God, this study shows that Anderson's thesis is undeniable. Doctrinal conflicts and power struggles over what were fundamental to ministry and faith, networks of relationships connected by railroads, World War I, and the role that women played in ministry were significant internal and external factors in the licensing and ordination shifts within the Assemblies of God.

Introduction

On December 20, 1913, five early Pentecostal voices—M. M. Pinson of Phoenix, Arizona; A. P. Collins of Ft. Worth, Texas; H. A. Goss of Hot Springs, Arkansas; D. C. O. Opperman of Houston, Texas; and E. N. Bell of Malvern, Arkansas—invited “laymen and preachers” and “all elders, pastors, ministers, evangelists and missionaries” to come to a Convention at Hot Springs in April 1914.¹ They encouraged “all the churches of God in Christ” and “all Pentecostal or Apostolic faith assemblies,” regardless of official name, to come together “in love and peace to push the interests of the Kingdom of God.”² These men were leaders in the Churches of God in Christ that had previously organized in Eureka Springs, Arkansas in 1912, and they placed this invitation in E. N. Bell’s *Word and Witness*, a well-read Pentecostal newspaper.³ They qualified the invitation though: “This is, however, only for saints who believe in the baptism with the Holy Ghost with the signs following (Acts 2:4, 10:46, 19:6, Mark 16:16, 1 Corinthians 12:8-11).”⁴ Speaking in tongues was the major differentiator, and they wanted to work and fellowship with others who believed the same. Bell further clarified the Convention’s purpose, “The main object is to find out, by *study together*, what the word teaches on some

¹ E. N. Bell, “General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ Bell did not typically publicize subscription numbers other than reports on unpaid subscriptions and shortages of newspapers. Bell only reported total subscribership two times in the publication’s history. In June 1913, Bell claimed, “GOD IS GREATLY BLESSING THE PAPER EVERYWHERE, and with the help of all the workers and the Lord, we are aiming to put the paper in 25,000 homes before the summer is over. We started April one year ago, printing only 2,000, and have so wonderfully grown that for several months we have regularly gotten out 16,000, and in May we ran short, this number not being enough. For June we are printing 20,000 papers in Double size.” See Bell, “Editorial,” *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 4. This exponential growth is perhaps the single most important factor that led to the successful formation of the Assemblies of God as well as the reason for Bell’s leadership of the movement. After the meeting at Hot Springs in April 1914, the paper planned to “get out four times as many as our best heretofore. At low figures, 75,000 have already been subscribed for and we can, if all will help, get out and send out in May a 100,000 copies.” See “Big Edition in May,” *Word and Witness*, April 20, 1914, 1.

⁴ Bell, “General Convention,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 1.

essentials and if possible, mutually to agree on these without binding on man a man-made creed in detail.”⁵

Although the Assemblies of God was successfully founded at this meeting in 1914, it was shaken by schism as early as 1915 and 1916. Initially, the General Council had simply been “all missionaries, ministers, pastors, evangelists, and delegates” who wished to affiliate with the Assemblies of God.⁶ In 1914, only “male ministers and delegates” were “eligible to vote” as a part of the General Council.⁷ At the same time, the General Council “unanimously adopted” a resolution that women could be “recommended to the ministry and Assemblies of God” and recognized “their God-given rights to be ordained, not as elders, but as Evangelists and Missionaries, after being duly approved according to the Scriptures.”⁸ The 1914 *Preamble and Resolution of Constitution* recognized the bounds of the General Council’s authority:

whose purpose is neither to legislate laws of government, nor usurp authority over said various Assemblies of God, nor deprive them of their Scriptural local rights and privileges, but to recognize Scriptural methods and order for worship, unity, fellowship, work and business for God, and to disapprove of all unscriptural methods, doctrines and conduct, and approve of all Scriptural truth and conduct, endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace, until we all come into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God.⁹

In 1916, due to significant doctrinal disagreements over the nature of the Trinity in what was called the “New Issue,” the General Council passed a resolution requiring ministers to agree to a statement of fundamental truths to maintain or gain their credentials.¹⁰ At the 1916 meeting, J.R. Flower remembered that the “General Council affirmed the doctrine of the Trinity by a

⁵ Bell, “Editor’s Notes,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 2.

⁶ *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God* (Findlay: Gospel Publishing House, April 1914), 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, October 1916), 6.

majority vote when the statement was adopted. This prompted a number of ministers to leave the Assemblies of God — those departing included both Oneness advocates and those who opposed the statement for other reasons.”¹¹ Flower indicated that the ministerial roll dropped a total of 156 ministers from “585 to 429.”¹²

Historian Robert Mapes Anderson in *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (1979) found that the cooperation, consolidation, and controversies between 1914 and 1916 “within the Assemblies of God [were] closely linked with an internal struggle for power between two rival leadership groups.”¹³ Bell, age 48, was appointed as the Temporary Chairman of the 1914 General Council, Flower, age 25, was the Temporary Secretary, and both assumed significant leadership roles within the Assemblies of God from that first meeting in 1914 to well beyond.¹⁴

J. Roswell Flower led a group of ministers from the upper Midwest and Northeast, “most of whom had been associated earlier with the Christian and Missionary Alliance” including John Welch of Essex, Missouri, Daniel Kerr of Cleveland, Ohio, and T.K. Leonard of Findlay, Ohio.¹⁵

¹¹ Roswell Flower, “History of the Assemblies of God” (typed manuscript for Church Orientation class at Central Bible Institute, [1949?]), 28. Quoted in Glenn Gohr, “The Historical Development of the Statement of Fundamental Truths,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 32 (2012): 63.

¹² Flower, “History,” 63. Although Robert Mapes Anderson claimed that “more than one fourth of the ministers affiliated with the Assemblies of God left.” See Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 182. See also Gary McGee, *People of the Spirit: The Assemblies of God* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 2014), 110. Flower is most likely referencing the disfellowshipped members from the Churches of God in Christ. See Chapter 1 of this study on page 29 as well as Appendix A on page 195.

¹³ Anderson, 183.

¹⁴ *Minutes*, April 1914, 8. Bell had pastored a Southern Baptist Church in Ft. Worth. He had studied at Stetson University in Florida, Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, and the University of Chicago Divinity School. in See Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 55.

¹⁵ Anderson, 183. For the ministerial roll of the 1914 Convention see, *Minutes*, April 1914, 12-6. For the ministerial roll of the 1914 Churches of God in Christ, see “Ordained Elders, Pastors, Ministers, Evangelists and Missionaries of the Churches of God in Christ with Their Stations for 1914,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 4. A comparison of the ministerial rolls between the 1913 Churches of God in Christ to the Assemblies of God in April 1914, November 1914, and 1916 is included in Appendix A. A complete discussion and analysis of the doctrinal, geographical, and political divisions follows in chapter 2. Unfortunately, the Christian and Missionary Alliance annual reports did not fully list all its workers until the 1914 Annual Report. Welch was affiliated with the

Flower served as the editor for *The Christian Evangel*, a weekly Pentecostal newspaper. The Churches of God in Christ leadership group—including Bell, Goss, Opperman, Collins, and Pinson—were all based below the Mason-Dixon line.¹⁶ Together, Bell’s and Flower’s intentional restorationist effort was effective. At its founding, Bell described the Assemblies of God like this: “We are simply New Testament Christians who have brushed aside the mental shams and hollowness of the age and in a measure gotten back to the realities of God's grace and power through the atoning blood of Christ.”¹⁷ For the Assemblies of God, this “grace and power” included speaking in tongues as well as the other miraculous gifts outlined in Romans 12, I Corinthians 12, and Ephesians 4.

Churches of God in Christ, but the Christian and Missionary Alliance proved the stronger connection. A. B. Simson as Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, had mentored Welch at the Christian and Missionary Alliance’s first Bible school in New York in 1889, eight years after Simpson had founded the movement. At his ordination when he was forty-one years old, the Christian and Missionary Alliance ministers said, “Brother Welch, you are fully qualified for ordination, and we are going to ordain you. In 1910, Welch was appointed as the Oklahoma Superintendent of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. As the “only Alliance minister in Oklahoma,” Welch was influenced by the “Pentecostal pioneers,” A. B. Cox and W. T. Gaston, who were both ministers with the Churches of God in Christ organization. After Welch received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in November 1911, he was eager to see a “united fellowship.” See “Brother Welch Promoted to Higher Service,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 29, 1939, 1.

¹⁶ Bell, “General Convention,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 1. See Randall James Stephens, “‘The Fire Spreads’: The Origins of the Southern Holiness and Pentecostal Movements,” (Order No. 3117379, University of Florida, 2003), 265-67. Stephens examined the emergence of Pentecostalism and the holiness movement from 1880-1910. Stephens showed that by 1900 that holiness advocates had abandoned mainline denominations and had set out on their own. These holiness churches advocated premillennialism and were among the first to embrace speaking in tongues. Stephens expertly tracks the transition of Wesleyan perfectionism to the “finished work” movement. The Assemblies of God embraced the William Durham’s “finished work” doctrine. Stephens also gives background and history to the 1913 “Jesus only” movement in the ministry of R. E. McAlister. Stephen’s analysis on the adoption of doctrinal belief based on relation to the Mason-Dixon line is especially interesting. Stephens claimed, “By the mid-1930s, nearly ten percent of all Pentecostals had accepted the ‘Oneness’ position. Interestingly enough, though, both the ‘finished work’ movement and ‘Oneness’ gained remarkably few converts below the Mason-Dixon line.” While three of every five Pentecostals nationally had adopted the ‘finished work’ view by the 1920s, less than one in four embraced it in the South. Similarly, ‘Oneness’ remained limited largely to the Midwest, where it claimed nine out of ten Pentecostals. But in the South in the 1930s only 3.1% had joined the ‘Jesus Only’ camp.” While this may have been the case by the 1930s and for Pentecostals in general, this study will show that the “Oneness” issue was a major issue within the Assemblies of God. After all, it was primarily those Southern founders who left the Assemblies of God in 1916. While Stephens is correct in the eventual outcome by 1930, his statements do not reflect the reality of what happened in the Assemblies of God in 1916.

¹⁷ Bell, “For Strangers, Who are We?” *Word and Witness*, May 20, 1914, 1. This article also has sections entitled, “A Real Salvation from Sin, Baptism with Holy Ghost, No Rolling or Nonsense, In Spiritual Gifts, The Church, Ordinances of Church, Soon Coming of Jesus, Missions, [and] Divine Healing.” Any student or study of early Assembly of God history will find it useful.

Despite their cooperation, rivalry between the two groups was evident as the movement consolidated. Bell and Goss were officially appointed to “draft a resolution as a basis for organizing the new denomination,” but Leonard and Flower met secretly to draft their own resolution.¹⁸ Leonard’s and Flowers’s resolution was the one presented and adopted by the General Council in April 1914.¹⁹ When their resolution was presented, it was “a surprise” to Bell and Goss, but as they “listened we heard to our great joy our own ideas being read out.”²⁰ Bell told Goss at the time, “Brother Goss, they have the very thing we need—and want!”²¹ Bell told the entire assembly, “without any collusion whatsoever—in fact, (and a twinkle appeared in his eyes) we didn’t even know that these brethren were meeting, the two committees have reached almost exactly the same conclusions concerning the purpose of this convention and the type of association which should bind this group of Pentecostal believers together.”²² Their resolution was a part of the *Preamble* of the Assemblies of God and served as a basis for “convenience, unity and fellowship” among ministers.²³ In founding the Assemblies of God, the ministers did “not believe in identifying [themselves] as, or establishing [themselves] into, a sect, that is a human organization that legislates or forms laws and articles of faith and has jurisdiction over its members and creates unscriptural lines of fellowship and disfellowship and which separates itself from other members of the General Assembly (Church) of the first born.”²⁴ Bell wrote that upon the “unanimous adoption” of the Preamble, “Such joy rarely seen in any religious body was

¹⁸ Anderson, 184.

¹⁹ *Minutes*, April 1914, 3.

²⁰ Ethel E. Goss, *The Winds of God: The Story of the Early Pentecostal Days (1901-1914) in the Life of Howard A. Goss* (New York: Comet Press, 1958), 176.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven: A History of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House), 174. See also Bell, “Unity and Diversity,” *Word and Witness*, April 20, 1914, 1.

²³ *Minutes*, April 1914, 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

manifested...a great time of shouting, rejoicing, handshaking and even hugging followed; the brethren hugging the brethren and the sisters kissing each other.”²⁵

T. K. Leonard, who had originally suggested the name “Assemblies of God” for the new fellowship, oversaw The Gospel School of Findlay, Ohio.²⁶ The school’s purpose was to train ministers to come to “their proper place in the body of Christ.”²⁷ Like other Pentecostal schools at the time, the school was a faith venture and did not require tuition from its students. Leonard listed seven teachers in the announcement and built the school as one that made “a specialty of the spiritual.”²⁸ E. N. Bell was welcomed as the teacher of Old Testament and New Testament interpretation and moved his printing operation to the school, which had space to accommodate it. The fall term of the Gospel School was set to start in October 1914, and the delegates to the April 1914 convention announced that “those in that section [Northeast], who are seeking Bible training to attend the same: and those who desire to take the course of Home Bible study, through the Gospel School Review, by which they finish in one year, a study of the entire Bible.”²⁹ The education and training of young ministers and missionaries was of utmost importance to the founding members of the Assemblies of God. At the 1914 meeting, the “GENERAL COUNCIL called to attention the literary school of Brother R. B. Chisholm, near Union, Miss, and recommended the same to those who are in reach of it and who are seeking literary training for their children in a good religious atmosphere.”³⁰

The 1914 Hot Springs Meeting was hosted in the middle of D.C.O. Opperman’s faith school at the Hot Springs Opera House. Opperman had rented the Opera House from January

²⁵ Bell, “General Council Special,” *Word and Witness*, May 20, 1914, 1.

²⁶ *Minutes*, April 1914, 3, 7.

²⁷ Bell, “The Gospel School,” *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1914, 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Minutes*, April 1914, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

1914 through May 1914 with a short-term Bible school planned for anyone who would come. As some have noted, Goss had previously rented the building for church services as well. A close examination of *Word and Witness* publications from January 1913 through November 1913 reveals that Maria Woodworth-Etter held revivals with D. C. O. Opperman in Malvern from September 18 to 28 at the Arkansas State Camp Meeting. After that, she held revivals in Hot Springs through October and November. As the weather turned colder in Hot Springs, the revival meetings moved from the park to the Opera House. The success of Woodworth-Etter's revivals was the contributing factor in Opperman starting a Bible school at the Opera House. Woodworth-Etter's influence in the founding of the Assemblies of God has been largely unacknowledged and certainly underappreciated.³¹

Opperman stated, "We are not asking the Lord for a large school. We are asking Him for a good one...This will be a faith school. No charges will be made for board, tuition, or room. We will trust God together to supply every need."³² People with money were instructed to bring it. People without could still come. The faith school adjourned and joined the meeting of the General Council in April 1914. Opperman, in the postscript to the announcement, called attention to R.B. Chisolm's literary school in Meridian, Mississippi where "all the teachers in the Neshoba Holiness School now have the baptism of the Holy Ghost with signs following."³³

³¹ See Bell, "Coming Camp Meetings," *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1913, 4. See also, Howard Goss, "Jehovah Still Working at Hot Springs, Arkansas," *Word and Witness*, November 20, 1913. These revivals have been almost entirely overlooked by historians of the Assemblies of God. Woodworth-Etter and the importance her revivals played in the formation of the Assemblies of God will receive an extensive treatment in Chapter 4 of this study.

³² Daniel C. O. Opperman, "The Bible School is soon to be Held in Hot Springs, Arkansas," *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 1. This article was the main article featured on the front page, and the Bible School Announcement took up twice as much space as the General Council announcement.

³³ *Ibid.*

Together, these three schools were promoted early on by the Assemblies of God. However, after the schism of 1916, only Leonard and Bell would remain with the Assemblies of God.³⁴

At the 1914 convention, “on motion it was recommended and adopted that the proceedings of THE GENERAL COUNCIL of the ASSEMBLIES OF GOD, be published in the May issue of WORD AND WITNESS and be distributed in large quantities.”³⁵ The General Council also recommended, “for those who desire a weekly paper,” J.R. Flower’s *Christian Evangel*.³⁶ After the Assemblies of God was founded in April 1914, several publications merged to provide a greater mouthpiece for the movement and were put under the direction of the Executive Presbytery. These publications moved to the Gospel School at Findlay, Ohio:

The old Apostolic papers of Houston, Texas, also the *Word and Witness* of Nashville, Tenn., Bro. Lee Floyd’s paper from Russellville, Ark, Bro. J.A. Corbell’s paper from Oklahoma City, the Gospel School Review [from T. K. Leonard] of Findlay, Ohio, the *Word and Witness* of Malvern, Arkansas, and the *Christian Evangel*, of Plainfield, Ind., are all now united in these two papers—the *WORD AND WITNESS*, monthly, Findlay, Ohio, and the *Christian Evangel*, weekly, Findlay, Ohio.³⁷

Flower and Bell agreed, “Also both [the *Word and Witness* and the *Christian Evangel*] belong to God and to all the saints and not to the editors, who are only servants of the saints and of God.”³⁸ Subscriptions cost \$1.00 a year for the weekly publication, *Christian Evangel*, and 50 cents a year for the monthly, *Word and Witness*. The editors encouraged subscribers not to purchase both publications since the best articles from the weekly would be included in the monthly publication. This allowed information to flow freely from the General Council to the

³⁴ Opperman, “Ozark Bible and Literary School,” *Word and Witness*, November 1915, 3. In November 1915, Chisolm joined Opperman as an instructor of language and science at the Ozark Bible and Literary School in Eureka Springs, Arkansas. Both Opperman and Chisolm were left out of the Assemblies of God after the 1916 General Council did not grant them credentials over the “New Issue.”

³⁵ *Minutes*, April 1914, 6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁷ E. N. Bell and J. R. Flower, “Editor’s Notes,” *Christian Evangel*, August 1, 1914, 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

frontlines of the movement. Cooperation was not only a spiritual initiative, but it was also a financial necessity. Bell and Flower admitted, “This is done in the interest of economy, that we might give the people the best paper for the least money. In the interest of co-operation, love, unity and peace, that we might the better glorify God among men.”³⁹ Financially, it made the most sense to cooperate among these different publications to reach the most subscribers for the least amount of money. Both papers had several thousand expired subscribers, and collaboration enlarged the circulation while reducing the overall printing costs.⁴⁰ Bell, the managing editor, and Flower, the assistant managing editor, celebrated:

The *Christian Evangel* is the only Pentecostal weekly newspaper in the United States which represents the whole field and which has room in its columns for real items of news from home and foreign field and which can get that news into the homes of the people within a week from the time it has been received in our office.⁴¹

Yet the seeds of schism were already planted in the movement. In their first editorial note in the *Christian Evangel* on August 1, 1914, Bell and Flower told their readers, “We must keep our sky-lights open so as not to reject any new light God may throw upon the old word.”⁴² The “New Issue” controversy over the nature of the Trinity would shake the Assemblies of God to its core and dramatically change the process for licensing and ordination. On August 22, 1914, Bell and Flower celebrated the establishment of District Councils who had agreed with the purposes of the Preamble of the Assemblies of God’s General Council. These district councils could then identify, license, and ordain eligible candidates for eldership and ministry. Furthermore, the district councils meant that the “Pentecostal people as a whole are tired of individualism and that

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ See Bell, “2,000 Deceived: God Robbed of \$1,000.00,” *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 3.

⁴¹ “Editor’s Notes,” *Christian Evangel*, August 15, 1914, 2.

⁴² Bell and Flower, “In Doctrines,” *Christian Evangel*, August 1, 1914, 2.

they are rapidly coming to the place of recognizing the Body of Christ, and are endeavoring to have real Bible order.”⁴³

On September 5, 1914, Bell and Flower encouraged students to attend D. C. O. Opperman’s two-month long faith-venture school in Iowa, which was to be “supported by the Lord through free-will offerings.”⁴⁴ T. K. Leonard assisted Opperman in this school where up to 600 students could fit in the school, but at the time the Assemblies of God had only 542 credentialed ministers within the organization.⁴⁵ Prime candidates for licensure were those in attendance at schools like Opperman’s. Opperman charged that students only need to answer “yes” to the following questions to attend the school:

Have you been called to preach the gospel or work for the Lord? How do you know you have been called? Are you willing to forsake all to follow Jesus? Are you willing to spend much time in prayer? Will you be diligent in study? Are you willing to obey God in all things? Are you willing to obey those who have the rule over you in the school? Are you willing to endure hardship for Jesus?⁴⁶

On September 12, 1914, Bell and Flower encouraged ministers to attend the November meeting of the Assemblies of God General Council at Stone Church in Chicago, Illinois.⁴⁷ Stone Church’s Pastor, R. L. Erickson, had led the pro-revival church since March 1914 and was appointed one of the twelve executive presbyters of the General Council at the April 1914 Hot Springs Meeting.⁴⁸ William Durham gave his famous “The Finished Work of Calvary” sermon at the Stone Church in 1910 at the annual Pentecostal convention which included E.N. Bell and

⁴³ Bell and Flower, “District Councils Established,” *Christian Evangel*, August 22, 1914, 1-2.

⁴⁴ Bell and Flower, “Three Schools,” *Christian Evangel*, September 5, 1914, 2.

⁴⁵ Ibid. See also *Minutes*, April 1914, 12-6.

⁴⁶ Bell and Flower, “Three Schools,” *Christian Evangel*, September 5, 1914, 2.

⁴⁷ Bell and Flower, “Great November Meeting of Assemblies of God at The Stone Church,” *Christian Evangel*, September 12, 1914, 1.

⁴⁸ “Notes,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1915, 12. *Minutes*, April 1914, 5.

Aimee Semple McPherson in attendance.⁴⁹ Woodworth-Etter also hosted healing services at “Chicago at the Stone Church during the entire month of July” 1913 in a revival that ran for eighteen months.⁵⁰ Woodworth-Etter’s *Acts of the Holy Ghost* book was published by Bell’s *Word and Witness* and regularly featured in its “books” section.⁵¹

Bell encouraged people to attend the Stone Church November 1914 meeting because of the successful Hot Springs Meeting in April 1914:

Just before this great meeting took place, it was whispered around that a man-made Creed was about to be formed to be forced down the throats of all freedom-loving Pentecostal people. That a strong centralized Church government, contrary to the word of God was about to be formed, that some man was to be elected head of the church, and then usurp the place of Christ, that a charter was to be obtained to preach the gospel according to the Creed to be formed, and that every man who did not adopt the one name, the one creed, hold for the new “Pope,” that man would be summarily disfellowshipped and driven out of the Pentecostal camp.⁵²

⁴⁹ Allen L. Clayton, “The Significance of William H. Durham for Pentecostal Historiography.” *Pneuma: the Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 1, no. 1 (1979): 27. See McGee, 74. Durham’s “Finished Work” theology is an important consideration in early Pentecostalism. Durham’s theological impact cannot be ignored because it greatly influenced fusions and fissions within the Assemblies of God. Durham’s finished work theology in short is this: “The surest possible way to overturn a building is to remove its foundation. The basic truths of the Gospel are that Christ became a substitute for sinners and died in their stead, and that men are saved by faith in Him.” In many ways, Durham’s theology had a greater impact on the theology of the Assemblies of God than either Charles Parham or William Seymour. Durham claimed, “Men change, customs change, churches change, very greatly, both as to their faith and practice, but the Gospel of Christ and God’s plan of salvation remain exactly as they were in the beginning.” See William Durham, “The Finished Work of Calvary—It Makes Plain the Great Work of Redemption.” *Pentecostal Testimony*, 2:2 (May 1912), in *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology, Voices from the First Generation*, edited by Douglas Jacobsen, 85-89 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006). “Durham’s Pentecostal Testimony and tracts had been sent out in the hundreds of thousands, extending his teaching far beyond his own personal itinerary. His impact on the Pentecostal movement proved to be profound, drawing a large segment of them closer to Reformed doctrine on this point. Several emerging leaders...shared his theology at...the first General Council of the Assemblies of God. Only those holiness Pentecostal bodies in the Southeast and the Apostolic Faith associations of Parham and Florence Crawford preserved the Wesleyan view [of holiness].” McGee, 76. There is some evidence that this sermon may have been given in September 1909 instead of 1910 as has been cited by Ewart and others. This may have been the Durham sermon date instead of 1910 cited by Ewart and others. See “Conventions,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, August 1909, 10. “Chicago, Illinois, Sept. 12-26. Write Wm. H. Durham, 2836 (old No. 943) North Ave.” Durham very well may have given sermons on both dates.

⁵⁰ F.F. Bosworth, “To Chicago in July,” *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 4.

⁵¹ Bell, “Books,” *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 8.

⁵² “Great November Meeting,” *Christian Evangel*, September 12, 1914, 1.

While Bell was correct in stating that these fears “were all false alarms” in September 1914, the later developments within the denomination would prove that these fears were warranted. Bell continued:

The ones who were leading out in these matters wanted exactly the things which the frightened brethren wanted. The result was the adoption of a set of resolutions unanimously that at once secured the freedom of all the cooperating assemblies and capable establishment asters, and forever set at rest all fears, there followed the most harmonious, loving, sweet and encouraging convention it has ever been our good pleasure to witness. It was unanimously agreed that the Bible alone was to be our creed and book of discipline. Nobody wanted a charter as authority to preach the gospel only for holding property in a legal way and for aiding the missionaries and their property matters and legal standing on the foreign fields.⁵³

On October 24, 1914, Bell and Flower published “A Letter to the Pentecostal Movement from a Friend.” Although this first letter was not signed, the second letter published on December 19, 1914, was signed by C. E. Reynolds. These letters were an ominous foreshadowing of what would begin to shake the organization less than a year later. Regardless of their agreement to cooperate, there were doctrinal divides among affiliated ministers that had not been settled at the beginning of their cooperation. Reynolds wrote, “You have nothing to fear from the outside forces that are arrayed against you, but everything to fear from dissensions arising from within.”⁵⁴

The stated purpose of the Executive Presbytery was “to act in all necessary matters on behalf of this General Council, as a Home and Foreign Mission and Executive Presbytery during

⁵³ Ibid. See also, Bell, “Unity and Diversity,” *Word and Witness*, April 20, 1914, 1.

⁵⁴ C. E. Reynolds, “A Letter to the Pentecostal Movement from a Friend,” *Christian Evangel*, October 24, 1914, 2. In his second letter, Reynolds warned: “And now that brings forth another danger that success in any great work is open to. To illustrate—consolidation with other religious bodies—a kind of ‘get-together’ movement. A leader in one of those bodies said recently, we have not got ahead from fighting this movement. If they could come back a step, meaning the Pentecostal people, and we could go ahead a step, we could get together. The fatality of such a suggestion is apparent on its face. God has not penetrated the darkness to bring forth such a movement to be juggled with by Him. The very fact that he is owed the work until it could stand, but indicates that he wants to use it separate in a part for His glory.” See Reynolds, “A Letter to the Pentecostal Movement from a Friend, No. 2.” *Christian Evangel*, December 19, 1914, 2.

the ensuing year, or until their successors are appointed.”⁵⁵ In Hot Springs, the General Council authorized the Executive Presbytery “to charter the General Council of the Assemblies of God.”⁵⁶ The second meeting of the General Council in November 1914 at Stone Church in Chicago would further cement the initial work of the earlier Hot Springs Council to spark “the greatest evangelism that the world has ever seen.”⁵⁷ In Chicago, the General Council charged the Executive Presbytery with ten additional resolutions for its work.⁵⁸ First, the Presbytery was to administer “the obligations of the General Council to the young converts, young preachers, and young assemblies in unity with us.”⁵⁹ Second, the Presbytery was to “acquaint themselves...with conditions everywhere” and to find ministers willing to cooperate.⁶⁰ Third, the General Council charged the Presbytery “to recommend to the General Council which of the local assemblies in unity with us are Scripturally set in order, and also which of said assemblies are not yet so qualified, in order that the General Council, through the Presbytery, may assist in the development of the latter in the will of God.”⁶¹ Fourth, the Council acknowledged a congregational system among its churches and hoped churches would participate in the Council while assuring their autonomy. Fifth, congregations not ready to affiliate were encouraged to engage the Presbytery to set things in order. Sixth, churches were encouraged to seek the “help of the Presbytery for advice before the division occurs.”⁶² Seventh, the Presbyters were also “to prepare a list of those ministers in unity with us who by experience and qualifications may justify

⁵⁵ *Minutes*, April 1914, 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Minutes*, November 1914, 12. L. C. Hall shared this resolution in the final morning of the meeting. Hall did not remain with the Assemblies of God after the 1916 schism.

⁵⁸ In 1914, the General Council used the terms “Executive Presbytery” and “Presbytery” interchangeably.

⁵⁹ *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God* (Findlay: Gospel Publishing House, November 1914), 11.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

the General Council in recognizing their ordination as Elders, and likewise prepare a list of those ministers and aspirants to the ministry whose experience and qualifications do not warrant their ordination as elders.”⁶³ Those who were not ready for ordination as elders should “submit themselves to the brotherly oversight of the District and General Councils, the Executive Presbytery and such brethren as may be able to assist them (I Peter 5:5).”⁶⁴ With this charge of work, whoever controlled the Executive Presbytery along with the publishing interests had immense power in the denomination.

Truly, the Assemblies of God was founded in April 1914 as a movement and a fellowship, but by November 1914 denominational structures were forming quickly with the purchase of publishing equipment and the empowerment of the executive presbytery to make decisions on who to ordain and what congregations to exclude or include. Bell and Flower also commented, “Assemblies who are without a pastor are already beginning to realize the value of the General Council as a place to secure a new pastor.”⁶⁵ The final resolution passed at the November 1914 meeting charged “all saints having treasures of money or property” to give them

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid. By “elder,” the General Council was referring to preachers. Bell further clarified at the 1918 General Council: “Brother E.N. Bell proved from the Word that the appellation ‘elder’ is equal to that of a bishop, and showed that in the early church that they were appointed to have charge of large companies of Saints. One qualification of an elder was that he must be ‘apt to teach.’ He strongly deprecated the practice of selecting men qualified only for deacons and then calling them elders and not having any deacons at all. This practice, he said, was unscriptural and also led to confusion as to authority when these men had exactly the same title as that of the preacher. The preachers are the elders. To this view the brethren said ‘Amen.’” See *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*. (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, September 1918), 5.

⁶⁵ Bell and Flower, “General Council Great Success: Pastors and People get Together,” *Christian Evangel*, December 5, 1914, 1. See “Do You Need a Pastor? Brother O. L. Watkins Ready for God’s Service,” *Word and Witness*, October 17, 1914, 2. “I should be glad to have you circulating your paper. The fact that I am ready and would be glad to be associated with an assembly that is in need of a pastor. My heart is in the work for Lost Souls and building up the Saints. I would like a place where I could work at my trade of blacksmithing so as not to be burdensome to the church, and at the same time labor and word and doctrine have been in God’s service five years. I believe the whole Bible and that the atoning blood alone can cleanse us from all sin. I insist upon a Bible evidence for both cleansing and the baptism in the Holy Ghost. I am an ordained minister in the Assembly of God; I can show a good rapport with those within and those without.”

to the Executive Presbytery, “in order that there may be no failure of the Church of God to accomplish His full will for lack of means.”⁶⁶

The October 1915 General Council Meeting in St. Louis gave more structure to the denominational apparatus. Delegates reaffirmed the Preamble and Resolution of Constitution adopted at Hot Springs and elected new officers. Under new business, there were lengthy discussions regarding the formula for water baptism and the “New Issue.” With a growing denomination, affiliated ministers made deliberate and systematic decisions for doctrinal and financial stability. These decisions though would have major ramifications in introducing schisms. For two days at the October 1915 General Council, the attendees debated the formula for water baptism.⁶⁷ This would be a sign of dire challenges to come, and the General Council would take a step back a year later from this formulaic approach to baptism. On Thursday, October 7, 1915, the General Council passed this resolution: “Resolved that it is the sense of this Council that the substitution of the name of 'Jesus Christ' for the word 'Son,' (Matt. 28:19) would better harmonize Matt. 28:19 with the book of Acts (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5) and, as a formula, would be preferable to the use of any one passage to the exclusion of the other.”⁶⁸ The General Council adopted the following resolution to protect those who took issue with the baptismal resolution:

This Council refuses to attempt to bind the consciences of men on this matter, refuses to draw any line of Christian fellowship or of ministerial fellowship on either side of the question over the matter of a baptismal formula, so long as the person concerned on either side keeps in a sweet Christian spirit, is not factious, does not tear up assemblies or does not disregard the Scriptural officers in charge of local assemblies.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ *Minutes*, November 1914, 12.

⁶⁷ *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, October 1915), 5-6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

This issue was of great personal importance to E.N. Bell. Bell had been re-baptized in the “name of Jesus Christ” in the summer of that year.⁷⁰ Bell wrote, “It’s a personal privilege to satisfy my own conscience towards God. I was some time ago baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus according to the uniform practice and teaching of the apostles.”⁷¹ Bell defended his decision, but he would ultimately lose his editor post because of it.

On Friday, October 8, 1915, the General Council passed a resolution on the Publishing House “that such business methods be adopted as shall place the publishing interests on a sound and secure financial basis.”⁷² The plan was to secure donations, subscriptions, and loans for the papers and publishing plant. In the October 1915 *Word and Witness*, Bell charged “2,000 Deceived: God Robbed of \$1,000.00” because subscribers had not paid for their subscriptions.⁷³ Due to the General Council’s resolution, the November 1915 *Word and Witness* would be its last monthly printing as the *Christian Evangel* would be “transferred to a big 16 page weekly.”⁷⁴ Flower wrote, “Brother Bell has been desiring to be released from the editorial chair for a year, and offered his resignation to the Presbytery last May, that he might launch out into other work for God to which he feels called.”⁷⁵ Welch, one of Flower’s allies, was to take up the post.⁷⁶ The stage was now set for the takeover of the Assemblies of God’s General Council by the Flower faction.

⁷⁰ See Stephens, “The Fire Spreads,” 266.

⁷¹ Bell, “There is Safety in Counsel: Editor E.N. Bell tells why he was baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, and shows the Necessity for the Brethren to meet together in General Council,” *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 1.

⁷² *Minutes*, October 1915, 7.

⁷³ Bell, “2,000 Deceived: God Robbed of \$1,000.00,” *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 3.

⁷⁴ Bell, “Word and Witness to be Discontinued,” *Word and Witness*, November 1915, 3.

⁷⁵ J. R. Flower, “A Change of Editors,” *Word and Witness*, November 1915, 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Welch was affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ in 1913, but he also had deep connections to the Christian and Missionary Alliance, which provided a strong tie to J. R. Flower.

This study looks at the role that doctrinal conflicts and networks of relationships, railroads, and women in ministry played in the Assemblies of God credentialing and ordination practices. Anderson claimed, “in the course of the controversy over the New Issue [between 1915 and 1916], every one of the six Southern, former Church of God in Christ leaders who had spearheaded the creation of the Assemblies was stripped of his authority.”⁷⁷ Bell, as already mentioned, lost his publishing post and the chairmanship.⁷⁸ In 1916, when Goss and Opperman attempted to hold “the Council to its original promise never to adopt a statement of doctrine that would disfellowship anyone, so long as he accepted Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues,” they were unsuccessful and forced to leave.⁷⁹

The credentials of the leadership of the Churches of God in Christ group were not renewed with the denomination because of their doctrinal positions and because of their opinion that the Assemblies of God should not have a position at all on fundamental truths other than what existed in the preamble adopted in 1914. As Anderson noted, “Collins, who refused to join the Flower faction in evicting the Oneness advocates, remained in the Assemblies but lost his position as chairman.”⁸⁰ Pinson, who was a field editor for Bell’s *Word and Witness*, was a strong opponent of the “New Issue,” but he was still not selected to serve as a presbyter in 1916 because of his previous affiliation with the southern group.⁸¹ John Welch and Stanley Frodsham,

⁷⁷ Anderson, 184. H.G. Rodgers of Jackson, Tennessee is the sixth former Church of God in Christ leader to which Anderson refers. The other five already discussed are Pinson, Collins, Goss, Bell, and Opperman. Bell and Collins did gain back some influence in 1917. In 1917, Collins was tapped for the editor position of the *Weekly Evangel*, but he was unable to take the post in 1917. In Collins’s place, Bell returned to the editor’s post on Flower’s retirement, and Bell spearheaded the move of the General Council from St. Louis to Springfield. By 1920, Collins was “selected to act for the General Council as General Field Representative,” and Bell was elected as Chairman. See *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, September 1920), 48.

⁷⁸ Flower claimed Bell desired to resign the post, but, due to the significant doctrinal disagreements between them, there is a fine line between resignation and removal.

⁷⁹ Anderson, 181.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

supporters of the Flower faction, took the roles of chairman and secretary of the Assemblies which then served as a credentialing committee, “which was charged with renewing all ministerial credentials annually to insure conformity with the new Statement of Faith.”⁸² Welch, Frodsham, and Flower retained important leadership positions within the denomination for decades and wielded their power with great effect on the young movement. The schism of 1916 brought a stronger organization to the Assemblies of God, “marking the beginning of a trend that would transform the Assemblies from a loose association into a centralized denomination.”⁸³

Historiography

With *The Story of Religion in America* (1930), William Warren Sweet began the modern historiography of American religion. Sweet wrote favorably of revivalism and saw revivals as continual happenings. Sweet recorded the massive growth that pro-revival movements like the Assemblies of God experienced between 1880 and 1926. Sweet observed that holiness and Pentecostal churches “were by no means confined to any one section” of the country.⁸⁴ In *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth, and Decline* (1945), Sweet studied revivalism under the lens of biography. Sweet believed that revivalism represented “the rapids in the stream” of American Christianity.⁸⁵ Sweet perceived, “The waning of revivalism in most of the large evangelical bodies has been one of the principal factors in creating numerous new revivalistic sects.”⁸⁶ One such sect Sweet recognized was the Assemblies of God. Sweet concluded, “It is

⁸² Ibid., 185.

⁸³ Ibid., 184.

⁸⁴ William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1930), 506.

⁸⁵ William W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth, and Decline* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1945), 24.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 174.

‘the cranks’ which turn the world.’⁸⁷ Sweet’s students—Timothy Smith and Sidney Mead—as well as those who were subsequently mentored by them continued in this approach.

In *Revivalism and Social Reform* (1957), Timothy Smith found interdenominational fellowship and the concept of “brotherly love” to be the “supreme virtue.”⁸⁸ Smith, like Sweet, saw revivals as continually happening even through the Civil War, and Smith saw the revivalism of Dwight L. Moody as evidence of their continuation after the War.⁸⁹ Smith’s students—Grant Wacker and Joel Carpenter—continued in this vein of thought and focused specifically on Pentecostals. The Assemblies of God was born from a desire for fellowship, cooperation, and the “brotherly love” that Smith held as important. In the November 1914 meeting, the General Council acknowledged that ordained elders had “perfect freedom” and that they had “no other ties binding them than those of love, unity, and cooperation with the General Body.”⁹⁰

In *Modern Revivalism: From Charles G. Finney to Billy Graham* (1959), William McLoughlin adopted the cyclical view of revivals opposing Sweet and Smith. McLoughlin followed in the footsteps of Perry Miller with an intellectual, sociological, and anthropological look at religion. McLoughlin believed that the older mainline denominations experienced “countless amalgamations and divisions” because of a loss of perceived piety.⁹¹ The new sects that emerged emphasized their “holiness” or “Pentecostal fervor” while agreeing on many points of Fundamentalism.⁹² McLoughlin ignored the cooperation and consolidation that took place in denominations like the Assemblies of God. Instead, McLoughlin ultimately focused on the

⁸⁷ Ibid., 177.

⁸⁸ Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1957), 66.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 47.

⁹⁰ *Minutes*, November 1914, 12.

⁹¹ William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1959), 470.

⁹² Ibid., 464.

“realignment in Protestantism” after World War II that produced Billy Graham and “transformed the nation’s outlook from liberalism to conservatism.”⁹³ This study argues that the Assemblies of God is central to understanding the crossroads between the holiness movement, Fundamentalism, Pentecostalism, and revivalism. The “realignment” that occurred was fueled by not only the Fundamentalists but also by the Pentecostals in the Assemblies of God.

In *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America* (1963), Sidney Mead compiled eight of his previously published articles and wrote in the historiographical line of Sweet and Smith. Mead believed that the “Christianity which developed in the United States [after 1800] was unique.”⁹⁴ Mead asserted that denominationalism was the reason for this uniqueness. Although the Assemblies of God did not initially intend to build denominational structures or adopt a statement of faith, as the fellowship grew and a power struggle ensued, it did just that.

Ernest Sandeen’s study of fundamentalism began with “Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism” (1967) and culminated with *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (1970). Sandeen’s analysis of dispensationalist belief as well as of *The Fundamentals* (1910-1915) is important to how the Assemblies of God fits into Fundamentalism. For Sandeen, pre-millennial dispensationalism was the essential doctrine and the driving force behind the Fundamentalist movement. Sandeen defines the Fundamentalist movement as a “self-conscious, structured, long-lived, dynamic entity with recognized leadership, periodicals and meetings.”⁹⁵ Unfortunately, Sandeen does not

⁹³ Ibid., 482.

⁹⁴ Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), xii.103-4.

⁹⁵ Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of American Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xiii.

give Pentecostals much attention. In doing so, Sandeen underestimated the importance of pre-millennialism as a core doctrine of the Assemblies of God as well as the importance of *The Fundamentals* to its organization. Anderson specifically addressed this shortcoming in *Vision of the Disinherited*.

In *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (1971), William Menzies provided excellent analysis of Mrs. Woodworth-Etter's involvement with the April 1913 revivals which triggered the "Jesus only" movement from a sermon by R. E. McAlister. Menzies also provided a concise synopsis of the "dissatisfaction" that produced a movement towards further consolidation in June 1913 between E.N. Bell's Church of God in Christ in the Texas-Arkansas fellowship with the "Alabama-Mississippi faction."⁹⁶ This was an important step towards the further mergers that resulted in the Assemblies of God. Because Menzies' history has been the de facto church history of the Assemblies of God, he failed to provide comprehensive analysis on the schism that shook the denomination in 1916 and the ministers who were forced to disaffiliate.

In *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (1978), McLoughlin shirked "the old Protestant definition of revivalism and awakenings" that Sweet and his students had advocated and instead analyzed revivals from a completely anthropological perspective.⁹⁷ For McLoughlin, all revivals and awakenings were simply the way society engaged in an "organizing or reorganizing process."⁹⁸ McLoughlin characterized revivals of religion as cyclical events that were the reasons for, responses from, and reactions to massive social changes.⁹⁹ While McLoughlin credited McPherson with the role of being the champion of the "new light" Pentecostal vision in the Third

⁹⁶ William Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: A History of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 91.

⁹⁷ William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 7.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

Great Awakening, he completely ignored the Assemblies of God movement as well as the work of Maria Woodworth-Etter.¹⁰⁰ Previously, in “Aimee Semple McPherson: ‘Your Sister in the King’s Glad Service’” (1967), McLoughlin highlighted McPherson’s entire career. However, McLoughlin entirely ignored her denominational ties to the Assemblies of God and the importance that affiliation held for her between 1919-1921.

In *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (1979), Robert Mapes Anderson claimed that “despite the initial hostility of the main body of Fundamentalists to the Pentecostals, it seems to me that the Pentecostal movement should be regarded as a part of the Fundamentalist movement.”¹⁰¹ Anderson believed this because Pentecostals “fully subscribed to all the basic tenets of Fundamentalism, they recognized the authority of the same leaders (in all matters except their pronouncements on the Pentecostal movement), they read their periodicals, and they attended their meetings.”¹⁰² For Anderson, Pentecostals had “merely carried Biblical literalism—the bedrock of Fundamentalism—to its logical conclusion.”¹⁰³ This study agrees with his assessment and will buttress his arguments and observations with additional evidence. Anderson also addressed the issue of race and doctrinal belief with the “lily white” Assemblies of God.¹⁰⁴

In *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (1980), George Marsden followed up Sandeen’s work with a focus on the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy up to 1925. Marsden believed that “Pentecostalism countered modern secularism with intense emphasis on the experiential side of

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹⁰¹ Anderson, 6.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Anderson, 190.

spirituality,” while Fundamentalists emphasized “the necessity of fighting secularizing forces at the level of ideology.”¹⁰⁵ For Marsden, the influence went largely from fundamentalists to Pentecostals and not the other way around. Edith Blumhofer and Grant Wacker have since challenged Marsden’s assessment.

In *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (1993), Edith Blumhofer investigated the “tensions and fusions between Pentecostalism and American culture.”¹⁰⁶ Blumhofer’s succinct and thorough history marked her as the preeminent historian of the Assemblies of God.¹⁰⁷ Blumhofer maintained that there were three primary reasons for the schism in 1916: “Second Blessing” and the meaning of holiness and entire sanctification; doctrinal issues related to the baptismal formula, the doctrine of Trinity, and the process of salvation (in short, the Oneness controversy); and the “uniform initial evidence” of tongues.¹⁰⁸ In 1916, the development of the Fundamental Truths of the Assemblies of God settled these matters. Those who most readily accepted these fundamental truths were aligned with Flower and the other Christian and Missionary Alliance leaders.

In *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (2001), Grant Wacker traced how Pentecostalism combined primitivism and pragmatism in its development. What Jon Butler did for the analysis of religion and awakenings in Colonial America in “Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretative Fiction” (1982), Wacker has done for

¹⁰⁵ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 94.

¹⁰⁶ Quentin J. Schultze, review of *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture*, by Edith L. Blumhofer, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), *Journal of American History* 81, no. 2, (September 1994): 737, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2081312>.

¹⁰⁷ This study is indebted to her concise observation of Anderson’s argument that the schism of 1916 in the Assemblies of God should be viewed as a political struggle.

¹⁰⁸ Edith Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 124.

Pentecostals and the Assemblies of God. In “The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910” (1985), Wacker had already tracked the decision of evangelicals to “flee ordinary religion in search of extraordinary religion.”¹⁰⁹ Wacker noted that there was a lack of scholarship between the 1880s and the 1920s concerning higher life theology. Of the scholarship that does analyze this period, the religious movements are often depicted in competing and oppositional terms. Wacker believed that creedal and denominational boundaries were often drawn in such a way that made “them more distinctive than they really were.”¹¹⁰ Wacker’s approach in these two important works serves as a reminder that the “New Issue” could be seen as a creedal and a power-based division. In 1916, the Assemblies of God approved a resolution which mandated agreement with the *Fundamental Truths* as a basis to license and ordain its ministers.¹¹¹ Given this shared cross-section of belief previously noted by Robert Mapes Anderson, Wacker’s view of Pentecostalism as a part of Fundamentalism is important.

In “Women in Pentecostalism” (2003), Blumhofer continued her excellent analysis on the contributions of women to the Assemblies of God. Blumhofer tracked the role of women as “helpers in the Gospel” at the Assemblies of God’s founding in 1914 to their ordination as pastors in 1935.¹¹² While Blumhofer does not address the specific role that Maria Woodworth-Etter played, she does speak to the many contributions that women were able to make in the denomination compared to other Pentecostal denominations. In “‘That Old-Time Religion’: Aimee Semple McPherson and perceptions of Pentecostalism, 1918-26” (2004), Blumhofer

¹⁰⁹ Grant Wacker, “The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910,” *The Journal of American History* 72, no. 1 (1985): 62.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹¹¹ *Minutes*, October 1916, 7.

¹¹² Blumhofer, “Women in Pentecostalism,” *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 57 (2003): 112.

followed up with an excellent synopsis of McPherson's time in the Assemblies of God.

Blumhofer highlighted McPherson's restorationist approach to "Bible Christianity."¹¹³

In *Evangelicalism in America* (2016), Randall Balmer investigated the "four primary strains of evangelicalism—fundamentalism, neoevangelicalism, the holiness movement, and Pentecostalism."¹¹⁴ Balmer defined evangelicals as commonly sharing three characteristics: a literal and even primitivistic approach to Biblical interpretation, the centrality of a conversion experience, and an intense desire to share their faith. Balmer observed that the Assemblies of God broke racial and gender barriers, embraced pre-millennial thought, and championed a restorationist and primitive faith. Balmer's inclusion of Pentecostalism within the evangelical definition is significant.

In *Ethics in the Age of the Spirit: Race, Women, War, and the Assemblies of God* (2019), Howard Kenyon, who had previously written this 1988 philosophy dissertation at Baylor University, outlined the ethical issues surrounding this study's topics. Kenyon called the Assemblies of God's stance towards women a dogmatic ethic, claiming "the issue of distinction was clearly one of authority."¹¹⁵ Kenyon's treatment of the historical considerations is surprisingly insightful, and his themes on the social ethics surrounding these issues are on point. Kenyon shows how World War I ushered in many "eschatological discussions" and highlighted the pre-millennial disposition of the Assemblies of God.¹¹⁶ The Assemblies of God also

¹¹³ Blumhofer, "'That Old-time Religion': Aimee Semple McPherson and perceptions of Pentecostalism, 1918–26," *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, 25:2 (2004): 223.

¹¹⁴ Randall H. Balmer, *Evangelicalism in America* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016), xv. Balmer also co-edited *Modern Christian Revivals* (1993) with Edith Blumhofer.

¹¹⁵ Howard Kenyon, *Ethics in the Age of the Spirit: Race, Women, War, and the Assemblies of God* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2019), 153.

¹¹⁶ Wacker, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism," *The Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 3/4 (1984): 370. Although Kenyon treated the ethical position of the Assemblies of God in changing attitudes towards World War I and the political necessities of the changes, Robins' treatment in "A Chronology of Peace: Attitudes Toward War and Peace in the Assemblies of God: 1914-1918" (1984) is far more nuanced.

experienced a pronounced shift from pacifist to patriot. Oftentimes, historians have highlighted this shift as only occurring after World War II, but the evidence suggests otherwise. During the first World War, the Assemblies of God shifted from “pilgrims to citizens.”¹¹⁷ World War I impacted the Assemblies of God’s approach to missions and credentialing of ministers. When faced with these challenges, the Assemblies of God streamlined processes and adopted practices to speedily get their message and money out.

Synopsis

This study is divided into four parts. The first chapter, “Doctrinal Conflicts and Networks of Relationships,” looks at the Churches of God in Christ organization that pre-dated the Assemblies of God. It also chapter traces the early torchbearers, influencers, and forefathers of the Pentecostal movement and the Assemblies of God. Early conflicts eventually produced denominational hemorrhaging when the Assemblies of God was faced with the “New Issue.” This chapter reveals the power shifts that occurred between the two rival leadership groups before the schism of 1916 and traces how pre-existing relationships impacted cooperation. This chapter takes an in-depth look at that rivalry and surveys the organizational structures between Flower’s and Bell’s factions.

The second chapter, “1916 General Council and Railroads,” looks at the 1916 General Council and the impact that railroads had on the organization. Goss and Opperman would not be the last to leave the denomination over doctrinal conflict. Others left as the Assemblies of God further defined and delineated its fundamental truths. These fundamental truths were closely aligned with R.A. Torrey’s *The Fundamentals* (1910-15) flavored with a “Pentecostal experience.” This chapter falls in line with Blumhofer, who argued, “The perception of affinities

¹¹⁷ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 142.

with fundamentalists in the 1920s led Assemblies of God adherents to understand themselves as ‘fundamentalists with a difference.’”¹¹⁸ With the 1916 General Council, the Assemblies of God had a dramatic shift in its organization that centralized power in the hands of the Flower faction. Railroads had a major impact on these developments, and the travels of A. A. Boddy reveal a deep connected network of ministers within the Christian and Missionary Alliance faction.¹¹⁹

The third chapter, “1917, 1918, and 1919 General Councils and World War I,” looks at the denominational developments within the Assemblies of God. After the passing of the Statement of Fundamental Truths in 1916, these General Councils further regulated the licensing and ordination process. Ministers serving within leadership positions in the General Council could no longer express any disagreement with the Statement of Fundamental Truths. Consequently, a few key leaders, including F. F. Bosworth, left the denomination. World War I also brought with it disagreement on the Assemblies of God’s position on war, and both pacifists and patriots attempted to gain power in the denomination.

The fourth chapter, “Women’s Role in Ministry,” works all the way through women gaining the right to vote in the General Council Assembly in 1920. This chapter also discusses Aimee Semple McPherson’s involvement with the Assemblies of God from 1919 to 1922, providing insight into her affiliation, relationship, and disaffiliation due to the denominational development of the Assemblies of God. McPherson built relationships during her time in the Assemblies of God that led others out of the denomination as well. The chapter concludes by taking an in-depth look at the “Founding Mothers” of the Pentecostal movement and the ministry

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁹ Malcolm John Taylor wrote, “In view of his undoubted status as the pioneer of British Pentecostalism, it is surprising that A. A. Boddy has received so little attention from Pentecostal historians.” See Malcolm John Taylor, “Publish and Be Blessed: A Case Study in Early Pentecostal Publishing History, 1906-1926,” Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1994. Taylor offers the most complete study of publishing in early Pentecostalism to date.

of Maria Woodworth-Etter. “Sister Etter,” as many called her, her revivals, and her ministry played a pivotal role in the formation of the Assemblies of God.

Together, these chapters show how the Assemblies of God was subject to both internal and external forces which greatly influenced its development especially as it relates to the licensing and ordination of its ministers. In 1916, with the development of a statement of fundamental truths, the Assemblies of God was able to ensure the doctrinal fidelity of its ministers, but the issue of credentialing power and process dramatically impacted the movement.

Chapter 1: Doctrinal Conflicts and Networks of Relationships

In its first three years of existence from 1914-1916, the Assemblies of God had a total ministerial roster of 1,111 ministers. Appendix A shows a complete matrix of the minister rolls of the Churches of God in Christ from December 1913 as well as tracking the affiliations and disaffiliations with the Assemblies of God in April 1914, November 1914, 1915, and 1916.¹²⁰ This evidence buttresses Robert Mapes Anderson's argument of rival factions being key to understanding the schism of 1916 and presents opportunities for further scholarship.

Of the 351 ministers affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ (predecessor to Assemblies of God led by Bell) in December 1913, only fifty-seven remained affiliated through the 1916 schism. Of the 351 ministers, 111 ministers never affiliated with the Assemblies of God. The strongest support for Anderson's argument is that 145 of the 240 that had affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1914 were disfellowshipped after 1916 when Flower's faction gained control of the General Council. Flower indicated that the ministerial roll dropped a total of 156 ministers from "585 to 429."¹²¹ What Flower did not say is that all but eleven of those disfellowshipped came into the Assemblies of God movement from the Churches of God in Christ. Flower's faction had gained control of the General Council and disfellowshipped those who departed from orthodoxy and doctrinally stood in their way.

In *Heaven Below*, Grant Wacker stated, "Dense networks of personal friendships, especially among leaders, facilitated spreading the word in ways that are only beginning to come to light."¹²² Wacker cited the "multiple personal connections revealed in William H. Durham's

¹²⁰ See Appendix A or visit the web portal for this study: ChristianEvangel.com/Ministers. The author of this study also mapped the ministers' locations using zip code information.

¹²¹ Flower, "History," 63. Although Robert Mapes Anderson claimed that "more than one fourth of the ministers affiliated with the Assemblies of God left." See Anderson, 182.

¹²² Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 3.

account of his transcontinental evangelistic travels in *Missionary World*” published in April 1906.¹²³ Wacker was convinced that Robert Mapes Anderson had a “persuasive case that some of the friction in the infant Assemblies of God, for example, stemmed from status differences between men and women who came from the Christian and Missionary Alliance on one hand and those who came from the (Texas–Arkansas) Apostolic Faith on the other.”¹²⁴ For Wacker, “the evidence leaves little question that a large part of the wrangling grew from each faction’s conviction that it alone knew God’s mind.”¹²⁵

Part of the reason for this study is to confirm, survey, and analyze the many personal relationships that pre-date the formation of the Assemblies of God in 1914 as well as survey the shifts within these ministry networks. The shifting loyalties within these “dense networks,” as Wacker described them, led to significant turbulence within the Assemblies of God and changed the organization’s credentialing, licensing, and ordination processes completely. Conflicts in the Assemblies of God should be viewed from a doctrinal lens, but they also should be viewed as the shifting of loyalties based in great part on previous cooperation, established friendships, mutual connections, and even train rides.

Charles Parham and Zion City’s Legacy

John G. Lake, for instance, was an important figure in early Pentecostalism. Lake attended the April 1914 General Council representing Pennsylvania and South Africa as a missionary.¹²⁶ Lake’s link to Pentecostalism came from his family’s time at John Alexander Dowie’s model-town called Zion City, Illinois. On April 28, 1898, Lake’s wife, Jennie Stevens,

¹²³ Ibid., 274, notes 11 and 12. A full discussion of the people that Durham visited during this journey and the significance of who he met is discussed in the next chapter beginning on page 81.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 179.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ *Minutes*, April 1914, 3.

was “instantly healed under the ministry of John Alexander Dowie.”¹²⁷ Charles Parham held revivals at Zion City that also had a significant impact on Lake, and Parham “had followed the teachings of Dowie.”¹²⁸ Parham was among the first to state that the Baptism in the Holy Spirit was accompanied by the initial physical evidence of speaking in other tongues (*glossolalia*) or as a reporter put it, “racing about the room talking and gesticulating and using this strange and senseless language which they claim is the word from the Most High.”¹²⁹ Charles Parham opened the Bethel Bible School in Kansas on October 15, 1900, to men and women alike. With the Bible as their only textbook, Parham led Agnes Ozman in experiencing the first “personal Pentecost.”¹³⁰ While she was the first person to experience this Baptism, she would not be the last.

Parham traveled to Zion City in September 1906 in response to a dream he had that Wilbur Glenn “Voliva [Dowie’s replacement] was a false prophet and would lead the people of Zion into ruin.”¹³¹ Parham said, “I have come to save the people of Zion from the selfishness and

¹²⁷ Gordon Lindsay, *John G. Lake, Apostle to Africa* (Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1972), 3.

¹²⁸ “Parham as Dowie: Appears in Zion City to Take Charge,” *Topeka Daily Herald*, September 26, 1906, 8.

¹²⁹ *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 6, 1901, 2.

¹³⁰ Charles Parham, *The Sermons of Charles F Parham*, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 34.

¹³¹ “Parham as Dowie,” *Topeka Daily Herald*, September 26, 1906, 8. See James Rudolph Goff Jr., “Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism (Kansas),” (Order No. 8718880, University of Arkansas, 1987), 203-218. Goff’s history on Parham is authoritative. After his visit to Zion City, Parham traveled to the West Coast in October 1906 to visit William Seymour’s Azusa Street Revivals in Los Angeles, California. William Seymour, a black minister, was Parham’s student in Houston, Texas. Parham’s organization, the Apostolic Faith, had issued ministerial credentials for William Seymour through Brother Carothers. B.F. Lawrence reported “Bro. W. F. Carothers and C. H. Parham instructed him [Seymour] in the doctrines held by the Movement at that time. (They are substantially the same today.)” See “Apostolic Faith Restored: Article VII. Houston, Texas and W. J. Seymour,” *Weekly Evangel*, February 19, 1916, 4. Carothers had aligned with several ministers within the Churches of God in Christ and affiliated with the Assemblies of God in November 1914, but he was disfellowshipped in 1916. Carothers, like Seymour, had been affiliated with Parham, when Parham led a short-term Bible school in Houston. Carothers, alongside Parham, led a revival in Houston, Texas in August 1906. See Goss, *Winds of God*, 55. Carothers wrote: “Bro. Parham, I sent him [William Seymour] credentials and wrote Bro. Aylor to send him the buttons.” See “Seymour to Carothers,” July 12, 1906, Flowers Pentecostal Heritage Center.

bigotry of their leaders.”¹³² Despite having early success in his revival at Zion City with some three hundred followers by the end of the first month, some of Parham’s followers would take steps too far with their newfound religious power.¹³³ Almost a year to the date after the revival began, five “Parhamites” were “arrested on the charge of causing the death of aged Mrs. Greenhaulgh by malpractice.”¹³⁴ Additional fury erupted in Zion City when Frank Crowe’s parents, converts of Parham, denied him medical attention.¹³⁵ Parham denied “any responsibility for the acts of his followers.”¹³⁶

While Parham was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempt to stand up to Voliva, he had a significant influence on John Lake. Lake converted to Pentecostalism during Parham’s revivals there and became the defacto leader of the “Parhamite” faction against Voliva along with T. Hezmalhalch.¹³⁷ After Dowie’s death on March 9, 1907, Wilbur Glenn Voliva claimed:

Dr. Dowie’s death will in no way affect the work of Zion adversely...Henceforth practically the entire people of Zion will talk of his good deeds, and all defects will be forgotten, especially if time should prove that, owing to overwork, his mind bean to fail several years ago.¹³⁸

Parham, John Dowie, and Zion City made a significant impact on a generation of influencers within the Assemblies of God. Zion City’s legacy on the Assemblies of God lives on through L. C. Hall, J. R. Flower, “F. F. and B. B. Bosworth; Marie Brown, pastor of Glad

¹³² “A New Moses in Zion: Voliva’s Followers Leaving Him for ‘Apostolic’ Intruder,” *Baltimore Sun*: September 27, 1906, 10.

