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Power in the Blood: The significance of the blood of Jesus to the spirituality of early British pentecostalism and its precursors

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Power in the Blood: The Significance
of the Blood of Jesus to the Spirituality
of Early British Pentecostalism and its
Precursors

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University of Bangor for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract.

Pentecostals and charismatics today are not known for placing great emphasis on the blood of Jesus, yet such was not always the case. Even a cursory reading of the popular literature produced by the earliest Pentecostals reveals that the atonement generally, and ‘the blood’ in particular occupied a central place in their spirituality. Indeed, during the first two years of British Pentecostalism, the mere mention of ‘the precious blood’ appears to have had, for them, an almost magical power to make the devil flee and induce the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit. In this thesis, I have attempted to tell the story of when and how this emphasis on the blood of Christ began and progressed, culminating in early British Pentecostalism.

The claims of this piece of research are limited to demonstrating, firstly, that there was continuity. There is an identifiable tradition of this style of spirituality that passed from generation to generation, especially within Evangelicalism, which reached its apogee in the earlier years of Pentecostalism. Secondly, I demonstrate that there was change. The different forms that the tradition took in response to changing conditions are described and analysed and the gradual disappearance of the tradition from within Pentecostalism is noted with possible reasons being offered.

I have concluded this thesis by pointing out, firstly, the part these findings could play in opening up a discussion of the Christological roots of Pentecostalism. This aspect of Pentecostal origins could speak into current debates about Pentecostal identity that draw much from its distinctive pneumatology but which presently see less that is

distinctive or identity depicting in its Christology. Secondly, this piece of work supplies resources that may be found useful in the wider Evangelical debate about the atonement. One common objection raised against the doctrine of penal substitution is that it does not obviously point the way to the ethical or spiritual transformation of the individual. In this thesis, a significant body of evidence is presented that shows how many individuals, almost entirely subscribers to a penal view of the atonement, found ways of making their atonement theology personally transformative. Thirdly, this thesis offers a collection of data that may be found useful by those researching the interaction between Christianity, especially in its more radical forms, and the cultural forces brought to bear upon it.

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Aims and Introduction.

This thesis aims to tell the story of a spiritual tradition. The tradition to which I refer is one that has now largely passed away, and with neither mourning nor rejoicing. Rather, it has been mostly ignored. Part of the burden of this thesis, therefore, and the reason for the vast number of citations from primary sources,¹ is to bring this tradition to the attention of a wider research community. This tradition, as will be seen, runs through many centuries and confessions and is, by definition, an emphasis specifically on the blood of Jesus. That the atonement has been much emphasised in Christianity is not news.² That the blood of Christ has been the object of devotion and a source of spiritual power, especially among Pentecostals, is the subject of this piece of work.

In line with the emerging discipline of the study of spirituality, debate about the biblical or theological rights and wrongs of the people whose spiritualities I survey will be kept to a minimum.³ My conviction is that data drawn from almost entirely

¹ As well as, following Sheldrake, to, "...reach out for as complete and authentic encounter with the past as possible." Sheldrake, P., *Spirituality and History* Rev. Ed., (London: SPCK, 1995), 97.

² A competent historical introduction to the emergence of this emphasis and discussion of it would be Stott, J., *The Cross of Christ*, (Leicester: IVP, 1986), 17-46.

³ The atonement theology of most of the people cited in this thesis is that of penal substitution. This perspective on the atonement was inherited by the early Pentecostals from the Evangelicals who, in turn, inherited it from the Reformers, especially John Calvin. The first use of the term 'penal substitution,' however, is in the work of Princeton theologian Charles Hodge. Outside of theological circles the phrase is still not in widespread circulation and was not used by the early Pentecostals. Yet, as the extracts in this thesis will show they believed in a penalty-bearing substitutionary interpretation of the death of Jesus. If the reader wishes to evaluate the merits or otherwise of this doctrine, there is a wealth of recent literature that discusses it: McCurdy, L., *Attributes and Atonement: The Holy Love of God in the Theology of P. T. Forsyth*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 1998), Green, J & M. Baker, *Rediscovering the Scandal of the Cross*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), Boersma, H., *Violence, Hospitality, and the Cross: Reappropriating the Atonement Tradition*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), Hill, C.E., & F.A. James III (eds), *The Glory of the Atonement*, (Downers Grove, IVP, 2004), Finlan, S., *Problems with Atonement: The Origins of, and Controversy About, the Atonement Doctrine*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2005), Reasoner, M., *Romans in Full Circle: A History of*

non-academic sources, as this is, should be handled with the care and respect due from those who have had the benefit of theological training towards those who were largely without it. I am identifying myself with the type of contributions made by Steven Land⁴ and Simon Chan⁵ to the still relatively infant study of Pentecostal spirituality.⁶ Here Pentecostalism will be studied as a form of spirituality. It will be understood as a set of essentially pragmatic beliefs and practices that are deemed to foster a ‘closer walk with God.’ Pentecostal Christianity is a way of relating to God that was never academic in its priorities. Pentecostalism, instead, confronts the rest of the Church with the question, how real is your relationship with God?

By ‘spirituality’, I mean all that is involved with and springs from an individual’s communion with God.⁷ Pentecostalism has always advocated a spirituality of

Interpretation, (New York: St Vladimir’s Press, 2006). Madsen, A., *The Theology of the Cross in Historical Perspective*, (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2006). Shelton, L., *Cross and Covenant: Interpreting the Atonement in the 21st Century Mission*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006). Heim, M., *Saved from Sacrifice: A Theology of the Cross*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006). Jeffrey, S., M. Ovey & A. Sach, *Pierced for Our Transgressions*, (Leicester: IVP, 2007). Holmes, S., *The Wondrous Cross*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007). Williams, G., “Penal Substitution: A Response to Recent Criticisms,” *JETS* 50:1 (2007), 71-86, D. Tidball, D. Hilborn & J. Thacker (eds), *The Atonement Debate*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2008). The recent ‘Lost Message’ debate surrounding Steve Chalke’s comments about penal substitution being comparable to “cosmic child abuse” (Chalke, S & A. Mann, *The Lost Message of Jesus*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 182), is traceable through the following periodicals, two of which, the ones by Allen and Pugh, are from the pens of Pentecostals: Sach, A., & Ovey, M., “Have We Lost the Message of Jesus?” *Evangelicals Now!* (June 2004), 27; James, R., “Cross Purposes?”, *Christian Herald* Week 36,(4 September 2004), 1; Chalke, S., “Cross Purposes”, *Christianity*, (Sep 2004), 4-5; Haslam, G., “The Lost Cross of Jesus”, *Christianity*, (Nov 2004), 18-23; Allen, D., “Crossfire”, *Joy*, Issue 126 (March 2005), 24-26; Peck, A., “Why Did Jesus Die?” *Christianity* (September 05), 12-15; Pugh, B., “‘The Lost Message of Jesus’ What is all the Fuss About?” *Direction*, (Oct 2005), 16-18; James, R., “Atonement and Unity” *Idea* (March/April 2006), 26-27.

⁴ Land, S., *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

⁵ Chan, S., *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

⁶ More detailed literature reviews of research carried out on aspects of the study of Pentecostalism will be presented at the relevant sections in this thesis.

⁷ Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold, conscious of the vagueness of the word, restrict their definition of spirituality to “...individual prayer and communion with God,” also recognising “...the outer life which supports and flows from this devotion,” summing all this up as, “...mystical theology...” Jones, C., G. Wainwright & E. Yarnold (eds), *The Study of Spirituality*, (London: SPCK, 1986, 1992), xvii. Wakefield is more ethical: “...the way in which prayer influences conduct, our behaviour and manner

encounter. Things are expected to happen during a Pentecostal meeting. One is expected to meet God in some tangible way.

In chapter 6.3, for example, I will take reflect on the data available from the very earliest days of British Pentecostalism. This particular phase of Pentecostalism is especially distinctive in seeing faith in the blood of Jesus as an essential component in an individual's moment of encounter with the Godhead. Issuing from this encounter comes the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the gift of tongues. This is in marked contrast with later Pentecostal and Charismatic concepts of Baptism in the Spirit, which have tended to see the experience as little more than the act of speaking in tongues for the first time.⁸ At Sunderland, Britain's first Pentecostal centre, people were preparing themselves, night after night, to meet with God.

Elsewhere I will discuss a doctrine that emerges within the pages of *Confidence* magazine, Britain's first Pentecostal periodical, known as 'pleading the blood.' In testimony after testimony, this practice is referred to as being part and parcel of the Spirit baptism experience, as essential a preliminary to it as speaking in tongues was its result. The reason why pleading the blood - often simply by saying the word

of life, our attitudes to other people." Wakefield, G., *A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, (London: SCM, 1983), v.

⁸ The two ends of the spectrum are vividly represented firstly by Moody's experience of baptism in the Spirit, many years prior to the events of Sunderland, in 1871: "I was crying all the time that God would fill me with His Spirit. Well, one day, in the city of New York - oh, what a day! I cannot describe it; I seldom refer to it; it is almost too sacred an experience to name...I can only say that God revealed Himself to me, and I had such an experience of His love that I had to ask Him to stay His hand." Many years post-Sunderland, in 1960, Dennis Bennett's experience of Baptism in the Spirit is at the other extreme: "I began to pray, as he told me, and I prayed very quietly, too. I was not about to get even a little bit excited! I was simply following instructions. I suppose I must have prayed out loud for about twenty minutes - at least it seemed to be a long time - and I was just about to give up when a very strange thing happened. My tongue tripped, just as it might when you are trying to recite a tongue twister, and I began to speak in a new language!" Full transcripts of both testimonies can be found in Synan, V., *The Century of the Holy Spirit*, (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 31 and 152.

‘blood’ – was deemed so essential was the profoundly felt need to ward off the devil during the whole encounter.

These Pentecostal *nova* are just two of the many remarkable moments in the history of ‘blood’- orientated spirituality. Time is taken in this piece of work, not only to trace the prehistory of the Pentecostal regard for the blood of Jesus, but also to build an understanding of the various stages reached by devotees of the blood along the way. Dominant influences have, I hope, been accurately traced so as to suggest to the reader an unbroken line of continuity, a plausible genealogy of this particular brand of spirituality.

In focusing on the word ‘blood’ rather than any other words that speak of the death of Jesus, such as ‘cross’ or ‘atonement.’ I am, firstly, using the term of choice for the early Pentecostals. As I will show statistically, they used the word ‘blood’ far more frequently than ‘cross,’ ‘Calvary,’ ‘atoning’ or ‘atonement’ put together. At the beginning of my research, the sheer preponderance of the word ‘blood’ raised its own queries concerning origins, which were most likely to be answered by concentrating on this one word ‘blood’ as it occurred in Pentecostalism’s prehistory. I will show that the emphasis placed upon the blood at Sunderland, as well as at Azusa Street was in fact the tail end of a long tradition of spirituality stretching as far back as the medieval period. This style of spirituality resurfaced with increasing strength, reaching its climax in early Pentecostalism. This phenomenon, related as it is to the already recognised medieval phenomenon of ‘passion mysticism.’ I have termed ‘blood mysticism.’ I will show that Pentecostal spirituality is not only indebted to the Wesleyan foundation of a second blessing, the precursor of the concept of Baptism in

the Spirit,⁹ but also to this much older tradition of blood veneration. The factors that were likely to have influenced the rise and, to a significant extent, the demise of blood mysticism will be identified. My second reason for focusing on this one word 'blood' is the need to delimit an otherwise unmanageable research project. Doubtless another valuable project would be to trace the history of 'the cross' or 'Calvary' in some aspect of popular Christian spirituality.

However, the disadvantages of focusing on the blood of Jesus are likely to become especially apparent to anyone wishing to reintroduce to today's Church the insights gained from my research. Firstly, blood is associated with unpleasantness, horror and gore. Some people cannot bear the sight of blood, and it is not to be expected that they will have a regard for the word 'blood' that is any higher, even if it is the blood of Jesus. Secondly, the original readers of the New Testament documents, both Jewish and Gentile, besides doubtless sharing with modern Westerners the above disadvantage, had the advantage of an additional association: that of blood sacrifices. Sacrificing slaughtered animals to God or the gods was a widespread practice. For contemporary (as well as early Pentecostal) Westerners, adopting the word entails the learning of a new and positive association, a new piece of vocabulary. The commendation of an idiosyncratic Christian code, a 'language of Zion' that has congregations loudly praising the precious blood of the lamb to the complete mystification of visitors, is not the purpose of this thesis. Yet, if fidelity to New

⁹ It is important to note that John Wesley is not the originator of the Pentecostal doctrine of baptism in the Holy Spirit and seems to have had reservations about John Fletcher's use of the phrase to denote the Second Blessing. In fact, McGonigle is of the conviction that neither Wesley nor Fletcher gave due recognition to the New Testament promise, "You shall receive power when the Holy Ghost is come upon you [Acts 1:7]." McGonigle, H., "Pneumatological Nomenclature in Early Methodism," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 8 (Spring 1973), 71. Nevertheless, it is Fletcher that made the following statement "adult perfect Christianity...is consequent upon the baptism of the Holy Ghost, administered by Christ Himself," and it is the teaching of Fletcher on the subject, rather than that of Wesley, that the holiness preachers followed: Wessels, R., "The Spirit Baptism: Nineteenth Century Roots," *Pneuma* 14:2 (Fall 1992), 131.

Testament thought-forms is to be maintained, there does not, at present, seem to be any way around actually using the word 'blood' provided that its symbolic meaning can be made clear.

Despite the potential difficulties outlined above, a significant underlying aim in this piece of work will be to provide other researchers with the means to evaluate whether there is anything useful to Christianity today in this tradition that could, where relevant, be reinvented and reintroduced. It is of note, for a start, that the blood mystical tradition is ecumenically rooted, drawing from and shaping both Catholic and Protestant forms of Christian devotion. Though beyond the scope of this thesis to fully explore, the ecumenical potential of being atonement centred, thus magnifying central commonalities and relativising peripheral differences was not lost on Count Zinzendorf, the father of ecumenism whose spirituality is surveyed in chapter 1.

There are also a kaleidoscopic variety of different idioms and New Testament metaphors that are invoked within this tradition. Depending on the need of the hour, Christ's blood might cleanse, it might redeem, it might defeat Satan, it might provide access to God, or it might provide any number of other benefits to a devout believer seeking a closer relationship with God. It is the richness of this tradition that makes it versatile. It is highly likely that at least one or two of these celebrated uses of the blood of Christ will be applicable in present day situations and, in a pastoral context, might be deemed beneficial. On the negative side, much of this emphasis on the blood appears to be somewhat reactionary. In the Moravians it was part of an anti-rational revolt against the Enlightenment, amongst the Evangelicals it was an anti-liberal insistence on continuing to preach, without compromise, a bloody, sacrificial atonement for sin. Some of this tradition was superstitious. The early Pentecostal

practice of pleading the blood for protection against Satan soon came in for much criticism. And today, this emphasis appears to have become redundant. Changes in Pentecostal urgencies mean that the repetitive invocation of the power of the blood of Jesus in song and sermon has now become largely an historical curio.

Nevertheless, of particular interest have been the more recent contributions of Tom Smail who, as a critical and reluctant charismatic, has spoken of how “the Spirit comes from the cross.”¹⁰ Smail has articulated a theology for reintegrating atonement-centred spirituality with Spirit-centred spirituality. He seems to point the way towards reinventing for today the archaic yet valuable traditions of the past that sought in their own way to keep the Spirit and the blood together.

This thesis, therefore, aims to be a resource for others to use, whether with academic or pastoral aims in mind. Though the scope of this thesis is necessarily narrow, the centrality of its subject to so much Christian spirituality means that it touches on a broad range of interests. It is hoped that there is, in the coming pages, a piece of work that is both interesting and useful to readers from inside and outside the Pentecostal tradition.

¹⁰ Smail, T., “The Cross and the Spirit: Towards a Theology of Renewal” in Smail, T., A. Walker & N. Wright (eds.) *Charismatic Renewal: The Search for a Theology*. (London: SPCK, 1995), 55. Smail is discussed in chapter 8.1.

Contributions to Research.

This thesis offers a contribution to current knowledge of the origins of Pentecostal theology by focusing on an aspect of that theology that has not heretofore received attention as a distinct study in its own right. Many Pentecostal historians have skimmed over the rather quirky beliefs of the early Pentecostals about the blood, giving, at best, rather scant attention to an area of belief that was clearly very important to them. A very worthwhile study has been conducted into the role of eschatology in early Pentecostal spirituality with Faupel's *The Everlasting Gospel*.¹¹ Until now, there has been no study of an equivalent scale into the role of any aspect of atonement theology in early Pentecostal spirituality.

Secondly, and related to the above, this thesis offers a fresh account of Pentecostal origins by shifting from the traditional locus of Pentecostal identity: Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Typical accounts of Pentecostal origins have traced its origins only as far back as the concept of Baptism in the Spirit can be traced. Here, I analyse a different, but no less identity-depicting aspect of Pentecostal belief: the blood mystical root. This root seems to take the history of Pentecostal spirituality much further back than the traditionally acknowledged Wesleyan starting point, possibly even as far back as Bernard of Clairvaux and the medieval passionists.

¹¹ Faupel, D.W., *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*. (Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

Thirdly, this thesis offers the first ever detailed account of the origins of the Pentecostal and Charismatic practice of pleading the blood, offering an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon, which, in some quarters, is still practised today.

Fourthly, this thesis makes an important contribution to the study of 19th Century British Evangelicalism. A number of excellent books have been written on this subject, most of which include a section on the role of the cross in Evangelical spirituality. My study concentrates on an aspect of that crucicentrism which has, until now, been given little attention, and demonstrates helpfully how 19th century Evangelical spirituality may be joined up to what went before and after it in the area of devotion to the atonement.

Fifthly, and related to the above, this study makes an implicit contribution to ecumenical dialogue as it shows the continuity of devotion to the blood that runs through Catholic and Protestant faith, as well as through the many different branches of Protestantism.

Lastly, in my analysis of *Confidence* magazine as well as, *The Apostolic Faith*, the *Elim Evangel*, and *Redemption Tidings* magazines, I offer a listing of articles on the four leading theological themes: The Second Coming of Christ, the Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts, Divine Healing and the Atonement. This will be a valuable resource for future researchers in Pentecostal theology. These listings provide valuable statistical data on what, in fact, the main theological urgencies of the early Pentecostals were.

Method.

My method was, first of all, to write an initial probe in order to investigate the viability of the subject. This took the form of an analysis of the first year of issues of *Confidence* magazine, assessing it for the frequency and type of references to the blood of Jesus. I added to this some tentative conclusions about the origins of early British Pentecostal blood mysticism in German Pietism, Keswick, the Welsh Revival and Kilsyth. My findings were then presented at the annual European Pentecostal Theological Association conference in Basle in April 2005, and subsequently published under the title, “‘There is Power in the Blood’ – The Role of the Blood of Jesus in the Spirituality of Early British Pentecostalism” in the *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* in January 2006.¹²

This initial probe was followed by a more detailed search for a possible beginning point. I had already explored as far back as Count Zinzendorf and 18th century German Pietism for the EPTA paper and had demonstrated likely dependences. Now there came the opportunity of searching further back to Zinzendorf’s main influence: Martin Luther, and Martin Luther’s mentors: the medieval mystics, especially Bernard. During this phase of the project I followed the already accepted Wesleyan root to Pentecostalism but attempted to add to this a greater understanding of some of the influences flowing into Wesleyan theology that pertain to the blood of Christ. This research produced chapter 1.

¹² Pugh, B., “‘There is Power in the Blood’ – The Role of the Blood of Jesus in the Spirituality of Early British Pentecostalism” *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* Vol. XXV (2006), 54-66.

Next, significant documents relating to movements and people within the whole span of the accepted Pentecostal prehistory from Wesley onwards were consulted for their use of the word ‘blood’ in relation to Jesus. My aspiration was to have before me a plausible model of the chronology involved, so as to tentatively begin telling the ‘story’ of the blood. The navigational landmarks used for tracing this story were the figures and movements already well known to have contributed to the formation of British Pentecostal theology: the Wesleys, the holiness movement, the Welsh revival, the Azusa Street revival, as this chronology is well established.¹³ All that was added was, firstly, an inevitable change of complexion as attention was focused on those aspects of this chronology where a particular emphasis on the blood of Jesus could be seen, besides the already well-noted emphasis on baptism in the Holy Spirit. Secondly, my chronology is longer than the accepted Pentecostal precursor chronologies. This is because an emphasis on the blood of Jesus can be traced further back than an emphasis on the baptism in the Holy Spirit can.¹⁴

¹³ There have been pleas for the inclusion of other movements into the chronology of influential antecedents, principally: Randall, I.M., “Old Time Power: Relationships between Pentecostalism and Evangelical Spirituality in England,” *Pneuma* 19:1 (Spring 1997), 53-80; idem, “‘Days of Pentecostal Overflowing’: Baptists and the Shaping of Pentecostalism,” in Bebbington, D.W. (ed), *The Gospel in the World: Studies in Baptist History and Thought*, Vol.1., (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), 80-104, and Waldvogel, E., “The ‘Overcoming’ Life: A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Contribution to Pentecostalism,” *Pneuma* 1:1 (Spring 1979), 7-17, yet *contra* Cartledge, M., “The Early Pentecostal Theology of *Confidence Magazine* (1908-1926): A Version of the Five-Fold Gospel?” *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, 28:2 (2008), 117-130. These will be discussed at the appropriate places. The most widely acknowledged histories are: Nichols, J.T., *Pentecostalism*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), Hollenweger, W., *The Pentecostals*, (London: SCM, 1972), Dayton, D., *The Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), and Synan, V., *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

¹⁴ Other historiographical methodologies besides the roots approach to the study of Pentecostalism’s emergence have been used in other studies. The methodology employed by the earlier Pentecostal historians stressed the providence of God, rather than human influences, as a way of defending the legitimacy of the fledgling movement: e.g. Bartleman, F., *Azusa Street: the Roots of Modern-day Pentecost*, (Plainfield: Bridge Publishing, 1980). Turnball, T.N., *What God Hath Wrought*, (Bradford: Puritan Press, 1959). Two further types of Pentecostal historiography are also worthy of note. Firstly, the racial approach. This method understands the true roots of Pentecostalism to be African-American. Pentecostalism thus becomes a powerful symbol of black liberation waiting to be reclaimed: MacRobert, I., *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), Nelson, D., “For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival,” (PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1981). Lastly, there has been

The data were drawn from printed sermons, devotional books, hymnbooks and periodicals. I was looking for continuity between groups and individuals known to have influenced each other, as well as adaptations of inherited tradition that might help to explain how and why the tradition could take on the form it did in early British Pentecostalism. This exercise produced a paper for the *Evangelical Review of Theology* entitled, "A Brief History of the Blood: The Blood of Christ in Transatlantic Evangelical Devotion."¹⁵ I had especially wanted, at this stage, to explain the continuities so that a plausible story of the blood mystical tradition could be presented. I particularly wanted to know when and why blood mysticism began, when and why it flourished and when and why did it end (if in fact it did end). During this phase of the project, the dating for blood mysticism's origins in the medieval period appeared highly likely, and the time of its greatest intensity in late 19th century Evangelicalism and early 20th century Pentecostalism now seemed beyond doubt. However, an idea I had previously held that blood mysticism ended with the first 10 years or so of Pentecostalism was rejected. More and more evidence came to light of charismatics today who teach in great detail about pleading the blood, and of inter-War Pentecostals who maintained a high level of interest in the blood of Christ. The 'why' aspects of my quest were more complex. An increased emphasis on the humanity of Christ was cited as the medieval background, with some possible sociological reasons for that being offered. The reasons for the late Victorian and

the sociological approach. This makes use of a Marxist critique to postulate, from the lower class background of the earlier Pentecostals, a framework of compensation to the under-privileged that Pentecostalism offers. This is apparently the reason for its success among the disadvantaged: Anderson, R.M., *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). There is value in all of these approaches but this is a study of roots and, therefore, interacts most naturally with the other roots studies and owes a great deal to them.

¹⁵ Pugh, B.A., "A Brief History of the Blood: the Story of the Blood of Christ in Transatlantic Evangelical Devotion" *Evangelical Review of Theology* 31:3 (July 2007), 239-255.

early Edwardian flourish were presented within the context of a growing attachment to a premillennial eschatology. Reasons for the sudden change in the nature of this tradition to a victory motif at the turn of the 20th century were also offered. Instead of the demise of the tradition after the first 10 years of Pentecostalism, possible reasons for the elimination of the victory motif and the reversion to 19th century cleansing and redeeming motifs in the inter-war period were explored. The need for Pentecostals to find acceptance within wider Evangelicalism was the main reason given for the inter-War nostalgic turn.

As to the practicalities of gathering the statistical data, it is worth acknowledging from the outset the crudity and limitations of the very basic quantitative and qualitative statistics that are offered in some parts of this thesis. The purpose of my word studies was merely to provide a supplement to my reviews of the primary literature of a kind that was mathematical in nature and therefore, arguably, more objective than my comments on selections of text. These mathematical indicators added an enhanced sensitivity to the surveying process that picked out propensities within the Azusa Street revival, for instance, which would not otherwise have been noticed. I also found that the larger emerging verities of my research were significantly enhanced by the way these basic statistical surveys confirmed observations that had been made while reading.

Large amounts of statistical data were collected by simply counting the occurrences of the word 'blood' in a document. Where a CD-ROM of this document was available,¹⁶ an electronic word search was carried out. Otherwise, each page was manually

¹⁶ Specifically, all issues of *Confidence* magazine, *Redemption Tidings* from the first issue to the end of 1938, *Elim Evangel* from the first issue to end of 1934 and the entire period of *The Apostolic Faith* that was consulted for this study.

scanned for instances of the word. It is inevitable that some occurrences were missed and perfect accuracy cannot be guaranteed. The frequency of the word 'blood' in the documents surveyed in this way might, therefore, be marginally greater than my figures represent, though it is not likely to be any less. My surveying was with the purpose of detecting content as well as frequency. This being the case, the immediate context of the word 'blood' was noted for the theme it carried: whether redemption, justification, cleansing or whatever other theme seemed clear from the immediate context. If more than one theme was found connected to the one instance of the word, for example, "Redeemed in His cleansing blood," the dominant verb was chosen: "Redeemed," and the participle, "cleansing," ignored. The word 'blood' was only counted if it was being used to refer directly to the blood of Jesus. This meant that numerous citations of Hebrews 9:22: "Without shedding of blood there is no remission," had to be ignored since at this point in the passage the writer to the Hebrews is speaking purely of the Old Testament sacrificial system, from which he would only later draw inferences about Jesus. Similarly, in the numerous articles in the Pentecostal press that gave a lengthy - and very bloody - pre-amble about the Levitical sacrifices before going on to talk about the blood of Jesus, all the occurrences in the pre-amble were ignored since having no direct bearing on Jesus Himself.

1. The Origins of Blood-Mysticism.

The veneration of the visualised and verbalised blood of Christ with a view to achieving a richer and fuller relationship with God is a tradition that, in many ways, is traceable to the New Testament itself. The New Testament writers commonly use ‘the blood of Jesus’ and similar phrases as shorthand for treasured truths connected with the death of Christ in its atoning and saving significance.¹⁷ In Paul, that death is gloried in and boasted of and made the hub of apostolic preaching.¹⁸ Yet the facts of history are such that Christian devotion to the blood of Christ has fluctuated wildly under the influence of factors that often lie outside the two covers of people’s Bibles. And it is within Evangelicalism in its many forms that this fluctuation is especially clear. There have been certain periods within this Evangelical tradition with which frequent references to the blood are especially to be associated. Indeed, at certain times and in certain people, so frequent are these references to the blood in hymnody and devotional writing that a new word is necessary to describe it: blood mysticism.¹⁹ I will now begin to offer an account of the origins of this tradition. In what follows there will be a brief, and by no means exhaustive, consideration of the contributions of Bernard of Clairvaux and Martin Luther to the tradition as a way of setting the

¹⁷ The blood of Christ in its saving significance is referred to 34 times in the New Testament, occurring in 14 of its 27 books, where it is commonest in Paul’s early letters.

¹⁸ Gal. 6:14; 1Cor.1:18; 2:2; 15:1-3; Rom.1:16.

