

THE HISTORICAL-THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE ORIGIN OF PENTECOSTALISM: THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

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Current Status

Pentecostalism holds an influential place on the modern religious map of the world. The confession belongs to the fastest-growing segment of Christianity, and its total numbers keep it in the forefront of Christian movements. Many researchers have made the theological position of Pentecostalism, its spiritual content, and its role in modern religious and non-religious practices a subject of their scientific research. Religious researchers worldwide are interested in the ability of Pentecostalism not only to survive in the midst of the difficult conditions of globalization, but also to effectively extend its faith in of spite them. The problem of the historical-theological context of the origin of the faith, to which Ukrainian religious study has not paid sufficient attention, does not minimize its contemporary significance. However, the study of the historical and theological roots of Pentecostalism enables deeper research into the peculiarities of its beliefs and spirituality.

Factors Contributing To Pentecostalism

In order to define the theological sources of the modern Pentecostal movement, it should be noted first of all that Pentecostal theology is based on the tenets of Christian fundamentalism. The basic feature of Pentecostal theology rests on the doctrine that declares that after justification, Christians have a right to sincerely expect and seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals believe that this experience was



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widely practiced in the early church and, in essence, it is analogous to the experience of the apostles on the Day of Pentecost. Through the baptism of the Spirit, Pentecostals believe, a Christian is delivered from the power of sin and is enabled to live a holy life and carry out a fruitful ministry for God. The initial evidence of receiving the power of the Holy Spirit is the gift of praying in other tongues. This experience is understood as one that follows the new birth, but is distinct from it.

In Pentecostal historical studies, several basic approaches are emphasized concerning the origin and development of the movement. Some scholars focus their attention on the historical-theological environment of the movement, stressing the key role of doctrinal content in its development. Sometimes its interracial and poly-ethnic character, especially in the early stages of the denomination's history, is considered to be an important factor in the spread of Pentecostalism. Thus, the movement is considered to be a dynamic social power and a form of radical protest against racial segregation, which characterized North American social realities at the turn of nineteenth century. Since the beginning of the 1970s, Pentecostal demography and its social content have been carefully analyzed. Methodologically this approach is based on R. Niebuhr's class analysis of religion that determined theological views in their socio-cultural circumstances. Concerning Pentecostalism, one view dominated: that the confession

achieved its success by compensating for the absence of the high social and political status¹ of its followers and by giving them psychological shelter during the radical changes in their social environment caused by industrialization².

Current socio-cultural hypotheses concerning the origin of Pentecostalism do not negate the value of nineteenth century religious movements and the need to research their development. D. Dayton's position appears to give the following perspective: He believes that Pentecostal theology had its roots in the doctrinal statements of the second half of the nineteenth century; in particular in their interpretation of the doctrines of salvation, divine healing, baptism in the Holy Spirit and the second advent of Christ³. Dayton correctly identifies the importance of the Wesleyan Holiness movement for the origin of Pentecostalism, which focused its attention on the perfectionist aspect of baptism in the Spirit, as well as on the value of the Keswick movement, which taught that baptism in the Spirit is the key factor for the Christian in receiving spiritual power.

¹ J. Holt, "Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization," *American Sociological Review* 5 (Oct. 1940): 740-741. On this point see S. Hunt, "Deprivation and Western Pentecostalism Revisited: The Case of 'Classical' Pentecostalism," *PentecoStudies (Online Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Pentecostalism and Charismatic Movements)* Vol. 1 (2002).

² Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 113.

³ Dayton D. *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 173-174.

In V. Synan's opinion, the Wesleyan Holiness movement of the middle and second half of the nineteenth century made the greatest contribution to the formation of the theological and spiritual contents of Pentecostalism⁴. This religious stream was an outstanding expression of social and theological discontent that evolved in the American church environment in connection with increased material prosperity and complications of structure and forms of service. Followers of the movement lived in an atmosphere of expectation of the second coming of Christ, and the restoration of the supernatural spiritual power that characterized the apostolic church before this event.

The majority of early Pentecostals were Methodists or originated from related movements that had adopted the Methodist doctrine of the second blessing. Theologically they were firm Arminians, but their spirituality and life-style were based on perfectionism – the idea that moral perfection is an attainable goal and an ideal condition for Christ's followers. Actually, the first Pentecostal denominations were founded by the Holiness movement before 1901 (this date is accepted as the beginning of Pentecostal history), and after the birth of Pentecostalism they kept their perfectionist views. They were, in particular, the Afro-American Church of God in Christ

(1897), the Pentecostal-Holiness Church (1898), the Church of God (1906), and other smaller groups. These assemblies, which were formed as typical «second blessing» churches, then simply added the doctrine of the baptism in the Holy Spirit with glossolalia as «the initial evidence» of the third blessing to their theological systems.