¹³³ *Waukegan Daily Sun*, September 26, 1906, 7. “New Leader in Zion City: Charles F. Parham Rapidly Encroaching Upon Voliva’s Preserves,” *The Washington Post (1877-1922)*, Sep 27, 1906, 5.

¹³⁴ “Other Cases of Torture: Further Arrests of Parhamites may be made at Zion City,” *New York Times (1857-1922)*, Sep 22, 1907, 1.

¹³⁵ “Torturers may be Exiled: New Acts of Cruelty by Parhamites Discovered at Zion City,” *The Washington Post (1877-1922)*, September 25, 1907, 1.

¹³⁶ “Casting oft Devils: Many Deaths Caused by Faith,” *The Observer (1901-2003)*, Sep 22, 1907, 5.

¹³⁷ “New Leader in Zion City: Charles F. Parham Rapidly Encroaching Upon Voliva’s Preserves,” *The Washington Post (1877-1922)*, Sep 27, 1906, 5. Both Lake and Hezmalhalch reported to A. A. Boddy’s *Confidence* in November 1908 of the revivals in South Africa. See W. J. Kerr, “Has Pentecost Come to Johannesburg,” *Confidence*, February 1909, 31.

¹³⁸ “Dowie Dies in the City He Founded,” *New York Times (1857-1922)*, Mar 10, 1907, 5.

Tidings Tabernacle, New York; Cyrus Fockler, F.A. Graves, John G. Lake; ‘Dad’ Richey and his five sons, all evangelists; Raymond T. Richey; Charles S. Robinson, Lillian B. Yeomans, and Dr. Phinehas Yoakum.”¹³⁹ F. F. Bosworth, Robinson, and Hall appear on the 1913 Churches of God in Christ ministerial rolls. All but Cyrus Fockler, L. C. Hall, and Opperman remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God through the 1916 schism. The connections between all the above ministers would have a significant impact on their own lives as well as in the formation of the Assemblies of God. For instance, John G. Lake recorded an interaction between himself and F. F. Bosworth:

Bosworth said long afterward, “Lake, there is one instance that I shall always remember in your life. That was the night you prayed in my home until the rafters shook, until God came down, until the fire struck, until our souls melted, until God came in and sanctified our hearts.” All the devils in hell and out of hell could not make me believe there is not a real sanctified experience in Jesus Christ; when God comes in and makes your heart pure and takes self out of your nature, and gives you divine triumph over sin and self, blessed be the Name of the Lord!¹⁴⁰

D. C. O. Opperman also had a strong link to Zion City where Charles Parham had previously performed revivals in Dowie’s model town. Ethel Goss, wife of Howard Goss remembered:

Daniel C. Opperman, having recently resigned as principal of the high school system of Zion City, Illinois, was attending this Convention and seeking the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. Because of ill health, he had come to Houston and had been instantly healed of tuberculosis when he obeyed God, and stepped out on the streets, preaching Christ to the passersby.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Lillian B. Yeomans and Dr. F. E. (Phineas is an error) Yoakum are the only ones on the list that did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God. Some of Dr. Yoakum’s followers like Alice Rowlands, wife of Stanley Frodsham, are very important to the Assemblies of God. Dr. Yoakum’s influence on the Assemblies of God will be discussed on page 81. Dr. Yoakum also dedicated Stanley Frodsham’s daughter “Faith” Frodsham. See A. A. Boddy, *Confidence*, January 1914, 14. Stanley Frodsham’s brother, A. W. Frodsham, had met and ministered with Lillian Yeoman during his trip from Canada to the West. See *Confidence*, May 1911, 11.

¹⁴⁰ John G. Lake, *John G. Lake: His Life, His Sermons, His Boldness of Faith* (Ft. Worth: Kenneth Copeland Publications, 1994), 87.

¹⁴¹ Goss, *Winds of God*, 58.

In February 1907, Goss, Opperman, and “Brother Carothers” hosted a “Convention and Short-Term-Bible School for our workers at Waco.”¹⁴² After Parham resigned his “position as projector of the Apostolic Faith Movement” that same month, Carothers was “appointed General Field Director for the U.S.A. and [Goss] was appointed Field Director of Texas” and Kansas.¹⁴³ In July 1907, Goss and Carothers resigned their positions in the Apostolic Faith movement after Parham was arrested for sodomy amid the controversies of his supposed guilt or innocence.¹⁴⁴ Although “the case was never called, the prosecuting attorney declaring that there was absolutely no evidence which merited any legal recognition,” the public had already rendered their verdict, and the great prophet of Pentecostalism fell into obscurity.¹⁴⁵

Afterwards, in late 1907, Goss visited “Charles Mason of the Churches of God in Christ and received a preaching license” which was recognized by the “southern railroads.”¹⁴⁶ Blumhofer went on to find, “Goss recorded in his diary that he had obtained from Mason permission to issue ministerial credentials using the name Churches of God in Christ for the ‘white work’ in Texas.”¹⁴⁷ Howard Goss “had embraced Pentecostalism under Parham’s tutelage

¹⁴² Ibid., 57.

¹⁴³ Ibid. For a discussion of W. F. Carothers’s supposed power struggle with Parham, see Goff, 242-4. Goss was filled with the Baptism in the Holy Spirit on a train when it arrived for a meeting with Charles Parham at Orchard, Texas from April 13-15, 1906. Goss described it like this, “Presently my tongue was loosed and I began to speak in languages I had never heard before.” P. M. Stokely and Joe Rosselli, along with ten others, were on the same train and “received the baptism” as well. See B. F. Lawrence, “Apostolic Faith Restored: Reminiscences of an Eyewitness,” *Weekly Evangel*, March 4, 1916, 4.

¹⁴⁴ Goff, 235. See also “Charles F. Parham and J.J. Jourdan, charge sodomy,” *The Daily Express*, July 20, 1907, 12.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 237.

¹⁴⁶ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 83. Mason was an important black minister. The only scholarly treatment of Charles Mason’s life and the Churches of God in Christ is Calvin White, *The Rise to Respectability: Race, Religion, and the Church of God in Christ* (University of Arkansas Press, 2012). <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ffjg32>. White’s study is authoritative and insightful, yet he does not show the cross threads and relationships between Mason and the Assemblies of God. Flower, “History of the Assemblies of God,” 17. See also Donald Pierce Weeks, “A Thesis on the History of the Churches of God in Christ/Bishop Charles Harrison Mason, and Those Who Helped Make the History,” (C. H. Mason file, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. Admittedly, this study falls short in addressing race relations within the Assemblies of God because of its focus on the issues of credentialing as well as networks of relationships between 1913 and 1916.

in 1903,” but Parham proved too divisive of a figure.¹⁴⁸ By 1912, when Goss and Carothers joined forces with E. N. Bell of Ft. Worth, Texas, they desired to further “distinguish themselves from Parham’s work” by adopting the name the Churches of God in Christ.¹⁴⁹ Goss, Opperman, and Carothers were all disfellowshipped in the 1916 schism, and, because of Charles Parham, they had all worked together long before that date.¹⁵⁰ In a very real way, they were remaining loyal to these much earlier connections over their newly developed ones.

Despite these early connections with Parham, the Assemblies of God has distanced itself from Parham for two reasons in addition to the sodomy charge.¹⁵¹ The first reason was Parham’s racism. Parham had argued that the flood in Genesis was sent in punishment of “the woeful inter-marriage of races.”¹⁵² Parham’s disagreement with the intermixing of races in William Seymour’s

Given the Assemblies of God being a “lily-white” denomination (as Anderson has called it), it should be understandable, but it is no less disappointing. See Anderson, 190. For the most in-depth look at race relations within the Assemblies of God, see Howard Kenyon, *Ethics in the Age of the Spirit: Race, Women, War, and the Assemblies of God* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2019). Kenyon also covers the attempts at racial reconciliation within the Assemblies of God. However, he focuses primarily on Azusa Street and the years of the Civil Rights movement, which lays outside the scope of this study.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 117.

¹⁴⁹ Goff, 234.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. An interesting aside appears in a “Special Notice to Country Subscribers,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 15. It recorded, “God has given our brother, W. F. Carothers, a most wonderful discovery by which it is possible to predict weather conditions two weeks or more in advance. This discovery is bound to change the whole system of weather prediction now in use, and it is only a matter of time until it is adopted by the Government Weather Bureau. As a large number of our readers are farmers, or else reside in country districts, Brother Carothers has consented to furnish us with these weather predictions if our readers desire it. Such a department has never appeared in a Pentecostal paper before, and before commencing it we must hear from our readers. If one hundred or more of our subscribers will send us a card asking us to publish this Weather Department, we will do so.” Apparently, they did not reach the required number of requests. That, or the 1916 schism, prevented Carothers from operating his “gift” (although weather forecasting does not appear in any of the gift listings in the New Testament: Romans 12:3-7, 1 Corinthians 12:1-12, and Ephesians 4). With a denomination struggling for doctrinally stability, this is perhaps a key and point as to why the fundamental truths were needed.

¹⁵¹ “Notice About Parham: Chas. F. Parham, who is claiming to be the head and leader of the Apostolic Faith Movement, has long since been repudiated. He has refused to ‘hear the church’ and we are obeying the command of Christ, the Head of the church by letting him be unto us as a ‘heathen and a publican.’ We are sorry it is so, but until he repents and confesses his sins we cannot obey God and do otherwise. Let all Pentecostal and Apostolic Faith people of the churches of God take notice and be not misled by his claims.” See “Notice About Parham,” *Word and Witness*, October 1912, 1.

¹⁵² Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (1902, Reprint, New York: Garland, 1985), 83. Goff stated, “Parham’s position on the race question occupied moderate ground somewhere between Carothers’ overt social segregation and the open racial policy of John Alexander Dowie in Zion City, Illinois.” See Goff, 186. However, this characterization seems to not be as harsh a critique as it should be, given Parham’s statements.

Azusa Street Revivals would mark the beginning of the downturn of his public ministry.¹⁵³

Parham's increasingly harsh racist sentiments led many to reject Parham as the founder of Pentecostalism in favor of Seymour.¹⁵⁴

The second reason is that the Assemblies of God came to see sanctification differently from the Wesleyan understanding of holiness that Parham and Seymour had endorsed. The Assemblies of God endorsed the view that William Durham had expressed in "the finished work of Calvary" and rejected Parham and Seymour's view, or what Durham called "the second blessing doctrine."¹⁵⁵ William Durham and H. L. Blake, "who are both preachers of the Gospel, came to Los Angeles" to the Azusa Street Revival, and "both were baptized with the Holy Ghost and went back filled and saturated with the power of God, speaking in tongues and magnifying God."¹⁵⁶ Durham's disagreement over sanctification was so significant that Parham "asked God to smite whoever was wrong, then boasted about it when Durham died six months later."¹⁵⁷ By 1913 in Los Angeles, the evangelist J. C. Seibert was appalled that Maria Woodworth-Etter had willfully accepted Durham's view of sanctification and believed that she associated herself with such a "damnable doctrine" because she was "utterly deluded and believed a lie."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ See Goff, 229. Parham only preached two or three sermons at the Azusa revival, and he was forced to set up rival revival services at the Women's Christian Temperance Union building on the corner of Broadway and Temple Streets.

¹⁵⁴ For an analysis and historiography of the debate of the Father of Pentecostalism because of Parham's racism, see Blain Charles Hamilton, "The Spirit in Black and White: Early Twentieth-Century Pentecostals and Race Relations, 1905-1945," Order No. 10673395, Rice University, 2014.

¹⁵⁵ William Durham, "Sanctification," *Pentecostal Testimony*, Summer 1911, 8. See Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 78. "In 1911 William H. Durham, who held the former view, found himself literally locked out of the Azusa Mission by his onetime friend William J. Seymour, who held the latter view."

¹⁵⁶ *Apostolic Faith*, February-March 1907, 1. Blake was from Ruthton, Minnesota, and both he and Durham were members of the World's Faith Missionary Association. Durham attended his first all-day meeting on Sunday, February 10 and "was fully baptized in the Holy Ghost" on Saturday, March 2 at 1 a.m. See "A Chicago Evangelist's Pentecost," *Apostolic Faith*, February-March 1907, 4.

¹⁵⁷ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 78. For more on the conflict between Durham and Parham see Edith Lydia Waldvogel [Blumhofer], "The 'Overcoming Life': A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Origins of Pentecostalism" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1977), 187-8, and Edith L. Blumhofer, "The Finished Work of Calvary: William H. Durham and a Doctrinal Controversy," *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Fall 1983: 9-10.

¹⁵⁸ J.C. Seibert, *Apostolic Faith*, August 1913, 14. Quoted in Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 78

In *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989), Nathan Hatch remarked, “Even the larger Pentecostal denominations, such as the Assemblies of God, began as diverse coalitions that tended to view church organization as necessary evils and that retain power largely in local hands.”¹⁵⁹ These diverse coalitions were “dominated by scores of self-appointed and independent-minded religious leaders” like Charles Parham, John Dowie, William Durham, and Maria Woodworth-Etter.¹⁶⁰ Pentecostalism, along with the Fundamentalist and Holiness Movement, were “grass-roots movements with democratic structure and spirit.”¹⁶¹ Blumhofer echoed this sentiment when she said, “Pentecostalism belongs to the people rather than to elites, and its adherents tend to measure the importance of an issue by its popular reception, the worth of a book by the number of copies sold, or the adequacy of a method by the number of people it attracts.”¹⁶² In a case of a democratic and deliberative body like the General Council of the Assemblies of God, power existed in the balance of mutual friendships and complex ministerial networks. When these ministerial networks converged or, in Charles Parham’s case, collapsed, majority rule and political sentiments played pivotal roles.

The Importance of William Durham

On July 1, 1910, within William Durham’s *Pentecostal Testimony*, two announcements appeared for earthmovers in all three of the most influential Pentecostal organizations: the Assemblies of God, the General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies, and the Foursquare Church. Bell and Goss announced, “September 9 to 25, 1910—On this date, we expect to hold the first ‘annual encampment of the Apostolic Faith for the State of Arkansas.’ While this is especially

¹⁵⁹ Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 214. See also Grant Wacker, “The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism,” *Harvard Theological Review* 77 (1984): 353-75.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 7. Based on analysis from Hatch, 214-9.

for Arkansas, the brethren from the adjoining states and elsewhere are most cordially invited to be with us.”¹⁶³ Bell’s position in the Assemblies of God, although precarious at times, was important. Directly below this announcement was an announcement: “The last missionaries going out from us were Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Semple and Miss Phoebe Holmes, who left us last winter and are now situated in Hong Kong, China, which will be their field of labor for the present or till the Lord leads them elsewhere.”¹⁶⁴ This is the same Mrs. Semple who is better known now as Aimee *Semple* McPherson.

Announcements for Camp Meetings at Garfield Park, Topeka, Kansas, August 18 to 28, 1910 led by C. E. Foster were also included in this edition.¹⁶⁵ Foster affiliated with Bell’s organization in 1913 and the Assemblies of God thereafter. Furthermore, the “INTERSTATE CAMPMEETING” from July 8-24, 1910, in Ft. Worth, Texas led by Daniel C. O. Opperman was the next listing.¹⁶⁶ Both Foster and Opperman were disfellowshipped in 1916. Afterwards, Opperman was elected chairman of “The General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies” which formed in Eureka Springs, Arkansas in the “holiday season” of 1916. On January 20, 1917, the *Weekly Evangel* reported that Lee Floyd was elected to serve as secretary and Howard Goss as treasurer. The *Weekly Evangel* went on to record:

The new organization is built along similar lines of fellowship as the General Council, with the same plan of issuing credentials, organizing district assemblies, etc. The credential committee consists of Daniel C. O. Opperman, Howard A. Goss and H. G. Rodgers. The new organization has no written statement of truths which it approves but is practically unanimous in its stand against the General Council’s position on the Trinity,

¹⁶³ “State Encampment,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, July 1, 1910, 10.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ C. E. Foster, “The Fourth Annual Camp Meeting,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, July 1, 1910, 16. Foster announced his meetings through the *Latter Rain Evangel*, *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, *Word and Witness*, and the *Christian Evangel* as well. See C. E. Foster, “Camp Meeting at Topeka, Kansas,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, July 15, 1908, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Opperman, “Interstate Camp Meeting,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, July 1, 1910, 16.

holding that there is only one person in the Godhead and that person is Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁷

Opperman, Goss, Floyd, and Rodgers not only attended the first meeting of the Assemblies of God in Hot Springs in 1914, but they were also ministers of the 1913 Churches of God in Christ organization. In 1916, Floyd started the *Blessed Truth* out of Kinder, Arkansas, which was one of the first Pentecostal newspapers “to defend baptism in Jesus’ Name and the Oneness of God.”¹⁶⁸ Floyd was on the January 8, 1916, ministerial list in the *Weekly Evangel*.¹⁶⁹ Rodgers was included on the “Permanent List” of the General Council in October 1916, but he left the Assemblies of God shortly after.¹⁷⁰

The final announcement in this July 1910 edition of the *Pentecostal Testimony* was for the “Pentecostal Meeting in South Bend, Indiana” led by F. A. Sandgren. Sandgren led “The Swedish Baptist Church, corner of Napier and Laurel streets, South Bend, Ind., [which] holds Pentecostal meetings every Sunday, 11 a.m. and 7:30p.m.; also Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 8 o’clock. Sundays at 4 p.m. in the English.” By November 1911, Sandgren was a pastor in Chicago and led “A Ten Day’s Convention” at the “Apostolic Faith Mission” in Brooklyn, New York along with Thomas Float of Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania.¹⁷¹ Sandgren did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God until around 1922, but this is probably because his primary language in life and ministry was Swedish.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ “New Pentecostal Organization,” *The Weekly Evangel*, January 20, 1917, 15.

¹⁶⁸ “The Blessed Truth,” *Meat in Due Season*, June 1916, 2.

¹⁶⁹ “Ministerial List of the General Council of the Assemblies of God,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 8, 1916, 12-16.

¹⁷⁰ *Minutes*, 1916, 16. Later, in 1921, Rodgers returned to the fellowship. See Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 140.

¹⁷¹ “Conventions,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, November 1911, 12. Float’s camp meetings were announced in the June 1915 edition of the *Word and Witness*.

¹⁷² “McKeesport, Pennsylvania: Swedish Pentecostal Mission,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, April 1, 1922, 10.

In 1907, Sandgren worked at North Avenue Mission alongside William Durham when Brother E. N. Bell visited and stayed for eleven months before receiving his Pentecostal experience. Bell had told Sandgren and Durham, “the Lord told me, ‘Abide in the city until you are endued with power from on high.’ He [Bell] tarried in the city, and after about eleven months was baptized in the Holy Spirit.”¹⁷³ Bell and Sandgren’s relationship continued even after William Durham’s untimely death in 1912. In 1913, in the November 11 issue of *Word and Witness*, Sandgren reported, “At last the fire is beginning to fall in our tabernacle at Jenks and Greenbrier.”¹⁷⁴ On the same page of Sandgren’s report, L. C. Hall reported on the six-week revival services he conducted up to Sunday, October 12, 1913 saying, “Many were saved, baptized, and healed, ‘NOW UNTO GOD OUR FATHER BE GLORY FOREVER. AMEN.’”¹⁷⁵ In 1913, Hall, of Zion City, affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ. In April 1914, Hall’s address was listed as Chicago, Illinois on the 1914 Assemblies of God ministerial list. This single issue of *Pentecostal Testimony* sheds great light on the dense web of relationships that pre-dated the founding of the Assemblies of God.

Because of Bell’s Pentecostal experience at Durham’s church, it is no surprise that Mack Pinson, Bell’s field editor at the *Word and Witness*, preached the keynote sermon on the “Finished Work of Calvary” at the 1914 Hot Springs convention.¹⁷⁶ Mother E. A. Sexton, the editor of *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* after G. B. Cashwell, published Mack M. Pinson’s articles until he began to advocate “the finished work of Calvary.”¹⁷⁷ Pinson’s tract, “Sanctified

¹⁷³ F. A. Sandgren, “Tributes to the Memory of Brother Bell,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 21, 1923, 8.

¹⁷⁴ “Revival News in Home Land,” *Word and Witness*, November 20, 1913, 3.

¹⁷⁵ “Stone Church Meeting,” *Word and Witness*, November 20, 1913, 3.

¹⁷⁶ McGee, 104.

¹⁷⁷ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 138. In the first year of the *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, Pinson was listed as a corresponding editor. See “Masthead,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, December 1, 1907, 2. He was removed as a corresponding editor on August 1, 1908, but he continued to provide reports. Pinson and H. C. Rodgers held a revival together in Hurley, Mississippi. See M. M. Pinson, “Hurley, Mississippi,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, May

in Christ,” was one of the three tracts that Bell promoted in the *Word and Witness* in May 1913.¹⁷⁸

Durham and his “Finished Work” doctrine had a tremendous influence on the Assemblies of God that should not be underestimated.¹⁷⁹ Durham’s full statement on the “Finished Work of Calvary” has often been overlooked. Durham said, “In the end truth will triumph. The Finished Work of Calvary is the truth. Speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance is the evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. God is honoring these blessed truths.”¹⁸⁰ These two doctrinal positions anchored the first generation of Assemblies of God ministers, and writers within the *Word and Witness* and *Christian Evangel* championed both.¹⁸¹ As Blumhofer observed, “In 1910, probably in response to Bell’s invitation, Durham preached at a camp meeting in Malvern, Arkansas, during which he convinced participants of his ‘Finished Work’ views.”¹⁸² All the affiliated ministers agreed on those two ideas, but other issues including the “New Issue” would forever divide them.

In July 1912, the untimely death of William Durham at age thirty-nine sent shock waves through the close-knit Pentecostal community. On August 20, 1912, Harry Van Loon reported,

15, 1908, 1. G. B. Cashwell, who founded the *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, attended this meeting, but he cited concerns about influence from false teachers within the Pentecostal movement. Previously, Pinson and Rodgers had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit under Cashwell’s ministry. See G. B. Cashwell, “Report on Hurley,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, October 1, 1908, 4.

¹⁷⁸ “Three Tracts,” *Word and Witness*, May 20, 1913, 4. The other tract mentioned was “Baptism in the Holy Ghost” by Bell. Bell noted, “30,000 of these have gone out in a few months, and we are now printing 20,000 more—50,000 in all. Use it in your meetings and for all inquirers about this mighty baptism.” The second was “Ye Slaves of the Weed” by Bell. “A leaflet in poetry against the use of tobacco by Christians.”

¹⁷⁹ Durham’s tract “Salvation in Christ for All” was one of the three tracts that the *Christian Evangel* and *Word and Witness* promoted on October 3, 1914, unable to promote or print others due to their busy publishing schedules as well as because “the run on our tracts was so great that during our move to Findlay, Ohio the supply was almost completely exhausted.” See, “Special Tract Notice,” *Christian Evangel*, October 3, 1914, 2.

¹⁸⁰ “The Great Chicago Revival,” *Pentecostal Testimony* 2:3 (1912): 15.

¹⁸¹ Water baptism is the inferred next step after salvation. Although within the Assemblies of God, water baptism is not required for salvation or a prerequisite to experience the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. See “What is the Evidence of the Baptism in the Spirit?” *Word and Witness*, June 1913, 7. “The speaking in other tongues as the spirit of God gives the utterance is the indisputable evidence of the Baptism with the Holy Spirit.”

¹⁸² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 82.

“Dear Bro. Bell, Greetings in Jesus Name: Our beloved Bro. Durham fell asleep in Jesus at 8:10 Sunday morning, down July 7th. The funeral service was very impressive, and was attended by fully a thousand people. The body was interred at the Inglewood Cemetery, Los Angeles.”¹⁸³ In 1913, Van Loon affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ, and he spoke at the 1916 General Council in opposition to the adoption of a statement of fundamental truths.¹⁸⁴ Bell said of Durham:

The writer has known Bro. Durham personally for about five years, and while in his zeal for the truth he may have made some mistakes, as we all do, yet I never met a more loyal soul to God and to the truth as he saw it than William H. Durham. He was untiring in his efforts to plant and establish this truth about the Pentecostal Baptism with the Spirit in all the earth. He literally worked himself to death.¹⁸⁵

Durham had died on July 7, 1912. Three days later, “The annual interstate convention or encampment of the Churches of God in Christ of the Apostolic Faith people met on schedule time at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, July 10, and closed with joy on July 21.” Over “500 [people] were in attendance” at a meeting that birthed the Churches of God in Christ, and “the attendance far surpassed that of one year ago at the same place.”¹⁸⁶ This organization was the forerunner to the Assemblies of God. The movement that Parham started, Durham spurred, and Bell stoked into the flame is now known as the Assemblies of God.

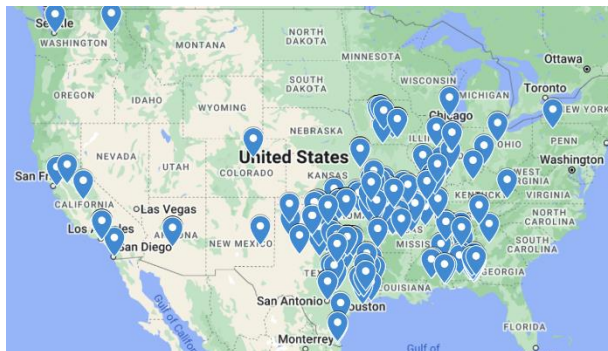
¹⁸³ Harry Van Loon, “Bro. Durham Fallen Asleep,” *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1912, 3.

¹⁸⁴ Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven*, 208.

¹⁸⁵ E. N. Bell, “Bro. Durham Fallen Asleep,” *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1912, 3.

¹⁸⁶ “Glory and Unity at the Eureka Springs Camp,” *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1912, 1-2. Records do not exist of the 1911 Eureka Springs Camp Meeting.

Location Overview of 1913 Churches of God in Christ Ministerial List¹⁸⁷



Traditionally, historians have characterized the Churches of God in Christ (1912-3) as the joining of the Arkansas-Texas churches with the “Alabama-Mississippi faction.”¹⁸⁸ While most ministers were based in those states, this does not properly reflect the fact that ministers came from a total of twenty-two states as well as five foreign countries (China, Egypt, Canada, West Africa, and India).¹⁸⁹ With a zip code overlook, it also becomes apparent that T. K. Leonard’s presence at the Assemblies of God meeting in April 1914 is possibly due in part to his probable connection with Mr. and Mrs. P. M. Stokley of Dunkirk, Ohio. Dunkirk is just a short railroad journey from Findlay, Ohio where T. K. Leonard was based. Leonard also had a strong connection to Stone Church in Chicago.

1914 Conference Committees and the Executive Presbytery

At the April 1914 Hot Springs meeting, the General Council had allowed a “conference committee” to “receive from members of the Council all matters proposed for consideration, and to formulate and present the same to the General Council for approval or disapproval.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ An interactive map of this study is available at ChristianEvangel.com.

¹⁸⁸ Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 91.

¹⁸⁹ Blumhofer claimed that the list consisted of “361 ministers, at least 84 of whom were women, in association with this Church of God in Christ.” The correct number is 351 ministers. Blumhofer also claimed that “they represented twenty states and five foreign countries.” While Blumhofer was correct in the number of foreign the correct state count is twenty-two. See Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 134.

¹⁹⁰ *Minutes*, April 1914, 3.

Initially, the committee consisted of seven members including Pinson (Arizona), Rodgers (Tennessee), Fockler (Wisconsin), Jessup (Mississippi), Edwards (Texas), Gaston (Oklahoma), and Goss (Arkansas).¹⁹¹ All but Fockler had previously been united under the Churches of God in Christ name in 1913.¹⁹² Of those on this committee, only Jessup, Pinson, and Gaston would remain affiliated with the Assemblies of God after the 1916 schism.¹⁹³

The conference committee's first action was to enlarge the committee "as to include a representative from each state and foreign country represented." The committee added J.A. Cullifer (Alabama), Bennett F. Lawrence (Missouri), T. K. Leonard (Ohio), J. R. Flower (Indiana), John G. Lake (Pennsylvania and South Africa), John Gobin (Iowa), A. B. Cox (Maryland), John Crouch (Egypt), E. J. Emery (Minnesota), D. K. Morris (Louisiana), and W. F. Lankston (Illinois). Leonard, Flower, and Lake were the only ones who had not been previously affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ in 1913.¹⁹⁴ Twelve of the eighteen representatives on the April 1914 Conference Committee were composed of ministers previously affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ in 1913. Out of these eighteen, only nine remained affiliated with

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Lake, 275. Fockler, pastor of the Milwaukee Gospel Tabernacle, was connected to John G. Lake from their time at Zion City under Dr. Dowie's ministry.

¹⁹³ Gaston did not appear on ministerial lists in 1914-1916, however he appeared on the 1917 General Council Roll. See "Those who were with us at the 1917 Council," *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 11.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 274. Lake had been closely associated with Zion City and F. F. Bosworth.

the Assemblies of God after 1916.¹⁹⁵ The conference committee's primary work was to recommend and pass the Preamble of the Assemblies of God.¹⁹⁶

Immediately after passing the preamble, the General Council discussed the "question of the Church, general and local, her functions and offices from the Bible Standard."¹⁹⁷ Pinson, Lake, Leonard, Bell, and Collins discussed and "discoursed" the "question from a Bible standpoint."¹⁹⁸ After this, F. F. Bosworth moved "that the [Conference] Committee be instructed to hold a night session and report to the General Council their best solution of the problem of how to assist most effectively, the Home and Foreign Missionary work."¹⁹⁹ The result was the recommendation of an Executive Presbytery to spearhead the work.

1914 Executive Presbytery

Twelve men were appointed to serve on this Executive Presbytery:

1. T. K. Leonard, Findlay, Ohio.
2. E. N. Bell, Malvern, Ark.
3. J. R. Flower, Plainfield and Indianapolis, Ind.
4. H. A. Goss, Hot Springs, Ark.
5. J. W. Welch, Baxter Springs, Kans.
6. M. M. Pinson, Phoenix, Ariz.
7. C. B. Fockler, Milwaukee, Wis.

¹⁹⁵ Although W. T. Gaston's name does not appear in the meeting minutes or Council Roll in 1916, he did take part in the 1917 and 1918 General Council. See "Those who were with us at the 1917 Council," *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 11. See also *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, September 1918, 7. On May 27, 1916, after a convention in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Gaston resigned "to enter evangelistic work exclusively." See "The Convention at Tulsa," *Weekly Evangel*, May 27, 1916, 14. He published "The Birth and Baptism in the Holy Ghost" in the *Christian Evangel* on July 12, 1919. Subsequently, he was elected the chairman of the 1925 General Council in Eureka Springs, Arkansas and re-elected to that position in the 1927 General Council in Springfield, Missouri. The title was changed to General Superintendent at that time. See *Combined Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, 1914-1925*. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1914-1925, 1-52 and *Constitution and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, September 1927, 1-73.

¹⁹⁶ *Minutes*, April 1914, 5. Concerning the continued usage of the name Churches of God in Christ, see E. N. Bell, "Churches in Christ," *Christian Evangel*, February 13, 1915, 2. Bell wrote, "In our constitution and charter we distinctly recognize and mention the 'Churches of God in Christ' as in fellowship and co-operation with us, and all other Apostolic Faith and Pentecostal people who desires such fellowship and co-operation. It never has been required that all local churches, missions or assemblies that co-operate with us must have one or the same name."

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

8. D. C. O. Opperman, Houston, Texas.

9. Jhn. C. Sinclair, Chicago, Ill.

The other three to be appointed by the Presbytery. Later the following brethren were appointed as members of the Presbytery:

10. A. P. Collins, Ft. Worth, Texas.

11. R. L. Erickson, Chicago, Ill.

12. D. W. Kerr, Cleveland, Ohio.²⁰⁰

Anderson observed that “the twelve presbyters chosen included five of the Southern leadership group and four of the Northern.”²⁰¹ However, the actual number was six of the Churches of God in Christ or what Anderson calls the “Southern leadership group.”²⁰² Of the twelve original April 1914 presbyters, only seven remained affiliated through the 1916 schism.²⁰³ At the November 1914 Chicago Meeting, the Executive Presbytery was “increased from twelve to sixteen members” and Geo. A. Chambers, D. H. McDowell, H. G. Rodgers, and W. F. Carothers were selected to serve.²⁰⁴ Only Leonard, Chambers, and McDowell were not connected to the Churches of God in Christ. Of the sixteen members of the expanded Executive Presbytery, only nine remained affiliated after the 1916 schism.

Although Anderson and Brumback claimed that the overall number of ministers lost due to the schism in the Assemblies was just around a quarter of all ministers, the number of those lost in major leadership positions was far greater. Evidence indicates that the number of ministers lost was more than the “585 to 429” than has typically been referenced. The 1915

²⁰⁰ *Minutes*, April 1914, 5.

²⁰¹ Anderson, 184.

²⁰² See Appendix C on page 227 concerning “April 1914 Executive Presbytery.”

²⁰³ Leonard, Bell, Flower, Welch, Pinson, Collins, and Kerr remained affiliated. Goss, Fockler, Opperman, Sinclair and Erickson were removed from the rolls. However, Sinclair remained Trinitarian because of his connections to the *Pentecostal Herald*. See “Masthead,” *Pentecostal Herald*, October 1918, 2. Sinclair had been associated with many conservative members of the Assemblies of God and Stone Church including Brother Andrew Urshan, F. A. Graves, and Sister Maria Burgess Brown. See “The Chicago Convention,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, June 1911, 2. Sinclair also ministered with William Durham and Andrew Urshan’s Mission in Chicago. See William Durham, “How the Work is Progressing,” *Pentecostal Testimony* 1, no. 5 (July 1, 1910): 15.

²⁰⁴ *Minutes*, November 1914, 10. Carothers did not officially affiliate with the Churches of God in Christ, but he did have strong ties to Goss and Opperman. Some evidence indicates that Chambers, though nominated, was replaced by B. F. Lawrence since Chambers lived in Canada. See “Masthead,” *Word and Witness*, May 1915, 4.

ministerial roll recorded 598 affiliated ministers.²⁰⁵ Flower himself claimed that “Over eight hundred (800) preachers and workers have subscribed to those principles by applying for credentials or certificates of unity with the General Council.”²⁰⁶ A week later in the *Christian Evangel*, the ministerial roll list numbered 756 ministers.²⁰⁷ After the 1916 General Council, only 421 ministers were listed on the ministerial roll.²⁰⁸ This indicates an actual decline of almost half of all affiliated ministers.²⁰⁹

Early Divisions and District Councils

In the same December 1913 *Word and Witness* edition as the meeting announcement for the formation of the Assemblies of God appeared, Bell challenged readers to “keep in the middle of the road.”²¹⁰ Bell continued, “These two extremes need each other, though they often don’t think so.” Bell claimed, “In these days of extremes the dry fellow whoops ‘fanatic’ at every shout or divine manifestation, and the fanatic declares the dry brother has gone to seed and died with formalism and head knowledge.”²¹¹ Bell believed that both needed the “helpful restraint of each other,” so as to not “fall in the ditch” and “by yielding to the warnings of the other each is

²⁰⁵ *Minutes*, 1915, 12-16.

²⁰⁶ J.R. Flower, “Little Talks with the Office Editor,” *The Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 2.

²⁰⁷ “Ministerial List,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 8, 1916, 12-16.

²⁰⁸ *Minutes*, 1916, 17-23.

²⁰⁹ An explanation for the difference in the number totals is the exclusion of licensed ministers or exhorters and home missionaries from the smaller numbers. Flower did not include them in the annual ministerial roll list because only ordained ministers were included. See *Minutes*, 1915, 16. This was most likely due to a specific requirement from the Clergy Bureau for the Railroads. Only full-time or ordained ministers were eligible to receive clergy rates on the railroad. See J. R. Flower, “Notice to Preachers: Who are Eligible to Railroad Rates,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 9. Regardless of the specific figure, the number of ministers disfellowshipped was significant.

²¹⁰ Bell, “Where is the middle of the road? Keep in the middle of the road” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 2.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

kept in the middle of the road.”²¹² Bell felt that readers should “have both the word of God and the Spirit of God, letting the Spirit both guide and teach, and all will be well.”²¹³

In the spirit of this “middle of the road approach,” Bell maintained that the Preamble of the Assemblies of God represented “a sort of Magna Carta, a declaration of religious freedom, a pledge against sectarianism and bossism.”²¹⁴ Goss believed that “in church work, as in all else, men of honor naturally flowed together to stand against all forms of wrong, whether from neglect, or through the gamut of self-indulgence, greed, dishonor, and on to outright sin.”²¹⁵ In the April 1914 organizational meeting, the Council adopted “the Scriptural terms of Elder, Evangelist, Minister, Exhorter, and Deacon.”²¹⁶ During a summer camp meeting tour, T.K. Leonard, Brother Opperman, and Brother Goblen were all present at the Davis City Camp Meeting.²¹⁷ Opperman was present there because he was conducting a short-term Bible school in Davis City, Iowa, just as he had done in April 1914 in Hot Springs. At the Davis City Camp, the State/District Council adopted the following resolution concerning the ordination of workers:

It was resolved that the local assembly should officiate in the ordination of workers, and that they should call in at least two elders to assist in this important work after the candidates have been tested and the call of God confirmed that upon recommendation of the District Council, the one ordained should be furnished with the certificate of ordination from the executive presbytery of the General Council.²¹⁸

At this Iowa District Council, an executive presbytery of six men was elected including John Goblen, Joseph Darner, Frank Anderson, David Boatwright, John Crouch, and Hugh

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Bell, “Hot Springs Assembly; God’s Glory Present,” *Word and Witness*, April 1914, 1.

²¹⁵ Goss, *Winds of God*, 275–6.

²¹⁶ *Minutes*, April 1914, 6.

²¹⁷ T.K. Leonard, “Summer Camp Meeting Tour,” *Word and Witness*, September 19, 1914, 1. Goblen and Leonard remained affiliated after 1916, but Opperman did not.

²¹⁸ “Some of the Resolutions of Davis City Camp,” *Christian Evangel*, September 19, 1914, 2. This approach of a district council recommending a candidate for ministry to the executive presbytery continues to the current day. The terms “state” and “district” are often used interchangeably in the Assemblies of God.

Cadwalder. All these ministers had previously been affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ, and only two—Goben and Boatwright—would remain affiliated after the 1916 schism in the Assemblies of God. Anyone who was accused of being a false teacher or brethren could appear before the District Council’s executive presbytery. Failure to appear would result in the disapproval and cancellation of their “certificates as such...but clean, sweet, spiritual saints will not be disfellowshipped as a child of God merely because of seeing doctrines differently.”²¹⁹

The Texas State Council agreed with the Iowa District Council’s approach: “We recommend that when each local assembly ordain their officers, they call in at least two elders to constitute the local church presbytery for ordination.”²²⁰ The Texas District further recommended:

that the presbytery ordaining the officers give him a written certificate of his ordination to be presented to the officers of the District Council, who will issue the regular ordination certificate. Those who are called as foreign missionaries and elders in any local assembly be recommended by said assembly to the District Council for ordination by the laying on of hands and prayer, who will issue them a certificate of said ordination to the home and foreign missionary and executive Presbytery.²²¹

Bell and Flower celebrated that there was:

A strong movement all over the country to get together in a closer spirit of unity and fellowship, free from denominationalism and sectarianism, and that it can be done on the basis of the 15th chapter of Acts. It is perfectly scriptural for the brethren to get together to council (sic) over the matters of the Kingdom of God, both as to scriptural teaching and practices. And we see the dawn of a new spirit of mutual confidence and efficiency in the proclaiming of the gospel as the Saints get together in these different district councils.²²²

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ “Texas State Council Minutes,” *Christian Evangel*, October 24, 1914, 1.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² “Some of the Resolutions of Davis City Camp,” *Christian Evangel*, September 19, 1914, 2.

Unfortunately, sectarianism, denominationalism, and conflict presented themselves shortly. One of the first chances of division in the infant Assemblies was addressed in the November 1914 Chicago Meeting:

The Conference Committee recommend that whereas the pressing of the question of eating, or not eating meats, is causing divisions in some of the Assemblies, that the General Council recommend their disapproval of such extreme positions on this question which causes these divisions, and that we recognize the right of each individual conscience in this matter, according to Col. 2:14-17.²²³

The middle-of-the-road approach gave great latitude to individual ministers. In September 1914, Bell had invited all like-minded ministers to the second General Council Meeting in November 1914 at the Stone Church in Chicago. Bell claimed:

This general council is not for a few favored ministers who see alike on all Scriptural points of doctrine and practice, but is for all the ministers and delegates of the Pentecostal Movement who will come together to counsel over matters pertaining to the Kingdom of God regardless of their affiliations or their local names or doctrines, providing they come together in love and humility and with a desire to cooperate and that God may be glorified and the Kingdom of God advanced.²²⁴

R. L. Erickson and Stone Church

The case of R. L. Erickson, pastor of Stone Church in Chicago, Illinois, presents an interesting initial case to discuss the need for church government, denominational oversight, and the power of disfellowshipping.²²⁵ The Stone Church itself began services around 1907.²²⁶ Its publication, the *Latter Rain Evangel*, began publishing in October 1908. Previously, as Grant Wacker observed of Kansas City's A. S. Copley, "the Apostolic Faith movement is not an

²²³ *Minutes*, November 1914, 6.

²²⁴ "The General Council in Chicago," *Word and Witness*, September 19, 1914, 2.

²²⁵ One prominent example of disfellowshipping before this time in the Churches of God in Christ is the "Notice of Expulsion," *Word and Witness*, February 1913, 2. "Notice is hereby given that G. D. Eldridge and wife have been excluded from our fellowship and we are in no wise responsible for their conduct or their teaching. Arch P. Collins, Pastor, with Deacons and Elders, Ft. Worth, Tex., Feb. 15, 1913." This should not be mistaken for a G. N. Eldridge of Los Angeles, California who later affiliated in 1916.

²²⁶ See, "Notes," *Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1914, 12. "The curtain has dropped over the year 1913 and the record is closed. For the Stone Church the seventh year of its existence has been the most blessed of all."

organization or controlled by man in any way, but is under the direct control and supervision of the Holy Ghost.”²²⁷ In October 1908, Stone Church’s pastor, Wm. Hamner Piper wrote, “God would have no man’s name at the head of this paper, for when God directs the paper He Himself is the Manager and no man must be.”²²⁸ In 1912, Stone Church “passed through a crisis of a different nature, in the death of Brother Piper.”²²⁹ The work of Stone Church was frequently mentioned in both Bell’s *Word and Witness* and Flower’s *Christian Evangel*.²³⁰

Erickson began his pastorate at Stone Church in March 1914. Previously, Henrietta E. Muzzy had reported to the *Christian Evangel*, “Brother Erickson has come to help us this winter.”²³¹ She lamented, “Words cannot tell what it means to us for God to take our choicest ones, but they belong to Him, and He needs them there.”²³² Muzzy asked for prayer from the readers of the *Christian Evangel* on November 9, 1913, as “we are asking and expecting a great revival this winter to follow in the wake of the one we had.”²³³ In January 1914, the footer on the newspaper’s last page listed the service schedule of Stone Church: “Services at the Stone Church, 37th and Indiana Avenue, Chicago Sunday 10 a.m., 3 and 7:30p.m. Every evening at 7:45 except Monday and Saturday.”²³⁴ By March 1914, beneath the service schedule, Pastor Erickson’s name appeared.²³⁵ This issue also announced “General Convention to be held at Hot

²²⁷ *Pentecost*, November 1908, 3. Quoted in Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 143.

²²⁸ “Voice of the Spirit,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, October 1908, 2. For the pastor’s name, see “Let the People be Assembled,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, November 1908, 2.

²²⁹ “Notes,” *The Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1915, 12. Piper passed away on December 20, 1911, and he was buried at Zion City, Illinois. See *Confidence*, February 1912, 43.

²³⁰ For example, in *Christian Evangel* see “The work is going on and, we trust, is deepening in the hearts of the people” from Henrietta E. Muzzy, “News of the Stone Church,” *Christian Evangel*, December 6, 1913, 8. See also in *Word and Witness*, F.F. Bosworth, “To Chicago in July,” *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 4.

²³¹ “Movings at the Stone Church,” *Christian Evangel*, November 9, 1913, 8.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ “Service Schedule,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1914, 24.

²³⁵ Compare “Footer sections,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, February 1914 and March 1914, 24. The pastor after Erickson, Andrew Fraser, briefly took up the practice, but the publication footer was edited in March 1915, April

Springs, April 2-12,” 1914, and instructed its readers to contact “D. C. O. Opperman, Hot Springs, Ark..”²³⁶ At the April 1914 meeting, Erickson was elected to serve on the Executive Presbytery of the General Council of the Assemblies of God for the upcoming year.²³⁷

However, in January 1915, the notes section of the *Latter Rain Evangel*, the Stone Church’s newspaper, recorded that the “late pastor, who has been in charge of the work since March 1914, has proved unfaithful. To his trust and has brought sorrow and humiliation upon the people.”²³⁸ In the September 1914 *Latter Rain Evangel*, Erickson had also announced the important November meeting in Chicago of the Assemblies of God.²³⁹

Erickson had previously hosted a convention at the Stone Church in Chicago from May 17-31, 1914. This announcement appears on the bottom right of the front page of the *Word and Witness* paper with the front-page news being “Hot Springs Assembly; God’s Glory Present,” which gave a recap of the first meeting of the Assemblies of God in Hot Springs in April 1914. Erickson announced that “A. G. Garr of Los Angeles, Cal.; F. F. Bosworth of Dallas, Texas; D. W. Kerr of Cleveland, Ohio; A. F. Johnson of Menominee, Mich., and others whom the Lord may send,” would lead the meeting.²⁴⁰ The other ministers “present from a distance” according to the June 1914 Report in the *Latter Rain Evangel*—including the previous listed—were:

1. A. G. Garr (affiliated in 1916)²⁴¹

1915, May 1915, July 1915, and then beyond to exclude this information. See “Footer sections,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, May 1915 through July 1915, 24.

²³⁶ “Conventions and Campmeetings,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, March 1914, 12.

²³⁷ *Minutes*, April 1914, 5.

²³⁸ “Notes,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1915, 12.

²³⁹ “Important Meeting in Chicago,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, September 1914, 13.

²⁴⁰ R. L. Erickson, “Chicago Convention, May 17-31, 1914,” *Word and Witness*, April 1914, 1.

²⁴¹ Garr was apparently the first white pastor to receive the Baptism in the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street Revival on June 16, 1906. “A. G. Garr,” *Enrichment*, (Spring 2006): 10, 68. After this experience, he became a missionary to India and Hong Kong. See also Steve Thompson, *A Twentieth Century Apostle: The Life of Alfred Garr* (Wilkesboro: MorningStar Publications, 2003). Garr also had great familiarity with William Durham. Garr claimed, “Not a few have tried to imitate William Durham by claiming to have something new for the people; but alas, unless God is behind the message, it is nothing.” See A. G. Garr, “That Yellow Book,” *Word and Witness*, April 20, 1914, 3.

2. F. F. Bosworth (affiliated with Churches of God in Christ 1913 and stayed through 1918)
3. D. W. Kerr (affiliated in April 1914 and remained affiliated)
4. Mrs. Kerr (affiliated from April 1914 and did not stay affiliated in 1916 but her husband listed above did)
5. A. F. Johnson (attended the Chicago 1914 meeting and affiliated in 1916)
6. C. E. Baker, Ottawa, Ontario (affiliated in 1916)
7. M. L. Sherrard, Cambridge, Ohio (did not affiliate)
8. Wm. Kirkpatrick, Upper Alton, Ill. (affiliated in 1915, but not through 1916, divorced)
9. L. V. Roberts, Indianapolis, Ind. (did not affiliate until 1921, re-baptized Bell and Rodgers)
10. Wm. Black, Ottawa, Ontario. (affiliated in 1915 and in 1916)
11. T. K. Leonard, Findlay, O. (affiliated from 1914-1928)²⁴²
12. L. S. Smith, Upper Sandusky, O. (affiliated from April 1914 and remained through at least 1916)
13. E. Jennison, Great Bend, Kans. (affiliated in April 1914 but not through 1916)
14. F. A. Graves, Zion City, Ill. (affiliated in November 1914 and stayed affiliated through 1916)
15. T. Arthur Lewis, S. Framingham, Mass. (not affiliated, but he had strong ties to Maria Woodworth-Etter)
16. Thos. Drewry, Lawrence, Mass. (did not affiliate)
17. Paul Van Valen, Memphis, Tenn. (affiliated in April 1914 but not through 1916)²⁴³

Of these seventeen ministers at the Stone Church May 1914 Meeting, thirteen ministers were affiliated at some point with the Assemblies of God between 1914-1916. Only F. F. Bosworth was from the 1913 Churches of God in Christ organization, and he remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God after the 1916 schism. By 1918 though, Bosworth disagreed with the uniform physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, saying, "If I had a thousand souls, I would not be afraid to risk them all on the truth of my position that some may receive the fullest baptism in the Spirit without receiving the Gift of tongues."²⁴⁴ Bosworth quietly withdrew from the Assemblies on July 24, 1918 and boarded a train to reaffiliate with the Christian and

²⁴² Leonard reported his observations of this meeting in "My Summer Camp Meeting Tour," *Christian Evangel*, September 19, 1914, 1. Leonard reported that "sixty out of about 1,000 stood up" as "divinely called to the ministry." Brother Erickson "then presented the opportunity to make a missionary offering, which was received in a few minutes, amounting to something over \$1,800. I understood the previous Sunday, the offering to secure the tent and equip it for service, etc. amounted to over \$1,600." The tent reportedly could fit nearly 2,500 people.

²⁴³ "Convention Jottings: Stories of Consecration, Home and Abroad, May 17-31, 1914," *Later Rain Evangel*, June 1914, 7.

²⁴⁴ "Fred Francis Bosworth to John Welch," July 24, 1918, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

Missionary Alliance.²⁴⁵ Of these seventeen ministers, only three were removed from the 1916 Assemblies of God ministerial roll: Van Valen (Tennessee), Jennison (Kansas), and Smith (Canada).²⁴⁶ Of the nine missionaries and “new recruits” listed in attendance, all but Mrs. Edward Richardson became affiliated with the Assemblies of God (including Mary W. Chapman, Rhodema Mendenhall, Mrs. May L. Hoover, John Perkins), and four of those were previously affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ (Harry and Lilly Bowley, Clyde Bailey, and Wm Johnson).²⁴⁷

Stone Church’s pastorate went from Erickson to Andrew Fraser. The church believed that “God brought to us in the hour of crisis, Elder Andrew L. Fraser, of Harrisburg, Pa., and the work of the Stone Church has been placed in his hands.”²⁴⁸ Fraser affiliated with the Assemblies of God in April 1914 and November 1914, and he was appointed to the Executive Presbytery in October 1915.²⁴⁹ For Stone Church, Fraser was the “man to stand in the gap” after the church went through tumultuous times. In March 1915, the *Latter Rain Evangel* further clarified the reason for Erickson’s dismissal:

Erickson was dismissed from the pastoral office by the Stone Church congregation for repeated violation of the seventh commandment, for lying, and for misappropriation of

²⁴⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 137. Bosworth later helped launch the “midcentury salvation/healing revivals that propelled Oral Roberts and William Branham to fame.”

²⁴⁶ Mrs. Kerr was removed from the ministerial rolls of the Assemblies of God in 1916. This will receive a closer look in Chapter 4 on women’s role in the Assemblies of God because 1916 marked a shift in the wives of prominent ministers being removed from the ministerial roll.

²⁴⁷ “Convention Jottings: Stories of Consecration, Home and Abroad, May 17-31, 1914,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, June 1914, 7. The Bowleys lived in Stuttgart, Arkansas in 1913, but they moved to Zion City, Illinois by April 1914. See Appendix A. Harry Bowley was listed on a list of missionary offerings in 1917. See “August 1917,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 15, 1917, 13. Bowley, Wm Johnson., John J. Perkins, Mary W. Chapman, and Rhodema “Mendenhall” Bowley (who had married Harry Bowley after Lilly’s death) also appeared on the 1918 missionary list of the Assemblies of God. See *Minutes*, 1918, 28. The 1919 General Council meeting minutes report that “\$200 was cabled to Brother Harry Bowley to help bring him home from W. Africa.” The Council also reported on other sick missionaries that were home on furlough. See *Minutes*, 1919, 8.

²⁴⁸ “Notes,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1915, 12.

²⁴⁹ *Minutes*, 1915, 9.

funds. A public statement of details would be out of place. This general information ought to suffice, and render unnecessary all further inquiry regarding the matter.²⁵⁰

Ironically, R. L. Erickson's introduction to the church was a sermon given on October 23, 1913 entitled: "The Great Thief and What He Steals: A Miracle of Healing and Its Result."²⁵¹

In the June 1915 *Word and Witness*, J. R. Flower published the news of Erickson's dismissal from the Assemblies of God as a minister and presbyter:

It is with a sense of profound grief and deep humiliation that we advise the Assemblies that certain rumors concerning the moral character of R. L. Erickson, formerly pastor of the Stone Church in Chicago, Ill., are entirely substantiated by the facts which we hold in our possession; and that by his ungodly conduct he has forfeited his right to perform the functions of the Gospel ministry, until such time as, by the manifestation of the fruits of repentance, in a sober and godly life, he shall prove himself worthy of being reinstated in the fellowship of the Assemblies. For the Presbytery, J. R. Flower, Secretary.²⁵²

The *Word and Witness* June 1915 issue covered the Presbytery's handling of the expulsion of Erickson, recorded Erickson's replacement by Andrew Fraser on the Executive Presbytery, and gave a preliminary statement on the so-called "New Issue."²⁵³ Flower gave the Preliminary statement on behalf of the Executive Presbytery after its meeting on May 11, 1915, in St. Louis, and Bell gave an "editorial explanation" saying,

Most of the contention put forth by the new teachers are not new revelations at all, as many honestly but mistakenly believe, but have before been taught by various old sects and denominations which once made an issue out of them, but which had mostly died out only to be rehatched in the Pentecostal Movement where men unacquainted with church history and historical doctrines have been misled by them, taking them to be new revelations.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ "Notes," *Latter Rain Evangel*, March 1915, 12.

²⁵¹ R. L. Erickson, "Sermon (October 23, 1913): The Great Thief and What He Steals: A Miracle of Healing and Its Result," *Latter Rain Evangel*, January 1914, 13-17.

²⁵² Flower, "A Statement by the Presbytery," *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 4.

²⁵³ Flower, "Preliminary Statement: concerning the Principles Involved in the New Issue by the Presbytery," *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 1.

²⁵⁴ Bell, "Editorial Explanation," *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 1.

Interestingly, this June 1915 issue also gave background to the meeting at Stone Church in Chicago in November 1914. “At the last meeting of the General Council last November in Chicago, we felt that the missionary interests did not have proper emphasis.”²⁵⁵ Previously, the *Christian Evangel* reported that the General Council in November 1914 had been a great success, “in spite of the fact that the pastor resigned from the Stone Church during the Council, to be free for the Lord’s service in the evangelistic field.”²⁵⁶ It appears that the fledgling movement attempted to wash over some of the inappropriate actions and attitude of Pastor Erickson. While Erickson was the first on the Executive Presbytery to be disfellowshipped, he would not be the last.

Apparently in November 1914, R. L. Erickson had been upset that the “Committee on arrangements” had planned to host “a missionary program toward the end of the meeting to culminate in a series of services on the last Sunday of the General Council meeting at Stone Church.”²⁵⁷ Erickson “came forward and demanded to know by whose authority such announcements had been made,” and “he informed the Committee that he must have Sunday for the taking of a great offering for local expenses which he had incurred.”²⁵⁸ Bell wrote in response:

We take this occasion to take the entire blame off the church and the General Council, and to thank God for the removal of the obstruction that was in the way of a proper emphasis on the part of us both in regard to missions. Covetousness in man is a root of all sorts of evils.²⁵⁹

June 1915 Camp Meeting Announcements

In this same June 1915 *Word and Witness* issue, fifteen camp meetings were announced:

²⁵⁵ Bell, “Selfishness to Blame,” *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 4.

²⁵⁶ “General Council Great Success,” *Christian Evangel*, December 5, 1914, 1.

²⁵⁷ Bell, “Selfishness to Blame,” *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 4.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

1. John Goben hosted the “Fifth Annual Camp-meeting for Iowa and northern Missouri” at Davis City, Iowa from July 31 to August 9.
2. Will Trotter, hosted the “Great Pentecostal Camp-Meeting in Portland Oregon from July 4 through August 15.”
3. R. M. Farmer and C. E. Foster hosted the “White City, Kansas Camp-Meeting from July 8 through July 18, 1915, at the City Park.”
4. J. W. Atwood and R. R. Phillips hosted the Marble Falls, Texas Camp Meeting “beginning July 15 and continuing 10 days or longer, as the Lord leads.”
5. D. K. Morris hosted and Brother Morwood of Houston Texas was in charge of the Louisiana State Camp-Meeting at Merryville, Louisiana “beginning Friday July 23rd and lasting over Sunday Night August 1.” (Morris was booted from the ministerial rolls while Brother Morwood remained affiliated every year between 1913 in the Churches of God in Christ through the 1916 schism.)
6. J. R. Reckley, L. G. Creamer, and B. F. Lawrence hosted “A Great Encampment of Pentecostal Stains at Mountain Lake Park, Maryland from August 27th to September 5, 1915.” (Reckley and his wife, Mrs. Ettie E Reckley, affiliated with the Assemblies of God after 1916. Also, Creamer and Lawrence remained affiliated after 1916. Thomas Float and Frank Casley hosted the Sixth Union Camp-Meeting at Homestead Park near Pittsburg June 25 until July 12.)
7. Jesse Goff hosted the Fourth Annual Camp Meeting beginning on August 14, in Cordwell, Missouri.
8. Paul T. Barth hosted the second international camp meeting at Beulah Heights in Atlanta, Georgia.
9. S. G. Otis hosted the 2nd meeting at Montwait in Framingham, Massachusetts. (Otis was well connected to A. A. Boddy)
10. “Mary Etter will begin a meeting in Chicago Ill., May 22nd 1915, at The Tabernacle, corner of Ashland Blvd, Monroe Street and Ogden Ave., to continue one month or longer; services every day 10 a.m., 2:30 and 7:30 p.m. Those coming and wanting directions to reach the tabernacle send stamped envelope for reply to L.C. Hall, Pastor, 613 Marshfield Ave. Chicago, Ill.”²⁶⁰
11. “Beginning July 31st and continuing one month. The Ninth Annual Camp-Meeting at Garfield Park, on North Topeka Car Line, Topeka, Kansas, will be held for one month beginning July 31st. Come and bring the sick and afflicted to be healed. Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter, who has had a remarkable ministry will be present throughout the month. For information as to costs (illegible), tents, etc. Write C. E. Foster, 219 Grattan Ave. Topeka, Kans.”²⁶¹
12. G. A. Chambers hosted the “third annual Pentecostal Camp-meeting” at Berlin, Ontario, Canada from July 1-11.

²⁶⁰ L. C. Hall and his wife, Mrs. Jean C Hall, began their affiliation with the Churches of God in Christ in 1913 when they were at Zion City, Illinois. Their names appear on the ministerial rolls in April 1914 at Hot Springs and November 1914 at Chicago. Both fell off the ministerial list in 1916. Hall became a contributing editor of the *Blessed Truth*, a Oneness Pentecostal publication led by Opperman and Floyd. See “Masthead,” *Blessed Truth*, August 15, 1918, 2.