¹⁹ I have also encountered this phrase in Behm, J., “αἷμα” in Kittel, G., (ed) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* Vol.1, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 175, used with reference to the mystery religions, and in Bynum, C. W., “The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages,” *Church History* 71:4 (Dec. 2002), 689, n.15, & 713-714 In this piece of work I am using the phrase to refer to what appears to be an offshoot of passion mysticism. Passion mysticism was the contemplation of Christ’s suffering and death with a view to achieving union with God. Blood mysticism, in its various forms, is the contemplation of the shed blood of Christ specifically, rather than his suffering and death generally, with a view to securing an essentially very similar result.

scene for the first major manifestation of blood mysticism within Protestantism.

Zinzendorf, the Moravians and their famous 'blood-and-wounds' theology.

1.1. Bernard of Clairvaux.

Crucicentrism is a product of medieval sacramental spirituality.²⁰ By AD1000 the idea of transubstantiation was widely held, being officially recognised at the 4th Lateran Council of 1215 and then reaffirmed at the Council of Trent.²¹ This belief, entailing as it did the repeated offering of the Lord's body and blood,²² led to the multiplication of Masses,²³ as well as to the creation of a new feast, the feast of Corpus Christi. "Awe and veneration"²⁴ surrounded such symbols of sacrifice, as these had become the only way of salvation. Consequently, the cross, the central feature of the sacramental system, became the rallying point for monastic and lay worshippers alike. Besides these developments, the medieval period also witnessed growing devotion to the Sacred Heart in France as well as to the Five Sacred Wounds in Portugal, and the creation of 'Calvaries': life-size sculptures of scenes depicting the final hours of Jesus' life on earth, not to mention the appearance of countless splinters of the cross and the dissemination of various Holy Grail myths.²⁵

²⁰ Gillett points out that crucicentrism has always been a feature of Western Christianity (as opposed to Eastern Orthodox). Evangelicalism simply "held more tenaciously to what has always been the heart of Western Catholicism." Gillett, D., *Trust and Obey: Explorations in Evangelical Spirituality*. (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1993), 66.

²¹ McBrien, R., (ed), *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*. (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 1264.

²² The idea of the Eucharist as a sacrifice presented to God by the worshipping Church goes back at least as far as Irenaeus *Against Heresies* IV:18, 4-6.

²³ Dillistone, F.W., *Christianity and Symbolism*. (London: SCM, 1955), 249-250.

²⁴ Dillistone, *Christianity and Symbolism*, 250.

²⁵ Three recent studies of the body and blood of Christ in medieval spirituality are noteworthy: Beckwith, S., *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings*. (London: Routledge, 1993), Camporesi, P., Tr. R. Barr, *Juice of Life: The Symbolic and Magic Significance of Blood*. (New York: Continuum, 1995), Bynum, "The Blood of Christ," 685-714.

Of the many contributors to the passion mysticism of the time, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), the highly influential Cistercian monk, was by far the most significant. Of particular significance to this study is his influence upon the young Luther.²⁶ Bernard was also a source of inspiration to the Pietists. His most prized devotional classic, from which Luther quotes frequently,²⁷ was his *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, his sermons on the Song of Songs. Parts of this book displayed a form of passion mysticism that combined imagery from the cross with the bridegroom metaphor, a combination that Luther,²⁸ Zinzendorf²⁹ and the Moravians³⁰ would also show an interest in. In Bernard, the link between the Bridegroom and the passion is Ephesians 5:23-32 in which Christ, the Bridegroom of the Church saves her by giving himself up for her, the ultimate demonstration of love.³¹ This results in a loving union between the two.

Most of Sermons 61-62 of Bernard's *Cantica* are a meditation around the theme of the beloved in the cleft of the rock. The Rock is pictured as Christ, and the cleft, His

²⁶ Bernard's works were apparently read out loud at meal times at the Erfurt friary: Tomlin, G., *The Power of the Cross: Theology of the Death of Christ in Paul, Luther and Pascal*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), *The Power*, 131.

²⁷ Tomlin, *The Power*, 132.

²⁸ In his *Freedom of the Christian Man*, he depicts the marriage arranged by the Father between the sinner and Christ as one necessarily involving shared possessions: the Bridegroom's "grace, life, and salvation" become the sinner's, while the sinner's "sin's, death, and damnation" become the Bridegroom's: Westerholm, S., *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The 'Lutheran' Paul and His Critics*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 2004), 31.

²⁹ E.g. Forwell, G. (Tr. & Ed), Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), 24-33. This lecture is an exposition of Matt.22:2/Luke 14:17, the Parable of the Marriage Feast, yet unnaturally introduces the wounds of Christ as a dominant theme. Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, who will be discussed shortly, is the most famous 18th century German religious figure and there is an extensive secondary literature on his life and theology, for which see my discussion at section 1.3.

³⁰ References to "...our souls Bridegroom" survive in English Moravianism until around the end of the 18th Century when the language that had been used by the English Moravians starts becomes more conventional: Stead, G. & M., *The Exotic Plant: A History of the Moravian Church in Great Britain 1742-200*, (Peterborough: Epworth, 2003), 325. The Moravians will be discussed at section 1.4.

³¹ Love, especially divine love, was a preoccupying theme at this time, a significant influence on Bernard's view of love being Cicero's definition of love as disinterested loving for love's sake, finding its reward in itself: Gilson, E., *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard*, (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 8-9. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Loving God*, Ed: H. Martin, (London: SCM, 1959), 42-44.

“Side Wound.”³² The other four wounds that were venerated besides the side wound, were the two holes in His feet and the two holes in His hands. The Bride, usually representing the Church but sometimes the individual,³³ is exhorted to dwell in this and other wounds of Christ by continually meditating upon them: “It is because the Bride is thus devoted to the Wounds of Christ and meditates on them continually, that the Bridegroom calls her ‘My dove in the clefts of the rock.’”³⁴ The cleft of the rock is a womb-like, invincible place of safety and child-like abdication: “...she no longer occupies herself with lofty matters that are too high for her, but is content, like unassuming doves that nest in hollows of the rock, to remain hidden in His wounds...”³⁵

In this place of trusting identification with the sufficient sacrifice of Christ, the merit of Christ’s sacrifice can be imputed to the ‘dove’:

The mercy of the Lord, then, is my merit; and truly I am not devoid of merit while His mercies do not fail... Thy broad and endless righteousness will cover me and Thee alike, cloaking in me a multitude of sins... These are the things that are laid up for me ‘in the clefts of the rock.’³⁶

In a way that anticipates Zinzendorf’s concept of faith:³⁷ the crucified Christ must be

³² In Cowperian language, the metaphor is extended to include the rock, which Moses struck: “...and from the Rock there gushes forth the spring, whence they drink the Cup of the Lord.” Bernard, *Song*, 196-7.

³³ E.g. Bernard, *Song*, 213. Zinzendorf also allows this, in which case, he prefers the term ‘Husband’: “I believe that my Husband, by His own blood, by His real death on the tree of the cross, has placed me in a privileged position.” *Nine Public Lectures*, 70.

³⁴ Bernard, *Song*, 196.

³⁵ Bernard, *Song*, 136. There are echoes of this link between sacrifice and abdication, not only in Moravian spirituality, but also in Jungian psychology in which the attraction to ritual sacrifices in human societies is about a longing for the womb of death: “His death is no external enemy, but a deep personal longing for quiet and for the profound peace of non-existence, for a dreamless sleep in the ebb and flow of the sea of life.” Dillistone, *Symbolism*, 242-3; Jung, C., *Psychology of the Unconscious* Tr. B. Hinkle, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & co., 1921), 135.

³⁶ Bernard, *Song*, 196.

³⁷ On which, see my discussion of his *Nine Public Lectures* in section 1.3.

‘seen’:

You must have Jesus constantly before your eyes. Then you will see clearly the pains that the Lord endured for you and you will then willingly bear your own pains through his help.... Nor do I ask Him where He feeds His flock, as does the Bride; for I behold Him as my Saviour on the cross.³⁸

Already, then, the themes of the visualisation of the wounds and blood of Christ as a route to faith and the theme of abdication as a route to rest and assurance in the merit of Christ’s sufferings are clearly discernable in Bernard.³⁹

The factors that gave rise to passion mysticism in the medieval period would appear to be a shift of emphasis taking place throughout the medieval and renaissance periods. This was a shift in popular devotion from a kingly exalted Christ in heaven to a very human Jesus, suffering and dying on a cross.⁴⁰ After such emphasis on the divinity of Christ as had been seen in late antiquity, perhaps it was inevitable that the pendulum would eventually swing the other way. The trigger for this swing of the pendulum seems to have been the growing misery of ordinary people as the Middle Ages reached their height. Until the first bubonic plague of 1349-51, population growth meant that people began to outstrip the natural resources available to sustain them. There was widespread rural poverty and a massive immigration to the cities where sanitation was poor and life expectancies short. A suffering human Christ could

³⁸ Sermon 43 on the Song of Songs in Backhouse, H., (ed), *The Song of Songs from the Sermons of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990), cited in Mayes, A., *Celebrating the Christian Centuries*, (London: SPCK, 1999), 57.

³⁹ Indeed, there was a medieval tradition of “ocular communion,” the idea that merely viewing the consecrated host on the altar can be a way of receiving the eucharist: Bynum, “Blood of Christ,” 686, 688.

⁴⁰ Medieval spirituality focused, according to Beckwith, on “...Christ the incarnate God, and more specifically Christ both as infant and as crucified, the two moments of birth and death, which insist on the claims of the body most emphatically and obviously.” Beckwith, *Christ’s Body*: 17.

transfigure the deprivations of churchgoers as they beheld the various pictorial sermons of a Christ who suffered yet overcame death.

1.2. Martin Luther.

By the time of Martin Luther, passion meditation was widespread, being espoused by Thomas à Kempis, the most widely read of the medieval mystics,⁴¹ Johannes von Paltz (a close friend of Luther's⁴²) and Johannes von Staupitz (Luther's superior at Erfurt⁴³). Meditation on the wounds of Jesus was recommended by Saupitz as a way out of temptation and anxiety.⁴⁴ Luther himself recommended it as a route to conviction of sin. This would be followed by a profound transformation that is like a new birth.⁴⁵

The passion mysticism with which Luther was acquainted included various different styles of meditation on the cross. One style that the early Luther practised, based on *humilitas* theology,⁴⁶ was to meditate in detail on each of the wounds of Jesus. This was designed to reveal to oneself the true awfulness of one's sin, inspiring true

⁴¹ "If you cannot contemplate high and heavenly things take refuge in the Passion of Christ and love to dwell within his sacred wounds. For if you devoutly seek the wounds of Jesus and the precious marks of his passion you will find great strength in all troubles." Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, (London: Penguin, 1987), 68. Kempis was also a direct influence in the forming of John Wesley's Perfectionism: Wesley, J., *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, (London: Epworth, nd), 6: "In the year 1726 I met with Kempis's *Christian's Pattern*. The nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me a stronger light than it had done before."

⁴² Tomlin, *The Power*, 135.

⁴³ Tomlin, *The Power*, 135.

⁴⁴ Tomlin, *The Power*, 138.

⁴⁵ Tomlin, *The Power*, 140.

⁴⁶ Ngien, D., *The Suffering of God According to Martin Luther's 'Theologia Crucis'*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 29.

penitence.⁴⁷ Such penitence afforded Luther some comfort as it lifted his mind from himself altogether, at least momentarily.⁴⁸ Luther insists:

Faith must spring up and flow from the blood and wounds and death of Christ. If you see in these that God is so kindly disposed toward you that he even gives his own Son for you, then your heart in turn must grow sweet and disposed toward God.⁴⁹

Owing to Zinzendorf's influence, Luther's theology was probably the dominant influence upon Moravian liturgy and hymnody.⁵⁰ Anticipating them, Luther is unashamed of including such hyperboles as these:

The eye but water doth behold,
As from man's hand it floweth;
But inward faith the power untold
Of Jesus Christ's blood knoweth.
Faith sees therein a red flood roll,
With Christ's blood dyed and blended,
Which hurts of all kinds maketh whole,
From Adam here descended...⁵¹

In the mature Luther, the idea of merit is prominent, where "...the merits of Christ mean the same thing as the work of Christ."⁵² There is an especially strong link in Luther between the blood of Christ and the merit of Christ:

⁴⁷ Tomlin, *The Power*, 140.

⁴⁸ Tomlin, G., *Luther and His World*, (Oxford: Lion, 2002), 42-44.

⁴⁹ Luther, M., *Good Works* 44:38, cited in Westerholm, *Perspectives*, 31.

⁵⁰ The picture is a complex one however. Many of the Moravians identified themselves with the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, even singing the ancestral hymn: "Blessed be the time when I must roam." Atwood, C.D., *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem*, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 22. It is also clear that Zinzendorf himself had contact with accounts of the discipline and practices of the *Unitas Fratrum* as laid down by the celebrated bishop Comenius (1592-1670): Podmore, C., *The Moravian Church in England 1728-1760*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 6. Nevertheless, Atwood records the dominance of Zinzendorffian vocabulary in the Moravian hymnals that he surveyed, and while remarkable for its uniqueness, this vocabulary, he points out, was clearly indebted to Luther (as well as Lutheran Pietism): Atwood, *Community*, 144-5 & 223. See sections 1.3-1.4 for my discussion of Zinzendorf and the Moravians.

⁵¹ Leupold, U., (ed), *Luther's Works Vol 53: Liturgy and Hymns*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 301, from the hymn, *To Jordan When Our Lord Had Come*.

...our place of propitiation is not won by our merits, but *in His*, Christ's, *blood*, that is, in His suffering, whereby He made satisfaction and merited propitiation for those who believe in Him... and our sins have been forgiven, *by His blood*, that is, by the merit of His blood...⁵³

Luther's concerted assault upon the high premium placed on the merits of human works in medieval Christianity may be the true source of the idea of 'pleading the blood.' The phrase 'plead(ing) the blood,' however, does not seem to appear until the Puritans,⁵⁴ and is not a common phrase until the hymns of Charles Wesley.

From Luther it is clear that a basically Anselmian view of Christ's death as achieving a certain surplus of merit with God had remained unchanged with the transition to Protestantism; it was merely the way this merit could be appropriated that had changed: from the sacrament of the mass to the sacrament of preaching.

⁵² Aulén, G., *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*, (London: SPCK, 1931), 134. The soteriology of the Augsburg Confession is largely a soteriology of merit: Article II: "They [Lutherans] condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that original depravity is sin, and who, to obscure the glory of Christ's merit and benefits, argue that man can be justified before God by his own strength and reason." Article IV: "...men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake, through faith." Article VI: "Also they teach...it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will, but that we should not rely on those works to merit justification before God." *The Confession of Faith: Which was Submitted to His Imperial Majesty Charles V. At the Diet of Augsburg in the Year 1530 by Philip Melancthon, 1497-1560*, Tr. F. Bente & W. H. T. Dau. (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), 37-95 accessed online at

⁵³ Exposition of Romans 3:25 and Romans 5:8 in Oswald, H., (ed), *Luther's Works*, (St Louis: Concordia, 1972), 32 & 45. (italics original).

⁵⁴ See especially the four occurrences in Stephen Charnock's treatise. *A Discourse of the Cleansing Virtue of Christ's Blood* (<http://www.> accessed online 18 Nov 2008, originally written 1684), 3: "There is a perpetual pleading of it for us, a continual flowing of it to us. It is a fountain set open for sin, Zech. xiii. 1." 27: "Rom. iii. 22. 25. 'Faith in his blood.' faith reaching out to his blood, embracing his blood, sucking up his propitiating blood and pleading it." 28: "What reason have any then to expect remission upon the account of mere compassion, without pleading his blood?" 39: "...it is a blood that was not drunk up by the earth, but gathered up again into his body to be a living, pleading, cleansing blood in the presence of God for ever."

1.3. Count Zinzendorf.

The most distant point in the ancestry of Pentecostal spirituality from which an unbroken line has been traced is the Pietism of late 17th and early 18th Century Europe. Voices in favour of doing so appear few and muted, however. This is possibly because Pentecostals gauge what is part of their history and what is not part of their history by the criterion of Baptism in the Holy Spirit, an idea that does not begin to take shape until John Wesley's Second Blessing. In this thesis I will argue that there is another root to Pentecostal spirituality that goes much further back but which was no less formative on Pentecostalism's earliest days: the blood mystical root. Anderson is very clear about the Pietist roots of modern Pentecostalism, pointing to the Pietists' emphasis on new birth by the Holy Spirit as setting the stage for the double Spirit reception of Wesleyanism.⁵⁵ Bundy, an acknowledged expert on Pietism, cites Pietist 'biblicism' and 'primitivism' as significant influences, mediated to American Pentecostalism via Wesley and Fletcher but to European Pentecostalism directly. Curiously, he extends the term 'European Pietism' to include 19th Century groups as well as the more classically recognised 17th and 18th Century groups.⁵⁶ Synan, being himself a Pentecostal Holiness pastor, prefers to start with Wesley,⁵⁷ while Dayton acknowledges the importance of Pietism as an indirect source but prefers to start with Methodism.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Anderson, A., *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*. (Cambridge: University Press, 2004), 25.

⁵⁶ Bundy, D., "European Pietist Roots of Pentecostalism" in Burgess, S & E., Van der Maas (eds) *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 611-13.

⁵⁷ Synan., *The Century of the Holy Spirit*, 2, 15, 17.

⁵⁸ Dayton, D., *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. (London: Scarecrow, 1987), 37.

The period in which Pietism emerged was a time of "...a revival of moral and religious earnestness."⁵⁹ Emerging within this earnestness, Pietism had an originating genius that made it the beginning point of much that is now taken for granted in Evangelical Protestantism.⁶⁰ Pietism exhibited a strong desire to move away from lifeless Lutheran orthodoxy and placed the doctrine of regeneration uppermost in its soteriology.⁶¹ This brought about the desired focus upon the subjective state of the believer as opposed to his or her objectively justified status.⁶² Such spiritual rebirth would lead to a pious and holy life, the longed-for result. Indeed, Halle Pietism, its earliest form, initiated by Philip Jakob Spener with his book *Pia Desideria* in 1675, was so concerned with the imperative of reformation of character that it dramatically underplayed the Lutheran doctrine of justification. Halle Pietism was thus blamed for *deforming* rather than *reforming*.⁶³

From 1727 a recognisably new form of Pietism began to emerge, whose leader, Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760),⁶⁴ actually came to reject the

⁵⁹ Tappert, T., (Tr. & Ed.), *Pia Desideria by Philip Jacob Spener*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), 1.

⁶⁰ Stoeffler cites the holiness orientation of Protestant preaching, the "vastly expanded hymnody" and Pietism's vision of "...a world in need of the Gospel of Christ" as Protestant 'firsts.' For him, "Pietism was the most important development in Protestant spirituality," Stoeffler, F., "Preface" in Erb., F. (ed), *Pietists: Selected Writings*, (London: SPCK, 1983), ix.

⁶¹ "...both in Spener and in Francke we read more about regeneration than about justification," Stoeffler, F., *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 10.

⁶² Erb, *Pietists*, 6. It also brought the sharp division between 'head' and 'heart' that became so characteristic of Pietism and its more modern counterparts: "Let us remember that in the last judgment we shall not be asked how learned we were..." Tappert, *Pia Desideria*, 36. This approach would be especially influential upon Pietism's North American descendants according to Erb, *Pietists*, 25.

⁶³ Erb, *Pietists*, 6. The conflict with Lutheran orthodoxy that this new outlook brought about is covered in detail in Stoeffler, *Pietism*, 8-23, 57-71.

⁶⁴ Among the more recent general works on Zinzendorf's life and theology are: Beyreuther, E., *Zinzendorf und die Christenheit*, (Marburg an der Lahn: Francke, 1961), Beyreuther, E., *Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs*, (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1962), Lewis, A. J., *Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity*, (London: SCM, 1962), Aalen, L., *Die Theologie des jungen Zinzendorf*, (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1966), Weinlick, J. R., *Count Zinzendorf*, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956; reprinted Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Church in America, 1989), Freeman, J. A., *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf*, (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Publications, 1998), D. Meyer and P. Peuker, (eds), *Graf Ohne Grenzen:*

increasingly legalistic Halle Pietism that he had been brought up with. This group, who would become known in England as the Moravians,⁶⁵ drew much of its leadership from Bohemia and Moravia in the present day Czech Republic. Its membership, a complex mixture of Protestants,⁶⁶ was one small part of a widespread emigration from the Protestant heartlands of central Europe in the wake of Catholic repression. Now, these refugees were safe to practise their religion on Zinzendorf's estate in Saxony.

Moravian Pietism displayed all the characteristic marks of Evangelicalism. Among these Evangelical identity markers was a strong theology of the cross.⁶⁷ From the

Leben und Werk von Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf. (Herrnhut: Unitätsarchiv im Verlag der Comeniusbuchhandlung, 2000).

⁶⁵ Throughout this piece of work, the term most familiar to the non-specialist English-speaking reader: Moravians, will be used, though, on the Continent the Moravians would have referred to themselves as the *Brüdergemeine*, the 'Brethren's Congregation.' Even in Britain, the Moravians of the 18th century would not normally, according to Stead, have referred to themselves as Moravian but rather as the 'United Brethren,' or 'Brethren.' The term 'Moravian Church' only became official in the British Province in 1908: Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 3-4.

⁶⁶ A significant body of research has thrown into serious doubt the traditional historical account of origins that claims direct continuity with the original *Unitas Fratrum*. This was a community of proto-Protestants that broke with Rome in 1457 and was almost destroyed by the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). It survived, so the story goes, as an underground church called the 'Hidden Seed' from 1627 until 1722 when the first Czech refugees arrived on Zinzendorf's estate. Then began the time of the Renewed Brethren. Atwood finds it questionable whether any of the 2000 Czech refugees who came to Zinzendorf were ever members of the old *Unitas Fratrum*. He helpfully cites three significant contributions to the debate that also argue against this traditional understanding: Molnár, E., "The Pious Fraud of Count Zinzendorf," *Ilf Review* 11 (1954), 29-38; Ward, W.R., "The Renewed Unity of the Brethren: Ancient Church, New Sect, or Transconfessional Movement," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 70 (1988), ixvii-xcii; Sterrick, E., "Mährische Brüder, böhemische Brüder, und die Brüdergemeine," *Unitas Fratrum* 48 (2001), 106-14, cited in Atwood, *Community*, 21. Zeman makes clear how complex was the make up of Czech Protestantism both before and after the influence of Luther and Calvin swept through the region. Distinguishing between Moravian Anabaptists, Hutterite Brethren and the *Unitas Fratrum*, he devotes four pages to explaining the terminology alone: Zeman, J. K., *The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia 1526-1628: A Study of Origins and Contacts*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), 55-58. Substantial books continue to appear in English, however, that adhere, at least in part, to the traditional account of Moravian origins, most notably: Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 5-6, who claims descent from the *Unitas Fratrum* for the Moravians but that they had, until Töltschig and the Nitschmanns revived them, "little knowledge of the traditions of their ancestors." He is clear, however, that, by April 1727 about a third of the adult population of Herrnhut (220 in total) was German. The Steads, after an impressive literature review, arrive at a nuanced position that allows *Unitas Fratrum* descent for a significant portion of the group, but emphasises its mixed complexion: Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 13-29.

⁶⁷ Bebbington identifies the theology of the cross as one component in his now well-used 'quadrilateral' of distinctives that has characterised all forms of Evangelicalism, the other three components being

Moravians onwards, the subjective dimension in the Christian life, already recovered by Halle Pietism, was no longer centred upon the new birth: now it was centred on the personal appropriation of the merits of Christ's death. This cross-centred spirituality went on to form a central component of what is now recognised as an essential part of the 'vital orthodoxy' that underlay all the great 18th Century revivals.⁶⁸ Because of its essentially subjective nature, the use of the word 'blood' became more appropriate than 'cross,' since 'blood,' both symbolically speaking and biblically speaking, is the aspect of a sacrifice that can be most readily manipulated and applied to the worshipper. It is fluid and distributable. Harking back to Bernard, the side-wound of Christ would become another point of subjective contact, this time requiring the worshipper, like Thomas, to approach in faith and touch the wound of the Saviour.

Zinzendorf's spiritual roots ran deeply into Halle Pietism. Both parents were Pietists. His schooling from the ages of 10 to 16 was Pietist and when, finally, his widowed mother left him in the care of his grandmother, it was his grandmother's Pietist devotion that would influence him most of all. One incident during his Grand Tour at the age of 18 is hailed by Lewis⁶⁹ as especially significant. This moment was his viewing of Dominico Feti's *Ecce Homo* in Düsseldorf Art Gallery on the 22 May 1719. It portrays Jesus wearing a crown of thorns. Beneath the painting is a caption saying:

bibliocentricity, activism and conversionism, Bebbington, D., *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 36-41, 53-57, 77-78.

⁶⁸ Piggin, S., *Firestorm of the Lord*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 45-49.

⁶⁹ "There and then the young Count asked the crucified Christ to draw him into 'the fellowship of his sufferings' and to open up a life of service to him." Lewis, A., *Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer*, (London: SCM, 1962), 28-29. This was not, however, the moment of Zinzendorf's conversion: Hutton, J., *A History of the Moravian Church*, (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1909), 186. See Atwood, *Community*, 98.

Ego pro te haec passus sum; tu vero, quid fecisti pro me? "I for you have suffered this; truly, what have you done for me?"⁷⁰

This, however is unlikely to be the main origin of Zinzendorf's peculiar *theologia crucis* and is more likely to have been the catalyst that reacted with elements already present in Zinzendorf's spirituality. Two other influences would have impacted Zinzendorf from a much younger age. The aristocracy into which Zinzendorf was born was itself steeped in passion mysticism, particularly the Five Sacred Wounds cult. Ferdinand II (1619-37) had significantly influenced the German aristocracy in this direction. Ferdinand II himself would kneel and, with arms extended, kiss the floor five times each day in memory of the five wounds of Christ.⁷¹ Secondly, Zinzendorf's childhood was already steeped in Luther thanks to his grandmother. Behind his devout grandmother lay the voice of Martin Luther. She would read aloud from his works so frequently that Zinzendorf claimed in adult life that he could still expound Luther on any given topic.⁷²

In 1734, Zinzendorf underwent a 'conversion' to Luther (as if that were needed), becoming especially fond of the Augsburg Confession. Thus it was with the Moravians that Luther's emphasis on pure grace merited by Christ's blood alone combined with Zinzendorf's 'religion of the heart' to form a particular brand of Protestantism characterised by devotional warmth, freedom from Pelagianism, an emphasis on subjective religious experience and ecumenism.⁷³

⁷⁰ Translation by Freeman, A., *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf*, (Bethlehem: The Moravian Church in America, 1998), 63.

⁷¹ Saunders, S., *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg, 1619-1637*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 203-4.

⁷² Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 53.

⁷³ "One may say that the theological views which are particular to the Moravian Church were formed by an awareness that Christianity at its heart is relational and devotional, not conceptual." Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 5.

The *Nine Public Lectures* of 1746⁷⁴ are significant in that they capture Zinzendorf's theology at the height of the so-called 'Sifting Period.' This was a period from 1743 to 1750 during which Moravian blood and wounds theology was at its height.

The first distinguishing feature noticeable in these lectures is the sight metaphor.

Zinzendorf's listeners are encouraged to visualise the wounds of Jesus:

Thus if you have serious thoughts about the Savior, conclude that the bleeding Savior stands before your hearts, that he is there in person. He longs to have you glance at His wounds.⁷⁵

The reason why Jesus apparently wants his wounds to be so much the focus of the worshipping mind is the morally transformative power that they hold. Peter Abelard, who does not appear to have been an influence upon Zinzendorf, famously brought this aspect of the cross to the fore.⁷⁶ In the following extract, Zinzendorf has added to this Lutheran idea Bernard's Bridegroom metaphor and Zinzendorf's own particular fondness for John 20:24-29 (the risen yet still wounded Jesus appearing to Thomas):

⁷⁴ These were given during Zinzendorf's residency in England (1746-55) and attended by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Thomas. Despite the highly unorthodox tone of these lectures, the Bishop went on to become highly influential in persuading Parliament, and hence the Church of England, to recognise the Moravians as an "Ancient Episcopal Church," and accept them into communion with the Church of England. This formally took place with the passing of the Moravian Act in 1749; Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 247.