In particular, such Pentecostal pioneers were Methodists like C. Parham, who defined the doctrine of praying in tongues as the «initial evidence» of baptism in the Holy Spirit; W. Seymour, the pastor of the street mission in Los Angeles on Azusa street; D. King, the leader of the Pentecostal-Holiness church that joined his denomination to the Pentecostal movement in 1907-08; and T. Barratt, the founder of European Pentecostalism. All of them retained Wesleyan doctrine about full sanctification as a powerful part of their theological systems. In their opinion, a sanctified «pure heart» was the necessary precondition for receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of praying in tongues.

It is notable that some early Pentecostal leaders, who did not originate in the Methodist camp, adopted the doctrine of sanctification as the act of grace conditional for the «the third blessing.» They were particularly, K. Mason (Baptist) – Church of God in Christ; A. Tomlinson (Quaker) – Church of God; B. Irwin (Baptist) – Fire-Baptized Holiness Church; and N. Holms (Presbyterian) from the Pentecostal Church of the Tabernacle.

⁴ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997).

version as two stages of a single experience. The first stage, justification, includes the Holy Spirit imparting the righteousness of Christ to man. The second stage, the new birth, designates the beginning of the process of sanctification, or impartation of righteousness by the Spirit. These two stages make Wesleyan theology completely distinct from Luther's and Calvin's statements that it is impossible for human beings to achieve perfection during life on this earth. Wesley connected the widespread Protestant Reformation's «faith alone» principle with the Catholic Counter-Reformation's passion for holiness.

Thus, the sanctifying grace in Wesley's system designates the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of Christians between their conversion and death. Faith in Christ saves people from hell and sin, for heaven and good works. Imputed righteousness, according to Wesley, gives them the right to heaven; imparted righteousness (received because of sanctifying grace) qualifies them for heaven.

The process of sanctification, or perfection, culminates in the achievement of the condition of «pure love,” which encourages Christians to be guided by pure personal interest motives. Thus, the second action of grace is considered to be the purpose of the entire religion. If a Christian is not perfect in love, he is not «ripe for glory.” To the question about what perfection can be reached by the person living in a mortal body, Wesley answered, «Perfection,

which responds to the commandment: ‘Give me your heart, my son.’ It is ‘to love your Lord with all your heart, all your soul, and all your understanding.’ It is the essence of Christian perfection”⁶. However, it is important to note that perfection is not static, but dynamic. Wesley did not consider it analogous to the condition of angels, or to Adam prior to his fall. The perfection of Adam and angels is objective and absolute, while the perfection of Christians is subjective and relative; it relates mostly to the intentions and motives of a person's activities⁷.

Though Wesley speaks of an instantaneous experience called «entire sanctification» as following justification, his main idea was the lasting process of continuous perfection. Wesley probably offered this emphasis on “lasting process” after the example of the early church fathers, in order to prevent the awful expectation of going astray from faith. The same concept of “lasting process” was emphasized by the influence of such mystics as Fenelon, whose phrase «*moi progressus ad infinitum*» (my progress is without end) produced a great impression on Wesley. The words, «Go on to perfection: otherwise you cannot keep what you have,» became a slogan for Methodist revival.

Thus, according to Wesley, through the action of justifying grace, a Christian is delivered from

⁶ John Wesley, *Hristianskoe sovershenstvo* (Isbrannye proovedi., Izd. 2. – SPb, «Ruth», 2002), 64.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

sins committed in the past. By the action of sanctifying grace, or complete salvation, a Christian receives deliverance from the flaws of the moral nature that force one to sin. The human being is capable of perfection even living in a body marked by defects which grow out of ignorance, infirmity, or other limitations. Sanctification is the process of growth in love to God with all of one's heart, soul, and mind, which is completed by the ability to live without intentional sin. However, in order to reach this condition, and to remain in it, intensive efforts are required, and life should be marked by constant self-denial, godliness, modesty, firm confidence in the grace of God, the intention to search out God's glory in all things, and by love.

Therefore for Wesley, preventing grace is a lasting action, and justifying grace is an instant act. Sanctifying grace is both gradual and instant. Though Wesleyan theology experienced some changes during his life (for example, he increasingly emphasized good works as the inevitable result of saving faith), these doctrines form the basis of his theology.