²⁶¹ C. E. Foster appeared on the ministerial rolls beginning in 1913 of the Churches of God in Christ. He affiliated in April 1914 with the Assemblies of God but was forced out in the 1916 schism.

13. J. W. Welch hosted a tri-state camp meeting “in the interests of the Work in Southeastern Missouri, Southern Illinois, and Kentucky at Dexter, Missouri from August 27 through September 5.”
14. C. E. Foster and J. A. Dunham hosted a camp meeting from June 10-17 at Iola, Kansas.
15. H. C. Gaskill hosted the “first annual camp-meeting of the Pentecostal Assembly of Omaha, Neb. Will be held from June 17th to July 17th.”²⁶²

Of these fifteen camp meeting advertisements published in June 1915, only six leaders—representing just four camp meetings—out of the twenty promoters remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God after 1916: Goben, Morwood, Reckley (along with Creamer and Lawrence), and Welch. Promoters for three camp meetings did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God by 1916 including Float and Casley, Barth, and Otis.²⁶³ Nine were removed from the denominational rolls in 1916 including Trotter, Foster, Morris, Hall, Foster, Chambers, Dunham, Gaskill, and Phillips.²⁶⁴

September and October 1915 Meetings

Before the General Council convened in October 1915, seven presbyters met in Little Rock, Arkansas for a State Camp Meeting and Council from September 2-12, 1915. E. N. Bell being “baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ” is partly responsible for this meeting.²⁶⁵ The presbyters gave a statement on baptism, the use of fermented wine in Communion, the new birth, the spirit and the blood, the Father and the Son, Christ and the holy ghost, and facetious persons.²⁶⁶ The full statement read as follows:

²⁶² “Camp Meetings,” *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 8.

²⁶³ S. G. Otis was the editor of *Word and Work* and connected to Maria Woodworth-Etter as well as visited by Pastor Boddy of England on his missionary journey to the United States. Boddy writes, “When the train pulled up at Montwait Camp Station, I quickly got down from the car with my effects, and away went the train. I found some boys who trundled my things.” See Boddy, *Confidence*, July 1914, 144. Barth was also closely linked to Boddy. See “Beulah,” *Confidence*, September 1912, 209.

²⁶⁴ Trotter did not affiliate in 1916 and 1917, but he did reaffiliate in 1918. Phillips appears on the 1915 Ministerial List of the Assemblies of God.

²⁶⁵ Bell, “Safety in Counsel,” *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 1.

²⁶⁶ “Seven presbyters met in Little Rock Arkansas at State Camp Meeting and Council between September 2-12, 1915,” *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 4.

There are growing up about us some unruly, unteachable and facetious men who profess to be true ministers of Jesus Christ, but who misrepresent him both in not having a Christ like spirit and in not living sober, godly, straight and truthful lives. They do not show a proper Christian courtesy towards other ministers and their work. They are contentious and facetious, causing here and there both strife and division. Now it is with great grief and sorrow of heart that these wrongs drive us to say that we must refuse to fellowship such conduct, or to prove any such with papers of recommendation. We love every child of God and will fellowship such as one of his little ones, so long as they show signs of being a child of God. But it is not every child of God whose conduct is such that he can be recognized as a worthy minister of Jesus Christ. Paul says, “Mark them that cause divisions...and avoid them.” Rom. 16:17

Signed E. N. Bell, Arch P. Collins, H. A. Goss, M. M. Pinson, J. W. Welch, H. G. Rodgers, D. C. O. Opperman.²⁶⁷

Of the seven presbyters who signed this document, two—Goss and Opperman—would be removed from the denomination within a year. The other Presbyters, who were not in attendance, included F. F. Bosworth, Andrew L. Fraser, D. W. Kerr, T. K. Leonard, D. H. McDowell, and B. F. Lawrence.²⁶⁸ Of those, only Bosworth and Leonard would choose to depart the denomination.²⁶⁹

Previously, in the May 1915 issue of the *Latter Rain Evangel*, Andrew Fraser had attempted to bring clarity to these three divisive issues: the Trinity, baptism, and communion. In an eight-page article, Fraser outlined the core issues surrounding the doctrinally, theological, and practical disagreements.²⁷⁰ First of all, Fraser outlined the Oneness position:

They claim that the Father is Jesus. They claim that the Holy Spirit is Jesus. They claim that the one God is Jesus Christ. They claim this by revelation. They talk of making them and keeping them co-equal with each other, and of manifesting the three in or through that one person, but they at once establish an inequality. We cannot accept the “revelation.”²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ “Executive Presbytery,” *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 4.

²⁶⁹ The reason for Bosworth’s departure has already been mentioned. Leonard became Foursquare after a meeting with Aimee Semple McPherson in 1928. See “Findlay, Ohio, Gospel School Turns Foursquare,” *Foursquare Crusader*, October 2, 1928, 5.

²⁷⁰ Andrew L. Fraser, “The New Theology (Sermon at Stone Church: April 25, 1915),” *Latter Rain Evangel*, 1-8.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 4. In fact, the first five pages are dedicated to combatting Oneness. For those unfamiliar with the debate, Fraser provides the best reading on the Trinitarian position in this debate.

Secondly, the Baptismal formula debate that happened in October 1915 was not just about a preference for Acts 2:38 over Matthew 28:19. Fraser recognized that the Oneness advocates were also advocating a position based on John 3:5: “Verily, verily I say unto thee, except a man be born (out) of water and Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” Fraser further observed the problem:

They say that baptism is in two parts and is composed of the baptism in water, which means being born out of water, and the baptism in the Spirit, and putting these two together constitutes the one baptism. Their conclusion is that unless you have been baptized in water and in the Holy Spirit, you are not even regenerated.²⁷²

Fraser advocated that “being born out of the Spirit, and the baptism in the Spirit are two separate and distinct experiences, and do not necessarily occur in close proximity.”²⁷³ In practice, for those advocating the “New Issue,” they had combined the experience of water baptism with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. In this way, a candidate would be baptized in water and then immediately pray to receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues while still in the water constituting a “one baptism.”²⁷⁴

Thirdly, Fraser stated that “they want to bring back the use of fermented wine” for use in “celebration of the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper.”²⁷⁵ Fraser believed that the “‘New Covenant’ between Christ and His Church could never be symbolized in a cup of putrid, corrupt, rotten wine.”²⁷⁶ Fraser concluded from 2 John 1:10: “If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine (of Christ), receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds” (King James Version).

²⁷² Ibid., 6.

²⁷³ Ibid., 7.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 6.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 8.

1915 General Council

At the General Council on Monday, October 4, 1915, in St. Louis, Missouri, the one-year chairman, A. P. Collins, and assistant chairman, D. C. O. Opperman, were notably absent. Flower took the mantle of authority on himself and called the meeting to order. Collins was able to come to the meeting on Tuesday, October 5, 1915, but his authority was already circumvented.²⁷⁷ Opperman was at the opening of the Ozark Bible and Literary School in Eureka Springs, Arkansas at the Magnetic Hotel, which began classes on Monday, October 4, 1915.²⁷⁸ Opperman was not able to attend the Council at all because of this. Opperman received the help of R. B. Chisolm, “Formerly president of the Neshoba Holiness School, near Union, Miss.,” as the language and science teacher as well as to serve as the school’s principal.²⁷⁹

With the support of Bell, Collins, and Flower, J. W. Welch was “elected Permanent Chairman of the Council and Wm. G. Schell was elected Assistant Chairman of the Council.” As Blumhofer observed, “Bell and Collins viewed the chairmanship narrowly,” because “each was so thoroughly congregational in political preferences that he shunned any assumption of authority.”²⁸⁰ Welch’s approach was more forceful, and “J.R. Flower and B. F. Lawrence, the present Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively, were elected to continue in their office as

²⁷⁷ *Minutes*, 1915, 3. For chairman and assistant chairman names, see *Minutes*, 1914, 8. See Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 211. Blumhofer references that at the Second General Council, Bell requested the General Council appoint new leadership. Blumhofer seems to be referencing the 1914 November General Council Meeting.

²⁷⁸ See Glenn Gohr, “D. C. O. Opperman’s Short-Term Bible Schools,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 11 (Spring 1991): 6–7. “So despite some Pentecostals scoffing at formal ministerial training, residential Bible institutes continued to be founded. A more unusual educational venture also performed an important service: short-term schools for workers. Conducted principally by Daniel C. O. Opperman, the former principal of John Alexander Dowie’s Zion City school system, these schools lasted from four to five weeks and located wherever there was sufficient interest. Between December 1908 and October 1914, he directed at least eight training programs—the first three were each billed as ‘The School of the Prophets’—in Texas, Mississippi, Missouri, Alabama, Iowa, and Arkansas. In Opperman’s schools, ‘Bible studies were seasoned with prayer, fasting, and practical experience through street meetings, jail services, revival meetings, and other forms of ministry.’”

²⁷⁹ Opperman, “Ozark Bible and Literary School,” *Word and Witness*, November 1915, 3.

²⁸⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 211.

Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Council.”²⁸¹ After Flower read the “Constitution of the General Council and the preamble and resolution adopted at Hot Springs,” the motion was unanimously carried.²⁸² However, the next matter on the “mode and formula of water baptism” marked the beginning of the schism that completely shook the Assemblies of God a year later.²⁸³ The debate hinged in great part on Peter’s words in Acts 2:38, “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost” (KJV).

On October 6, 1915, after the first day of discussion on the issue of water baptism, the Council Committee recommended that the officers of the General Council be no longer regarded as ex-officio members of the Executive Presbytery and that the number of the presbyters be limited to fourteen men.²⁸⁴ This move eliminated Opperman from the Executive Presbytery.²⁸⁵ Previously, in April 1914, the Executive Presbytery had been twelve men and then expanded to sixteen in November. A nominating committee consisting of Flower, Goss, Schell, Morgan, Langston, and Jamieson nominated a slate of five Presbyters who would then nominate the rest of the Executive Presbytery.²⁸⁶ The five nominated “brethren” included “J. W. Welch, Essex, Mo., Andrew L. Fraser, Chicago, Ill., D. W. Kerr, Cleveland, Ohio, B. F. Lawrence, Springfield, Mo., and John Goben, Lucas, Iowa.” The “five newly elected Presbyters” then elected the rest of

²⁸¹ *Minutes*, 1915, 3.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Minutes*, 1915, 6.

²⁸⁵ See “Masthead,” *Word and Witness*, August 1915, 4. Opperman is the only ex-officio member who did not have a position on the Executive Presbytery since both B. F. Lawrence and J. R. Flower were elected to serve.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Oddly, Schell, Morgan, and Langston do not appear on any ministerial roll lists. However, it is likely that Schell, who had been elected as assistant chairman of the 1915 General Council, was an affiliated minister.

the Executive Presbytery: “E. N. Bell, Springfield, Mo., A. P. Collins, Fort Worth, Tex., D. H. McDowell, Tottenville, N. Y., S. A. Jamieson, Dallas, Texas, and J. R. Flower, St. Louis, Mo.”²⁸⁷

After two days of debate, the “Brothers Schell, Collins, Haywood, and Bell” came to an agreement on the formula for water baptism.²⁸⁸ On Thursday, October 7, 1915, the General Council passed this resolution: “Resolved that it is the sense of this Council that the substitution of the name of 'Jesus Christ' for the word 'Son,' (Matt. 28:19) would better harmonize Matt. 28:19 with the book of Acts (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5) and, as a formula, would be preferable to the use of any one passage to the exclusion of the other.”²⁸⁹ The new preferred baptismal formula would read: “I baptize you in the name of the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost.”²⁹⁰

After the successful adoption of this resolution, the following were elected to the Executive Presbytery: “A. G. Garr, Los Angeles, Calif., Will C. Trotter, Portland, Ore., and R. A. Brown, New York, N. Y.”²⁹¹ Of all the members of the 1915 Executive Presbytery, only Brown and Trotter would be removed in 1916. While the General Council authorized the Presbytery to “fill up the number by electing the fourteenth man from the Southeastern states,” the shift of power was already complete from the Churches of God in Christ under Bell to the Assemblies of

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 6.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 4. Haywood never officially affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ or the Assemblies of God, but he did advertise a “miniature copy of the [Tabernacle] chart can be had by writing Eld. G. T. Haywood, 1450 N. Missouri St. Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A. Make money orders payable to the same address.” See “Special Notice,” *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 8. One announcement below this ad is a notice that R. E. McAlister was moving his headquarters from Ottawa, Canada to Los Angeles, Cal. “and has amalgamated the *GOOD REPORT* with the *Apostolic Faith* published by F. J. Ewart.” All these men became prominent leaders within Oneness Pentecostal circles. Ewart did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God, but he was a part of the 1913 Churches of God in Christ organization as well as a close associate of Garr, Collins, and others. Ewart attended the 1916 General Council as well. McAlister though came back to the Trinitarian view.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 5.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. The 1916 General Council allowed for the “use of complementary baptismal formulas,” but it made “Matthew 28:19 compulsory in all baptismal services” without the substitution of “Jesus Christ” for the word “Son.” See Anderson, 182, and, *Minutes*, 1916, 8.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 6.

God led by the Flower faction.²⁹² Only five of the thirteen members of the Executive Presbytery had any affiliation with the Churches of God in Christ, and none were located in the Southeast.

Based on a close reading of the Executive Presbytery listings in the *Weekly Evangel* from 1916, the election of a fourteenth member never happened. It is possible that Wm. G. Schell, as a part of the “Managing Committee” for the *Weekly Evangel*, had taken on this role, but no fourteenth name appeared on any of the weekly newspapers for 1916. The Executive Presbytery’s failure to follow through with this motion has been heretofore unacknowledged.

1915 Executive Presbytery

1. J. W. Welch, Essex, Missouri
2. Andrew L. Fraser, Chicago, Illinois
3. D. W. Kerr, Cleveland, Ohio
4. B. F. Lawrence, Thayer, Missouri
5. John Goben, Lucas, Iowa
6. E. N. Bell, Springfield, Missouri
7. A. P. Collins, Fort Worth, Texas
8. D. H. McDowell, Tottenville, N.Y.
9. S. A. Jamieson, Dallas, Texas
10. J. R. Flower, St. Louis, Missouri
11. A. G. Garr, Los Angeles, California
12. Will C. Trotter, Portland, Oregon
13. R. A. Brown, New York, New York

In November 1915, Brother Collins postponed indefinitely the “Texas Worker’s Convention” because “they are in the midst of a great revival” and said that he had “no time for contention.” Collins said that he did “not propose to be sidetracked by any tricks of the enemy, that they are going on according to Heb. 6:1-3.”²⁹³ Despite the postponement, Collins and the entire 598 ordained ministers of Assemblies of God were forced to face this contention.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Ibid., 7.

²⁹³ A. P. Collins, “Texas Workers Convention Postponed Indefinitely,” November 1915, *Word and Witness*, 4.

²⁹⁴ *Minutes*, 1915, 12-6.

Chapter 2: 1916 General Council and the Railroads

In early 1916, some of the most influential founders within the Assemblies of God conducted district councils, convocations, and revivals. These meetings represented coalitions of leaders who worked together to form the Assemblies of God, but they would later be shaken by schism. From January 2-30, 1916, “a council of saints and ministers for all Southern Missouri (viz. South of the Missouri River)” convened in Springfield, Missouri “with [the] purpose of getting acquainted and to consider ways and means of co-operation and of extending the Pentecostal work throughout the section.”²⁹⁵ While “rooms and beds” would be provided, the announcement advised that “visitors must be prepared to take care of their own transportation to and from the meeting, and their board while here.”²⁹⁶ J. W. Welch, B. F. Lawrence, M. V. Ferguson, Evang. GPO. W. Lawson, Mrs. Mary A. Arthur, Wm. E. Giles, and J. R. Flower signed the announcement. All but Ferguson and Flower had previously been affiliated with the 1913 Churches of God in Christ, and all would remain affiliated with the Assemblies through the 1916 schism. The numerical strength of this coalition and its proximity to St. Louis is a key reason that orthodoxy prevailed at the 1916 General Council.

In Hot Springs, Arkansas, under the direction of H. A. Goss, “A General Convocation and Revival” was scheduled to “begin January 1, and continue till Convocation and may continue after.”²⁹⁷ The announcement gave the convocation dates as “January 14 to 23rd.”²⁹⁸ “Visiting saints” could find rooms very reasonably near the Church and “also meals, but we may have a dining room run on the free-offering plan, that is for the Convention.”²⁹⁹ While other

²⁹⁵ “Southern Missouri Council,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 2.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ H. A. Goss, “A General Convocation and Revival,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 9.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

“leading brethren” were planned to minister “the Word of the Lord,” no one other than Goss signed the announcement nor was a report of the proceedings included in the *Weekly Evangel*.³⁰⁰

From March 20-26, 1916, a “Tri-State District Council including Southeast Missouri, Southern Illinois and Kentucky” was “called for the purpose of getting the preachers and workers of the District together for conference upon matters of interest to all.” M. V. Ferguson, the organizer of the meeting, expected “J. W. Welch, Chairman of the General Council, and other Presbyters” to be present.³⁰¹ J. W. Welch issued an announcement for a “spring convention from April 1st to 8th incl.” at his St. Louis Church in Bethel Chapel, “the Lord willing.”³⁰² Welch conducted “special preparatory meetings for a week preceding the convention,” planned for a “revival meeting following the Convention,” and hoped the revival would go on indefinitely.³⁰³

Amid these announcements, D. W. Kerr published an article entitled “We All Agree.” He admitted that “We all agree in some things. Most of us agree in a few things. Some of us disagree in many things.”³⁰⁴ In this article, Kerr emphasized the “unity and Tri-personality of God.”³⁰⁵ Kerr concluded, “When we come to understand each other better, that we are not as hopelessly divided, as some seem to think.”³⁰⁶ Although the divisions were not entirely hopeless, they led to division at the 1916 General Council. These divisions occurred largely and almost entirely on the lines of pre-existing networks of relationships.

W. F. Carothers in early 1906 wrote:

³⁰⁰ Ibid. A “Pentecostal Convention” in Findlay, Ohio was also announced to “be held at the Assembly of God at the Gospel School” with “services three times daily” beginning January 1. Interested parties were instructed to reach out to T. K. Leonard. See “Pentecostal Convention—Findlay, Ohio,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 7.

³⁰¹ “Tri-State District Council,” *Weekly Evangel*, February 19, 1916, 15.

³⁰² “Spring Convention at Bethel Chapel,” *Weekly Evangel*, February 12, 1916, 8-9.

³⁰³ Ibid., 8.

³⁰⁴ D. W. Kerr, “We All Agree,” *Weekly Evangel*, March 4, 1916, 6.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

It may be that we of the older part of the Movement place a little more emphasis upon Bible order and thoroughness in the work, and stand more for Christian discipline that will weed out the goats, than do some of the newer works, but this is only natural. Please be sure that we are as firm as ever against 'organization' as it has been practiced in the modern church movements and which saps spirituality.³⁰⁷

At the 1916 General Council, the “older part of the Movement,” as represented by Carothers, was against “organization” efforts with something as simple as a statement of truths, fearing that it would sap “spirituality.”³⁰⁸ Within the Assemblies of God, their viewpoint would not prevail.

1916 General Council

The 1916 General Council meeting held from October 1-7 featured fast and impactful changes. The Executive Presbytery was put in charge of the publishing interests, the offices of the General Council and the Publishing arm were separated, and a standing credential committee was appointed from members of the Executive Presbytery. The most consequential and divisive decision was the adoption of a statement of fundamental truths. Blumhofer and others have observed six primary reasons for the schism in 1916: (1) the “Second blessing” doctrine, (2) the meaning of holiness and entire sanctification,³⁰⁹ (3) the baptismal formula,³¹⁰ (4) the doctrine of the Trinity (in short, the Oneness controversy), (5) the process of salvation, and (6) the “uniform initial evidence” of tongues.³¹¹ Welch called the General Council “An Open Bible Council,” and he said: “there are matters of the utmost important to the home and foreign field to be considered

³⁰⁷ B. F. Lawrence, “Apostolic Faith Restored: Article VII. Houston, Texas and W. J. Seymour,” *Weekly Evangel*, February 19, 1916, 4. In this statement, Carothers was specifically referring to the difference between Parham’s movement especially in Texas and Kansas and Seymour’s movement in Los Angeles, but the statement is relevant for this case as well.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ See page 36 of this study for Parham and Seymour’s “second blessing” doctrine.

³¹⁰ See Fraser’s discussion of the baptismal formula on page 59.

³¹¹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 124.

... This will be the most vital and important council which has ever been held since the first council at Hot Springs, Ark.”³¹²

The first business of the General Council on Tuesday, October 2 was to hear reports from the field. These included five reports from “J. H. James of Kansas, Jacob Miller of Arkansas, Lee Floyd of Louisiana, E. L. Banta and B. F. Lawrence of Southern Missouri.”³¹³ All these ministers had been affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ organization, but only Floyd left the Assemblies of God after this consequential 1916 meeting. Those leaving the Assemblies of God included John H. James and Lee Floyd, who was with E. N. Bell in Malvern, Arkansas in April 1914. Afterwards, E. N. Richey, T. K. Leonard, and A. P. Collins reminded the General Council on the importance of evangelism: “The thing that brought the one hundred and twenty disciples into unity was the fact that Jesus commanded them to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.”³¹⁴ All three men would remain in the Assemblies of God on the side of orthodoxy.

E. N. Richey had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in Dallas at one of Maria Woodworth-Etter’s Revivals in December 1912.³¹⁵ Immediately afterwards, Richey returned to Zion City, where he served as mayor, and led the city to “become a power plant in Pentecostal measure, from which streams of blessing shall radiate all over the world.”³¹⁶ F. F. Bosworth, who had organized those same revivals in Dallas, followed up the discussion with a sermon on evangelism at the evening service. While the Assemblies of God would emphasize the

³¹² J. W. Welch, “An Open Bible Council,” *Weekly Evangel*, June 24, 1916, 1.

³¹³ *Minutes*, 1916, 5.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ “A Pentecostal Revival in Zion City, U.S.A.,” *Confidence*, April 1913, 79.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Pentecostal experience with the evidence of speaking in tongues, evangelism—of Christ’s miraculous life, sacrificial death, and resurrection—was still their principal focus.³¹⁷

When the discussion shifted to the adoption of a set of fundamental truths, the General Council slumped into a debate. “You are making a creed,” argued Goss, “and I am opposed to it.”³¹⁸ Goss along with Van Loon, Haywood, Opperman, and Ewart wanted to “hold the Council to its original promise never to adopt a statement of doctrine that would disfellowship anyone, so long as he accepted Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues.”³¹⁹ Echoing this sentiment, J. E. Longdon had written, “The word of God is before you. Read it. Believe it. Burn up your creeds of men that contradict God’s word.”³²⁰ “The association,” they correctly argued, “had determined from the first to be a fellowship bound together by the Spirit alone, and not by ‘man-made’ doctrines and regulations.”³²¹ Flower’s faction believed though that orthodox belief was simply too important to let heresy run rampant through the organization.

The next item of business dramatically changed the governance structure of the Assemblies of God.

RESOLVED, That this Council elect as many representative men in various sections of the home and foreign field as it deems advisable as General Presbyters to represent this Council in all the phases of its work and interests in their respective fields; and that five of these, two of which shall be the Chairman and the Secretary of the Council, be appointed as an Executive Presbytery, which shall hold as a perpetual trust the Gospel Publishing House and all other properties of the General Council to meet together as often as necessary in executing the work of the General Council; and that two of the Executive Presbyters serve one year, two of them two years, and one three years, or until their successors are elected, who shall hereafter be elected for three years each; and that in case of a vacancy for any cause in the Executive Presbyter, the remaining members of

³¹⁷ This emphasis has continued to the present day. See Chas. H. E. Duncombe, “Pulling them out of the fire: Evangelism is our supreme task,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, May 6, 1951, 4.

³¹⁸ Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven*, 208.

³¹⁹ Anderson, 181. See also *Minutes*, 1916, 8-14; *Weekly Evangel*, Oct. 21, 1916, 4; Frank Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, rev. ed. (Hazelwood: World Aflame Press, 1975), 34; Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven*, 203-7; Fred Foster, *Think It Not Strange* (St. Louis: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965), 67-8.

³²⁰ J. E. Longdon, “A Final Word,” *Word and Witness*, June 1913, 6.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

the Executive Presbytery are hereby authorized to fill said vacancy, also to add at any time such members to the General Presbytery as they shall deem necessary to efficiency.³²²

This resolution reduced the number of the Executive Presbytery from fourteen members to just five. While the resolution did introduce a larger body in the General Presbytery, it dramatically altered the power structure of the General Council and reduced power into the hands functionally of those in the Executive Presbytery who operated the printing interests and lived in the same location. The Flower and Welch faction successfully secured these powerful positions.

Besides overseeing the properties and publishing interests of the General Council, the five-member Executive Presbytery was granted the power of credentialization which dramatically shaped who could and who could not affiliate with the Assemblies of God.

Resolved, that the Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Presbytery constitute a Credential Committee, and that the Council hereby authorizes them to bring out a new form of credential certificate in keeping with the Constitution and fundamental principles of the Council, and to issue annual certificates of fellowship to all in good standing, and that all ministers holding credentials with the general council are requested to send in their old credentials at once to be exchanged for the new form and on account of the increased expenditure incurred, and for the upkeep of the General Office, they are requested to send an offering of one dollar each and that each year hereafter an annual fee of fifty cents be asked for to cover the cost of the Fellowship certificate.³²³

The key to this resolution was agreement to the Fundamental Truths as well as an annual renewal process to assure doctrinal fidelity. After passing this resolution, the General Council voted to divide the offices for the Gospel Publishing House and the General Council office.³²⁴ The Council also strongly urged “all ministers and assemblies not to ordain any candidates to the full Gospel ministry except upon the approval of two or more leading ministers, or a General

³²² *Minutes*, 1916, 6.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

Presbyter, or a District Council.”³²⁵ After this resolution, the first statement of fundamental truths was introduced to the convention. The next day, “each item was discussed separately and passed upon.”³²⁶

While Wacker observed that creedal and denominational boundaries between movements are often drawn in such a way that make “them more distinctive than they really were,” within the Assemblies of God it was clear that the nature of the Trinity was an insurmountable barrier to cooperation between the two factions.³²⁷ Ordination in the ministry hinged on agreement with the Fundamental Truths as well as approval by those in leadership.³²⁸

This Statement of Fundamental Truths is not intended as a creed for the Church, nor as a basis of fellowship among Christians, but only as a basis of unity for the ministry alone (i.e., that we all speak the same thing, 1 Cor. 1:10; Acts 2:4). The human phraseology employed in such statement is not inspired nor contended for, but the truth set forth in such phraseology is held to be essential to a full Gospel ministry. No claim is made that it contains all truth in the Bible, only that it covers our present needs as to these fundamental matters.³²⁹

1916 General Council Presbytery Members

On Thursday, October 5, 1916, the General Council passed resolutions on ministers paying tithes, violations of ministerial courtesy, and a resolution on Baptismal Formula. The 1916 Council also introduced General Presbyters and drastically reduced the number of

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ Wacker, “The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910.” *The Journal of American History* 72, no. 1 (1985): 49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1903736>.

³²⁸ The adopted Statement of Fundamental Truths of 1916 is in Appendix D of this study on page 229.

³²⁹ *Minutes*, 1916, 10. The original statement of fundamental truths of the General Council of the Assemblies of God featured seventeen points instead of the sixteen fundamental truths today. For the original set of fundamental truths also see, “A Statement of Fundamental Truths,” *Weekly Evangel*, December 16 & 23, 1916, 8. Glenn Gohr gives the most straightforward account of how the fundamental truths were developed and experienced changes in the course of Assemblies of God history. See Glenn Gohr, “The Historical Development of the Statement of Fundamental Truths,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 32 (2012): 60–66.

Executive Presbyters to just five. The General Presbytery was an innovation that appeared to enlarge the leadership circle.³³⁰

1916 General Representative Presbytery

E. N. Bell, Joplin, Missouri
 J. T. Boddy, Youngstown, Ohio
 R. A. Brown, New York City, New York
 Arch Collins, Ft. Worth, Texas
 G. N. Eldridge, Los Angeles, California
 E. R. Fitzgerald, Russellville, Arkansas
 S. A. Jamieson, Dallas, Texas
 T. K. Leonard, Findlay, Ohio
 D. H. McDowell, Scranton, Pennsylvania
 E. N. Richey, Houston, Texas
 Joseph Tunmore, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

Only three of the ministers had been a part of the Churches of God in Christ (Bell, Collins, and Fitzgerald). Only seven of the eleven General Presbyters had been a part of the Assemblies of God from its beginning: Bell, Collins, Fitzgerald, Jamieson, Leonard, McDowell, and Richey. With this diffusion of power to new ministers, the Assemblies of God as an organization had simply grown beyond its founding members. With this growth, new ideas of church order and denominational practice won and hints of doctrinal impurity were driven out.

Whereas the founding members had not desired to disfellowship anyone over a creed, the new members felt a strong need to do just that. Many of the new ministers on the Assemblies of God ministerial rolls had previously been affiliated with the Christian and Missionary Alliance including John W. Welch, Frank M. Boyd, D. W. Kerr, David McDowell, William I. Evans, Minnie Draper, A. G. Ward, W. W. Simpson, Noel Perkin, Alice Reynolds Flower, and J. T. Boddy.³³¹ As Brumback observed, “The Christian and Missionary Alliance had significant impact

³³⁰ *Minutes*, 1916, 7-8. A year later there was a discussion of what decisions the Executive Presbytery should bring to the entire General Presbytery to combat the appearance of the centralization of power.

³³¹ Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven*, 94.

in other ways on the Assemblies of God, including doctrine, organizational patterns, and missionary vision.”³³²

On Friday morning, October 5, 1916, the General Council apparently rewarded five ministers who had supported the Fundamental Truths to serve as Associate Presbyters “by virtue of their office” including Ellis Banta (originally from Arkansas but moved to Southern Missouri in 1916), John Goben (Iowa), Walter Jessep (Mississippi), W. H. Pope (Oklahoma), and James Savell (Mississippi). Only Savell had not been previously affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ.

1916 Associate Presbytery

E. L. Banta (Southern Missouri)
 John Goben (Iowa)
 W. B. Jessup (Alabama and Mississippi)
 W. H. Pope (Oklahoma)
 James O. Savell (Landing, Miss.)

On Saturday morning, October 6, the General Council elected the Executive Presbytery: “Stanley T. Frodsham and D. N. Rickard to serve for one year, J. R. Flower and D. W. Kerr for two years, and J. W. Welch for three years.”³³³ Only Welch had been a part of the Churches of God in Christ. Rickard joined the Assemblies of God in 1915 while Frodsham was new in 1916. Only three out of the five on the Executive Presbytery had been affiliated with the Assemblies of God since its founding in April 1914, and only Welch had been a part of the 1913 Churches of God in Christ.

1916 Executive Presbytery

J. W. Welch, Chairman (St. Louis, Mo)
 Stanley H. Frodsham, Secretary (St. Louis, Mo)
 J. Roswell Flower (St. Louis, Mo)
 D. W. Kerr (Cleveland, Ohio)

³³² Ibid.

³³³ *Minutes*, 1916, 9.

D. B. Rickard (Indianapolis, Ind.)

The *Weekly Evangel* recorded that the Executive Presbytery was put in charge of the “publishing interests” as well as credentialing.³³⁴ Since Welch, Frodsham, and Flower all lived in St. Louis, they constituted “the active portion of the Executive Presbytery.”³³⁵ Frodsham reported:

My wife and I were strangers to almost everyone at the Council, so I was surprised to learn that I had been nominated to be a Presbyter, then to be Secretary of the Council, and to be a member of the Executive Presbytery who have charge of the *Evangel*. As a young man, I might naturally shrink from the responsibilities heaped up upon me, but I believe it is the wish of my precious Lord, and we have only one desire in life, and that is to please Him.³³⁶

The “Chairman of the Council,” Welch, “who was acting as editor of the *Evangel*,” had sent a letter to Frodsham saying that “he was praying for God’s man to come to the *Evangel* office, and at the close of the letter he put the question, ‘Are you that man?’”³³⁷ Welch and Frodsham had never personally met, but they shared several close common friends through A. A. Boddy. On faith, Frodsham had moved his family including his wife and “an invalid sister in our charge” to St. Louis at a cost of over \$170.³³⁸

Frodsham was originally from Bournemouth, England, but he had a strong connection to John Dowie’s Zion City, Illinois movement as well as A. A. Boddy of England. One of Dowie’s disciples, Dr. Yoakum, had dedicated Frodsham’s daughter, “Faith,” at Dr. Yoakum’s “Home” in Los Angeles, California, but the connections go much deeper than that. During a visit to his brother in Canada in 1910, Frodsham met his future wife, Miss Alice Rowlands. Frodsham wed “Miss Rowland, for some time of [Dr. Yoakum’s] ‘Pisgah’ [home] in Los Angeles” in a “very

³³⁴ “Changes at the Gospel Publishing House,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 21, 1916, 9.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ S. H. Frodsham, “A Word from a New Member of Our Staff,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 21, 1916, 7.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

bright Pentecostal wedding” at Highbury in London.³³⁹ Frodsham also assisted Dr. Yoakum with the work among the “down and outs.”³⁴⁰ As many as two thousand people frequented the services “in the Tabernacle at Pisgah, on Sunday week.”³⁴¹ Frodsham later reported, “You cannot be long in Pisgah Home before you have the greatest love and respect for Bro. Yoakum.”³⁴² Yoakum had also spoken at Stone Church in Chicago on June 27, 1911.³⁴³

Frodsham’s most important connection to the Assemblies of God and the Pentecostal movement though was through A. A. Boddy. In his missionary journeys through America, Boddy visited J. R. Flower, D. W. Kerr, and other important leaders of the young movement. In Daniel Silliman’s historical analysis, the first questions that should be asked when understanding religious movements as a historical reality are “who likes whom, who trusts whom, and who talks to whom.”³⁴⁴ Flower and Welch’s implicit trust in Frodsham hinged on his close camaraderie with Boddy. Boddy’s close relationships with many early leaders in the Assemblies of God proved pivotal to its survival through the 1916 schism. The articles that Boddy’s

³³⁹ The ceremony was conducted by Brother Smith Wigglesworth, Pastor Polman, and Mr. Cecil Polhill. See *Confidence*, November 1911, 257. Polhill was a missionary to China and was “chosen as President” at the first meeting of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (P.M.U.) at A. A. Boddy’s “All Saints’ Vicarage, Sunderland, on January 9, 1909.” See *Confidence*, April 1913, 81. And *Confidence*, October 1910, 248.

³⁴⁰ *Confidence*, January 1914, 14. See also: “Dr. Yoakum’s Proposed New Homes,” *Confidence*, May 1914, 92.

³⁴¹ Boddy, “The Editor in Southern California: Dr. Yoakum’s Work at Los Angeles,” *Confidence*, November 1912, 248, 250, 255.

³⁴² Frodsham, “Pisgah as I have Seen It: A Look at this famous Rescue work from the Inside,” *Weekly Evangel*, March 17, 1917, 4. This three-page story was the lead story of the *Evangel*. Frodsham recorded: “There are some who think that Dr. Yoakum is opposed to the manifestation of some of the gifts of the Spirit, but this is not the case at all. I have heard the manifestation of the gifts of tongues and interpretation, and of singing in the Spirit at his meetings and he has been delighted, and has encouraged such manifestations.” One of the largest reasons that Dr. Yoakum did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God appears to be the expansion of Pisgah Home. In May 1914, Stanley Frodsham reported that “Dr. Yoakum closed a deal for 3,225 acres of land,” where the “new Pisgah is about to be built.” Frodsham further reported: “The Lord is sending into Pisgah a number of Pentecostal workers of late. Two of the latest additions to the staff of workers are: Sister Gordon, the sister of S. D. Gordon, the ‘Quiet Talker,’ and Sister Phettiplace, who, I believe, was the first to receive the Pentecostal Baptism at Nyack, Dr. Simpson’s School.” See Frodsham, “Dr. Yoakum’s Proposed New Homes,” *Confidence*, May 1914, 92.

³⁴³ F. E. Yoakum, “When Thou Makest a Dinner Call Not Thy Friends,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, July 1911, 2-6.

³⁴⁴ Daniel Silliman, “An Evangelical is Anyone Who Likes Billy Graham: Defining Evangelicalism with Carl Henry and Networks of Trust,” *Church History* 90, no. 3 (September 2021): 643.

Confidence, Stone Church's *Latter Rain Evangel*, and Flower's *Christian Evangel* reprinted from each other offered the most connective sinew for the Assemblies of God.³⁴⁵

1916 Council Roll, Council Committee, and the Fundamental Truths

In the 1916 General Council roll, seventy-one ministers were included on the permanent list of ministers “who hold General Council Credentials,” and fourteen were included on the temporary list of ministers “of those who do not hold credentials with the General Council and yet who were granted privileges of the floor.”³⁴⁶ In addition, fifteen women were listed as advisory members. D. B. Rickard, B. F. Lawrence, and F. F. Bosworth oversaw “the names to be admitted to the roster.”³⁴⁷

Thirty-two of the eighty-six ministers on the published council roll had been affiliated with the 1913 Churches of God in Christ continuing through the 1916 General Council. In his history of the movement, Flower implied that Haywood and Ewart had been involved in the council's discussions, although their names do not appear on any of the official meeting minutes.³⁴⁸ Haywood had addressed the General Council in 1915 concerning the baptismal formula.³⁴⁹ Haywood and Ewart became prominent Oneness advocates.

“The Council Roll,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 21, 1916, 11.



³⁴⁵ See, for instance, Miss Ida Williams, “Healed and Cleansed for God’s Service,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, August 1912, 17 and Boddy, “The Editor in Southern California: Dr. Yoakum’s Work at Los Angeles,” *Confidence*, November 1912, 248.

³⁴⁶ “The Council Roll,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 21, 1916, 11.

³⁴⁷ *Minutes*, 1916, 4.

³⁴⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 140.

³⁴⁹ *Minutes*, 1915, 5.

D. W. Kerr had given the opening message of the General Council on Sunday, October 1, 1916, discussing “ever present virtue of the sacrifice of Christ, represented by the bread and the fruit of the vine.” The meeting minutes recorded:

At the conclusion of [Kerr’s] message, as the brethren from many parts of the country gathered around the Lord's table to partake of the communion, the fire of God fell upon them and their hearts burst out in praise and adoration, singing in the Spirit, weeping and laughing and praising God. Truly how wonderful it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.³⁵⁰

This was the last unity that the infant Assemblies of God was to experience. On Tuesday morning, October 4, 1916 the General Council resolved: “On motion, a Council Committee on Resolutions was appointed, consisting of five brethren, viz., E. N. Bell, S. A. Jamieson, D. W. Kerr, T. K. Leonard, and Stanley H. Frodsham.”³⁵¹ The members of the Council Committee were deeply connected. As previously noted, Bell had developed a working relationship with Flower and Leonard during his time at Findlay, Ohio. Only Bell had been connected to the Churches of God in Christ organization, and he was the only one with any ties to the “New Issue” group since he had been re-baptized in 1915. Jamieson was a close associate and minister with F. F. Bosworth in Dallas, Texas.³⁵² Kerr had strong ties to Findlay, Ohio and shared a close connection with A. A. Boddy. Leonard had strong ties to Flower, Welch, Kerr, and Bell. Frodsham’s connection to Boddy, A. G. Garr, and F.F. Bosworth proved instrumental in his appointment to this committee and his appointment to the Executive Presbytery.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ *Minutes*, 1916, 3.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁵² Elizabeth Sisson, “A Man Born Blind Now Begins to See,” *Confidence*, June 1914, 109. Jamieson, through his work on the executive presbytery in 1915, also became close to J. W. Welch. “Pray also for the young converts in that secluded field. They are in the mountains, 100 miles from the railroad. Will anyone who reads this and knows anything about them and the work there since early in October, 1915, please write to S. A. Jamieson, 3508 Grand Ave., Dallas, Texas, and to J. W. Welch, Treas., 2838 Easton Ave., St. Louis, Mo.” “Special Request for Prayer,” *Confidence*, April 1916, 67.

³⁵³ See “As soon as it is warm enough, Brother Bosworth intends to erect a large tent in a part of Dallas not yet reached by the revival, and he believes God will get poured out, his spirit more mightily than ever before. And everyone else with him seems to have the same expectation, yours and the boundless love of Jesus. Stanley H.

The Minutes recorded: “The Council Committee on Resolutions had not had time to prepare suggested resolutions for presentation on the floor, some time was given over to reports from the field;” but, in reality, work was being done in the background.³⁵⁴ After Dr. Murcutt, John Mark Levy, and Brother Aubrey shared, “The Committee [composed of Rickard, Lawrence, and Bosworth] appointed to compile the roster reported the names of all members of the Council present, and on motion, these names, together with others which might be added later, were adopted as the Council Roll.”³⁵⁵ This was the first time that a Committee had been appointed to certify any General Council Roll, and it was the first time that the Council Roll was actually published.

The Council Roll verifying committee composed of Rickard, Lawrence, and Bosworth all had strong ties to the Welch and Flower faction, and they remained with the Assemblies of God during the 1916 schism. While Bosworth and Lawrence had affiliated previously with the Churches of God in Christ, the relationships that they had forged with Flower and Welch proved more instrumental. Apparently, before the five-member committee presented their resolutions on the fundamental truths, they wanted to assure they had “whipped” the necessary votes to pass them.³⁵⁶ Historians have often characterized the five-person Council Committee as being charged with preparing “a statement of faith to be considered.” However, according to the *Minutes*, and, in all actuality, this committee had only been charged to prepare resolutions for the General Council to consider and not specifically a statement of fundamental truths.

Frodsham. Note: Bro. Frodsham is an editor from Bournemouth, England, visiting the meeting in Dallas.—Ed.” See Stanley Frodsham, “Glorious Victories of God in Dallas, Texas,” *Word and Witness*, January 1913, 1.

³⁵⁴ *Minutes*, 1916, 4.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁵⁶ See McGee, 182-3 and Brumback, 204. Historians have also credited Kerr as being the author of the Fundamental Truths. “The Statement of Fundamental Truths was primarily the work of Kerr, a mature pastor with a long record of successful ministry in the Christian and Missionary Alliance as well as in Pentecostal contexts.” See Richard A. Lewis, “E .N. Bell — A Voice of Restraint in an Era of Controversy,” *Enrichment* 4:4 (Fall 1999), 51.

Stanley Frodsham reported on the General Council in the *Weekly Evangel*:

Some of our dear brethren have, during the past year or two, run off with a little spiritual illumination, and have landed themselves into a mirage of muddle on some simple matters of the faith, and an endeavor to explain the inscrutable and incomprehensible has led them sadly astray.³⁵⁷

Clearly, Frodsham saw the adoption of the set of fundamental truths as pivotal. Frodsham and all those on the Council Committee believed that a statement was necessary to battle the Oneness heresy that had crept into the camp. Frodsham wrote, “The principal theme of discussion was the ‘Trinity.’”³⁵⁸

Frodsham recorded:

One of the most striking scenes in the Council meetings was when, in the midst of a discussion on the subject of the Trinity, someone started Heber’s grand old hymn: “Holy, Holy, Holy. Lord God Almighty! Early in the morning our song shall rise to Thee; Holy, Holy, Holy. Merciful and Mighty! God in three Persons, Blessed Trinity!”³⁵⁹

There is a strong connection between *The Fundamentals*, a series of ninety essays that were widely published by R. A. Torrey and others between 1910-1915, and the Fundamental Truths that the Assemblies of God passed in 1916.³⁶⁰ The story of the Assemblies of God should not be separated from the story of fundamentalism as those in the sociological historical school have done. In truth, since 1916, what it means to be an Assemblies of God minister is what is written in those Fundamental Truths passed at the 1916 General Council.

³⁵⁷ Stanley Frodsham, “Notes from an Eyewitness at the General Council,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 21, 1916, 4.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Those in the Assemblies of God were very familiar with R. A. Torrey and continued to endorse his work despite Torrey’s challenge of the Pentecostal experience. See Stanley Frodsham, “Good Books to Have in Your Library: The Return of the Lord Jesus by R. A. Torrey,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, August 1, 1925, 15. Concerning Torrey’s book, Frodsham wrote, “Sets forth very clearly what the Bible teaches in relation to the personal visible return of Jesus. Shows His return to be the only possible solution of the present disturbed and unsatisfactory world condition. Shows that Jesus Himself is the only One who can usher in that glorious Golden Millennial Day that the world is looking so eagerly forward to. A book you need to read just now.”

William Menzies briefly addressed the question of this connection in *Anointed to Serve* (1984). Stanley Frodsham gave a response to R. A. Torrey's concerns with the Pentecostal Movement in his August 9, 1919, tract entitled: "Why We Know the Present Pentecostal Movement is of God: An Answer to a Tract: *Is the Present Tongues Movement of God*" in the *Christian Evangel*. In this tract, Frodsham defended the Assemblies of God position while remaining aligned to every other theological fundamental point that Torrey had outlined. Clearly, the Assemblies of God saw themselves as aligned with the Fundamentalist Movement.³⁶¹

William's son, Robert Menzies, took this matter up further in the 2018 Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society. He observed that in 1928, the Assemblies of God was "disfellowshipped" by the "World Christian Fundamentals Association (WCFA) in a meeting that Torrey had helped organize."³⁶² Frodsham gave a defense of the Assemblies of God practices and theology in his August 18, 1928, article in the *Pentecostal Evangel* called, "Disfellowshipped!" Although the Assemblies of God had fallen out of favor with the WCFA by 1928, in the years before that they were clearly aligned. In fact, Robert Menzies claimed that Torrey should be called the "Father of the Pentecostal Movement" in addition to the "Father of Fundamentalism" since his *Fundamentals* "to a large degree shape the doctrinal formulations of later Pentecostal denominations, including the Assemblies of God."³⁶³

³⁶¹ Stanley Frodsham, "Why We Know the Present Pentecostal Movement is of God: An Answer to a Tract: *Is the Present Tongues Movement of God*," *Christian Evangel*, August 9, 1919, 4-5.

³⁶² Robert Menzies, "R. A. Torrey's Enduring Theological Legacy: The Pentecostal Movement" (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, 2018), 19.

³⁶³ Menzies, "R. A. Torrey," 1, 30.

Missionary World, Dr. Yoakum, and A. A. Boddy

In the *Missionary World* article from 1906, Wacker observed the “dense networks of personal friendships” and the “multiple personal connections revealed in William H. Durham’s account of his transcontinental evangelistic travels.”³⁶⁴ On that journey, Durham had visited Geo. F. Fink, Brother Carl, Brother Ostenberg of Benton Harbor, Michigan, Brother Seymour of Chicago, Harry Van Loon of Chicago, Miss Malcolm, and Dr. Yoakum on his travels. While only Van Loon affiliated with just the 1913 Churches of God in Christ, Durham’s connections would have an enormous impact on the Assemblies of God.³⁶⁵

In *Pentecostal Testimony*, a posthumously published report from William Durham was included on the “Great Chicago Revival”:

The Chicago meeting was announced as a convention to last two weeks. Brother Van Loon and the writer arrived from the Pacific Coast on the twenty fourth of February, and the meetings commenced the twenty-fifth. Brethren Argue, McAlister and Bell, who were expected were detained at home, but we expected them a few days later.³⁶⁶

Argue was based in Canada, but he and his wife, Eva, and daughter, Zelma Argue, ministered throughout the United States and were instrumental in the formation of the

³⁶⁴ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 274 notes 11 and 12.

³⁶⁵ In fact, Bell gave Van Loon’s case as a rationale for why the Assemblies of God should charter, writing, “Over five years ago Bro. Harry van Loon, who was then working in Canada, reported to Bro. W. H. Durham in Chicago that the law in Canada did not allow ministers even to baptize in water, unless they held papers from an incorporated or chartered church or assembly....Bro. Durham at once CHARTERED the Full Gospel Assembly on North Ave., and gave credentials to Bro. Van Loon. Has this charter caused Bro. Van Loon to backslide and lose the Holy Ghost? I was present when this chartering was done, and when Bro. Durham was about to charter as the Full Gospel MISSION, I suggested ASSEMBLY as the better term, and Bro. Durham adopted the term Assembly wholly at my suggestion. I speak of this only to let the brethren know that I, E. N. Bell, am not opposed to the word ASSEMBLY, since I am the very one who got Brother Durham to adopt it over five years ago in Chicago. Not only so, but Bro. Durham gave me credentials with the corporate seal of the CHARTERED Assembly upon them and I have them today, March 25, 1914.” Bell also cited other benefits to chartering on the “BUSINESS side of things, such as holding property, accepting rates on the railroads for preachers, holding property in foreign lands for missionary work, etc. etc., etc., it is necessary to obey the laws of the country.” See E. N. Bell, “Why Charter?” *Word and Witness*, March 1914, 3.

³⁶⁶ “The Great Chicago Revival,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, August or July 1912, 14. The “Personal Testimony of Durham” and “In Memoriam” of William Durham are on pages 1-5 of this edition and many of Durham’s sermons are also included.

Assemblies of God in Canada.³⁶⁷ McAlister's sermon sparked the Oneness debate at the Arroyo Seco Camp Meeting in 1913, although he held to Trinitarian thought throughout the debacle. This is the same Bell who has been a primary subject of this study.

“In accordance with Brother Durham's request before he passed away,” F. J. Ewart and Harry Van Loon had “assumed all responsibility in connection with the work here in Los Angeles.”³⁶⁸ Ewart and Van Loon were the “pastors in charge” at 209 East 7th street, which was less than a mile away from 312 Azusa Street Revival, where Durham had first experienced Pentecostalism.³⁶⁹ By 1913, Ewart was one of the most prominent voices of the Pentecostal Movement in the West.

Ewart eventually became one of the strongest advocates for the Oneness movement and published his views in the periodical *Meat in Due Season*. Ewart's reporting of the 1913 Arroyo Seco Camp Meeting almost singlehandedly propelled the “NEW THING (its early proponents liked to highlight their distinctive usage in full caps)” or the “New Issue.”³⁷⁰ Ewart reported on McAlister's “casual observation” that “the words Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were never used by the early church in Christian Baptism.”³⁷¹ While McAlister maintained that the baptismal formula in Matthew 28:19 was valid, for Ewart, “the shot had been fired, and its sound was destined to be heard around the world.”³⁷² Despite McAlister's statement receiving “an inaudible shudder,” Ewart claimed that McAlister had convinced him that the three titles—Lord, Jesus, and

³⁶⁷ See “Great Blessings in Western Canada,” *Christian Evangel*, August 1, 1914, 4. “Eureka Springs, Ark.,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, September 13, 1924, 12. After a 3-week meeting with Zelma Argue, 1,500 people witnessed a baptismal service of twenty people “about seven miles from town at the river.” A.H. Argue's “grandson, Don Argue, served as president of the National Association of Evangelicals and was president of North Central University and Northwest University.” See Ruthie Edgerly Oberg, “This Week in AG History – May 24, 1941,” Assemblies of God Website, <https://news.ag.org/en/Features/This-Week-in-AG-History-May-24-1941>.

³⁶⁸ “Special Notice,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, August 1912, 16.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 128.

³⁷¹ Ewart, *Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 106.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

Christ were “counterparts to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost and that Jesus was, in fact, THE NAME (singular) of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.”³⁷³

E. N. Bell and others were rebaptized in Jesus’s name alone because of Ewart’s influence. L. V. Roberts rebaptized Bell as well as H. G. Rodgers at the Interstate Camp Meeting in Jackson, Tennessee.³⁷⁴ Bell stayed with the Assemblies of God through his death, but Rodgers left after the 1916 General Council. L. V. Roberts was connected with the “Pentecostal Assemblies of the World” until 1919, when he wrote:

They made an issue out of water baptism in the name of Jesus only, and for the remission of sins, and also got into the delusion of calling Jesus, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and tried to make Him all there was of God, I absolutely took my stand against them in their annual convention, and as was reported in the Pentecostal Evangel, I withdrew from them, giving over my credentials, opened up regular services in Tabernacle, and have been in no way connected with them since that time, October, 1919; have taken no active part in the new issue movement since the summer of 1918.³⁷⁵

By 1921, Roberts expressed, “I have heartily endorsed the Fundamentals of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, and am in fellowship with them, and have proven it and will continue to prove it.”³⁷⁶

Besides Van Loon on his 1906 missionary journey, Durham’s meeting with Dr. Yoakum of Los Angeles, California would prove of great consequence to the Assemblies of God.³⁷⁷ A thorough reading of entire publication history of England-based Pastor A. A. Boddy’s *Confidence* newspaper shows that Pastor Boddy knew Dr. Yoakum in Los Angeles, California as well. Before the Assemblies of God was founded in 1914, Dr. Yoakum played a significant role in Pentecostal circles.

³⁷³ Ibid., 110.

³⁷⁴ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 132.

³⁷⁵ L. V. Roberts, “A Statement,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, February 19, 1921, 23.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ “Durham’s Travels,” *Missionary World*, April 1906, 8.

Dr. Yoakum's testimony was given in full in the June 1911 issue of *Confidence*. "Dr. Yoakum had a lucrative practice," earning \$18,000 a month. However, a car accident left him badly bruised and "very ill for some time, and at last resolved to give himself up to God."³⁷⁸ Dr. Yoakum "felt the Lord relieve him, and he was healed" at a "faith-healing meeting." After his healing, Dr. Yoakum "gave himself up to the work of the Lord, and was now conducting a faith healing mission at Los Angeles, where his hall contains crutches, sticks and chairs, which cripples have discarded who had been cured through him by faith."³⁷⁹ Dr. Yoakum had been healed himself at a Christian and Missionary Alliance service led by W. C. Stevens in 1895.³⁸⁰

In 1911, Boddy reported:

Our beloved brother, Dr. Yoakum, is (D.V.) to attend the Camp Meeting at Vineland, Ontario, Canada, June 29th to July 4th. Also the Camp Meeting at Findlay, Ohio, U.S.A., July 5th to 31st inclusive. Freewill offerings will be taken at each Service for the feeding of the hungry and clothing of the naked at Pisgah Home, Los Angeles, California.³⁸¹

Presumably, given T. K. Leonard's leadership in Findlay, Ohio at the time, meant that Dr. Yoakum met with him as well during this meeting.

Dr. Yoakum attended the Framingham meeting in 1911, and Maria Woodworth-Etter would be the primary speaker at that meeting in 1913, which served as a major precursor to the movement to unite that brought the Assemblies of God into fruition. Boddy planned to attend that meeting as well, writing "I hope to visit Montwait Camp Meeting sometime after June 20th (c/o Bro. Otis, Montwait Camp Ground, South Framingham, Mass.)."³⁸² Afterwards, Boddy reported:

³⁷⁸ *Confidence*, June 1911, 128.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁸⁰ "Dr. Finis E. Yoakum's Healing by the Lord," *Herald of Hope*, January-February 1968, 3. Stevens had been the principal of the Missionary Training Institute of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Nyack, New York.

³⁸¹ *Confidence*, June 1911, 141.

³⁸² *Confidence*, June 1914, 115.

We have just returned from South Framingham and Montwait Camp Meeting, which was conducted by our Brother Yoakum....

Brother Yoakum is truly raised up for these days...Five people have been raised from the dead in his work, one after being dead 17 hours....

In Southern America God allowed him to speak for half-an-hour to a people whose language he did not know, and it resulted in thirty conversions. A partial account of the Camp Meeting will be given in "Word and Work," September number. God is preparing his people in this country for a mighty downpour of the Spirit.³⁸³

After the Framingham meetings, Boddy planned to travel to the "Atlanta Camp Meeting" commencing July 9, and we hope "to devote some time to ministering to the brethren at Atlanta (c/o Mrs. Sexton, 78 North Broad Street, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.) and speak for Kerr in Ohio."³⁸⁴

Despite his successful meetings, Dr. Yoakum wrote to Boddy: "Yet I draw back. I feel I am not a leader—only one who leads to God. My title is 'Brother'—nothing more; I have dropped the 'Dr.' even."³⁸⁵ The November 1911 issue of *Confidence* showed a picture of man presumably healed after "twenty nine years" of being in an "invalid chair" because "Dr. Yoakum prayed for him, and God set him free."³⁸⁶ Boddy continued, "He [Dr. Yoakum] was an eminent physician, but now believes in prayer for the sick."³⁸⁷

In November 1912, Boddy wrote of Dr. Yoakum: "The Doctor has three sons. The oldest holds a very good position on a railroad. (Dr. Yoakum's brother is a millionaire President of an important railway.)"³⁸⁸ Boddy failed to give the railroad magnate's name in the publication.

³⁸³ *Confidence*, September 1911, 209.

³⁸⁴ *Confidence*, June 1914, 115.

³⁸⁵ *Confidence*, November 1911, 255.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 264.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* One of the only pictures of Dr. Yoakum is featured on the front page of *Confidence*, November 1912, 241.

³⁸⁸ Boddy, "Dr. Yoakum's Work at Los Angeles," *Confidence*, November 1912, 248.

B. F. Yoakum and Railroads

As it turns out, Dr. Yoakum's brother was none other than B. F. Yoakum.³⁸⁹ B. F. Yoakum was one of the most powerful railroad magnates in the early 1900s.³⁹⁰ Yoakum was a director of New York inner group banks at the "*Mechanics and Metals National Bank*; Director also of *Seaboard Air Line Railway Company*, [and] *Western Power Company*."³⁹¹ On May 16, 1914, a small guard moved about "\$9,000,000 in cash and about \$49,000,000 in securities from the premises of the Fourth National Bank to those of the Mechanics and Metals National."³⁹² The merger gave a total of \$90,000,000 in net deposits and "total cash resources" of \$154,312,470.³⁹³ Samuel Untermyer commented: "The system of railroad reorganization is responsible for a great deal of this concentration of the control of the railroads in the hands of the financiers."³⁹⁴

B. F. Yoakum was the chairman of the executive committee of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway (commonly known as Frisco) and Rock Island railroads.³⁹⁵ Yoakum controlled over 17,500 miles of railroad with lines stretching from Chicago to Mexico.³⁹⁶ Yoakum controlled "the largest system that is or ever was under the personal influence of one

³⁸⁹ W. J. Lauck, "Intercorporate Relations through Stock Ownership, Interlocking Directorates and Concentration of Financial Control of Western Railroads," 33.

³⁹⁰ Yoakum was frequently referred to as the "railroad magnate." See *Houston Daily Post*, September 11, 1908, 7.

³⁹¹ W. J. Lauck, "Intercorporate Relations through Stock Ownership, Interlocking Directorates and Concentration of Financial Control of Western Railroads," 171.

³⁹² "58,000,000 moved with small guard; Fourth National Bank's Cash and Securities Taken Over by Mechanics & Metals," *New York Times*, May 17, 1914, 1.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ Samuel Untermyer, "Testimony before the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, New York City, Monday, January 18, 1915," in "Intercorporate Relations," 184.

³⁹⁵ "B.F. YOAKUM IN CHARGE.: WILL DIRECT THE OPERATION OF ALL THE ROCK ISLAND LINES," *New York Times*, December 8, 1905. 13. The FRISCO included the following railroads through stock ownership: Beaumont, Sour Lake & Western Railway, Orange & Northwestern Railroad, St. Louis, Brownsville & Mexico Railway, New Orleans, Texas, and Mexico Railroad, Fort Worth & Rio Grande Railway, Louisiana Southern Railway, Chicago & Eastern Railroad, and the St. Louis, San Francisco & Texas Railway. In 1914, the capitalization totaled \$391,679,229. The system under Yoakum's direction connected and touched virtually every Assemblies of God minister. See Lauck, "Intercorporate Relations," 33.