⁷⁵ Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 67.

⁷⁶ In fact, Bernard, one of Zinzendorf's significant influences, was opposed to Abelard's position for similar reasons that Zinzendorf would have been: "Christ lived and died [according to Abelard's position] for no other purpose than that he might teach us how to live by his words and example, and point out, by his passion and death, to what limits our love should go. Thus he did not communicate righteousness, but only revealed to us what it is." Bernard cited in McDade, J., *Christian Doctrine*, (University of London Press, 2000), 50.

For the Saviour is never in all eternity without His sign, without His wounds: the public showing has His holy wounds as its ground...If we, therefore, want to invite people to the marriage, if we want to describe the Bridegroom, it must be said like this: 'I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus as He hung upon the cross (1Cor.2:2), as He was wounded. I point you to His nail prints, to the side, to the hole which the spear pierced open in His side...As soon as this look strikes your heart, you run to the marriage feast.'⁷⁷

Yet this moral influence factor does not mean a mere exemplarist function for the cross,⁷⁸ since all true believers are so because they participate in the wounded Saviour; they have dealt with their doubts, like Thomas, and committed their hearts to the wounded Christ. They are, henceforth, *ein Christ*, in vital eternal union with Him:

He who in this moment, in this instant, when the Saviour appears to him and when he says to him, as to Peter, 'Do you love me in this figure?' – he who can say, 'You know all things; you know that I love you;' he who in this minute, in this instant loses himself in his tormented form and suffering figure – he remains in him eternally, without interruption...⁷⁹

In fact, the regenerating Holy Spirit Himself, flows from the wounds of Christ:

And as for the Holy Spirit who constructs himself as it were out of the matrix of his holy Side's Wound...He then first, when the spear penetrated the dear Lamb, gushed out along with the incorruptible blood and life of the Lamb and with the Source of all, during this time, into human individuals to restore their little spirit (John 7) and has taken along the whole host of souls in his πληρώμα.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 28. cf. Atwood: "Zinzendorf was obviously influenced by the marriage mysticism of late medieval Europe, but he connects this imagery with the Atonement in a unique fashion...Zinzendorf connects his marriage mysticism closely to a Lutheran cross theology." Atwood, *Community*, 91.

⁷⁸ There is, as Atwood has pointed out, little direct reference to "morality or purity," in Moravian hymns: "The tone is that those who love Jesus are moral and chaste but there is no need to stress moral behaviour." Atwood, *Community*, 147.

⁷⁹ Erb, *Pietists*, 320, citing *Nine Public Lectures* Sept 25 1746. The text was John 21:6.

⁸⁰ Zinzendorf, *Ein und zwanzig Discurse* 16 Dec. 1747 (parentheses original), cited in Freeman, *Theology*, 192.

In a way that anticipates the Pentecostals, devotion to the Holy Spirit was a central aspect of the life of the Moravian community.⁸¹ The famous communion service of 13 August 1727, when the Holy Spirit was said to fall upon all those present, melding them into a unity that had previously been difficult to sustain, has been described as “quasi-pentecostal.”⁸² Besides the better-known *Litany of the Wounds*,⁸³ two litanies to the Holy Spirit, the *Te Matrem*, and *The Church’s Prayer to the Holy Spirit*, were used every week.⁸⁴ Until Zinzendorf’s death and the subsequent revision of much Moravian doctrine, the Holy Spirit was revered as Mother, a simple, accessible concept that fitted well alongside concepts of Christ as Husband and God as Father – the three most intimate relations that humans know.⁸⁵ The above passage is striking for its conjunction of the Holy Spirit with the blood of Christ, the fuller possibilities of which would be explored by Andrew Murray.⁸⁶ The following extract from the *Te Matrem* also anticipates Tom Smail⁸⁷ in its clear vision of the relationship between

⁸¹ Devotion to the Holy Spirit as Mother was, according to Zinzendorf, “an extremely important and essential point...and all our *Gemeine* and praxis hangs on this point.” Atwood, C., “The Mother of God’s People: The Adoration of the Holy Spirit in the Eighteenth-Century Brüdergemeine,” *Church History* 68:4 (Dec.1999), 887, translating from Zinzendorf’s *Eine Rede, vom Mutter-Amte des heiligen Geistes. Gehalten in London den 19 Oct. 1746*, cf. Kinkel, G. S., *Our Dear Mother the Spirit: An Investigation of Count Zinzendorf’s Theology and Praxis*, (New York: University Press of America, 1990). Having said this, Atwood’s own survey, in a later piece of research, of a wide range of 18th century Moravian hymnody yielded a total of only 63 references to “Holy Spirit” and 64 to “Mother.” This compares, according to a total of his figures, with 295 references to “Lamb,” 273 references to “wounds,” and 225 references to “blood.” Atwood, *Community*, 144-5. This somewhat undermines his claim that the Moravian emphasis on the Spirit is “one of the best kept secrets in the history of Christianity,” Atwood, “Mother,” 908.

⁸² Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 6, doubtless referring to Acts 2 rather than 1906. Zinzendorf’s mother pneumatology does not begin to develop until 1738, however: Atwood, “Mother,” 889.

⁸³ Many Moravians felt considerable attachment to this litany. Zinzendorf himself recommended that if any outsider wished to understand Moravianism truly, it is to “our hymns, our *Litany of the Wounds*, and the homilies upon the same...” that he or she must go: Atwood, *Community*, 141, translating from *Helpers Conference Minutes* of the Moravian Archives, Nov.8 1748, chapter 6. A complete translation of the Litany appears in Atwood, *Community*, 233-237, cf. his “Zinzendorf’s Litany of the Wounds of the Husband,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 11 (1997), 189-214.

⁸⁴ Atwood, “Mother,” 900.

⁸⁵ Atwood, “Mother,” 890-1

⁸⁶ For a discussion of Andrew Murray’s teachings on the blood, see section 3.2 of this thesis.

⁸⁷ His attempt at theologically joining together the work of the Spirit with the work of the Son is discussed in chapter 8.2.

the work of the Son and the work of the Spirit: "Divine majesty, who proceeds from the Father, who praises the Son as the creator and points to his suffering..."⁸⁸

With regards to the atonement, the note of forgiveness is only sounded in the midst of extolling the profound moral transformation awakened in the heart by a vision of the wounded, suffering Christ:

Then I think: Good-bye,
You self-empowered repenting.
Like wax before the fire, I
Want to melt in Jesus' suffering.
My heart shall see the wrath
In this suffering, pain
And see the cleansing bath
For all my transgressions' stain.⁸⁹

The moral influence factor is never far away from Zinzendorf's thinking: "If only the power of his blood/Would master my hard heart/Push into every part!"⁹⁰ To balance this, the note of Christ's merit is sounded with equal strength: "May He let you share in His bloody atonement...may He let His penance for all the world bless you with grace and pardon of sins; may our Lord bless you with His merits..."⁹¹ There is merit inherent in the wounds themselves: "...the bleeding Husband forms Himself in the innermost part of the soul. Then the heart stands full of Jesus, full of His wounds and His sores, full of the Merits of the Lamb"⁹² 'Blood' also appears alongside 'righteousness' to convey the same idea.⁹³ The classic example of this would be Zinzendorf's most famous hymn, translated by John Wesley:

⁸⁸ Translation by Atwood, "Mother," 886.

⁸⁹ Erb, *Pietists*, 309.

⁹⁰ Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 56.

⁹¹ Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 64 & 94.

⁹² Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 94.

⁹³ Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 73, 76

Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness
My beauty are, my glorious dress.
Midst flaming worlds in these arrayed
With joy shall I lift up my head.

Related to this (and included in verse 3 of the above hymn⁹⁴) there is the note of pleading the blood. Here is a remarkably full exposition of the concept:

...we must come to Him entirely natural, in the most wretched form in which we happen to find ourselves, pleading His blood, His faithfulness, and His merits, and reminding Him that we men are the reward of His suffering....⁹⁵

For Zinzendorf, to plead the blood is to surrender all attempts at the acquisition of merit before God on one's own account, to boldly approach God on the basis of Christ's merit and to remind God of one's status as blood-bought.

Throughout the *Nine Public Lectures* there is an apparent avoidance of the image of Christ's blood in its atoning significance. The moral influence factor is amplified and the language of atonement is exchanged for the language of merit, a concept that, even with the passing of medieval feudalism, would still have had a certain immediacy for Zinzendorf's hearers thanks to the theology of Luther. At any rate, Zinzendorf, like any good Lutheran, was doubtless assuming the atoning significance of the blood⁹⁶ but wanted to move beyond there and use the blood to shore up the faith of his followers against the onslaughts of the age. Previous to the *Nine Public*

⁹⁴ "When from the dust of death I rise / To claim my mansion in the skies / E'en then shall this be all my plea / ' Jesus hath lived, and died, for me."

⁹⁵ Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, 101.

⁹⁶ His orthodoxy as a Lutheran won him his ordination as a Lutheran minister in 1735: Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 6.

Lectures there had been an emphasis on the blood of Christ as a ransom.⁹⁷ but now the blood and wounds of Christ were being recruited by Zinzendorf to speak a message of anti-intellectual fideism to prevailing Enlightenment ideas.⁹⁸ This use of the blood to make an essentially non-New Testament point will resurface throughout the history of blood mysticism as we journey through it. Early Pentecostalism was no exception, amplifying the *Christus Victor* theme to a level well beyond New Testament paradigms. The genius of Zinzendorf was in the highly audacious and sensuous language with which he enthralled a generation, providing it with “an anatomical, physiological sieve,”⁹⁹ through which spiritual truths could pass. Through liturgy, hymnody and sermon, he made mystical longings expressible and union with the Godhead conceivable.

⁹⁷ Hamilton, J. & K., *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957*, (Bethlehem: Moravian Church in America, 1967), 155. As early as 1734, Zinzendorf had been especially taken with the biblical uses of the word λύτρον. This was, apparently, owing to the influence of the hymnody of the “Bohemian Brethren” on him: Atwood, *Community*, 98, translating Zinzendorf’s sermons to men: *Inhalt dererjenigen Reden, welche zu Berlin vom 1ten Januario 1738 bis 27ten Aprilis in denen Abend-Stunden sonderlich für die Manns-Personen gehalten worden*.

⁹⁸ Freeman provides an incisive overview of Zinzendorf’s engagement with the Enlightenment as its ideas steadily spread, summing up Zinzendorf’s reaction to it in the words of Pascal: “The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know.” Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 43 (citing Pascal, B., *Pensees*, Section iv.). Zinzendorf anticipated many of the replies of Schleiermacher: feeling instead of rationalism, religious experience instead of religious hatred and dogma, the difference being that Zinzendorf drew these answers from the cross rather than the person of Christ. The wounds of Christ gave Zinzendorf a strong theodicy at a time, especially following the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, when many were asking the ‘why suffering?’ question. Cf. Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 45-46. cf. Faull, K. M., “Faith and Imagination: Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf’s Anti-Enlightenment Philosophy of Self,” in K. M. Faull (ed), *Anthropology and the German Enlightenment: Perspectives on Humanity*, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995), 23-56.

⁹⁹ Camporesi, *Juice of Life*, 70.

1.4. Moravian¹⁰⁰ Spirituality.

The use of references to the blood and wounds of Jesus, around which much that was characteristic of Moravian spirituality was organised, soon became excessive. This excess reached its peak during the aforementioned 'Sifting Period.' At this time, Zinzendorf had been absent for some time and the Herrnhag¹⁰¹ community, a plant of the original Herrnhut, had become dominated by the vibrant spirituality of some of its younger members. These young people, striving for true intimacy with Jesus, took some of Zinzendorf's teachings to extremes. There appear to have been three main components to this. Firstly, they became enamoured with the teaching of Jesus, mediated by Zinzendorf, on the importance of becoming like little children. Secondly, they were steeped in Christ-erotic ways of expressing their love for Jesus as their souls' Bridegroom. Thirdly, they displayed an extreme and highly gruesome emphasis on the wounds of Jesus. It is to this last component of the Sifting Period that we now turn.

¹⁰⁰ Interest in this subject shows no sign of abating. There is a wealth of published research about the Moravians from an American, British and German perspective. The following are among the more recent general works. From an American perspective: Hamilton & Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church* and Atwood, *Community*. From a British Perspective: Towlson, C., *Moravian and Methodist: Relationships and Influences in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1957). Lewis, *Zinzendorf*, (which, despite the title is mostly about the Moravians), Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, Mason, *Missionary Awakening* and Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*. From an American and German perspective: Gollin, G. L., *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). For works in German to 1987, see Meyer, D., *Bibliographisches Handbuch zur Zinzendorf-Forschung*, (Düsseldorf, 1987).

¹⁰¹ Developments here, leading to its eventual closure, are described in Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 70-74.

It is in the hymns and liturgies of the Moravians that their doctrine comes to full and vivid expression.¹⁰² Communion took on a dimension of spiritual fervour unknown even among the most passionate of medieval sacramentalists:

Afterwards we sat us down to the Agape with our Spirits watching every Bloody Drop flowing from our incomparable Friend in Agony, and at last enjoyed that which words cannot utter without a Holy Shuddering of the Frain. The Body and Blood of Christ.¹⁰³

According to the Steads a strong influence on the Moravians, mediated via Zinzendorf, was the sacred music of the imperial court of Habsburg alluded to earlier, as well as some extreme examples of the hymns of Johann Scheffler (1624-77), 79 of which found their way into an early Moravian collection.¹⁰⁴ First to note among the Moravian hymn collection is the recurrence of the sight metaphor: "Here let me dwell, and view those wounds/Which life for me procures."¹⁰⁵

Secondly, Lutheran ideas of merit are also prominent:

Jesus, Thee I view in spirit,
Covered o'er with blood and wounds:
Now salvation through Thy merit
For my sin-sick soul abounds...¹⁰⁶

Through Thy sufferings, death and merit,
I eternal life inherit.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Zinzendorf himself said, "Liturgists are more important than preachers and teachers." Atwood, *Community*, 141, translating *jüngerhaus Diarium* Sept. 1, 1759. Cf. "There is more dogma in our canticles than in our prose." Moravian saying quoted in Linyard, F., & P. Tovey, *Moravian Worship*, (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1994), 10.

¹⁰³ Extract from the diaries of the English Moravian community at Fulneck, cited in Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 305. Cf. Stead, G., "Moravian Spirituality and its Propagation in West Yorkshire during the Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Revival," *Evangelical Quarterly* 71:3 (1999), 242-243.

¹⁰⁴ Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 331-333.

¹⁰⁵ *The Moravian Hymn Book*, (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1911), No.104.

¹⁰⁶ *Moravian Hymn Book*, No.97.

¹⁰⁷ *Moravian Hymn Book*, No.101.

Related to the idea of merit is the picture of Christ as the ascended High Priest pleading before the Father on the basis of His sacrifice:

All heavenly host adore Thee.
Seated at Thy Father's side:
There for sinners Thou art pleading...
Help us to sing our Saviour's merits.¹⁰⁸

This is our only plea,
That Thou for us hast died.¹⁰⁹

These themes of merit and pleading will re-occur frequently in the hymns of Charles Wesley.

Thirdly, there is the theme of childlike abdication. It is here that the terminology can seem, to an outsider, to be strange and perverse:

Now rests my whole mind on
In one nook of the Side-hole,
And dreams of Blood alone:
Sometimes it is as a wide Hall,
Sometimes so close and Deep
As if each Heart in it
Alone did lie and sleep.¹¹⁰

Lovely Side-hole, take in me:
Let me ever be in Thee
O Side-hole's Wound, My Heart and Soul,
Does pant for thy so lovely Hole.¹¹¹

So, for both Zinzendorf and the Moravians, the religion of the heart was a religion in which the sincere heart would gaze upon the wounds of the risen Christ and, like

¹⁰⁸ *Moravian Hymn Book*, No.108.

¹⁰⁹ *Moravian Hymn Book*, No.273.

¹¹⁰ *Moravian Hymnal 1748 Part III*, No.67, cited in Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 310.

¹¹¹ *Hymnal 1748*, Part III, No.59, Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 309.

Thomas, have its doubts removed. In supra-rational faith, the Moravian souls then live for Him who died for them. The hearts of the devout are knit to the Saviour in rapturous love. This love and devotion, that never forgets the blood and wounds that supply the merit of every true believer, is expressed in language that seems strange and extreme. Such language is deliberately irrational. It is the language of revolt against the sterility of Enlightenment thought and scholastic religion.

1.5. The Wesleys.

There is much competition over who or what should take pride of place as the most influential factor in the formation of John Wesley's theology. Hempton has pointed out the tendency of scholars of Wesley to "...compete for the pre-eminent influence over Wesley,"¹¹² depending on what particular church tradition they represent. He concludes that rather than any one influence being pre-eminent in Wesley's theology, it is "Wesley's eclecticism" itself that is "pre-eminent."¹¹³ Cracknell and White list Wesley's mother, Thomas á Kempis and Jeremy Taylor as his most important early influences during the period when he was preoccupied with the concept of "purity of intention."¹¹⁴ In this study, my one intention is to identify from whence his emphasis on the blood of Christ most likely came. His journals would appear to reflect a Moravian point of origin, there being almost no references to the blood of Christ in Wesley's journals until after he had made the acquaintance of Peter Böhler in

¹¹² Hempton, D., *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 56-57.

¹¹³ Hempton, *Empire of the Spirit*, 56-57.

¹¹⁴ Cracknell, K., & S. J., White, *An Introduction to World Methodism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7-9.

February 1738,¹¹⁵ a little over 3 months before his Aldersgate experience (May 24) which sealed for him the truth of Böhler's theology. Hence, although Wesley's theology of the blood went on to become very different to that of the Moravians, its point of origin is almost certainly Moravian.¹¹⁶

With the arrival of Moravian Peter Böhler in London, on February 7, 1738, the "more definite influence" of the Moravian Church on English Christianity began.¹¹⁷ It is recorded that, "On the very day of his landing Böhler made the acquaintance of John Wesley."¹¹⁸ John Wesley was later to become enamoured with the spirituality of Böhler, who displayed, "...dominion over sin and a constant peace from a sense of forgiveness," which Wesley saw as, "...a new gospel."¹¹⁹ John and Charles Wesley's first contact with the Moravians had been in 1737 on a voyage across the Atlantic. This encounter was to lead to John Wesley becoming aware of his own lack of

¹¹⁵ The first mention of the blood of Christ John Wesley's journals is on Sunday 14 April 1738 when he describes preaching, in the wake of prolonged discussions with Böhler, a sermon on the theme of "free salvation through faith in the blood of Christ," at St Ann's, Aldersgate: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/wesley/journal.txt> accessed online 20 Nov 2008. However, in his sermons, there are a number of references to the blood of Christ prior to his exposure to the Moravians. In one, he even proclaims that, "It is his daily care, by the grace of God in Christ, and through the blood of the covenant, to purge the inmost recesses of his soul..." His first obviously Böhler influenced sermon was delivered at St Mary's, Oxford entitled, *Salvation by Faith*. According to A. C. Outler's chronology, this was delivered 11 June 1738, according to T. L. Smith's dates, this was 7 June 1738: http://wesley.nnu.edu/john_wesley/sermons/chron.htm accessed online 20 Nov 2008. In this he speaks for the first time of, "...a full reliance on the blood of Christ; a trust in the merits of his life, death, and resurrection; a recumbency upon him as our atonement and our life..." All his sermons that make mention of the blood of Christ are as follows (Where Smith's dating differs from Outler's, Smith's is given after the forward-slash): sermons 101 (1732), 17 (1733), 127 (1735), 1 (1738: *Salvation by Faith*), 9 (1739/46), 21 (1739/48), 22 (1739/48), 23 (1739/48), 24 (1740/48), 25 (1740/48), 26 (1740/48). In his letters there is only one reference to the blood of Jesus prior to May 1738. From then onwards, for the next couple of years, the subject of faith in the blood of Christ becomes an urgent and recurrent one: http://wesley.nnu.edu/john_wesley/letters/index.htm accessed on line 12 Jan 2009.

¹¹⁶ Other much earlier influences need not be excluded, however. Besides his imbibing of Kempis' passion mysticism, Wesley was brought up within the Puritan tradition, steeped as it was in atonement theology. Böhler's role appears to have been to open Wesley's eyes to the possibilities of repose by faith alone in the blood of Christ instead of good works.

¹¹⁷ Skevington Wood, A., *The Inextinguishable Blaze*, (Exeter: Paternoster, 1960), 85.

¹¹⁸ Hamilton, J., *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Bethlehem: The Moravian Church in America, 1900), 85.

¹¹⁹ Weakley, C.G. (ed) *The Nature of Revival* (Minneapolis: Bethany House, 1987), 28, citing Wesley, J., *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of London* (London: W. Strahan, 1747).

faith.¹²⁰ Wesley soon became a close companion of Zinzendorf himself. The split between the two leaders came in 1741 when Wesley and Zinzendorf could not agree on the issue of sanctification.¹²¹ Zinzendorf's view of the blood was strictly forensic and firmly Lutheran: "All Christian Perfection is, Faith in the blood of Christ. Our whole Christian Perfection is imputed, not inherent."¹²² Wesley saw the cleansing of the blood as an inward crisis event leading to a 'Clean Heart'¹²³ Zinzendorf was, in the manner of Romans, speaking the language of imputation, while Wesley, influenced in his thinking more by 1John 1:7, spoke the language of cleansing. Zinzendorf here appears to be confusing the orthodox Lutheran view of sanctification with its view of justification. For Zinzendorf sanctification is an outward, imputed holiness, a hybrid of the two. In Wesley, justification and sanctification are also confuted, this time to produce the opposite kind of hybrid: an instantaneous inward perfection. By August 1742, John Wesley's connections with the Moravians had become weak enough for him to overtly castigate them for their beliefs about the blood and wounds of Jesus, in a sermon described as "very furious."¹²⁴

The English reaction to Moravian blood and wounds theology widened in 1749 with the publication of the first English language Moravian hymnal. The English found the references to the blood and wounds as well as the overt eroticism of the hymns deeply offensive.¹²⁵ By 1754, much of the outlandish blood and wounds language had been edited out of the Moravian Hymn Book of the British Province.¹²⁶ There is, however,

¹²⁰ Journal: January 18-30, 1735. Ward, W.R., & R.P. Heitzenrater, (eds) *The Works of John Wesley* Vol.18: Journals and Diaries I. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 142-143.

¹²¹ The Fetter Lane Society had already split over the issue of quietism, the setting up of a new society at the Foundery on 23 July 1740 marking the beginning of the first Methodist Society.

¹²² The full conversation is available in English in Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 188.

¹²³ Wesley, *Plain Account*, 23-27.

¹²⁴ Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 76.

¹²⁵ Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 266.

¹²⁶ Stead & Stead, *Exotic Plant*, 323.

evidence of a strong magnetic power to Moravian spirituality, even in its extreme forms, which was felt among an increasing number of English Christians.¹²⁷ There is also evidence that John Wesley's soteriology, in the latter half of his years in ministry, became more Lutheran in its emphasis on the imputed righteousness of Christ.¹²⁸ Much of his distaste for Moravian beliefs appears originally to have been rooted in their love of Luther. Wesley linked Luther with the dreaded spectre of antinomianism, which he saw too often in his converts. Wesley's passion for holiness of life made him suspicious of Luther and therefore of Moravian theology.

From the early 1740s onwards, John Wesley's attitude to the Moravians oscillated between bitterness over their beliefs and an irresistible admiration for their spirituality. Charles Wesley, however, maintained a consistently charitable spirit towards them, even momentarily falling under the spell of their quietist fad.¹²⁹ His hymns also contain some overtly Moravian phraseology:

O Thou Eternal Victim slain
A sacrifice for guilty man,
By the Eternal Spirit made
An offering in the sinner's stead;
Our everlasting Priest art thou,
And plead'st Thy death for sinners now

¹²⁷ Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 134: "That the spirituality of the Sifting Time provoked opposition in England is well documented: what has not been accepted is that to many who joined the Moravians it was deeply attractive and an important reason for their doing so." Podmore lists "Identity" (as the truest, best and most favoured church), "Refuge" (allowing an anti-Enlightenment abdication of both will and reason), "Pastoral Care" (through small groups, home visits and marriage guidance), "Spirituality" (which among the English Moravians became increasingly focussed on the Eucharist), "Community Life" (most notably at Fulneck in Yorkshire), "Worship" (solemn, liturgical, powerful experiences for many), and "Style and Celebration" (highly visual, much use of baroque art), as the main reasons for the appeal of Moravianism in 18th Century England: Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 120-158. cf. Stead, "Moravian Spirituality," 233-259.

¹²⁸ Piper discusses this, citing strong evidence from the primary literature as well as two recent studies of Wesley: Piper, J., *Counted Righteous in Christ*, (Leicester: IVP, 2002), 38.

¹²⁹ So Podmore: "Charles Wesley was drawn to the Moravians and their teaching much more than John." Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 76.

Thy Offering still continues new,
The vesture keeps its bloody hue,
Thou stand'st the ever-Slaughtered Lamb
Thy Priesthood still remains the same...¹³⁰

On the subject of pleading the death, or blood, of Christ, as early as 1727, the
Brotherly Agreement of Herrnhut stated,

...the greatest perfection in life (were it possible to attain to it, without the
intercession of the Mediator, urged by the plea of his blood and merit) would
be of no avail in the sight of God...¹³¹

There is here a strong link between the metaphor of the legal plea and the merit of
Christ expressed by his intercession, an image from Hebrews 7:25.¹³² The idea of
pleading the merits of Christ's blood before God's throne soon became a common
place in Evangelical hymnody, if for no other reason than that 'plea' and 'plead'
rhyme so well with so many other useful words like 'me' and 'need.' The following
Wesleyan hymn, sung by the early Pentecostals, draws on the Hebrews image of
Abel's speaking blood:

He ever lives above
For me to intercede
His all-redeeming love
His precious blood to plead;
His blood atoned for all our race,
And sprinkles now the throne of grace.

Five bleeding wounds He bears,
Received on Calvary;
They pour effectual prayers,
They strongly speak for me;
Forgive him, O forgive! They cry,

¹³⁰ C. Wesley cited in Davie, D., *Christian Verse*, (Oxford: University Press, 1981), 159.

¹³¹ Article 3 of the Brotherly Union and Agreement at Herrnhut, cited in Erb, *Pietists*, 325-6.

¹³² Cf. the hymn by the English Moravian John Cennick: "Opening His pierced hands: Our Priest
abides, and pleads our cause, Transgressors of His righteous laws." *Redemption Hymnal*, (Eastbourne:
Elim Publishing House, 1951), No.203.

Nor let that ransomed sinner die!¹³³

The following hymn of Charles Wesley's speaks of the sinner making the plea:

I see the bar to heaven removed;
And all Thy merits, Lord, are mine...

...Death, hell, and sin are now subdued;
All grace is now to sinners given;
And lo, I plead th' atoning blood,
And in Thy right I claim Thy heaven.¹³⁴

It could be that out of this rich seam of speaking blood, praying wounds, pleaded blood and humble dependence on the merit of Christ that such popular hymns as the following would soon emerge within the 19th Century holiness movement:

Just as I am without one plea
But that Thy blood was shed for me
And that Thou bidst me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come! I come!¹³⁵

Charles Wesley, like the Moravians, also values the subjective appropriation of Christ's blood and wounds: "I feel the life his wounds impart;/I feel my Saviour in my heart."¹³⁶ And again: "Come feel with me His blood applied;/My Lord, my Love, is crucified."¹³⁷

Charles Wesley's hymns display a much more soteriological, and arguably more biblical, emphasis than those of the Moravians, Charles Wesley being especially interested in the theme of cleansing. This theme, of course, is best expressed in his *O*

For a Thousand Tongues:

¹³³ *Redemption Hymnal*, No.200.

¹³⁴ *Redemption Hymnal* No.167.

¹³⁵ By Charlotte Elliott (1789-1871). *Redemption Hymnal* No.354.

¹³⁶ Davie, *Verse*, 159.

¹³⁷ *Redemption Hymnal* no.173.

He breaks the power of cancelled sin,
He sets the pris`ner free;
His blood can make the foulest clean,
His blood availed for me.¹³⁸

The theme of cleansing through the blood would soon become the predominant theme in blood mysticism as the 18th Century gave way to the 19th.