Thus, the most important Wesleyan doctrine that experienced further development and noticeably influenced Christian theology, is the doctrine of full sanctification (a term derived from 1Th 5:23). The doctrine is known under various names that express its different aspects. The terms, «second action of grace,» or «second blessing,» are most frequently used. They are applied to differ-

entiate between the experience of sanctification and the experience of justification and regeneration. Defining the difference between justification and sanctification, Wesley wrote, «The first foresees what God does for us through the Son, the second what He does in us by the Spirit.»⁸ This does not mean that in the life of each Christian the «second action of grace» follows in chronological order after the «first action of grace.» Methodists consider it impossible to limit the grace of God, which sanctifies, by the human perception of time. Someone can have full salvation at the time of conversion, others only after that.

The term «second blessing» does not mean that there are only two blessings, or that the second blessing is the final achievement of Christian maturity. Applying this term, Wesley emphasized the experience of spiritual crisis that follows conversion. It consists of the belief that during the second action of grace, sanctification touches the entire person and reaches the deepest part of the soul. However, it does not mean that the person reaches a condition of sinless perfection. Most likely it means a realization that for the new creation in Christ, sin becomes an alien thing. Nevertheless, if a Christian commits a sin, he repentantly recognizes it and confesses it before God, who restores what was destroyed by the sin. Full sanctification means that Christians become free from the

⁸ J. Wesley, *Hristianskoe sovershenstvo*, 15.

power of sin, which cannot harm them while they remain in Christ.

The term «full salvation» emphasizes the completion of the work of salvation in a Christian by Christ. At the time of conversion a person is not able to accept all the blessings available through repentance. Sometimes attempts to live a Christian life fail. Nevertheless, failure can help teach that saving grace is also sanctifying grace: a Christian can be cleansed from all sins, receive the victory, and become a complete disciple of Christ.

The expression «filling by the Holy Spirit» or «fullness in the Spirit» is used to describe the fullness that gives Christians power to live a Christ-like life and to witness about Christ. As a result, the joy of the Lord expels feelings of defeat and replaces them. Holiness is fullness in the Spirit. Methodists also used the term «baptism by the Holy Spirit» to describe the experience of holiness in another way. Baptism is a symbol of death to oneself, and of the birth of a new creation in Christ.

Beginnings of the Holiness Movement

Wesley's ideas spread quickly in England and America, beginning with Methodism, which became a pietistic reaction to the growth of rationalism and formalism in the Anglican Church, and played a powerful social role, counteracting the deterioration of living standards caused by rapid industrialization and urbanization. Howev-

er, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the doctrine of a constant and full victory over sin (the doctrine of full sanctification) went into recession both in English and in American Methodism. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did the Methodist churches in North America, and many other Protestant churches, begin to address anew the doctrine of sanctification. The American Holiness movement became the most outstanding form of Wesleyan perfectionist revivals.

Arising in the middle of the nineteenth century in the United States, the Holiness movement claimed to be a direct heir of Wesleyan teaching and of «genuine» Methodism. In D. Dayton's opinion, these movements can be characterized as the synthesis of Methodism with revivalism and Charles Finney's perfectionism.⁹ In the nineteenth century at least three basic directions of perfectionism existed in the USA. In the 1830s, under the influence of Charles Finney and Asa Mahan, perfectionist ideas were adopted by Oberlin College. Two groups that also accepted the ideas of perfectionism (the Wesleyan Methodist Church and Free Methodists, known for their ethical strictness), broke away from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Circles incorporated around Phoebe Palmer in New York represented the third direction. The awakening of 1857-1858 through the movements of «higher Chris-

⁹ Dayton D. *The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition* // www.religion-online.org

tian life» resulted in the dissemination of perfectionist ideas among Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, and expressed itself in the formation of the Salvation Army and the Keswick movement in Great Britain in the 1870s. After the Civil War in the United States, holiness revival again sprang up in Methodism and in 1867 the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness was formed. Since 1893, it has been known as the National Holiness Association (NHA).

The American evangelist Phoebe Palmer (1807 – 1874) is synonymous with the origin of the Holiness movement. Beginning in 1835 and continuing for three decades in New York she conducted her influential Tuesday Meetings for the Promotion of Holiness. Researchers have found a link between Palmer’s doctrines and the establishment of Pentecostal pneumatology. First of all, Palmer continued the tradition of reevaluation, and to a certain measure simplification, of the key positions in Wesleyan theology. While the founder of Methodism allowed the possibility that the «second action of grace,» which cleanses the heart of the believer and fills it with divine love, can be a gradual process, Palmer insisted that it is an instant spiritual experience accomplished by the Holy Spirit¹⁰. Following J. Fletcher, she identified full sanctification with the baptism in the Holy Spirit, and developed A. Clark’s

idea of an interconnection between holiness and spiritual power in the life of a Christian as one of the basic elements of her theology. Under the influence of restorationist and revivalist ideas, Palmer called her followers to long for «the power of Pentecost,» considering it not only a condition for achieving full sanctification, but also an inexhaustible source for the renewal of church life and effective ministry for God. Actually Palmer was among the first in the nineteenth century, in her sermons and writings, to start the wide application of «Pentecostal terminology,» which by the end of the century became one of the determining features of the Holiness movement and then of Pentecostalism itself.