³⁹⁶ Edwin Wildman, "THE SELF-MADE RULERS OF OUR RAILROADS," *New York Times*, April 18, 1909, 1. For Mexico railroads see, "Syndicate to Build Mexican Road," *New York Times*, April 11, 1906, 13.

man.”³⁹⁷ The *New York Times* recorded that “he loomed above Hill, Harriman, and Gould as a leader in transportation development.”³⁹⁸ The Frisco line would provide the most connectivity to the Assemblies of God movement early on, and the Assemblies of God headquarters moved to Springfield, Missouri after 1916, where all of the major lines of the Frisco intersected.³⁹⁹ However, the Frisco’s impact on the Assemblies of God was probably greater than even the headquarters move given that it connected the largest coalition of orthodox leaders in the Assemblies of God led by the Southern Missouri District Council including Flower, Welch, and Lawrence.⁴⁰⁰

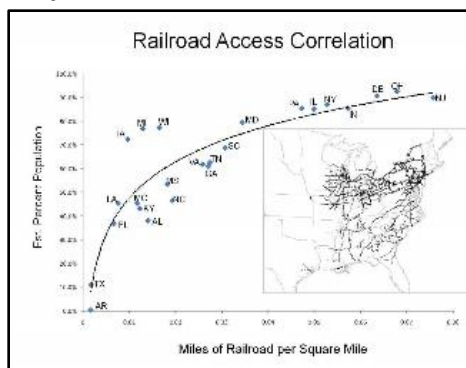
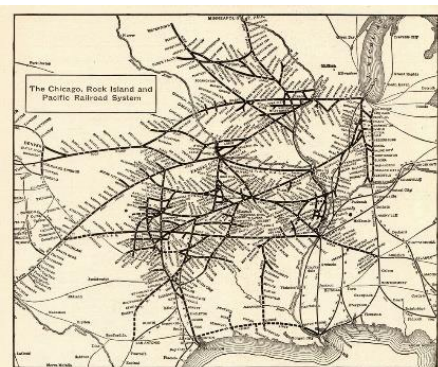
³⁹⁷ “Yoakum and Empire Builder: The Romantic Rise of a Chain Bearer to the Control of More Miles of Railroad than Anyone Else in the World,” *San Francisco Call*, Volume 101, Number 128, April 7, 1907, 7. B. F. Yoakum’s relationship with Pentecostalism beyond familial ties demands serious historical inquiry beyond the scope of this study. The author of this study hopes for a dissertation level project on B. F. Yoakum’s interaction or knowledge of Pentecostalism. There is some evidence that Yoakum, besides having a brother in the Pentecostal Movement, was also personally impacted by Pentecostalism. Jeff Oliver is currently researching the impact of Henry Huntington’s attendance at the Azusa Street Revival in 1906 in Los Angeles as observed by Larry Martin. Huntington owned the Pacific Electric Railway, which was one of the largest electric railway systems in the world. In 1906, Yoakum attempted to gain control of it, but was ultimately unsuccessful. B. F. Yoakum and F. E. Yoakum were also the sons of Franklin Laughlin Yoakum, a minister within the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, a New School Presbyterian, pro-rival religious movement. See *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 1856, 63. Finis Ewing, Dr. Yoakum’s namesake, and a leading minister of the Second Great Awakening, helped found the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1810 after the Cane Ridge Revival in Kentucky. See B. W. McDonnold, *The History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Memphis: Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 2010).

³⁹⁸ “B.F. YOAKUM DIES; ILL ONLY A WEEK: FINANCIER AND FORMER RAILROAD PRESIDENT SUCCUMBS AT 70 FROM HEART DISEASE. BEGAN LIFE ON A FARM WAS LEADER IN DEVELOPING THE SOUTHWEST--FAMED AS ECONOMIST AND FARM LEADER. FAMED AS RAILROAD BUILDER. SPONSORED LAND DEVELOPMENT. DIRECTED GREATEST SYSTEM. FRIEND OF THE FARMER,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1929, 27.

³⁹⁹ “Technology, Modernity, and the U.S. South Before the Civil War,” Railroads and the Making of Modern America History Project, University of Nebraska, https://railroads.unl.edu/views/item/ga_cotton_1860?p=1. In fact, without the Frisco line, the Churches of God in Christ would never have been able to meet in Eureka Springs, Arkansas in 1912. In 1912, Frisco built the railroad train depot that still stands in Eureka Springs today, and it is a part of the National Register of Historical Places. However, the train depot’s importance to the founding of the Assemblies of God has simply been overlooked.

⁴⁰⁰ B. F. Lawrence wrote the “Apostolic Faith Restored” historical series in the 1916 *Weekly Evangel*. Any student of Pentecostalism will find it helpful as a contemporary history of the movement.

1914: Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad System and 1870 Railroad Correlation⁴⁰¹



In 1916, every minister north of the Mason-Dixon line lived in a town/city accessible via railroad. This is not surprising given that 1916 represents peak railroad mileage in the United States and that Northern states had much more railroad mileage than the South.⁴⁰² Interestingly though, all the ministers above the Mason-Dixon line that affiliated with the Assemblies of God by 1916 lived in places that have had railroad access since at least 1860 and the vast majority since 1850.⁴⁰³ There was shift in support from the Churches of God in Christ to the Christian and Missionary Alliance faction in part due to the greater gains of ministers north of the Mason-Dixon line aligning with their faction. Railroad access assisted and accelerated the spread of ideas for the Assemblies of God at a greater rate among its Christian and Missionary Alliance ministers than those of the Churches of God in Christ faction.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ This graph from 1870 shows the railroad interconnectedness that the Northern states have benefited from for quite some time. See “Technology, Modernity, and the U.S. South Before the Civil War.” The Chicago and Rock Island route tree shows Eureka Springs, Arkansas in the list, and the connections shown include the Frisco system. “Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad System Map, 1914,” *Gazetteer of American Railroads*, 253.

⁴⁰² “Railroads,” *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1925 (Washington D. C.: Bureau of the Census Library, 1925), 371-3.

⁴⁰³ A Google Earth overlay of these railroad maps can be accessed at ChristianEvangel.com. These maps were compiled by the Cite railroad maps. See “Historical GIS: 1840-1845-1850-1861-1870,” Railroads and the Making of Modern America History Project, University of Nebraska, <https://railroads.unl.edu/resources/>

⁴⁰⁴ While the south made great strides in railroad access during Reconstruction and beyond, it simply could not catch up to the sheer volume in the North. For instance, Arkansas went from only 38 miles of railroad in 1860 to 5,306 miles in 1910, but many northern states already had almost twice that mileage. See Stephen E. Woods, “The Development of Arkansas Railroads, Part 2,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (1948): 192. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40037853>. For instance, Ohio had 3,291 miles of railroad in operation in 1860, but by 1910, Ohio had 9,134 miles of railroad. See “Railroads,” *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1913 (Washington D. C.:

In Malvern, Arkansas, where E. N. Bell published the *Word and Witness* from 1912-1914, laid along the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad route established in 1874.⁴⁰⁵ Hot Springs was a full twenty-five miles away from Malvern. At the time, Hot Springs was not considered nearly as accessible as Malvern. Joseph Reynolds of Chicago, who was known as “Diamond Joe” because of “his huge diamond tie pin,” built the Hot Springs railroad to Malvern out of frustration.⁴⁰⁶ Reynolds’s wagon had broken down six miles out of Malvern forcing him to walk the rest of the distance. With this motivation, Reynolds built the Hot Springs Railroad in 1875, and the narrow gauge was converted to standard gauge in 1889. Without this Hot Springs connector, the Assemblies of God would not have met in Hot Springs in 1914.⁴⁰⁷

The St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad operated passenger, mail, and freight services between St. Louis, Missouri to Cairo, Illinois, to Texarkana, Texas. Malvern was in the middle of that route and served as a key reason why Bell’s *Word and Witness* was so successful. Bell moved his printing operations from Malvern, Arkansas to Findlay, Ohio in 1914.⁴⁰⁸ While Findlay may seem now to be an obscure place for great connectivity to the world, in 1914 it was not. Findlay had railroad service from Carey, Ohio since 1850.⁴⁰⁹ On December 30, 1905, the Western Ohio Railway had completed a significant railway link to Findlay. On January 2, 1906, the *Republican Jeffersonian* recorded its significance:

Bureau of the Census Library, 1914), 262. Furthermore, almost 90% of its population had access to railroads by 1870, whereas, in Arkansas, only 1% had access by that date. “Technology, Modernity, and the U.S. South Before the Civil War.” Furthermore, the use of non-standard gauges in the South resulted in wasted time and expense in converting tracks to standard gauge after the Civil War and the Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862. Gauges in the south varied greatly from 4 ft to 6 ft, often favoring a wider gauge to the Northern counterparts. The Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862 mandated 4’ 8.5” as standard gauge. See Stephen E. Wood, “The Development of Arkansas Railroads Part 1,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1948): 103–40.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Minutes*, April 1914, 7.

⁴⁰⁹ See ChristianEvangel.com/Railroads.

The driving of the golden spike was one of the most important events ever recorded in the history of electric railway building, following which the first car was operated over the Lima-Findlay extension of the Western Ohio railway. The particular significance of the events is the fact that this connection makes it possible to travel continuously on electric lines throughout Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana.⁴¹⁰

The electric railway system boasted greater potential for connectivity in Findlay, Ohio than Bell had experienced in Arkansas. In 1912, Malvern, Arkansas was Bell's *Word and Witness* printing headquarters, and Arkansas only had ten companies that operated street and elevated railways with a total of 123.19 miles of electric railway track with only 299 cars. By comparison, in 1912, Ohio had eighty-two companies that operated 4,137.32 miles of electric railway tracks with 6,358 cars.⁴¹¹

The report from Findlay continued: "Roads now under construction will soon make possible continuous travel from eastern New York state to Chicago, and it will only be a matter of a few years before it will be possible to travel from New York to Chicago on interurban lines."⁴¹² Findlay sat just 45 minutes by rail from Lima, Ohio where Lima Locomotive Works "produced some 8,000 locomotives," making it "universally associated with some of the finest steam power produced in North America."⁴¹³ Findlay's Mayor Metcalf said, "Friend Wheeler said this line would bind Findlay to Lima but we feel that it binds Lima to Findlay. We feel like

⁴¹⁰ "Golden Spike was Driven Saturday," *Republican Jeffersonian*, January 2, 1906, 5. Another significance of Findlay is its proximity to Oberlin, Ohio where Charles Finney ministered. Oberlin was connected to Findlay via railroad by 1850. Promotional announcements appeared as early as March 1915 for Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. Flowers claimed, "Charles G. Finney received the baptism in the Holy Ghost with speaking in tongues, and God made him the greatest evangelist of his age, it being estimated that over half a million were converted under his preaching. Finney's *Lectures on Revivals* is one of the best books on the subject a preacher can get, and every Pentecostal preacher should have one of them if it is his purposed to be used by the Lord in winning souls." See Flower and Bell, "A Book for Preachers," *Christian Evangel*, March 20, 1915, 2. Also see the encouragement of "Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*," *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 4; and *Minutes*, 1915, 16.

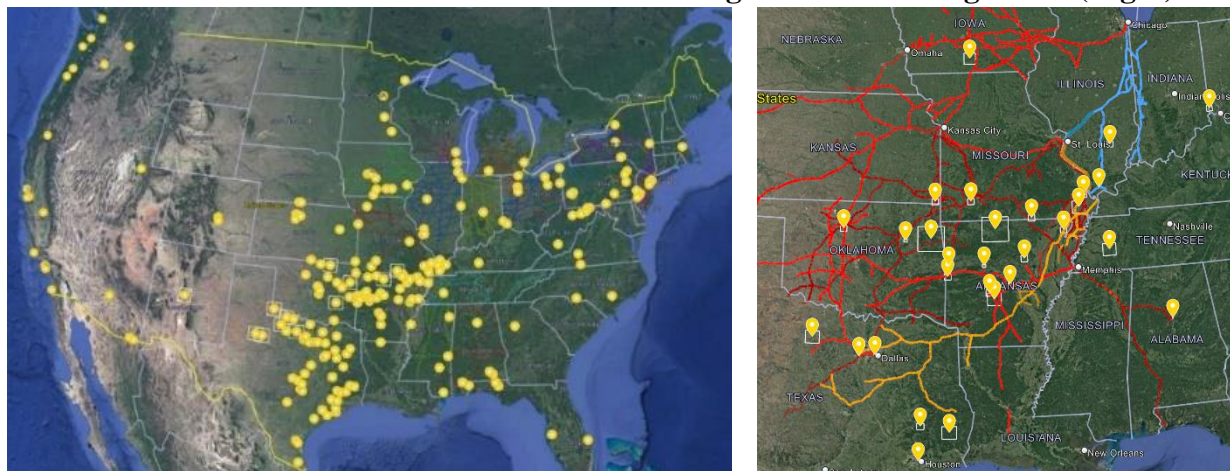
⁴¹¹ "No. 174—Street and Elevated Railways, 1912," *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1913* (Washington D. C.: Bureau of the Census Library, 1914), 261.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ William D. Edson and John H. White, "Lima Locomotive Works," *The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 123 (1970): 81. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43518352>.

the people down at Boston, that we are ‘The Hub of the Universe.’”⁴¹⁴ Indeed, because of the interconnectedness railroads provided in the North as well as the sheer mileage there, ministers like Welch and Flower with deep roots in the Christian and Missionary Alliance were able to secure more supporters more quickly within the Assemblies of God by 1916.⁴¹⁵

1916 Affiliated Ministers of the Assemblies of God (Left) and Churches of God in Christ Ministers Remaining Affiliated through 1916 (Right)⁴¹⁶



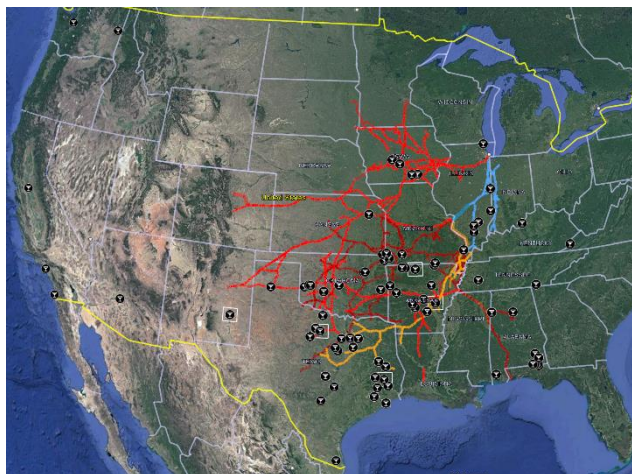
⁴¹⁴ “Golden Spike,” *Republican Jeffersonian*, January 2, 1906, 5.

⁴¹⁵ The impact of railway mail service also deserves more historical consideration. From 1879 through 1913, despite increasing in total mileage of railroads—carrying mail 79,991 miles with 2,609 employees (1879) to 228,618 miles with 18,265 employees (1913)—the average annual cost per mile to deliver mail was relatively unchanged. In 1879, the average annual cost per mile was only .1051 with an annual cost of \$9,792,589. By 1913, the cost increased only to .1091 with an annual cost of \$51,466,030. See “No.170—Railway Mail Service,” *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1913* (Washington D. C.: Bureau of the Census Library, 1914), 257. A. A. Boddy also commented in *Confidence* about the efficiency and lower costs of the United States Railway Mail Service compared to that in Great Britain: “The wonderfully cheap rate of postage in U.S.A. (One cent per pound, separate packages making up the pound) reduces the cost very greatly.” See Boddy, *Confidence*, March 1913, 59.

⁴¹⁶ In 1914, the St. Louis, Iron Mountain, and Southern railroad operated 3,365.12 miles of railroad. However, the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad Systems and the Frisco Railroad Systems would have more importance to the Assemblies of God. The Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad System operated a total of 7,852.45 miles in 1914 and the Frisco Railroad System 4,746.32 miles. Lauck, “Proportion of Total Milage of Western Railroads Showing Deficit or Surplus,” 4-5. This figure does not include other railroads that the Frisco owned or controlled via stock ownership. After being housed at Findlay for just a year, the printing operations and Assemblies of God headquarters moved to St. Louis, Missouri in 1915 and finally to Springfield, Missouri in 1916, where the headquarters are located today. Part of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad Systems as well as the Frisco Railroads core service fell along that route (railroad system routes pictured). The power shift in the Assemblies of God was not only from the political maneuvering of the Flower and Welch faction versus the 1913 Churches of God in Christ members, but it was also impacted by the connectivity of the railroad. While it is a stretch to say that the greater adoption of standard gauge (4’ 8.5”) in the North versus the South led to the development of the Assemblies of God Fundamental Truths in 1916, the disparate development between the regions of the country certainly affected how people and ideas traveled. Railroad access was key to the spread of people and ideas in this period of history as it pertains to the United States as well as the Assemblies of God. The ministers who remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God from the Churches of God in Christ organization, shared much closer relationships because of the railroad’s accessibility and interconnectivity.

When Bell and Flower both moved their printing operations to Findlay, Ohio, the move was to take advantage of printing costs, printing space, and transportation. Ohio, at the time, was one of the most well-connected railroad states. The importance of Bell's move to Findlay, Ohio is an aspect of the 1916 conflict that historians have failed to observe. Of the original five initiators of the Assemblies of God, only three remained a part of the Assemblies of God after the 1916 schism and none remained in leadership positions. Opperman had settled in Eureka Springs, Arkansas and operated a Bible School along with R.B. Chisolm. Opperman and Chisolm were both disfellowshipped. Goss stayed in Hot Springs and was disfellowshipped. Pinson moved from Phoenix, Arizona to Oakland, California. Collins moved from Ft. Worth, Texas to Malvern, Arkansas. Collins remained a part of the Assemblies of God, but he did not want to create a large set of fundamental truths like Flower. Instead, Collins unsuccessfully had pushed for a simple "four-fold message: Salvation in Christ Jesus, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, Healing for the body, and the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴¹⁷ In part, because Bell spent more time with his northern Christian and Missionary Alliance associates, he aligned with them and not the people he had at first led.

1916 Disfellowshipped Ministers Locations



⁴¹⁷ Arch P. Collins, "Sixty Million People to Hear Full Gospel," *The Weekly Evangel*, January 8, 1916, 11.

Clergy rates on railroads are an oft-cited reason for the organization of the Assemblies of God. This observation, while accurate, has not been well analyzed. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 “allowed railroads to grant free or reduced rate transportation to ministers of religion.”⁴¹⁸ Each clergy bureau was a “division of the rail passenger’s association of that particular area,” similar to a “trade association for the railroads.”⁴¹⁹ “The bulk” of ministers were certified by sending the Clergy Bureau the “annual minutes listing our ordained ministers of religion.”⁴²⁰ Applicants first had to be endorsed by the local agent, and then the applicant submitted “information about denominational affiliation, official assignment, the date when ordained, and the official document, including the number of the page on which it was recorded.”⁴²¹ These permits were good for only a year. Every year, applicants were required to reapply, and a new permit booklet was reissued.⁴²²

James Hoge testified before Congress:

⁴¹⁸ James Hoge, “Statement of James B. Hoge, Vice President, Interchurch Transportation Committee (Methodist),” *Hearings I* (United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 224. Although Hoge gave this testimony before Congress in 1955, the process by which the Clergy Bureau granted clergy permits remained virtually unchanged for over half a century. See B. D. Caldwell, “Official Announcement,” in Henry Davidson, “Evangelical Visitor- December 1, 1895. Vol. VIII. No. 23,” (1895), *Evangelical Visitor* (1887-1999), No. 164, 366-7. <https://mosaic.messiah.edu/evanvisitor/164>. This announcement outlines the “new plan” that would remain largely intact. Any scholar pursuing studies of the Clergy Bureau will find no better source for how the clergy permits were issued.

⁴¹⁹ Hoge, 228.

⁴²⁰ See “Notice to Ministers,” *Weekly Evangel*, November 24, 1917, 11. The notice stated, “It is hoped that we may have all certificates renewed—that need renewing—before December 1st, the new list is to reach the R. R. Bureaus before the first of the new year. Names of persons who do not renew their Fellowship Certificates, will not appear on the list, as the official list is composed of those who are in regular standing, having the certificate of fellowship. At the 1916 Council meeting the brethren adopted a resolution that all the ministers should send in the sum of 50 cents towards the heavy expenses of maintaining the Council Office, with their applications for new Fellowship Certificates.” While the meeting minutes from 1917 do not include a list of ministers, the 1918 meeting minutes do, and the date listed on the list is December 1, 1918. In a cursory reading, the date seems arbitrary, but most likely, the December 1 date simply reflects the self-imposed deadline to submit the ministerial roll to the railroad clergy bureaus to validate applications.

⁴²¹ James E. Kirby, “Dearest Ellen.” *Methodist History* 42 (2004: 3): 135.

⁴²² Hoge, 225.

The determination of who is a minister of religion is not spelled out in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. The rail clergy bureaus have defined an ordained minister of religion as one who is fully empowered without any restrictions to preach, perform marriage ceremonies, administer the sacrament, bury the dead, and baptize. They define a licensed minister as one who is empowered to preach only (the Assemblies of God also called these ministers exhorters). They have granted clergy discounts to licensed ministers who are in specific work, such as a full-time minister of a church. I might add that none of the clergy bureaus grant the clergy discounts to any minister who has another job of any type even a part-time job.⁴²³

In December 1912, Bell and Goss had taken an active role in this process within the Churches of God in Christ organization. Bell wrote:

The railroads in Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas will grant to ministers of the Churches of God in Christ half fare rates on the following conditioned made by them, (not by us): 1) You must be an **ordained** minister, either pastor, evangelist or missionary. 2) You must give your **entire time** to religious work; not have any other profession or business to which you devote a large part of your time. 3) You must depend **entirely** upon the Lord through your ministry for a **support**.⁴²⁴

The third stipulation reflects the practice of the clergy bureau not allowing any part-time job to qualify for the clergy rate. While the “average minister” might only use a “clergy book once or twice per year” to receive the half-fare rate, those on national and regional boards benefited greatly from the 100 coupons in each clergy booklet. Bell reiterated that an application for the rates “must be sent in already or certified for by Goss, Collins, Bell or Opperman or there is no use to apply.”⁴²⁵ Bell further instructed, “the rates can also be had by our preachers living in the Southeastern territory from Southeastern Clergy Bureau at Atlanta, Ga., on the same conditions as above and by writing Bro. Goss as above” since Goss was “settled” in Hot Springs. Bell offered to introduce ministers to the Clergy Bureau in Chicago for “our preachers living in Colorado and the West” to “secure the Transcontinental rate.”⁴²⁶ Clergy rates were normally used

⁴²³ Ibid. Ministers like Robert A. Brown of Glad Tidings Assembly in New York would have been ineligible for these rates because he worked as an engineer as well.

⁴²⁴ Emphasis theirs. E. N. Bell, “To preachers,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1912, 1.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

on a regional basis. Clearly, both Goss and Bell were very familiar with the workings of the Clergy Bureaus. Goss posted a “Notice to Women Missionaries” in 1915:

This is to request all the women home missionaries with credentials from the Assemblies of God, not to make applications for clergy rates over the railroads....We are very sorry of this, but the Railroads make these rules and not ourselves. Let the women take notice of this, and trust God for full fare.⁴²⁷

Goss primarily oversaw the application process for the railroad clergy rates in tandem with the official affiliation with the Churches of God in Christ and in turn the Assemblies of God. In 1914, “for convenience,” T.K. Leonard was put in charge of issuing ministerial credentials for the General Council of the Assemblies of God in the “North and East,” while Goss oversaw the “East and West” and the “West and South.”⁴²⁸ At first, credentials were granted in the “common or general of Assemblies of God” to all who simply requested them.⁴²⁹

A process for credentialing began with the October 1915 General Council when “The Executive Presbytery also appointed a Credential Committee, consisting of J. W. Welch, J. R. Flower and H. A. Goss. All applications for credentials and clergy certificates must be sent in to the Secretary, J. R. Flower, 2838 Easton Ave., St. Louis, Mo.”⁴³⁰ In November 1915, in a “special notice to preachers” in the *Word and Witness*, a notice stated that “Brother J. R. Flower...will receive applications and issue credentials instead of H. A. Goss of Hot Springs, Ark, who has heretofore handled this work.”⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ Howard Goss, “Notice to Women Missionaries,” *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 5. It is unclear when women were allowed to receive clergy rates as well. Lilian Garr, in her last year of life, asked her husband to apply for half-fare rates for her since “she felt she would soon be leaving Los Angeles”. See Frodsham, “A Wonderful Life Ended: The Home-Call of Sister Lilian Garr,” *Confidence*, May 1916, 80.

⁴²⁸ E. N. Bell, “Notice to Preachers,” *Word and Witness*, April 20, 1914, 1.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *Minutes*, 1915, 7.

⁴³¹ Bell, “Special Notice to Preachers,” *Word and Witness*, November 1915, 4.

In 1916, J. R. Flower announced that the “Clergy Bureau” offered half-fare rates for “Regularly settled Pastors, Regularly settled Assistant Pastors, Regular Evangelists capable of conducting revivals without the aid of any stronger preachers, Missionaries under recognized appointments, and Foreign Missionaries home on furlough.”⁴³² To receive the rates, ministers had to meet one of the above criteria as well as show up in the ministerial rolls that the denomination provided to the railroads. Furthermore, the “Clergy Bureau” refused “special rates to our sister preachers except those who are recognized as regular Pastors of Assemblies.”⁴³³ However, a week later, in the January 8, 1916, *Weekly Evangel*, J. R. Flower instructed: “All inquiries for information concerning railroad rates should be addressed to Elder H. A. Goss, 222 E. Grand Ave., Hot Springs, Ark. enclosing postage stamps for reply, as Brother Goss is in charge of this part of the work.”⁴³⁴ The confusion and power struggle were obvious. Flower increasingly sought and received power within the Assemblies of God, and, after he received it, he wielded it with great effect. In this way, whoever controlled the credentialing and licensing within the denomination then also had power in who received the special railroad rates.

A.A. Boddy’s Network of Relationships

The Gospel Train is moving on,
Get on, get on;
There’s room on board for old and young,
Get on, get on.⁴³⁵

Pastor A. A. Boddy’s *Confidence* newspaper as well as his missionary trips along the railroads in the United States are significant in revealing the “dense networks” of ministers that

⁴³² J. R. Flower, “Notice to Preachers, Who are Eligible to Railroad Rates,” *The Weekly Evangel*, January 1, 1916, 9.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ “Notice to Preachers: Who are Eligible to Railroad Rates,” *Weekly Evangel*, January 8, 1916, 9.

⁴³⁵ *Confidence*, October 1912, 223.

pre-dated the 1914 founding of the Assemblies of God.⁴³⁶ Boddy frequently published articles from Flower's *Christian Evangel*, Stone Church's *Latter Rain Evangel*, and even from Carothers's *Apostolic Faith*.⁴³⁷ Notably absent was Bell's *Word and Witness*. In fact, F. F. Bosworth and Geo. B. Studd were the only readily apparent connections Boddy had to the 1913 Churches of God in Christ organization. Boddy's stand on any "New Issue" was clear since he frequently spoke of the "Triune God" in the newspaper.⁴³⁸

On October 12, 1912, A. B. Simpson, the founder of the Christian Missionary Alliance wrote Boddy: "I learn from Mrs. Weaver that you are in America. I shall be glad to see you and have you preach for us sometime convenient to you."⁴³⁹ While Boddy was unable to stay in the United States to speak at Simpson's church, Boddy was able to preach at Glad Tidings Hall led by Brother Brown and Brother MacDowell, whom he "had met three years before at the Alliance Camp Meeting."⁴⁴⁰ Boddy continued, "Brother Brown was an engineer, holding a responsible post in the city of New York, and, like Paul the Apostle, preaches the Gospel and works at his business also—a very healthy mode of proceeding."⁴⁴¹

Brown joined the Assemblies of God in 1915 along with his wife. Brown's wife, Marie Burgess, had moved from Zion City, Illinois on May 5, 1907 to start Glad Tidings Tabernacle.

⁴³⁶ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 3. According to Blumhofer, "Boddy exercised limited leadership through three efforts: annual Whitsuntide Conventions (to which admission was by ticket only); *Confidence* magazine, and the Pentecostal Missionary Union." See Blumhofer, "Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 8, no. 1 (1986): 34. Boddy also published an account of William Durham's work in Chicago. See "Another Letter from Chicago," *Confidence*, August 1908, 11.

⁴³⁷ This was common among many Pentecostal newspapers that shared dense connections and doctrinal agreement. For instance, the *Latter Rain Evangel* included D. C. O. Opperman's announcement for the April 2-12, 1914, Hot Springs "General Convention." See "Conventions and Campmeetings," *Latter Rain Evangel*, March 1914, 12. See W. F. Carothers, "The Gift of Interpretation," *Confidence*, November 1910, 255.

⁴³⁸ Boddy, "Triune God," *Confidence*, July 1916, 116. In fact, Boddy often referred to the "Triune" God even before the "New Issue" was an "issue."

⁴³⁹ Boddy, "Leaving U.S.A.," *Confidence*, April 1913, 69-70.

⁴⁴⁰ Boddy, "The Glad Tidings Hall," *Confidence*, April 1913, 69.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

They met in the course of her meetings and “on October 14, 1909, in Zion, Illinois, Pastor Piper of the Stone Church, Chicago, united them in marriage.”⁴⁴² The Glad Tidings congregation became “the largest congregation of the General Council of the Assemblies of God.”⁴⁴³ Like others who had believed “strongly as to the Scripturalness (sic) of the ‘Sign,’ they felt they must detach themselves from the Christian and Missionary Alliance.”⁴⁴⁴

During Boddy’s visit to the United States in 1914, A. B. Simpson introduced Boddy “in an affectionate manner as a friend of 25 years’ standing.”⁴⁴⁵ Boddy lamented:

It seems quite a pity that there should be a gulf separating the “Alliance” from many of the earnest Pentecostal workers. The Rev. A. B. Simpson and the Alliance Council admit that today the “Gift of Tongues” is being given as in Apostolic times. But they reject the teaching that we should expect (not the *Gift* but) the *Sign* as on the Day of Pentecost, when through all the Spirit Himself ‘gave utterance.’ (Acts ii.) This is what the C. & M. A. say:

We believe that the Gift of Tongues or Speaking in Tongues did in many cases in the apostolic church accompany or follow the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. We believe also that other supernatural or even miraculous operations on the part of the Holy Spirit through His people are component and possible according to the sovereign will of the Holy Ghost Himself through all the Christian age. But we hold that none of these manifestations are essentially connected with the Baptism in the Holy Ghost, and that the consecrated believer may receive the Spirit in His fulness without speaking in tongues or any miraculous manifestation whatever, and that no Christian teacher has the right to require such manifestations as evidences of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. The teaching of the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians, chapters 12-14, make this exceedingly plain.⁴⁴⁶

Boddy commented on the interconnectedness and affordability of America with the railroad, saying:

In busy New York, everyone seems to be running to catch a car of some kind. You can ride great distances for five cents. (A cent is called a penny here—it is really a halfpenny, and looks like a farthing.) By asking for a transfer, you get a second ride.

⁴⁴² Elizabeth Schuster, “Honoring Glad Tidings Tabernacle New York, On Its 50th Anniversary,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, May 5, 1957, 16-7.

⁴⁴³ “REV. R. A. BROWN, 75, A PASTOR 40 Years: Pentecostal Minister of Glad Tidings Tabernacle Dies, Wife was His Assistant,” *New York Times* (1923-), Feb 13, 1948, 21.

⁴⁴⁴ Boddy, “The Buffalonian,” *Confidence*, October 1914, 185.

⁴⁴⁵ Boddy, “Westward Ho! At the C. & M. A. Tabernacle, New York,” *Confidence*, October 1914, 183.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

On his sixth and seventh missionary journey through the United States between 1912 and 1914, Boddy connected with almost every important Pentecostal leader.

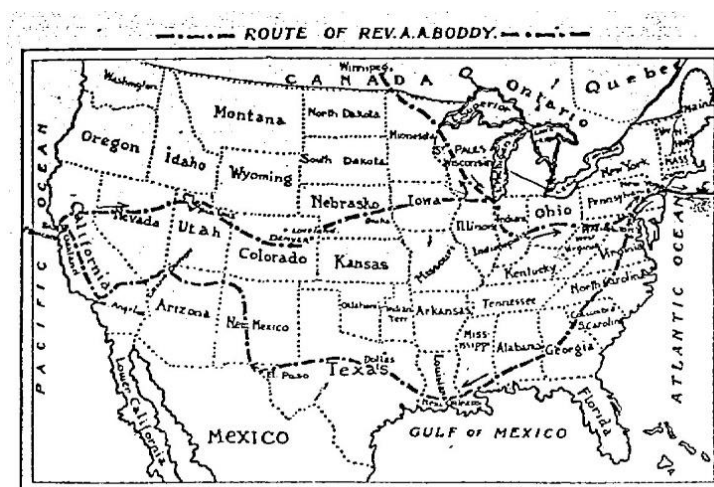
On his 1912 trip, Boddy left from New York in August and by October had “travelled through 24 States, South, West, and North, to Canada and back, some 10,000 miles.”⁴⁴⁷ On his 1914 trip, Boddy spoke at Springfield, Bridgeport, Philadelphia (Foxchase), Atlanta, Belmar Camp (New Jersey), Cleveland (two visits), Chicago (at the Stone Church), Nebraska (Milford). Cazadero (California), and Los Angeles.⁴⁴⁸ Many of these leaders had been a part of the Christian Missionary Alliance, and they would eventually align with Flower’s faction in the Assemblies of God. Boddy met these leaders by traveling on the railroad. Because of his predominately English audience, Boddy gave an extensive and complete overview of the railroad routes and showed an amazing snapshot of how dense those ministerial networks were.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ *Confidence*, April 1913, 68.

⁴⁴⁸ *Confidence*, September 1914, 176. Boddy returned home on the “American Line, S. S. ‘New York,’” arriving August 2, 1914, at Liverpool.

⁴⁴⁹ Boddy’s missionary journeys demonstrated strong connections to numerous Christian and Missionary Alliance Leaders with nationalities from England, Canada, and Germany who would eventually lead the Assemblies of God including to D. W. Kerr, A. H. Argue, A. W. Frodsham, S. H. Frodsham, and J. R. Flower. Boddy was able to meet with Argue on his sixth visit to Canada and third to Winnipeg.⁴⁴⁹ A. H. Argue shared that “Italians and Indians” had received the Holy Ghost and reported that he had just returned to Winnipeg Canada from his “Pentecostal Trip.” See “Italians and Indians Receive the Holy Ghost,” *Apostolic Faith*, May 1908, 4. Boddy reported that Stanley Frodsham’s Brother, Bro. A. W. Frodsham of Bournemouth, has settled down at “Fergus, Ontario, Canada” about 70 miles from Toronto. See *Confidence*, October 1914, 196. Flower was born in 1888 in Belleville, Canada to George Lorenzo and Bertha Rice Flower. In 1902, when he was 13, Flower moved to Dowie’s Zion City. However, they were unable to fit in and moved to Indianapolis, Indiana where they joined the Christian and Missionary Alliance. In January 1907, when Glenn A. Cook brought the Pentecostal message to the Gospel Tabernacle in Indianapolis, it made a strong impact on Flower and his family. See Juliana Goodwin, “J. Roswell Flower: A Founding Father,” *Springfield News Leader*, April 27, 2014. However, on April 15, 1914—three days after the Hot Springs Assemblies of God formation meeting concluded—Glenn Cook and Frank Ewart rebaptized each other in the name of “Jesus only.” Both became prominent in Oneness Pentecostalism. See Ewart, *Phenomenon of Pentecost*, 112.

Route of Rev. A. A. Boddy [on 1912 Missionary Journey]⁴⁵⁰



Boddy wrote, “From Chicago I journeyed 180 miles south into the heart of the state of Indiana: Plainfield.”⁴⁵¹ Boddy stayed at J. R. Flower’s home in Plainfield, Indiana with its “1,500 inhabitants.”⁴⁵² Flower’s newspaper was known for its immediacy of News:

The *Christian Evangel* is the only Pentecostal weekly newspaper in the United States which represents the whole field, and which has room in its columns for real items of news from home and foreign field and which can get that news into the homes of the people within a week from the time it has been received in our office.⁴⁵³

Boddy also preached at D. W. Kerr’s church twice in one trip. Boddy even instructed his readers to “send letters through D. W. Kerr of Ohio.”⁴⁵⁴ In his 1914 Missionary Journey, Boddy

⁴⁵⁰ *Confidence*, April 1913, 68.

⁴⁵¹ Boddy, *Confidence*, January 1913, 17-8. Boddy met Woodrow Wilson at “Union Railway Station” in Indianapolis as he was campaigning for President. See Boddy, *Confidence*, January 1913, 18.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.* Boddy had to “hurry back” to England for the funeral of Mrs. Smith Wigglesworth. See, *Confidence*, January 1913, 18.

⁴⁵³ *Christian Evangel*, August 15, 1914, 2.

⁴⁵⁴ Boddy, “Letter,” *Confidence*, May 1914, 93. Boddy also commented that “both German and English, gathered in Pastor Kerr’s Church. Brother D. W. Kerr is of German descent, and has a German assembly as well as an English-speaking congregation.” See, Boddy, “The Buffalonian,” *Confidence*, October 1914, 185. Wacker, Blumhofer, and Brumack do not comment on Kerr’s German heritage. Instead, they focus on his contribution as the primary author of the Fundamental Truths. Interestingly, Glenn Gohr also failed to comment on his German heritage in the *Assemblies of God Heritage* magazine even though another article in the edition featured “The German District: Ninety Years and Counting.” Ironically, that article by Tim Sprecher and Joshua Ziefle also failed to comment on Kerr’s heritage. Kerr’s German heritage is significant with World War I in Europe. Boddy commented, “Sunday brought me again face to face with dear Pastor Kerr’s German-English congregation, who lovingly welcomed me again as I ministered for three Services in this Cleveland congregation. It was beautiful how these Germans welcomed the English pastor and received the Word gladly. Not a word of course about the war.” See

“found dear Pastor D. W. Kerr and his very capable helpmate at their cosy (sic) little home in 6403 Linwood Avenue [in Cleveland, Ohio].”⁴⁵⁵ A close reading of *Confidence* from December 1908 showed that Kerr had lived in Findlay, Ohio before he moved to Cleveland. Not only did Kerr have a relationship with Boddy, but he lived in the same town as T. K. Leonard years before the Assemblies of God was founded in 1914.⁴⁵⁶ These webs of connection proved pivotal to the formation of the Assemblies of God. In 1907, Kerr had been the pastor of the “Christian and Missionary Alliance Tabernacle in Dayton, Ohio.”⁴⁵⁷ In 1911, he took the Christian and Missionary Alliance church at Cleveland, Ohio.⁴⁵⁸

Not only was Boddy deeply connected via friendships with many who took on leadership roles in the Assemblies of God, but he was also formally and organizationally connected through the Pentecostal Missionary Union that he had founded in Sunderland in 1909.⁴⁵⁹ At the Convention of the United Pentecostal Missionary Union in Toronto held from October 16 to 25, 1908, Kerr spoke alongside “Bro. Boddy, Pittsburg, and Bro. W. E. Moody of Chicago, besides

Boddy, *Confidence*, December 1914, 225. Historians have remained silent on Kerr’s heritage as well. Although not racially diverse, historians have also failed to recognize the ethnic and language diversity of the Assemblies of God, especially in 1916. Pastor Saul Baddell, for instance, of Chicago, Illinois led a Persian speaking service on Sundays at 10:30am and 7:30pm, Sundays School at 9:00am, and Tuesdays and Saturdays at 7:30pm. Baddell led two English speaking services on Sundays at 2:30 and Thursday at 7:30pm. See “Announcements,” *Pentecostal Herald*, July 1915, 4. Baddell led a six days’ Convention at the Persian Mission from July 4-10, 1916 and was assisted by “A number of resident ministers have been assisting us in The Stone Church services, as well as some from the outside: D. Wesley Myland, John Sinclair, D. A. Reed, all of this city; Ira E. David, Onarga, Ill.; S. A. Jamieson, of Dallas, Texas; E. Lawler and Mrs. Lawler, with their son and daughter, now returning to China; Prof. Baker, of Winnipeg, Manitoba; and J. M. Harrow, of Liberia, West Africa.” See “Chicago Meetings,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, July 1916, 12. Through Persian missionary Andrew Urshan, Baddell shared a strong connection then with A. A. Boddy and many other leaders in the Assemblies of God. Baddell attended the 1916 General Council and voted on the side of orthodoxy. Urshan has proved a significant figure in Pentecostal circles with Boddy, Frodsham, and others, even reporting frequently in the *Word and Witness* as well.

⁴⁵⁵ Boddy, “The Buffalonian,” *Confidence*, October 1914, 185.

⁴⁵⁶ Boddy, “Toronto Convention,” *Confidence*, December 1908, 19.

⁴⁵⁷ Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven*, 78.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 78, 80.

⁴⁵⁹ See “International Pentecostal Conference,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, March 15, 1909, 2. Those attending these conventions emphasized the “Triune God.” See “Doctrine of the Pentecostal Movement,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, May 1, 1909, 1.

some returned Missionaries and others on their way to the foreign field.”⁴⁶⁰ This convention marked a key moment in the movement toward the organization that would eventually become the Assemblies of God. Bro. J. T. Boddy joined the General Presbytery of the Assemblies of God in 1916 and eventually became the editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*.⁴⁶¹ W. E. Moody was affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ and remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God during the 1916 schism. According to G. A. Murray, who was the convention’s promoter, “Telegrams of loving greeting were exchanged between the saints gathered in Convention in Chicago and those in Toronto. ‘Blest be the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love.’”⁴⁶² The Canadian convention was followed by the American Pentecostal Missionary Union Meeting in Alliance, Ohio, on June 26, 1909, with twenty-two states present. J. T. Boddy was elected as the secretary of the American Pentecostal Missionary Union.⁴⁶³

In the July 1908 issue of *Confidence*, Brother William Durham’s church at 943 W Street is mentioned on the “list of Pentecostal Missions in the States and Canada.”⁴⁶⁴ That same year, Stanley Frodsham also received the “Baptism of the Holy Ghost in that room in the Vicarage at All Saints” in Sunderland at Boddy’s church.⁴⁶⁵ Boddy wrote extensively of “our brother Stanley

⁴⁶⁰ Boddy, “Toronto Convention,” *Confidence*, December 1908, 19.

⁴⁶¹ “Announcements,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 6.

⁴⁶² Boddy, “Toronto Convention,” *Confidence*, December 1908, 19. Boddy attended this convention the next year.

⁴⁶³ “Pentecostal Missionary Union,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, August 1, 1909, 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Boddy, “Letter,” *Confidence*, July 1908, 7. Leonard had promoted a “fall Pentecostal Convention with the Assembly of God at the Apostolic Gospel School, Findlay, Ohio, October 1st to 10th, 1909,” with “Evangelist Elder William Durham” being the featured speaker. T. K. Leonard, “Fall Pentecostal Convention,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, September 1, 1909, 2. The connection with Durham provided a strong foundation for Bell and Leonard’s relationship.

⁴⁶⁵ Boddy, “Frodsham,” *Confidence*, November 1916, 186. Frodsham’s full testimony is given in *Confidence*, November 1908, 11-2. He described his experience like this: “When I was in Sunderland last May there is no doubt that the Lord gave me a great uplift, but I don’t believe I was earnest enough to receive my Baptism. On the Wednesday, when the Lord so graciously gave me my heart’s desire by baptizing me in the Holy Spirit, I realized the meaning of that text, ‘The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by storm.’ As you [Rev. Boddy] said to me last May, it is a combination of resting and wrestling; resting in the Lord for the blessing, and wrestling with Him and not letting Him go until you have been blessed.” At the end of his testimony, Frodsham wrote, “A brother of mine, in Fort William, Ontario, Canada, writes to say he is going to start meetings in

Frodsham” throughout the next six years and spoke highly of his work when he started “taking a part in the bringing out of the ‘*Weekly Evangel*.’”⁴⁶⁶

Boddy also attended and promoted the April 15 through May 15, 1913, camp meeting at the “Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting, on the old Apostolic Faith Camp Ground in the Arroyo.”⁴⁶⁷

This was the same revival that Maria Woodworth-Etter conducted alongside Bosworth and others that introduced the Oneness controversy through R. E. McAlister’s sermon. Later, Boddy attended the Cazadero Camp Meeting on July 8, 1913, where the “Northwestern Pacific Railroad runs right into the campgrounds.”⁴⁶⁸

The next year, Boddy gave even more details of the railroad at Cazadero and of seeing Stanley Frodsham again:

Changing later into a second train of narrower gauge, at last, after many little stations, we pulled up at “Cazadero Redwood,” a wooden forest hostelry and station combined. In the

his house to seek for the Baptism.” Frodsham was referring to A. W. Frodsham who became an important leader in Canada and the United States movement. In June 1909, Boddy wrote, “Brother Stanley Frodsham was so glad to know that [Boddy] was journeying to Stouffville Camp Meeting, where [he] should meet his recently ‘baptized’ brother.” See *Confidence*, June 1909, 140. This was the same camp meeting that Boddy would meet the Garrs on a train as well. A. W. Frodsham affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1916.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. See “Brief Notes,” *Confidence*, April 1910, 86. “Gospel tracts.—Our beloved brother, Stanley H. Frodsham, The Citadel, Bournemouth, has had 50,000 copies printed of ‘What it is to believe on Christ.’ We are using them largely here, and are thankful for them. Free Parcels will be gladly sent by Mr. Frodsham to suitable applicants.” Frodsham ministered with Mr. and Mrs. Walshaw, Pastor Redwood, Mr. Myerscough, Brother and Sister Smith Wigglesworth, and Mrs. A. A. Boddy. Boddy reported: “The ninth issue of *Victory* has just reached us. Free copies can be obtained on application to S. H. F.” Stanley H. Frodsham was the publisher of *Victory*. See *Confidence*, November 1910, 251-2. Frodsham shared, “We are having the best Meetings we have ever had.” These meetings were held at the “Good News Hall, Winbourne Road, Winton, Bournemouth, commencing June 2nd.” *Confidence*, April 1912, 90. “The first Pentecostal Camp Meeting is to be held at Bournemouth, June 12th to 21st (not June 2nd to 11th), as before arranged. Frodsham organizing.” Picture of Frodsham and Wigglesworth together. Speakers, etc. at Sunderland Convention. See *Confidence*, May 1912, 115. “Bro. Stanley Frodsham, of Bournemouth, asks the prayers of the readers of ‘Confidence’ for a Camp meeting that is to be held (D.V.) on what is known as the Island, at St. Ives, in Cornwall, from September 18th to 29th, inclusive. The speakers will be Bro. Frodsham, Bro. Wigglesworth, Bro. Matthews, Pastor Redwood, and others. This will be the first Pentecostal Convention ever held in Cornwall, so earnest prayers are desired that God wilt mightily bless at these meetings.” *Confidence*, June 1912, 144. In the January-March, 1921 *Confidence* issue, A. A. Boddy reported that Stanley Frodsham was the associate editor of “‘The Friend of Russia,’ a deeply moving witness for the work” with a circulation of about 20,000 copies a month. Andrew Fraser served as the vice president of the Russian Missionary Society and the managing editor of the paper. Boddy mentioned that he expected Fraser to visit Great Britain soon. A. A. Boddy, “Pentecostal Items,” *Confidence*, January-March 1921, 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Boddy, “Etter Revivals,” *Confidence*, March 1913, 60.

⁴⁶⁸ Boddy, “Cazadero Camp Meeting,” *Confidence*, June 1914, 114.

little crowd at the railway station was Brother Smith Wigglesworth, who was the first to warmly embrace me and was followed by dear Stanley Frodsham. Soon I saw Sister Cody and then Brother and Sister Montgomery, also Bro. Geo. B. Studd, of Los Angeles, and others. This campground is one of the very loveliest and most impressive scenes on earth.⁴⁶⁹

W. W. Simpson, of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, had reported on “A Revival Near Tibet” that saw many “touched by the same might power of the Spirit.”⁴⁷⁰ Simpson was affiliated with the Pentecostal Missionary Union that Boddy helped to lead. Later, in 1916, Simpson affiliated with the Assemblies of God and was appointed to the Missions committee alongside Stanley Frodsham.⁴⁷¹

When Boddy traveled to Foxchase about “8 miles from Philadelphia in July 1914,” he appeared in a picture with “Bro. R. Greer, the Convener, and Bro. R. E. Erdman, of Buffalo, N.Y.; to his left Bro. A. L. Fraser, Harrisburg, PA. (formerly Missionary to China).”⁴⁷² Fraser developed a strong relationship with Boddy, and this meeting happened just a few months before R. L. Erickson was removed from Stone Church in Chicago. Fraser was picked as his replacement at Stone Church and on the Executive Presbytery of the Assemblies of God. While there had been some “difficulties” in the Foxchase meeting, there were “more blessings.”⁴⁷³

Boddy explained:

One brother from another city had turned somersaults, I was told, the night before, in excitement, and the brethren had grieved. I heard in another place of a brother standing on his head, or trying to do so. These strange antics and religious buffoonery keep earnest seekers away from the Pentecostal blessing and the Pentecostal people.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁹ Boddy, “Cazadero Camp Ground,” *Confidence*, December 1914, 223.

⁴⁷⁰ *Confidence*, March 1913, 52.

⁴⁷¹ *Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, October 1917), 23. Welch, Collins, Bell, G. N. Eldridge, and Miss S. C. Eaton were also nominated to serve.

⁴⁷² *Confidence*, August 1914, 146.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Boddy, Issues of Race, Controversies, and Personalities

In Boddy's missionary journeys across America, he frequently commented on the numerous challenges that America faced including racism:

The Coloured question is increasingly acute. All persons with a drop of Negroid blood must sit in the rear half of the street car (or in an inferior special railway car.) At El Paso Railway Depot at a drinking fountain, one side was for coloured people and the other for whites, though both must bring their own cups.⁴⁷⁵

Boddy told his readers on the differences of race between the North and South:

At midday here the sun is almost vertically overhead, and the shadows are small. Not many are travelling to the broiling South in the July weather. I had to sign a declaration saying whether I was "white" or "colored." (This was only an incidental part of the form. I hoped to obtain a slightly cheaper rate in travelling on the Southern Railway, and in common with Mormon Elders and Christian Science Leaders, Ministers of the Gospel have a slight rebate made.) The question was, could I quite truthfully say I was "White." The clerk settled it for me, however, without a moment's hesitation, and struck out the word "Colored," leaving the alternative word "White." The Colored people in the South have separate railway cars, separate waiting rooms, and separate drinking fountains. There is not this distinction in the Northern States.⁴⁷⁶

As Boddy journeyed across several states from Georgia to Louisiana to Texas to New Mexico, he commented: "This State [Louisiana] is essentially a coloured people's State."⁴⁷⁷

Boddy was "glad to see dear coloured people present in the Stone Church" in Chicago.⁴⁷⁸ Boddy frequently published positive accounts of racial relations in the Pentecostal movement. Boddy included A. W. Frodsham's report on their visit to Azusa Street:

Of course we had to visit Azusa Street Mission, the place where the fire first fell. Situated in a poor locality, off the main street, and an old building, yet God had set His seal on this place by first pouring out His Holy Spirit, the Latter Rain, which has now enveloped the world. The Mission has not been flourishing of late, but now there are signs of abundance of rain, and many are being blessed. Coloured and white folk worship freely together in this meeting

⁴⁷⁵ *Confidence*, October 1912, 223.

⁴⁷⁶ *Confidence*, August 1914, 147.

⁴⁷⁷ Boddy, "Towards Mexico and in it," *Confidence*, October 1912, 222.

⁴⁷⁸ Boddy, *Confidence*, March 1913, 53.

place. (Shortly after this was written there was a revival Azuza Street, “like old times,” Pastor Durham, of Chicago, was greatly used.)⁴⁷⁹

Boddy was well acquainted with the controversies as well as personalities of the Pentecostal Movement. Boddy called “attention to the remarkable article ‘The Way Out’ by Brother Bartleman, Of California (786 Winona Avenue, Pasadena), who is known to so many through his recent journey around the world.”⁴⁸⁰ Bartleman reported that William Seymour “had met the Apostolic saints in Houston, Texas,” and “finally he began to meet with a little company of white and coloured people in an humble cottage in Bonnie Brae Street.”⁴⁸¹ Bartleman wrote, after “ten-days special petitioning of God....the fire had fallen.” Bartleman remembered:

It was on the 9th of April, 1906, that the Spirit was first poured out in Bonnie Brae. On April 18th we had the terrible San Francisco earthquake. It had a very close connection with the Pentecostal outpouring. God covered the fire at old “Azusa (sic) Mission” and protected it during the first few days of its existence until there was no danger of its being stamped out by the enemy. Then He let loose His judgments in California. This shook the whole state, as well as the nation. Men began to fear God.⁴⁸²

Bartleman continued:

It has been my personal privilege to “see the mighty works of God” in Pentecostal power in England, Scotland, Wales, France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, India, China, and in the Islands of the Sea, outside of the United States and Canada.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁹ A.W. Frodsham, *Confidence*, June 1911, 130. Maria Woodworth-Etter recounted similar scenes. McGee wrote, “Healing evangelist Maria Woodworth-Etter remembered that whites attending her Louisville, Kentucky, revival in 1888 refused to be seated in the same tent with blacks. Woodworth-Etter held firm: they would worship together or not at all. She recalled: ‘God came in such wonderful power it was not long till [whites] seemed to forget the color.’ Not entirely, however. ‘The altar,’ Woodworth-Etter continued, seemingly unaware of the irony, ‘was filled with seekers, white people on one side and colored on the other.’ This event preceded the Pentecostal revival by more than a decade, but she told the story in 1916, and again in 1922, suggesting that the pattern remained as unremarkable as it was unchanged.” See McGee, 37-8.

⁴⁸⁰ *Confidence*, September 1911, 205. Although Bartleman eventually became a prominent Oneness advocate which drew Boddy’s ire.

⁴⁸¹ F. Bartleman, “With Other Tongues,” *Confidence*, April 1916, 65. These “cottage meetings” at Bonnie Brae were where Seymour and others met before they relocated to 312 Azusa Street.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

Bartleman traced how Brother Barratt of Norway received the “baptism” while attending a meeting of the New York Christian and Missionary Alliance as “the Pentecostal power burst forth.”⁴⁸⁴ When Barratt returned to his home country, “A. A. Boddy, of Sunderland, England, went to Norway and caught the inspiration.”⁴⁸⁵ From there, Boddy passed the Holy Spirit flame to England, and—more importantly to the Assemblies of God—to Stanley Frodsham, Smith Wigglesworth, George Studd, and others who would play prominent leadership roles in the Assemblies of God.

At the July 1913 Cazadero camp meeting, Frodsham, Wigglesworth, and Carrie Judd Montgomery were all in attendance.⁴⁸⁶ Boddy wrote, “Mrs. Carrie Judd Montgomery’s name was a guarantee against fanaticism or wild fire, and the meetings were controlled by the Spirit.”⁴⁸⁷ Montgomery affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1916. Carrie Judd Montgomery had met her husband while teaching at one of A.B. Simpson’s Christian and Missionary Alliance Conventions in 1889.⁴⁸⁸

Boddy revealed additional significant connections through even a single sentence, “Evangelist Earl W. Clark and his young wife (Mrs. Etter’s grand-daughter) were a striking feature in leading the praise.”⁴⁸⁹ Clark assisted Etter in the Malvern and Hot Springs revivals in the Fall of 1913. No other newspaper published this detail that Clark’s wife was the grand-daughter of Maria Woodworth-Etter.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid. See also Blumhofer, “Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain,” *Pneuma* (Spring 1986): 31-38.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 66.

⁴⁸⁶ Boddy, “Cazadero Camp Ground,” *Confidence*, December 1914, 223.

⁴⁸⁷ *Confidence*, December 1914, 224.

⁴⁸⁸ Jennifer A. Miskov, “Carrie Judd Montgomery: A Passion for Healing and the Fullness of the Spirit,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 32 (2012): 8. Montgomery had connections to Azusa Street and Dr. Yoakum as well.

⁴⁸⁹ Boddy, *Confidence*, July 1914, 144.

In his 1914 journey, Boddy was forced to cut his travels short though as he was travelling from San Francisco with the “dear young Pipers” because on August 4, 1914, Great Britain declared War against Germany.⁴⁹⁰ Boddy wrote, “I felt that I must hurry homewards.”⁴⁹¹ In December 1914, A. A. Boddy summarized what he had found during his missionary journeys to the United States:

- 1) I found the Pentecostal people in U.S.A. Orthodox as to the Scriptures, the Atonement, the Coming of Christ, Hell and Heaven, etc. Much apostasy in Christendom, but our people (often called Apostolic Faith or Latter Rain Disciples) always true and loyal to these truths. For this we do thank God.
- 2) I noticed that in U.S.A. there is a love of physical “manifestations.” Many find them stimulating and strengthening. That which shocks some does not seem irreverent at all to others who wish to be very true to God. There is a great danger in judging. We know that in suppressing what we think is the “flesh” there is a danger of “quenching the Spirit.”⁴⁹²

Boddy’s relationship with Brother and Sister Garr is especially important.⁴⁹³ The first letter in *Confidence* from Garr to Boddy dates March 15, 1908. Garr and his wife at the time were missionaries to China. This letter pre-dates when they met on the train but also demonstrates the power of connection that letters and newspapers afforded.⁴⁹⁴ Those letters and newspapers of course made their way through trains on the railway mail service routes.⁴⁹⁵ Boddy’s relationship with G. B. Studd also dates as far back as this time. Studd was connected to the Churches of God in Christ. Boddy rejoiced in May 1911:

Many readers of “Confidence” will rejoice (as does the Editor) at the good news that Brother G. Studd, of the Upper Room Mission, Los Angeles, has at last received the full Baptism of the Holy Ghost, with the sign of Tongues as at the beginning. Two years and ten months this dear brother held on to God, and now he has received his heart’s desire.

⁴⁹⁰ Boddy, “Westward Ho!” *Confidence*, December 1914, 225.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Boddy, *Confidence*, December 1914, 226.

⁴⁹³ The Garrs were very influential in many Pentecostal circles including with G. B. Cashwell. See *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, October 1, 1907, 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Boddy, “Letter from the Garrs,” *Confidence*, May 1908, 21-3.

⁴⁹⁵ “No. 170—Railway Mail Service,” *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1913* (Washington D. C.: Bureau of the Census Library, 1914), 257.

May this good news also encourage some who have waited long, but perhaps not so long as this.⁴⁹⁶

After this experience, Boddy wrote to Studd, “Sunderland and Los Angeles are linked together, by receiving and by handing back testimonies of God’s love and wonder-working power.”⁴⁹⁷

In a letter dated March 15, 1908, the Garrs reported on their missionary endeavors in China and India. Garr had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit at the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles, California. He wrote,

Regarding the language I have, that was given to me in Los Angeles, Cal., about two years ago. I can speak it at will, and feel the power of God in most every instance when I speak at length, and can truly bear witness to the scripture that “Speaking in tongues edifies the one speaking.”⁴⁹⁸

Garr had been told by a “young man, about 25 years of age” that Garr had “been speaking in several LANGUAGES OF INDIA, one of them his mother tongue.”⁴⁹⁹

Garr continued,

I know for some time I was saying the word, ‘Bengalee,’ and when I reached India, I found myself in the Bengal Province. Their language is called Bengalee, but I never knew there was such a language before until after starting for India. However, before leaving America I noticed that the languages changed, and I was talking quite a different tongue, and after reaching Calcutta I noticed another change but could not understand the words. It would be very impossible for me to believe that these were not real languages, as they are spoken with such accuracy and entirely free from guidance by my own mind. Whether or not I was speaking an Indian language in Los Angeles does not shake my faith or even cause me anxiety. I know that God was talking through me, and what it was He knew all about it, and that was quite enough for me.⁵⁰⁰

Garr admitted:

So far I have not seen any one who is able to preach to the natives in their own tongue with the languages given with the Holy Ghost. Here in Hong Kong, we preached the word to the Chinese through an interpreter, and God has saved some, and there are about

⁴⁹⁶ Boddy, *Confidence*, May 1911, 116.

⁴⁹⁷ Boddy, “United States,” *Confidence*, May 1908, 15.