John Wesley too, in spite of his caution about the Moravians, may have set a precedent in his preaching:

At first we preached almost wholly to unbelievers. To those therefore we spake almost continually of the remission of sins through the death of Christ, and the nature of faith in his blood.¹³⁹

J.C. Ryle, extends to all of the 18th Century leaders of the English revival a very similar definition of what was generally preached:

They loved Christ`s person; they rejoiced in Christ`s promises; they urged men to walk after Christ`s example. But the one subject, above all others, concerning Christ, which they delighted to dwell on, was the atoning blood which Christ shed on the cross.¹⁴⁰

This could well have set the scene for the 19th Century Methodist preachers such as James Caughey, Phoebe Palmer and William Booth.

¹³⁸ *Redemption Hymnal* No.8.

¹³⁹ *The Works of the Rev John Wesley* Vol. VIII, (1856), 273.

¹⁴⁰ Ryle, J.C., *The Christian Leaders of England in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Chas.J.Thynne and Jarvis, 1868), 27.

Synan describes John Wesley's *Plain Account* as a "veritable manifesto"¹⁴¹ for all the holiness groups of the 19th century. The most notable feature of the references to the blood of Jesus in Wesley's *Plain Account* is the total dominance of the cleansing motif. This is in large measure due to the fact that he takes 1John 1:7 as one of a number of proof texts for his doctrine of Christian perfection, claiming that the cleansing described is complete and final in this life:

A Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin...For he sayeth not, The blood of Christ *will* cleanse (at the hour of death, or in the day of judgment), but it 'cleanseth,' at the present time, us living Christians 'from all sin.' And it is equally evident, that if any sin remain, we are not cleansed from all sin.¹⁴²

He held that a process of sanctification was begun in the heart at regeneration but that a second experience was needed to bring 'full salvation', or, 'entire sanctification.'

This second blessing involved the cleansing away of all sin followed by an influx of love towards God and man taking its place in the believing heart. Hence entire sanctification was referred to as 'perfect love.' The blood eradicated the negative, creating space for the inundation of the positive: the continual inclination to do the will of God. All failings from this point onwards were considered by Wesley to be unintentional. He preferred to call all subsequent sins, 'infirmities,' which the atoning blood continually covered – its justifying function. In this way, it was necessary for even the fully sanctified believer to continually lean upon the merits of Christ, just as a branch must draw sustenance from the tree, even though the believer is now, technically, perfect. The ambiguity of all this did not go unnoticed by Wesley's

¹⁴¹ Cf. Synan: "This eighty-one page document has served as a veritable manifesto for all the holiness and perfectionist groups that have separated from Methodism during the past two centuries." Synan, V., *The Pentecostal-Holiness Tradition: charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971, 1997), 6.

¹⁴² Wesley, *Plain Account*, 19-20.

critics, the constant shifting of his terminology further adding to the confusion and misunderstanding.

To illustrate the cleansing dynamic of the blood, he quotes freely from his brother's extravagant imagery:

Come, thou dear Lamb, for sinners slain,
Bring in the cleansing flood:
Apply, to wash out every stain,
Thine efficacious blood.
O let it sink into our soul
Deep as the inbred sin;
Make every wounded spirit whole,
And every leper clean!¹⁴³

The prominent New Testament metaphor of redemption comes second in prominence in the *Plain Account*. Again, he quotes from his brother's hymns:

Didst Thou not die, that I might live
No longer to myself, but Thee?
Might body, soul, and spirit give
To Him who gave Himself for me?
Come then, my Master, and my God,
Take the dear purchase of Thy Blood.¹⁴⁴

The *Christus Victor* theme also features. Here is a report of the experience of Jane Cooper, a lady who professed to have had an experience of entire sanctification. Hers was one of a number of testimonies emerging out of the Otley perfectionist revival of the early 1760s – just the proof that Wesley needed at the height of the perfectionist controversy.¹⁴⁵ "...her face was full of smiles of triumph, and she clapped her hands

¹⁴³ Wesley, *Plain Account*, 113-115.

¹⁴⁴ Wesley, *Plain Account*, 31, cf. Lo! On the wings of love He flies – And brings redemption near
Redemption in His blood..." ibid. 40.

¹⁴⁵ McGonigle, H., *Sufficient Saving Grace: John Wesley's Evangelical Arminianism*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), 255, cf. Tyerman, L., *The Life and Times of the Rev Samuel Wesley Vol.2*, (London: 1866), 422.

for joy. Mrs C. said, 'My dear, you are more than a conqueror through the blood of the Lamb.'"¹⁴⁶

The theme of merit is present but not linked specifically with the blood: "Every moment, Lord, I want / The merit of Thy death!"¹⁴⁷

Wesley also reminisces about the crucial insight given him by the Moravians concerning justifying faith in Christ's blood as the essential preliminary to sanctification.¹⁴⁸ The insight that justification was by faith alone rarefied his doctrine of perfection into something that could happen to anyone if they were expectant. His earlier doctrine of Christian Perfection had been decidedly semi-Pelagian, as expressed in his 1733 sermon, *The Circumcision of the Heart*, focussing as it did on the human means of attaining it.¹⁴⁹ His later doctrine of Perfection skirts around the issue of human good works as a means to sanctification and focuses instead on the end achieved by it, much of his writing being taken up with defining precisely what Christian Perfection was in the face of those who misunderstood. His protagonists in the holiness movement would more than make up for Wesley's lack of definition concerning how precisely it was received.

¹⁴⁶ Wesley, *Plain Account*, 67.

¹⁴⁷ Wesley, *Plain Account*, 107.

¹⁴⁸ "In August following, I had a long conversation with Arvid Gradin, in Germany. After he had given me an account of his experience, I desired him to give me, in writing, a definition of 'the full assurance of faith,' which he did in the following words... 'Repose in the blood of Christ; a firm confidence in God, and persuasion of His favour; the highest tranquillity, serenity, and peace of mind; with a deliverance from every fleshly desire, and a cessation of all, even inward sins.'" Wesley, J., *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, (London: Epworth Press, 1952), 9-10.

¹⁴⁹ McGonigle, *Sufficient Saving Grace*, 243-244.

1.6. The Olney Hymnists.

Finally, no account of blood mystical origins would be complete without a mention of the Olney Hymns. Late in the 18th Century, Moravian terminology seems to surface from time to time in these hymns. The Olney Hymns were those of the Anglican Evangelicals William Cowper and John Newton.¹⁵⁰ The tormented soul of William Cowper clearly found great comfort in the idea of the cleansing power of the blood, using the language of superabundance to underline its supererogative power to deal with guilt:

There is a fountain filled with blood,
Drawn from Immanuel's veins,
And sinners plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains.¹⁵¹

It was their hymns, together with those of the pioneering hymn writer Isaac Watts and those of Charles Wesley that would have a formative affect on North American Methodist spirituality.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ From around 1773, Newton developed a great interest in the Moravians and had increasing contact with them. While curate at Olney, he lived only 20 miles from a Moravian settlement in Bedford and greatly admired their spirituality: "If they have, notwithstanding, some little peculiarities, I apprehend very few of those societies which are ready to censure them, can exceed them in the real fruits of the Spirit." Mason, J. C. S., *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England*, (Royal Historical Society & Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 69, citing a letter from John Newton to Joshua Reynolds, 24 June 1774.

¹⁵¹ *Redemption Hymnal* No.335. Were it not for the adventurous precedent set by references to blood and veins in the hymnody and litany of the Moravians, it is to be doubted whether Cowper's hymn would have been written.

¹⁵² On the role of hymnody in colonial, revolutionary and antebellum America and the dominance in it of hymns by Watts and Wesley see: Marini, S., "Hymns as History: Early Evangelical Hymns and the Recovery of American Popular Religion," *Church History* 71:2 (2002), 273-306.

Conclusion.

I have here attempted to trace a scarlet thread of blood mysticism that originated in the medieval mystics that were Luther's spiritual mentors. Through Lutheran Pietism the line is traceable to Zinzendorf and his followers and then on to the Wesleys.

Amongst the Moravians there was a fervent desire for intellectual and emotional abdication to Jesus. Moravian spirituality was a spirituality of utter, unqualified devotion to Christ in the tradition of the medieval mystics. It was mysticism taken out of the monasteries and exported throughout the world. It was a radically anti-Enlightenment movement. For them, the blood was all about faith rather than rationality. Further, they reckoned that if they were devoted enough to Jesus, there would be no need for self-denial, mortification, or asceticism. Indeed, their paintings showed a certain opulence that was entirely in keeping with certain aspects of the German aristocracy of which Zinzendorf was a part. Like the baroque of Zinzendorf's home, their language was flowery, extravagant, and hyperbolic. When this extreme devotional language was applied to the blood and wounds of Jesus, the result was shocking. Charles Wesley was able to soften the vulgarities and present Evangelical blood mysticism to a wider public, and bequeath it to subsequent generations. Other hymn writers also appear to have been indebted to the Moravians and their devout language of faith in the blood and wounds of the Lamb. In spite of John Wesley's repudiation of Moravian blood mysticism, the theological system he created made the blood of Jesus logically essential to his whole doctrine of the Second Blessing. Being permanently and completely cleansed by the blood was an essential preliminary to receiving the sanctifying grace of the Spirit.

Five legacies of spirituality appear to have been bequeathed to the Evangelical tradition that would eventually feed into Pentecostalism from this period. Firstly, the tendency towards visualisation as a stimulant to faith causes the physical symbols of the medieval sacrament to live on just as vividly in the minds of the non-sacerdotal Moravians. For them, God now infuses the mental image of the crucified Christ with His real presence rather than the physical elements. This mental imaging will progress more and more into verbal affirmation, the repeated oral invocation of the power of the blood.¹⁵³ Secondly, the attitude of childlike surrender and abdication to all that the blood has achieved will continue to run deep into the religious psychology of the holiness and Pentecostal Movements. This was the act of faith, a moment of supra-rational response to the wounded Christ. This fideism will prove useful as a pre-modern fortress against the besieging modernism of the 19th and early 20th Centuries. An authenticating sign of God's presence – tongues - was all that was needed to make this fortress of faith impregnable. Thirdly, there is the motive to devotion that dwelling on the cross, blood and wounds of Christ in this way could bring. Faith in a visualised blood and wounds melts the heart and inspires repentance. The motif of redemption, of the price that was paid, would yet be explored in order to reinforce this sense of indebted zeal for God. Fourthly, the plea of the blood and merit of Christ as a means of confidently approaching God becomes a lasting and powerful legacy, traceable ultimately to Luther, which would prove useful during times of encounter

¹⁵³ A similar progression from a mental process to an oral affirmation is in evidence in New Thought philosophy, which existed at the same time as the holiness movement, and had some relationship to the Faith Cure aspect of it. In New Thought, the positive thinking of P.P. Quimby soon evolved into the oral affirmations of Henry Wood: Wood, H., *New Thought Simplified*, (accessed online 26 Jun 03 <http://website.lineone.net/~cornerstone/ntstitle.htm>, original dated 1902). Arguably, the beliefs of Kenyon, Hagin and Copeland about Positive Confession are indebted to this externalisation process from positive thinking to positive confession that initially took place within New Thought. Many of these ideas are explored in McConnell, D., *A Different Gospel*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), and Neuman, H. T., "Cultic Origins of the Word-Faith Theology Within the Charismatic Movement", *Pneuma* 12:1 (1990), 40

with the *numinous* in revival. Lastly, and most importantly, the cleansing theme, so central to Wesley's theological system, would prove to be a powerful motif. This system was then rationalised by John Fletcher and radicalised in various forms by the holiness movement, insuring a decidedly Wesleyan flavour to the spirituality of American revivalism in the 19th Century, to which we will shortly turn.

There is much about Moravian spirituality that has a contemporary significance. Firstly, the cultural context of the Moravians was one characterised by the Post-Reformation collapse of religious consensus. This collapse of consensus opened the way for essentially unreligious definitions of reality such as empiricism and rationalism to fight it out on the bourgeois academic stage. The way the Moravians dealt with this was by taking an anti-intellectual turn back to a medieval style of mysticism invested with strongly emotive and intuitive avenues to knowing. Via the ex-Moravian Schleiermacher, with his emphasis on religious feeling, the spirituality of Moravianism was prophetic of and contributory towards the onset of the Romantic era. Both of the above: the collapse of epistemological consensus and the rush towards non-cognitive ways of knowing are also characteristic of the post-modern age. What a Moravian style of blood mysticism achieves in such a context might be described as the expulsive power of a higher affection. Its fostering of religious affection is the key to its success. Spiritual indebtedness is its sole sanctifying power. It holds intellectual argument in derision and appears to be in a state of rational revolt. Having turned down the volume on argument, it turns up the volume on feeling, feeling that was deemed to achieve all that was essential to the holy life.

Religious feeling is already fully exploited in contemporary approaches to worship yet seldom is the atonement central to the experience. For the Moravians, as well as for many of those who influenced them, the primary way of experiencing now the historical event of the atonement was via a wholehearted abandonment of the self to it in worship. The adoring heart then discovers that the object of worship is not a crucified Jesus hanging limp and helpless but a glorified Lamb still bearing His wounds and still appearing to His disciples. It is at this central point, according to the Moravian understanding, that feeling runs deep enough for sin to be cast out. The Moravians entertained no self-righteous asceticism. Their ideal was a devoted heart. These concepts already chime with contemporary approaches to the Christian life. The atonement-centredness of the Moravian variety of heart religion is a resource waiting to be used as an aid, for instance, to those seeking radical severance from a life of addictions.

2. The Origins of the Holiness Message.

The holiness tradition of the 19th century is not uniformly blood mystical. Indeed there is little that is uniform about it. In particular, the post American Civil War holiness crusade, dating from 1867-94, splintered increasingly into a bewildering array of sects. During this time, the holiness movement also became a transatlantic phenomenon, taking on mostly non-Wesleyan forms on the Anglo-European side of the Atlantic. Among the preachers of the holiness movement, blood mysticism seems to become prominent only in certain individuals – and these are just as likely to be Wesleyan as not. However, the hymnbooks of the movement tell a different story. These, especially those more influenced by the Wesleyan holiness message, such as the *Salvation Army Songbook*, are more uniformly saturated in blood-veneration.

Beginning with early Methodism in Britain and America, I will focus on the two most influential versions of the holiness tradition, one Wesleyan and the other not, and both arising in America, and compare the two. These two types are those emanating from Phoebe Palmer and Charles Finney respectively.

2.1. The First American Methodists.

The Pentecostal story typically parts company with British Methodism at this point and moves across the Atlantic to the beginnings within American Methodism of the pre-American Civil War holiness movement.¹⁵⁴ Michael Harper, following Dayton, is one of the most recent historians of Pentecostalism to have done so. Speaking at the centenary celebration of the arrival of Pentecostalism in Britain, he points out that Methodism, "...was to find its real destiny in America."¹⁵⁵ While there is a great deal of truth in this, it is important not to miss the continued growth and vibrancy of Methodism in Britain after the death of Wesley,¹⁵⁶ as well as the constant trans-Atlantic borrowing that took place within English-speaking Evangelicalism throughout the 19th century.¹⁵⁷ To a significant extent, therefore, the theological raw materials of British Pentecostalism, when it began in 1907, did not need to be imported from America and neither were the 19th century antecedents of it in Britain an entirely American import. These antecedents were not, in any case, as dominantly Wesleyan as Pentecostal antecedents were in North America but were of a much more Reformed flavour.¹⁵⁸ The key difference between British and American

¹⁵⁴ This precedent has been set by the predominance of American scholarship that has been brought to bear on the subject, e.g. Dayton's *Theological Roots*.

¹⁵⁵ Harper, M., "The Waves Keep Coming," *The Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 28:2 (2008), 106.

¹⁵⁶ "...we may speak of Wesleyan Methodism at the turn of the nineteenth century as a community with well-functioning institutional bases, considerable spiritual strength and vitality, and with many of the elements of a full church order." Cracknell & White, *World Methodism*, 31. By the time of the *Census of Religious Worship* of 1851, 3% of the adult population of England and Wales was Methodist; Cracknell & White, *World Methodism*, 34. At the jubilee of the Methodist New Connexion in 1848, the movement described itself as having "an active, fervid, and joyous piety." Bebbington, *Holiness*, 53, citing *The Jubilee of the Methodist New Connexion*, (London, 1848), 398. Only later in that century did the Methodist insistence on conversion and the centrality of the atonement begin to be played down; Bebbington, *Holiness*, 54-55.

¹⁵⁷ See Carwardine, R., *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1790-1865*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1978), passim, and, Kent, J., *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, (London: Epworth Press, 1978), passim.

¹⁵⁸ The case that Randall makes for the strong Brethren flavour of early Pentecostal meetings is especially compelling; Randall, I. M., "'Outside the Camp': Brethren Spirituality and Wider

Evangelicalism in the 19th century was the extent to which revivalism was embraced. In America, a crisis-orientated revivalistic approach, both inside and outside Methodism, became widely accepted while in Britain, under the watchful eye of an established church, revivalism never became mainstream.¹⁵⁹ And it was the revivalistic atmosphere that allowed Methodism and the holiness message to thrive, and proved essential for the fire of Pentecostalism to actually begin.

The first Methodist sermon ever to be preached in America came from the mouth of Capt Thomas Webb in New York City in 1766.¹⁶⁰ During 1773-76, Methodism took firm hold in Virginia by means of a significant revival.¹⁶¹ The founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784¹⁶² was followed, in 1787 by the founding of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which, of all the Methodist groups in North America, would prove to be the most consistently loyal to Wesleyan perfectionism.¹⁶³ By 1800, Methodism, with its attendant doctrine of Christian Perfection, was a major denominational block and began tipping the theological scales of popular religion away from the Calvinism of the puritan settlers. In 1801, the hysterical Cane Ridge camp meeting revival in Bourbon County, Kentucky, was a significant event attracting tens of thousands of people¹⁶⁴ of partly Baptist and partly Methodist

Evangelicalism in the 1920s," Brethren Educational Network article (BAHNR 2:17-33): <http://www.benrff.org/documents/Outside%20the%20camp.pdf> accessed online 13 Jan 2009. See also his, "Old Time Power," 53-80. Wessels convincingly demonstrates that, even in America, the Reformed contribution to the development of the doctrine of Baptism in the Holy Spirit was substantial: Wessels, R., "The Spirit Baptism, Nineteenth Century Roots" *Pneuma* 1:14 (Fall 1992), 131-157.

¹⁵⁹ Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, xiv.

¹⁶⁰ Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 7.

¹⁶¹ Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 9.

¹⁶² Cracknesll & White, *World Methodism*, 32. Baker cites this early denominationalisation of the movement in America as the main reason for its strength relative to British Methodism that was slow to make the break with Anglicanism complete and final: Baker, F., *From Wesley to Asbury: Studies in Early American Methodism*, (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1976), 18.

¹⁶³ Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 28.

¹⁶⁴ Murray cites eye-witness estimates of between 10,000 and 21,000 at any one time: Murray, I., *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750-1858*, (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1994), 152-3.

complexion. By 1812, the Methodists were holding at least 400 camp meetings annually throughout the United States.¹⁶⁵ By mid-century, Methodism was the dominant religion of North America.

Dayton¹⁶⁶ has observed that the early preaching of the Methodists in America was inevitably salvation orientated, the vast majority of people attending the camp meetings being unchurched. The new emphasis on Christian Perfection that took hold during the 1830s coincided with a change in the make up of Methodist churches from first to second generation Christians. People no longer needed to know how to be saved but how to become better Christians, and this in the face of the advances of German liberalism, Deism, Unitarianism and many other challenges to Evangelical faith.

The style of spirituality underwent a change also. Those attending the early camp meetings, as well as those preaching to them, were still mostly of a Calvinist spirituality:

...there appears to be in the subjects of this work [the Kentucky Revival] a deep heart-humbling sense of the great unreasonableness, abominable nature, pernicious effects and deadly consequences of sin; and the absolute unworthiness in the sinful creature of the smallest crumb of mercy from the hand of a holy God.¹⁶⁷

These early revivals could produce a “profound conviction of sin,”¹⁶⁸ in keeping with the Calvinist emphasis on total depravity. They could also bring “the happiness which

¹⁶⁵ Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 183.

¹⁶⁶ Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 65.

¹⁶⁷ Murray, citing the Presbyterian David Rice, in *Revival and Revivalism*, 157.

¹⁶⁸ Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 163.

he has purchased with his own blood.”¹⁶⁹ The Calvinist mindset of throwing oneself utterly upon the mercy of a sovereign and holy God was set to change dramatically as the century unfolded. This change involved the democratisation of Christianity and its reduction to the individual’s response to the call of the gospel. In Calvinist Christianity, the blood was of great value in easing the sting of a stricken conscience before an Almighty God who, in the manner of Jonathan Edwards, holds sinners by a mere thread over the flames of Hell.¹⁷⁰ To the Calvinists, the blood propitiated an angry God. To the Arminians of the generation following, the blood cleansed the responsive and consecrated heart. To the Calvinists, the blood was something that God chose, over against the penitent sinner’s eternal damnation. To the Arminians, the blood was something that man chose in his decision to renounce the world and all its allurements and follow God with all his heart.

The events at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, popularly termed the Second Great Awakening, embodied much that was becoming distinctive in the life of the infant nation. In the political realm, with the election Thomas Jefferson to power in 1801, the full democratisation of American life began. American Christianity went through an exactly parallel democratisation process that would soon be given formal expression in Charles Finney’s Arminianising ‘New Measures.’ In Continental Europe, Enlightenment ideas were destroying religion in public life, producing freedom from belief. In America these same libertarian ideas were granting the freedom to believe, and to believe with passion, with wild enthusiasm. French libertarian ideals could produce a blood bath in France, revivals in America. The mood of the nation was so optimistic and aspirational that Old World thinking was quickly transfigured into New

¹⁶⁹ Diary of Edward Payson, cited in Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 218.

¹⁷⁰ Edwards, J., *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, (Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing, 1992), 19.

World thinking. This was a way of thinking that was idealistic enough to envisage a perfection that would not only see Christ fully formed in the heart but the millennial kingdom established in the earth.

2.2. The Rebirth of Methodist Perfectionism: Phoebe Palmer.

Dayton¹⁷¹ agrees with Dieter¹⁷² that by around 1830 American Methodism had begun to neglect its own cardinal doctrine, that of Christian Perfection, but that throughout this decade, movements were afoot to revive the doctrine. Phoebe Palmer, and her sister, Sarah Lankford, represented the first major thrust in the direction of reviving Perfectionism within American Methodism.¹⁷³ The result of this was that by the end of the decade, the movement was two-pronged. There was the spread of interest in the doctrine amongst the Presbyterians and Congregationalists instigated by Finney and Mahan at Oberlin, and there was the ‘Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness’ held at the Palmers’ home, soon to be augmented by the magazine, *Guide to Holiness*, which reached a readership of up to 30,000.¹⁷⁴ These meetings plus the magazine revived Perfectionism within the Methodist fold. The 1840s would see “a veritable flood of perfectionistic teaching in the Methodist Church.”¹⁷⁵ It is to the blood

¹⁷¹ Dayton, D., “From ‘Christian Perfection’ to the ‘Baptism in the Holy Ghost.’” in Synan, V., (ed) *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, (Plainfield: Logos, 1975), 42

¹⁷² Dieter, M., *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* 2nd Ed., (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1996), 22

¹⁷³ In the last 25 years, there has been some interesting research on Phoebe Palmer. In particular, a strong link has been made between her proto-Pentecostal pneumatology and her role as a female preacher. Her doctrine of the Spirit was to base itself increasingly on Acts 2:17-21 (Peter’s quotation of Joel 2:28-32).XX on the Day of Pentecost). This passage makes an explicit link between Spirit reception and the power (and implicit right) as a ‘maidservant’ to ‘prophecy.’ This shift from a Pauline to a Lukan pneumatology was widespread in Evangelicalism by mid-century and, “opened up new possibilities for women: McFadden, M., “The Ironies of Pentecost: Phoebe Palmer, World Evangelism, and Female Networks,” *Methodist History* 31:2 (Jan 1993), 63. Based on the same passage, a further link was made between the ‘last days’ and female ministry: McFadden, “Ironies,” 65.

¹⁷⁴ Synan, *Pentecostal-Holiness Tradition*, 18.

¹⁷⁵ Synan, *Pentecostal-Holiness Tradition*, 17.

mysticism evident within this Wesleyan strand of the pre-Civil War holiness crusade that we now turn.

Palmer's experience of sanctification began with "an enlarged appreciation of the Atonement"¹⁷⁶ in the light of her own inability to be holy. Once her experience of sanctification was complete, she appears to have drawn two principal lessons from it that would go on to dominate her preaching on the subject. Firstly, she came to understand the importance of testimony. She felt that her side of her "covenant" with the Lord would be that she would agree to tell others of her experience "perhaps before hundreds."¹⁷⁷ Failure to do this would lead to the dreaded loss of sanctification such as that experienced famously by Wesley's successor John Fletcher, who lost the blessing five times due to a reluctance to testify.¹⁷⁸ From here onwards she would always preach "the binding nature of the obligation to profess the blessing."¹⁷⁹ Secondly, Palmer's experience appears to have taught her to live in a continual experience of cleansing:

"Realizing that God had enabled her to present herself as a living, or *continual*, sacrifice, she deduced that Jesus cleansed the offering thus continuously presented from all unrighteousness."¹⁸⁰

She thus recovers, quite correctly, the present tense of 1John1:7 (καθαρίζει) that Wesley, by claiming a once-and-for-all cleansing, had effectively turned into an aorist. From this realisation, as well as from the theology of a certain Adam Clarke,

¹⁷⁶ White, C.E., *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian*, (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1986), 19-20, citing Phoebe Palmer's diary of July 27, 1837.

¹⁷⁷ White, *Beauty of Holiness*, 20-21.

¹⁷⁸ White, *Beauty of Holiness*, 139.

¹⁷⁹ White, *Beauty of Holiness*, 139, citing Palmer's *Faith and its Effects: Or Fragments from my Portfolio*, (New York: Joseph Long king, 1852), 89.

¹⁸⁰ White, *Beauty of Holiness*, 23.

and his exposition of Romans 12:1-2, Hebrews 13:10 and Exodus 29:37, comes her 'altar theology':

This, I was given to see, was in verity placing all upon the altar that sanctifieth the gift, and I felt that, so long as my heart assured me that I did thus offer all, that it was a solemn duty as well as a high and holy privilege, to believe that the blood of Jesus cleanseth at the present and each succeeding moment so long as the offering is continued.¹⁸¹

Her altar theology was an adaptation of Wesley's system that made the experience of the second blessing more readily accessible via a threefold process of consecration, faith and testimony.¹⁸² If her listeners followed these steps, they could assure themselves that they possessed this blessing, regardless of any evidence to the contrary. The whole process was thus becoming fairly mechanised. The agony and soul-searching was removed and holiness was now a blessing that was simply there for the taking:

When the Savior said, 'It is finished!' then this full salvation was wrought out for you. All that remains is for you to come complying with the conditions and claim it...it is already yours.¹⁸³

The immediacy of the experience is celebrated in her hymn *The Cleansing Wave*:

Oh, now I see the cleansing wave,
The fountain deep and wide!
Jesus, my Lord, mighty to save,
Points to His wounded side.

*The cleansing stream I see, I see!
I plunge, and oh, it cleanseth me!
Oh, praise the Lord: it cleanseth me;
It cleanseth me, yes, it cleanseth me.*

¹⁸¹ Palmer, P., *Guide to Holiness* 1 (1839-40), 210.

¹⁸² White, *Beauty of Holiness*, 136.

¹⁸³ Palmer, P., *Faith and its Effects, or, Fragments from my Portfolio*, (New York: palmer & Hughes, 1867), 52ff.

I see the new creation rise;
I hear the speaking blood!
It speaks polluted nature dies!
Sinks 'neath the cleansing flood.