Differing from Methodism, which considered full sanctification as the ultimate goal for Christians, Palmer treated this experience as the beginning of the full Christian life. She reduced the process of gaining this experience down to three steps: full dedication, faith, and witness. As a sign of achieving perfection, Wesley considered that witness is subjective and internal. He wrote: «... The person should not think that work in the heart is completed until the Spirit’s witnessing about the full sanctification appears as clear as the one at the justification.»¹¹ Palmer insisted that the only proof of achieving holiness is the objective witness of the Word.

¹⁰ E. W. Charles, *Phoebe Palmer and the Development of Pentecostal Pneumatology* // <http://wesley.nnu.edu/theojrnl/21-25/23->

13.htm.

¹¹ J. Wesley J. *Hristianskoe sovershenstvo*, 87.

The Holiness movement, and the denominations that arose from it, adopted Palmer's theological positions. With certain modifications, they became inseparable elements of Pentecostal pneumatology as well. Specifically, Palmer's influence is noticeable in the Pentecostal doctrine concerning conditions for receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, which emphasizes three elements: conversion, full obedience to God, and faith.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Oberlin College became an important synthesis center for the ideas of American revivalism and Methodist perfectionism. Its famous representatives, A. Mahan and C. Finney, united the doctrine of full sanctification with the necessity of receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit, though without identifying these events in the life of a Christian. In their theological structure, the experience of Holy Spirit baptism acquired the meaning of providing a Christian with spiritual power, an idea that received its fullest development in the Keswick movement.

The growing number of Holiness movement evangelistic preachers, who did not acknowledge any control by denominational leadership, and the growth of numerous independent churches of the Holiness movement, gradually outweighed the significance of main-line Methodism to the movement as a whole. Eventually the gap between these two streams widened, as Methodism drifted toward middle-of-the-road American middle class Protestantism, and Holiness

groups insisted that they were the true Wesleyan followers and practiced his ideas. Small schismatic denominations were gradually united in formal churches, the largest of which were the Church of God (1880); the Church of the Nazarene (1908); and the Holiness Church of Pilgrims (1897).

Actually, these denominations were modified variations of Methodism; they were characterized by congregational autonomy, and the doctrine of the «second blessing» and full sanctification as inseparable elements of their theology. The ethical code of the Holiness movement was marked by strictness, severe requirements for personal behavior, and abstention from worldly entertainments and pleasures. In addition, almost all of them allowed women's ordination and leadership positions. The Holiness movement contributed to a deepening of the Christian's spiritual life in a materialistic century, providing a long-awaited contrast to the intellectualism and liberalism that dominated many churches of the time. However, fundamentalists sharply criticized it: they saw Catholic motives in the doctrine of the «second blessing» as one that could provide greater sanctification for Christians than what was received by faith at the time of justification. Other objections concerned the Holiness movement's tendency to identify holiness with self-humiliation, and even with the loss of individuality, asceticism, and an appeal to reject all secular culture as sinful.

An internal difference surfaced within the Holiness movement caused by divergent interpretations of the character of the second blessing as a condition of perfected innocence to the point that a sanctified Christian would be free from committing intentional sin. Another question was whether it was necessary to identify the second blessing with baptism in the Holy Spirit, and, if so, whether it was necessary to expect any spiritual proofs of the latter.

The Rise of Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism became the strongest current to develop on the basis of Holiness movement ideas. Pentecostalism brought attention to the question of the second blessing, which was identified by the sign of praying in tongues. The Pentecostal movement directed its main activity to the spheres in which the Holiness movement already prospered, which brought a significant number of perfectionist followers into the movement. Besides the accent on the baptism in the Holy Spirit, Pentecostalism, as well as the Holiness movement, recognized the doctrine of divine healing and emphasized the necessity of a high standard of personal behavior. Revivalist approaches to conversion and evangelism were common for both groups.