⁴⁹⁸ A. G. Garr, “A Letter from Bro. Garr,” Special Supplement to *Confidence*, May 1908, 1.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

twenty-five or thirty that were baptized with the Spirit of God and spoke in other tongues, seen visions, and received interpretations, etc.⁵⁰¹

The Garrs then ministered in India for nine months and returned to Hong Kong. They wrote, “We hope to open up a work among the Chinese that will reach the villages around and also to the mainland and the interior.”⁵⁰² Garr stated, “China is the ripest field I have seen yet.”⁵⁰³ In February 1911, Brother Bartleman reported that since Hong Kong “is controlled by the English...there is little to hinder real aggressive missionary work.”⁵⁰⁴ Bartleman went on to say:

Hong Kong is a peculiarly strategic point “Pentecost” became planted here some time ago. God sent dear Brother and Sister Garr this way and gave them fruit for their hire, with the help of some other missionaries from time to time. They laid their TWO PRECIOUS CHILDREN IN THE GRAVE here for the sake of China. God has burned a deep love in their hearts of this land and people through great suffering. They have just returned to China, after a few months’ absence in India, believing they have come back to stay. God’s call seems to be upon them. I believe they are peculiarly fitted for the work they are undertaking at this time.⁵⁰⁵

Brother and Sister Garr gave a full report of God’s work in Hong Kong to Reverend Boddy and said, “We are always so glad to read the article in ‘Confidence’—Messages of the Spirit for this hour.”⁵⁰⁶

Another significant detail concerning railroad clergy rates is tucked away in Stanley Frodsham’s eulogy to Sister Garr. Frodsham wrote:

At the close of the service Bro. Garr, who has been very ill during the past two months, got up to speak. He was so weak that he had to be supported. He told how a few weeks ago Sister Garr had told him that she thought her ministry in Los Angeles was finished and that she would soon be going away, and she asked him to apply for a permit to allow her to travel half-rate on the railroads. Several times lately she remarked that she felt she

⁵⁰¹ “A Letter from Bro. Garr,” 2. Charles Parham’s initial understanding of speaking in tongues was that it directly connected to the Acts 2 experience of witnessing in others’ languages. However, these statements reflect a shift that would culminate in the doctrinal position laid out in the Fundamental Truths of the Assemblies of God.

⁵⁰² *Confidence*, November 1910, 251.

⁵⁰³ “A Letter from Bro. Garr,” 3.

⁵⁰⁴ Bartleman, “Pentecostal Work at Hong Kong,” *Confidence*, February 1911, 35.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 35, 38.

⁵⁰⁶ A. G. Garr, “Message from Brother and Sister Garr,” *Confidence*, February 1911, 43-4.

would soon be leaving Los Angeles. Bro Gar remarked, “She did not know she was going to such a beautiful place.”⁵⁰⁷

This evidence suggests that the availability of clergy rates on the railroad was more for convenience than the oft-cited reason as a marked necessity for cooperation in the Assemblies of God.⁵⁰⁸ Sister Garr wished to have the rates only because she did not already have them in 1916.⁵⁰⁹ The actual railroads themselves were far more important to cooperation and the founding of the Assemblies of God. Boddy even commented, Zion City “was the best railroad station on the line,” and he had reached it by traveling on the “North-Western Afternoon Express from Chicago.”⁵¹⁰

Frodsham also had experience in the publishing industry since he published an occasional Pentecostal paper called *Victory*.⁵¹¹ Frodsham had received his “baptism in the Holy Ghost” at Boddy’s Church. Boddy had forged a close relationship with A. G. Garr and his wife, Lilian Garr, having met them on a train going from Toronto to the Stouville Camp Meeting in 1909.⁵¹² Garr had strong connections to both Stone Church and the Assemblies of God. Garr served as an Executive Presbyter in 1915. Frodsham met with them in Los Angeles as well as Chicago. Garr,

⁵⁰⁷ Frodsham, “A Wonderful Life Ended: The Home-Call of Sister Lilian Garr,” *Confidence*, May 1916, 80.

⁵⁰⁸ Although the evidence does not definitively say that Sister or Brother Garr had never received clergy rates since the clergy rate booklets were given on an annual basis.

⁵⁰⁹ It is also unclear at this time if women were able to receive these rates. Apparently, in some regions, they were, otherwise, she could not or would not have applied.

⁵¹⁰ Boddy, *Confidence*, February 1913, 33.

⁵¹¹ “Other Pentecostal Newspapers in Great Britain,” *Confidence*, March 1910, 61.

⁵¹² Frodsham, “A Wonderful Life Ended,” *Confidence*, May 1916, 79. For date of this meeting see *Confidence*, November 1912, 247. “While I (Boddy) was at Los Angeles I met Brother and Sister Garr, whom I met last at the Stouville Convention in Canada, three years ago.” For dates of the Stouville Camp Meeting in 1909, see “Brief Notes,” *Confidence*, May 1910, 111. Brother A. G. Ward requested: “We shall be delighted if some of our friends from England are able to attend” from June 10-20, 1910. This announcement was prompted from Boddy having been able to attend the previous year. Ward’s son would go on to lead the famed radio broadcast called “Revivaltime” from 1953-1978.

despite his wife dying on April 12, 1916, remained committed to the Assemblies of God.⁵¹³

Frodsham reported on the 1,200 people who attended her funeral:

Brother Collins conducted the service and was helped by Brother Argue, Brother Montgomery and Brother Scott. The bearers were Brother George B. Studd and Brother Elmer Fisher (of the old Upper Room Mission), Brother F. J. Ewart (of Seventh Street Mission), Brother Harry Van Loon (who was right hand man to Pastor Durham), Brother Tingle (the Pastor of Pasadena Assembly), and Brother Perrou (an Italian brother).⁵¹⁴

The Garr connection put Frodsham firmly into the conservative and orthodoxy defending camp of the Assemblies of God. As mentioned before, Garr ministered with sixteen other ministers at Stone Church in Chicago in May 1914. Of those sixteen ministers, only three were disfellowshipped after the 1916 meeting and more had strong links to both the Assemblies of God as well as Boddy.⁵¹⁵ The relationships between A. A. Boddy, Stanley Frodsham, A. G. Garr, D. W. Kerr, J. R. Flower, and the many others that Boddy had visited during his missionary journeys were possibly the most important single human factor in the survival of the Assemblies of God through the New Issue.

Given the gravity of the events that had transpired, the report concerning the 1916 General Council in *Confidence* was brief and relatively sparse of details:

Our Brother Stanley Frodsham (c/o Gospel Publishing House, 2838 Easton Avenue) is taking a part in the bringing out of the “Weekly Evangel,” issued at the above address. It

⁵¹³ Interestingly, after Lillian’s death, Garr married Hannah Erickson, daughter of R. L. Erickson, formerly pastor of the Stone Church in Chicago on July 26, 1918. See Thompson, 124. After their honeymoon, Hannah and Alfred returned to Dallas to co-pastor a church with William Black, whom he had ministered with at Stone Church in May 1914.

⁵¹⁴ Frodsham, “A Wonderful Life Ended,” *Confidence*, May 1916, 80.

⁵¹⁵ For instance, Daniel Awrey, “who is well known in the Pentecostal work on four continents,” had attended the 1909, 1910, and 1911 Sunderland Conventions. Boddy announced Awrey’s death and in the obituary said: “Our brother, Roswell Flower, of Plainfield, near Indianapolis, ‘The Christian Evangel,’ an ‘appreciation’ which we thoroughly endorse, and so we will quote it in full...” See Boddy, “Daniel Awrey: His Home Call in West Africa,” *Confidence*, February 1914, 35. Later, missionary giving records in the *Weekly Evangel* show that Mrs. Daniel Awrey received financial support from the Assemblies of God. See “August 1917,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 15, 1917, 13. See also, B. F. Lawrence, “Apostolic Faith Restored: Article V—Incidents of the Spirit from 1890 to 1900,” *The Weekly Evangel*, January 29 and February 5, 1916, 4. Awrey experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in other tongues on January 1, 1890. “Ten years later, Mrs. Awrey received the Holy Spirit and spake in another tongue. Awrey’s experience was among the earliest tongues manifestation recorded.”

is a most interesting Pentecostal paper. It has been running now for some time....Among others he had met in the meetings at St. Louis were Bro. Andrew Urshan, Bro. A. G. Garr, R. A. Brown (New York), Bro. D. W. Kerr (of Cleveland), Pastor Andrew Fraser (Chicago), Bro. Fred Bosworth (Dallas), Bro. A. P. Collins (Fort Worth, Texas), Miss Evelyn Ince and Dr. Florence Murcutt (on their way to open up Missionary work in Mexico). He writes as to the Council Meetings at St. Louis: "There was a beautiful desire for 'co-operative fellowship.'" Bro. J. W. Welch was re-elected Chairman of their Council. "He is the one of the noblest men I have met in the Movement." Our Brother S. Frodsham was elected Secretary of the Council.⁵¹⁶

While Urshan was on the temporary list of ministers in the 1916 ministerial roll, all the others listed (aside from Miss Evelyn Ince and Dr. Florence Murcutt, who were relegated to the position of advisory members because they were women) had served as general or executive presbyters of the General Council. Clearly, those connected to Boddy had achieved significant positions of power within the General Council.

⁵¹⁶ *Confidence*, November 1916, 186-7. Urshan shared a strong connection with Boddy and Frodsham. Stanley Frodsham reported, "On the first occasion that I attended breakfast service at Pisgah, Brother Andrew Urshan accompanied me, and he said that he had heard many good and evil reports of this work, but he was glad to be in Los Angeles to judge [Dr. F. E. Yoakum's] work for himself." Frodsham, "Pisgah as I have Seen It: A Look at this famous Rescue work from the Inside," *Weekly Evangel*, March 17, 1917, 2.

Chapter 3: 1917, 1918, and 1919 General Councils and World War I

1917 General Council

The 1917 minutes of the General Council reveal a denomination shaken by schism. The meeting was once again held in St. Louis, Missouri from September 9-14 with a missionary conference following from September 13-17, 1917.⁵¹⁷ A total of 573 ordained ministers made up the General Council at that time with fifty-six of those being missionaries.⁵¹⁸ The council roll listed a total of ninety-one ministers with an additional thirty-one female advisory delegates.⁵¹⁹ Similar to previous councils, only a small group of ministers made decisions for the entire organization. The most consequential move of the 1917 General Council was the formation of a process for the licensing and ordination of ministerial candidates. This process experienced small changes but remains largely intact to the present day.

The General Council recommended the following four prerequisites to ordination:

1. Resolved, that the General Council recommend that all candidates for ordination be first proved as licentiates, and only such as stand true and prove efficient, be ordained to the full ministry by any District Council or by a mature local assembly through a council of ministers.⁵²⁰
2. Resolved, that the Credential Committee provide for the issuing of annual licenses to worthy candidates where this matter cannot be attended to by a District Council or by a mature and well accredited assembly.
3. Resolved that we recommend no persons be ordained as foreign missionaries. Persons *qualified* for the full ministry, whether called to the home work or the foreign field, should be ordained to the ministry. Those not qualified for the ministry should not be ordained, even though endorsed for the foreign field as workers.
4. Resolved, that all outgoing missionaries, whether ordained or not, who expect support from the General Council, must be endorsed by the Missionary Committee of this Council, and shall receive a certificate of appointment under seal of the General Council.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ “The Missionary Conference: St. Louis, September 13-17, 1917,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 6, 1917, 10.

⁵¹⁸ *Minutes*, 1917, 7.

⁵¹⁹ “Those who were with us at the 1917 Council,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 11.

⁵²⁰ The time required to prove a licentiate “true and prove efficient” was not clearly laid out in this Council. In subsequent Councils, a period of two years was widely accepted and remains to the present day.

⁵²¹ *Minutes*, 1917, 14.

Barfoot and Sheppard observed:

The General Council of 1917 was the first to establish the gradation among Assemblies of God clergy which has existed to the present day. Prior to this convention, those ministers desiring ordination, if proven qualified, were simply ordained by a local assembly.⁵²²

The General Council also passed resolutions that established “Examinations and Time for Ordinations” with the following resolutions:

1. Resolved that this Council advises all District Councils to have published a regular set time and place once or more each year at which, as a rule, ordinations shall be performed in said districts.
2. Resolved that each district is advised to have a committee of three or more which, with a General Presbyter, shall carefully examine into the candidate’s character, life, soundness of doctrine, Christian experience, ministerial ability and previous success; and that these should be found satisfactory before the District Council proceed with the ordination. Provided that this shall in no wise limit the privileges of a mature local church in the matter of ordaining such qualified candidates.
3. Resolved, that in states and territories where there are no district councils, nor a strong mature assembly near them, that candidates may take the matter up with the Credential Committee of this Council, which shall satisfy itself as to the candidate’s fitness, and co-operate with approved candidates for a satisfactory ordination.⁵²³

One of the most interesting decisions of the 1917 General Council concerned the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. The Council passed the following resolution:

INITIAL PHYSICAL SIGN OF THE BAPTISM. By an oversight last year the word “physical” got left out before the word “sign” in reference to tongues as the initial physical sign of the Baptism with the Holy Ghost. Therefore, this section in the Fundamentals was corrected by resolution to read as follows: The full consummation of the baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost is indicated by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance, Acts. 2:4. This wonderful experience is distinct from and subsequent to the experience of the new birth, Acts 10:44-46; 11:14-16; 15:7-9. It is also distinct from the gift of tongues, I Cor. 12:4-10, 28.⁵²⁴

⁵²² Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, “Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches,” *Review of Religious Research* 22, no. 1 (1980): 11. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3510481>.

⁵²³ *Minutes*, 1917, 15.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21. Interestingly, the World Fellowship of the Assemblies of God, which serves as a “cooperative body of worldwide Assemblies of God national councils of equal standing,” continues to omit the word physical. See “Fellowship Overview,” World Assemblies of God Fellowship Website,

While “only three or four dissenting votes” were recorded, the dissenting voice in F. F. Bosworth was significant.⁵²⁵ Bosworth ultimately left the denomination over the “initial physical sign” decision.

Complete adherence to the fundamental truths was no longer negotiable. In foreign missionary fields, the Council recommended that “the Pentecostal missionaries themselves come together in the several district foreign districts—come together in co-operation according to our liberal constitution and appoint their own representatives to act as Presbyters of this Council in said districts.”⁵²⁶ Appointments would be confirmed by the General Council, “if in session,” or “to the Executive Presbytery for ratification.”⁵²⁷ No more allowances for doctrinal differences were granted, and “Presbyters must be in full sympathy with the Fundamental Truths for which this Council stands.”⁵²⁸

The executive presbytery received more power from the General Council, but there was a large concern of a consolidation of power:

[When] the election of the Executive Presbytery came before the house in the afternoon, and the danger of centralization was discussed: and, in order to avoid such centralizations, the following resolution was adopted:
Resolved that in all matters of great importance, the Executive Presbytery communicate with the members of the General Presbytery before any final decision is reached, or final action is taken by the Executive Presbytery.⁵²⁹

One council goer noted, “Fears of centralization or of control by an oligarchy vanished. Danger of ecclesiasticism, denominationalism or of sectarian spirit passed by on the other

<https://worldagfellowship.org/Fellowship/Overview>. See “Statement of Faith,” World of Assemblies of God Fellowship Website, <https://worldagfellowship.org/Fellowship/Bylaws-Membership-Position-Papers>.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 11-2.

side....”⁵³⁰ To further counteract the consolidation of power, the General Council expanded the Executive Presbytery back to seven members.⁵³¹ A. P. Collins and E. N. Bell were elected to serve three-year terms, and “Brothers J. T. Boddy and S. A. Jamieson were elected to serve two years.”⁵³² However, A. P. Collins resigned later in the Council’s session “as he could not move to St. Louis as was expected, and Bro. S. H. Frodsham was elected in his place for two years.”⁵³³ Welch, Flower, and Kerr represented the balance of the Executive Presbytery.

1917 Executive Presbytery

E. N. Bell
 J. T. Boddy
 S. A. Jamieson
 S. H. Frodsham
 J. R. Flower
 J. W. Welch
 D. W. Kerr

After the General Council though, Brother Flower, “who for four years has been office editor of the *Evangel*,” retired from the publishing post.⁵³⁴ Flower felt like “the Lord would have him go out into more active service in the field,” and so he moved to Stanton, Missouri, “in favor of the evangelistic ministry.”⁵³⁵ To take Flower’s place, A. P. Collins was appointed “to have the Editorial Chair during the next year, and we know no brother in the Pentecostal movement who could grace this position better.”⁵³⁶ However, “after more extended consideration,” Collins decided not to do that either, and in his place, Welch reported, “God has given us the help of Bro. E. N. Bell, who has in the past been greatly used of God in the movement.”⁵³⁷

⁵³⁰ “The Council at St. Louis,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 13, 1917, 2.

⁵³¹ *Minutes*, 1917, 12.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ “Bro. Flower Retires from the Evangel Staff,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 7.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ “New Editor of the Evangel,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 9.

⁵³⁷ “Brother E. N. Bell at St. Louis,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 27, 1917, 8.

Bell, who had previously retired from the publishing post in 1915, returned in 1917. Bell oversaw the General Council's headquarters move from St. Louis to Springfield, Missouri. This was necessitated by the fact that the "General Council Office in St. Louis has been moved from the building occupied this past year and is now located in the same house with the Chairman's family."⁵³⁸ Bell's leadership would lead to a "substantial increase in the volume of business" of the Gospel Publishing House from \$23,000 as compared with \$17,000 the previous year, an increase in business of \$6,000.⁵³⁹

Concerning the election of the Chairman, Frodsham reported:

When the matter of the election of Chairman came before the Council there was only one nomination. Everyone was convinced that Bro. Welch was the man for the office, and although he protested that he wanted to be relieved from the position, the brethren insisted that he should accept the place for another year. After this election we all stood up and sang "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," and a shout went up from the Camp. There was quite a difficulty in the matter of the election of secretary, and the matter was left in the hands of the Chairman, and the secretary for the past year is holding the office until the right man is forthcoming. The management of the Publishing House and the position of Missionary Treasurer having been assigned to this brother, he desires to make way for someone who can fill the position of secretary better.⁵⁴⁰

Stanley Frodsham's appointment as Missionary Treasurer "was made to relieve the Chairman of the Council [Welch] from the care of the Missionary Funds."⁵⁴¹ Frodsham continued in this role through the 1918 General Council.⁵⁴² When his brother, A. W. Frodsham, visited him in St. Louis, he reported:

[Stanley] is treasurer of the Missionary Department, and last month he prayed that the Lord would send along 3,000 dollars, and He sent 3,500 dollars; praise his Name! Handlin this amount involves quite a lot of work. Then there is the Book Department. The other Monday there were 325 letters came in, and many more the following days in proportion. So you see it's a pretty busy place.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁸ "Change of Address," *Weekly Evangel*, October 27, 1917, 8.

⁵³⁹ *Minutes*, 1918, 3.

⁵⁴⁰ "Re-Election of Bro. Welch," *Weekly Evangel*, September 29, 1917, 9.

⁵⁴¹ "About the Missionary Money," *Weekly Evangel*, October 27, 1917, 8.

⁵⁴² *Minutes*, 1918, 4.

⁵⁴³ A. W. Frodsham, "Pentecostal Items," *Confidence*, April-June 1918, 34.

Because of the continued concern over the “New Issue,” the General Council also passed a resolution stating:

Resolved, in the interests of solidified co-operation between the Gospel Publishing House and the world-field, that the Executive Presbytery hereafter knowingly publish no article, tract, report or letters coming from persons who are known and shown to be opposed to our Statement of Fundamental Truths; and that we recommend that the same course be pursued by all publishers who hold credentials from the Assemblies of God.⁵⁴⁴

The General Council elected twenty General Presbyters including S. A. Jamieson, R. A. Brown, J. R. Kline, John Coxe, W. B. Jessup, Joseph Tunmore, E. R. Fitzgerald, D. H. McDowell, Andrew Fraser, A. P. Collins, T. K. Leonard, W. H. Pope, J. T. Boddy, G. N. Eldridge, E. N. Richey, E. N. Bell, John Gobon, F. F. Bosworth, F. A. Hale, S. H. Frodsham. Welch, Kerr, and Flower’s terms had not expired as part of the Executive Presbytery and their names completed the General Presbytery.⁵⁴⁵ Jessup, Pope, and Gobon’s titles were elevated from Associate Presbyters to General Presbyters, and no associate presbyters were elected or appointed. All but Kline, Coxe, and Hale had previously served in leadership positions within the General Council.

Kline’s connection to the Assemblies of God was reported in Boddy’s *Confidence*. Stanley Frodsham’s brother, A. W. Frodsham of Ferus, Ontario, Canada, reported that Kline spoke at the Elim Convention in Rochester that had been held from June 7-17, 1916. Frodsham reported that Kline ministered alongside Pastor Craig, Pastor Fisher, and Miss K. Knight.⁵⁴⁶ John

⁵⁴⁴ *Minutes*, 1917, 18.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁴⁶ “Pentecostal Items,” *Confidence*, July 1916, 119.

Coxe had been a part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1915, but he affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1916.⁵⁴⁷ Coxe's ministry was based in Zion City, Illinois.⁵⁴⁸

F. A. Hale of Kingsville, Texas was the “secretary of the District Council of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.”⁵⁴⁹ In May 1917, the *Weekly Evangel* reported that the Texas Council “was enlarged to take in New Mexico and Arizona, and the Mexican situation along the border states.”⁵⁵⁰ Before the Council, W. H. Pope led a revival service for a full three weeks. J. W. Welch, M. M. Pinson, H. C. Ball, Miss Luce, Brother Lopez, and A. P. Collins spoke at the Texas District Council following the revival.⁵⁵¹ Pope, Welch, and Pinson—as a part of the Assemblies of God leadership—clearly saw Hale and the Texas district as important to the General Council with Hale's appointment to the General Presbytery. This Texas District Council meeting was consequential in the shifting of attitudes in the Assemblies of God towards the United States' involvement in World War I.⁵⁵²

At the 1917 General Council, “Bro. E. L. Banta spoke on the importance of our loyalty to the powers that be, since they are ordained of God, and told of some so-called Pentecostal preachers who thought they were doing honor to God by insulting the flag and of the humiliation

⁵⁴⁷ “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Society,” Christian and Missionary Alliance 19th Annual Report from 1915-1916, 121.

⁵⁴⁸ “List of Ministers: 1917,” *Weekly Evangel*, April 14, 1917, 13-6.

⁵⁴⁹ “Notice to the Ministers and Christian Workers in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona,” *Weekly Evangel*, May 19, 1917, 15.

⁵⁵⁰ A. P. Collins, “Texas District Council,” *Weekly Evangel*, May 19, 1917, 15.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid. In 1915, Miss Alice E. Luce affiliated with the Assemblies of God and influenced the Assemblies of God to adopt the indigenous principle of “self-governing, self-supporting, and self-sustaining churches in missions lands” long before it became commonplace in most Protestant denominations. See Darrin J. Rodgers, “Fully Committed: 100 Years of the Assemblies of God,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 34 (2014): 10.

⁵⁵² For the most comprehensive overview of the Assemblies of God's evolving attitudes towards World War I, see Roger Robins, “A Chronology of Peace: Attitudes Toward War and Peace in the Assemblies of God: 1914-1918,” *Pneuma: Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6 (Spring 1984): 3-25.

to them that followed.”⁵⁵³ A. P. Collins, who was present at the spring Texas District Council meeting, said:

We were on Bible grounds in honoring the government and said that the flag stood not only for civil freedom but also for religious liberty. And that at the Texas District Council they had purposed to cancel the credentials of any preacher who spoke against the government. This body also agreed that such radicals do not represent this General Council.⁵⁵⁴

However, the General Council was not solely patriotic, pacifist, or isolationist in sentiment, and the resolutions passed in 1917 and 1918 were reflective of its chameleon makeup.

Roger Robins argued:

The loyalty resolutions passed in 1917 and 1918 are not expressions of patriotism militarism, and although they certainly act to moderate the tone of A.G. pacifism, they do not nullify it. These resolutions could have been affirmed by patriotic pacifists’ patriotic non-pacifists alike. Indeed, the resolutions probably meant very different things to those two groups.⁵⁵⁵

World War I

In 1913, Pentecostals within the Assemblies of God were very familiar with world events and the looming possibility of war.⁵⁵⁶ Bell recorded:

A German war airship with 30 warriors and four guns soaring one Mile High explodes. All are killed and fall from their dizzy height mangled corpses. You feel how terrible that 30 men should be so suddenly killed. Yes. But what they are practicing when the proper time came would have slain their thousands. Earth, air and sea have their armed men. What does it mean? Ah, the great crisis is at hand.⁵⁵⁷

Bell was referring to the October 17, 1913, hydrogen gas explosion at Johannisthal Air Field about ten miles southeast of Berlin.⁵⁵⁸ J. R. Flower saw the fulfillment of prophecy in

⁵⁵³ *Minutes*, 1917, 17-8.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Robins, 23.

⁵⁵⁶ “Take WARning,” *Christian Evangel*, September 5, 1914, 1.

⁵⁵⁷ “The Great Air Crisis Near At Hand,” *Word and Witness*, November, 20, 1913, 1.

⁵⁵⁸ “28 IN BALLOON DIE: ZEPPELIN DIRIGIBLE, ON FINAL TRIAL, PLUNGES TO EARTH,” *The Washington Post*, October 18, 1913, 1.

Daniel 2:41-44 and Revelation 13. In the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, Bell saw that “the Scriptures are being fulfilled and that another Kingdom is about to be set up which is not a kingdom of this world but “the kingdom of the heavens.”⁵⁵⁹ Flower maintained that Pentecostals: “Watching every development of the crisis in Europe with the greatest of interest, with our newspapers in one hand and the Bible in the other, checking off each prophecy as it is being fulfilled, knowing of a surety that the coming of the Lord cannot be long delayed.”⁵⁶⁰ The image of the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other to use the newspaper as a checklist for biblical prophecy is a poignant picture. It speaks to the imminent return of Christ that early Assemblies of God ministers saw in world events, and this doctrinal position pushed them to make decisions, encourage results, and defend orthodoxy.

With the war a reality, Bell and Flower turned immediately to the doctrine of the “Rapture of the Saints.”⁵⁶¹ They charged, “Don’t be too much absorbed in watching the daily papers for war news, but keep looking up with enraptured gaze for the return of thy Lord.”⁵⁶² With the start of World War I, Bell’s and Flower’s response was to lay down a doctrinal statement on the rapture in strict pre-millennialism terms. Flower also anticipated that the United States would soon become entangled in the conflict.

Bell and Flower believed:

The Pentecostal people, as a whole, are uncompromisingly opposed to war, having much the same spirit as the early Quakers, who would rather be shot themselves than that they should shed the blood of their fellow-men. Because we have given [in a previous article] this bit of war news is no reason that we are in favor of war, but rather that our readers may have some knowledge of how the war is actually affecting our own people, who through forces of circumstances are compelled to be in the midst of the terrible conflict. Indeed, some have already urged us to arrange for a great peace council among the

⁵⁵⁹ J. R. Flower, “Rumors of War,” *Christian Evangel*, August 8, 1914, 2.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶¹ “War! War! War!” and “Eight declarations of war being made in nine days,” *Christian Evangel*, August 15, 1914, 1.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

Pentecostal saints, to put ourselves on record as being opposed to war at home and abroad. We are told that many German brethren, when commanded to take up arms, have refused to do so and have suffered martyrdom as a consequence. Others, because they have been compelled to do so, have gone with the armies, not knowing how to do otherwise, but praying that God will save them from taking the life of any man.⁵⁶³

After this statement, the *Weekly Evangel* highlighted the book *Blood Against Blood* by Arthur Booth-Clibborn, “an English Pentecostal brother who has been the means of a glorious ministry in Germany before the opening of the war.”⁵⁶⁴ The book was in “complete opposition and protest against war and the shedding of blood.”⁵⁶⁵ However, this statement does not explain the significance of the full report of A. A. Boddy which was the cover page on the same issue of the *Weekly Evangel*. Flower cited Boddy’s report in the May 1915 issue of *Confidence* announcing Boddy’s plans “to cross the Channel to give honorary assistance to the Chaplain of the Expeditionary Forces.”⁵⁶⁶ Boddy had found the soldiers “responsive and open to the Gospel message.”⁵⁶⁷ While Pentecostals were against war philosophically, they saw war as opening the doors wide for sharing the Gospel especially with soldiers. Andrew Urshan, a frequent figure in Boddy’s *Confidence*, reported on the same page, “We are right in the midst of war” in Persia.⁵⁶⁸

In September 1915, Stanley Frodsham, quoting from Galatians 1:4, Colossians 1:13, and Galatians 6:14, advocated that the Assemblies of God remain neutral in their attitude towards the war in Europe. Frodsham believed that the Scriptures maintained strict loyalty to Jesus over country. Frodsham argued three principal points: 1) “Strict neutrality” was needed in the war in Europe; 2) “The things that pertain to earth should forever lose their hold even that natural love

⁵⁶³ “Pentecostal Saints Opposed to War,” *Weekly Evangel*, June 19, 1915, 1.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ Flower, “A. A. Boddy goes to the Front,” *Christian Evangel*, June 19, 1915, 1.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

for the nation where one happened to be born;” and 3) “National pride, like every other form of pride, is abomination in the sight of God.”⁵⁶⁹

Eternal concerns were the Assemblies of God’s primary focus before the United States entered World War I. While some missionaries continued in the mission field, World War I’s largest unintended consequence was driving ministers and missionaries back to the United States to seek safer haven. Those who moved to the United States—such as the Garrs, Stanley Frodsham, Smith Wigglesworth, Andrew Fraser, Andrew Urshan, and others—defended the orthodox Trinitarian position within the Assemblies of God represented by the Welch and Flower faction, overwhelming the Churches of God in Christ voices, many of whom had moved to the “Jesus only” position. Once the United States became involved in World War I, the Assemblies of God focused on evangelizing and ministering to soldiers. At the 1917 General Council, T. K. Leonard spoke on the power of prayer and the importance of our “‘weeping with those who weep’ in the days of sorrow when mothers’ boys are going to the great world war.”⁵⁷⁰ Work “among the soldier boys” was of prominent concern for many who remained in the Assemblies of God after 1916.⁵⁷¹

Raymond Richey, who outside of Aimee Semple McPherson experienced “the strongest national support,” reported:

We wish to report victory among our soldier boys. On Friday night, I believe was one of the sweetest meetings we have had, and over a hundred soldiers came up to the front and knelt down, praying and asking God for Jesus’ sake to forgive, save and keep. Then on Saturday night we had an old-time testimony meeting, and oh it was touching to hear them tell how they had found Jesus! One Catholic boy got up and told how the night before was the first Protestant meeting he had ever been in and that God had saved his

⁵⁶⁹ Stanley H. Frodsham, “Our Heavenly Citizenship,” *Christian Evangel*, September 11, 1915, 3 as well as *Word and Witness*, October 1915, 3.

⁵⁷⁰ *Minutes*, 1917, 17.

⁵⁷¹ Raymond T. Richey, “Among the Soldier Boys,” *Weekly Evangel*, March 30, 1918, 15.

soul. Dear ones, God is working, do not lose faith, hold on, for eternity will only tell what your prayers mean for thousands of boys in these camps. Keep praying.⁵⁷²

Richey had founded the “United Prayer and Workers’ League, a voluntary association to distribute literature to service members and coordinate their activities.”⁵⁷³ The effectiveness of Richey’s work to the soldiers was widespread and well-known. A. W. Frodsham reported to the readers of *Confidence*:

There is a good work being started amongst the soldiers in the camp at Houston, Texas, by a Pentecostal brother. I may go and help him, if the Lord leads. Last week 25,000 new recruits for the army left this city for training camps. Uncle Sam means business regarding the preparations for war. He is in it, as he says, “with both feet.” May it soon all be over. Meantime we need to pray for the boys in the front as never before.⁵⁷⁴

Stanley Frodsham also wrote: There is quite an encouraging work amongst the American soldier boys in training in the Texas Camps. Hundreds have been saved, and in one camp the officers have put up a special tent for the Christian boys to have a meeting in every night.⁵⁷⁵

Richey was appointed to the “Committee on Resolutions” to present resolutions for the General Council to consider in 1917 alongside E. N. Bell and D. W. Kerr. While Bell and Kerr’s primary desire was to see denominational cohesion and doctrinal purity, Richey’s main concern was the evangelization of soldiers.

Later, Wm. Kirkpatrick reported from Galveston, Texas on September 23, 1918:

⁵⁷² Ibid. Raymond Richey was born on September 4, 1893, and his family moved to Dowie’s Zion City “after his father, Eli, claimed healing from cancer.” Richey moved again with his father to Houston, Texas as an assistant to his father at the Gospel Tabernacle. See Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 167.

⁵⁷³ Blumhofer, *Restoring*, 168.

⁵⁷⁴ A. W. Frodsham, “Pentecostal Items,” *Confidence*, April-June 1918, 34. In this same report, A. W. Frodsham reported that he had preached in Chicago at the “Stone Church Sunday morning and at Brother Fraser’s in the afternoon. He has a very fine pile of buildings, and a good congregation; superior class of people. They are buying the Church, etc., for 40,000 dollars. The whole lot with the land is worth 200,000 dollars.”

⁵⁷⁵ S. H. Frodsham, “Pentecostal Items,” *Confidence*, October-December 1918, 70. On this same page, *Confidence* reported, “The Stone Church in Chicago has passed into other hands. It is now a Coloured Baptist Church. The immediate neighbourhood has become largely a coloured people’s locality. The congregation which worshipped at the Stone Church occupies a building which has been known as the Oakland Music Hall, 40th and Cottage Grove Avenue. The pastor is Bro. Hardy W. Mitchell.” Mitchell had affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ and remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God through the 1916 schism.

Raymond Richey is here with me, and the meeting is conducted under the name of The United Prayer and Workers' League organization to meet the pressing need of reaching the soldiers before they embark for overseas. Yesterday we gave out handbills and tracts which were read by the boys. We ask the saints everywhere to hold this work up for every need to be supplied and give wisdom to know just how to conduct these meetings. The United Prayer and Workers' League is arranging for meetings at Little Rock, Camp Pike, Ark., and Fort Sill, Okla. Also a number of other places besides those in progress now. God is specially blessing the thousands of tracts being put out through the League to the soldiers and marines all over the country.⁵⁷⁶

Kirkpatrick was affiliated in 1914 and remained affiliated in 1916. Richey affiliated with the Assemblies of God beginning in April 1914, but he was forced to withdrawal from the Assemblies of God in 1921 because of his marriage to a divorced woman.⁵⁷⁷ Richie was not the only minister within the Assemblies of God to experience trouble over the denomination's stringent divorce stance. Others, like Aimee Semple McPherson, would exit the Assemblies of God—among other reasons—over divorce as well.⁵⁷⁸

1918 General Council

The 1918 General Council was held at Springfield, Missouri from September 4-11, 1918. The 1918 meeting continued the development of denominationalism as well as a defined process of what it meant to be an Assemblies of God minister and elder. With the United States involved in World War I, the Council issued an “EXPRESSION OF LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT” declaring:

Resolved, that the General Council hereby declares its unswerving loyalty to our Government and to its Chief Executive, President Wilson, and that we hereby restate our fixed purpose to assist in every way morally possible, consistent with our faith, in bringing the present “World War” to a successful conclusion.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁶ Wm. F. Kirkpatrick, “Meetings for Soldiers,” *The Pentecostal Herald*, October 1918, 1.

⁵⁷⁷ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 168.

⁵⁷⁸ *Minutes*, April 1914, 8.

⁵⁷⁹ *Minutes*, 1918, 9.

As Kenyon observed, “this expression of necessary allegiance to authority may have had more to do with the Espionage and Sedition Acts than any theological stance.”⁵⁸⁰ The Espionage Bill, passed by Congress on June 15, 1917, was followed a year later by the “even more repressive” Sedition Acts, and the *Evangel* stopped publishing “pacifist views and attacks on participation in wartime serve” because of these Acts.⁵⁸¹ The Acts punished anyone who “willfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces. . . or willfully obstructed the recruiting or enlistment services of the United States.”⁵⁸²

Bell noted:

The draft law exempted those from war service who belong to some well recognized religious body, whose organization was in existence before the time of the passage of said law May 17 last, and whose creed or principles forbade its members to engage in war in any form. The Pentecostal principles held by the Assemblies of God have always been against our killing any one, but they have not forbade non-combatant service. If you belong to one of our assemblies which formally organized before the passage of said law, or if you are a member of the General Council or of any other church which stands as we do, then you may apply to your local draft board, not for complete exemption, but to be assigned to some service where you are not called on to kill men.⁵⁸³

The 1918 General Council also reaffirmed and “most heartily reasserted our position on all the Fundamentals.”⁵⁸⁴ The section on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit was further refined to read:

⁵⁸⁰ Kenyon, 255.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸² H. C. Peterson and Gilbert Fite, *Opponents of War 1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 17.

⁵⁸³ The draft law had the impact of preventing the newly formed “General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies” that Opperman, Floyd, and other Oneness proponents from the Assemblies of God, since the newly formed body could not get a minister’s exemption for military service. Bell, “Questions and Answers,” *Weekly Evangel*, November 24, 1917, 8. Kenyon further observed: “The 4 August *Evangel* took pains to note that the pacifist declaration was not a quick decision of conviction on the executives’ part. ‘The principles of the General Council were in opposition to war from its very beginning which was considerably prior to May 18th, 1917.’” See Kenyon, 265 and “Conscription Law,” *Weekly Evangel*, August 4, 1917, 7. Though this may have been stated to ensure the validity of the decision, the assertion is correct.

⁵⁸⁴ *Minutes*, 1918, 10.

The full consummation of the baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost is indicated by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance, Acts 2:4. This wonderful experience is distinct from and subsequent to the experience of the new birth, Acts 10:44-46; 11:14-16; 15:7-9. The speaking in tongues in this instance is the same in essence as the gift of tongues, I Cor. 12:4-10, 28. but different in purpose and use.⁵⁸⁵

Brothers R. A. Brown, Joseph Tunmore, J. T. Boddy, D. W. Kerr, T. K. Leonard, W. H. Pope, J. Rosselli, F. F. Bosworth, W. T. Gaston and many others had taken part in an “animated discussion on the importance of a united stand in the ministry on the truth that the full consummation of the baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost is invariably accompanied with the initial, physical sign of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God gives utterance (Acts 2:4).”⁵⁸⁶ Although Bosworth had already resigned his credentials, he spoke in an attempt to change the Assemblies of God’s uncompromising position. The General Council passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Council considers it a serious disagreement with the Fundamentals for any minister among us to teach contrary to our distinctive testimony that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is regularly accompanied by the initial physical sign of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God gives the utterance, and that we consider it inconsistent and unscriptural for any minister to hold credentials with us who thus attacks as error our distinctive testimony.⁵⁸⁷

This resolution solidified F. F. Bosworth’s resignation from the Assemblies of God. While Bosworth resigned, his close associates Jamieson, Birdsall, and Sisson remained a part of the movement. In October 1918, Brother Seeley D. Kinne wrote an “Open Letter to Elder F. F. Bosworth” in the *Pentecostal Herald* challenging Bosworth’s rejection of the uniform initial physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.⁵⁸⁸ Kinne had affiliated with the Churches of

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Although the *Pentecostal Herald’s* editor, Geo. C. Brinkman did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God, the publication’s associate editors—T. K. Leonard and James A. Bell—had affiliated. Seven of the nine contributing editors affiliated (Fred Lohmann, C. W. Pelton, Andrew Urshan, John C. Sinclair, Wm. E. Moody, Mrs.

God in Christ in 1913 when he was in Bloomington, Illinois. While Kinne did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God, he was a strong part of the Pentecostal Movement.⁵⁸⁹ Kinne had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street in 1907, and he moved to St. Louis, Missouri to share the Pentecostal Message.⁵⁹⁰

The Executive Presbytery was reduced from seven to five members, and J. W. Welch, S. H. Frodsham, E. N. Bell, J. T Boddy, and S. A. Jamieson continued to serve, as their terms were not expired.⁵⁹¹ Welch, the chairman, appointed an “Ordination Committee for the purpose of examining candidates for the ministry” consisting of S. A. Jamieson, J. R. Flower, and J. R. Buckley.⁵⁹² The Executive Presbytery continued to function as a credentialing committee and was charged with dealing with “cases of serious unscriptural teaching, of ministerial discourtesy or other conduct unbecoming to a Minister of the Gospel” to safeguard “Assemblies from unsafe teachers and preachers.”⁵⁹³ The General Council outlined the process:

Such accused persons shall be later granted a fair and impartial trail, if desired by a council of ministers under the direction of a District Council or before the Executive

Ettie Reckley, and Hardy Mitchell) while two did not (J. H. Wilson and Andrew Jensen). Twelve of the twenty-one listed field representatives had affiliated with the Assemblies of God as well. See “Masthead,” *Pentecostal Herald*, October 1918, 2. The *Pentecostal Herald* was also strongly Trinitarian.

⁵⁸⁹ Kinne’s letter to Maria Woodworth-Etter was also published in Etter’s *Signs and Wonders*. See Maria Woodworth-Etter, *Signs and Wonders* (Indianapolis: M. B. Woodworth-Etter, 1916), 166.

⁵⁹⁰ Wayne Warner, “The St. Louis Era,” *Assemblies of God Heritage* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1981): 1-2. In June 28-July 9, 1911, Kinne was a featured “worker” alongside R. E. Erdman of Buffalo, N.Y. and Dr. F. E. Yoakum of Los Angeles, California at a “Pentecostal Campmeeting” at Jordan, Ontario, Canada. The meeting announced “cheap rates in Canada over July 1st, and in the United States over July 4th. Jordan Station is only seventeen miles from Niagara Falls on the Grand Trunk Railroad. For information regarding accommodations, tents, etc., write Pastor George A. Chambers, Vineland, Ontario.” See “Campmeetings,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, May 1911, 12. Chambers had affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1914 but was not listed on the ministerial rolls after 1914. Erdman ministered alongside A. A. Boddy, Bro. R. Greer, and A. L. Fraser at Foxchase in July 1914 as previously discussed. See *Confidence*, August 1914, 146. On December 7, 1913, R. E. Erdman had ordained Ellsworth S. Thomas of Binghamton, New York, who was the first ordained African American minister in the Assemblies of God. See *Minutes*, 1915, 16 and “Ministerial File: Ellsworth S. Thomas,” Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. Robert Brown of Glad Tidings endorsed Ellsworth’s application. Brown, Boddy, Erdman, and Yoakum’s relationship was significant in this important moment in Assemblies of God history.

⁵⁹¹ *Minutes*, 1918, 5.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 11-2.

Presbytery, or by a Council of ministers chosen by the Executive Presbytery, and that a final disposition of the case shall be made as these direct after such scriptural trial.⁵⁹⁴

Welch received a brief challenger when D. W. Kerr of Cleveland, Ohio was nominated alongside him for the position of chairman. However, it was short-lived as “Brother Kerr’s name was withdrawn when it was understood that the retiring Chairman was willing to serve a further term if the brethren so wished it.”⁵⁹⁵ Welch was re-elected by “acclamation as Chairman and received a great ovation as he entered into his office for the fourth term in succession.”⁵⁹⁶ John Coxe was nominated for office of Secretary and Missionary Treasurer; however, Coxe withdrew after Frodsham was nominated, and Frodsham was re-elected by acclamation.

The Executive Presbytery had already set in motion the move of the headquarters and printing operations of the Assemblies of God from St. Louis, Missouri to Springfield, Missouri, and the General Council confirmed the decision.⁵⁹⁷ To promote financial stability and prevent the General Council headquarters and office from being conducted in Welch’s home again, the Council passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That every minister in the fellowship be requested to contribute from his tithes or as an offering, or through his influence, the sum of one dollar per month. And further, looking towards the increased efficiency of the General Council throughout the entire field, all who can contribute more, personally or through their assemblies, than the suggested amount, are hereby strongly urged to do so. If practicable, let each assembly take one offering each year for the upkeep of the General Council office.⁵⁹⁸

1919 General Council

The 1919 General Council was held at Stone Church in Chicago from September 25-30, 1919. The Council further strengthened the Presbytery, appointed an ordination committee,

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 11-2.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 3, 6.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 7.

streamlined ordination processes, and changed the name of the *Christian Evangel* to the *Pentecostal Evangel*. The work of the presbytery that had been outlined in the November 1914 General Council Meeting at Stone Church was reinforced. The work of creating the denomination was complete. Some held that the fellowship was still a free movement, but the denominational structure was now in place. As case and point, the General Council passed a resolution to “discourage these promiscuous and independent [missionary] itineraries, and that we recommend co-operation with the Missionary Department in *systematic* itineraries through the District Councils where such exist, otherwise through various representative men on the field.”⁵⁹⁹

The loss of ministers due to the schism was entirely recovered with 831 ordained ministers and 195 missionaries on the ministerial roll.⁶⁰⁰ “The Chairman [Welch] said that he recognized in the Council there was an intensified and ever increasing true sentiment of fellowship.”⁶⁰¹ Welch was “unanimously reelected to the Chairmanship of the General Council.”⁶⁰² On his election, “the whole Council arose and sang, ‘Bless him Lord, and make him a blessing.’”⁶⁰³ Bell reported a \$6,000 increase of business for the Gospel Publishing House, which meant two years in a row of \$6,000 increases, bringing the “gross sum [to] \$30,373.00.”⁶⁰⁴

The Executive Presbytery was once again expanded from five to seven members to once again “shun any aspect of centralization.”⁶⁰⁵ The Chairman, Welch, and Secretary, Bell, of the Executive Presbytery would constitute a Credential Committee. To maintain “a high standard of

⁵⁹⁹ *Minutes*, 1919, 13.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. Welch reported “A Cash balance of \$261.12 with total receipts \$3,151.69. \$680.94 had come in for credentials and the renewal of certificates.” The suggested \$1 for renewal apparently was negotiable.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

efficiency in the ministry,” the General Council charged Chairman Welch with appointing a committee tasked to “prepare a manual, outlining a common standard of requirement of the ministry for the guidance of various District Councils and ordaining committees, and that cooperation be consistently maintained between various District Councils and Ordaining Committees in these matters.”⁶⁰⁶

The 1919 General council concluded with an ordination service. S. A. Jamieson oversaw the service and ordained one man, “Bro. Watt Walker, of Macomb, Mo,” and three women—“Sister Catherine S. Gross, of Chicago, Ill., Sister Wilhelmina Lindsay, of Chicago, Ill., and Sister J. R. Kline, of Detroit, Michigan.”⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 18-9.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 25.

Chapter 4: Women's Role in Ministry

Grant Wacker noted a “quiet but significant development” at the 1918 General Council.⁶⁰⁸ In addition to pastors, evangelists, missionaries, and home missionaries, a new category of ministers was added—assistant pastors. Wacker observed, “Half of the assistant pastors named were women (twelve of twenty-four), yet all served churches with their husbands, who were listed as pastors.”⁶⁰⁹ This “quiet but significant development” was a reintroduction of a practice that many within the Churches of God in Christ as well as the Flower faction were already accustomed. Blumhofer observed correctly that 361 ministers were listed in the Churches of God in Christ 1913 ministerial list, “at least 84 of whom were women.”⁶¹⁰ What Blumhofer and Wacker failed to clearly observe is that forty-six of the eighty-four women listed in the Churches of God in Christ ministerial list were ordained alongside their husbands. This 1913 list did not relegate women to the position of “assistant pastors,” instead, the list of “ordained elders, pastors, ministers, evangelists, and missionaries” was prepared by the “Clergy Reference Committee, Howard A. Goss, E. N. Bell, D. C. O. Opperman, and A. P. Collins, elected by Annual Convention at Meridian Mississippi, June, 1913.”⁶¹¹

Wacker also observed the “opposite phenomenon: many of the most widely respected women leaders, especially on the mission field, never married at all, including Minnie Abrams, Susan C. Easton, Alice Belle Garrigus, Alice Luce, Elizabeth Sisson, Lillian Trasher, and Lilian B. Yeomans.”⁶¹² This apt observation reflects the situation in the Churches of God in Christ in 1913 as well as the early history of the Assemblies of God. Thirty-eight of the eighty-four

⁶⁰⁸ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 166.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 134.

⁶¹¹ “Churches of God in Christ Ministerial List,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 4.

⁶¹² Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 175.

women in the Churches of God in Christ list did not share the surname of anyone else on the list. Yet the cases are plentiful for husband-and-wife teams in the Churches of God in Christ and in the Assemblies of God enjoying the most successful and long-lasting ministry partnerships including the Flowers, the Garrs, the Kerrs, the Lawrences, the Montgomerys, the Browns, and more.

Boddy reported:

Carrie Judd Montgomery, the honoured Editress of “Triumphs of Faith,” is well known in religious circles back in U.S.A. Her magazine has not hitherto advocated the Pentecostal Work (viz.— “Pentecost with Signs”). American friends and others are deeply moved by reading that she received a mighty Baptism of the Holy Spirit recently, and spoke in Tongues for two hours. She refers to it in the last number of “Triumphs of Faith.”⁶¹³

In 1908, Boddy reported that Montgomery had “received her Baptism” at Pastor Durham’s Chicago church.⁶¹⁴ On January 11, 1914, M. M. Pinson, one of the original five Churches of God in Christ members who called for the April 1914 Assemblies of God meeting, ordained Carrie Judd Montgomery.⁶¹⁵ The Churches of God in Christ Clergy Reference Committee approved of her ordination.

At the 1914 Hot Springs Meeting, while the General Council restricted voting privileges to men, it did “recognize [women’s] God-given rights to be ordained, not as Elders, but as Evangelists and Missionaries, after being duly approved according to the Scriptures.”⁶¹⁶ The General Council outlined four key points pertaining to women:

- 1) In Christ, that is in the matter of salvation, the lines of sex are blotted out. Gal. 3:28.
- 2) Women are commanded to be in subjection and not to usurp authority over the man. I Tim. 2:11-15.

⁶¹³ “An American Editress,” *Confidence*, August 15, 1908, 14.

⁶¹⁴ “Good News from Chicago,” *Confidence*, August 15, 1908, 10. Although there is some evidence Montgomery visited Azusa Street. See Jonathan Richard Baer, “Perfectly Empowered Bodies: Divine Healing in Modernizing America,” (Order No. 3046120, Yale University, 2002), 104-5.

⁶¹⁵ “Questions and Answers” in Kenyon, 193. Montgomery remained active in ministry within the Assemblies of God until 1943.

⁶¹⁶ *Minutes*, April 1914, 7.

- 3) They are called to prophesy and preach the Gospel. Acts 2:17. “He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, to exhortation and to comfort.” I Cor. 14:3
 4) To be helpers in the Gospel. Rom. 16:3⁶¹⁷

Blumhofer failed to provide a complete assessment of Bell’s attitude towards women at this time. Bell wrote in the *Christian Evangel* and the *Word and Witness*: “We have been asked if it is scriptural to ordain women as elders in authority over men and assemblies. It is with much love that we try to give a few words in answer.”⁶¹⁸ Bell wrote that women were prone to be “busybodies” and that “only women of strong character and settled habits” could “open up their own stations with God’s blessing.”⁶¹⁹ Bell concluded that there was “no scriptural precept or example for... Independent leadership by women.”⁶²⁰ Bell considered that God had made males “better adapted to rule and govern assemblies,” and that God had wanted “to take these heavy responsibilities off [women’s] shoulders.”⁶²¹ This was all that Blumhofer wrote on Bell’s attitude towards women. However, Blumhofer failed to cite that Bell acknowledged that there was “much scripture on both sides.” For Bell, there were two sides to the issue of women in leadership: 1) silence them or 2) give them every office, position, and place of authority as men. Bell wrote, “We shall not contend with either side over this matter. God does not want His children to get into a contentious spirit over anything. In cases where there is much scripture on both sides of a matter.”⁶²² Bell concluded that God can use women to preach to an assembly, “But this does not require her ordination as an elder in order to do this. We should not push her out of the God-given place which God has ordained for her, into an office which God has

⁶¹⁷ *Minutes*, April 1914, 7. For the most complete summary of women in ministry in the early years of the Assemblies of God, see Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 166-7. Wacker provides a succinct analysis from the *Minutes* of the General Council from 1914-1920.

⁶¹⁸ Bell, “On Women,” *Christian Evangel*, Findlay: Gospel Publishing House, August 15, 1914, 2.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

⁶²² *Ibid.*

nowhere given to women.”⁶²³ Bell did not want to “push them [women] out of their scriptural place into places of our own choosing.”⁶²⁴

The second General Council at the Stone Church in November 1914 passed the following resolution:

Resolved, that the sisters visiting this General Council who are mature believers and are in co-operative fellowship with our testimony, be received as advisory members of the Council, and that we recommend to all other deliberative bodies in the movement that they extend like courtesies to sisters of like qualifications in their midst.⁶²⁵

In an article entitled, “Women Welcome,” Bell defended the newly formed Assemblies of God’s stance on women in ministry, writing:

We know of no Movement where women of ability and filled with the Holy Ghost, have been more highly honored or given much more freedom than among us. She is given the right to be ordained, to preach, witness, give advice, act as evangelist, missionary. Etc. The only thing not thrown unscripturally upon her weak shoulders is the making of her a Ruling Elder.⁶²⁶

In early 1916, in his popular “questions and answers” column, Bell answered the question, “What right has a woman to pastor an assembly?”⁶²⁷ Bell answered:

None, so far as her female rights in themselves are concerned, and none, so far as any New Testament command or example goes. But she may exercise such privilege in the Gospel when this is granted her by the Lord or by the assembly itself. It is not our custom to exclude any mature capable sister from any service to which God may call her in His sovereignty or as a special need may demand and in which service He sets His seal by giving her souls, and if she is able to build up the assembly in the Lord and in peace, many brethren hold she is “not usurping authority.” If this privilege is granted her as temporary needs may require by those in rightful authority. At any rate, in practice our sisters, capable of such service among us, are granted a most blessed freedom to exercise all such gifts as God may bestow upon them, and our people refuse to quarrel over it one way or the other.⁶²⁸

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ *Minutes*, November 1914, 9.

⁶²⁶ Bell, “Women Welcome,” *Christian Evangel*, February 13, 1915, 2.

⁶²⁷ Bell, “Questions and Answers,” *The Weekly Evangel*, January 29 and February 5, 1916, 8.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

Part of the reason that Bell and others in leadership refused to quarrel too much on women's roles in ministry is because of the pivotal role that women in ministry played in the formation of the Assemblies of God. At the 1916 General Council, Sister Radford of India, Phoebe Holmes, and Miss Mattie Ledbetter of China were the first women delegates to be recorded as addressing the General Council where "the most intense interest was manifest all through the service which was signally blessed of God."⁶²⁹

Elizabeth Sisson

A breakthrough moment came at the 1917 General Council, when Elizabeth Sisson delivered the opening address at Welch's Bethel Chapel "on the building of the body of Christ."⁶³⁰ Sisson was from Connecticut and visited Boddy in Sunderland in 1908. She was well received in many Pentecostal Circles and was published in *Confidence* and *Latter Rain Evangel*.⁶³¹

Sisson frequently updated the readers of *Confidence* with reports from the United States. Sisson wrote on April 28, 1914, that S. A. Jamieson had prayed for a man born blind and had been healed. The letter was signed by witnesses "Pastor F. F. Bosworth, Rev. S. A. Jamieson, Evangelist E. G. Birdsall, and Evangelist Elizabeth Sisson."⁶³² All of these "witnesses" remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God through the 1916 schism, and all but Sisson had been previously affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ.

The strength of the connection between Sisson, Boddy, and Bosworth is further apparent with Sisson's frequent reports:

⁶²⁹ *Minutes*, 1916, 9.

⁶³⁰ *Minutes*, 1917, 5. "The General Council has never been opened and rarely addressed by a woman since then." See Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 166.

⁶³¹ See Elizabeth Sisson, "Two resurrections," *Confidence*, January 1913, 12. This was republished from *Latter Rain Evangel*.

⁶³² Sisson, "A Man Born Blind Now Begins to See," *Confidence*, June 1914, 109-10.

Miss Sisson writes: I send you this for “Confidence,” which God bless more and more. You will yet record greater triumphs of grace than any of us have ever seen. Doctors...believe in prayer, but they believe very strongly that medical skill should be sought, and then prayer will be helpful. Some of us would think it strange if James v. 14, 15 read, “Is any sick among you? Let him send for the doctors, and also for the elders of the Church; and the medical treatment aided by prayer shall save the sick.”⁶³³

In April 1915, Sisson reported that she and F. F. Bosworth were still in ministry in Dallas and that “the spirit of prayer in Dallas is greater and deeper than ever before.”⁶³⁴ After Sisson spoke at the 1917 General Council she continued to remain a force within the Assemblies of God. In 1920, in Akron, Ohio, Elizabeth Sisson would be a special speaker at the Annual Missionary Convention of the Pentecostal Church of Akron, Ohio from October 27-31, 1920, alongside Jack Saunders of Los Angeles and Pastor T. K. Leonard of Findlay, Ohio.⁶³⁵

At the 1919 General Council, Chairman Welch explained who held the voting privilege:

The Chairman explained that the privilege of voting belonged to all male ministers who held credentials and were in good standing, together with delegates of assemblies associated with the Council, who have a right to vote. All others, including women, who were accepted by the Roster Committee [of J. R. Evans, R. A. Brown, and David McDowell], would have the privileges of the floor.⁶³⁶

The 1919 General Council accepted Welch’s statement, but the ratification of the 19th Amendment of the Constitution a year later paved the way for women to vote in the Assemblies of God’s General Council as well.

Aimee Semple McPherson and the Assemblies of God

William Durham oversaw the ordination of Aimee Simple McPherson on January 2, 1909 at the Full Gospel Assembly in Chicago. Durham maintained that the local church was “the only

⁶³³ Sisson, “A Man Born Blind Now Begins to See,” *Confidence*, June 1914, 109-10.

⁶³⁴ *Confidence*, April 1915, 69, 71.

⁶³⁵ “Announcements,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 6.

⁶³⁶ *Minutes*, 1919, 7.

place God ever provided for the training of His people for the work of the ministry.”⁶³⁷ For Durham, “faith” and Bible schools were not “according to Scripture” and they were not “in the plan of God as outlined in the New Testament.”⁶³⁸ Whereas the Churches of God in Christ group preferred short-term itinerant schools, the Flower and Welch faction along with Kerr looked to develop full-fledged universities.⁶³⁹

Aimee Semple McPherson’s first husband, Robert Semple, contracted “Eastern Fever” and died in the mission field in China on August 19, 1910. Aimee returned “to this country a widow and a mother.”⁶⁴⁰ McPherson was ordained as a General Council minister on September 4, 1917, and she was listed on the 1917 ministerial roster.⁶⁴¹ While announcements for revival services led by McPherson were frequently in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, her first full article was on November 1, 1919, entitled: “What is the Evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost?”⁶⁴²

As Blumhofer observed,

Convinced that the Assemblies of God, the most national and aggressive of the first American Pentecostal denominations guarded and defined the meaning of Azusa Street in ways that utterly transformed it, she persisted in acting on both her conviction that Pentecostal teaching was simply one part of a full apprehension of Bible Christianity and her certainty that Pentecostal experience belonged to every Christian regardless of denominational affiliation.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁷ William Durham, “Bible Schools and Training Homes,” *Gospel Witness* (ca. 1913): 5.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁹ See D. W. Kerr, “Opening of the Central Bible Institute,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, September 30, 1922, 4.

⁶⁴⁰ See “Sister McPherson’s Life Story,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 4. William G. McLoughlin, “Aimee Semple McPherson: ‘Your Sister in the King’s Glad Service,’” *The Journal of Popular Culture*. I, no. 3 (1967): 199. McLoughlin found that Aimee may have contributed to Robert’s death when she “served her husband fresh uncooked vegetables.” She was not aware that the Chinese used “quite unmentionable” methods to fertilize their gardens. Being only nineteen years old, this proved tragic for her.

⁶⁴¹ Aimee Semple McPherson, ministerial record, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Springfield, Missouri.

⁶⁴² While announcements for revival services led by McPherson were frequently in the *Pentecostal Evangel*. This article was her first complete article after she had been licensed as an evangelist with the Assemblies of God.

⁶⁴³ Blumhofer, “That Old-time Religion,” 224.