I rise to walk in heaven's own light,
Above the world and sin,
With heart made pure and garment white,
And Christ enthroned within.¹⁸⁴

As can be seen from this hymn, the switch from a once-and-for-all cleansing to a continuous cleansing is, in practice, fairly academic. She clearly has the same eradicationist view of sanctification as Wesley, so that even if the cleansing is not final, as Wesley understood it to be, it is so overwhelmingly effective that it "speaks polluted nature dies," and enables the believer to live "above the world and sin." It is, nonetheless, only a small step from this to the suppressionist position of Keswick, which, as we will see, also espoused a continuous cleansing. This would then slowly revert to a more Reformed style of cleansing, namely a continuously cleansed status in the eyes of God, not dissimilar to Zinzendorf's understanding of a merely imputed holiness.

Later, Palmer demonstrated once again her ability to incorporate the ideas of others to great effect in her ministry. Dayton points out that the publication of William Arthur's *The Tongue of Fire* in 1856¹⁸⁵ significantly influenced Palmer, to the extent that during the revivals of 1857-60, her speech became dominated by the concept of Baptism in the Holy Spirit.¹⁸⁶ The language of Pentecost thus adopted was the shape of things to come for the holiness movement and beyond.

¹⁸⁴ *Redemption Hymnal* No. 342.

¹⁸⁵ Arthur, W., *The Tongue of Fire*. (New York: Harper, 1856).

¹⁸⁶ Dayton, "From 'Christian Perfection,'" 44.

The recovery of the Wesleyan message of Christian Perfection in American Methodism went hand-in-hand with the full recovery of the voluntarist element in Christian devotion. This democratisation process was indebted to American culture and the widespread appropriation of republican values that had been imported from France during the War of Independence. Yet this voluntarist thread in American Christianity also had its own heritage. The need for a personal, heart-felt commitment to Christ was, of course, a process that had begun in earnest with German Pietism. This was then further developed in the Methodist societies in Britain, and finally, with the planting of Methodism in American soil, Christian voluntarism reached its apogee in American 19th century revivalism. Over the course of this process, the subjective appropriation of the atonement, lost for a while among Protestants with their rejection of transubstantiation and sacerdotalism, was recovered. The mode of appropriation was faith. The new object of faith was not simply a distant cross, it was now "the blood applied." At first the language was devotional, like that of the Catholics. Now it had become the language of personal hygiene: "It cleanseth me." This thought of a powerful, personal cleansing, available to anyone willing to follow the necessary steps, captured the imaginations of a generation of revivalists. It served to feed the idealism of a generation that thought they would see the world utterly cleansed of evil and the millennial dawn appear.

2.5. Charles Finney and Oberlin.

...revivals are always associated with the preaching of the gospel, which is the message of the cross.¹⁸⁷

Revival always takes the church back to Calvary. Revival brings a new focus on the cross.¹⁸⁸

If the above is true then the great revivalist Charles Finney (1792-1875) would appear to be something of an anomaly, or else that the revivals that took place under him were not true revivals. Despite the controversy that took place between Finney and those who were not keen on his active encouragement of emotional excesses much 19th Century Evangelical spirituality drew great inspiration from the revivalism of Charles Finney. It was fundamentally his insight that a touch from God's Spirit was there for the taking and available to anyone who was willing to remove the obstacles to revival, that revolutionised and Arminianised American Christianity. It was this insight that provided the flavour of the 19th Century holiness movement. It was an essentially revivalist movement, fired increasingly by Finney's preferred term: baptism in the Holy Spirit rather than classically Wesleyan terminology. This terminology was much broader and opened the door to an enduement of power for service as well as the experience of sanctification.

Charles Finney's theology is decidedly not blood mystical. His *Revivals of religion* contains only two references to the blood of Christ in the whole book. Both of these appear in the context of the need for ardent prayer as a precondition of revival. Here, the sole purpose seems to be to add drama and vividness to what he is saying: "...He

¹⁸⁷ Piggin, *Firestorm*, 17.

¹⁸⁸ Whittaker, C., *Great Revivals*, (Eastbourne: Victor, 2005), 12-13.

offered up His blood for souls, offered up also, as their High Priest, strong crying and tears...¹⁸⁹

In his *Systematic Theology*, in the section on the atonement, there are twelve references to the blood of Christ spread over 24 pages.¹⁹⁰ These, however, are mostly in direct citations of Scripture.¹⁹¹ When not quoting Scripture, he once uses the phrase “redemption through his blood,”¹⁹² he once employs the phrase, “...expenditure of the blood and suffering of Christ.”¹⁹³ and he speaks of the shedding of Christ’s blood as a “satisfaction to public justice for our sins.”¹⁹⁴ Finney, like a number of others in his day, held to the governmental theory of Grotius, whereby Jesus is the supreme governor of the universe who has done everything necessary to uphold the law. It is now each individual’s responsibility to elect Him as his or her Governor.¹⁹⁵ In his section on sanctification he plainly does not share Wesley’s view of a cleansing from inbred sin by the blood of Jesus but sees sanctification as a work of the Holy Spirit alone.¹⁹⁶ He reserves a mention of 1 John 1:7 for his section on justification,¹⁹⁷ a reflection, perhaps, of his Reformed heritage.

¹⁸⁹ Finney, C., *Revivals of Religion* 2nd Ed., Ed: W.H. Harding, (London: Morgan & Scott, 1913), 61. Cf. “His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground” (Luke 22:44). I have never known a person sweat blood; but I have known a person pray till the blood started from his nose.” Finney, *Revivals*

¹⁹⁰ Finney, C., *Lectures on Systematic Theology* 2nd Ed., Ed: J.H. Fairchild, (Whittier: Colporter Kemp, 1946), 264 (x2), 266 (x1), 267 (x2), 268 (x3), 269 (x2), 271 (x1), 281 (x1).

¹⁹¹ These cover the themes of propitiation and justification (he quotes directly from Rom.3:24-26 three times), the Mosaic law in relation to blood sacrifice (citing Heb.9:22-23), purchasing with blood (citing Acts 20:28), being brought near (citing Eph.2:13), and a huge chunk of Hebrews is quoted verbatim (Heb.9:12-14, 22-28; 10:10-14).

¹⁹² *ibid*, 267.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 281.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 266.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Murray, *Revival*, 262.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 402-481.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 389.

The main question remaining is that of why Palmer's holiness theology was blood mystical while Finney's holiness theology was not. The answer would appear to lie in the radically differing theologies of the two with respect to the atonement. Both felt the same urgency respecting the response of faith in the individual to the invitation of the preacher. Both did not share a belief in the appropriation of the blood in this process. Finney held to the governmental theory of the atonement in which God assumed the role of governor whom the people elect into power over their lives. No transaction is involved. Palmer held to the penal substitutionary theory of the atonement in which the fact that Christ has taken one's place in death must be acknowledged before divine favour may be appropriated. The one theory, that underlying Finney's preaching, did not require a grateful devotion to or personal appropriation of the blood, the other, at least in the hands of Palmer, did.

2.6. The First British Campaign of James Caughey.

The crusade across Britain in 1841-47 of the Irish-American Methodist Preacher James Caughey, was historically significant. It followed the efforts of the outlandish camp meeting revivalist Lorenzo Dow in 1805-7 and 1818-19, and preceded the campaign of D.L.Moody that would sweep the British Isles thirty-two years later. As Carwardine has pointed out, however, the overshadowing of Caughey by those who came after him in history is unfortunate.¹⁹⁸ In his day, Caughey was enormously popular and highly influential, particularly upon William Booth, then a fiery young evangelist. During his tour, which included Finney style 'new measures revivals,' most of the urban centres of the Midlands and North were included: Liverpool,

¹⁹⁸ Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, 102. Along with Charles Finney, Caughey was a household name among British nonconformists of the mid 19th Century: *idem.*, xiv.

Birmingham, Leeds, Hull, Sheffield, Huddersfield, York, Nottingham, Lincoln, Sunderland and Chesterfield. Caughey could boast at least 20,000 new converts and 9,000 cases of ‘entire sanctification’ during his first British crusade¹⁹⁹

Caughey fully adopted Palmer’s insistence upon a present continuous cleansing:

It does not say that God has cleansed you from sin in time past. You may believe that, and not be saved. It does not say that He will cleanse you in some time to come, but that He *doeth* it – *cleanseth*, that is the word, in the present tense.²⁰⁰

Christian Perfection, as well as salvation was urged upon his readers. Here, perfection is construed as a ‘victory’: “Go on to perfection; and may you all at last be enabled to shout, ‘Victory, victory, in the blood of the Lamb!’”²⁰¹ Anticipating Moody, the “master sin” for Caughey was “the sin of trampling on the precious blood of Christ.”²⁰²

Thanks to Caughey, a precedent was set in Britain that allowed further American itinerants to visit and bring the effusions of their holiness ideals to British Evangelicalism. The challenge remained, however, which would not be overcome until Moody came, of the general disdain of the middle and upper classes for republican America,²⁰³ reeking as it did of hatred and much feared French republicanism. Both Dow and Caughey had appealed mostly to working class nonconformists, a success that must have seemed somewhat incendiary in the revolutionary climate of the times.

¹⁹⁹ Carwardine, *Revivalism*, 111.

²⁰⁰ Caughey, J., *Revival Sermons and Addresses*, (London: Richard D. Dickinson, 1891), 85.

²⁰¹ Caughey, *Sermons*, 41.

²⁰² Caughey, *Sermons*, 103.

²⁰³ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, 50, 63.

Conclusion.

Within this Pre-war phase of the holiness movement that we have examined, three strains are discernable. The first and most deeply rooted strain is the Methodist vision of Phoebe Palmer's. Palmer was expounding classical Wesleyanism using the self-help framework of her altar theology. This proved to be a wise way of popularising a message among a people whose self-confidence was such that they had come to believe that God helps those who help themselves. Gone was the determinism of the Puritan settlers and their belief in electing sovereignty. The second strain was the Reformed strain, inspired by Finney. This sought to minimise the Wesleyan notes of entire sanctification and was apt instead to use the term 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit,' a phrase that Palmer would also later adopt. This baptism in the Holy Spirit could encompass the Pauline emphasis on sanctification as well as the Lukan emphasis on empowerment. Yet the heart of the message was much the same: the seeker must decide, he or she must choose God now. The pressure to make an immediate response to the altar call proved to be as controversial as it was influential. The third strain was holiness as an export. Pioneered by Lorenzo Dow, this was perfected by James Caughey. He took the best of both: the success of his British campaigns were measured by the number of sanctifications – the Methodist strain – as well as the number of decisions for Christ – the Reformed strain. He successfully combined Palmer's mechanical sanctifications with Finney's immediate decisions.

The role of the blood throughout this formative period stays fairly monochrome. There is little departure from Wesley's main proof text when teaching on a Clean Heart: 1John 1:7, although Wesley's falsely aorist interpretation of the passage is

thrown out. Soon, this preoccupation with the cleansing power of the blood would fill the hymns of the late 19th century, Palmer having blazed a trail with her *The Cleansing Wave*.

By the time British Evangelicals began to generate their own holiness emphasis, they were still drawing much from the Americans. They were indebted to Palmer, Finney and Caughey, but still more to those on the very edge of the movement such William Boardman and the Smiths who were seeking to make holiness teaching palatable to those completely exterior to the movement. It was their voices that would prove the most effective at planting the message in the hearts of British Evangelicals.

3. Home-Grown Holiness.

In the 1851 *Census of Religious Worship*²⁰⁴ it was revealed that overall church attendance figures for Britain stood at a national average of around 60% of the population.²⁰⁵ More recent scholarship has surmised that 1851 in fact represented the most significant peak in church attendance in England since Norman times and was never to be repeated.²⁰⁶ Later, a variety of factors contributed to the widely recognised Victorian crisis of faith so that as early as 1864, Lord Shaftesbury was lamenting that the “Protestant feeling” of the nation was not what it was.²⁰⁷ The evidence suggests that overall church attendance was in more or less continuous decline from 1851 onwards.²⁰⁸ For reasons that are still far from certain, America would weather the

²⁰⁴ This took place on 30 March 1851 and was published in two reports, one covering England and Wales, (published 1853) and the other covering Scotland (published 1854). See Wolffe, J., *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*, (Leicester: IVP, 2006), 220-224 who gives a usefully succinct and cautious review of its findings but focuses only on Evangelicalism. See also the groundbreaking work on a computerised analysis of the census in Snell, K. D. M., & P. S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 23, 32.

²⁰⁵ Out of a population of 17,927,609, there were 5,292,551 attending Anglican churches, 4,536,265 Dissenters and 383,630 Roman Catholic worshippers: 10,212,446 worshippers altogether. Figures reproduced in Harvie, C., “Revolution and the Rule of Law,” in Morgan, K., (ed), *The Oxford History of Britain*, (Oxford University Press, 1988), 519. There were, nonetheless, enormous discrepancies between the relatively unchurched urban populations and rural church going. Snell and Ell have produced an excellent analysis of the geographical factors that later contributed to declines in church attendance. Many people, uprooted from their regional rural brand of faith (most often of a nonconformist hue), were faced with attending large urban Anglican congregations, and many lost their faith altogether: Snell & Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, 1.

²⁰⁶ Gill, R., *The ‘Empty’ Church Revisited*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 212. For a more traditional view of this decline than Gill’s, attributing it largely to a lack of church buildings in urban areas combined with class struggle, see May, T., *An Economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1970*, (London: Longman, nd), 137-8. Wood identifies the high Victorian peak in attendance as being also the time of Evangelicalism’s greatest strength, stating that at this time it was the “chief formative influence on Victorianism”: Wood, A., *Nineteenth Century Britain 1815-1914*, (Harlow: Longman, 1982), 188. Bebbington agrees, dating the contraction of Evangelicalism’s influence to the 1870s: Bebbington, D., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 141

²⁰⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 141

²⁰⁸ This picture needs to be nuanced by reference to the gains made by nonconformists until reaching a peak in the 1880s, as well as by reference to the considerably bleaker picture that most urban areas presented with as opposed to the much slower proportional declines in rural areas, and finally, by reference to the building of far too many chapels by competing denominations in areas where overall

secularising²⁰⁹ storm that gathered with the turn of the century, while Britain would never recover from the steady decline in church attendance that went on to empty its churches and chapels in the twentieth century. Democratisation may be a key concept in unravelling the discrepancy.²¹⁰ It appears that only to the extent that voluntarist, participationist, democratic brands of Christianity successfully emerged did the church in Britain survive the onslaughts of the age. Martin accurately identifies Britain as a kind of halfway staging post in the Westward progress of religious

population was in decline, leading to half-empty church buildings even when overall recruitment was up. Gill postulates a kind of snowball effect whereby the very sight of half-empty churches discouraged church going. Gill, *The 'Empty' Church*, 7-8, 169-202.

²⁰⁹ In a landmark study, Currie, Gilbert and Horsley identified secularisation as “a diminished resort to supernatural means.” Currie, R., A. Gilbert & L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), 99. Bryan Wilson’s initial study on secularisation: *Sects and Society*, (London, 1961) has had many gainsayers amongst more recent sociologists of religion. Three are of note: Hammond, P.E., (ed), *The Sacred in a Secular Age*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), Wilson’s own more recent *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and New Religious Movements in Contemporary Society*, (Oxford: University Press, 1990) and Gill’s *The 'Empty' Church Revisited* of 2003. Cox laments his initial confidence in the secularisation hypothesis when he wrote *The Secular City*. A radical revision of his earlier views, assuming as he had that the total demise of all religion was imminent, took place in his encounter with Pentecostalism’s worldwide success: Cox, H., *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. (London: Cassell, 1996), xv-xvii. The consensus appears to be a moderated secularisation hypothesis that seeks to correct the Euro-centricity of the earlier views and takes into account the worldwide proliferation of all forms of religiosity outside of Europe.

²¹⁰ Carwardine contrasts British and American attitudes to revival, the very life-blood of 19th Century Evangelicalism, in a way that is very telling: “In one country [USA], under a voluntaristic church system, revivals became an orthodoxy; in the other [UK], under the critical eye of a church establishment, they never achieved total respectability.” *Transatlantic Revivalism*, xiv. An even greater contrast may be seen between republican France and republican America. In France, the Church was hopelessly identified with the monarchy and aristocracy and lumped together with them as the over-powerful, monolithic bourgeoisie. The disenfranchised, in their desire for democracy, demolished both Church and monarchy in France. In America, democratisation in the church – its Arminianisation – went on hand-in-hand with the democratisation of politics. In between, there was class-ridden Britain, not by any means an autocracy but unwilling to fully embrace democracy in either the political or religious spheres, a position bolstered in the high Victorian period by a lingering hatred for Napoleonic France. The contrast between France and America, and, by extension, between Latin Catholic and North Atlantic Protestant Christianity is a major plank in Martin’s moderation of the secularisation hypothesis. Using the example of Enlightenment France, he draws a distinction between “...a Catholic, communitarian, organic and heteronomous relation to modernity and a Protestant relation rooted in voluntarism, individualism and autonomy...” Martin, D., *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 143. The most recent English Church Census (2005) supports this general view of what kind of Christianity thrives in the modern West and what kind does not: “Of particular note, forms of Christianity which emphasise the Holy Spirit are resisting the ebbing tide. Often associated with small groups, these are forms of religion which interplay serving the unique individual with the overarching structure of tradition. In contrast, forms of Christianity which emphasise the ‘good’ of humanity in general whilst downplaying the transformative experience of the unique person, are those which are flowing with the ebbing tide.” Prof Paul Heelas in Foreword to Brierly, P.,(ed), *UK Christian Handbook Religious Trends 6: Pulling Out of the Nosedive*, (London: Christian Research, 2006), 0.3.

voluntarism from Lutheran Pietism to American revivalism and ultimately Pentecostalism, describing it, with characteristic succinctness, as a journey “from Halle to Los Angeles.”²¹¹ The halfway stage was, presumably, the 18th century religious societies under Wesley, Whitefield and the British Province of the Moravians. Devotion to the blood of Jesus appears to travel alongside that Westward journey supplying a useful symbol for the subjective appropriation of the cross as a symbol of cleansing power against the moral and religious pollutions of the age.

By the time of Samuel Butler’s 1903 novel, *The Way of all Flesh*,²¹² an autobiographical snipe at Victorian religion and family life, the honest doubts of “High-minded Victorian agnosticism had given way to the brasher notes of self-confident progressivism.”²¹³ The age of faith in scientific progress had dawned in Britain at least as early as Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* of 1859.²¹⁴ Faced with widespread questioning of Christian explanations for the universe in which God was fast becoming nothing more than a “grand Perhaps,”²¹⁵ all Christians faced a choice. Either they could accommodate themselves to the prevailing cultural and intellectual mood, which rejected the perceived barbarism of transactional ideas of the

²¹¹ Martin, *Secularization*, 144, 151.

²¹² Bulter, S., *The Way of all Flesh*, (London: Penguin, 1966).

²¹³ Jay, E., *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1986), 125.

²¹⁴ MacDonald provides an illuminating anthology of contemporary comment, e.g. “The scientific interpretation of natural phenomena has made the interest of God more remote, God’s existence more problematical, and the idea of God unnecessary.” “...the Doctrine of Evolution has once and for all deprived natural theology of the materials upon which until lately it subsisted.” McDonald, H.D., *Ideas of Revelation: An Historical Study AD 1700 to AD 1860*, (London: Macmillan, 1959), 8.

²¹⁵ Browning, R., “Bishop Bougram’s Apology,” in Jack, I. (ed), *Browning: The Poetical Works 1833-64*, (London: 1970), 650 (verse 190). Speaking of the late Victorian crisis of faith and its popularisation via the press, Gilbert comments: “...the fact remains that doubt and theological uncertainty percolated downwards into the ranks of ordinary believers to an extent unprecedented.” Gilbert, A.D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914*, (London: Longman, 1976), 177. The period of this age of doubt is identified as “...the last forty years of the century...” in Jay, *Faith and Doubt*, 99.

atonement.²¹⁶ or they could radicalise their Christianity. This radicalisation process spawned a number of new dimensions to the holiness movement in which blood mysticism flourished, some more sectarian than others.²¹⁷ Two of them are noteworthy: the Salvation Army and the Keswick Conventions. To the first of these we now turn.

3.1. The Salvation Army.²¹⁸

The theology of William and Catherine Booth was profoundly influenced by Phoebe Palmer's altar theology.²¹⁹ Besides her, the preaching of James Caughey had a powerful impact on William during his youth. The Booths went on to extend their eradicationist theology of Christian Perfection into the social sphere, engaging in a

²¹⁶ Two major Evangelical theological volleys were launched at this time against the liberalism of Baur and others, the first by Smeaton, G., *The Apostles' Doctrine of the Atonement*, (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1991, first published in 1870), and the second by the Keswick sympathiser, Dale, R.W., *The Atonement: The Congregational Union Lecture for 1875*, (London: Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1897, first published 1875). By 1897, at the annual Fernley Lecture in Leeds, John Scott-Lidgett is, in spite of his high regard for Dale's work, lamenting the neglect of the atonement in theological circles owing in part to, "...repulsion from many of the accounts hitherto given by theologians," leading to the atonement having been "...taken out of the hands of the living God and committed to certain of His attributes, especially justice and mercy, which, at least in popular usage, have been almost personified and set bargaining one with the other as to what should be demanded and offered as a satisfaction for sin." The transactional approach, "...whether this view be stated in the language of the law court or in that of the market..." was alienating, he felt, not only the theologians but was "...remote from...distasteful to the common mind, carrying us into a sphere which is felt to be foreign and even antagonistic to both the simple life of faith and the graciousness of the gospel." Scott-Lidgett, J., *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement as a Satisfaction made to God for the Sins of the World*, (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898), 6-7.

²¹⁷ Kent highlights the dimension of protest that contributed to the late Victorian proliferation of sects. It was a protest as much against the older churches as to the growing secularism of the world. It was a protest that was, "partly doctrinal, partly structural." Kent, J., *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, (London: Epworth, 1978), 301.

²¹⁸ Besides Moyles, R.G. *A Bibliography of Salvation Army Literature in English, 1865-1987* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellon Press, 1988), see Coutts, F., *The History of the Salvation Army*, 7 Vols., (London: Salvation Army, 1979), Murdoch, N. H., "Evangelical Sources of Salvation Army Doctrine," *Evangelical Quarterly* 59:3 (July 1987), 235-44, idem, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), Walker, P. J., *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: the Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), as reliable sources. Walker's work, though substantial, concentrates a great deal on gender issues: 22-31, 106-113, 123-127.

²¹⁹ Catherine Booth said of Palmer's books that they, "...have done me more good than anything else I have ever met with." Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 23, citing a letter to her mother dated January 21, 1861.

widening campaign against all the social evils of working class Britain. As opposition mounted against the Booths and their followers, this holiness crusade was seen increasingly as a spiritual warfare. An article in the *Sunday Telegraph* written in commemoration of the Salvation Army's centenary puts it aptly: 'To the Booths, and especially to Catherine Booth, the Devil was a personal opponent and as real as one's next door neighbour.'²²⁰

In the face of this enemy, the Booths were utterly defiant and completely confident of the power of Christ to defeat sin and Satan. And, more particularly, this strong faith was faith in the power of Christ's blood. As the Christian Mission took on the name of the Salvation Army, and William Booth took the title of general, the cleansing of the blood would be coupled with his belief in baptism in the Spirit to produce the now famous piece of branding: Blood and Fire. Through Blood and Fire all the forces of 'Darkest England' would be overcome.

William Booth's theology has been described as the theology of Wesley, Whitefield and George Fox.²²¹ Of these, Wesley²²² would have to be singled out as the greatest influence upon his theology,²²³ albeit mediated via Caughey, with whom he was often compared. One of Booth's earliest letters reveals the blood mystical nature of his

²²⁰ 'History of the Salvation Army,' *Sunday Telegraph* (30 May 1965), cutting, Nottingham City Archives.

²²¹ Begbie, H., *Life of William Booth, the Founder of the Salvation Army*, Vol.1., (London: MacMillan, 1920), 79.

²²² Amongst his words of advice to his future wife was to, "Read one or two of John Wesley's sermons now and then." Letter to Catherine, dated 17 November 1852. Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 159

²²³ "He was emphatic from those early days to the end of his life on this doctrine of persistent faith, on this doctrine of Entire Sanctification. He never changed his mind in this respect." Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 86-87.

spirituality: "I want to be a devoted, simple, and sincere follower of the Bleeding Lamb."²²⁴

The formative contribution of Catherine Booth as co-founder of the Salvation Army has received due attention in recent years.²²⁵ Her role, along with a number of other Evangelical women in the 19th century in the elevation of women is rightly celebrated.²²⁶ As early as the 1850s, the conviction grew within her of the legitimacy of female ministry²²⁷ and she was a powerful speaker in her own right. The *Wesleyan Times* of March 1865, compared Catherine's preaching to "Finney and the revivalists."²²⁸ This would be a reference to her insistence on preaching for a verdict, an immediate decision for Christ, a conviction that she and William shared:

'Tis done, Thou dost this moment save,
With full salvation bless,
Redemption through Thy Blood I have
And spotless love and peace.²²⁹

²²⁴ Extract from a letter written from London to a friend in Nottingham, dated 1850. Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 115. cf. a resolution made by the struggling young Booth in London, dated 9 December 1849: "3rd That I will endeavour in my conduct and deportment before the world and my fellow servants especially to conduct myself as a humble, meek, and zealous follower of the bleeding Lamb... "I feel my own weakness and without God's help I shall not keep these resolutions a day. The Lord have mercy upon my soul. I claim the Blood. Yes, oh Yes, Jesus died for me." Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 105-106.

²²⁵ The most substantial study of this kind is Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*.

²²⁶ McFadden, "Ironies of Pentecost," 66, 72; Murdoch, "Female Ministry," passim, Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 243. Cf. Hattersley, R., *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army*, (London: Little, Brown & Co., 1999). He surmises, in line with some recent scholarship, that, "It was Phoebe Palmer's gender as much as her ideology which attracted Catherine Booth: 106-7.

²²⁷ Murdoch, "Female Ministry," 349.

²²⁸ *Wesleyan Times* (13 March 1865) quoted in Hattersley, *Blood and Fire*, 147.

²²⁹ Letter to Catherine, dated 17 November 1852. Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 159. This hymn is repeated in another letter to Catherine dated September 1853: "I am seeking purity of heart. Seek it with me. You believe in it, that Jesus' Blood can cleanse and keep clean, and it is by faith." Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 212.

Among the Booths' closest allies was an able defender of Wesleyanism. Mrs Jane Short. In her controversy with the Calvinist Plymouth Brethren, she castigated one of their number for his belief in a dual nature in the converted and in doing so reveals something of the direct and unpretentious theology of the Salvationists:

If L.H.B.'s doctrine be true, will he inform us what becomes of this 'old, wicked, black soul' of man at death? If it is immortal, it cannot die. If it forever remains unclean, it cannot enter Heaven. If it is not redeemed or washed in the Blood, it must go to Hell. So that a real believer, according to L.H.B.'s school, will have one soul in Hell and another in Heaven.²³⁰

During the 1870s, while the first Keswick Conventions were taking place among the middle classes, the Salvation Army were on the streets, bravely singing and testifying their way into the hearts of the poor and wretched. This decade was the time of their stiffest opposition. Until the police took a firmer stand, the mocking Skeleton Army represented a fairly organised attempt at disrupting the Salvation Army wherever they went. They were assisted by members of the public, especially publicans who felt that their trade was threatened by the way that drunkards were being overtly targeted by the Army's evangelistic efforts. Their message was the message of the cleansing blood:

After one or two had spoken, the publican on the left opened his window and pitched a pail of water on to the crowd below. Immediately the people moved; but though the sisters were principally upon that side, and the water fell upon their Sunday hats plentifully, the ring was not broken for a moment, and every one heard the hearty Amen that burst from all as the dear sister who was speaking wiped the water from her face, and cried, 'May the Lord save that dear man.' In the meantime the crowd had tremendously increased, and God

²³⁰ Ervine, J., *God's Soldier: General William Booth* Vol.1, (London: William Heinemann, 1934), 290. cf. Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 283. "He believed that every living soul, by its sins and rebellion, merited destruction; that destruction must infallibly be its lot but for the Atonement of Christ; there his theology ended and his humanity began." Cf. "We belong to God, Jesus is our Saviour, His Blood is for our Salvation." Letter to Catherine dated 29 January 1855. Begbie, *Booth*, Vol.1., 243.

came into our midst. Then the publican gave us another pail of water; but still we kept believing and the ring was unbroken. There was a solemn influence: no one spoke a word while we sang –

But till washed in the Blood of a crucified Lord
We can never be ready to die.²³¹

Even when confronted by the police, they remained defiant and kept testifying and singing about the blood:

So soon as our brethren commenced the open-air service, a policeman came and ordered them away, saying he would take them to the station if they did not desist. Brother R. said that he should deem it an honour to be locked up for his Master, whereupon the policeman took them off. By this time a great crowd had gathered, and as they went along they sang:

I will sing for Jesus
With His blood he bought me...²³²

Surprisingly, as will be seen from my survey of the *Salvation Army Song Book*, the victory theme is not prominent in the hymn singing of the Salvationists. Rather it was the cleansing that mattered. It was by that cleansing that the devil would be overcome and victory over sin and evil achieved. There appeared to be something emotive for the singers in the mere mention of the word “Blood,” especially when coupled with “Fire”:

Hark, hark, my soul, what warlike songs are swelling,
Through Britain’s streets and on from door to door;
How grand the truths those burning strains are telling
Of that great war till sin shall be no more!
Salvation Army, Army of God!
Onward to conquer the world with Fire and Blood...²³³

²³¹ Report from Chatham, 1877. Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 424.