The main contribution of the Wesleyan tradition to Pentecostalism was the teaching of the post-conversion work of the Holy Spirit. This teaching, in association with the doctrine of the initial ev-

idence of praying in tongues, became a theological sign of Pentecostalism. J. Fletcher, Wesley's colleague, who was the first to identify the second blessing with baptism in the Holy Spirit, considered this experience the cause of a Christian's internal cleansing. In Fletcher's terminology it was simply a neologism that described the Wesleyan experience of the "second blessing of sanctification" and had little in common with the later idea of «clothing in spiritual power.» As already mentioned, American evangelist P. Palmer, who emphasized the necessity of a deep personal experience of God, was the first to apply the term «baptism by the Holy Spirit» to this relationship. The next stimulus for reevaluation of the essence of the holy life came from W. Arthur's work *Tongues of Fire*, published in 1856, which appealed to Christians to seek the filling by the Holy Spirit, an experience the author called a «baptism by fire.» W. Boardman's influential book *The Higher Christian Life* spoke about «Pentecostal baptism» as an achievement of «full salvation» or the «victorious life.» However, the main role in popularizing the term «baptism in the Holy Spirit» in Holiness circles was played by C. Finney and his colleague A. Mahan, who, in 1870, published the work, *The Baptism by the Holy Spirit*, still using this term as the traditional Wesleyan doctrine of «the second action of grace.»

The last steps to the Pentecostal understanding of baptism in the Holy Spirit as an experience

distinct from sanctification, were taken at the beginning of the 1890s. In this period B. Irwin (a former Baptist pastor who joined the Holiness movement) under the influence of J. Fletcher's idea about «the baptism by burning love,» developed the doctrine of the “third blessing» of «baptism by fire» or «baptism by the Holy Spirit,» which was to follow sanctification, bringing spiritual power into the Christian life. Leadership circles of the Holiness movement did not approve the new doctrine, judging it «the heresy of the third blessing.» As a result, in 1895 Irwin and his followers were compelled to leave the Holiness Association of Iowa and in the same year formed their own denomination: The Fire-Baptized Holiness Association. Its confession of faith said: «We also believe that baptism by the Holy Spirit is available for an entirely cleansed believer through a certain act of faith. We also believe that the baptism by fire is a biblically defined experience, which is available through faith for the Spirit-filled believers. We do not think that the baptism by fire is independent from the Holy Spirit experience.»¹² Based on Fletcher's idea about «baptism by fire» the Pentecostal teaching of «the baptism by the Spirit» was formed. Further di-

rect contacts between Irwin and early Pentecostal leaders such as A. Tomlinson,¹³ C. Parham,¹⁴ and D. King are well known¹⁵.

Keswick Movement Influences Pentecostalism

An important part of the Holiness movement's influence on the founding of Pentecostalism came from the Keswick movement in Great Britain. From the middle of the nineteenth century, Holiness movement evangelists from the United States actively influenced the religious life of Great Britain. Through direct contacts and publications they stirred up interest in «the Spirit-filled life.» In particular, W. Boardman's book *The Higher Christian Life* (1859), R. Smith's *Holiness Through Faith* (1870), H. Smith's *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (1875) were truly influential. From 1873, W. Boardman, Robert and Hannah Smith, T. Monod and other figures of the Holiness movement held meetings and conferences devoted to the «higher Christian life» theme in Great Britain. From 1875 these meetings, known as the «Conventions for the Promotion of Practical Holiness,» were regular events.

Despite its origins in the American Holiness movement tradition,

¹² Lee M. Haines Lee and A. Grander, “Wesleyan Methodism's Transition 1867-1901” in *Reformers and Revivalists*, ed. E.C. Wayne.

¹³ Harold D. Hunter, *Beniah at the Apostolic Crossroads: Parham, Tomlinson, Sanford, Irwin* // Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research (January, 1997). <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyber5>.

¹⁴ David G. Roebuck, “Restorationism and a

Vision for World Harvest: A Brief History of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee),” in *Cyberjournal For Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* (February, 1999). <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyber5>.

¹⁵ Harold D. Hunter, “The International Pentecostal Holiness Church,” in *The Acts of Pentecost*, ed. by Yung-Chul Han (Seoul: Han Young Theological University, 1998).

the Keswick conventions soon developed their own teaching of holiness unlike the Wesleyan type. This can be partly explained by the influence of Calvinism. (The majority of Keswick theologians belonged to Protestant streams such as Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans, and Congregationalists, which were more in favor of Calvin's doctrine, than with Arminianism). The Keswick movement did not accept the radical Methodist doctrine of «innocent perfection,» instead accenting the idea that Christians should be characterized by the «fullness of the Spirit,» that gives one the power to sustain the Christian life. The important point, which later formed the foundation of Pentecostal theology, was the doctrine that receiving the «fullness of the Spirit» was an act of faith that differed from the new birth, but converged with it. As a result of this experience, Christians could obtain the victory over temptation and sin; however, it did not extirpate the ability to sin.