Wacker observed, “One [of McPherson’s] evangelistic tours stretching from 1919 to 1922 purportedly drew more attenders than any road show or whistle stop circuit in American history, including those by P. T. Barnum, Harry Houdini, or Teddy Roosevelt.”⁶⁴⁴ McLoughlin found that “between 1918 and 1923, McPherson traveled eight times, conducting almost forty large revival meetings in many of the largest cities of both countries.”⁶⁴⁵

McPherson “brought us the opening message” of the 1920 General Council, and “as she told us what was necessary for the preparation of the bride of Christ, the Lord gave us one of the richest treats we have ever had in our lives” in the “great Convention Hall, seating about 2,500.”⁶⁴⁶ McPherson spoke on Sunday night also on “The Second Coming of Christ: Is He coming? If so, how? When? For whom?”⁶⁴⁷ After this sermon, many sinners raised their hands for prayer, as the evening services of the Council was focused on evangelism and reaching the lost. Frodsham recorded:

It was real food for hungry saints, and many of the delegates who had travelled three and four days to get to the Conference would have been well repaid if they had not heard another word beyond this opening message. “What did you think of the sermon?” we asked one brother. “That was not a sermon,” he replied, “That was a dozen sermons all in one.”⁶⁴⁸

Chairman Welch opened the business meeting of the General Council on September 21 at 3:00pm with an address on the “true baptism of the Holy Ghost.”⁶⁴⁹ That night, after McPherson spoke on Joel 1:4 and Joel 2:25, she remembered, “I have never felt more of the power of the Holy Spirit,” and “a large number sought salvation and the baptism of the Holy Ghost that

⁶⁴⁴ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 145. *Christian Evangel*, Findlay, Gospel Publishing House, September 20, 1919.

⁶⁴⁵ McLoughlin “Aimee Semple McPherson,” 203.

⁶⁴⁶ “The Recent Great Convocation in Springfield, Mo.,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 1.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

night.”⁶⁵⁰ According to one report, “Chairman J. W. Welch disapproved of Aimee McPherson speaking to the denomination’s 1920 convention because he disliked the idea of a woman preaching.”⁶⁵¹ When officers were elected, Welch took the role of Secretary of the General Council, and Bell stepped into the role of Chairman.⁶⁵²

At the closing session of the 1920 General Council on Monday, September 27, 1920, Chairman Bell’s first act was to grant women voting privileges within the General Council just a month after the nineteenth amendment was ratified in the U.S. Constitution:

Whereas there is a strong sentiment among us in favor of granting our women a larger share of responsibility and privilege in our work, be it resolved that all restrictions upon the privileges of women on the general counsel floor be removed from the Minutes and records of the Council, and that they be given equal privileges with the brethren. And voting upon all questions that the Council meetings, as well as in speaking. Carried.⁶⁵³

In January 1921, the *Pentecostal Evangel* included a full-page report from McPherson on her meetings in Philadelphia with the Methodists. McPherson reported:

On Saturday night 350 or 400 men of the finest Christian standing, including clergymen of Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal, as well as M. E. of the city and vicinity, met to seek and receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4.... We wanted you to be the first to know of this lest any enemy tongue or pen should endeavor to place a misconception upon this matter. The fact is we preached Pentecost more emphatically and laid much more stress upon “tongues” than in other campaigns. Pray for us, and write often with encouragement and advice, and be assured that I am ever loyal and true, to the heavenly vision. With the Seasons’ greetings, Your little sister,
--Aimee Simple McPherson.⁶⁵⁴

McPherson was subsequently licensed to preach by the Methodist which led to some upheaval within the Assemblies of God. Bell was asked, “1041. Has not Mrs. McPherson joined

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁵¹ Stanley Frodsham to Robert C. Cunningham, July 20, 1963, 4.

⁶⁵² *Minutes*, 1920, 48. Flower was elected Missionary Secretary-Treasurer, and Frodsham continued in his role as Executive Presbyter and Editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel*.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 40. The passage of this resolution was not included in Frodsham’s six-page report in the *Pentecostal Evangel*.

⁶⁵⁴ Aimee Simple McPherson, “Methodist and Pentecost,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, January 8, 1921, 1, 3.

the Methodist church and thereby become a denominational preacher, instead of a free Pentecostal evangelist?" Bell responded:

One might get the Impression you have from the report by her that license to preach and a membership certificate were presented to her by the Methodists; but Mrs. McPherson told me personally in Los Angeles last February that she only accepted the license to preach in Methodist churches, add that she did not accept the membership certificate. That she thanked them, but told them she preferred to be free and undenominational in her work.⁶⁵⁵

By June 1922, Bell reported that McPherson "voluntarily and without request sent in her Fellowship Certificate."⁶⁵⁶ McPherson was emphatic that she was an ordained Baptist minister, but even that was in dispute with the Baptists according to the article. McPherson no longer saw a cooperative pathway with being credentialed with the Assemblies. This short-lived cooperation lasted between September 1919 and 1922.

McPherson was asked about her affiliation with the Assemblies of God and gave the following statement to the *Wichita Eagle*:

No, I am not a member of that sect. I know some of the Assembly of God people, and they are fine people. I know some of the people of all faiths, and they are also fine; but I am not one of the cult, and have nothing whatever to do with publishing *The Evangel*. I publish *The Bridal Call*, an undenominational magazine. I have done everything in my power to curb the apparent wildness of the Pentecostal believers.⁶⁵⁷

Apparently, McPherson believed that the Assemblies of God was no longer a free undenominational movement. In 1922, McPherson resigned her credentials within the Assemblies of God. Kenyon cited a letter from McPherson to Bell, January 5, 1922, that alluded to a disagreement with the General Council over the propriety of her building a headquarters in Los Angeles with funds from her national campaigns. Kenyon stated, "No doctrinal differences

⁶⁵⁵ E.N. Bell, "Questions and Answers," *Pentecostal Evangel*, June 25, 1921.

⁶⁵⁶ The General Council Office, "Is Mrs. McPherson Pentecostal?" *Pentecostal Evangel*, June 10, 1922, 9.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

were at issue, nor was her ministry as a woman.” However, Ernest Williams later wrote to J. R. Flower over concerns of “some things that had taken place in the life of the little woman.”⁶⁵⁸ At issue was the construction of Angeles Temple, but also the Assemblies of God accused her of abandoning a missionary family in Africa.

On September 22, 1920, the second night of the 1920 General Council, McPherson gave her life story, recounting how “she married again” after her first husband’s death and intended to settle “down to a life of ease,” but, feeling “the call of God” to preach the Gospel, “she started out again.”⁶⁵⁹ In October 1914, Aimee Semple married Harold McPherson, and, for the first few years of their marriage, he accompanied her on her evangelistic journeys.⁶⁶⁰ Eventually, Harold McPherson “chose in the end to let her go her own way.”⁶⁶¹ The central issue that has been overlooked by many historians is McPherson’s divorce from McPherson in late 1921 or early 1922.⁶⁶² From the beginning, the Assemblies of God had advised for ministers “not to ordain to the full Gospel ministry those who have remarried, and are now living in the state of matrimony, while former companions are living (Ezekiel 44:22).”⁶⁶³

The direct exchanges between her publication, the *Bridal Call*, and the *Pentecostal Evangel* give an important historical perspective. McPherson wrote to the *Pentecostal Evangel* announcing her separation from the Assemblies of God in “The Narrow Line or ‘Is Mrs. McPherson Pentecostal?’ No? Yes?” In this article, McPherson said, “So here we are. On the left

⁶⁵⁸ “Ernest S. Williams to J. Roswell Flower, 4 October 1946,” National Association of Evangelicals, Corporate Papers, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center.

⁶⁵⁹ Frodsham, “The Recent Great Convocation in Springfield, Mo.,” 4.

⁶⁶⁰ McLoughlin, “Aimee Semple McPherson,” 199.

⁶⁶¹ Blumhofer, “Old-Time Religion,” 221.

⁶⁶² The actual date of the divorce has been disputed. Because of the lack of definitive evidence of when the divorce took place, many historians including McLoughlin have unfortunately ignored its importance to her relationship with the Assemblies of God.

⁶⁶³ *Minutes*, April 1914, 8.

hand— Formalism. On the right hand— Fanaticism. The Refrigerator or the Wildfire, which will you choose? Thank God...there is a middle-of-the-road experience.”⁶⁶⁴ Although, the Assemblies of God, Methodists, and Baptists had all licensed McPherson to preach, McPherson chose to form her own denomination called the Foursquare Church.

Blumhofer recorded, “On January 1, 1923, McPherson dedicated Angelus Temple, a debt-free 5,500-seat auditorium with an unusual unsupported dome and excellent acoustics,” and she began a revival.⁶⁶⁵ Blumhofer observed McPherson’s suspicions of denominationalism:

“Denominational questions are to be forgotten during this revival,” she instructed an audience in 1922. “We haven’t time for them.” While she admitted her personal distaste for some denominations, she insisted that the need to be “one great army moving forward” took precedence over personal preferences.⁶⁶⁶

After all, McPherson said, “When people built fences, God simply stepped over them. No movement could contain God.”⁶⁶⁷

McPherson had simply followed in the footsteps of Maria Woodworth-Etter. In 1918, immediately after the government lifted the meeting ban due to the Spanish Flu, McPherson met Maria Woodworth-Etter personally in Indianapolis. Wacker observed, “High-profile figures like McPherson and Maria Woodworth-Etter were the exceptions that proved the rule” because of the many “formidable theological and sociological hurdles” for Pentecostal women in ministry.⁶⁶⁸

Randall Balmer wrote:

One of the glorious characteristics of the early days of Pentecostalism was its interracial character and its receptivity to the leadership of women, who approached parity with men. For a brief and liminal moment, Pentecostalism approximated the kind of spiritual egalitarianism that St. Paul had talked about in Galatians 3. As the Pentecostal movement

⁶⁶⁴ Aimee Semple McPherson, “The Narrow Line or ‘Is Mrs. McPherson Pentecostal?’ No? Yes?” *Bridal Call* (October 1922): 10.

⁶⁶⁵ Blumhofer, “Old-Time Religion,” 223-4.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁶⁶⁸ Warner, 285. Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 158. Kenyon observed that, within the Assemblies of God, the actual number of females participating in ministry decreased after the 1920 General Council.

matured, however, and various factions split off into their own denominations, the early promise of spiritual and earthly equality dissipated, first along racial lines and eventually in the diminished number of women in leadership positions, including the professional ministry.⁶⁶⁹

Balmer's observation happened rather quickly in the Assemblies of God. However, Balmer, like many other Pentecostal historians, has failed to fully capture the pivotal role that women played in the development of the early Pentecostal movement.

Catalysts to Formation: Founding Mothers

Kenyon further commented on the "Founding Father Debate" in Pentecostalism:

One of the matters for concern in the subject of the racial origins of the Pentecostal movement is when it was launched. Was Pentecostalism born in Topeka, Kansas, with Charles Parham, a white, serving as midwife? Was it first a black movement in Los Angeles led by a black holiness preacher, William Seymour, which soon attracted whites? Or did it arise from disparate groups around the world with significant contributions from both blacks and whites?⁶⁷⁰

Frank Bartleman described Seymour as "very plain, spiritual, and humble... Brother Seymour generally sat behind two empty shoeboxes, one on top of the other. He usually kept his head inside the top one during the meeting, in prayer. There was no pride there."⁶⁷¹ Seymour had adopted Parham's view of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit when Parham taught in Houston. Vinson Synan observed that Seymour went to Los Angeles on the "invitation to preach in a black Nazarene church in Los Angeles pastored by a woman preacher, a Reverend Mrs. Hutchinson."⁶⁷² William Durham described Seymour like this: "He walks and talks with God. His power is in his weakness. He seems to maintain a helpless dependence on God and is as simple-

⁶⁶⁹ Balmer, *Evangelicalism in America*, 22.

⁶⁷⁰ Kenyon, 62.

⁶⁷¹ Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (South Plainfield: Bridge Publishing Inc., 1980), 41, 58.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, x.

hearted as a little child, and at the same time is so filled with God that you feel the love and power every time you get near him.”⁶⁷³

Kenyon continued:

Several people are prominent as major pioneers in the American Pentecostal movement, though historians have disagreed on their relative significance. William F. Bryant (1896) is suggested by Charles W. Conn (Church of God); Charles Parham (1901) by Klaude Kendrick (AG); and William Seymour and Azusa Street (1906) by Gee (British Assemblies of God), [Stanley] Frodsham (AG), and Vinson Synan (Pentecostal Holiness).⁶⁷⁴

While historians have disagreed on the “Founding Fathers” of Pentecostalism, many have entirely ignored the “Founding Mothers” of the Movement.⁶⁷⁵ After all, Charles Parham was not the first to receive the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence in speaking in tongues at the Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas. That distinction belonged to a young eighteen-year-old woman named Agnes Ozman.⁶⁷⁶ As Barbara Cavaness observed, “Peter’s message from Joel 2:28-29, that ‘sons and daughters’ would prophesy, has since been the anchor for many women in ministry, particularly for those with roots in the holiness movement of the nineteenth century.”⁶⁷⁷

Many historians have also ignored the story of Jennie Moor. Moor, “a bright coloured Christian, and some others who were seeking God in His fulness, found themselves speaking in an unknown tongue, and found also that an interpretation was given them” on “about Good

⁶⁷³ Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 91.

⁶⁷⁴ Kenyon, 62.

⁶⁷⁵ Maria Woodworth-Etter’s most recent biographer, Robert Liardon, called her the “grandmother of the Pentecostal movement.” See Robert Liardon, *Maria Woodworth-Etter* (Shippensburg: Harrison House Publishers, 2000), 12. However, Liardon does not address Etter’s influence on the formation of the Assemblies of God.

⁶⁷⁶ Charles Parham, *The Sermons of Charles F Parham* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 34. McLoughlin believed Aimee Semple McPherson was the “champion” of the new light vision.

⁶⁷⁷ Barbara Cavaness, “God Calling: Women in Assemblies of God Missions,” *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* (Spring 1994): 50–51.

Friday, 1906, or the day before,” at a “Cottage Meeting” in Los Angeles.⁶⁷⁸ Moor, who would eventually marry William Seymour, was “the first sister in Los Angeles to speak in ‘tongues.’”⁶⁷⁹ Robeck found, “On Thursday, April 12, after a long evening spent in prayer, William Seymour finally received his baptism in the Spirit, falling on the floor as though dead and then speaking in tongues.”⁶⁸⁰ Robeck suggested that Moor was baptized in the Holy Spirit in the three days of prayer meetings before Seymour received the baptism in the Holy Spirit.⁶⁸¹

While Bartleman’s writings of the Pentecostal Movement ignored that Jennie Moor had been among the first to receive the Baptism in the Holy Spirit on 1906, Boddy did not ignore the important role that Jennie played.⁶⁸² According to Boddy, on Easter, April 15, 1906, Moor attended “a well-known Methodist Church,” and “when again she came under the power, and so spake that the Minister felt that he must request her to retire.”⁶⁸³ Bartleman’s account parallels Boddy’s, but Boddy gave her name. Bartleman stated in his journals and diaries that were published into book form in *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning*: “I went to Burbank Hall, the New Testament Church Sunday morning, April 15. A colored sister was there and spoke in ‘tongues.’”⁶⁸⁴ Bartleman failed to even mention Jennie’s name in this account or subsequent ones either.⁶⁸⁵ Despite there being “no pope or hierarchy,” many of the

⁶⁷⁸ Boddy, “At Los Angeles,” *Confidence*, October 1912, 232. In 1906, Good Friday was on April 13. This account does not agree with the April 9 date that Bartleman represented as the first outpouring. See F. Bartleman, “With Other Tongues,” *Confidence*, April 1916, 65.

⁶⁷⁹ Boddy, “At Los Angeles,” 232.

⁶⁸⁰ Robeck, 69.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 68-9.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ Boddy, “At Los Angeles,” 233.

⁶⁸⁴ Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came*, 44.

⁶⁸⁵ Bartleman mentioned that he visited Carrie Judd Montgomery when he traveled through Oakland, and when Bartleman was in Hawaii, he stopped at the same missionary home that Dr. Yoakum had previously visited. See Bartleman, *Azusa Fire*, 138-9.

Pentecostal “brethren” simply did not include women in equitable terms nor give women a primary role in the Pentecostal outpourings.⁶⁸⁶

Some however did. In 1912, Boddy was not able to meet with “Brother Seymour” since he “was absent in the eastern states.”⁶⁸⁷ Boddy marveled:

We knelt, three of us, in prayer near the altar, in that place where so many have received blessing. Two coloured friends and a white brother from distant Sunderland praying together in Azusa Street Mission!⁶⁸⁸

Seymour remained the pastor of Azusa Street Mission until he died of a heart attack on September 28, 1922. After his death, Jennie Seymour pastored the Azusa Street Mission until 1929. The role that women like Jennie Moor Seymour played in the Pentecostal movement should not be overlooked or undervalued. Women played a tremendous role in the beginning of the Movement but have often been relegated to the sidelines as denominations developed structure.

Kenyon observed:

The *Christian Evangel*, the *Weekly Evangel*, and the *Word and Witness*—were catalysts in the formation of the Assemblies of God, and the [*Pentecostal*] *Evangel* continued to serve as the official organ of the denomination through the remainder of the twentieth century. The editors of the original publications were, from the beginning, among the most influential leaders in the new Council. Two of the three original editors—E. N. Bell, of the *Word and Witness*, and J. R. Flower, of the *Christian Evangel*—held high office, Bell being the first chair of the General Council and Flower serving as general secretary for many years. The third, Alice Reynolds Flower, while never holding office, was well known and greatly respected. Subsequent editors John W. Welch and Stanley H. Frodsham served respectively as chair and general secretary.⁶⁸⁹

Bell’s statements in the 1919 General Council reflect that sentiment:

Brother Bell pointed out that the *Pentecostal Evangel* lies at the base of all the work of God in the General Council. Without it, the Chairman would be tremendously

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 57.

⁶⁸⁷ Boddy, “At Los Angeles,” *Confidence*, October 1912, 232.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 234. Ewart had said: “[t]he ‘color line’ was washed away in the blood.” See Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came*, 54.

⁶⁸⁹ Kenyon, 32.

handicapped, for this paper is the organ through which he reaches the greater part of his constituency. The same thing could be said of the missionary work. Without the *Evangel* it would be impossible for the Missionary Treasurer [Stanley Frodsham] to keep the missionary enthusiasm at boiling point. It is because of the continual publishing of the needs of the missionaries that he is enabled to make such a good report. No material advance can be made in any direction without the *Evangel*. In all our planning we must plan to increase the circulation and usefulness of the organ of the Council Fellowship.⁶⁹⁰

Kenyon correctly observed the catalyst role that Flower's *Christian Evangel* and Bell's *Word and Witness* played in the formation of the Assemblies of God. However, Kenyon, like others, have failed to clearly see the exact way they were a catalyst to formation.⁶⁹¹ The key to understanding the formation of the Assemblies of God and the credentialing, licensing, and ordination practices that were subsequently developed is not only to see the dense network of relationships that formed but also to see the key players that drove the conversation. In truth, Maria Woodworth-Etter and her revivals received extensive coverage in Flower's *Christian Evangel* and Bell's *Word and Witness* and led to the formation of the Assemblies of God.

Maria Woodworth-Etter

Boddy agreed with the editor of *The Apostolic Faith*:

“The real red-hot Pentecostal movement, pure, simple and unadulterated, is unlike anything on earth, and will not be swallowed up by, or be adjusted to, or merely tacked on to any human, man-made organization now on earth,” and that “we do not need any modern human organisations (British spelling)” for this movement, but we do believe that, as it is the same kind of movement as the apostolic, that a similar form of work and adjustment will suit our purpose now, and is greatly needed. We would resent a system, with overseers or boards, dominating the whole Revival, but we do see that leaders, traveling between centres (British spelling), evangelizing, and strengthening the centres they visit, are a source of great blessing.⁶⁹²

Beginning on August 1, 1912, Boddy had traveled throughout the United States:

⁶⁹⁰ *Minutes*, 1919, 11. Frodsham served as missionary treasurer, see *Minutes*, 1919, 7.

⁶⁹¹ T. K. Leonard said, “The prosperity of this great institution was born there out of a couple of fragments of little papers that were being published. These were merged together when we decided to be a Council of spiritually born men and women, and we decided we would publish a paper representing the thing as a whole.” See T. K. Leonard, “The New Born Babe,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 6, 1927, 6.

⁶⁹² *Confidence*, February 1911, 30-1.

to New York, Washington, D.C., Columbia, Atlanta (Georgia), New Orleans, El Paso. Grand Canyon of Arizona, Southern California (Los Angeles and Pasadena), San Francisco, Oakland, over the Rockies to Colorado (Salida, Denver, Loveland), Chicago. then north to Winnipeg (two days). Then Southward to Indiana (Plainfield and Indianapolis). Then homewards towards New York. He had arranged to sail on October 17th on the “Adriatic” (White Star Line) to arrive about 26th October. He has visited many Pentecostal centers and had blessed fellowship with some of God’s true children.⁶⁹³

On his journey between August 1 and October 26, 1912, Boddy united many of the people who had experienced Pentecost from the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Pentecostal Missionary Union. In the same way, Maria Woodworth-Etter’s revivals are key to understanding how Bell’s faction in the Churches of God in Christ and Flower’s faction even thought to unite. The first complete and scholarly biography of Woodworth-Etter was written by Wayne Warner, *The Woman Evangelist*.⁶⁹⁴ Warner affirmed the view of her supporters that she “broke the male domination of the pulpit and paved the way for other women.”⁶⁹⁵

Maria Woodworth-Etter was widely known and widely read in Pentecostal circles. By 1885, Blumhofer found that “Woodworth-Etter’s beliefs closely resembled the fourfold gospel of A. B. Simpson.”⁶⁹⁶ Etter published three major books in her lifetime: 1) *The Life and Experiences of Maria B. Woodworth-Etter* (1888), 2) *Acts of the Holy Ghost* (1912), 3) *Signs and Wonders* (1916), “which provided fascinating reading for those longing to see the restoration of apostolic power.”⁶⁹⁷ Etter’s books, revivals, and ministry were frequently advertised, promoted, and reported on in the pages of *Word and Witness*, *Christian Evangel*, *Latter Rain Evangel*, and *Confidence*.⁶⁹⁸ A straightforward timeline reading of these Pentecostal publications shows a

⁶⁹³ *Confidence*, October 1912, 234.

⁶⁹⁴ The reason for her hyphenated name is that Maria Woodworth-Etter’s first union ended in divorce; her biographer, Wayne Warner describes the marriage as “stormy.” See Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 175.

⁶⁹⁵ Kenyon, 163.

⁶⁹⁶ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 37-8.

⁶⁹⁷ McGee, 37-8, and Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 37-8.

⁶⁹⁸ See “Advertisement,” *Word and Witness*, May 20, 1913, 4. “Book: *Acts of the Holy Ghost*. A Most wonderful and helpful large cloth bound book of Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter.” See *Latter Rain Evangel*, January

pronounced increase of excitement and attention towards her revivals as well as the desire to cooperate. Without Etter's revivals, it is doubtful that the early leaders between the Churches of God in Christ and the Christian and Missionary Alliance leaders would have thought or attempted to unite. While Boddy had served as a connection between the Christian and Missionary Alliance leaders, Maria Woodworth-Etter's revivals had united them all.

1912 Maria Woodworth-Etter Meetings in Dallas

On the same page as the report on the first recorded meeting of the Churches of God in Christ organization in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, M. M. Pinson reported on the revivals that Maria B. Woodworth-Etter had been having in Dallas. Pinson wrote:

Brethren Bosworth and Birdsall are in charge of the work there [in Dallas]. A revival has been on there for about eighteen months. God is doing a new thing for these days in Dallas. They have with them Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter, who has had the baptism in the spirit over twenty years.⁶⁹⁹

Pinson concluded, "It was the most wonderful thing I have ever witnessed." F. F. Bosworth reported on the revivals, in a letter to Bell dated August 11, 1912:

Dear Bro. Bell: It has been about two weeks since our dear sister Etter joined us in the meeting, and we give glory to God for the way He has used her every night in preaching and demonstrating the wonderful gospel of the Son of God.⁷⁰⁰

Maria Woodworth-Etter turned 68 years old on July 22, 1912.⁷⁰¹ Roughly a week later, these meetings in Dallas gave her a leading position in the Pentecostal movement and [she] never relinquished that role until her death in 1924. During her five-month campaign there, thousands came to hear her night and day. Many established and future leaders of the Pentecostal

1914, 24. "*The Acts of the Holy Ghost* by Maria Woodworth-Etter. This book is just out and we can fill orders for it. It contains the life and experience of Mrs. Etter and gives in detail most marvelous accounts of conversions and healings from the beginning of her call to the ministry to the present time. A number of pages are given to the recent revival in Dallas, Texas. A great inspiration to faith! The EVANGEL PUBLISHING HOUSE, Stone Church."

⁶⁹⁹ M. M. Pinson, "Trip to the Southwest," *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1912, 1.

⁷⁰⁰ F. F. Bosworth, "The Wonders of God in Dallas," *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1912, 3.

⁷⁰¹ *Confidence*, February 1913, 32.

movement found their way to Dallas during those months.⁷⁰² S. A. Jamieson, Birdsall, Sisson, and others were present at the Dallas meetings. Stanley Frodsham was also present at Maria Woodworth-Etter's Meetings in December 1912, and he reported:

As soon is warm enough, brother Bosworth intends to erect a large tent in a part of Dallas not yet reached by the revival, and he believes God will get poor out, his spirit more mightily than ever before. And everyone else with him seems to have the same expectation, yours and the boundless love of Jesus.⁷⁰³

Of this gathering, Wayne Warner writes, "The Pentecostal movement 'discovered' Maria B. Woodworth-Etter in this 1912 Dallas meeting, and she would remain a leading evangelist the rest of her life."⁷⁰⁴ Not only did the Pentecostal movement find Sister Etter in Dallas, but they also connected deeply with one another. The connections formed from Maria Woodworth-Etter's revivals between the Churches of God in Christ and those in the Christian and Missionary Alliance were the most significant catalyst in the formation of the Assemblies of God. The way these dense networks and webs of connection navigated subsequent doctrinal disputes were predicated on their pre-existing relationships and previously established loyalties.

Pinson had attended the Eureka Springs camp meeting in July 1912, and then he made his way to San Antonio and then to Dallas.⁷⁰⁵ After the December 1912 Dallas revival, Etter announced that she would begin a special meeting about January 1, 1913 in San Antonio, Texas with Fred "Lohmann [who] is at 118 Porter street, and any one coming in can get any information desired from him."⁷⁰⁶ Lohmann was also affiliated with the Churches of God in

⁷⁰² F.F. Bosworth reported that Carrie Montgomery came to minister alongside "Sister Etter" at the Dallas revival. "The God of All the Earth Working at Dallas," *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1912, 1.

⁷⁰³ "Glorious Victories of God in Dallas, Texas," *Word and Witness*, January 1913, 1. After Frodsham's note, Bell wrote a note to explain to his readers who Frodsham was: "Note: Bro. Frodsham is an editor from Bournemouth, England, visiting the meeting in Dallas."

⁷⁰⁴ Warner, *The Woman Evangelist*, 168.

⁷⁰⁵ M. M. Pinson, "Trip to the Southwest," *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1912, 1.

⁷⁰⁶ "Sister Etter to San Antonio," *Word and Witness*, December 1912, 2.

Christ as early as August 1, 1912.⁷⁰⁷ After San Antonio, Etter went to San Jose, California to begin meetings with W. E. Moody from “March 1, and continue, the Lord willing for 6 weeks.”⁷⁰⁸ In 1908, this is the same Moody that had ministered alongside D. W. Kerr and J. T. Boddy in Toronto at the formation of Boddy’s Canadian Pentecostal Missionary Union.

In March 1913, the Arroyo Seco Meeting was announced:

Mrs. Woodworth-Etter is to be at Los Angeles from April 15th to May 15th, at the Apostolic Faith Camp Meeting, on the old Apostolic Faith Camp Ground in the Arroyo (South Pasadena or Garvanza cars going North on Main Street. Get off at Avenue 60 and walk East to the Camp Ground). Full particulars can be obtained from our Pentecostal Brother, George B. Studd, Financial Secretary, 227 South Nam Street, Los Angeles, Cal.⁷⁰⁹

This “worldwide” Pentecostal meeting would introduce the schism over the baptismal formula with R. E. McAlister’s sermon. While McAlister’s sermon and Ewart’s perceptions and reporting of that sermon fueled the Oneness movement, Etter was the featured speaker at this camp meeting. This fact has been hardly mentioned in the histories of the Assemblies of God and the “New Issue.”⁷¹⁰ The report in *Confidence* of this meeting did not even mention McAlister’s sermon:

The Lord filled the place. From Los Angeles we hear of the commencement of Mrs. Etter’s work. An enormous encampment is clustered round a central tent capable of holding thousands. “Sister Etter acts and appears as though Jesus was REAL, and stands and talks and lifts Him up, as omnipotent, and as the coming KING OF GLORY. She said, “I am sent of God to unite His people here, in this part of His vineyard, and how can it be done if this opinion, and this, and that, etc., etc., is taught to the people. It binds me, I cannot fulfill my mission which God has given me to do. We must know no man, save

⁷⁰⁷ See E. N. Bell, “Ordained Ministers in the Churches of God in Christ with their Locations Aug. 1, 1912,” Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, 4.

⁷⁰⁸ “Mrs. Etter to San Jose, Cal.,” *Word and Witness*, February 1913, 1.

⁷⁰⁹ *Confidence*, March 1913, 60. Studd was affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ in December 1913. “A Well-Known Missionary on Tongues,” *Confidence*, October 1914, 193-4. Studd wrote about the Los Angeles camp meeting and called Etter “a true handmaid of the Lord.” “Mrs. Etter’s spiritual ministry of, under God, leading sinners to Christ, and believers into the Pentecostal baptism has been also most remarkable. She is so comparatively unknown because of the threefold prejudice multitudes have (1) against women’s ministry; (2) against Divine healing; (3) against the Pentecostal movement—accompanied with tongues. Pentecost, *minus* tongues, is popular with many Christians.”

⁷¹⁰ For one notable exception, see Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 111.

JESUS ONLY, and we must love one another as little children, and stop biting and abusing one another.” Let us pray for unity and love.⁷¹¹

From the Arroyo Seco Meeting, Maria Woodworth-Etter traveled to Chicago at Stone Church. F. F. Bosworth wrote: “I received a letter from Mrs. M. B. Etter last night saying she would be in Chicago at the Stone Church during the entire month of July. Please announce, if not too late.”⁷¹² F. F. Bosworth journeyed to Chicago from Dallas and gave a sermon at the Stone Church on June 30, 1913, entitled “The practice of the Presence of God: The Consecration of the Thoughts.”⁷¹³ Brother A. H. Argue also visited in the middle of these revival services and gave two sermons on July 17 and 24, 1913:

Brother Argue spoke of the fresh anointing that had come to many at the Los Angeles Camp meeting through a similar service, and also emphasized the fact that these ministers who were about to be prayed for with the laying on of hands were not bring sent out by Sister Etter or to claim any authority from her or the Stone Church, but that they might go away from this service with more power, a new courage and a stronger faith, He spoke of the great need of wisdom; that some had not exercised wisdom and had gone out claiming authority from certain missions because hands were laid on them in that place.⁷¹⁴

After Maria Woodworth-Etter’s visit, Anna C. Reiff wrote this extended report:

CHICAGO has just had the mightiest visitation of the supernatural she has ever known. God came down and walked in our midst, fulfilling the word to Israel: “I will bring it health and cure . . . and reveal unto it abundance of peace and truth.” As arranged, Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter spent the month of July (2nd to 28th) at the Stone Church. Pentecostal scenes as in Apostle days were daily enacted; the blind received their sight, the deaf heard, paralytics walked, rheumatics were delivered, broken-down nerves restored and demons driven out, in all of which the name of the Lord was magnified.

⁷¹¹ *Confidence*, May 1913, 100.

⁷¹² “To Chicago in July,” *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 4.

⁷¹³ F. F. Bosworth, “Sermon (June 30, 1913): The Practice of the Presence of God: The Consecration of the Thoughts,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, February 1915, 5.

⁷¹⁴ Maria Woodworth-Etter, “Sermon (July 17, 1913): Neglect Not the Gift That is in Thee: Instructions to Ministers and Christian Workers,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, August 1913, 13. A. H. Argue, “Be Patient: His Coming Draweth Nigh Present Day Conditions Portrayed in Prophecy A. H. Argue in the Stone Church, July 24, 1913,” *Latter Rain Evangel*, August 1913, 17-9. “Note.-One of the most deeply solemn meetings was that in which seventy elders, evangelists and helpers had hands laid on them that they might receive a fresh anointing of the Spirit and have more power in their ministry. A holy hush fell on all and the slaying power of the Lord was strongly manifested. One after another they were prostrated under the power until the large platform looked like a battlefield.”

All Chicago learned of the mighty workings of God in our midst. The daily papers reported some of the meetings, and though they tried to caricature the proceedings and bring to ridicule the sacred things of God, yet even in this garbled form some truth was presented. Well might the on-looker ask, "What means this eager anxious throng?" And as of old it could be said, "Jesus of Nazareth passeth by."

Not only Chicago Pentecostal saints but God's children in a radius of hundreds of miles have received a mighty impetus to faith in this series of meetings; indeed we believe it is no exaggeration to say that the faith of God's people here has made the most rapid strides of any in modern times-it has gone forward by leaps and bound.

After the first two weeks the auditorium could not hold the people who came, and we held an overflow meeting nightly in the vestry, which seats five hundred people, with Brother Kent White in charge. Those who assisted in the overflow meetings said there was equal blessing downstairs: there were some marked cases of salvation and healing and a large number received the Spirit's baptism. There were from thirteen hundred to fifteen hundred people in actual estimate in the building nightly and large numbers turned away. On Sunday we held three double meetings.⁷¹⁵

The *Word and Witness* also reported on Maria Woodworth-Etter's ministry in Chicago:

Sometimes nearly 200 were prayed for in a single service after having laid hands on as many as she could. At this ministerial service, there were still perhaps 150 waiting. She had them stand before the platform and requested the ministers to join with her, stretching their hands over the people while she prayed for them all together. She then requested some of the Brethren to lay hands on the people. Most of those who were touched by the hand fell to the floor. It seemed like taking a sword and cutting them down. The power of God was so mightily upon us.⁷¹⁶

On this same page, the *Word and Witness* announced the Arkansas state camp meeting at Malvern planned from September 10-22, 1913, and a meeting at Hot Springs from September 22

⁷¹⁵ Anna C. Reiff, "The Day of Chicago's Visitation," *Latter Rain Evangel*, August 1913, 2. Reiff's full report took pages 2-11. In March 1913, a report in *Confidence* wrote, "The matter is carefully typed by Anna Reiff, under Mrs. Piper's editorship, and sent in perfect order to the contracting printer, who delivers it to date, Then the 'Evangel' staff get to work addressing and posting, and other friends helping till the mountain disappears, and the copies find their way to all the States and across the seas. The wonderfully cheap rate of postage in the USA. (One cent per pound, separate packages making up the pound) reduces the cost very greatly." In September 1913, *Confidence* reported that Mrs. Piper was handing the publishing reins to Anna. In September 1917, Sister Anna Reiff became the Secretary of the Missionary Conference of the Assemblies of God. S. A. Jamieson had by then moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma and was elected Chairman. D. W. Kerr commented: "Praise the Lord, we have made a start!" A key resolution adopted by the committee was: "Be it resolved that as a body we endorse the fundamental principles of the General Council of the Assemblies of God." See "The Missionary Conference: St. Louis, September 13-17, 1917," *Weekly Evangel*, October 6, 1917, 10.

⁷¹⁶ "God's Deeds of Mercy and Power in Chicago," *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1913, 1.

into October.⁷¹⁷ The paper reported, “Sister Etter will be with us in both meetings. See particulars on last page. Everyone invited to join in making these meetings a blessing to many.”⁷¹⁸ S. G. Otis also announced the “third camp meeting” at Montwait, So. Framingham, Massachusetts with Sister M. B. Woodworth-Etter, “the Holy Ghost Evangelist that the Lord is using so wonderfully for the healing of the sick.”⁷¹⁹ Dr. Yoakum and Boddy had been present at Montwait the two previous meetings.

September 1913 Etter Meetings at South Framingham, Massachusetts.

Flower included a reported on the Woodworth-Etter Camp Meeting in S. Framingham, Massachusetts from Earle Clarke in the *Christian Evangel*:

We are having fine meetings. I never saw so many perfect healings out of the total number as here. God certainly has marvelously worked—all manner of diseases. The enemy is stirred and tried to stop us. Had us arrested. We appeared today at 9:00a.m. with a great crowd of witnesses but they postponed it until next Tuesday. Now we are thronged with reporters. When we came we tried to pay for an ad in the *Boston Herald* but they would not accept it; now they are printing columns. Praise God!

People here from many states; way from the South, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington D. C., a good body of good, good preachers to help us. Praise Him! Our next meeting is at Hot Springs, Ark., commencing September 22 lasting from thirty to sixty days. Love to Brother Myland and all the saints. Salute all in your paper in my name.

Boddy reported that “Evangelist Earl W. Clark and his young wife (Mrs. Etter’s granddaughter) were a striking feature in leading the praise.”⁷²⁰ Little did Clark know in giving his report that the revival starting in Hot Springs would in some ways continue to the present day.

⁷¹⁷ “Arkansas State Camp,” *Word and Witness*,” August 20, 1913, 4. Bell announced that “only 2 cents on the railroad and good connections, on the Iron Mountain R. R. 40 miles south of Little Rock.”

⁷¹⁸ “Sister Woodworth-Etter to be at Malvern and Hot Springs,” *Word and Witness*, August 20, 1913, 1, 4. B. F. Lawrence also announced that the “Annual Pentecostal Rally” would be held in Thayer, Missouri from Sept. 19 to 28, 1913.

⁷¹⁹ “New England Camp,” August 20, 1913, 4.

⁷²⁰ Boddy, *Confidence*, July 1914, 144.

Clark and Fockler, who had “assisted in the recent hot campaign in the East,” helped Sister Etter in the meetings. Bell wrote:

To the saints, Christians have every name and sinners all over the United States and America. Be it known that the burning out of nearly half of Hot Springs recently by fire, is no wise to stop the fire of the gospel guns upon the remainder of the city still standing. As previously announced, Sister Woodworth-Etter is to begin what she trusts will be a great meeting there on September 22nd and expects to continue through all of October....All should have money for their fare and from \$10 to \$50 more according to the time they desire to stay. Only God is back of the meeting to support it. Let every soul who wants God—come. Let all who need healing and have faith for it—come, and God will not disappoint you.⁷²¹

In October, D. C. O. Opperman reported that “visitors have come from almost every state in the South and some from the northern states...to be healed” at Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter’s services.⁷²² Opperman saw the “providence of God” in Etter, Fockler, and Clark’s presence in Hot Springs.⁷²³ The meetings were held outside at the auditorium in Whittington Park, “and a blessed revival is spreading throughout the city.”⁷²⁴ “The meetings are announced to continue until October 31st,” Opperman wrote, but “some are requesting Sister Etter and company to remain throughout November or longer.”⁷²⁵ Opperman believed that it was probable for them to do so.

The next month Howard Goss reported that the revival would go on in Hot Springs with or without Sister Etter:

⁷²¹ “Hot Springs, Ark., Under Fire by Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter and C. B. Frockler and Earl Clark, September 22 to October 20,” *Word and Witness*, September 20, 1913, 1. C. B. Fockler’s name was misspelled in this article. Fockler and Clark were not affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ, but they would hold credentials in the Assemblies of God beginning in 1914 and continuing through the schism. Fockler was on the first executive Presbytery of the Assemblies of God in 1914. In fact, every one of the twelve members of the Executive Presbytery in April 1914 shared a relationship with Maria Woodworth-Etter.

⁷²² “God Stretching Out His hand to Heal,” *Word and Witness*, October 1913, 1.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*

We have moved the meetings from the park to the Grand Opera house down town. The interest is increasing. Prospects good for a greater time yet. We have started in for a six months' campaign.

Sister Etter is still here and will be here indefinitely. If she decides to leave, the meeting will continue on just the same, and winter, God willing, and the sick can be healed anytime they come to God, as He heals all who come to Him aright.⁷²⁶

Directly below the General Convention Announcement in the December 1913 *Word and Witness* that resulted in the formation of the Assemblies of God, Maria Woodworth-Etter's revival scheduled continued.⁷²⁷ Sister Etter moved on to meetings in Memphis, Tennessee from November 30 through the end of October.⁷²⁸ From Memphis, Etter's plan was to begin a meeting at Meridian, Mississippi on January 1st "for 15 days or longer."⁷²⁹ From January 29-March 2, 1914, Etter planned to be in Atlanta, Georgia. On March 5, 1914, Etter planned to be in Jackson, Tennessee with revivals following in Nashville, Tennessee.⁷³⁰

In October 1914, *Confidence* reported, "The Stone Church had witnessed wonderful scenes during Mrs. Etter's visit [in July 1913] and subsequently, but just then there was a lull."⁷³¹ Etter returned to Chicago's Stone Church for a revival from October 10 to November 10, 1914.⁷³²

⁷²⁶ Howard Goss, "Jehovah Still Working at Hot Springs, Arkansas," *Word and Witness*, November 20, 1913, 1.

⁷²⁷ "General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ," *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 1. In this same edition, Bell announced, "The P.O. Inspector at Little Rock, Ark. Who has been asked to investigate whether the testimonies to divine healing in *Word and Witness* are true or not." See "Testimony Wanted," *Word and Witness*, December 1913, 2.

⁷²⁸ Earl W. Clark, "Woodworth-Etter Meetings," *Word and Witness*, December 1913, 1. Clark reported that "Even in the first service God graciously manifested His approving presence by pouring out His Spirit, with signs and wonders following the preaching of the word and the prayer of faith for the healing of the sick. It was truly a High Day."

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁰ These meetings were also announced in Sister Sexton's *Bridegroom's Messenger* based in Atlanta, Georgia. See "Mrs. Woodworth-Etter's Meeting," *The Bridegroom's Messenger*, December 15, 1913, 1. Clark wrote, "We cordially invite all to be present at some meeting and help us against the hosts of darkness."

⁷³¹ *Confidence*, October 1914, 186.

⁷³² Boddy, "A Well-Known Missionary on 'Tongues'," *Confidence*, October 1915, 193. See also "Los Angeles Convention," *Christian Evangel*, September 26, 1914, 3. Immediately above this announcement, F. F. Bosworth, Smith Wigglesworth, D. W. Kerr, and R. L. Erickson announced they would be hosting a convention with Brother A. G. Garr along with "Brother Martin, the man who was born blind."

Just five days after the conclusion of this meeting, the second General Council commenced at Stone Church from November 15-29, 1914. Boddy wrote,

I venture to think that this ministry is unparalleled in the history of the Church, for which I give all the glory to the Lord Jesus Christ, as Mrs. Etter would, I know, wish me to do. This ministry should be made known, for the glory of the Triune God and the good of believers.⁷³³

A Brief Sketch of 1915 and 1916 Maria Woodworth-Etter Revivals

Maria Woodworth-Etter held revivals in Chicago at The Tabernacle led by L. C. Hall beginning on May 22, 1915.⁷³⁴ L. C. Hall and his wife, Mrs. Jean C Hall, began their affiliation with the Churches of God in Christ in 1913 when they were at Zion City, Illinois. Their names appear on the ministerial rolls in April 1914 and November 1914 in Chicago, Illinois. However, they did not remain affiliated in 1916 because of the schism. Hall's meeting concluded "a week ahead of time on account of the street car strike which hindered the people from getting out to the meetings."⁷³⁵ August Feick reported on the Chicago meeting, "a number of helpless invalids, who came to the meeting in wheel chairs, are now walking by themselves."⁷³⁶ Feick had been with Etter since at least 1913, and, as her close assistant, he affiliated with the Assemblies of God in 1916.⁷³⁷ Of Feick Etter wrote:

[Feick] was wonderfully used of the Lord in the Holy Dance, with closed eyes, as they all do, with such lightness of limbs, and using his hands and whole body with power and grace. He was playing some invisible instrument and dancing to his own heavenly music. While all this was going on, the people were held spellbound. He is naturally very quiet, and never went to a dance in his life and never tried to dance. All felt that God was present, working "His Strange Work" and "His Strange Acts" in our midst.⁷³⁸

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ "Mrs. Woodworth-Etter in Chicago, Ill.," *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 8.

⁷³⁵ "Sister Etter Now in St. Louis: After Closing a Successful Meeting in Chicago Found Time for Ten Day's Meeting in St. Louis before going to Topeka Camp," *Weekly Evangel*, June 26, 1915, 1.

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

⁷³⁷ See *Minutes*, 1916, 19.

⁷³⁸ Etter, *Marvels and Miracles* (Indianapolis: M. B. Etter, 1922), 230.

Afterwards, Etter ministered in St. Louis, Missouri for “two weeks and held meetings twice a day” until June 26, 1915.⁷³⁹ F. F. Bosworth, E. N. Bell, J. R. Flower, and Sister Flower were all in attendance. “Sister Flower,” Sister Etter wrote, “is a power in the Hand of the Lord.”⁷⁴⁰ Beginning July 31, 1915, “Mrs. M. B. Woodworth-Etter, who has had a remarkable ministry will be present throughout the month” in Topeka, Kansas with C. E. Foster. C. E. Foster appeared on the ministerial rolls beginning in 1913 of the Churches of God in Christ. He affiliated in April 1914 with the Assemblies of God but was forced out in the 1916 schism. From October 4 to November 4, 1915, “A Woodworth-Etter Meeting will commence in the large hall in Los Angeles over which Brother A. G. Garr is pastor, from Oct. 4th to Nov. 4th or longer as the Lord shall lead.”⁷⁴¹

From February 18 to March 5, 1916, Sister Etter was in charge of services in Phoenix, Arizona where Peter Davies ministered.⁷⁴² Beginning on March 11, 1916, Sister Etter was scheduled to lead revival services at Wm. Morwood’s church. Davies and Morwood had affiliated with the Churches of God in Christ and continued their affiliation with the Assemblies of God through the 1916 schism. Her revivals at Sidney, Iowa in October 1916 recorded:

Wonderful things are going on here at the Camp Meeting in Sidney, Iowa. I came down from Omaha last Saturday....Lots of Omaha people here wish you would investigate, as we expect to have her in Omaha in the near future. She is as much ahead of Billy Sunday as he is ahead of the average preacher.⁷⁴³

With J. T. Boddy as the editor and Stanley Frodsham as the office editor, the *Pentecostal Evangel* continued to post announcements and reports of Maria Woodworth-Etter’s ministry

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 229.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁴¹ “Woodworth-Etter Meeting in Los Angeles,” *Christian Evangel*, September 11, 1915, 4.

⁷⁴² “Mrs. Woodworth-Etter at Phoenix, Ariz,” *Weekly Evangel*, February 12, 1916, 13.

⁷⁴³ “Sidney, Iowa, Revival Closed,” *Weekly Evangel*, October 21, 1916, 15.

until her death.⁷⁴⁴ Etter's revivals fanned the flame of cooperation among many ministers. From Dallas 1912 to Chicago in July 1913 to Malvern and Hot Springs in September and October 1913, Etter attracted a large swath of the ministers who would form the Assemblies of God. These ministers believed that they had become a part of an authentic move of God. The problem was that what bound them together was a religious experience without secure doctrinal anchors. Despite what they believed was the authentic move of God, the Assemblies of God leaders were not immune to political divides. Had the General Council met in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, Meridian, Mississippi, or Dallas, Texas in 1916, instead of St. Louis, Missouri, the adoption of Fundamental Truths may not have happened.

R. J. Craig, a pastor in San Francisco and the founder of Glad Tidings Bible Institute, hosted meetings with Maria Woodworth-Etter and said: "If the Pentecostal ministry would study her life and count on God, expecting the supernatural to be revealed in each meeting, what a mighty agency ours would be in the hands of God."⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴⁴ See "Announcements," *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 6. "Sister Etter's New Book," *Weekly Evangel*, December 23, 1916, 16. "We have exhausted our stock of 'Acts of the Holy Ghost,' by Mrs. Etter. but in a few days, we shall have in a Quantity of her new book, *Signs and Wonders*, which is a far better book than the last. The price will be \$1.15 plus postage."

⁷⁴⁵ R. J. Craig, "The San Francisco Etter Meeting," *Weekly Evangel*, December 16, 1916, 15.

Conclusion

Financial and Practical Considerations

The early Pentecostal movement was known for its utter dependence on the move and direction of the Holy Spirit. For Parham and others in the early Pentecostal movement, planning was simply not a part of the plan. Because of this, they wrote: “God is solving the missionary problem, sending out new-tongued missionaries on the apostolic faith line, without purse or scrip, and the Lord is going before them preparing the way.”⁷⁴⁶ This periodical is definitive of the early Pentecostal period which championed God’s provision over human planning. With the formation of the Assemblies of God in 1914, human planning took a larger role. D. C. O. Opperman announced in *Word and Witness* that his short-term Bible schools would not be taught with messages in tongues followed by interpretations as had been done in other early Pentecostal schools. Instead, Bell and Flower celebrated that students would learn by exegesis of the Biblical text coupled with prayer and the power of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁴⁷ As the Assemblies of God developed through its adolescent years, human planning coupled with God’s leading would become paramount when financial considerations became increasingly concerning.

In the December 1913 Hot Spring General Convention Announcement, the Churches of God in Christ leaders encouraged everyone to attend regardless of financial capability:

Now, brethren, as it is very important for all Pentecostal preachers to be present, you lay this before your people and get them to pay your fare to and fro. Winter tourist round trip tickets at cheap rates are on from nearly all over the country to Hot Springs up to April 30th, good to return up to June 1st, and you should buy these cheap round trip tickets. But if you fail in this, we want you to come anyhow, and if you have not faith to get home after you are here, then we will stand with you in trusting God for your return fare or to get out on the field.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁶ *Apostolic Faith* 1, no. 3, November 1906, 2.

⁷⁴⁷ Bell, Goss, and Opperman, “Bible Schools,” *Word and Witness*, December 1913, 2.

⁷⁴⁸ “General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ,” *Word and Witness*, December 20, 1913, 1.

In March 1914, the *Word and Witness* wrote, “Everybody, all aboard for the Hot Springs convention. This is the final call for objects as previously specified in Word and Witness. Meeting to be in old Grand Opera house, 200 central avenue.”⁷⁴⁹ The announcement featured the names of thirty-three early Pentecostal leaders within the Churches of God in Christ as well as the Christian and Missionary Alliance as has been the focus of this study. The first name on the list was “R. E. Edman, Buffalo, N.Y.”⁷⁵⁰ Erdman’s name was misspelled by the *Word and Witness* and while he did not affiliate with the Assemblies of God, he shared many important connections with other ministers who did. Erdman wrote,

Dear Bro. Bell, grace unto you and peace be multiplied. I am wholly in sympathy with the call for the convention in April at Hot Springs, Ark. And the Lord willing, I shall be with you. I am doing what I can to get the brethren from the North to come. There is great need of such a gathering, and I am truly glad that you are having this one.⁷⁵¹

Of the thirty-three ministers, four never affiliated with the Assemblies of God including Erdman, J. W. Pitcher of Baltimore, Maryland, Chas. B. Bowman of Chicago, Illinois, and H. N. Thurman of Egypt. Twenty-two of the ministers were a part of the Churches of God in Christ including E. N. Bell, E. G. Birdsall, F. F. Bosworth, Harry Bowley, A. P. Collins, J. A. Corbell, A. B. Cox, E. F. Cunningham, O. W. Edwards, E. R. Fitzgerald, C. E. Foster, W. T. Gaston, Howard Goss, Walter W. Hall, S. D. Kinne, B. F. Lawrence, Fred Lohmann, M. M. Pinson, W. H. Pope, W. R. Potter, H. G. Rodgers, and Gilbert Sweaza. The vast majority of these ministers had been a significant part of Maria Woodworth’s Etters revivals. Only fourteen of these

⁷⁴⁹ General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ,” *Word and Witness*, March 20, 1914. 1.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵¹ R. E. Erdman, “Coming from the North,” *Word and Witness*, March 1914, 1.

ministers remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God through the 1916 schism. Fifteen of the twenty-two ministers from the Churches of God in Christ left the Assemblies of God.

R. E. McAlister

Above Erdman's note to Bell, A. B. Cox reported on the convention in Cumberland, Maryland, and among the "brethren" listed as ministering "with us" included R. E. McAlister.⁷⁵² Cox remained affiliated with the Assemblies of God in Christ, but historians have left the story of R. E. McAlister largely untold.

In June 1913, R. E. McAlister announced that he was moving his headquarters from Ottawa, Canada to Los Angeles, Cal. "and has amalgamated the *GOOD REPORT* with the *Apostolic Faith* published by F. J. Ewart."⁷⁵³ Ewart, inspired by McAlister's sermon in April 1913, wrote "The shot had been fired, and its sound was destined to be heard around the world."⁷⁵⁴ Ewart took McAlister's suggestion and catapulted the Oneness movement to the forefront of concern for the Assemblies of God by 1916. While Ewart remained Oneness, McAlister explicitly rejected the Oneness view and advocated Trinitarianism after the debacle. McAlister was elected as a General Presbyter at the 1920 General Council, and he eventually became the editor of the official organ of the Canadian Assemblies of God called the "*Pentecostal Testimony*, of London, Ontario."⁷⁵⁵ When E. N. Bell died in 1923, McAlister wrote:

⁷⁵² A. B. Cox, "Cumberland, Maryland," *Word and Witness*, March 20, 1914, 1.

⁷⁵³ "Special Notice," *Word and Witness*, June 20, 1913, 8.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁵ *Minutes*, 1920, 41. McAlister served alongside L. V. Roberts as General Presbyter as well. R. E. McAlister, "Tributes to the Memory of Brother Bell," *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 21, 1923, 7. "The Canadian Pentecostal Testimony is the official organ of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. It is full of good, helpful articles. The subscription price is 50 cents per year. Send your subscription to the editor, R. E. McAlister, 740 Queen's Ave., London, Ont., Canada." See *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 4, 1924, 14. McAlister's name also appears in the report of Financial Considerations of the Assemblies of God, since he was the Treasurer of the Canadian Assemblies of God. The report shared "Although the offerings from Canada amounted to \$912.69 for

Your letter just to hand bringing us the news of the homegoing of our dear Brother Bell. Please give the family my sympathy at this time. I enclose \$5 which will help a little in the funeral expenses. We appreciate what it will mean to the Springfield office and to the work in general. But God will undertake.⁷⁵⁶

Bell wrote a notice to subscribers with an appeal for subscribers to renew their subscriptions by paying the 50 cents they owe.⁷⁵⁷ “I suppose that there are two or three thousand subscriptions that have already expired. This means the loss of \$1,000 which will put the paper badly in debt if not paid at once.”⁷⁵⁸ The total number of subscribers to the *Word and Witness* in 1914 versus the number of credentialed, licensed, or ordained ministers in the Assemblies of God in 1914 was significant. By the summer of 1914, there were only 512 credentialed ministers and of those 142 were female missionaries and evangelists. Giving and financial consideration was not a foreign subject for Pentecostals. Boddy wrote:

The Editor of “Confidence” practices tithing. He gives his tenth to the Lord’s work. He does not, however, advocate it as a Gospel command. There is no such command in the New Testament. But he feels that under the Gospel we should not do less than under the Law.⁷⁵⁹

The financial requirements of operating the printing of the growing newspaper were significant, and the editor’s preference was for it to be paid in advance. Bell also expressed frustration with ministers moving and not informing the paper. Bell stated: “You must give your old address as well as the new one, or we may not be able to find your name on the list of names in the type mailing galley.”⁷⁶⁰ While Bell said that he would “gladly correct all mistakes” in the notice, he instructed readers to contact Frank Ewart if they did not receive their “Good Report”

1922 and \$1,660.89 for 1923. Most of the Canadian offerings pass through the hands of R. E. McAlister, Treasurer. 740 Queen’s Ave.. London, Ontario.” See “Report of Financial Conditions,” *Minutes*, 1921-23, 9.

⁷⁵⁶ McAlister, “Tributes to the Memory of Brother Bell,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, July 21, 1923, 7.

⁷⁵⁷ Bell wrote, “Word and Witness, 50 cents per year in advance.” Bell, “Notice to Subscribers,” *Word and Witness*, December 1913, 2.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁹ Boddy, “Pentecostal Items,” *Confidence*, February 1914, 37.

⁷⁶⁰ Bell, “Notice to Subscribers,” *Word and Witness*, December 1913, 2.

and not himself.⁷⁶¹ As previously discussed, this same Ewart was largely responsible for starting the fire of the early Oneness movement.⁷⁶² Obviously, the bond between the Churches of God in Christ and the early leaders of the Oneness movement within the Assemblies of God were long and strong. However, not all the bonds remained, as was the case of Bell, Ewart, and McAlister. Although Bell was rebaptized in the “name of Jesus only” by L. V. Roberts, Bell and Roberts both returned to orthodox Trinitarian thought afterwards.⁷⁶³ The same was the case with McAlister. In 1919, at meetings in Ontario, Aimee Semple McPherson convinced McAlister to reject the Oneness movement and rejoin the Assemblies of God.⁷⁶⁴ At the second meeting of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, McAlister presented the following resolution:

Whereas we recognize the three-fold relationship of Father, Son and Holy Ghost being clearly taught in the New Testament, Be it resolved, That we express ourselves in harmony with this truth as expressed in the Word of God. As to Baptism, we feel like leaving the matter of formula with the individual.⁷⁶⁵

Despite doctrinal fission and fissure, the financial demands in getting the word out were still of significant concern. In February 1914, Boddy wrote in *Confidence*:

The divisions we lamented in our last journey in U.S.A. are being healed up. Praise be to God. In several places where there were divisions and strife, a blessed unification is taking place. Pentecostal people are awaking to the need of soul-winning, and are not allowing Satan to switch them off on to controversy and bitterness. Movements towards unity are especially noticeable in both Chicago and Los Angeles.⁷⁶⁶

While Boddy was correct in observing a “movement towards unity,” the divisions would simply resurface at the 1916 General Council. H. A. Goss, the early Churches of God in Christ leader,

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² See page 82 of this study.

⁷⁶³ Bell, “Bro. Bell on the Trinity: The One God manifested in Three Persons taught in the Word, The Son especially being exalted in this Age,” *Weekly Evangel*, November 6, 1915, 1.

⁷⁶⁴ Robin M. Johnston, “Howard A. Goss: A Pentecostal Life,” Order No. 3424337, Regent University, 2010, 141.

⁷⁶⁵ *Minutes*, Second Annual Meeting of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Montreal, November 23-25, 1920, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Archives.

⁷⁶⁶ Boddy, “Pentecostal Items,” *Confidence*, February 1914, 37.

had hoped “that our Movement will escape the vices which vast machinery and power have unwittingly fostered in older denominations. But may the dear Lord come before this materializes!”⁷⁶⁷

By 1916, the need for doctrinal fidelity was a top concern, but also of financial stability.

The 1916 General Council passed this resolution:

FUND FOR MAINTENANCE OF GENERAL OFFICE. On motion. it was recommended that every pastor and evangelist give out of his own income. or send through his influence. one dollar (\$1.00) per month to help in the great expense of the publishing interest and the maintenance of the General Office of the Council during the year. On motion, a vote of appreciation was directed to the chairman and the Secretary for their faithful work in this council, and to their wives and helpers who have ministered so faithfully to the brethren at the Evangel Home.⁷⁶⁸

For Bell, the matter was not simply financial considerations, it was also financial accountability. In 1912, Bell wrote:

Our people are tired, sick, and ashamed of traveling, sight-seeing, experimenting missionaries who expect to make a trip around the world and come home. We are not willing to waste a cent of God’s money on such. It is all right when necessary on account of serious illness or to stir up new interest by a visit to come home; but only to return soon. We want missionaries who go out to live and die on foreign fields. It is as near to heaven from there as anywhere, and if you don’t think so, don’t go.⁷⁶⁹

By 1917, the Assemblies of God “determined that all missionary candidates must provide proof of two years of foreign language instruction before departing.”⁷⁷⁰ John Welch, the chairman of the General Council for many of the early years, wrote: “The General Council of the Assemblies of God was never meant to be an institution; it is just a missionary agency.”⁷⁷¹

In 1915, Bell had expressed his sentiments concerning the organization of the Assemblies of God:

⁷⁶⁷ Goss, *Winds of God*, 174.

⁷⁶⁸ *Minutes*, 1916, 14-5.

⁷⁶⁹ E. N. Bell, *Word and Witness*, September 1912, 2.

⁷⁷⁰ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 48.

⁷⁷¹ Welch, “A Missionary Movement,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 1.