²³² “History of the Salvation Army,” *Sunday Telegraph* (30 May 1965), cutting, Nottingham City Archives.

²³³ Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1., 451-2.

Begbie comments:

...The phrase `with Fire and Blood` was sung, or rather roared, again and again, until perspiration ran down the faces of the soldiery as they clasped one another`s hands and beamed.²³⁴

Three considerable collections of hymns emerged out of the holiness movement that had a significant impact upon British Christianity. These all drew from the same 18th Century, Watts-Wesley dominated pool of hymns and each adding new hymns of their own, often imitating the phraseology and imagery of 18th Century hymnody. All three collections represented spiritualities that matured contemporaneously with each other during the 1860s to 1880s. The theology appears similar. The main discernable difference, where their treatment of the atonement is concerned, is in the degree of evangelistic focus. Keswick`s *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, is the most introspective hymnbook. It has no "warning and entreaty" section and only a fairly small "Missionary Hymns" section comprising 33 hymns (hymns 420-453, 5.4% of the total collection). The *Salvation Army Song Book*, by contrast, with its "Salvation" section comprising 22% of its hymns (hymns 1-198) the majority of which are addressed to sinners,²³⁵ is the most overtly evangelistic. In the middle there is Ira Sankey`s *Sacred Songs and Solos*, which, like the *Salvation Army Song Book*, was compiled with inquirers in mind. Its section of hymns on "The Gospel," all addressed to unbelievers and backsliders²³⁶ comprises 12% of the total compilation (hymns 353-499).

²³⁴ Begbie, *Booth* Vol.1, 451-2.

²³⁵ E.g., No.76: "Come, sinners, to the Gospel feast; Oh, come without delay, For there is room on Jesus` breast. For all who will obey."

²³⁶ E.g.,No.429: "Where will you spend Eternity? This question comes to you and me! Tell me, what shall your answer be - Where will you spend Eternity?"

The *Salvation Army Song Book* is one of the most blood mystical of the holiness hymnals with an average of 1 in 4 of its songs carrying at least one mention of the blood (454 references to Christ's blood distributed through 1733 songs). *Sacred Songs and Solos* is the least blood mystical, having an average of 1 in 6 of its songs touching on the theme (193 references in 1200 songs). *Hymns of Consecration and Faith* is even more blood mystical than the *Salvation Army Song Book* with an average of almost 1 in 3 of its hymns referring to the blood of Jesus at least once (178 references in 604 hymns). The arguably more mainstream *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was first published in 1861.²³⁷ The ratio of hymns containing at least one reference to the blood in this hymnal is 1 in 8 (76 out of 638), and in its successor, the *English Hymnal* of 1906,²³⁸ the figure is down to 1 in 9 (80 out of 744). In these broad church hymnals, most of the references to the blood are restricted to the Eucharistic hymns, the hymns for the seasons of Lent and Passion tide and the section for "Mission Services." It is clear that the blood theme was generally much more important to worshippers with some level of holiness background or influence than to worshippers who were outside the sweep holiness influence. It will also become clear that hymns and poems generally are more prone to the repetitive use of 'blood' and other pieces of atonement shorthand than other forms of published writing such as magazine articles and sermon transcripts. This is attributable to the tendency within poetic writing to condense. In the *Salvation Army Song Book*, in particular, a range of theological urgencies are packed into one word, 'blood.' The significance of the word in each case, such as cleansing or sanctification, is revealed by the context. Each usage carries a dominant theme. The relative prominence of each major theme that is attached to the word in this hymnbook will be explored shortly.

²³⁷ *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, (London: William Clowes, 1861).

²³⁸ *The English Hymnal*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1906).

In the 1930 edition of the *Salvation Army Song Book*, not only does the word Blood always receive capitalisation, but all adjectives and metaphors associated with it do too: Precious,²³⁹ Purple,²⁴⁰ Flood,²⁴¹ Fountain,²⁴² River²⁴³ and so on. Of the total references to Christ's Blood, 191 (42%) express the idea of cleansing and washing. In order to aid the worshippers as they appropriate this cleansing, every imaginable liquid image is employed. The worshipper lives in the Cleansing Fountain and dwells in the Saviour's side.²⁴⁴ He or she plunges beneath the Precious Blood, beneath that cleansing Flood, while the hand takes hold of Jesus.²⁴⁵ Alternatively, they may prefer to "dip"²⁴⁶ in the blood or to fling themselves at the cross "For the Blood is flowing there."²⁴⁷ All sorrows²⁴⁸ and doubts²⁴⁹ are swept away in the River that is "streaming"²⁵⁰ and "flows."²⁵¹ It is a "sin-cleansing wave,"²⁵² a "Crimson Tide,"²⁵³ a "Blood-current."²⁵⁴ It is construed either as flowing from the cross²⁵⁵ or flowing or gushing from the riven side of Jesus.²⁵⁶ It is a Purple Flood,²⁵⁷ a sin-cleansing wave,²⁵⁸ a cleansing Fountain in which garments may be washed,²⁵⁹ sin destroyed.²⁶⁰

²³⁹ No.293
²⁴⁰ No.831
²⁴¹ No.831
²⁴² No.552
²⁴³ No.239
²⁴⁴ No.552
²⁴⁵ No.421
²⁴⁶ No.293
²⁴⁷ No.356
²⁴⁸ No.222
²⁴⁹ No.417
²⁵⁰ No.34
²⁵¹ No.75
²⁵² Chorus No.298
²⁵³ No.62
²⁵⁴ No.379
²⁵⁵ No. 356
²⁵⁶ No.377; 275
²⁵⁷ No.831
²⁵⁸ No.298
²⁵⁹ No.409
²⁶⁰ No.590

guilt removed²⁶¹ and souls cured²⁶² as the Precious Blood is applied.²⁶³ That blood may now “Flood and cleanse” the heart itself.²⁶⁴

The cleansing motif is far and away the most dominant. The second most common theme is way down the league. It is redemption. Under this heading I have included all references to being redeemed, bought, purchased, set free and rescued. These make up a mere 7.2% of the total (33 occurrences). The fact of the Master’s ownership rights as purchaser of the redeemed is given a dual function, as in the *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*. Firstly, believers owe it to Jesus to live their whole lives in consecrated service to Him.²⁶⁵ The singer has been claimed by “His life’s Blood”²⁶⁶ to be “a jewel in His sight.”²⁶⁷ Secondly, the lost are already purchased by Jesus’ blood and must be claimed for Him. These “brands” plucked from the fire must be quenched in Jesus’ Blood.²⁶⁸

Next in line, and perhaps unsurprisingly for Salvationists, is the theme of being “saved,” or receiving “Full Salvation” through the Blood. Of the total, these make up 7% (32 occurrences). Of note is the appeal to drunkards and other severe sinners in many of these hymns.²⁶⁹ When addressing them, much is made of the theme of guilt,²⁷⁰ a word that is otherwise quite rare in hymnbooks of the period. Unlike *Sacred Songs and Solos*, no effort is made to tone down the blood language when singing to

²⁶¹ No.538

²⁶² No.325

²⁶³ No.32

²⁶⁴ No.410

²⁶⁵ E.g., No.467: “All I have, by thy Blood Thou dost claim, Blessed Lord, who for me once was slain.”

²⁶⁶ No.262

²⁶⁷ No.262

²⁶⁸ No.501

²⁶⁹ e.g., No.66: “We have a message, a message from Jesus. A message of love to the poor drunkard’s soul; The love of my Jesus will snap all his fetters. The Blood of my Saviour makes perfectly whole.”

²⁷⁰ E.g., No.27: “Come, come to His feet and lay open your story of suffering and sorrow, of guilt and of shame.” No.30: “Come, sinner, wash your guilty soul in your Redeemer’s Blood.”

sinners. Only in the hymns for young people (nos.803-847) is the word blood completely omitted, as is the case with *Sacred Songs*.

Fourth in prominence is Justification. Under this heading, I have included all references to being justified, having guilt removed, having righteousness or merit imputed, and all references to pleading in association with the merit of the Blood. These comprise 5% of the total (23x). The blood speaks on behalf of the believing sinner, its cry, in the words of John Wesley, passing “through earth and skies” to plead God for mercy upon the supplicant.²⁷¹ In one hymn, mercy and justice are both personified, Justice bearing a bloodstained sword. By the end of the hymn, it is clear whose Blood this is.²⁷² The singer can assure him- or herself that this blood “speaks me justified.”²⁷³ The Blood was “spilt” for “guilt.”²⁷⁴

When not witnessing on the streets, the style of spirituality that the Salvationists exhibited was even more extravagant. Holiness meetings were frequent and were clearly very powerful experiences for many, foreshadowing in many ways the meetings of the first Pentecostals. Once again, it was the Blood that appeared to take theological pride of place. The following is an extract from *The Salvationist*:

Good times all day on Sunday. Saints jumping, dancing, crying, shouting, and rolling on the ground. We disgusted some people... Then came the power. All got down after Mr Ballington said a few words; then came the glory... A young man who rushed out of his seat, fell at the penitent-form and cried for mercy – which he soon obtained as soon as he ventured his all on the Blood – being so overpowered with the glory, for we had it down and no mistake, got up, and looking in my face with his hands on his breast, said, ‘I think I am going to die, but the Blood cleanseth me.’... After this, over twenty more

²⁷¹ No.496

²⁷² No.270

²⁷³ No.159.

²⁷⁴ E.g. No. 561

rushed forward, while those who had obtained the blissful peace stood round singing, with faces of rapture and tears of joy. 'I am sure. I am sure Jesus saves. Jesus saves. and His Blood makes me whiter than snow.'²⁷⁵

The religious context of high Victorian Britain, with its propensities towards formalism and ritualism exacerbated by the Tractarian movement, partly explains the outlandish revivalism of these meetings. Other factors may be the class of people attending. These were mostly lower middle and working class people for whom decorum and respectability never had been of such a high priority as it was for the middle and upper classes. Thirdly, the influence of American revivalism, mediated via Caughey and Palmer, ran deeply into the religious complexion of the Army's leadership. Booth himself defended sensationalism by reference to the thunder and lightning of Sinai and the tabernacle regalia, concluding that: "*The only religion God cared about was one that continually moved the worshippers in the most sensational manner conceivable.*"²⁷⁶

Not everyone, however, subscribed to William Booth's doctrine of entire sanctification. Booth addressed the issue in a speech, concluding with the thought simply that the experience is described in the Bible and has been experienced by "thousands of saints."²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Begbie, *Booth* Vol 1, 454-6.

²⁷⁶ Irvine, *Booth* Vol., 535. (italics original).

²⁷⁷ Booth's 'Holiness Address' at the 1877 Conference, cited in Hattersley, *Blood and Fire*, 228. Hattersley describes this compromise, unjustifiably, as self-contradictory "gibberish." The Booths themselves had dropped their Palmerite theology of sanctification in 1863 only to take it up again under the influence of Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith in 1873; Murdoch, "Evangelical Sources," 242.

Writing some time later, one soldier who did subscribe to Perfectionism was Col. Brengle.²⁷⁸ He was a dedicated eradicationist and wrote a manual on how to receive the blessing called, *Heart Talks on Holiness*. His exposition of 1John 1:7 focuses on the spatial rather than the temporal: “John says, ‘The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth from all sin. not part or some sin, but 'all' sin’”²⁷⁹

Classic holiness use of the redemption metaphor is also invoked. believers must recognise themselves to be no longer their own but “...His, by the purchase of His blood...”²⁸⁰ He makes clear that even the fully sanctified must go on depending on the blood, saying “The Blood, the Blood, is all my plea.”²⁸¹

In the Salvation Army then, the cleansing motif reaches a climax. In an extreme movement, this motif is used to an extreme. This is not for the sake of drama, neither is it about arousing devotional fervour. Rather, it is a defiant cry of victory over all forms of sin and evil, whether addictions, deprivations, religiosity or worldliness. All of these are rendered powerless by the eradication of inbred sin. The agents of this eradication are Blood and Fire: the touch of the atonement upon all who believe and the life of the Spirit within all who believe.

²⁷⁸ Brengle was “...the most influential Army holiness writer of the early twentieth century.” Randall, “Old Time Power,” 66.

²⁷⁹ Brengle, S.L., *Heart Talks on Holiness*, (London: the Salvatinist Publishing & Supplies, 1925), 4.

²⁸⁰ Brengle, *Heart Talks*, 32.

²⁸¹ Brengle, *Heart Talks*, 31.

3.2. The Keswick Conventions.

The Keswick Convention came into being as a result of the visits of Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith from America in September 1874 to a conference at Oxford. This conference was entitled “The Oxford Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness.”²⁸² Similar meetings had been held in London in May 1873, at which Evan Hopkins had become convinced of the holiness message, as well as at Chamonix in the French Alps later in the Summer of that year, at which Hopkins and Pearsall Smith were present, and at Hampton-on-Thames on New Year’s day 1874. At Mildmay on January 20-21 of 1874, a further conference had been held “for the promotion of the spiritual life.”²⁸³ It was reported in Pearsall Smith’s magazine, *The Christian’s Pathway of Power*²⁸⁴ that many at the Mildmay conference were impacted by the realisation that there was now presented to them the possibility of “practical victory over all known sin, and of maintained communion with their Lord.”²⁸⁵ In June 1874 meetings were held in the home of Sir Thomas Beauchamp in Norfolk, out of which was borne the desire for “a more public effort.”²⁸⁶

Before this was followed up in the form of the Oxford Convention in the autumn, there was still another significant conference in July of 1874 at Broadlands Park near the New Forest in Hampshire. The aims of this event were, like at Mildmay, to

²⁸² The term ‘convention’ as opposed to ‘conference’ appears to have come into vogue because of Pearsall Smith’s usage of the term. In essence, a convention was held to have an object, while a conference gathered around a mere subject: Pollock, J., *The Keswick Story: The Authorized History of the Keswick Convention*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1964), 50.

²⁸³ Sloan, W., *These Sixty Years: The Story of the Keswick Convention*, (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1935), 9-10. Sloan was an eye witness of the early Keswick Conventions and was commissioned with writing the first ever complete history of the movement to mark its 60th anniversary.

²⁸⁴ This later became the *Life of Faith* which began to be edited by Evan Hopkins in 1879: Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 54.

²⁸⁵ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 10.

²⁸⁶ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 11.

promote a “maintained communion with the Lord and victory over all known sin.”²⁸⁷

This attracted about 60 people²⁸⁸ and was held in the manner of a camp meeting – a suggestion Pearsall Smith had made amongst some Cambridge students in the May of that year.²⁸⁹ This event was also reported in the *Pathway of Power*:

A new range of the possibilities of faith opened up to them, with the confidence that they should henceforth not merely admire ‘the way of holiness,’ but by faith ‘walk therein.’²⁹⁰

At this conference sufficient finance was raised for the Oxford Convention, held in the August and September of that year, and led by Robert Pearsall Smith. His wife also played a significant role in the meetings, the couple having been resident in the UK for the previous year. Canon Harford-Battersby, the vicar of St John’s, Keswick, and the organiser of the first Keswick conventions, came into an experience of the “all-sufficiency of Christ”²⁹¹ at the Oxford Convention. About a thousand people were present,²⁹² some, such as Otto Stockmeyer and Theodore Monod having travelled from Continental Europe.

In the May and June of 1875, the Brighton Convention was held, which drew delegates from all over the world amounting to an estimated 7,000 people.²⁹³ Again, Pearsall-Smith presided. Speakers included H.W. Webb-Peploe and Evan Hopkins,

²⁸⁷ Barabas, S., *So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1952), 20.

²⁸⁸ Pollock puts the figure at a “hundred or so men and women.” Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 20.

²⁸⁹ Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 19.

²⁹⁰ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 12-13.

²⁹¹ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 17.

²⁹² Webb-Peploe, H.W., “Early Keswick Conventions” in Harford, C., (ed), *The Keswick Convention: Its Message, Its Method and Its Men*, (London: Marshall Brothers, 1907), 37.

²⁹³ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 18. Webb-Peploe puts the figure at 8,000: Webb-Peploe, “Early Keswick,” 41.

while D.L. Moody finished his evangelistic tour at the London Opera House by offering prayer for the event.

On the 29 June of that year the first Keswick Convention for the Promotion of Practical Holiness began. The Pearsall Smiths were not present. A number of other speakers also had to cancel, necessitating the invitation of Webb-Peploe and others to speak instead. The numbers for the first Keswick Conventions were modest. The total seating capacity of the tent used for the first two years was only 600.²⁹⁴ Most of those attending the first Conventions were “middle-aged or elderly”²⁹⁵ and these attended with the feeling that they were losing their reputations in doing so.²⁹⁶ A deeply held suspicion of ‘enthusiasm’ was still a powerful inhibiting factor in the Church of England. The influence of even of this first Keswick Convention, however, was considerable. As early as August 1875, a convention modelled on Keswick was held in Melbourne, Australia. Many others followed throughout the English speaking world, perhaps most notably at Wellington, South Africa from 1889 under Andrew Murray and at Llandrindod Wells from 1903 under Jessie Penn-Lewis. By 1879, the seating capacity was about a thousand.²⁹⁷ By 1885, the Keswick Convention was attracting crowds of 1,500. By 1907, there were 6,000 in attendance. During the 1920s, numbers averaged at around the 5,000 mark, a very large proportion of whom were now under 30 years of age.²⁹⁸ Young people had begun flocking to Keswick

²⁹⁴ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 22. Pollock prefers a seating capacity of “nearly a thousand.” Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 11.

²⁹⁵ Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 45.

²⁹⁶ Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 49. The first conventions attracted widespread suspicion of wrong doctrine, allegations of Christian Perfection being the most common.

²⁹⁷ Based on the eye-witness account of Australian Keswick speaker H. B. Macartney: Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 51.

²⁹⁸ Randall, I., *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism 1918-1939*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), 14, 16.

from the 1880s onwards leading eventually to the formation of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship by Norman Grubb in 1919.

Bebbington holds that the Keswick doctrine of sanctification held normative power amongst conservative Evangelicals until the 1950s and 60s.²⁹⁹ The expectation of a crisis experience in Keswick thought, however, faded quite rapidly. By no means least among the chorus of voices pressuring Keswick to drop this element in its teaching by the turn of the 20th Century was the Bishop of Liverpool, J.C.Ryle:

That there is a vast difference between one degree of grace and another...all this I fully concede. But the theory of a sudden, mysterious transition of a believer into a state of blessedness and *entire consecration*, at one mighty bound, I cannot receive.³⁰⁰

Even by the time of the first Keswick Conventions many aspects of the Wesleyan message, especially its doctrine of Perfection had fallen on bad times in Britain, although it remained strong among the working classes.³⁰¹ Christian Perfection had not acquired the same critical mass of adherents in Britain as it had in America. Further, the middle classes who attended the Keswick Conventions were particularly keen to distance themselves from fanatical Perfectionist teaching.³⁰² Yet it is clear that American Methodism Perfectionism re-interpreted by the Pearsall Smiths and by

²⁹⁹ Bebbington, D., "Holiness in the Evangelical Tradition" in Barton, S. (ed), *Holiness Past and Present*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2003), 309.

³⁰⁰ Ryle, J.C., *Holiness: Its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties, and Roots*, (London: Cas.J.Thynne, 1900), xxiv. Ryle was one of few Anglicans who remained "self-conscious Calvinists" at the end of the 19th century; Bebbington, "Holiness," 302. Alexander Whyte was also opposed to any suddenness in sanctification: "The new heart of a saint of God was never attained at a bound." Cited in Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality*, 246. Scottish Calvinist Horatius Bonar, whose hymns were often sung at Keswick, came out against Keswick teaching almost immediately; Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 47.

³⁰¹ Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 71.

³⁰² See especially Elder Cumming, J., "What We Teach", in Stevenson, H.F.(ed), *Keswick's Triumphant Voice*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1963), 19-20. Having said this, Keswick was never dogmatic about its theologies and Bebbington sees Keswick as a synthesis of the Calvinistic and Wesleyan approaches; Bebbington, *Holiness*, 73.

William Boardman, played their part in the formation of early Keswick expectations of a second blessing. Their slogan was “Holiness by faith in Jesus. Not by effort of my own.”³⁰³ It was a holiness performed by the risen Christ Himself within the human heart in response to the believer’s full surrender and identification with Christ in death and resurrection.³⁰⁴ The expectation of an identifiable divine response was the logical corollary of the act of perfect surrender to Him. Something dramatic must surely result, and, just as for the Wesleyans, the stain-removing blood of Jesus was the medium in which this immersion into God became possible.

Keswick represented the height of the transatlantic phase of the holiness movement, influenced initially by American speakers, then developing distinctives of its own, which in turn fed back into the American holiness movement. This led to a steady abandonment of the Wesleyan doctrine of Perfection in America, except amongst the black Holiness groups.

It is to the American origins of Keswick spirituality that we now turn.

³⁰³ Aldis, W.H., *The Message of Keswick and its Meaning*. (London:Marshall, Morgan & Scott, nd), 39.

³⁰⁴ Most Keswick speakers spoke at considerable length about Christ being the one with whom believers are crucified, rendering them dead to sin, as well as the more traditional message of Christ crucified for us. The doctrine of co-crucifixion was also a very popular teaching in *Confidence*, e.g. Boddy, A., “Divine Necrosis: Or the Deadness of the Lord Jesus”, in *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 3-7. Pastor Polman saw 3 steps to Pentecost: “ (1) Justification through the Blood, (2) Sanctification by union with Him in Death and Burial, and (3) the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with this helpful sign as a divine encouragement.” Polman, G., “The Pentecostal Conference in Germany”, *Confidence* 2:2 (Feb 09), 33.

3.2.1. Early Days: William E. Boardman & The Smiths.

The Presbyterian minister William E. Boardman wrote his book, *The Higher Christian Life*,³⁰⁵ first published in Britain in 1860, as a fresh attempt at making an essentially Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification intelligible to those who were, like himself, outside the Methodist tradition.³⁰⁶ His book proved to be especially influential in England.³⁰⁷

At first sight, Boardman appears to close up the gulf opened up by Luther between an extrinsic justification and an inward sanctification, something very uncharacteristic of holiness teachers:

Whether the question relates to justification or sanctification the answer is the same. The way to freedom from sin is the very same, as the way of freedom from condemnation.³⁰⁸

This ability of Boardman's to see more in Christ's blood than mere cleansing, provoked Warfield to question whether there might have been more to Boardman than met the eye.³⁰⁹ Warfield spotted, however, the familiar lines of demarcation in Boardman, noting how he describes being "reckoned" righteous and being "made" righteous as separable in essence and in Christian experience.³¹⁰ Elsewhere,

³⁰⁵ Boardman, W., *The Higher Christian Life*. (Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1859).

³⁰⁶ So Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 18.

³⁰⁷ Pollock reckons its influence extended to "tens of thousands on both sides of the Atlantic." Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 13.

³⁰⁸ Boardman, *Higher Life*, 94.

³⁰⁹ "Whether he himself understood more to be included in the cleansing wrought by Christ's blood may require further investigation." Warfield, B.B., *Perfectionism*, (Philadelphia: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1858), 230.

³¹⁰ Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 231.

Boardman overtly says: "Forgiveness did not satisfy me. I wanted the dominion of sin destroyed. Purification, not less than pardon, I saw to be required."³¹¹

The conviction that mere salvation, mere justification, mere forgiveness was not enough and that there had to be more to the Christian life than persistent defeat was pivotal throughout the holiness movements. The dissatisfaction was widespread, as the wording of the invitation to the Oxford Convention indicates: "In every part of the country, the God of all grace has given many of His children a feeling of deep dissatisfaction with their spiritual state."³¹²

This underlying dissatisfaction continued in different forms into the age of Pentecostalism. Protestant Christianity was seen to be deficient. It could be argued that part of that deficiency was precisely the gulf opened up from the Lutheran Reformation onwards between a justification that must not sanctify and a sanctification that must not be complete or final. Following the Reformation, sanctification then fell increasingly under the spell of the gradualism that was part and parcel of Enlightenment thought, thus helping to fuel the impatience of holiness advocates as they sought a real and lasting victory over sin, not a protracted struggle. The holiness movement left justification where it was, utterly distinct from sanctification, but brought sanctification forward into the matrix of Christian initiation so that it could, like justification and regeneration, be understood as complete and final. Boardman, for instance, had an attractive pragmatism about his belief in a

³¹¹ Boardman, *Higher Life*, 140.

³¹² Cited in Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 22.

“present Saviour” who “does actually deliver the trusting soul from the cruel bondage of its chains under sin, now in this present time.”³¹³

Hannah Whittall Smith and her husband Robert Pearsall Smith were significant during the very earliest days of Keswick before the scandal involving Robert Pearsall Smith abruptly ended the English ministry of the couple.³¹⁴ Both Robert and Hannah were from a Quaker background. Robert testified to having been “a ‘religious man’ for ten long and toilsome years,” before discovering from the Bible in a railway carriage what the blood of Christ had done for him.³¹⁵ Hannah had gone through a period of religious doubt earlier in her life that caused her to question, in particular, the doctrine of the atonement.³¹⁶ By the time of her extremely popular and highly influential book, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*, published in 1888,³¹⁷ this low view of the atonement had clearly been corrected. Most of her first chapter is devoted to proving that the purpose of the cross was to set people free not just from the guilt of sin but also from its power. This she does very convincingly: “Is He called a Redeemer? So, then, I do expect the benefit of my redemption, and that I shall go out of my captivity.”³¹⁸

The entire book has the feel of an apologetic. It is clear of anything that might alienate or cause offence to an outsider, including any mention of the blood of Jesus. On page

³¹³ Boardman, *Higher Life*, 266.

³¹⁴ The reasons for this were made known for the first time in Pollock’s *Keswick Story*, 35.

³¹⁵ Pearsall Smith, R., *Account of the Union Meeting*, in Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 253.

³¹⁶ Dieter, *Holiness Revival*, 132.

³¹⁷ Smith, Mrs P., *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*. (London: Nisbet & Co., 1888, 1941). By 1941, it had sold 100,000 copies according to the publisher. The American publisher, Fleming H. Revel, claim 2 Million for their “authorized edition”: Smith, Hannah Whittall, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life*, (Westwood: Fleming H. Revel, 1952).

³¹⁸ Smith, *Christian’s Secret* (1888, 1941), 23.

146. she can even speak of cleansing without mentioning it.³¹⁹ The relative absence of references to the blood of Jesus in this book, as well as in many other holiness guidebooks, when compared to the hymnbooks of the holiness movement might also be explained by the demands of prose over poetry. Prose does not require the terseness of poetry. Instead it demands a fuller explication of the significance of Christ's atonement with less of a need for such symbol-laden brevities as 'blood.'

Warfield critiqued the Smiths using the same criteria as for Boardman:

The hinge on which the whole system of Mr and Mrs Pearsall Smith's Higher Life teaching turns is the separation of sanctification from justification as a distinct attainment in Christ.³²⁰

3.2.2. The Theologians of Keswick: Evan Hopkins, H.W. Webb-Peploe, Handley Moule & F.B.Meyer

Evan Hopkins, one-time curate of the Portman Chapel in London where Lord Shaftesbury worshipped, entered into an experience of the all-sufficiency of an indwelling Christ during the same year as many other of the leaders of Keswick: 1873. He brought a scientific mind to Keswick theology and soon became the acknowledged leader of the movement. His wife edited the second edition of the *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, first appearing in 1891, while he himself was a regular speaker and writer for the movement, and remained its Chairman until 1916.