Actually, the Keswick understanding of holiness and of life in the Spirit became the pattern for rethinking the American Holiness understanding of sanctification. As opposed to Wesley's doctrine of sanctification as extirpation of sin, Keswick teachers emphasized that Christians were given the power of the Holy Spirit for victory over sin. Thus, the second action of grace was more likely to be an

experience of receiving power for victorious life and ministry, rather than the fact of internal cleansing. Actually, both the American Holiness movement and the Keswick conventions had one purpose, which was to achieve daily victory over sin. However, in the opinion of the Keswick teachers, victory over the old sinful nature becomes possible not because of full internal cleansing, but because of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the lives of believers, who have completely devoted themselves to God¹⁶. Therefore, each stream understood the result of a sanctified life differently: for the Holiness movement it consisted in human achievement of the condition of perfection; for Keswick theologians it was in receiving power for ministry.

Having made the analysis of the Keswick movement's doctrines, D. McQuilken separated three stages of their doctrine of sanctification. During the first stage, «positional righteousness,» justification and regeneration declare the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the Christian. The second stage, «experiential sanctification,» signifies the daily application of one's status in Christ with the help of the Holy Spirit. The third stage, «completed or permanent sanctification» would be available to Christians only after death as a condition of a believer's «glorification.»¹⁷ Thus, comparing the Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification with the Kes-

¹⁶ M. E. Dieter, "The Post Civil War Holiness Revival: The Rise of the Camp Meeting Churches," in *Reformers and Revivalists: History of the Wesleyan Church*, ed. E. C. Wayne (Indiana-

napolis: Wesley Press, 1992), 157-158.

¹⁷ J. McQuilken, "The Keswick Perspective," in *Five Views on Sanctification* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1983), 154-160.

wick movement's doctrine, we can define the differences. They consist first of all, in a recognition by Keswick theologians that «the law of sin and death» is permanent in Christians; second, in emphasizing the role of the Holy Spirit in sanctification (the Christian has reached sanctification as far as he yields himself to the action of the Holy Spirit in his life); third, in a Christological understanding of holiness; that is, both justification and sanctification are the result of Christ's redeeming sacrifice, death and resurrection.

The new formulation of the holiness doctrine made by the Keswick movement allowed it a wider influence on American and European non-Methodist churches which earlier were pushed away by Methodist perfectionism. Some researchers consider that it was not Methodism but the Keswick movement that played a key role in the origin of Pentecostalism. For their argument they make the statement that for the early Pentecostal experience of the baptism by the Holy Spirit, it was more important to receive spiritual power than to achieve perfection,¹⁸ and also the fact that a few years after the birth of the Pentecostal movement, their doctrine of sanctification displayed the ideas of the Keswick conventions.

Undoubtedly, the Keswick movement's influence affected the origin of Pentecostalism rather powerful-

ly. The conventions became a theological foundation for the Welsh Revival (1905), which stirred many Christians in the U.S.A. and Europe to seek similar experiences. R.A. Torrey, R. Smith, and O. Stockmeyer transferred the ideas of «the higher Christian life» from Great Britain to continental Europe, which received its greatest acceptance in the German Holiness Movement. One of the most prominent figures of the last century, J. Paul, became the founder of German Pentecostalism. The Keswick movement also influenced A. Boddy, the leader of early Pentecostalism in Great Britain.

American Influences on Pentecostalism

In the United States the Christian and Missionary Alliance, founded by A.B. Simpson,¹⁹ which was close to the Pentecostal movement, adopted the Keswick understanding of sanctification. In particular, this was expressed in the understanding of sanctification not as an «innocent perfection, glorification of our righteousness and of our habits, as if we were infallible or faultless,» but rather as «full renunciation from our own righteousness, strengths and perfection and receiving instead the Lord Jesus Christ as the indwelling, living and divine person who becomes our life and righteousness.»²⁰ Simpson's teaching, in par-

¹⁸ W. Menzies, "The Non-Wesleyan Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," in *Aspects of Pentecostal Charismatic Origins* (Plainfield: Logos International, 1975), 85-89.

¹⁹ *The Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 2000, s.v. A.B. Simpson.

²⁰ Simpson, A. B. <http://www.churchinwestland.org/id270.htm>

ticular his doctrine of the «fourfold Gospel» with certain variations, become a part of the «Statement about Fundamental Truth» of the Assemblies of God Pentecostal denomination. However, Simpson personally did not join the Pentecostal movement, although many participants of the Christian and Missionary Alliance became active members, for example, D. Kerr, R. Flower, K. Montgomery, N. Perkins, D. Welch, and W. Evans.