Our program is not negative, not to hinder and be a mere clog in the wheel. We stand for doing things. We are out for Unity, Co-operation. Tolerance in all non-essentials, Sanity, Holy Ghost power, a people prepared to meet the Lord, Bible Order, the Gospel to every creature in New Testament purity, simplicity and power from Heaven, the Faith once delivered to the Saints, etc. etc., etc. Let this be a year of great progress, of going on with God at all cost, in love to all, malice to none and in obedience to all the light and all the will of God.⁷⁷²

This “program” proved effective, but the organizational elements and annual compliance of doctrinal fidelity were also costly. When Bell died, many who had played significant parts in the formation and leadership of the Assemblies of God moved on to where they felt the spirit leading.

Many Founders Turn Foursquare

When E. N. Bell died, Aimee Semple McPherson was just about to get her own denomination—the “International Church of the Foursquare Gospel”—off the ground.⁷⁷³ McPherson’s Foursquare denomination offered the perfect alliance between A. B. Simpson’s four doctrine model in the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the initial physical evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷⁴

In 1925, the *Pentecostal Evangel* announced:

The Gospel School, established years ago, continues with success. It endorses the Constitution and Fundamental Truths of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, and is endorsed and recommended by the Central District Council. It is the only Pentecostal school in full fellowship with the Council in the Middle Eastern states.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷² Bell, “To Do Something,” *Christian Evangel*, February 13, 1915, 2.

⁷⁷³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 35. See Donald Dayton, *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), for the theological progression of the “four doctrines.”

⁷⁷⁴ Simpson called his theology “the Fourfold Gospel”: “Christ our Savior, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King.” Randall Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism*, Vol. Rev., and expanded ed. (Waco, TX: Baylor University, 2004), 627. In April 1914, L. C. Hall, an early leader in the Assemblies of God, discussed the four “cardinal” doctrines, or as he called them, “The four great essential doctrines: 1) The Power of God, 2 Timothy 3-5; 2) The coming of the Lord which includes the Rapture and the Tribulations; 3) Divine Healing 4) Baptism in the Holy Ghost.”

⁷⁷⁵ “THE GOSPEL SCHOOL,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, August 8, 1925, 14.

The announcement concluded with the instruction, “For information and application blanks write O. E. McCleary (affiliated with the Assemblies of God in April and November 1914, but not in 1916), Sec’y. and Principal. T. K. Leonard, Supt. Findlay, Ohio.”⁷⁷⁶

While Leonard remained doctrinally aligned with the Assemblies of God, this doctrinal fidelity did not ensure organizational loyalty. After Maria Woodworth-Etter died on September 16, 1924, Aimee Semple McPherson stood alone. After McPherson spoke at Leonard’s Findlay church and school, it was only a matter of time before Leonard abandoned the Assemblies of God in favor of McPherson.

McPherson reported:

Reverend T. K. Leonard, Superintendent of the Gospel School of Findlay, Ohio, is spending his vacation in Los Angeles, visiting relatives, together with Angelus Temple and the L. I. F. E. Bible School. Since his arrival over a week ago, he has spoken several times to the students; last Sunday afternoon gave an inspiring message on “Degrees of Faith,” and this week has been Having a joyous time visiting the departments of the Foursquare work here and getting acquainted with the many activities. Reverend Leonard has been Superintendent of the Gospel School of Findlay, Ohio, for eighteen years. Many efficient ministers and missionaries have come out of this school and are meeting with success in active work for the Lord. He now feels the need of fellowship and co-operation with other full gospel workers and has been for a few weeks negotiating with the Foursquare Gospel Lighthouse Movement to make his school a real Lighthouse Bible School in full fellowship with the L. I. F. E. Bible School at Angelus Temple. The property is being purchased and will be under the supervision of a new faculty and board.⁷⁷⁷

Leonard was not the only one who went to McPherson’s Los Angeles headquarters.

McPherson’s *Foursquare Crusader* shared that A. G. Garr also visited, writing: “Thousands of Angelus Temple members and their friends assembled in the great auditorium of the Temple last

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁷ “Findlay, Ohio, Gospel School Turns Foursquare,” *Foursquare Crusader*, October 2, 1928, 5. T. K. Leonard appears on the ministerial list in 1927 but does not in 1929. See *Minutes*, 1927, 95. See *Minutes*, 1929, 110.

Sunday afternoon to hear an old-time friend, Evangelist A.G. Garr, deliver one of his stirring, on-fire messages from the Word of God. His theme was ‘Jesus Christ, the Hero.’”⁷⁷⁸

F. F. Bosworth also visited McPherson’s Los Angeles Angelus Temple:

Evangelist Bosworth is an outstanding figure in the evangelistic field of our nation. His ministry has been blessed and honored of the Lord where ever he has gone with the message. All through the eastern states has been instrumental in bringing throngs to the feet of Jesus. Perhaps of all Brother Bosworth’s work, his healing ministry has been the most wonderful. God has marvelously blessed this brother’s message on Divine Healing and thousands have received health and strength thru his prayer of faith.⁷⁷⁹

Leonard, Garr, Bosworth, and many others had strongly endorsed Trinitarianism and the power of the Spirit, but they all left the Assemblies of God. F. O. Price wrote, “Dear Brother Brinkman: Greetings from the Humbold Park Pentecostal Assembly [in Chicago]....We still stand for the tongues as the evidence of the baptism in Acts 2:4 and 10:46 and 19:6. The old Gospel Ship is sailing and a full crew aboard. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, not just the Son, but all are aboard.”⁷⁸⁰ Price went on to report:

D. W. Kerr at Cleveland, Ohio and T. K. Leonard of Findlay, Ohio were with us last week and Railroad Evangelist Greenman, and God has made them a blessing to the Assembly. We are standing for the one Church and Christ is the head and all those that have been born again are members of this body which is the Church.⁷⁸¹

Kerr had taken the lead post at the newly minted Assemblies of God Central Bible Institute, while Leonard went Foursquare. While Kerr has always been included in the church

⁷⁷⁸ “Evangelist Garr Warmly Welcomed,” *Foursquare Crusader*, October 2, 1928, 1. See also “Rev. Leonard’s Vivid Testimony,” *Foursquare Crusader*, October 2, 1928, 2, 5. This report discussed Leonard’s wife role at the school: “She is still on her feet. In connection with our school and mission at Findlay she was the cook and the matron-the ‘chief bottle washer’ -and served over many, many thousand meals without charge: We were living by faith then, and I want you to pray that God will lift out faith still higher than it ever was before.”

⁷⁷⁹ “Evangelist Bosworth to Preach Wednesday,” *Foursquare Crusader*, August 14, 1929, 1, 5.

⁷⁸⁰ F. O. Price, “Chicago, Ill.,” *The Pentecostal Herald*, October 1918, 1. Price was from Findlay, Ohio in April 1914 and affiliated with the Assemblies of God through 1915, but he does not appear on the ministerial rolls past that date. In 1915, Price moved from Findlay, Ohio to take “the pastorate of the North Ave. Mission” church that Durham and Sandgren had pastored before. See “North Avenue Mission,” *Weekly Evangel*, July 17, 1915, 1.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*

histories of the Assemblies of God, historians within the Assemblies of God tend to completely ignore the founders who left the Assemblies of God later regardless of the reason for departure, even though these founders were instrumental in its inception and adoption of a statement of Fundamental Truths.⁷⁸²

At the 1925 General Council held in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, Welch and Flower proposed a constitution, but the Council rejected it. Welch and Flower took a step back from leadership, but two years later, the General Council passed it.

As early as 1920, Welch had expressed his frustration with the lack of understanding of what the Assemblies of God and General Council actually were:

He regretted that many failed to get the true vision of what the Council really is, and that many ministers have a very poor idea, and frequently misinterpret and misrepresent the Council. We need to get from the Lord what a real voluntary unity and a divine cooperation really are. The Council is established on the basis of voluntary unity, a flowing together on the basis of what we agree, with one object in view, the glory of God.⁷⁸³

In 1925, a Revision Committee was appointed by W. T. Gaston. Gaston appointed J. Narver Gortner, E. S. Williams, A. G. Ward, S. A. Jamieson, and F. M. Boyd to the committee.⁷⁸⁴ The Revision Committee offered a Constitution and suggested that the name of “Assemblies of God” be changed to “Pentecostal Evangelical Church.”⁷⁸⁵ At the 1927 Council, in the first time that Welch was absent from the Council, the matter was taken up again.⁷⁸⁶ H. A. Ulrich, who had

⁷⁸² The Assemblies of God Heritage Center was renamed Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center to honor founder, J. R. Flower. Other founders within the Assemblies of God would have shirked the thought.

⁷⁸³ “The Recent Great Convocation in Springfield, Mo.: Chairman’s Report,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 16, 1920, 4.

⁷⁸⁴ *Minutes*, 1927, 3-5. After Gaston served as the General Superintendent from 1925-1929, Ernest S. Williams served from 1929-1949.

⁷⁸⁵ “A Suggested Name Change,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 5.

⁷⁸⁶ D. W. Kerr was also absent from this meeting, and brother Frank M. Boyd, leader of the Central Bible Institute, “paid tribute to dear Brother D. W. Kerr, whose home-going had been a great loss to the school.” Notably, in 1916 or 1917, Kerr had expressed to Flower: “I wish we could have a revision of our constitutional declaration. It needs to be smoothed up, some little inconsistencies need to be taken out.” See “Our Departed Brother’s Opinion,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 9.

been a part of the Assemblies of God since 1914 said, “When I look into my German Bible I never find the word ‘church,’ it is always the word ‘assembly.’ There is no word for church in German.”⁷⁸⁷

At this 1927 Council, the revised Constitution was passed, and the Fundamental Truths were renumbered to reflect the Sixteen Fundamental Truths as they stand today. The Constitution laid out the ordination practice in large part as it stands to the present day. “Such members of the Executive Presbytery as may reside at headquarters shall constitute a Credentials Committee. They shall have authority to issue certificates of ordination to approved ministers, who have District Council endorsement, and to issue annual fellowship certificates.”⁷⁸⁸ “Licentiates who are beginners, who give evidence of being called of God” were expected to prove themselves, and “licenses to preach” would be granted by “the District Council to properly qualified applicants.”⁷⁸⁹ The Constitution stipulated: “No minister shall be ordained to the office of an elder until he shall have held a license to preach and shall have been engaged in the active work of the ministry as a pastor or evangelist at least two full consecutive years.”⁷⁹⁰ Women could be ordained in “any degree except eldership and be licensed to preach as provided for men.”⁷⁹¹

In 1927, the primary focus was the proposed name change, as the proposed Constitution simply reflected the codification and reinforcement of previous practice passed through resolutions in previous General Councils. Brother J. Narver Gortner stated:

When the Revision Committee was looking for a name, we wanted to find one that would indicate what we are, one in harmony with our real character. And we all agreed that we are Pentecostal people. Then we are evangelical too, we believe in evangelization. It has been said that we are not a denomination. But we are, whether we admit it or not. When did we become a denomination? When we denominating ourselves as the Assemblies of

⁷⁸⁷ H. A. Ulrich, “The German Viewpoint,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 9.

⁷⁸⁸ *Minutes*, 1927, 16.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.* Women won the full right to ordination of eldership in 1935.

God, and we have been a denomination ever since. Why, we consented this morning that we were a denomination when we all agreed that the people entitled to the privileges of the floor should sit within these ropes. If we are not a denomination or undenominational then why have any been barred from voting? Let all the Methodists and Presbyterians and Baptists come in and have the privileges of this floor.⁷⁹²

Leonard gave the first defense of the name Assemblies of God. Many others debated the matter, but the name change was ultimately tabled until the next meeting.⁷⁹³ Part of the reason was practical:

Our people as a whole have never accepted the name Assemblies of God and consequently have gone under other names, and the public has not been educated as to who the Assembly of God folks are. And if we make the change and accept the new name, thirteen years from now the public will be just as ignorant as to who the Pentecostal Evangelical Church are. We have been thirteen years trying to educate the minds of the public, but the public is a hard student, slow to learn.⁷⁹⁴

J. R. Flower gave the most eloquent statement of what the Assemblies of God had become:

I have always had a feeling that we did the best we could down there at Hot Springs when we drew up a constitution. It met the need, and provided a basis on which we could get together, but I have never felt it was perfect by any means. For one thing it declared we were not a sect and not an organization, and then we turned right around and organized. While we do not believe in a sectarian spirit, we have to admit that we are a group of people who have come together with certain beliefs and practices which are not accepted by other members of God's great church; and we have become marked by the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and the speaking in tongues. And whether we admit it or not, we are in a measure a sect. But that does not mean we are going to have a sectarian spirit. We should have a broad spirit and open heart and tenderness and sympathy toward all the rest who do not see eye to eye with us.⁷⁹⁵

Perhaps Flower had learned something of significant value from the Churches of God in Christ.

⁷⁹² "Are We a Denomination?" *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 6.

⁷⁹³ "Laid on the Table," *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 10. However, the issue was not brought up again.

⁷⁹⁴ "Another Objection," *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 7.

⁷⁹⁵ J. R. Flower, "Room for Improvement," *Pentecostal Evangel*, October 8, 1927, 9.

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**Appendix A: December 1913, April 1914, November 1914,
1915, and 1916 Ministerial Rolls Comparison**

The author of this study has created an accessible excel document, Google Maps, and Google Earth with the information below including the city and state for each minister. See ChristianEvangel.com/Ministers.

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Churches of God in Christ (December 1913) and Assemblies of God Minister Lists (April 1914, November 1914, 1915 and 1916)								
Key	Affiliation Status							
	Affiliated throughout 1913-1916							
	Only Affiliated in 1913							
	Disfellowshipped in 1916							
	Possible Duplicates within Original 1913 List							
	Last Name	First Name	Zip	1913	1914 (Apr)	1914 (Nov)	1915	1916
1	Adams	A.S.	72104	x	x	x	x	x
2	Aber	WK	77437					x
3	Adams	K.J.	37501	x				
4	Adams	N. R.	74851				x	
5	Adams	WJ	94102		x	x		
6	Adcock	Julius	71953				x	
7	Adler	W. J.	94102				x	
8	Agar	Miss Grace	94601		x	x		
9	Aikenhead	David R						x
10	Alanes	Isabel	78201		x	x		
11	Alanes	Enemncio	78201		x	x		
12	Albrichton	Miss Louise	66537		x	x		
13	Albritton	JB	35180		x	x	x	
14	Alewp	Mrs Lauren	63801	x				
15	Allison	Wm M	64863				x	x
16	Anderson	Carrie	54246		x	x		
17	Anderson	Frank	78201	x	x	x	x	
18	Anderson	Mrs Bess	78201	x	x	x	x	
19	Anderson	JR		x				
20	Anderson	Albert T						x
21	Anderson	Mrs Maud	75144				x	x
22	Anderson	Wm	19124				x	x
23	Anderson	WC	63870					x

24	Anderson	Mrs. W. C.						
25	Andrews	JW	32440	x	x	x	x	
26	Andrews	Ella May			x	x	x	
27	Anton	Henry	50220				x	
28	Appleberry	John N	65801				x	x
29	Armstrong	Edw.	66101				x	x
30	Arrant	TA	75925		x	x		
31	Arthur	E. L.	66739					
32	Arthur	Mary C/A	66739	x	x	x	x	x
33	Ashley	Hannah	64801	x				
34	Ashley	TB	64801	x	x	x	x	
35	Aubrey	George R	42001					x
36	Aubrey	Mrs. Agnes	42001					
37	Baddell	Saul	60290				x	x
38	Baer	Mrs Vida B	90001				x	x
39	Baggett	Henry	70651				x	
40	Baggett	W.F.	73301				x	
41	Bagril	WT	73301	x				
42	Bailey	Clyde	62864	x	x	x		
43	Bailey	LN	36375		x	x		
44	Bailey	JL	36375		x	x		
45	Bailey	James A	92101					x
46	Baker	AF	60290		x	x		
47	Baker	WH	36375	x	x	x		
48	Baker	JL	36375	x				
49	Baker	EM	50276	x	x			
50	Baker	FR/Robert Floyd	75160	x		x		x
51	Baker	Mary E	75160	x	x	x		x
52	Baker	Joana L		x				
53	Baker	Chas. Edward					x	x
54	Baker	Mrs Annie					x	
55	Baker	Jessie	72801				x	
56	Baldridge	WT	77001		x	x		
57	Ball	HC	78363				x	x
58	Banta	Ellis	72687	x	x	x	x	x
59	Banta	Miss E. L.	72687					
60	Barker	Forrest G	73773	x			x	x
61	Barker	Clara E	73773	x				
62	Barnetton	WE	74855			x		
63	Barnes	Mother May	65791	x	x	x	x	
64	Barnes	Mrs. V. A.						
65	Barnes	Edw. A						x
66	Barrett	JL	50147	x				

67	Barrett	Sherman	50147	x				
68	Barrio	Juan						x
69	Barth	David A	94601		x	x	x	
70	Barth	Mary A	94601		x	x	x	
71	Batterton/Barmetton	WE	74855	x	x			
72	Beckdahl	Christian					x	
73	Beckdahl	Agnes					x	
74	Behnke	Wm A	53201				x	
75	Belcher	AJ	36313		x	x		
76	Belford	Thos. M	30301					x
77	Bell	EN	72104	x	x	x	x	x
78	Bell	AC	75201	x				
79	Bell	James A	60290		x	x	x	
80	Bell	JW			x	x		
81	Benham	CO	60290			x	x	x
82	Bennett	SC	77001	x				
83	Benson	A. J.	73301				x	x
84	Benoit	L	72956		x	x		
85	Bernauer	Estella						x
86	Bernsten	Bernt			x	x	x	
87	Bernsten	Magna			x	x	x	
88	Berry	Wm O	38301			x	x	
89	Berryhill	Sam	74428		x	x		
90	Bicknell	Miss Grace	66742		x	x		
91	Birchall	Peter	90801					x
92	Birchall	Alice	90801					x
93	Birdsall	EG	75201	x	x	x	x	x
94	Birron	EJ	72932	x				
95	Blair	Wm H	74011					x
96	Black	Wm.					x	x
97	Blankenship	RL	77585	x	x	x	x	
98	Blian	JH	16735	x				
99	Boatwright	CA	50276	x	x	x	x	
100	Boatwright	DE	50276	x	x	x	x	x
101	Boddy	JT	44501					x
102	Booth-Clibborn	WC/WE	60290			x	x	
103	Bosworth	Fred F	75201	x	x	x	x	x
104	Bosworth	Estella	75201	x	x	x		
105	Bosworth	BB	75201					x
106	Bowlen	Thos J	76458	x	x	x	x	x
107	Bowley	Harry E	72160	x	x	x	x	
108	Bowley	Lilly	60099		x	x		

109	Boyd	Frank M	7712		x	x	x	x
110	Bradbury	HML/Homer	60290		x	x	x	x
111	Bradbury	Jessie Lee	60290		x	x	x	x
112	Branch	Alvin	49093				x	x
113	Brann/Braun	OP	21501		x	x	x	
114	Brannen	Burton W	60099				x	x
115	Brelsford	Lydia E	19019					x
116	Brickey	JC	38301				x	
117	Briggs	Chas O	72949					x
118	Broadus	Alex	36607	x	x	x	x	
119	Broadus	Mrs LM	36607	x	x	x		
120	Brock	WR	74401					x
121	Brooks	Edward B	36401		x	x	x	
122	Brooks	JE					x	x
123	Brown	Reeves A	75201		x	x		
124	Brown	Miss Janet	95401		x	x	x	
125	Brown	Marie	10001					x
126	Brown	Robert A	10001					x
127	Brown	James	25401				x	
128	Broxan	WJ	72959	x				
129	Broxan	Mary	72959	x				
130	Brubaker	Mrs Ella M	46550			x	x	
131	Brundrett	Ed	46201				x	x
132	Bryant	HW	36350	x	x	x	x	
133	Buchwalter	Mary E	17562		x	x	x	
134	Buffman	Herber	66601	x				
135	Buffman	Mrs Lillie	66601	x				
136	Bullock	Mrs ML	36313			x	x	
137	Bullock	ZW	36313			x	x	
138	Bullock	Miss JC	76372	x	x	x		
139	Bullram	JA	32425	x				
140	Burch	Thos S	76450				x	
141	Burch	TS	76450	x	x	x	x	
142	Burch	Grace	76450	x	x	x		
143	Burkhart	Geo W	21538				x	
144	Burman	Marie	10001					x
145	Burnett	Floyd	74801					x
146	Burnside	WN	78201	x	x	x	x	
147	Burnside	WM	93101					x
148	Burnside	Lillie	93101					x
149	Bursell	Herbert	99201					x
150	Bush	S Anna					x	
151	Bush	Florence					x	

152	Bushner	Rae	44101				x	
153	Butt	Daniel	56342					x
154	Cadwalder	Hugh	50220	x	x	x	x	
155	Cadwalder	Mrs Mary C	50301		x	x		
156	Caldwell	JD	39530				x	x
157	Cale	Peter D	72632				x	x
158	Calhoun	Mr J S	16406				x	
159	Calhoun	Irvin	14201				x	
160	Campbell	Kelly	72632	x			x	
161	Campbell	F	77372	x	x	x	x	
162	Carlson	Chas. O	56757		x	x	x	
163	Carothers	WF	77001			x	x	
164	Carr	Allen F	77301				x	x
165	Cartwright	EJ	64874				x	
166	Casey	A. L.	75751				x	
167	Casey	Peter	94589		x	x	x	
168	Casey	Arthur	72104					x
169	Caton	Eva May	95101					x
170	Cayce	Geo A	75119	x	x	x	x	
171	Cayce	Mrs Cora A	75119		x	x		
172	Chambers	Geo A			x	x	x	
173	Chambers	MJ	63101					x
174	Chamblee	CO	35070		x	x	x	x
175	Chapman	Mary W	14602		x	x	x	
176	Chapman	Riley	72201				x	
177	Chappell	Chas. W	98295				x	x
178	Childers	WW	63960		x	x	x	x
179	Chisolm	RB	39365		x	x	x	
180	Chivers	Wm T	10701				x	
181	Clarke	Earle W	97301		x	x	x	x
182	Clarke	Harry V	21501		x	x	x	x
183	Clarke	LW	42032					x
184	Clarke	H. V.	21539				x	
185	Clarke	Mrs Mary E	21539				x	
186	Clary	Wm	72443	x	x	x	x	x
187	Cleghorn	WE	75901	x	x	x	x	
188	Clemmons	JW	36314	x	x	x		
189	Clemmons	Monroe	75160		x	x	x	x
190	Click	Wm	76101	x	x	x	x	x
191	Click	Luttie	72396					x
192	Cline	F G	38855				x	x
193	Clopine	GW	68972				x	x
194	Clower	ER	24001		x	x		

195	Cobb	Mrs Minnie	36477	x				
196	Cocburn	JW	93101			x	x	
197	Cody	JL	35586		x	x	x	
198	Cogdell/Cogdill	Henry E	76048		x	x	x	
199	Collier	Miss Mary E	75506	x				
200	Collins	AP	76101	x	x	x	x	x
201	Collins	Mrs Ida	76101	x	x	x		
202	Collins	Ben F	61832	x	x	x		
203	Collins	Warren	76101		x	x		
204	Collins	Walter	76101					x
205	Cooburn	JW	93101		x			
206	Cook	JL	35586	x				
207	Cook	Myrtle	35586	x	x	x		
208	Cook	Mrs Della	72201	x	x	x		
209	Cook	John H	71403				x	
210	Cooper	AJ	74944		x	x		
211	Cooper	Thos J	76101	x				
212	Cooper	Nancy	76101	x				
213	Cooper	WR	65775	x	x	x	x	x
214	Copeland	Wm H	72331					x
215	Corbell	JA	73101	x				
216	Corbell	JA	73101	x	x	x	x	
217	Corbell	Myrtle	73101	x	x	x		
218	Corkburn	JW	75201	x				
219	Cornallea	Mrs Suelleda	76360	x				
220	Cornelius	Mrs LC	76360		x	x		x
221	Cox	AB	45030	x	x	x	x	x
222	Cox	Dora L	21501		x	x		x
223	Cox	HH	7101					x
224	Coxe	John	60099					x
225	Craig	WA	24001		x	x	x	x
226	Craig	Robert J	94102					x
227	Craig	Mary	94102					x
228	Craine	Clarence	71901	x	x	x	x	
229	Crane	Ralph	10801				x	
230	Crawford	Mattie	90001					x
231	Creamer	Lloyd G	60290		x	x	x	x
232	Crews	Oscar	42101				x	x
233	Crick	JT	40201	x	x	x	x	
234	Crossno	PC	72949				x	x
235	Crouch	Andrew F	50220	x	x	x		
236	Crouch	Agnes M	50220	x	x	x		
237	Crouch	AT	74855		x	x		

238	Crouch	Frank	50220	x	x	x		
239	Crouch	Dora G	50220	x				
240	Crouch	Matilda	74855		x	x		
241	Crouch	Sarah M	50220	x				
242	Crouch	John B	50220	x				
243	Crymes	Mrs Gertrude	63456				x	
244	Culbertson	Chas E	75050				x	x
245	Cullifer	JA	36340	x	x	x	x	
246	Cumbie	Max C	32577					x
247	Cunningham	EF	62843	x				
248	Cunningham	Mrs EF	62843	x				
249	Curry	JF	32425			x		
250	Dahl	Louis G	94601	x				
251	Dahlstein	Gideon A					x	x
252	Dahlstein	Hildegrade						x
253	Dailey	EH	77359	x	x	x	x	
254	Dalutra	Peter	63101	x				
255	Darner	Joseph A	52501	x	x	x	x	
256	Davies	Mary R/N	52531	x	x	x		
257	Davies	Peter	52531	x	x	x	x	x
258	Davis	Joseph A	80201	x				
259	Davis	JD	76701	x				
260	Davis	JL	67473		x	x	x	x
261	Davis	Maud		x	x	x	x	
262	Davis	Ralph H	52737					x
263	Davis	John	72554				x	
264	Dauer	George	62201					x
265	Daws	John Thomas	39365				x	
266	Dean	Bartholomew	44301					x
267	DeEllion	Geo F			x	x	x	x
268	Dellaney	Maude M	76301	x				
269	Dellion	GF		x	x	x		
270	Denney	Mrs Lillian					x	
271	Denson	AC	77332					x
272	DePriest	Eli	72415				x	x
273	Derry	JA	74855		x	x	x	x
274	Derryberry	RL	72843		x	x	x	x
275	DeWitt	HC	95401		x	x		
276	Dieffenwieth	FO	52501	x	x	x		x
277	Dieffenwieth	LA	52501	x	x	x	x	x
278	Die	John	77664				x	
279	Diehl	Geo T	77327				x	x
280	Diltz	W. H.	80201					x

281	Dilworte	Ada B	11201					x
282	Dobbs	Wilson W	73627	x				
283	Dobbs	W M	62850	x	x	x	x	x
284	Dobson	Mrs Fannie	64801	x	x	x		
285	Dobson	Francene	67022					x
286	Doll	Lillie E	19001					x
287	Doney	Chas W	90801				x	x
288	Doney	Mrs Rachel E					x	
289	Doswell	Mrs Mary L	95926		x	x	x	
290	Douglas	E.J.	37322				x	
291	Dowden	CW	77351	x	x	x	x	
292	Dowle	Sarah L	95101					x
293	Draine	Miss Dollie	72801		x	x		x
294	Draper	Mark T	98101		x	x	x	x
295	Draper	Esther J	80901					x
296	Drew	Chas W	42101					x
297	DuBose	DJ	36311	x	x	x	x	
298	DuBose	Jim	35045	x				
299	DuBose	Mrs H	36033	x				
300	Dunham	John	66601	x	x	x	x	
301	Dunlap	Henry	73626	x	x	x	x	
302	Dunlap	Arch	73082				x	x
303	Eady	Miss Swinfen	94601		x	x		
304	Eaton	Wm	65610	x	x	x	x	x
305	Eaton	JS	65633				x	x
306	Eby	Nathaniel F			x	x	x	
307	Echols	L	30539	x				
308	Edwards	OW	75201	x	x	x	x	
309	Edwards	DW	78363				x	x
310	Eichwurz	JW	77372	x	x	x	x	x
311	Eidson	EF	74881					x
312	Eiting	Fred L	85603				x	x
313	Eiting	John	85603					x
314	Elder	TS	37351	x	x	x	x	
315	Eldridge	GN	90001					x
316	Eller	Mrs Elizabeth	62080		x	x		
317	Ellsworth	AB	67022					x
318	Elsworth	Arely B	64801				x	
319	Emery	EL / Elmer or E.J.	55963			x	x	x
320	Erickson	RL	60290		x	x		
321	Evans	JR	74011				x	x
322	Evans	Elsie	74011					x

323	Ewart	FJ	90001	x				
324	Fairchildes	SD	72153		x	x		
325	Farrington	RD	72422					x
326	Farrington	Cleo	72422					x
327	Faulkner	Homer	79072	x				
328	Faux	Wm M	99352		x	x	x	x
329	Feick	August	46201					x
330	Feliciano	Dianicia						x
331	Ferguson	Marian/Mowton/Morton	63740	x	x	x	x	x
332	Ferguson	Crethe/Crettie	63740	x	x	x		
333	Ferguson	Mrs Bernice	74464		x	x		
334	Ferrell	John W	75201	x	x	x	x	x
335	Ferrell	Mollie	75201	x	x	x		
336	Fickling	Thos J	88201	x	x	x	x	
337	Field	R	97201					x
338	Finch	Clinton E	12180				x	x
339	Finley	AR/Ansel Robert	43601				x	x
340	Finnern	Geo W	53201		x	x	x	
341	Fisher	Cora E				x	x	
342	Fitzgerald	ER	72801	x	x	x	x	x
343	Fitzgerald	Mrs M E	90001		x	x	x	
344	Flower	J Roswell/Joseph	45840		x	x		x
345	Floyd	Lee	72104	x	x	x	x	
346	Fockler	Cyrus B	53201		x	x	x	
347	Fockler	Mrs Hattie M	53201			x		
348	Fortune	Pearl	74801					x
349	Foster	CE	66601	x	x	x	x	
350	Fowler	Robert	74937		x	x		
351	Ferguson	Morton V.	63740					x
352	Ferguson	Mrs. M. V.	63740					
353	Fraser	Andrew L	17101		x	x	x	x
354	Fredricks	Ralph A	18232					x
355	Frefford	Miss Ellen	94601		x			
356	Freeman	Chas. L	72415				x	
357	Fretz	Miss Viola H	2149		x	x		
358	Frodsham	Arthur W						x
359	Frodsham	Stanley H	63101					x
360	Frodsham	Mrs Mary	63101					x
361	Gammons	JD	37501	x				
362	Gardiner	Fred	75925				x	x
363	Garr	A. G.	90001				x	x
364	Gary	JW	75482				x	x

365	Garza	Loreto						x
366	Gaskill	Henry C	66601	x	x	x	x	
367	Gaston	WT	74101	x	x	x	x	
368	Gerber	Maria A	90001					x
369	Giles	WE/Wm E	72030	x	x	x	x	x
370	Gillespie	Jas H	60290					x
371	Gillies	David	44101				x	
372	Glanville	IW	50066		x	x	x	x
373	Goben	John	50151	x	x	x	x	x
374	Goff	J	63829	x				
375	Goldsmith	SD	64801	x				
376	Goodman	E	60290		x	x		
377	Gordon	Miss Margaret					x	
378	Goss	Howard A	71901	x	x	x	x	
379	Goss	Ethel E	71901	x	x	x	x	
380	Grady	Belle	99201				x	
381	Graham	Ernest O	60290		x	x		
382	Graham	M	36330		x	x		
383	Graham	JM	36330			x	x	x
384	Grant	Chas R	21562					x
385	Graves	FA	60099			x	x	x
386	Gregory	Bill	72921				x	
387	Greter	Geo	43601		x	x	x	
388	Grice	WM D/ SP	36344	x	x	x	x	
389	Grier	WM D		x	x	x	x	
390	Grier	Mrs Vinnie			x	x	x	
391	Griffin	Thomas	55401		x	x	x	x
392	Griffin	Mrs Emily	55401		x	x	x	x
393	Griffin	Robert	76101					x
394	Groat	Mary Eva	13201					x
395	Grubbs	JJ	76380					x
396	Hacker	WH	72927	x	x	x	x	
397	Hacker	Miss Hattie	46750			x	x	
398	Haggard	Ben F	72956	x				
399	Hale	FA /Felix A	78201		x	x	x	x
400	Hale	Carrie M	78363					x
401	Hall	Mrs Jean C	60099	x	x	x		
402	Hall	LC	60099	x	x	x		
403	Hall	FD	73627	x				
404	Hall	SN	72069	x				
405	Hall	Mrs Rosa	78611	x	x	x	x	
406	Hall	Walter W	78611	x	x	x	x	x
407	Hall	Geo Lee	72632					x

408	Hall	Isaiah	78201				x	x
409	Hall	Sam	63101					x
410	Halland	Flora A					x	
411	Halland	Mrs Serena					x	
412	Halliday	Robert C					x	
413	Hamilton	SW, Miss Sarah	78201	x	x	x		
414	Hammond	Valeria	74020					x
415	Hampton	WH	76301	x	x	x	x	
416	Hancock	Wayne F	76201				x	
417	Hanneck	W H	99201				x	
418	Hansen	HEW	94701		x	x	x	
419	Hansen	Mrs Margaret	94701		x	x	x	
420	Hansen	Chas J	33601					x
421	Hansford	Ellie	72104	x			x	
422	Hara	FD	78586	x				
423	Hardwick	WH	36311	x		x	x	
424	Hargis	Vache	74464		x	x	x	
425	Harlow	WF	92101					x
426	Harris	Joe J	77001	x	x	x	x	x
427	Harris	Alice	77001	x	x	x		
428	Harrison	GG/Geo G	77664	x	x	x	x	x
429	Harrison	WM	77664	x	x	x	x	
430	Harrison	Charley A	72801				x	
431	Hartz	W. E.	63960					x
432	Harvey	Hermon L	63101	x			x	x
433	Harvey	James					x	x
434	Harvey	Mary	67673				x	
435	Harvey	Ralph	67673				x	
436	Harvey	Esther Bragg						
437	Hastie	Eugene	50220	x	x	x	x	x
438	Hastie	Lena	50220		x	x		
439	Hastie	Mrs Arthur	50220		x	x		
440	Hastie	Arthur	50220		x	x	x	
441	Hawkins	JC	73644	x				
442	Hawkins	Richard	21532					x
443	Hayman	HF	79536		x	x	x	
444	Hays	MT	35180	x	x	x	x	
445	Hays	Mrs Luster	77001		x	x		
446	Haywood	Jessie L	28326				x	
447	Helms	John C	76023					x
448	Henderson	S. R.	70658				x	
449	Hendricks	Henry	52501	x				
450	Henneck	WH	99201	x	x	x	x	

451	Herrin	Miss Maude	77351	x	x	x		
452	Hewett	Pearl May	95014					x
453	Hickman	WO	72104					x
454	Hicks	TD		x				
455	Hicks	AD	74855	x				
456	Hicks	Geo H	36607	x	x	x	x	
457	Hicks	Lutitia D	74855	x				
458	Higgins	Walter	63846		x	x	x	x
459	Hines	CA						x
460	Hines	Inez Ruth						x
461	Hines	R P	76426				x	
462	Hite	B H	37201				x	
463	Hobson	Chas A	31901		x	x	x	
464	Holmes	RL	85001	x				
465	Holmes	Mary R	85001	x				
466	Homes	GR	85201		x	x	x	
467	Hoover	Mrs May L				x	x	
468	Horn	Alonzo	72901	x	x	x	x	x
469	Horten	Miss Agnes H	2149		x	x		
470	House	John K	92101					x
471	Houseman	Chas C	62957	x				
472	Houston	Robert S	78379					x
473	Howell	WW	76101	x	x	x		
474	Howell	Mrs Edith	76101	x	x	x		
475	Howell	W Y	64673				x	
476	Hudson	Richard W	43601		x	x	x	x
477	Hudson	John W	72930					x
478	Hughen	OO	36507					x
479	Huffman	WN	95101		x	x		
480	Humbard	AE	72121	x	x	x		
481	Hutson	AM/Allan M	94102		x	x	x	x
482	Hutson	Claude B	46201					x
483	Jackson	John W	77901		x	x	x	
484	Jackson	Mary Ann						x
485	Jackson	Henry E	75160				x	
486	Jackson	Wm A	64744				x	
487	Jacobs	WW	88101		x	x	x	
488	James	John D		x	x	x	x	
489	James	John H	66713	x	x	x	x	x
490	Jamieson	AH	48201					x
491	Jamieson	Jas R	10001					x
492	Jamieson	SA	75201		x	x	x	x
493	Jaynes	Chas E	50301	x	x	x	x	

494	Jaynes	Hazell M	50301	x	x	x		
495	Jeffrey	Ralph M	19023				x	x
496	Jennison	Earle V	67530		x	x	x	
497	Jenson	Carl R	60290		x	x	x	x
498	Jessup	Walter B	39301	x			x	x
499	Jessup	Maude	39301	x				
500	Jewell	Mrs Mabel	50301		x	x		
501	Johnson	Christine	30301	x				
502	Johnson	RT	63954			x	x	
503	Johnson	Wm H		x	x	x	x	
504	Johnson	Jennie/ Sarah J		x	x	x	x	
505	Johnson	JD	66742		x	x	x	
506	Johnson	Emma M	66742		x	x		
507	Johnson	Arthur F	55801					x
508	Johnson	S. L.						
509	Johnston	JH/ John Harvey	72396	x	x	x		x
510	Johnston	AH	50067		x	x	x	
511	Jones	JS	65610		x	x	x	
512	Jones	Oscar	76458	x			x	x
513	Jones	Fred L	73301	x	x	x	x	
514	Jones	Francis	51601		x	x	x	
515	Jones	DK	37351	x				
516	Jones	Garrett D	72632					x
517	Jones	Abel	92373				x	
518	Jones	Willie	71832				x	
519	Jordan	IN	36401	x			x	
520	Jourden	WM D	79549	x	x	x	x	x
521	Journey	Nora	71901	x	x	x		x
522	Joyner	Geo A	77550	x	x	x	x	
523	Joyner	Lula	77550	x	x	x		
524	Joyner	Mrs Nellie	72201		x	x		
525	Juillerat	Albert E	7712				x	
526	Juliff	Georgia C	73301	x	x	x	x	
527	Justice	AB	36344	x	x	x	x	
528	Karsey	Alice M	66601		x	x		
529	Kaufmann	I S	18932					x
530	Kelley	Geo M	28453					x
531	Kelley	Margaret	28453					x
532	Kellner	John	13901					x
533	Kemper	Nathaniel F	71403		x	x	x	
534	Kenny	LV	76372	x				x
535	Kerr	DW	44101		x	x	x	x
536	Kerr	Mrs DW	44101		x	x	x	

537	Kersh	Wm A	45875		x	x	x	
538	Key	Frank	30301		x	x	x	
539	Kilburn	JD	24216	x	x	x	x	
540	Kilburn	IL	24216		x	x		
541	Killingsworth	Mrs Arminta	36375			x		
542	Killmer	Wm	70526				x	
543	King	AC	39401		x	x		
544	King	Miss Ruth	39401	x	x			
545	King	James C		x	x	x		
546	Kinne	SD	61701	x				
547	Kinne	Beatrice	61701	x				
548	Kirkland	Bettie E	78664		x	x		x
549	Kirkland	CC/Cicero C	78664		x	x	x	x
550	Kirkland	Miss Jennie E	48201			x	x	
551	Kirkpatrick	Wm F	62002		x	x	x	x
552	Kirsch	Katherine M						x
553	Kistler	JE/ Jacob E	7712		x	x	x	x
554	Kitchen	J F	77001				x	
555	Knighton	Humphrey						x
556	Kneisley	W V	65791				x	
557	Knott	Admiral Seymour	39440				x	x
558	LaBarge	PM	77001	x				
559	LaBarge	Agnes	77001	x				
560	Lack	WE						x
561	LaFleur	RL	77359	x	x	x	x	
562	Lambert	WL	73644	x	x	x	x	
563	Lambert	Thos J	76690				x	
564	Lambia	Mrs Mary	99201		x	x		
565	Lane	BA	76458	x				
566	Lane	Mrs WB	62922			x		
567	Lankston	WF	62973	x	x	x	x	x
568	Lasater	CA	72851	x	x	x	x	x
569	Law	Harry/Henry			x	x	x	x
570	Law	John H	65775					x
571	Lawler	Homer L	94601		x	x	x	
572	Lawrence	BF/Bennett F	65791	x	x	x	x	x
573	Lawrence	Mrs Imogine	65791	x	x	x		
574	Laws	HB	76491		x	x	x	
575	Lawson	Geo W	63846	x	x	x	x	x
576	Leaming	Chas M	50276	x				
577	Leaming	Geo W	50276		x	x	x	
578	LeBrocq	James F			x	x	x	
579	Ledbetter	JW	32425	x	x	x	x	x

580	Lee	Bernice C	78401	x				
581	Lee	Martha	71901	x	x	x	x	
582	Lee	Ira C S	77449	x			x	
583	Lee	Ethel	77449	x				
584	Lee	Miss Valeria	35586	x	x	x		
585	Lemaster	HV/Henry V	72662	x	x	x	x	x
586	Lenander	Esther					x	
587	Leonard	TK	45840		x	x	x	x
588	Leonard	Chas S	65801				x	x
589	Levy	Mark John	19104					
590	Lewek	Jos. R	60290			x	x	x
591	Lewis	NR	75754					x
592	Lewis	A. M.	62040					
593	Lineberger	Carl F	62201				x	x
594	Lindblad	Frank	96025				x	x
595	Lindsay	Fannie C	76652	x	x	x	x	
596	Lindsey	Isadore	62952		x	x	x	
597	Lindstrom	JGE	60290		x	x	x	
598	Lisk	Thomas W	72901				x	
599	Lohmann	Fred	77449	x	x	x	x	x
600	Lohmann	Mrs Ethel	76101		x	x		
601	Lopez	Arnulfo	78617					x
602	Lourmand	Frances	70648				x	
603	Lout	GC	71462		x	x	x	
604	Lout	Mrs Lydia R	71462		x	x		
605	Low	Alexander	24001		x	x	x	x
606	Lowe	Robert H	84101					x
607	Lowther	Miss Willa B			x	x	x	
608	Lucas	Robt M	72086				x	
609	Luce	Alice E	78363					x
610	Luce	Eveline	90801				x	
611	Lugo	John L					x	x
612	Lynn	Daniel	72638	x	x	x	x	
613	Lyon	Walter	76430	x	x	x	x	
614	Mack	WT/Will T	72104	x			x	x
615	Macurn	Hellen	77359	x				
616	Magnussen	Beda	60290		x	x	x	
617	Mahaffey	Dickey S	15144					x
618	Mahan	DC	76380	x				
619	Malick	Ayad Abd El	15221					x
620	Malla	Geo M	62201				x	
621	Malla	Harry	62201				x	
622	Maness	Chas E	92101	x	x	x	x	

623	Mangrum/Mangum	AW/Arthur W	77404			x	x	x
624	Mangrum/Mangum	GC	75160	x	x	x	x	x
625	Mangrum/Mangum	Carrie	75160	x	x	x	x	
626	Mangum	Sarah C	75684					x
627	Manhold	Gustav H	43601		x	x	x	
628	Mansbridge	CH	18324		x	x	x	
629	Marcom	John	55801				x	
630	Marine	Oliver	72104		x	x	x	
631	Mardis	WE		x	x	x	x	
632	Marsh	Frederick Carl	73101	x	x	x	x	
633	Marsh	Ella Elva	73101	x	x	x	x	
634	Marshall	Geo A						
635	Marshell	Miss Gertrude	39301		x	x		
636	Martin	LF/Lucreita F	65801		x	x	x	x
637	Martin	U. R.						
638	Martin	WH	36313	x				
639	Mason	Hedley	43733		x	x	x	
640	Massey	Robert E	36344				x	
641	Matthews	Wm C	18701					x
642	Maturn	Miss Helen	77359		x	x		
643	Mayhew	PN	71603	x	x	x		
644	Mays	Jas. William	74010				x	
645	McBride	RS			x	x	x	
646	McGabe	P. D.	71201					
647	McCafferty	Burt	75160	x	x	x	x	x
648	McCalla	Emory B	63101				x	
649	McCarty	Mrs D L					x	x
650	McCaslin	Annie J	76513		x	x		
651	McCaslin	Ealy A	76513		x	x	x	x
652	McCaslin	John W	73301				x	x
653	McCauley	R A						x
654	McClain	SC	71901		x	x		
655	McCleary	OE / EO	45840		x	x	x	
656	McConnell	JS	77001		x	x	x	
657	McConnell	Mrs JS	77001		x	x	x	
658	McConnell	JD	76434				x	
659	McCulley	RA			x	x	x	
660	McCustain	AJ/Andrew J	75925		x	x	x	x
661	McDowell	DH	10307		x	x	x	x
662	McEvoy	Arthur	60290		x	x	x	
663	McEvoy	Rosa A	60290		x	x	x	
664	McGraw	Geo S	36033		x	x	x	
665	McHvraigh?	Anne	72956	x				

666	McIntosh	Wm D	64632		x	x		
667	McIntyre	JW	72956	x	x	x		
668	McKim	WC/WO	65775	x	x	x	x	x
669	McNees	Robert W	46320		x	x	x	x
670	Mercer	WS	77515	x				
671	Mercer	AW	77515		x	x		
672	Mercer	Wm A					x	x
673	Mercer	Mrs Willie May	77515		x	x		x
674	Mercer	John S	29601				x	
675	Mern	HC	75201	x				
676	Merrill	Van B	73301		x	x	x	x
677	Merrill	S I	95201				x	
678	Merrin	Wm	60290		x	x	x	
679	Meyer	Bertha	60290		x	x		
680	Millen	Elbert C	60099		x	x	x	
681	Miller	Jacob	72916	x	x	x	x	x
682	Miller	Miss Ruth	62571		x			
683	Miller	Miss Tona	62571		x			
684	Miller	Miss Flossie	66749		x	x		
685	Miller	GW	95448		x	x		
686	Miller	J I	74801				x	
687	Miller	Robert J	62201				x	
688	Miller	Mrs Emma	63079				x	
689	Miller	Robert O	63079				x	x
690	Mills	RL	98101	x			x	
691	Mills	Wm	38301	x		x	x	x
692	Millsaps	Willie	67675				x	x
693	Minnely	Andrew G			x	x	x	
694	Minnely	Edith E			x	x		
695	Mitchell	Hardy W	76101	x	x	x	x	x
696	Mitchell	Mrs Theo	76101	x	x	x		
697	Mixon	AL	36314	x				
698	Moll	Frank M	50301		x	x	x	
699	Moll	Wm	49014				x	
700	Monk	A M	71065				x	
701	Monk	Nathan J	76252					x
702	Monroe	Samuel S	72326					x
703	Montarbo	Delfin						x
704	Montgomery	Mrs Carrie Judd	94601		x	x	x	
705	Moody	Wm E	60290	x	x	x	x	x
706	Moody	JB/James B	76701		x	x	x	x
707	Moody	Loretta	92101					x

708	Mooney	J. L.	78957					
709	Moore	WR	77977		x	x	x	x
710	Moore	SF	74941		x	x		
711	Moore	Jas C	78642					x
712	Moore	Geo B	72632					x
713	Moran	JH	72554	x	x	x	x	
714	Morehead	Miss Annie	77359	x	x	x		
715	Morgan	RC	75703		x	x		
716	Morgan	Bettie E	77001					x
717	Morgan	R O	33455				x	
718	Morin	Antonia R	78201		x	x		
719	Morse	Harry	95201	x	x	x		
720	Morland	DR	21501		x	x	x	
721	Morris	DK	77372	x	x	x	x	
722	Morris	Mrs Annie	71439		x	x		
723	Morwood	Wm	77001	x	x	x	x	x
724	Morwood	Martha E	77001	x	x	x		
725	Mosaly	SD	78201	x	x	x	x	
726	Mosaly	Chas.	78201	x	x	x	x	
727	Moyer	AA	64801	x				
728	Mullivan	WT	72936	x				
729	Murcutt	Florence	90001					x
730	Murphy	DK	72422		x	x	x	
731	Murray	James M	74727					x
732	Myers	Miss M	75201		x	x		
733	Neal	J G	72143					x
734	Needham	Harold	90001					x
735	Neeley	Ira C S		x				
736	Neeley	Mattie		x				
737	Nelson	WJ	67623		x	x		
738	Nelson	Iver O	78363				x	x
739	Nestmann	John A	49858				x	
740	Neve	Chas M	55801				x	
741	Newby	Edgar L	76360					x
742	Newby	Rewel W	76380					x
743	Newsom	O C	32401				x	
744	Nichols	Miss Safhronia	77977		x	x		
745	Nichols	Geo W	73662	x	x	x	x	
746	Nichols	Nettie D						x
747	Nichols	Orly						x
748	Nichols	Norman R					x	
749	Nichols	Guy	94601				x	
750	Nix	C N	39440				x	

751	Noles	Mrs Dosia	36375			x		
752	Nuzum	Mrs C	85607		x	x		
753	Odegard	S T						x
754	Odom	Steve A	79546					x
755	O'Guinn	Carl	63877			x	x	x
756	Olsen	JO	60290			x	x	
757	O'Neal	Thos J	67623		x	x	x	x
758	Opie	Wm E	93722	x	x	x	x	x
759	Opie	Hazel V	93722					x
760	Opie	Miss Ethel	94601		x	x		
761	Opie	Richard	90801				x	
762	Opperman	Dan CO	77001	x	x	x	x	
763	Opperman	Hattie R	77001	x	x	x		
764	Urshan	Andrew						
765	Ortiz	Francisco D Sr.	95101				x	x
766	Ortiz	Francisco D Jr.					x	x
767	Orndorff	J N					x	
768	Osborn	Jerry E		x	x	x	x	
769	Osborn	OG	49022		x	x	x	
770	Ott	John J	77327		x	x		x
771	Otterman	Matthew L	44501				x	x
772	Overstreet	Chas E	78201	x	x	x	x	
773	Padgett	Samuel M	72938					x
774	Palmer	Jesse	68939					x
775	Parker	Leonor	60290					x
776	Parks	WW	72940		x	x		
777	Pascoe	Alfred	61601		x	x	x	
778	Pascoe	Ira A	61520					x
779	Patterson	Geo Marvin	72687	x		x	x	x
780	Patterson	Sherwood H	67623					x
781	Patton	Walter	76458			x		
782	Peace	Jas L	50144	x			x	x
783	Pearson	AL	95448		x	x		
784	Pearson	WC	95101		x	x		
785	Peden	Margaret J			x	x		
786	Pelton	CW	44030				x	x
787	Perdue	L S	73556				x	
788	Perkins	JM	07060		x	x	x	
789	Perkins	Mrs JM	07060		x	x	x	
790	Perkins	James A	87036					x
791	Perry	Marion	28103		x	x		x

792	Peters	Lottie	52501		x	x		
793	Peters	Fred	49014				x	
794	Phillips	Quincy G	76652	x				
795	Phillips	Joe P	76652	x			x	
796	Phillips	James H	31901		x	x		
797	Phillips	Raymon Robert	78643				x	
798	Phillips	Miss Abbie S	02150		x	x		
799	Pilgrim	Geo M	39365				x	
800	Pinson	M M	85001	x	x	x	x	x
801	Pipkin	Henry	76085				x	x
802	Polk	John Henry	75852					x
803	Planter	Josephine Slesak			x	x		
804	Poole	Fred E	90001		x	x	x	
805	Poole	F P	76458				x	
806	Pope	WH	74011	x	x	x	x	x
807	Posie	Fred E	90001	x				
808	Posey	Miss Mary E					x	
809	Post	A H	90001				x	x
810	Post	Etta M	90001				x	x
811	Potera	Lottie	52501	x				
812	Potter	WR	90301	x	x	x	x	x
813	Pottorif	John W	26354				x	x
814	Pocock	Wm	07201					x
815	Preston	John A	75201	x	x	x	x	
816	Preston	Wadie V	75201	x	x	x		
817	Price	Fred	45840		x	x	x	
818	Pridgeon	Chas P						x
819	Prier	Chas.	62454	x	x	x	x	
820	Pring	Geo P			x	x	x	
821	Pring	Mrs Annie L			x	x		
822	Pyatt	C	7632	x	x	x	x	
823	Radford	Miss Laura						
824	Rahter	Mary R	17101		x	x	x	x
825	Ralph	KM	94601		x	x		
826	Ralph	Catherine M	97201				x	x
827	Ramsey	AV	50301	x	x	x		
828	Ramsey	Mrs WM	65791	x				
829	Ramsey	Pleas	72801				x	x
830	Rape	Alvin T	60290		x	x	x	x
831	Ray	Chas E	72901					x
832	Rea	Miss Olive M			x	x	x	
833	Reckley	Mrs Ettie E	21501					x
834	Reckley	James R	21501				x	

835	Red	Wm M	39365				x	
836	Reif	Fanny M	60290		x	x	x	
837	Reed	HE	72201	x	x	x	x	x
838	Reese	S L	94101				x	
839	Reppond	Miss Nellie	71901		x	x		
840	Reser	John	72662		x	x		
841	Rhodes	TH	76513		x	x		
842	Rhodes	Frank M	90001				x	
843	Rice	Wm A	52738		x			
844	Richards	Mrs Ida	76009		x	x		
845	Richardson	Horace J	52501				x	x
846	Richey	EN	77001		x	x	x	x
847	Richie	Raymond T	77001				x	x
848	Rickard	Dan't B	46201				x	x
849	Ridgway	Mrs EV	62863		x	x		
850	Riggins	Bertha	76101		x	x		
851	Riggs	CM/Calvin M	72901		x	x		x
852	Riley	Lee	72927	x	x	x		
853	Riley	Luther	72842				x	x
854	Roark	Mrs Eulah H	75925	x	x	x		
855	Roark	Wm F	75925	x	x	x		x
856	Robbins	G N	72501					x
857	Robertson	Henrietta		x	x	x		
858	Robinson	CC/Chas.	72851	x	x	x	x	x
859	Robinson	JW	38301	x	x	x	x	
860	Robinson	Walter P	76380				x	x
861	Robinson	A B	36442				x	
862	Rodgers	HG	38301	x	x	x	x	x
863	Rodgers	Miss Ethel	38301	x				
864	Rodgers	Joe	77001		x	x		
865	Romines	Fayette	72938	x	x	x	x	x
866	Romines	Nannie	72938	x				
867	Ross	SL	72616	x	x	x		
868	Ross	Josephine	72936					x
869	Ross	Mrs Julia A	73101				x	
870	Rosselli	Joe	77001	x			x	x
871	Rosselli	Stella	77001	x	x	x	x	
872	Rowe	John M	35201	x			x	
873	Rowe	Mrs JM	35201	x				
874	Rowe	C R	33601				x	
875	Ruch	Geo W	99201					x
876	Rush	Miss Ida	94601		x	x	x	
877	Russell	Andrew	66413					x

878	Salyer	HA			x	x	x	
879	Sammons	Harry E	72660	x				
880	Sanders	Mrs Sarah	62080		x	x		
881	Sappinton	L. A.	45201					x
882	Sappinton	JW/John W	72554		x	x	x	x
883	Sappinton	Lloyd	72554		x	x	x	x
884	Savell	James O	38746				x	x
885	Sawyer	B M	62002				x	
886	Sawyers	T J	77001					
887	Scarber	Jas D	74647				x	x
888	Scarber	Mary Luella	74647				x	x
889	Schaefer	Clyde J	97201				x	x
890	Schell	Wm. G.						
891	Schoeneich	AB			x	x	x	
892	Schoeneich	Mrs AB			x	x	x	
893	Scheink	Henry	77001	x	x	x		
894	Scheumack	JD/Joseph D Sr.	73301		x	x		x
895	Scheumack	Joseph D Jr	73301					x
896	Schmitt	Chas D	53201				x	x
897	Schoettley	Harry E	43601				x	
898	Schwartz	Florence	90801					x
899	Scott	Ola	74855	x				
900	Scott	Roy	74855	x				
901	Scott	Miss Mabel	94601		x	x		
902	Secrist	J S	98501				x	x
903	Sego	JM	15545		x	x		
904	Shade	C L	26750					x
905	Shannessy	Wm E	02121					x
906	Shannon	Mrs Laura G	95201		x	x		
907	Shalton	RL	62970	x				
908	Shearer	Harvey F	77359	x	x	x	x	x
909	Shearer	Emma J	78654		x	x		
910	Sheldon	SC	66601	x				
911	Shields	CE/Charles E	74941		x	x		x
912	Shinn	J R	98501				x	
913	Shipley	CM	65708	x				
914	Shockey	S L	74056					x
915	Schoonmaker	CH						x
916	Short	WL	68305		x	x	x	
917	Shurron	Jas O	65692				x	x
918	Sidford	AE/Alfred E			x	x	x	x
919	Simms	James E	66537		x	x	x	
920	Simonett	Chas						x

921	Simpson	W W	7101				x	x
922	Simpson	Otilia	7101				x	x
923	Sinclair	John C	60290		x	x	x	
924	Sisk	Thos W	72916					x
925	Skipper	John C						x
926	Slager	Geo C					x	
927	Slager	Mrs Abiga C					x	
928	Slay	JL	36610		x	x	x	
929	Sloan	Geo W	75684		x	x		
930	Small	Frank			x	x	x	
931	Smiley	BC	75201	x				
932	Smiley	Susan	75201	x				
933	Smith	RT	74941	x	x	x		
934	Smith	Blanche M	77001	x	x	x		
935	Smith	Luther			x	x	x	
936	Smith	N R E	37351	x				
937	Smith	Chas. A	77001	x	x	x	x	
938	Smith	GT	24001		x	x	x	
939	Smith	JB/James B	75684		x	x	x	x
940	Smith	Mrs Lennie	75109				x	x
941	Smith	Cary W	34949				x	x
942	Smith	George E	44501					x
943	Smith	JW	44030				x	x
944	Smith	Robt F	74801				x	x
945	Smith	Henry A	76446				x	
946	Smith	Dr Sidney	94601				x	
947	Smythe	Jas E	64850	x	x	x	x	
948	Snell	WL/Willie T	32428		x	x	x	x
949	Snellgrove	L	36371		x	x	x	
950	Snyder	RE	74855	x			x	
951	Sockwell	Miss Alice	36607	x				
952	Sorenson	Niels C			x	x	x	
953	Soules	J Clark	44101				x	x
954	Spomer	August	93722		x	x	x	
955	Spomer	Mrs Anna	93722		x	x		
956	Squire	Chas. A	61832	x	x	x		
957	Squire	Sarah L	61832	x	x	x		x
958	Stanley	AH	79252	x			x	
959	Standley	WH	13601					x
960	Stansbury	Geo S	75605					x
961	Stark	J A	71439				x	

962	Steinberg	Edgar C					x	x
963	Stegenga	Martin	62914					x
964	Stephan	GE	45840		x			
965	Stevens	Joseph F	76301		x	x	x	x
966	Stewart	CC	39475	x				
967	Stod	Geo B	90001	x				
968	Stokley	PM	45836	x	x	x	x	x
969	Stokley	Mrs Kate/Catherine	45836	x	x	x		x
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971	Stovall	Harry E	77001	x	x	x	x	
972	Streeter	James	60290		x	x		
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978	Sutter	G W	73301				x	
979	Sutton	BW	78642	x				
980	Sutton	GW	77449	x				
981	Sweaza	Gilbert C	63846	x			x	x
982	Swenta	Nellie M	63846	x				
983	Tanner	JW	17545		x	x	x	
984	Tanner	Elmer	71079					x
985	Tannius	Zacariah	71763					x
986	Taylor	Maude M	46041		x	x	x	
987	Taylor	RE	32440		x	x	x	
988	Taylor	Zola	72415				x	x
989	Terrill	Wm B	72632					x
990	Thomas	CV/Chas V	80817		x	x	x	x
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992	Thomas	RM/Richard M	78201	x	x	x	x	x
993	Thomas	Marguerite D	75165		x	x		
994	Thomas	Herbert W	50301		x	x	x	x
995	Thomas	Ellsworth S	13905				x	x
996	Thomas	J C	79252					x
997	Thomas	Geo M	85626					x
998	Thomason	Frank	41314				x	
999	Thompson	Mamie A	76101	x				
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1001	Thornton	OH	77583			x	x	x
1002	Throop	Miss I May	90001		x	x		x
1003	Timmons	Jesse C						x
1004	Tomlin	Wayne	36330	x	x			

1005	Tomlin	Jewel	36330	x	x			
1006	Travis	Elbert	67651				x	x
1007	Trefford	Miss Ellen E	94601			x		
1008	Trotter	WC	97201		x	x	x	
1009	Trusty	Hansel H	72855				x	x
1010	Tubbs	Lee	79101	x	x	x	x	
1011	Tucker	Rosie	90001					x
1012	Tullus/Tullos	Will	76082	x	x	x	x	x
1013	Tunmore	Joseph	15201					x
1014	Turner	Andrew	74041				x	
1015	Twiss	Thos	18503					x
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1019	Van Loon	Harry	60290	x				
1020	Vanover	Jackson	72632		x	x	x	
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1023	Van Horn	Elizabeth	90001				x	
1024	Van Valen	Paul D	37501		x	x	x	
1025	Viney	Jos M	72632					x
1026	Vogler	Fred	24112		x	x	x	x
1027	Waddle	Homer H	72455				x	x
1028	Waiverfield	Miss Frances	77001	x				
1029	Walker	Bert	72616		x	x	x	
1030	Walker	Miss Lillie M	02150		x	x		
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1032	Walker	Mrs Olive H	84130		x	x		
1033	Walker	Harry L	94601				x	
1034	Wall	Newton	39301		x	x	x	
1035	Wall	Mrs Rints	39301		x	x		
1036	Walls	HW	43601					x
1037	Wallace	Zeddock	47438		x	x	x	
1038	Walters	LR	36601		x	x		
1039	Waltman	OC	36575	x				
1040	Waltman	Mrs Lillie	36575	x				
1041	Waltman	C O	36575				x	
1042	Ward	Lettie			x	x	x	
1043	Ward	Charles	75050				x	x
1044	Waterfield	Miss Frances	77001		x	x		
1045	Watkins	OL / Ora L	64670		x	x	x	x
1046	Watson	LN/IN	75201	x	x	x	x	
1047	Watson	Mrs Eva			x	x		

1048	Watts	ME	85001		x	x	x	
1049	Webb	Ethel V						x
1050	Webb	WG	37322				x	
1051	Webster	Shelt	74011			x	x	
1052	Webster	Chester V	21539					x
1053	Welch	John W	74464	x	x	x	x	x
1054	Welch	EE	72921	x			x	
1055	Wells	Lillian D	95101				x	x
1056	Wells	C M	75409					x
1057	Wells	John D	95101				x	x
1058	Westman	John A	49858				x	
1059	Whelchel	William H	74501					x
1060	White	CW	36350	x	x	x	x	
1061	White	Jas. E.						
1062	White	Edgar Wayne	67675				x	
1063	Whitnall	David E	63101				x	
1064	Whittington	WH	62812	x	x	x		
1065	Whitworth	AL	76077	x	x	x		
1066	Whitworth	Lonnie	76031				x	
1067	Wigglesworth	Smith						x
1068	Wilder	JC	76101		x	x		x
1069	Wiley	Efton	64801		x	x		
1070	Wilkes	John T	21550					x
1071	Wilkes	Sarah A	21550					x
1072	Wilkins	WD	73038	x	x	x	x	
1073	Williams	DJ	79549	x				
1074	Williams	Harry J	60290		x	x	x	
1075	Williams	ES	98101				x	x
1076	Williams	Laura	98101				x	x
1077	Williams	Geo Everett	50067				x	
1078	Williamson	Chas.	76009		x	x	x	
1079	Williamson	Ella	76009		x	x	x	
1080	Williamson	Jas G	17268				x	x
1081	Wilson	Homer G	64762	x				
1082	Wilson	Fred	72687	x	x	x	x	
1083	Wilson	AE	71603	x	x	x	x	
1084	Wilson	John T	72687				x	x
1085	Wilson	Herbert J	60290					x
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1087	Winfrey	John V	75501	x				
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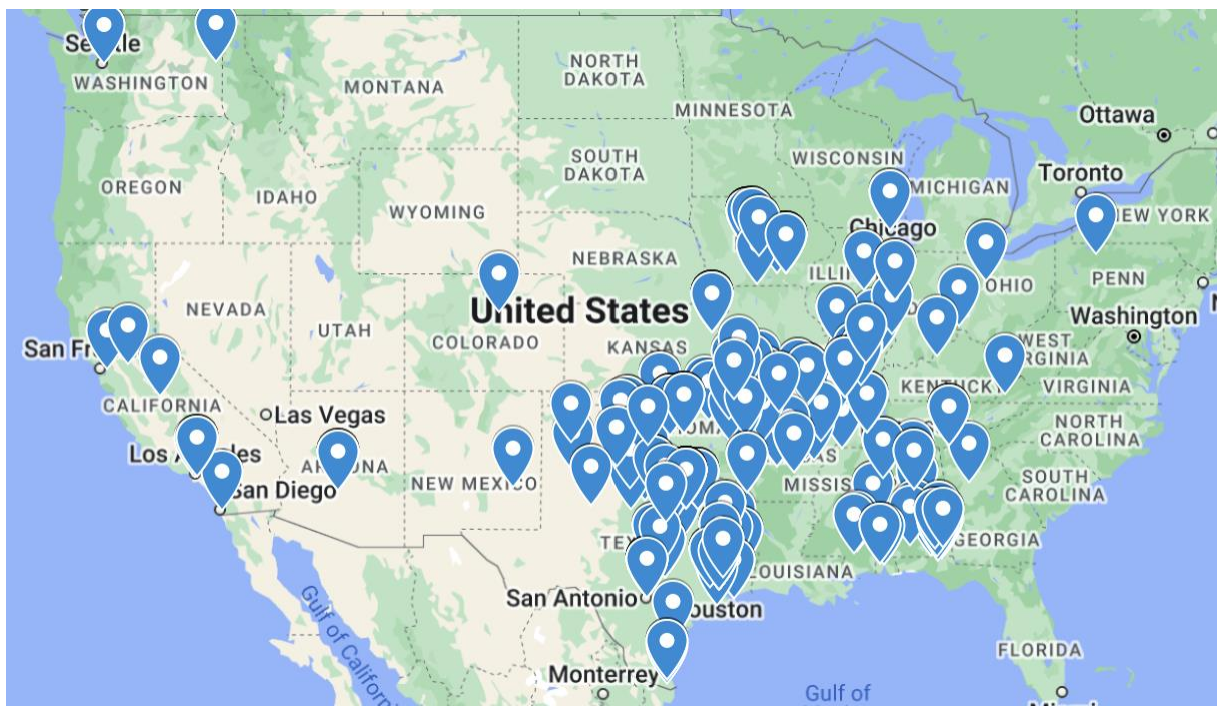
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1093	Witte	EJ	45201				x	x
1094	Wood	WL	90001	x	x	x	x	
1095	Woods	Walter M	75951		x	x	x	
1096	Wood	JE	39301		x	x		
1097	Wood	Miss Alice M			x	x	x	x
1098	Woodson	Robert P	24001				x	
1099	Wooten	Leamon	36323					x
1100	Wooten	Christine	36323					x
1101	Workman	W. T.	62080					
1102	Wray	Hugh H	78550	x	x	x	x	x
1103	Wray	Hilda P	78550	x	x	x		
1104	Yegga	MA			x	x		
1105	Yest	Mary	60290		x	x		
1106	Yest	Nicholas	60290		x	x	x	
1107	Young	GW	72414		x	x	x	
1108	Young	Mrs Lavado	77372		x	x		
1109	Young	CJ	77372	x	x			
1110	Young	CG	77301				x	
1111	Youngblood	Powell	74370	x	x	x	x	

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1914 (April)	<i>Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God</i> . Findlay: Gospel Publishing House, April 1914, 12-16.
1914 (Nov)	<i>Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God</i> . Findlay: Gospel Publishing House, November 1914, 1-16.
1915	<i>Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God</i> . St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, October 1915, 1-16.
1916	<i>Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God</i> . St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, October 1916, 1-23.