³¹⁹ Smith, Mrs P., *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*. (London: Nisbet & Co., 1888, 1941), 146.

³²⁰ Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 264.

Of a similarly apologetic tone and purpose to Smith's *The Christian's Secret* is his *Henceforth*. Like *The Christian's Secret*, it is an excellent read. It is filled with interesting exegetical details, quotations, real-life stories and personal anecdotes, all vividly retold. It is written in a warm humane style. It is a guidebook for the new Christian, teaching him or her how to progress in the Christian life. Its dominant theme is the cross, in particular the subject of 2 Corinthians 5: 15, that Jesus died for all so that believers should 'henceforth' live for Him and no longer for themselves. Like Hannah Whittall Smith, the concern of Hopkins is that, "in Christ Jesus He has provided freedom from sin – from its guilt; but also from its power."³²¹ Amongst his stories are two highly crucicentric conversions: that of Bishop Handley Moule³²² and that of C.T. Studd.³²³ As with many of the Keswick teachers, there is a favourable reference to Zinzendorf and the Moravians.³²⁴ It is not until page 41, (of an 89 page book) that Hopkins introduces the blood of Jesus. This he does in connection with redemption in a passage that captures something of the whole burden of the book, and of Keswick itself, that the condition to receiving holiness by faith was unconditional surrender³²⁵ to "the One who shed His blood to redeem us."³²⁶ In this work, he

³²¹ Hopkins, E., *Henceforth*, (London: IVF, 1942), 36.

³²² Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 13-14: "That dark time ended in a full and conscious acceptance of our crucified Redeemer in His complete atonement as peace and life."

³²³ Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 23: "I had known about Jesus dying for me, but I had never understood that if He had died for me, then I didn't belong to myself. Redemption means buying back, so that if I belong to Him, either I had to be a thief and keep what wasn't mine, or else I had to give up everything to God. When I came to see that Jesus Christ had died for me, it didn't seem hard to give up all for Him."

³²⁴ "We need something of the spirit of Count Zinzendorf and his Moravian missionaries, who used to sing: 'What shall I do for Thee, my Lord? / As long as I have breath / Deep in my heart will I record / The memory of Thy death.'"

Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 83, cf. Meyer, F.B., *Five 'Musts' of the Christian Life*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1932), 47: "It was said of Count Zinzendorf, the friend of the Moravians, that he had one passion, and one passion only – 'the love of Christ!'"

³²⁵ Hopkins saw surrender as working together with faith as the two 'feet' upon which the victorious Christian must walk: Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 55.

³²⁶ Hopkins, E., *Henceforth*, (London: IVF, 1954), 41

connects the blood with redemption twice,³²⁷ with cleansing twice.³²⁸ with sacrifice once³²⁹ and with forgiveness once.³³⁰

His *The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life*, a significant influence upon Handley Moule, includes a novel exposition of the red heifer regulations of Numbers 19, saying that because the ashes of the heifer contained the blood, albeit in burned form, those ashes contained the “indestructible residue of the victim.”³³¹ For this reason, when mixed with the water and sprinkled on the unclean Israelite, the ashes could have an ongoing cleansing power, without the need for further sacrificial victims being offered. The water itself, however, is symbolic of the Word:

As the water carried the ashes, the ashes that contained the blood, and brought the unclean person in contact with the blood, so now, it is the word that brings us to the blood of Christ.³³²

He goes on to make mention of one of the favourite Scriptures of the hymn-writers when speaking about the blood, the inspiration behind *There is a Fountain*, Zechariah 13:1: “There is but one Fountain for sin and for uncleanness – the Cross of Christ.”³³³

Hopkins also offers further insight on 1 John 1:7. Taking cleansing to mean separation from defilement, he posits:

³²⁷ Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 41 & 82.

³²⁸ Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 55 & 56, both in the context of prayer.

³²⁹ “...we must show our repentance by confessing the sin which has been holding us back, and then claim cleansing and forgiveness through the shed blood of our great Sacrifice.” Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 56.

³³⁰ “Such is the Bible teaching of the forgiveness that God’s children find in the heart of their loving Father, and on the ground of the blood that Christ shed on the cross.” Hopkins, *Henceforth*, 61.

³³¹ Hopkins, E., *The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott), 15.

³³² Hopkins, *Law of Liberty*, 15.

³³³ Hopkins, *Law of Liberty*, 15.

...the 'blood of Christ cleanseth.' – i.e. the death of Christ separates – 'from every sin.' The more thoroughly we are brought into oneness with that death, the more fully shall we know what it is to be 'cleansed from all unrighteousness....Taking the 'blood of Christ', as equivalent to His death, and the effect of the death to be separation, we can understand how it is that the Blood is continually cleansing us from every sin.³³⁴

The one-time athletic Cambridge don, the Rev Hanmer William Webb-Peploe, who spoke at the very first main meeting at Keswick, adds his voice to the insistence that pardon and justification are not enough:

It suffices not that we be cleansed by the precious blood of the Lamb...we still need something more than this...if the Lord Jehovah be indeed my Righteousness, then He communicates to me that second great attribute, namely, Holiness...³³⁵

His experience, in common with many others, had been one of dissatisfaction and failure. His existence had been one of "constant watching, waiting and struggling to do right...I had no joy for every moment, no rest in the midst of trouble, no calm amid the burdens of this life; I was strained and overstrained until I felt I was breaking down."³³⁶ Finally, in the wake of the Oxford Convention in 1874, he was transformed by the word "is" in the biblical verse, "My grace is sufficient for you." (2Cor.12:9).³³⁷

His understanding of 1 John 1:7 is of a continuous, divinely reckoned, cleansing:

...the provision that Christ Jesus made for sinners and for sin, keeps the man – if my doctrine be right – moment by moment cleansed from his guilt...the

³³⁴ Hopkins, *Law of Liberty*; 78 & 81.

³³⁵ Webb-Peploe, H.W., *The Titles of Jehovah*, (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1901), 167-8.

³³⁶ Quoted in Pollock, *Keswick Story*; 41.

³³⁷ Pollock, *Keswick Story*; 42.

man finds, by the grace of God, that he is kept cleansed, instant by instant, through the operation of the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, in God's sight.³³⁸

The phrase, "in God's sight" is important as it signals the first stage in the passing of the blood from the realm of sanctification back into the realm of justification whence it came.

Bishop Handley Moule was brought into Keswick thinking largely through the influence of Hopkins.³³⁹ Whereas Hopkins was the theological figurehead of the movement through the 1870s, guiding it through its time of opposition, Handley Moule was its theological mentor through the 1880s, protecting it from the rising tide of extreme Salvation Army style holiness teachings. This protective role was especially important at Cambridge University where many of his students were vulnerable to extreme holiness teachings. The pinnacle of his influence upon Keswick was his 1885 book *Thoughts on Christian Sanctity*. In this book he carefully weaves together the objective with the subjective dimensions so as to ensure the objective is never finally abandoned: "Christ our righteousness upon Calvary, received by faith, is also Christ our holiness, in the heart that submits to Him and relies upon Him."³⁴⁰

Moule shares Hopkins's thinking about redemption:

As those who are not their own, but bought, and who accordingly, in the strictest sense, belong to Him all through, our aim is, it must be, across any amount of counterthoughts, never to grieve Him, never to stray.³⁴¹

³³⁸ Webb-Peploe, H.W., "Sin" in H. Stevenson (ed), *Keswick's Authentic Voice*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1959), 34 (sermon by Webb-Peploe delivered at the 1885 Convention).

³³⁹ Smellie, A., *Evan Henry Hopkins, A Memoir*, (London: Marshall Brothers, 1920), 9-15. "Some Recollections" is written by Moule.

³⁴⁰ Moule, H., *Thoughts on Christian Sanctity*, (London: Seely & Co., 1888).

³⁴¹ Moule, *Christian Sanctity*, 14. Cf. "Ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God: Ye were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ." Ibid., 98. "Add to the precious views of my intense

Moule remained cautious of ever straying into the territory of Christian Perfection, or any doctrine of sanctification that undermined the finished work of Christ:

The soul is directed for its repose and its life far from the subjective bewilderments of thought to things objective altogether. because altogether His, not ours; to the blood of His Cross.³⁴²

In line with his emphasis on the once-for-all sufficiency of the atonement, he is one of very few Holiness preachers to make much of the link between the idea of 'covenant' and 'blood':

...will you adjure them, to come 'into the bond of the covenant,' holding up before them the marvel of the work wrought and the price paid to make it valid, preaching it as 'the New Covenant in the Lord's blood, shed for the remission of sins'?'³⁴³

In a novel turn of phrase, he points out that, "The 'innumerable benefits' are all grouped within the blood-besprinkled precinct of the Passion."³⁴⁴ Like the other Keswick teachers, he also pays tribute to the Moravians.³⁴⁵

The theologian who entered Keswick circles by degrees but became the dominant theological voice during the 1890s was Frederick Brotherton Meyer. Meyer, president

connexion with Him, as His property, His implement, His vassal, the fact that I am His friend..."
ibid.77 Speaking for Christ: "...you are my property, bought with a price and branded with my stigma." Ibid.75.

³⁴² Moule, H., *The Secret of His Presence*, (London: Seely & Co., 1901), 25. Cf. "...there is guaranteed to faith the blissful acceptance of the guilty by reason of the once-offered Blood." Moule, H., *The Secret of the Presence*, (London: Seely & Co., 1901), 190. "It is all the Cross; it is only and altogether the precious Death and Burial." Moule, *Secret*, 137. Pollock reckons that it was the sustained objectivity of Keswick that preserved it from the shipwreck experienced by more subjectively orientated holiness groups: Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 50.

³⁴³ Moule, *Secret*, 190.

³⁴⁴ Moule, *Secret*, 239.

³⁴⁵ "...From error and misunderstanding," so runs the Litany of the Moravians, "from the loss of our glory in Thee, from coldness to Thy merits and Thy death, preserve us, gracious Lord and God."
Moule, *Secret*, 243.

of the Free Church Federal Council and of the Baptist Union³⁴⁶ was one of a growing number of nonconformists attending the Convention during the 1890s, gradually de-Anglicanising the movement.

His contribution is in his flashes of originality as he meditates upon the significance of the blood.³⁴⁷ In one place he pictures the disc-like red blood corpuscles that flowed in Jesus' veins as the coinage with which Jesus bought mankind. Superimposing the age of the microscope onto the world of the New Testament, he expounds 1Peter 1:18 and 2Peter 2:1 thus:

He [Peter] speaks emphatically of our redemption...In his thought each disc in the blood of Jesus was a coin of priceless value, purchasing us to be His slaves...He came there [to the slave market] with blood as His purchase-money, and bought us to make us bond-slaves to Himself.³⁴⁸

An equally novel metaphor occurs in his *The Life and Light of Men*. Speaking of a new pollution-reducing invention³⁴⁹ involving chimney smoke passing through water so as to absorb the carbon and other toxins, he says:

One may dare to imagine how glad the smoke itself must be to be freed from that which made it harmful to men, to pursue its glad way now into the upper air. And here surely is an illustration of how sinful souls, laden with crime and the deleterious products of evil, may be made free by the Son of God, 'loosed from their sins' (as the R.V. puts it, in Rev.i.5), in his blood.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 102. The definitive account of his life is Randall, I. M., *Spirituality and Social Change: The Contribution of F. B. Meyer (1847-1929)*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003).

³⁴⁷ Meyer was reluctant to offer any particular theory of the atonement, however, and later in life would go on to repudiate any emphasis on the wrath of God, preferring to see the atonement as originating in the love of God, a love that does not require any prior assuaging of wrath before it can be expressed: Randall, *Spirituality and Social Change*, 36-37.

³⁴⁸ Meyer, F.B., *From Calvary to Pentecost*, (London: Marshall Brothers, nd), 13.

³⁴⁹ Randall notes Meyer's consistent interest in and openness towards scientific innovation: Randall, *Spirituality and Social Change*, 55.

³⁵⁰ Meyer, F.B., *The Life and Light of Men*, (London: Morgan and Scott, nd), 173.

At one point, he uses uncannily Zinzendorffian language: "...the Bride of Christ, built up as Eve of old from her Bridegroom's wounded side, shall be brought to Him to share his authority and glory."³⁵¹ Meyer shares the belief of Boardman that the blood only works when one becomes conscious of a sin: "That blood never loses its virtue; and whenever, in our walk in the light, we are sensible of the least soil of evil, we may wash and be clean."³⁵²

His was very much the two-stage Christian initiation, sharply distinguishing sanctification from justification. In language reminiscent of the Salvation Army, he asserts:

Not the blood without the fire, not the fire apart from the blood. Not the Christ of Calvary only, but the Christ of the throne. Not pardon alone, but deliverance and salvation.³⁵³

Here again, the role of the blood is seen as belonging to some prior preparatory moment in Christian initiation – conversion, justification. Its role in the experience of sanctification is no longer as defining as it was for the Wesleyans. Yet there is as yet no apparent diminution of emphasis on the blood of Jesus, as will be seen from the following.

³⁵¹ Meyer, *Light*, 85.

³⁵² Meyer, *Calvary to Pentecost*, 17-18. Cf. Boardman: "Sin cannot be abandoned until it is known. The instant we know it, we lay it on Christ, and the blood cleanseth." Boardman, W., *Account of the Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, Held at Oxford, August 29 to September 7, 1874*, 120-121, cited in Warfield, *Perfectionism*, 239.

³⁵³ Meyer, *Light*, 47-48.

3.4.3. The Hymns of Keswick.

Hymns of Consecration and Faith,³⁵⁴ alongside the magazine, *The Life of Faith*, was the propagating organ of Keswick spirituality around the world. The *Hymns* are, of course, a compilation of hymns originating both from within and from outside the movement, but the inclusion of a particular range of hymns does reveal something about the spiritual priorities of Keswick-goers.

The subject of the atonement is very prominent throughout the *Hymns*. Almost every hymn revels in some aspect of the cross and drains it dry of every drop of blessing it might yield for the holiness and consecration cause. Worshipers are “Clinging, clinging, clinging to the Cross,”³⁵⁵ harking back to the Moravians, they shelter in the “wounded side” of Jesus,³⁵⁶ and, they take their stand “Beneath the Cross of Jesus.”³⁵⁷ It is a “wounded hand” that knocks on the door of their hearts³⁵⁸ as they sing “Glory to the bleeding Lamb!”³⁵⁹ They long to reach out to the straying lambs “for whom the Shepherd bled,”³⁶⁰ and sing for the lost who “die in darkness” as they themselves have “the life which has been purchased with the Saviour’s precious blood,”³⁶¹ and must share it with the heathen so that they too might know the “balm that’s found at Calvary.”³⁶² The white harvest fields themselves have already been purchased by “the

³⁵⁴ I am here using Hopkins, E., (ed) *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, nd). This is the second, enlarged edition, arranged by Mrs Evan Hopkins. The original version edited by Robert Pearsall Smith and worship leader James Mountain came out of circulation in 1890.

³⁵⁵ No.84.

³⁵⁶ No.33.

³⁵⁷ No.100.

³⁵⁸ No.159.

³⁵⁹ No.216.

³⁶⁰ No.333.

³⁶¹ No.428.

³⁶² No.449.

precious blood” of God’s beloved Son.³⁶³ They begin to see a relationship between the Holy Spirit and the cross when they sing: “By Thy Holy Spirit’s teaching, Calvary’s healing stream we know.”³⁶⁴ and, “His Spirit and His blood make my cleansing complete.”³⁶⁵ They ask the Holy Spirit to “Convince us of our sin, then lead to Jesu’s blood.”³⁶⁶ They thus learn to “bathe in the crimson tide.”³⁶⁷ It is then that, in language clearly at home in the Romantic era, the worshippers can appreciate the love of Jesus:

There for me the Saviour stands,
Shows His wounds, and spreads His hands;
God is love I know, I feel:
Jesus weeps, and loves me still.³⁶⁸

Altogether, the word ‘blood’ in connection with Jesus is mentioned 178 times in a hymnbook of 604 hymns. This means that, apart from the almost constantly recurring motifs of the cross, Calvary, the wounds, the bleeding and the death of Christ, an average of one in every three hymns refers to the noun ‘blood’ in connection with the death of Christ.

51% (90 in total) of these references refer directly to the ‘cleansing’ and ‘washing’ efficacy of the blood. Borrowing a hymn from the Salvation Army, the worshippers “plunge beneath the precious blood.”³⁶⁹ they rejoice that “the cleansing blood hath reach’d me!”³⁷⁰

Trusting, trusting every moment;
Feeling now the blood applied;

³⁶³ No.451.

³⁶⁴ No.411.

³⁶⁵ No.204.

³⁶⁶ No.170.

³⁶⁷ No.534.

³⁶⁸ No.603.

³⁶⁹ No.462.

³⁷⁰ No.201.

Lying in the cleansing fountain,
Dwelling in my Saviour's side.³⁷¹

Rhyming euphemisms are frequently used: "I am trusting Thee for cleansing in the crimson flood..."³⁷² Hymn number 199 is of note in this regard. The first two verses of this hymn are entirely about the cleansing power of the blood yet the word 'blood' never appears anywhere in the hymn. It speaks instead of "the fountain open'd wide...From the Saviour's wounded side...an endless crimson tide," and invites the worshipper to "See the cleansing current flow, washing stains of condemnation whiter than the driven snow."³⁷³ Such subtleties set this apart as a peculiarly English kind of blood mysticism, in contrast to the vulgarities of the first Moravian hymnal that aroused so much disgust with the English.

Of the 34 references to *ἅμα* in direct connection with Christ in the New Testament, only 6 of these (5 if Rev.1:5 is excluded) refer to cleansing (these are: Heb.9:14; 12:24; 1Pet.1:2; 1John 1:7; Rev.1:5; 7:14), which is 18% of the total. The New Testament writers are more even handed in their use of the blood metaphor than most hymn writers. There is no single theme that rises to such dominance as the cleansing theme does in the *Hymns*. In the New Testament, the theme of covenant is the commonest,³⁷⁴ followed by cleansing. The idea of covenant with respect to the blood is neglected by holiness adherents probably for the same reasons that they only rarely describe themselves as justified by the blood. Such ideas would certainly have been important to Christians during the Reformation who were seeking assurance of

³⁷¹ *ibid.*

³⁷² No.138.

³⁷³ No.199.

³⁷⁴ occurs seven times (constituting 21% of the total): Matt.26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; 1Cor.11:25; 27; Heb.10:29; 13:20. This, of course, is due to all the Synoptic parallels and Paul's citation of Jesus in 1Cor.11:25. Nevertheless, the importance of this theme to New Testament theology is picked up on by Behm, "ἅμα," 174-5

salvation in the face of Roman Catholic religiosity. But Keswick-goers were not seeking assurance. To the contrary they wanted to aim higher. To be justified and in an everlasting covenant is perhaps little consolation to someone hankering after lasting victory over all known sin.

The second most common theme associated with the blood in the *Hymns* is the redemption theme. By this I mean the use of the words 'redeemed,' 'bought' and 'purchased' in connection with the blood. These comprise 13% of all references (24 in total). This theme, already laden with pastoral implications ripe for the picking in the New Testament itself, is fully utilised in the *Hymns* to bring out the self-evident necessity of utter dedication to the Master who bought the believer at such cost. Redemption, as already noted, is also applied to the mission field. The lost are, by rights, already the blood-bought property of the Redeemer. Evangelism merely claims what is rightfully His. In the New Testament, redemption is the third commonest theme to be associated with the blood, comprising 15% of the total.³⁷⁵

Next in order of prominence in the *Hymns* are love (12x), justification (9x including two references to pleading the blood), atonement (9x), salvation (6x), healing (4x), access (4x), praise/veneration (4x),³⁷⁶ sanctification (3x), victory (2x), and peace (2x). The blood is linked once to power, once to "hope and comfort,"³⁷⁷ it is once said to be simply "applied,"³⁷⁸ it is once the means of 'sealing' the worshipper's friendship with

³⁷⁵ Occurring five times: Acts 20:28; Eph.1: 7; Col.1:14; 1Pet.1:19; Rev.5:9

³⁷⁶ E.g. Hymn No. 390: "Louder still and louder praise the precious blood." Of interest also is Hymn No.513 by Horatius Bonar: "I hear the words of love, I gaze upon the blood; I see the mighty sacrifice, and I have peace with God."

³⁷⁷ Hymn No.247: "Thy precious blood must be my only hope and comfort, my glory and my plea."

³⁷⁸ Hymn no.271: "In the promises I trust; Now I feel the blood applied; I am prostrate in the dust; I with Christ am crucified."

God,³⁷⁹ and once related to the giving of the Holy Spirit.³⁸⁰ Of these themes, justification, atonement, access, sanctification, victory and peace pass as New Testament uses of the blood metaphor while the remaining uses are certainly implied in the New Testament but are never directly associated with the blood.³⁸¹

Despite the allegedly non-Wesleyan nature of the Keswick view of holiness, the uses to which the blood is put are similar to Wesley's *Plain Account*. 54% of Wesley's references to the blood in the *Plain Account* are about cleansing. Second to this, 27% are about redemption. Keswick shares these two priorities, with cleansing at 51% and redemption at 13%.

3.2.3. The Expansion of Keswick Influence: Andrew Murray, D.L. Moody & R.A. Torrey.

“No other speaker, in the long history of the Convention, made so deep an impression and left so profound an impact upon Keswick in one visit.”³⁸² Such was the acclaim

³⁷⁹ Hymn No.513: “This blood-sealed friendship changes not, the cross is ever nigh.”

³⁸⁰ Hymn No.177: “The altar sanctifies the gift; the blood insures the boon divine: My outstretched hands to heaven I lift, and claim the Father’s promise mine.”

³⁸¹ The New Testament themes altogether are: covenant (7x), cleansing (including ‘sprinkling’, 6x), redemption (5x), the suffering and humanity of Christ (5x), life (4x, all in John 6:53-56), access (2x, Eph.2:13; Heb.10:19), propitiation/atonement (1x, Rom.3:25), justification (1x, Rom.5:9), communion/fellowship (1x, 1Cor.10:16), reconciliation/peace (1x, Col.1:20), and victory (1x, Rev.12:11). Here I am including Luke 22:44, John 19:34 and the three occurrences in 1John 5:6-8. The ‘water and blood’ both of John’s passion narrative and his first letter are seen by a fair consensus of scholars as an anti-docetistic polemic, hence my reference to the humanity of Christ in these contexts. See especially Carson, D. A., *The Gospel According to John*, (Leicester: IVP, 1991), 621, and Bruce, F.F., *The Epistles of John*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 118-121. The four most comprehensive surveys of the blood of Jesus in the NT in English are Behm, *op cit.*, Stibbs, A., *The Meaning of the Word ‘Blood’ in Scripture*, (London: Tyndale, 1947), Morris, L., *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* 3rd Rev.Ed., (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 112-128 (based on his “The Biblical Use of the Term ‘Blood’” *Journal of Theological Studies* 3 (1952), 216-27) and Laubach, F., “Blood” in *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* Vol.1., (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1976, 1986), 220-224.

³⁸² Stevenson H.F.(ed), *Keswick’s Triumphant Voice*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1963), 81, referring to Murray’s visit of 1895.

that grew up around the South African born Andrew Murray (1828-1917). His name first became known to Keswick-goers in 1882 with the publication of the English edition of his book *Abide in Christ*. He also visited the conference that year as a listener while he received treatment for a throat problem at a healing home run by William Boardman in London. Boardman was by now resident in the UK and was himself a regular Keswick-goer. On the Wednesday of Murray's week at Keswick he had a breakthrough: "I saw it all, Jesus cleansing, Jesus filling, Jesus keeping."³⁸³ This, however, was one of many experiences, both before and after his contact with Keswick that caused him to see holiness the same way that Keswick did.³⁸⁴

Murray was an eclectic reader, mostly of mystical sources, counting J.T.Beck, a German theologian, Jan van Ruusbroec, a medieval mystic, William Law, selections from whose works he edited, Madam Guyon and Count Zinzendorf among his influences.³⁸⁵ Yet he remained a devout Calvinist minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. He had been brought up to pray for revival every Friday,³⁸⁶ a prayer that he saw answered in his own ministry in 1859. *Abide in Christ* had been written to help establish the converts of this revival. His ministry centred on a 50,000 square-mile parish in Blumfontain in which there lived some 7,000 Boer farmers.³⁸⁷

It was not until 1895 that Murray spoke at Keswick. When he did so, he overshadowed the entire convention. 3,000 people were present at the opening night

³⁸³ This experience came as a result of hearing the song, "Oh. Wonderful cleansing, oh, wonderful filling, oh, wonderful keeping," (No.492 in the *Hymns*) and was published in *Life of Faith*. Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 26.

³⁸⁴ His most recent biographer goes as far as to say, "That which became known as 'Keswick' teaching, had, in fact been part of Andrew's inner experience and spiritual life-style throughout most of his life." Choy, L., *Andrew Murray: Apostle of Abiding Love*, (Fort Washington: Christian Literature Crusade, 1978), 224.

³⁸⁵ Choy, *Murray*, 217-218.

³⁸⁶ Choy, *Murray*, 27.

³⁸⁷ Choy, *Murray*, 27.

to hear him open with the prayer, "God in heaven, dwell on earth among us."³⁸⁸ By the Friday night, with his address entitled "That God may be all in all." Sloan reported that, in what can be assumed to be metaphorical language, "the heavens were opened and we saw visions of God!"³⁸⁹

Murray insisted that before opening oneself to the Spirit in order to acquire holiness by faith, the blood must be applied to cleanse the heart.³⁹⁰ Likewise, when the Spirit comes, he points back to the blood and applies its benefits to the heart.³⁹¹ So, the blood brings the Spirit, and the Spirit brings the blood.³⁹² Because of this union of Blood and Spirit, both susceptible of the 'liquid' terminology of washing, flowing and flooding, the Blood was understood by Murray to be alive, still fresh, still flowing, still efficacious before the throne of God in heaven.³⁹³ Of all the Keswick speakers, it is Murray that displays the strongest similarities to the blood mysticism of Sunderland's *Confidence* magazine.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁸ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 43.

³⁸⁹ Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 43. By the time he left the tent to catch a train that would take him and F.B. Meyer to a boat that would take them to D.L. Moody's church in Northfield, Connecticut, everyone stood up and sang "God be with you till we meet again." Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 109; Sloan, *These Sixty Years*, 43. Pollock mentions the singing (gleaned from an eye-witness), while Sloan has "reverent silence."

³⁹⁰ "The sprinkling of the blood, which sanctifies man unto God and takes possession of him for God, bestows at the same time the right of intimacy." Murray, A., *The Power of the Blood of Jesus*, (Springdale: Whitaker House, 1993), 93.

³⁹¹ "Where the blood is honoured, preached, and believed in as the power of full redemption, there the way is opened for the fullness of the Spirit's blessing." Murray, A., *The Blood of the Cross*, (Springdale: Whitaker House, 1981), 16.

³⁹² "We must once again notice the two sides of this truth: the blood exercises its full power through the Spirit, and the Spirit manifests His full power through the blood." Murray, *The Blood*, 16.

³⁹³ Dependence on the Hebrews imagery of the great High Priest sprinkling His own blood in the true and eternal tabernacle of heaven was frequent: "It is as the Holy Spirit reveals this to the soul, *the heavenly power of the blood*, as ministered by our Melchizedek, the minister of the heavenly sanctuary, that we see what power that blood must have, as so sprinkled on us from heaven, in the power of the Holy Spirit." (italics original) Murray, A., *The Holiest of All*, (London: Oliphants, 1960), 297.