It should be noted that two decades before the birth of Pentecostalism, Simpson was interested in the evangelical teaching about the gift of tongues. Like early Pentecostal leaders, he considered this gift in its eschatological and missionary directions, considering tongues to be an effective means of preaching the gospel to other nations. Even though he did not interpret tongues as a sign of any spiritual experience, his interest in «missionary languages» opened the way for the origin of Pentecostalism. The formation of early Pentecostalism was also affected by Simpson's active preaching of the doctrine of divine healing, his teaching about the «higher Christian life,» the expectation of «signs and wonders» as confirmation of the message of the gospel, and a focus on the importance of missionary work. He wrote, «The Lord's plan is to pour out the Spirit not only in the usual way, but in extreme gifts and works of His power ... if His people make the evangelization of the whole world their purpose.»²¹ Simpson's reaction to the Pentecostal doctrine of

praying in tongues as the sign of the baptism in the Holy Spirit was unambiguous. Disagreeing with the statement that every Christian should pray in tongues as evidence of receiving the Holy Spirit, he nevertheless considered tongues as «one of the evidences» of the baptism by the Spirit²².

The Keswick movement and the theological constructions of A.B. Simpson and B. Irwin were catalyst links between the Wesleyan doctrine of holiness and Pentecostalism. On this foundation the views and beliefs of C. Parham and W. Seymour, who were Pentecostalism's founders, (both of them at one time had belonged to Holiness movement denominations) were formed. Parham's (1873-1929) theological beliefs grew out of the context of the Holiness movement's ideas, especially the teachings about conversion, sanctification, divine healing, and the expectation of the imminent advent of Christ, and thus his belief in the necessity of achieving the Holy Spirit power for effective missionary activity. However, for the first time Parham brought to attention the question of visible, external evidence of receiving «the third blessing,» which he identified with the baptism in the Holy Spirit. In his opinion, this experience brought holiness to a Christian, as well as spiritual power. Therefore, it was necessary to find people in the church who had received this experience and entrust

²¹ G. McGee, «All for Jesus: The Revival Legacy of A. B. Simpson,» in *Enrichment* (Spring, 1999).

²² A. Panning, *A Look at Holiness and Perfectionism Theology* // <http://www.wls.wels.net>.

them with leadership. The evidence was to be authentic and not subject to falsification²³.

The main preachers of the doctrine of baptism by the Holy Spirit as an experience of cleansing or spiritual authority did not agree about incontrovertible evidence. Evangelist R.A. Torrey agreed that the gift of another tongue could be one of the evidences; however, he did not consider this gift the exclusive one. D.L. Moody moved the emphasis to the general features of spiritual growth in a Christian, considering that the evidence of baptism by the Holy Spirit was the desire for a greater understanding of Christ, love for the Bible, and a hunger for spiritual knowledge. Therefore, in his opinion, there was no need for any visible evidence. C. Parham considered this disagreement a barrier to the study and acceptance of baptism by the Spirit.

Thus, when the students of his Bible school in Topeka, Kansas were studying the events on the Day of Pentecost, and came to the conclusion that its evidence was praying in other tongues, Parham agreed. It should be noted that Parham interpreted the gift of other tongues in its eschatological understanding. He considered it an active means of preaching to non-Christians, which was consonant with the expected triumphant return of Christ. In Parham's mind, the gift of tongues was a key condition to successful evangelization of the

world, and with its help everyone could preach the gospel to people of other countries without studying their languages. On the other hand, tongues, as proof of the second act of grace, became the testimony of a believer's achievement of the condition of Christian perfection. The novelty in C. Parham's teaching was that he, for the first time in recent Christian history, formulated the doctrine of praying in tongues as evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Pentecostal Theology is Shaped

The first Pentecostal leader, W. Seymour, also believed that Christians should experience three acts of grace – justification, sanctification, and baptism in the Holy Spirit. Prior to praying for baptism in the Holy Spirit, it was necessary to go through sanctification. However, his views brought criticism from W. Durham, who held the Christological approach to sanctification, inherited from the Keswick movement, which taught that Christ's sacrifice provides not only justification, but also the believer's identification with the resurrected Christ. Therefore, a Christian should regard himself as dead to sin, instead of seeking another crisis experience for the achievement of full sanctification.