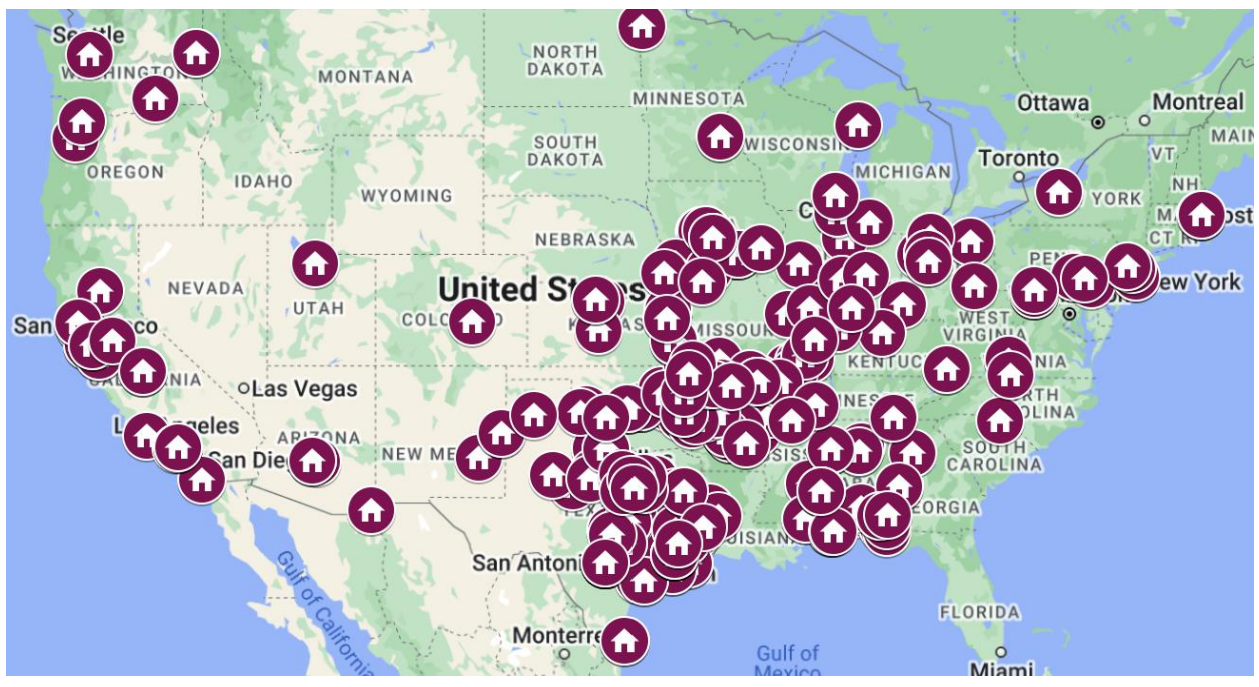
Appendix B: Geographic Maps of Ministers Comparison

The author of this study has an interactive Google Map at ChristianEvangel.com.

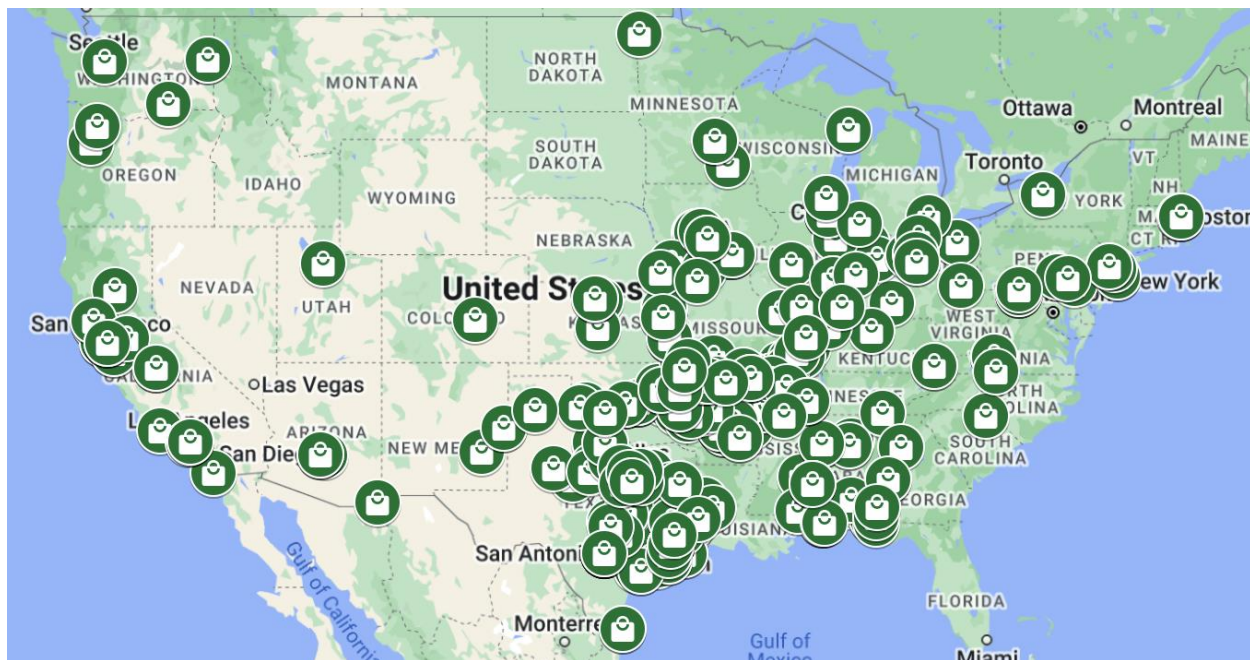
1913 Churches of God in Christ Ministerial Roll



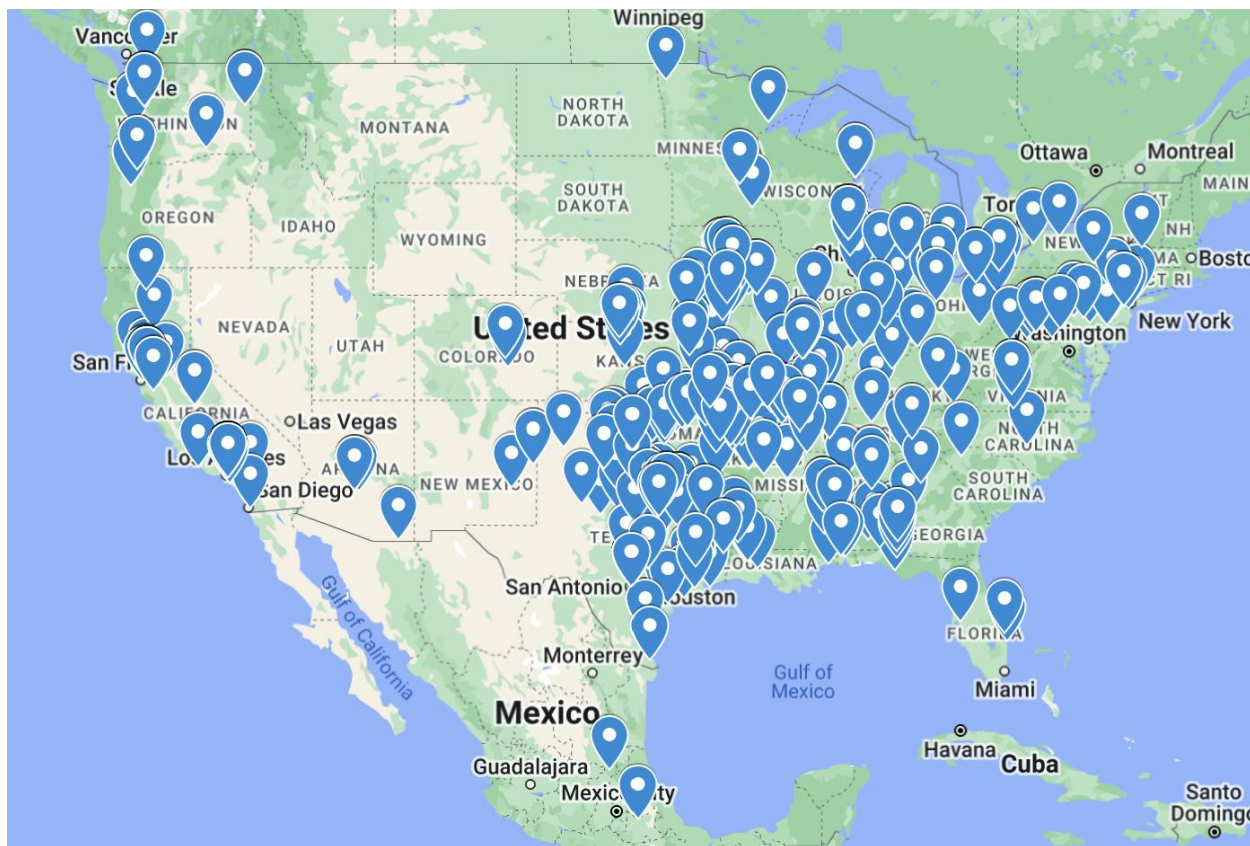
April 1914 Assemblies of God Ministerial Roll



November 1914 Assemblies of God Ministerial Roll



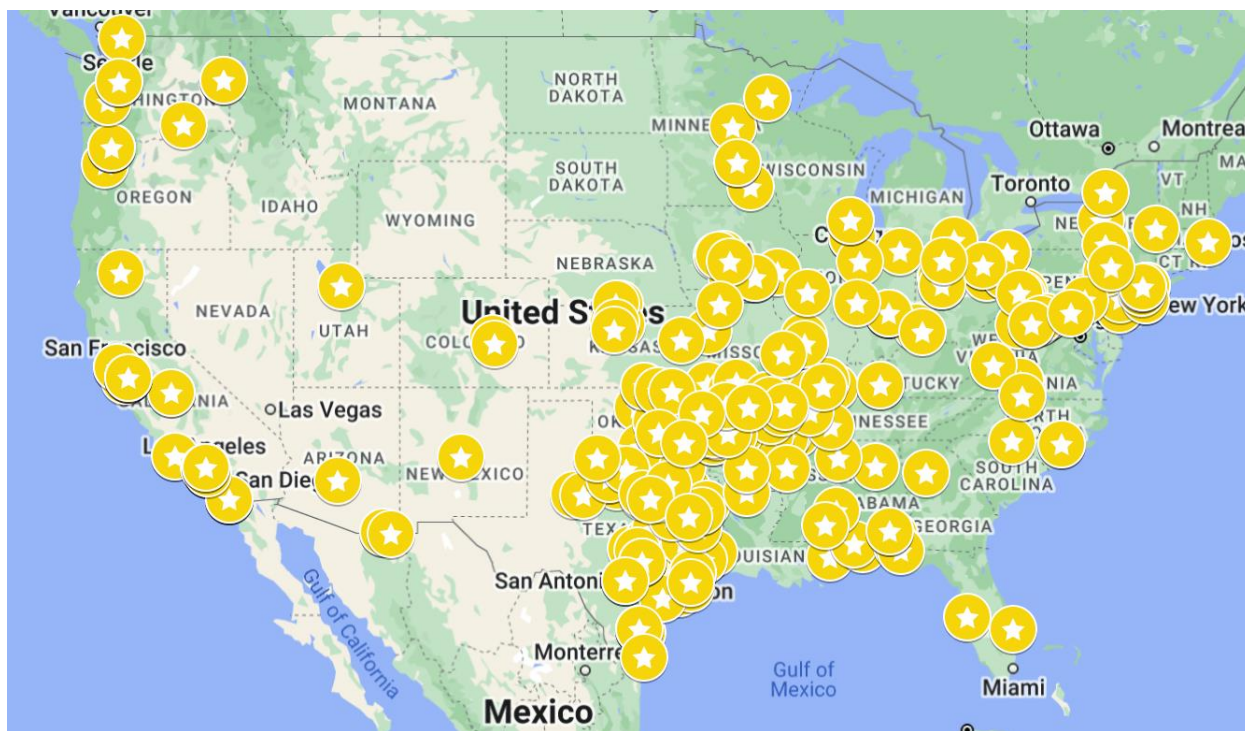
1915 Assemblies of God Ministerial Roll



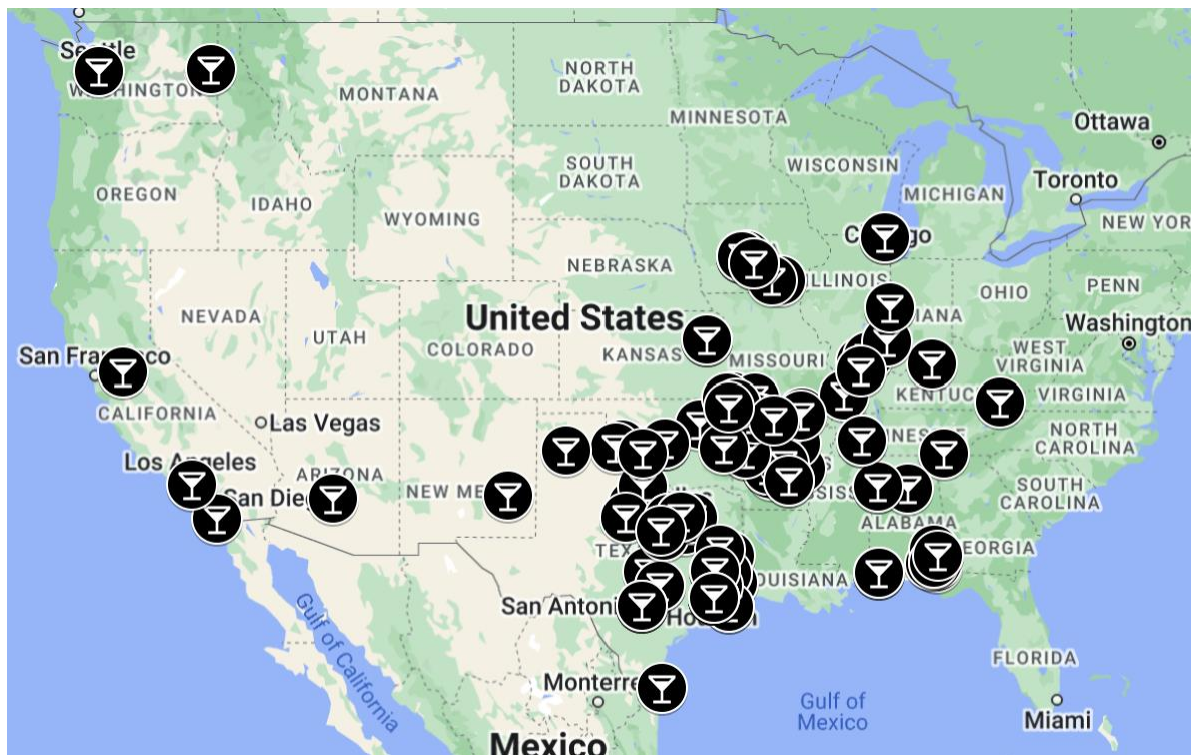
1915 Assemblies of God Executive Presbytery



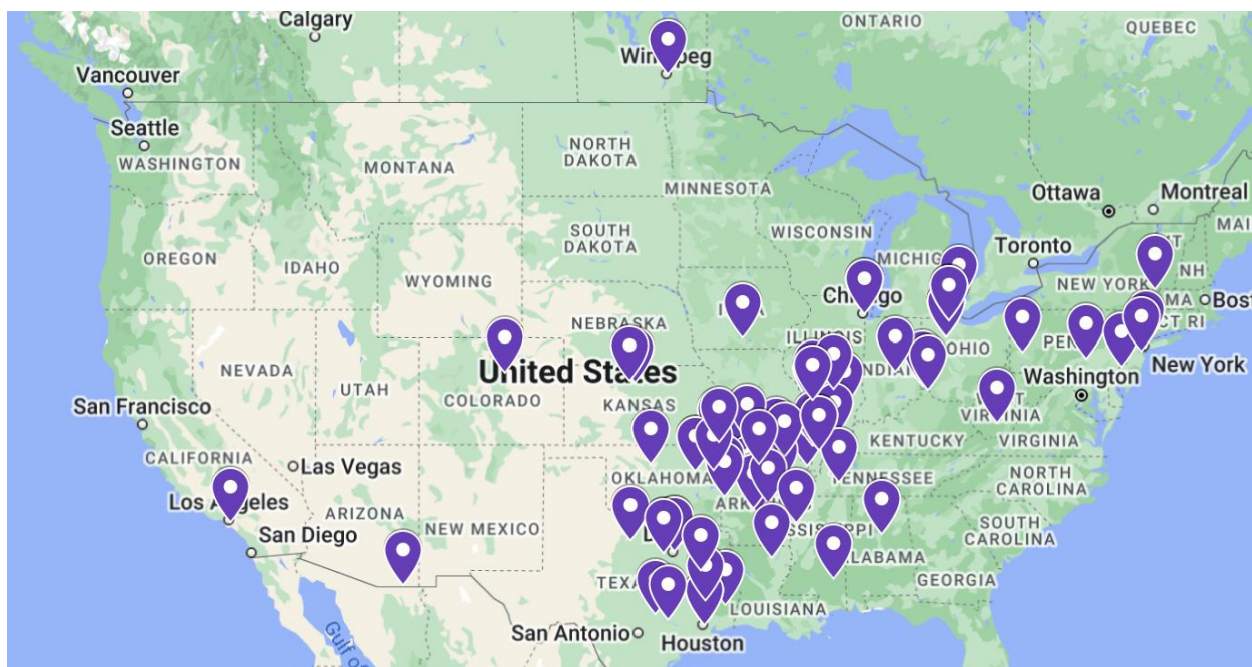
1916 Assemblies of God Ministerial Roll



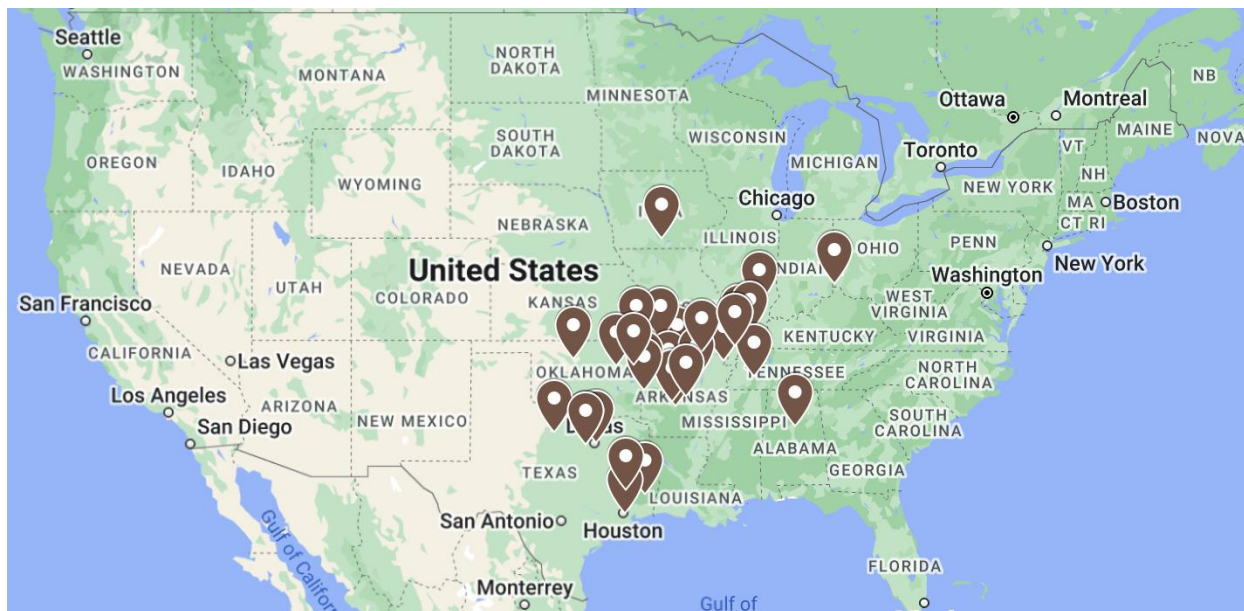
1916 Disfellowshipped Ministers



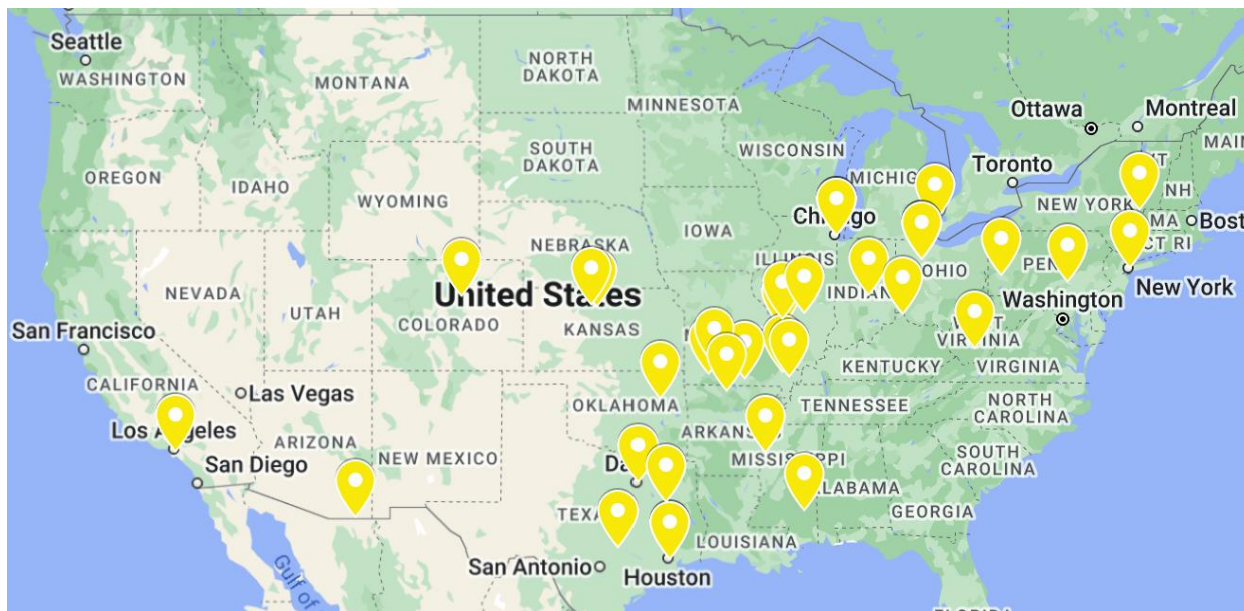
October 1916 Council Roll



1916 Remained Affiliated and Part of the Churches of God in Christ



1916 Attendees at General Council Not affiliated Since Founding in 1914

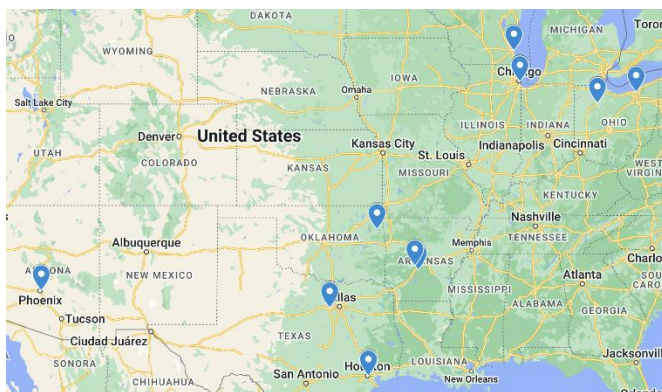


Appendix C: List of 1914 and 1916 Presbyters with Ministerial Roll Comparison

1914 Executive Presbytery

Key	Affiliation Status							
	Affiliated throughout 1913-1916							
	Only Affiliated in 1913							
	Disfellowshipped in 1916							
	Last Name	First Name	Zipcode	1913	Apr-14	Nov-14	1915	1916
1	Bell	EN	72104	x	x	x	x	x
2	Collins	AP	76101	x	x	x	x	x
3	Erickson	RL	60290		x	x		
4	Flower	J Roswell/Joseph	45840		x	x		x
5	Fockler	Cyrus B	53201		x	x	x	
6	Goss	Howard A	71901	x	x	x	x	
7	Kerr	DW	44101		x	x	x	x
8	Leonard	TK	45840		x	x	x	x
9	Opperman	Dan CO	77001	x	x	x	x	
10	Pinson	M M	85001	x	x	x	x	x
11	Sinclair	John C	60290		x	x	x	
12	Welch	John W	74464	x	x	x	x	x

1914 Executive Presbytery Map



1916 Executive and General Presbytery

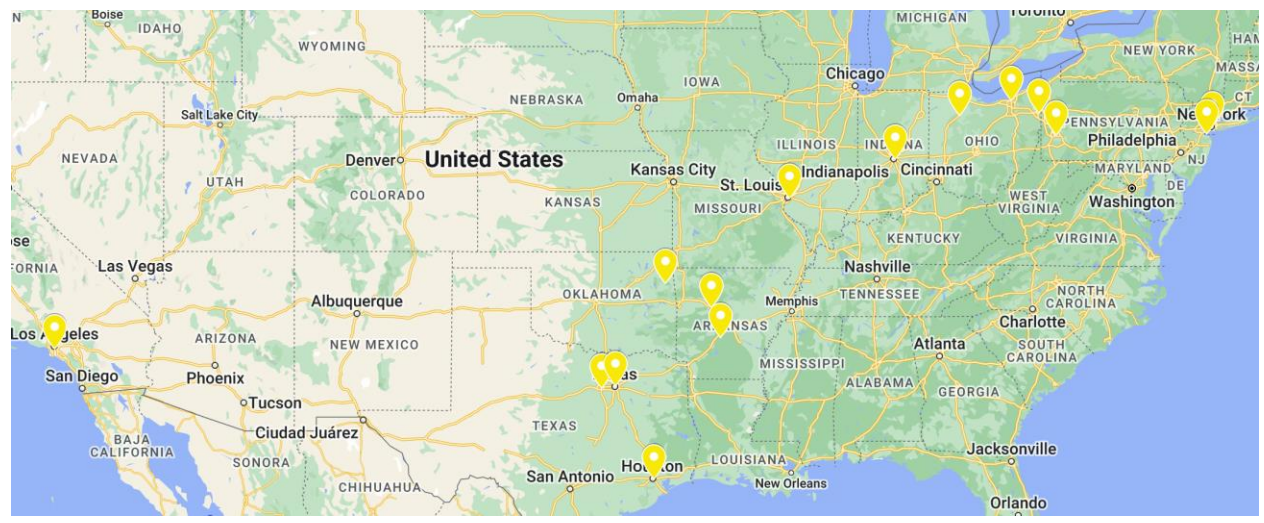
1916 Executive Presbytery

	Last Name	First Name	Zipcode	1913	Apr-14	Nov-14	1915	1916
1	Flower	J Roswell/Joseph	45840		x	x		x
2	Frodsham	Stanley H	63101					x
3	Kerr	DW	44101		x	x	x	x
4	Rickard	Dan't B	46201				x	x
5	Welch	John W	74464	x	x	x	x	x

1916 General Presbytery

	Last Name	First Name	Zip code	1913	Apr-14	Nov-14	1915	1916
1	Bell	EN	72104	x	x	x	x	x
2	Boddy	JT	44501					x
3	Brown	Robert A	10001					x
4	Collins	AP	76101	x	x	x	x	x
5	Eldridge	GN	90001					x
6	Fitzgerald	ER	72801	x	x	x	x	x
7	Jamieson	SA	75201		x	x	x	x
8	Leonard	TK	45840		x	x	x	x
9	McDowell	DH	10307		x	x	x	x
10	Richey	EN	77001		x	x	x	x
11	Tunmore	Joseph	15201					x

1916 Executive and General Presbytery Map



Appendix D: 1916 and 2023 Statement of Fundamental Truths

For more information about the revisions of the Statement of Fundamental Truths, see Daniel D. Isgrigg, "The Origin, Development, and Future of Assemblies of God Eschatology," PhD Dissertation, Bangor University, Wales, UK, 2019. Isgrigg covers titles, wording, and content changes in 1917, 1920, 1921, 1927, 1961, and 1969. The original statement of fundamental truths from 1916 contained seventeen points. These points were consolidated in 1920 to reflect the numbering today.

Note: The 1916 Fundamental Truths use the British and Canadian spelling for "Saviour." Most likely, this is due to Welch's editorial contribution and preference. In 1916, when he took over the *Weekly Evangel*, the paper used "Saviour" ninety-six times versus "Savior" only eleven times. This could also be due to Boddy's influence in the Assemblies of God. When Bell edited the *Word and Witness*, he preferred the American spelling.

1916 Fundamental Truths (2,112 words)

Minutes, Constitution, and Bylaws of the General Council of the Assemblies of God. St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, October 1916, 10-13.

This Statement of Fundamental Truths is not Intended as a creed for the Church, nor as a basis of fellowship among Christians, Put only as a basis of unity for the ministry alone (I. e., that we all speak the same thing, 1 Cor. 1:10; Acts 2:42). The human phraseology employed in such statement Is not Inspired nor contended for, but the truth set forth in such phraseology Is held to be essential to a full Gospel ministry. No claim Is made that It contains all truth In the Bible, only that It covers our present needs as to these fundamental matters.

1. The Scriptures Inspired.

The Bible is the inspired Word of God, a revelation from God to men, the infallible rule of faith and conduct, and is superior to conscience and reason, but not contrary to reason. 2 Tim. 3:15, 16; I Pet. 2:2.

2. The One True God.

The one true God has revealed Himself as the eternally self-existent. self-revealed " I AM;" and has further revealed Himself as embodying the principles of relationship and association, i.e., as Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Deut. 6:4; Mark 12:29; Isa. 43: 10, II; Matth. 28:19.

3. Man, His Fall and Redemption.

Man was created good and upright; for God said, "Let us make man in Our image and in our likeness." But man, by voluntary transgression, fell, and his only hope of redemption is in Jesus Christ the Son of God. Gen. I :26-31; 3:1-7: Rom. 5:12-21.

4. THE SALVATION OF MAN.

(a) Conditions to Salvation. The grace of God that brings salvation to all men has appeared through the preaching of repentance toward God and faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ; whereupon man is saved by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost which is shed upon him richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; and, having been justified by grace

through faith. He becomes an heir of God according to the hope of eternal life. Tit. 2:11; Rom. 10:13-15; Luke 24:47; Titus 3:5-7.

(b) The Evidences of Salvation. The inward evidence to the believer of his salvation, is the direct witness of the Spirit. Rom. 8: 16. The outward evidence to all men is a life of righteousness and true holiness, Luke 1:73-75; Titus 2: 12-14; the fruit of the Spirit, Gal. 5:22, and brotherly love, Jno. 13: 35; Heb. 13: 1; 1 Jno. 3:14.

5. THE PROMISE OF THE FATHER.

All believers are entitled to, and should ardently expect, and earnestly seek the promise of the Father, the baptism in the Holy Ghost and fire, according to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ. This was the normal experience of all in the early Christian Church. With it comes the endowment of power for life and service, the bestowment of the gifts and their uses in the work of the ministry. Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4; 1:8; 1 Cor. 12:1-31.

6. THE FULL CONSUMMATION OF THE BAPTISM IN THE HOLY GHOST.

The full consummation of the baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost and fire, is indicated by the initial sign of speaking in tongues, as the Spirit of God gives utterance. Acts 2: 4. This wonderful experience is distinct from and subsequent to the experience of the new birth. Acts 10:44-46; 11:14-16; 15:8,9.

7. ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION, THE GOAL FOR ALL BELIEVERS.

The Scriptures teach a life of holiness without which no man shall see The Lord. By the power of the Holy Ghost we are able to obey the command, "be ye holy for I am holy." Entire sanctification is the will of God for all believers, and should be earnestly pursued by walking in obedience to God's Word. Heb. 12:14; 1 Pet. 1: 15. 16 ; 1 Thess. 5: 23, 24; 1 Jno. 2:6.

8. THE CHURCH IS A LIVING ORGANISM.

The Church is a living organism; a living body; yea the body of Christ; a habitation of God through the Spirit, with divine appointments for the fulfillment of her great commission. Every local assembly is an integral part of the General Assembly and Church of the First-born, written in heaven. Eph. 1: 22, 23; 2:22; Heb. 12:23.

9. THE MINISTRY AND EVANGELISM.

A divinely called and a Scripturally ordained ministry for the evangelization of the world, is the command of the Lord, and the chief concern of the Church. Mk. 16:15-20; Eph. 4:11-13.

10. THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The Lord's Supper, consisting of the elements, bread and the fruit of the vine, is the symbol expressing our sharing the divine nature of our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 Pet. 1:4; a memorial of his suffering and death, 1 Cor. 11:26; and a prophecy of His second coming, 1 Cor. 11:26; and is enjoined on all believers "until He comes."

11. BAPTISM IN WATER.

The Ordinance or Baptism by a burial with Christ should be observed as commanded in the Scriptures, by all who have really repented and in their hearts have truly believed on Christ as Saviour and Lord. In so doing, they have the body washed in pure water as an outward symbol of

cleansing while their heart has already been sprinkled with the blood of Christ as an inner cleansing. Thus they declare to the world that they have died with Jesus and that they have been raised with Him to walk in newness of life. Math. 28:19; Acts 10:47-48; Rom. 6:4; Acts 20:21; Heb. 10:22.

12. DIVINE HEALING.

deliverance from sickness is provided for in the atonement, and is the privilege of all believers. Isa. 53:4, 5; Matth. 8:16,17.

13. THE ESSENTIALS AS TO THE GODHEAD.

(a) Terms Explained: The terms "Trinity" and "Persons," as related to the Godhead while not found in the Scriptures, yet are words in harmony with Scripture, whereby we may convey to others our immediate understanding of the doctrine of Christ respecting the Being of God, as distinguished from "gods many and lords many." We, therefore, may speak with propriety of the Lord our God, who is One Lord, as a Trinity or as one Being of three Persons, and still be absolutely Scriptural. (Examples: Matth. 2:6; 8:16,17; Acts 15:15-18.)

(b) Distinction and Relationship in the Godhead: Christ taught a distinction of Persons in the Godhead which he expressed in specific terms of relationship, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that this distinction and relationship, as to its existence, is an eternal fact, but as to its mode it is inscrutable and incomprehensible, because un-explained. (That is, it is not explained as to how there can be three persons in the Godhead.) (Luke 1:35; 1 Cor. 1:24; Matth. 11:25-27; 28 :19; 2 Cor. 13:14; 1 Jno. 1:3,4.)

(c) Unity of the One Being of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: Accordingly, therefore, there is that in the Father which constitutes Him the Father and not the Son; there is that in the Son which constitutes Him the Son and not the Father; and there is that in the Holy Ghost which constitutes him the Holy Ghost and not either the Father or the Son. Wherefore, the Father is the Begetter; the Son is the Begotten; and the Holy Ghost is the one proceeding from the Father and the Son. Therefore, because these three eternally distinct and related persons in the Godhead are in a state of unity, there is but one Lord God Almighty and His name one. Jno. 1:18; 15:26; 17:11,21; Zech. 14:9.

(d) Identity and Co-operation in the Godhead: The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are never identical as to Person ; nor confused as to relation; nor divided in respect of the Godhead; nor opposed as to co-operation. The Son is in the Father and the Father is in the Son as to relationship. The Son is with the Father and the Father is with the Son as to fellowship. The Father is not from the Son, but the Son is from the Father, as to authority. The Holy Ghost is from the Father and the Son proceeding, as to nature, relationship, co-operation and authority. Hence, neither Person in the Godhead either exists or works separately or in dependently of the others. Jno. 5: 17-30.

(e) The Title, Lord Jesus Christ: The appellation "Lord Jesus Christ" is a proper name. It is never applied, in the New Testament, either to the Father or to the Holy Ghost. It therefore belongs exclusively to the Son of God. Rom. 1:1-3, 7; 2 Jno. 3.

(f) The Lord Jesus Christ, God with us: The Lord Jesus Christ, as to His divine and eternal nature is the proper and only Begotten of the Father; but, as to His human nature, He is the proper Son of Man. He is, therefore, acknowledged to be both God and man: who, because He is God and man, is "Immanuel," God with us. Matth. 1:23; 1 Jno. 4:2, 10, 14; Rev. 1:13, 14-17.

(g) The Title, Son of God: Since the name “Immanuel” embraces both God and man in the one Person, our Lord Jesus Christ, it follows that the title, Son of God, describes His proper Deity, and the title, Son of Man, His proper humanity. Therefore, the title, Son of God, belongs to the order of eternity, and the title, Son of man, to the order of time. Matth. 1:23,21; 2 Jno. 3; 1 Jno. 3:8; Heb. 7:3; 1:1-13.

(h) Transgression of the Doctrine of Christ: Wherefore, it is a transgression of the Doctrine of Christ to say that Jesus Christ derived the title, Son of God, either from the fact of the Incarnation, or because of His relation to the economy of redemption. Therefore, to deny that the Father is a real and eternal Father, and that the Son is a real and eternal Son, is a denial of the distinction and relationship in the Being of God; a denial of the Father and the Son; and a displacement of the truth that Jesus Christ is come in flesh. 2 Jno. 9; Jno. 1:1, 2, 14, 18, 29, 49; 8:57, 58; 1 Jno. 2:22, 23; 4:1-5; Heb. 12:3, 4.

(i) Exaltation of the Jesus Christ as Lord: The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, having by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high: angels and principalities and powers having been made subject unto Him. And, having been made both Lord and Christ, He sent the Holy Ghost that we, in the name of Jesus, might bow our knees and confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father until the end, when the Son shall become subject to the Father that God may be all in all. Heb. 1:3; 1 Pet. 3:22; Acts 2:32-36; Rom. 14:11; 1 Cor. 15:24-28.

(j) Equal honor to the Father and the Son: Wherefore, since the Father has delivered all judgment unto the Son, it is not only the express duty of all things in heaven and in earth to bow the knee, but it is an unspeakable joy in the Holy Ghost to ascribe unto the Son all the attributes of Deity, and to give him all the honor and the glory contained in all the names and titles of the Godhead, (except those which express relationship. See paragraphs b, c and d) and thus honor the Son even as we honor the Father. Jno.5:22, 23; 1 Pet. 1:8; Rev. 5:6-14; Phil. 2:9, 8; Rev. 7:9, 10; 4:8-11.

14. THE BLESSED HOPE.

The Resurrection of those who have fallen asleep in Christ, the rapture of believers which are alive and remain, and the translation of the true church, this is the blessed hope set before all believers. 1 Thess. 4:16, 17; Rom. 8:23; Tit. 2:13.

15. THE IMMINENT COMING AND MILLINIAL REIGN OF JESUS

The premillennial and imminent coming of the Lord to gather His people unto Himself, and to judge the world in righteousness while reigning on the earth for a thousand years is the expectation of the true Church of Christ.

16. THE LAKE OF FIRE

The devil and his angels, the Beast and false prophet, and whosoever is not found written in the Book of Life, the fearful and unbelieving, and abominable. and murderers and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolators and all liars shall be consigned to everlasting punishment in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

17. THE NEW HEAVENS AND NEW EARTH.

We look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. 2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 21 and 22.

2023 Statement of Fundamental Truths (2,562 words)

“Assemblies of God 16 Fundamental Truths.” Assemblies of God Official Website. Accessed April 15, 2023. <https://ag.org/Beliefs/Statement-of-Fundamental-Truths>.

The General Council of the Assemblies of God STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS
The Bible is our all-sufficient rule for faith and practice. This Statement of Fundamental Truths is intended simply as a basis of fellowship among us (i.e., that we all speak the same thing, 1 Corinthians 1:10; Acts 2:42). The phraseology employed in this statement is not inspired or contended for, but the truth set forth is held to be essential to a full-gospel ministry. No claim is made that it contains all biblical truth, only that it covers our need as to these fundamental doctrines.

1. The Scriptures Inspired

The Scriptures, both the Old and New Testaments, are verbally inspired of God and are the revelation of God to man, the infallible, authoritative rule of faith and conduct (2 Timothy 3:15-17; 1 Thessalonians 2:13; 2 Peter 1:21).

2. The One True God

The one true God has revealed himself as the eternally self-existent “I AM,” the Creator of heaven and earth and the Redeemer of mankind. He has further revealed himself as embodying the principles of relationship and association as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (Deuteronomy 6:4; Isaiah 43:10,11; Matthew 28:19; Luke 3:22).

THE ADORABLE GODHEAD

(a) Terms Defined: The terms trinity and persons, as related to the godhead, while not found in the Scriptures, are words in harmony with Scripture, whereby we may convey to others our immediate understanding of the doctrine of Christ respecting the Being of God, as distinguished from “gods many and lords many.” We therefore may speak with propriety of the Lord our God, who is One Lord, as a Trinity or as one Being of three persons, and still be absolutely scriptural (examples, Matthew 28:19; 2 Corinthians 13:14; John 14:16,17).

(b) Distinction and Relationship in the Godhead: Christ taught a distinction of persons in the godhead which He expressed in specific terms of relationship, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but that this distinction and relationship, as to its mode is inscrutable and incomprehensible, because unexplained (Luke 1:35; 1 Corinthians 1:24; Matthew 11:25-27; 28:19; 2 Corinthians 13:14; 1 John 1:3,4).

(c) Unity of the One Being of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: Accordingly, therefore, there is that in the Father which constitutes Him the Father and not the Son; there is that in the Son which constitutes Him the Son and not the Father; and there is that in the Holy Spirit which constitutes Him the Holy Spirit and not either the Father or the Son. Wherefore, the Father is the Begetter; the Son is the Begotten; and the Holy Spirit is the One proceeding from the Father and the Son. Therefore, because these three persons in the godhead are in a state of unity, there is but one Lord God Almighty and His name one (John 1:18; 15:26; 17:11,21; Zechariah 14:9)

(d) Identity and Cooperation in the Godhead: The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are never identical as to person; nor confused as to relation; nor divided in respect to the godhead; nor opposed as to cooperation. The Son is in the Father and the Father is in the Son as to relationship. The Son is with the Father and the Father is with the Son, as to fellowship. The

Father is not from the Son, but the Son is from the Father, as to authority. The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son proceeding, as to nature, relationship, cooperation, and authority. Hence, no person in the godhead either exists or works separately or independently of the others (John 5:17-30,32,37; 8:17,18).

(e) The Title, Lord Jesus Christ: The appellation Lord Jesus Christ, is a proper name. It is never applied in the New Testament either to the Statement of Fundamental Truths 2/5 Father or to the Holy Spirit. It therefore belongs exclusively to the Son of God (Romans 1:1-3,7; 2 John 3).

(f) The Lord Jesus Christ, God With Us: The Lord Jesus Christ, as to His divine and eternal nature, is the proper and only Begotten of the Father, but as to His human nature, He is the proper Son of Man. He is, therefore, acknowledged to be both God and man; who because He is God and man, is "Immanuel," God with us (Matthew 1:23; 1 John 4:2,10,14; Revelation 1:13,17).

(g) The Title, Son of God: Since the name Immanuel embraces both God and man, in the one person, our Lord Jesus Christ, it follows that the title Son of God describes His proper deity, and the title Son of Man, His proper humanity. Therefore, the title Son of God belongs to the order of eternity, and the title Son of Man to the order of time (Matthew 1:21-23; 2 John 3; 1 John 3:8; Hebrews 7:3; 1:1-13).

(h) Transgression of the Doctrine of Christ: Wherefore, it is a transgression of the doctrine of Christ to say that Jesus Christ derived the title Son of God solely from the fact of the Incarnation, or because of His relation to the economy of redemption. Therefore, to deny that the Father is a real and eternal Father, and that the Son is a real and eternal Son, is a denial of the distinction and relationship in the Being of God; a denial of the Father and the Son; and a displacement of the truth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (2 John 9; John 1:1,2,14,18,29,49; 1 John 2:22,23; 4:1-5; Hebrews 12:2).

(i) Exaltation of Jesus Christ as Lord: The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, having by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, angels and principalities and powers having been made subject unto Him. And having been made both Lord and Christ, He sent the Holy Spirit that we, in the name of Jesus, might bow our knees and confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father until the end, when the Son shall become subject to the Father that God may be all in all (Hebrews 1:3; 1 Peter 3:22; Acts 2:32-36; Romans 14:11; 1 Corinthians 15:24-28)

(j) Equal Honor to the Father and to the Son: Wherefore, since the Father has delivered all judgment unto the Son, it is not only the express duty of all in heaven and on earth to bow the knee, but it is an unspeakable joy in the Holy Spirit to ascribe unto the Son all the attributes of deity, and to give Him all the honor and the glory contained in all the names and titles of the godhead except those which express relationship (see paragraphs b, c, and d), and thus honor the Son even as we honor the Father (John 5:22,23; 1 Peter 1:8; Revelation 5:6-14; Philippians 2:8,9; Revelation 7:9,10; 4:8-11).

3. The Fall of Man

The Lord Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God. The Scriptures declare:

- a. His virgin birth (Matthew 1:23; Luke 1:31,35).
- b. His sinless life (Hebrews 7:26; 1 Peter 2:22).
- c. His miracles (Acts 2:22; 10:38).
- d. His substitutionary work on the cross (1 Corinthians 15:3; 2 Corinthians 5:21).
- e. His bodily resurrection from the dead (Matthew 28:6; Luke 24:39; 1 Corinthians 15:4).

f. His exaltation to the right hand of God (Acts 1:9,11; 2:33; Philippians 2:9-11; Hebrews 1:3).

4. The Fall of Man

Man was created good and upright; for God said, “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.” However, man by voluntary transgression fell and thereby incurred not only physical death but also spiritual death, which is separation from God (Genesis 1:26,27; 2:17; 3:6; Romans 5:12-19).

5. The Salvation of Man

Man’s only hope of redemption is through the shed blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

(a) Conditions to Salvation: Salvation is received through repentance toward God and faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ. By the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit, being justified by grace through faith, man becomes an heir of God according to the hope of eternal life (Luke 24:47; John 3:3; Romans 10:13-15; Ephesians 2:8; Titus 2:11; 3:5-7).

(b) The Evidences of Salvation: The inward evidence of salvation is the direct witness of the Spirit (Romans 8:16). The outward evidence to all men is a life of righteousness and true holiness (Ephesians 4:24; Titus 2:12).

6. The Ordinances of the Church

(a) Baptism in Water: The ordinance of baptism by immersion is commanded in the Scriptures. All who repent and believe on Christ as Savior and Lord are to be baptized. Thus they declare to the world that they have died with Christ and that they also have been raised with Him to walk in newness of life (Matthew 28:19; Mark 16:16; Acts 10:47,48; Romans 6:4).

(b) Holy Communion: The Lord’s Supper, consisting of the elements—bread and the fruit of the vine—is the symbol expressing our sharing the divine nature of our Lord Jesus Christ (2 Peter 1:4); a memorial of His suffering and death (1 Corinthians 11:26); and a prophecy of His second coming (1 Corinthians 11:26); and is enjoined on all believers “till He come!”

7. The Baptism in the Holy Spirit

All believers are entitled to and should ardently expect and earnestly seek the promise of the Father, the baptism in the Holy Spirit and fire, according to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ. This was the normal experience of all in the early Christian church. With it comes the endowment of power for life and service, the bestowment of the gifts and their uses in the work of the ministry (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4,8; 1 Corinthians 12:1-31). This experience is distinct from and subsequent to the experience of the new birth (Acts 8:12-17; 10:44-46; 11:14-16; 15:7-9). With the baptism in the Holy Spirit come such experiences as an overflowing fullness of the Spirit (John 7:37-39; Acts 4:8), a deepened reverence for God (Acts 2:43; Hebrews 12:28), an intensified consecration to God and dedication to His work (Acts 2:42), and a more active love for Christ, for His Word, and for the lost (Mark 16:20).

8. The Initial Physical Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit

The baptism of believers in the Holy Spirit is witnessed by the initial physical sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance (Acts 2:4). The speaking in tongues in this instance is the same in essence as the gift of tongues (1 Corinthians 12:4-10,28), but different in purpose and use.

9. Sanctification

Sanctification is an act of separation from that which is evil, and of dedication unto God (Romans 12:1,2; 1 Thessalonians 5:23; Hebrews 13:12). Scriptures teach a life of “holiness without which no man shall see the Lord” (Hebrews 12:14). By the power of the Holy Spirit we are able to obey the command: “Be ye holy, for I am holy” (1 Peter 1:15,16). Sanctification is realized in the believer by recognizing his identification with Christ in His death and resurrection, and by faith reckoning daily upon the fact of that union, and by offering every faculty continually to the dominion of the Holy Spirit (Romans 6:1-11,13; 8:1,2,13; Galatians 2:20; Philippians 2:12,13; 1 Peter 1:5).

10. The Church and Its Mission

The Church is the body of Christ, the habitation of God through the Spirit, with divine appointments for the fulfillment of her Great Commission. Each believer, born of the Spirit, is an integral part of the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven (Ephesians 1:22,23; 2:22; Hebrews 12:23). Since God’s purpose concerning man is to seek and to save that which is lost, to be worshiped by man, to build a body of believers in the image of His Son, and to demonstrate His love and compassion for all the world, the priority reason-for-being of the Assemblies of God as part of the Church is:

- a. To be an agency of God for evangelizing the world (Acts 1:8; Matthew 28:19,20; Mark 16:15,16).
- b. To be a corporate body in which man may worship God (1 Corinthians 12:13).
- c. To be a channel of God’s purpose to build a body of saints being perfected in the image of His Son (Ephesians 4:11-16; 1 Corinthians 12:28; 14:12).
- d. To be a people who demonstrate God’s love and compassion for all the world (Psalms 112:9; Galatians 2:10; 6:10; James 1:27).

The Assemblies of God exists expressly to give continuing emphasis to this reason-for-being in the New Testament apostolic pattern by teaching and encouraging believers to be baptized in the Holy Spirit. This experience:

- a. Enables them to evangelize in the power of the Spirit with accompanying supernatural signs (Mark 16:15-20; Acts 4:29-31; Hebrews 2:3,4).
- b. Adds a necessary dimension to a worshipful relationship with God (1 Corinthians 2:10-16; 1 Corinthians 12-14).
- c. Enables them to respond to the full working of the Holy Spirit in expression of fruit and gifts and ministries as in New Testament times for the edifying of the body of Christ and care for the poor and needy of the world (Galatians 5:22-26; Matthew 25:37-40; Galatians 6:10; 1 Corinthians 14:12; Ephesians 4:11,12; 1 Corinthians 12:28; Colossians 1:29; Galatians 5:22-26).

11. The Ministry

A divinely called and scripturally ordained ministry has been provided by our Lord for the fourfold purpose of leading the Church in:

- (1) evangelization of the world (Mark 16:15-20),
- (2) worship of God (John 4:23,24),
- (3) building a Body of saints being perfected in the image of His Son (Ephesians 4:11,16), and
- (4) Meeting human need with ministries of love and compassion (Psalms 112:9; Galatians 2:10; 6:10; James 1:27).

12. Divine Healing

Divine healing is an integral part of the gospel. Deliverance from sickness is provided for in the Atonement, and is the privilege of all believers (Isaiah 53:4,5; Matthew 8:16,17; James 5:14-16).

13. The Blessed Hope

The resurrection of those who have fallen asleep in Christ and their translation together with those who are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord is the imminent and blessed hope of the Church (1 Thessalonians 4:16,17; Romans 8:23; Titus 2:13; 1 Corinthians 15:51,52).

14. The Millennial Reign of Christ

The second coming of Christ includes the rapture of the saints, which is our blessed hope, followed by the visible return of Christ with His saints to reign on the earth for one thousand years (Zechariah 14:5; Matthew 24:27,30; Revelation 1:7; 19:11-14; 20:1-6). This millennial reign will bring the salvation of national Israel (Ezekiel 37:21,22; Zephaniah 3:19,20; Romans 11:26,27) and the establishment of universal peace (Isaiah 11:6-9; Psalm 72:3-8; Micah 4:3,4).

15. The Final Judgment

There will be a final judgment in which the wicked dead will be raised and judged according to their works. Whosoever is not found written in the Book of Life, together with the devil and his angels, the beast and the false prophet, will be consigned to everlasting punishment in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death (Matthew 25:46; Mark 9:43-48; Revelation 19:20; 20:11-15; 21:8).

16. The New Heavens and the New Earth

“We, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness” (2 Peter 3:13; Revelation 21,22).

Statement of Fundamental Truths is the official delineation of the Assemblies of God’s 16 doctrines. These truths are non-negotiable beliefs that all Assemblies of God churches adhere to.