Actually, on this foundation two basic directions of Pentecostalism converged. First, the «Pentecostalism of three blessings,» that considered the second act of grace (cleansing of the Christian

²³ ack D. Zwemer, "The Nature and Extent of the Pentecostal Movement," *Present Truth Magazine Archives*, Volume Eight, Article 4.

from the authority of sin), as a necessary precondition for receiving baptism in the Holy Spirit (the third act of grace). Second, the «Pentecostalism of two blessings,» that did not consider sanctification an obligatory condition for receiving the power of the Holy Spirit. The first group mainly consisted of those Pentecostals who were formerly in denominations of the Holiness movement until 1911 and later joined Pentecostalism, keeping their Wesleyan doctrines. The second group consisted of assemblies that had arisen since 1911. This group made up the significant majority in the modern Pentecostal movement. The division between the two streams of Pentecostalism can also be considered a display of divergence between Calvinist-Baptist and Wesleyan-Methodist theological traditions²⁴.

The Holiness movement was an important influence on Pentecostalism in terms of its powerful ethical tradition. In general, the stream differs from fundamentalism and evangelicalism because it is more focused on ethical questions and the spiritual life of Christians than on protecting its doctrinal orthodoxy. Actually, ethics in the Holiness movement has occupied the place that fundamentalists reserved for orthodoxy, which can be explained by a lasting emphasis on the doctrine of sanctification. The ideas of strictness, simplicity, and equality of all

believers characterized the code of personal ethics of the movement. As is well known, the movement played a significant role in abolitionism and overcoming racial inequality, sometimes allowing acts of civil rebellion as a means of fighting against slavery. An interesting page of the movement's history is concerned with upholding the rights of women, including the right to ministry. Wesleyan-Methodist Churches in the 1860s experimented with women's ordination. Early Pentecostalism adopted this tendency, which did not limit the participation of women in ministry. The Holiness movement paid significant attention to social work, and serving the needs of the poor, which has most clearly been expressed in the ministry of the Salvation Army.

Converging tendencies were inherent for early Pentecostalism. Participants in the Pentecostal movement adhered to pacifism and refused participation in military service. As in the Holiness movement, in early Pentecostalism there was a high level of racial integration and cooperation; however, it was short-lived, and resulted in the formation of Pentecostal assemblies according to racial homogeneity. In early Pentecostal communities there were no limitations to a woman's right to ministry and leadership positions, which can also be partially explained by the influence of the Holiness move-

²⁴ Bernie L. Gillespie, *Vital Contributions of Revivalism to the Pentecostal Movement* // <http://www.inchristalone.org/RevivalismToPentecostalism.htm>

²⁵ S. Benvenuti, "Pentecostal Women in Ministry: Where Do We Go From Here?" in *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, (January 1997).

ment, where the main criterion for leadership was not gender, but a calling confirmed by the presence of spiritual gifts.²⁵

Taking into consideration the similarities of their theological positions and the presence of many Holiness movement participants in first-generation Pentecostal communities, it might be assumed that the part of the Holiness movement that did not joined Pentecostalism would nevertheless be friendly, or at least tolerant, of the new movement. However, the penetration of Pentecostalism into Protestant churches that did not agree with the doctrine of «two actions of grace,» and the dominating influence of W. Durham's doctrine of «the completed work,» which objected to the necessity of «the second blessing,» resulted in the gradual transformation of Pentecostal theology and the rejection of Wesley's doctrines by the majority of Pentecostal groups. Holiness movement denominations, wishing to keep their fidelity with traditional Methodist doctrine, were compelled to distance themselves from Pentecostalism. A vivid example of this tendency is the Church of the Nazarene, the largest of the modern holiness denominations. Founded in 1895 in Los Angeles under the name of Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, it became the initial, basic stage for what happened on Azusa Street in 1906-1908, launching the organized Pentecostal movement. However, during discussions between W. Seymour and W. Durham, the church broke off its relationship with Pentecostalism

and even altered its name in order to prevent any identification with the Pentecostal movement.

Thus the statement that the Holiness movement is the basic precondition of the origin of Pentecostalism is an oversimplification. The study of the origin of the Pentecostal movement requires us to consider the wider context of the radical elements of the National Holiness Associations, strengthened by the restoration of a D. Fletcher's terminology of «the baptism by the Spirit,» as well as by D. Moody, R.A. Torrey and A.B. Simpson's dissemination of ideas about baptism as receiving power for ministry. The ground for the birth of Pentecostalism was prepared by Holiness movement restorationism, which, in interaction with the influence of revivalism, cherished a belief in the necessity of renewal of the spiritual power of the apostolic church. The course of theological logic inherent in these religious phenomena has resulted in the formation of many religious groups, one of which is Pentecostalism. Actually, an intensive search for a deeper spiritual experience, the use of terminology from the book of Acts, and the Day of Pentecost, all helped to spread the doctrine of the baptism in the Spirit. The general concern for themes of spiritual power connected to the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of a Christian inevitably led the Holiness movement in the direction of the Pentecostal phenomenon, creating the theological foundation for the doctrinal structure of C. Parham and W. Seymour.

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