³⁹⁴ E.g., "...the Oil of the Spirit comes where the Blood of Calvary has been trusted, honoured, and applied." Boddy, A., "Pleading the Blood", *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 4. cf. Boddy, M., "His Own Blood" *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 3

Of note is the sheer range of different applications that Murray finds for the blood. He holds a possibly unique place in the holiness movement in being able to relate the blood of Jesus to every aspect of the Christian life. He is able to make the blood of Christ the centre of the Christian universe. First and foremost, and in order for the blood to bear this immense theological and spiritual weight, Murray links the word 'blood' with the word 'power' in a way that is entirely unprecedented. For him, as for the early Pentecostals of Sunderland, the blood was to be honoured because it was powerful. In his book, *The Power of the Blood of Jesus*, he speaks of, "...the glorious power of the blood of Jesus and the wonderful blessings procured for us by it,"³⁹⁵ and, "... the superlative glory of that blood as the power of redemption."³⁹⁶

Elsewhere he says, "As 'the blood of the Lamb' it possesses virtue and power for complete redemption."³⁹⁷ He urges the reader to, "Remember that the blood is the power that binds us to Jesus in bonds that cannot be loosened."³⁹⁸

This power lay primarily in the fact that it was shed by a High Priest who now lives by the power of an endless life. As already mentioned, His blood, now offered in heaven, is still fresh and has eternal efficacy: "Our Lord is a High Priest 'in the power of an endless life,' and thus the cleansing power of the blood of the Son of God is unceasingly conveyed to us."³⁹⁹ The Holy Spirit applies this everlastingly powerful blood to the heart: "...it is through the Spirit alone that the blood has its power."⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ Murray, *The Power*, 8.

³⁹⁶ Murray, *The Power*, 8.

³⁹⁷ Murray, *The Blood*, 71.

³⁹⁸ Murray, *The Blood*, 114

³⁹⁹ Murray, *The Blood*, 131. cf. "The power of the blood is eternally active. There is no single moment in which the blood is not exerting its full power. In the heavenly Holy of Holies where the blood is before the throne, everything exists in the power of eternity, without cessation or diminution. All activities in the heavenly Temple are on our behalf, and the effects are conveyed to us by the Holy Spirit." Murray, *The Blood*, 62-63.

⁴⁰⁰ Murray, *The Blood*, 10.

The Spirit then reminds the believer of its power: "So the Holy Spirit will in prayer constantly remind us of Christ, of His blood and name, as the sure ground of our being heard."⁴⁰¹

Henceforth, heaven is opened.⁴⁰² As a result, an array of heavenly blessings descends upon the believer. He or she is justified,⁴⁰³ cleansed,⁴⁰⁴ sanctified,⁴⁰⁵ enjoys fellowship with God,⁴⁰⁶ becomes aware of the price paid for his or her redemption,⁴⁰⁷ becomes aware of Christ's love,⁴⁰⁸ enjoys victory over prayerlessness,⁴⁰⁹ sin⁴¹⁰ and

⁴⁰¹ Murray, *Prayer*, 56.

⁴⁰² "The blood of Jesus has opened heaven." Murray, *The Power*, 31. "His blood procured an entrance." Murray, *The Power*, 117. "Through the blood He has entered, through the blood He brings us also in." *ibid.*

⁴⁰³ "You are familiar with the blessed truth of justification by faith...Paul had taught what its ever blessed foundation was – the atonement of the blood of Christ." Murray, A., *The School of Obedience*, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1899), 27

⁴⁰⁴ "...just as in proportion as the heart is cleansed, so the entire life is cleansed, the whole man inwardly and outwardly is cleansed by the power of the blood." Murray, *The Blood*, 131.

⁴⁰⁵ "To a superficial observer it might seem that there is little difference between cleansing and sanctification...Cleansing has to do chiefly with the old life, and the stain of sin which must be removed, and is only preparatory. Sanctification concerns the new life...Sanctification, which means union with God, is the peculiar fullness of blessing purchased for us by the blood." Murray, *The Power*, 73.

⁴⁰⁶ "...no fellowship with Him by faith, no enjoyment of His favour, apart from the blood." Murray, *The Power*, 9.

⁴⁰⁷ "Meditate upon and adore God for this divine wonder, that you have been bought by the blood of the Son of God." Murray, *The Blood*, 114

⁴⁰⁸ "I see it! What we need is a right view of Jesus Himself, and His all-conquering, eternal love. The blood is the earthly token of the heavenly glory of that love; the blood points to that love." Murray, *The Blood*, 34.

⁴⁰⁹ "In His blood and grace there is complete deliverance from all unrighteousness, and from all prayerlessness." Murray, A., *The Prayer Life*, (London: Morgan & Scott, 1920), 27.

⁴¹⁰ "Let him take time, so that the blood and love of the Cross may exercise their full influence on him, and let him think of sin as nothing less than giving his hand to Satan, and his power." Murray, *Prayer*, 61.

Satan,⁴¹¹ receives a new motive to evangelise,⁴¹² to give financially⁴¹³ and to live for the benefit of others,⁴¹⁴ and becomes ready to be filled with the Spirit.⁴¹⁵

These benefits overflow to the entire Church so long as the Church honours the blood:

Since the days of the Reformation, it is still apparent that in proportion as the blood is gloried in, the church is constantly inspired by a new life to obtain victory over deadness or error.⁴¹⁶

Murray's theological framework with respect to the atonement is the penal substitutionary view,⁴¹⁷ but he hints mysteriously at the implications of the atonement for the whole cosmos:

Notice, however, that the new earth must be baptized also with blood, and the first recorded act of Noah, after he had left the ark, was the offering of a burnt sacrifice to God.⁴¹⁸

Like Zinzendorf, he also displays a mystical sacramentalism. In his exposition of John 6 he says these words:

...when the heart of anyone is filled with a sense of the preciousness and power of the blood, when he with real joy is lost in the contemplation of it, when he with whole-hearted faith takes it for himself and seeks to be

⁴¹¹ "What avails for the church is available also for each Christian. In 'the blood of the Lamb,' he always has victory...it is, I say, when the soul lives in the power of the blood that the temptations of Satan cease to ensnare." Murray, *The Power*, 158.

⁴¹² "As you live *by* the blood, live also only *for* the blood, and give yourself no rest till all His purchased ones know of His glory." Murray, *The Blood*, 87.

⁴¹³ "Christ has bought me with His blood... The believer to whom the right which the purchase price of the blood has acquired has been revealed by the Holy Spirit, delights to know that he is the bond slave of redeeming love, and to lay everything he has at his Master's feet, because he belongs to him." (said in the context of financial giving). Murray, *Obedience*, 113-4.

⁴¹⁴ "As priests through the blood of Christ we live for others..." Murray, *The Blood*, 134.

⁴¹⁵ "Oh, ye children of God, come and let the precious blood prepare you for being filled with His Spirit." Murray, *The Blood*, 22.

⁴¹⁶ Murray, *The Power*, 158.

⁴¹⁷ E.g. his exposition of the Exodus: "...the punishment of the sin of each Israelite home had to be warded off by the blood of the paschal lamb. (...it is a foreshadowing of the Paschal Lamb which is Jesus Christ)." Murray, *The Blood*, 90.

⁴¹⁸ Murray, *The Power*, 9-10.

convinced in his inner being of the life-giving power of that blood. then it may be rightly said that he 'drinks the blood of Jesus.'⁴¹⁹

So, with Murray, a new theme emerges that would go on to become a much-loved theme of the Pentecostals: power. There is, for Murray, power in the blood. He elucidates numerous reasons why the blood is powerful and expounds these in detail. For the Pentecostals at Sunderland, it would become adequate simply to affirm that 'there is power in the blood.'

Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) had an ambiguous relationship with the doctrine of Keswick. His famed baptism in the Spirit experience of 1871 would place him well within the holiness tradition in general terms, yet, doubtless out of his concern to reach as wide an audience as possible,⁴²⁰ he never formally identified himself as such.⁴²¹ Nevertheless, after his first contact with Keswick in 1892, it is possible that he had begun importing some aspects of Keswick into Northfield. F.B. Meyer, after his visit to Northfield in 1895 reckoned Moody to be "in love with Keswick." By 1897 he was rumoured by some to be trying to turn Northfield into another Keswick, and from 1899 onwards, the year of Moody's death, at least one Keswick speaker appeared at every Northfield Convention. As early as 1872, a statement by Moody's friend Henry Varley: "the world has yet to see what God will do with a man fully consecrated to Him," had brought forth the response, "By the Holy Spirit in me *I'll* be that man."⁴²²

⁴¹⁹ Murray, *The Power*, 137.

⁴²⁰ Moody even had an openness to Catholics that, for his time was "remarkable": George, T., "Introduction: Remembering Mr Moody," in George, T., (ed) *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark., 2005), 6.

⁴²¹ During Moody's London campaign of 1883, Moody was at a meal in which he refused to state outright that he had been sanctified: Pollock, *Keswick Story*, 67.

⁴²² Pollock, J., *Moody Without Sankey*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963), 94.

Moody had a particular emphasis on the need to honour the blood of Jesus. When expounding the story of the exodus, his reason for the directive to smear blood only on the doorposts and lintels and not on the threshold was that, "God would not have them trample upon the blood."⁴²³ In the same vein, he frankly confronts the listener with the realities of the death-bed: "May God forbid that when death draws nigh it should find you making light of the precious blood of Christ!"⁴²⁴

This theme, only implicit in Caughey and Murray, appears to be a new one introduced by Moody. The horrors awaiting those who dishonour the blood is more than made up for by the fact that whenever much is made of the blood, whenever the blood is celebrated with emphasis, God honours the efforts of those who do it. Moody speaks reverently of the "scarlet thread" that runs through all of the most timeless hymns that were sung in his meetings. Specifically, he singles out, *There is a Fountain, Rock of Ages* and *Just as I Am* for special praise, reserving highest honour for *There is a Fountain*. Singing this hymn, Moody claims, produced excitement in him even before he was converted.⁴²⁵ All such hymns, he says, will never wear out. He does not go into any mechanical detail however, as to why they have a special power: "I tell you why these hymns are so precious, it is because they tell us about the blood."⁴²⁶ Where the blood is honoured, Moody has great faith that it will work even for those who feel they are too sinful ever to come to God. This he illustrates in a novel way:

⁴²³ Moody, D.L., *Where Art Thou? And Other Addresses*, (London: Morgan & Scott, nd), 103.

⁴²⁴ Moody, *Where Art Thou?* 110. Cf. "Men look on the blood of Christ with scorn and contempt, but the time is coming when the blood of Christ will be worth more than all the kingdoms of the world...The blood has two cries...If I reject the blood of Christ, it cries out for my condemnation, if I accept it, it cries out for pardon and peace." Moody, *Where Art Thou?* 113.

⁴²⁵ Moody, *Where Art Thou?* 115-6.

⁴²⁶ Moody, *Where Art Thou?* 116.

Look at that Roman soldier as he pushed his spear into the very heart of the God-man. What a hellish deed! But what was the next thing that took place? Blood covered the spear! Oh! Thank God, the blood covers sin.⁴²⁷

Ira D. Sankey's ministry began with an impromptu rendering of *There is a Fountain* at a YMCA Convention in Indianapolis in 1870 where Moody noticed his exceptional singing abilities. His compilation *Sacred Songs and Solos*, first appearing as a pamphlet in 1873, is very similar to the Keswick *Hymns* but with the added note of the emotional evangelistic appeal. In the final 1903 version of *Sacred Songs and Solos*, an accumulation of some 1200 songs, references to the blood of Christ number 193, 16%, or approximately one in every 6 of the songs having at least one reference to it. Of these, 67% (78x) carry a cleansing, washing or sprinkling motif. 18% (30x) speak of being redeemed, bought, purchased, set free or rescued. 6% (11x) use the word 'atonement,' 'atone' or 'atoning' in connection with the blood, and 5% (10x) use the language of substitution: either 'substitute,' 'substitution,' 'for us' or 'for me.' Other themes are love (5%), salvation (4%), justification (4%), pardon (4%), peace (3%), sanctification (3%), victory (3%), power, the Passover, mercy, comfort, wholeness, sealing, "applied", treasure, hope and peace.

An often-observed feature of Sankey's songs is the emotive content. Most famous of all is his *There were Ninety and Nine*, a song that had a remarkably moving effect upon audiences.⁴²⁸ Sankey first discovered the lyrics in a newspaper on a train between Glasgow and Edinburgh during Moody and Sankey's Scottish tour:

⁴²⁷ Moody, *Where Art Thou?* 114. Maria Woodworth-ETTA has arrows dipped in the blood: "Through the Holy Ghost, His Words come like coals of fire, burning in the brains and the hearts of men. They are shot out, like arrows dipped in the blood of Jesus." *Maria Woodworth-ETTA: Her Life and Ministry*. (Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1992), 42. She also, in Salvation Army style, speaks of "the blood-stained banner of King Emmanuel," *ibid.*, 55.

⁴²⁸ Pollock quotes an eye-witness to its performance: "A deathly hush came over the room, and I felt my eyes fill with tears; his [Sankey's] physical repulsiveness slipped from him and left a sincere

Lord, whence are those blood-drops all the way
That mark out the mountain's track?
They were shed for one who had gone astray
Ere the Shepherd could brink them back...⁴²⁹

There is also a considerable volume of personal eschatology. Hymns 907-1047, 140 hymns in all (11.6% of the total) are about the theme of facing death and entering Heaven.

Reuben Archer Torrey, Moody's successor on the world stage, came to Keswick in 1904 as a listener, before being unexpectedly asked to deliver a series of Bible teachings. His subject was the Holy Spirit. Like Moody, he travelled with a singer. Charles M. Alexander, beginning a two-and-half year tour of the British Isles in January 1903, and returning in 1911. In 1904, Torrey also wrote an encouraging letter to Evan Roberts upon hearing of the revival that had broken out under his ministry. Torrey was also a revered figure among the early Pentecostals, being cited in *Confidence* magazine more than once.⁴³⁰

R.A. Torrey appears to place just as much emphasis on the blood as Moody. Like Moody, he placed a high value upon the blood hymns, especially when witnessing. On one occasion, he sang *Nothing but the Blood of Jesus* by the bedside of a dying

impulsive Christian, whose simple music spoke straight to the soul." Pollock, J., *A Fistful of Heroes: Great Reformers and Evangelists*, (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1988), 116.

⁴²⁹ No.97 verse 4.

⁴³⁰ Five times in the first 10 years: Mrs Barratt, "The Conference in Sunderland," *Confidence* 1:4 (July '08), 4; Boddy, A., "Scenes in Denmark," *Confidence* 3:10 (Oct. '10), 5; Edell, P., "The Task of the Pentecostal Movement," *Confidence* 6:9 (Sep. '13), 14; Miss Patrick, "Russia," *Confidence* 7:12 (Dec. '14), 9; Boddy, A., "On the Tibetan Borderland," *Confidence* 8:3 (Mar. '15), 19.

man, seemingly, to great effect.⁴³¹ On another occasion, he was again offering some deathbed counsel when he found himself singing *Just as I am* to a dying man, who promptly joined in with the last verse.⁴³² Torrey was academically trained, having spent a year learning from the liberal scholars in Germany, eventually becoming Principal of the Moody Bible Institute.

He joins his voice to the rising Fundamentalist movement of early 20th Century in America:

Years ago I pumped my head full of a lot of evolutionary and other un-proven and senseless philosophy, but even that was not able to drown out what I knew, that the blood of Jesus had cleansed me from all sin.⁴³³

He, like the Keswick teachers, is very fond of 1John1:7. In a chapter of 11 double-spaced, large type, pages, devoted to this passage, there are no less than 15 straight repetitions of the phrase, "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin."⁴³⁴ The reason for such repetition when compared to many other holiness books is the fact that this is a transcribed sermon, and a sermon clearly delivered in a style that demanded constant reiteration.

He expounds the meaning of this cleansing by asking the question whether the cleansing refers to the guilt of sin or the presence of sin, thus giving himself an opportunity to distinguish himself from the eradicationist Wesleyans.⁴³⁵ He

⁴³¹ Torrey, R.A., *Revival Addresses*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), 165-6.

⁴³² Torrey, R.A., *Real Salvation and Whole-Hearted Service*, (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1905), 268-9.

⁴³³ Torrey, R.A., *How to be Saved*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1923), 145.

⁴³⁴ Torrey, *Saved*.

⁴³⁵ Torrey, *Saved*, 146.

concludes, on the basis of the way the words “blood” and “cleansing” in conjunction with one another are used throughout the rest of the Bible, that the cleansing is from the guilt of sin.⁴³⁶ This is a continuous cleansing, depending on God’s continuous “reckoning”: “There may be still in moments of weakness and failure sin in their conduct, but there is not one smallest sin upon them in God’s reckoning.”⁴³⁷

Sanctification is something entirely different. As in Meyer, the distinction hinges upon a dichotomy between the intrinsic and the extrinsic: “It is not the blood of the crucified Jesus, but the indwelling life of the risen Jesus that saves from the power of sin.”⁴³⁸

In this way, the Christian Perfection of Wesley and Palmer, which sparked the whole holiness movement of the 19th Century, now comes full circle to a quasi-Lutheran understanding of the benefits of Christ’s death being merely imputed to the believer. The doctrines of the atonement and justification are thus gradually put back into an objective, historical and extrinsic box while the doctrine of sanctification takes on new subjective, experiential and intrinsic dimensions. For the moment, the shift in emphasis merely meant shifting focus from a Christ crucified ‘for us’ to a Christ risen ‘within us.’ In time, the inwardly empowering Spirit would replace the inwardly sanctifying Christ.

Outside of the holiness movement, the blood was highly valued among all Evangelicals, non-holiness groups tending towards a somewhat polemical usage of it. Against the tide of liberal scholarship, Charles Spurgeon declared that he would rather

⁴³⁶ Torrey, *Saved*, 146.

⁴³⁷ Torrey, *Saved*, 147.

⁴³⁸ Torrey, *Saved*, 147.

have his tongue cut out than ever agree to stop preaching about the blood.⁴³⁹

Preaching the once-for-all atoning blood was a way of opposing the perceived watering-down of the gospel that the liberals had brought with their penchant for the life and teachings of Jesus; it was also a way of countering the perceived replacement of the gospel that the revival in Catholic sacramentalism had brought in the wake of the Oxford movement. In the non-holiness context, therefore, the blood often served as an identity marker, identifying Evangelicals as anti-liberal and anti-ritualist.⁴⁴⁰

Conclusion.

Blood mysticism over the period so far covered appears to go through two phases, which will be followed in time by a third.

The first phase is that embodied by the Moravians. In essence it represents only a small development on medieval passion mysticism. Its dominating note is that of personal, heart-felt devotion. At the dawn of the Enlightenment, at the start of the modern era, the Moravians drank deeply from a pre-modern well. In an age of growing infidelity towards religion, the blood of Christ was calling the Moravians to give themselves utterly to Him who gave His life for them. The spirituality of the medieval mystics was now transfigured within a profoundly Lutheran and non-sacerdotal community.

⁴³⁹ C.H. Spurgeon, *The Metropolitan Tabernacle* Vol.32. (Original:1886, Banner of Truth, 1991), 129.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Rennie, I. S., "Fundamentalism and the Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism," in M. Noll et al (eds), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, The British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1990*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 333: "fear of liberalism," and "fear of resurgent Catholicism" were formative of Anglican Evangelicalism as early as the 1820s.

The second phase begins with and remains completely dominated by the Wesleys. Charles provides the devotional language while John supplies the theological framework. Thanks to them, the great blood mystical theme bequeathed to a huge body of 19th Century devotion is that of holiness through the blood. The role of the blood in personal holiness is twofold. First and foremost, it cleanses the heart. Wesleyans would say permanently, from 'inbred' sin. For non-Wesleyans, it continuously removes the guiltiness of ongoing sins before God, setting to work as soon as the believer has become conscious of wrongdoing and acknowledges it. Secondly, it purchases men for God. To be bought at such a price is, as for the Moravians, a devotional summons to a higher Christian life.

A new strand of thought emerges with Andrew Murray and his emphasis on the power of the blood, a likely source for some of the teachings that would later dominate Sunderland Pentecostalism. Another new strand comes through D.L.Moody and his insistence on honouring the blood. This, seemingly, generates an ethos that would yet reach new heights during the Azusa Street revival that links the invocation of the Blood, in prayer, sermon and song, with the release of the Holy Spirit's witness-bearing activity.

Stibbs, in his masterful study of the word 'blood' in Scripture, concluded his monograph with the insight that blood is:

...a sign of life either given or taken in death. Such giving or taking of life is in this world the extreme, both of gift or price and of crime or penalty. Man knows no greater.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ Stibbs, *Blood*, 33.

So the phrase. 'the blood of Christ' is by nature susceptible of hyperbolic usage. It is by nature extreme language. No greater gift and no higher price is possible: and no worse a crime or exacting a penalty is conceivable than all that is involved in the death of the Son of God at the hands of sinners on behalf of sinners. Desperate times call for desperate measures and it is in precisely those times when sincere believers feel desperate that their routine cross-centredness erupts into a 'fountain' of blood mysticism. Accordingly, over this period, the type and variety of metaphors used in conjunction with the blood is as much an indicator of an outspoken emphasis upon it as are the bare frequency of references. In some writers, such as F.B.Meyer, the frequency is low, yet the novelty of the metaphors is symptomatic of a similar dwelling-to-the-point-of-exhaustion on this one subject. Over the 19th century, there were blood corpuscles used as coinage, spears covered in the blood, arrows dipped in blood, blood-stained banners and molten brands quenched in the blood, not to mention fountains of blood, rivers of blood, purple floods of blood and blood-currents, in which people drink, dip, plunge, lie, bathe, wash themselves and wash their garments. These peaks of blood mysticism are thus an extension of Evangelicalism's routine crucicentrism recruited in the cause of some specific fight: the fight against apostasy or against inbred sin. In a world increasingly seething with anti-Christian beliefs, nothing, it was hoped, could stand against the all-cleansing, all-converting Blood.

This fight will continue into the Welsh Revival, Azusa Street and Sunderland. In fact, it will grow more intense and take on a further dominant theme. Devotion and cleansing will still be strongly represented but alongside these themes there will

emerge something that ought to have been quite at home in the holiness meetings of the Salvation Army. For in early Pentecostalism, the blood becomes a war cry. These believers felt themselves to be no longer battling with human secularisation or with the enemy within, now it is Satan himself who is enemy number one. Consequently, they must now be 'covered' by the blood. They must stay 'under' it. They must loudly and repetitiously invoke the justifying, cleansing accomplishments of the blood in order to see the Devil flee. The desire for purity thus gives way to the desire for victory and power. And it is the blood mysticism of the Welsh Revival that represents something of a bridge to this.

Before moving on to this, however, it seems important to not lose the main drift of the narrative so far covered. The main point of the holiness movements was to point the way towards reconciling a believer's status with their actual state. The urgency of Hannah Whitall-Smith can be felt in her *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*. The cross must be an actual redemption from sin, a real deliverance from both its guilt and power, or it is no redemption at all. In America, the increasing challenges to ethical purity that a post-bellum world of pleasure and plenty was presenting meant that the traditional lines of Protestant soteriology, drawn to make the demarcation between law and gospel absolutely clear, were now creaking under the strain. The only way forward was in developing the thought of Wesley and presenting this revised Wesley to a non-Wesleyan audience.

To speak in Hegelian terms, it was the thesis of a justified life being contradicted by the antithesis of an unsanctified lifestyle that was leading to the blood as the resolving synthesis. This blood was a symbol of Christ's atonement that brought His death

within reach. It could be pictured as being applied to the unclean. For this reason, 1John 1:7 was much proclaimed as the scripture that pointed the way from purely forensic categories to more experiential ones. This was a provisional synthesis, however. Soon Baptism in the Holy Spirit would take on a new eschatological function that catered to the desire both for a special status and a sanctified state. The Blood and the Spirit could and did occupy the same spiritual territory, as was explored by Andrew Murray, but not for long. The pneumatological emphasis was in the ascendancy. The end time empowerment of the Holy Spirit given specially to those watchful of the Lord's return was on the way to becoming the *sine qua non* of revivalist spirituality, replacing roles previously ascribed to the blood. The blood would increasingly be appropriated in new ways as a tool of spiritual warfare against Satan.

4. Evan Roberts, Jessie Penn-Lewis and the Welsh Revival.

Introduction.

Evan John Roberts was born in 1878.⁴⁴² He became a communicant of the Calvinistic Methodist Church at age 12. From around this time he was encouraged never to miss a prayer meeting in case the Spirit came and he was found to be absent, like doubting Thomas when the risen Jesus had appeared. The chapels were influenced by the fiery evangelism of the Salvation Army, who had conducted highly successful campaigns in the Rhondda.⁴⁴³ The chapels were also influenced by the techniques of Moody and Sankey, by such Keswick speakers as F.B. Meyer, who himself tried to claim some credit for starting the revival, and by R.A. Torrey who visited Cardiff in 1902. Accordingly, Roberts' theology was basically a Keswick-style, pneumatological spirituality of personal victory over sin and power for service:

The baptism of the Holy Spirit is the essence of revival, for revival comes from a knowledge of the Holy Spirit...The primary condition of revival is therefore that believers should individually know the baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² The definitive work on his life is Jones, B. P., *An Instrument of Revival: The Complete Life of Evan Roberts 1878-1951*, (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, 1995).

⁴⁴³ A profound influence on Seth Joshua in particular, Evans, 1904, 53.

⁴⁴⁴ Whittaker, *Great Revivals*, 103.

A long history of Welsh revivals gave Roberts an intense hunger for revival. Powerful nighttime experiences of communion with God further amplified this. He had a great desire for the Spirit:

I said to myself: 'I will have the Spirit.' And through all weather, and in spite of difficulties, I went to the meetings... For ten or eleven years I have prayed for a revival. I could sit up all night to read or talk about revivals. It was the Spirit that moved me to think about a revival.

His prayer was "Bend the Church; save the people." a phrase inspired by a significant moment when Seth Joshua happened to finish a prayer with the throw away line.

"...and Bend us, O Lord..." at the end of an early morning prayer meeting just prior to the beginning of a three day Keswick style convention for the deepening of the spiritual life. As Roberts thought about this phrase, he became overcome by it as the morning's devotions progressed: "I cried, 'Bend me! Bend me! Bend me! Bend us!' Perspiration poured down my face and tears streamed ...a great burden came upon me for the salvation of lost souls."⁴⁴⁵

Thus was birthed Roberts' plan to evangelise the whole Principality using a small team of other young people who would share in the preaching and singing.

All of this was set against a background of decreasing vigour in Welsh Christianity. In Britain as a whole, two forces were combining to undermine Evangelical faith. One of these was the spread of Darwinism; the other was the influence of Higher Criticism.

In 1889, both of these forces had combined in the form of Charles Gore's highly influential book, *Lux Mundi*. This work emphasised the incarnation rather than the

⁴⁴⁵ AWS FIN (extracts from the *Western Mail*) 3:30 (Jan. 1905). Accessed via the CD-ROM *Welsh Revival Library* (Bishop Stortford: The King's Church, nd).

atonement as the true heart of Christian faith, the insights of Darwin were conceded and the Spirit's role in the inspiration of Scripture was relativised.⁴⁴⁶

Another blow against Welsh religion, rooted as it was one's personal experience of God, was the rise of psychological ways of interpreting religious experience, culminating in William James' book of 1902, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, which seemed to discredit conversions and revivals as the product of enfeebled and morbid minds.⁴⁴⁷ During the 1890s, the Presbyterian Church of Wales lost 12,844 members.⁴⁴⁸ By the time of the revival, Welsh Evangelicalism was on the defensive.⁴⁴⁹

Roberts' ministry began at the age of 26 while training for the ministry. His plan to evangelise the whole of Wales was augmented by a vision of all Wales being lifted up to heaven. Seth Joshua was also keen to see Roberts preaching.⁴⁵⁰ His preaching in late October and early November 1904 among the young people of his home church in Loughor led to some remarkable occurrences.⁴⁵¹ He encouraged the young people

⁴⁴⁶ Gore, C. (ed), *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* 13th Ed., (London: John Murray, 1892), esp 247-266 which discusses inspiration. The chapter on the Atonement itself (pp201-229) says little that would have been controversial.

⁴⁴⁷ E.g. "...with their manufacture of fears and preoccupation with every unwholesome kind of misery, there is something obscene about these children of wrath and cravers of second birth." James, W., *The Varieties of Religious Experience, a Study in Human Nature, being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Edinburgh in 1901-1902* 18th Impression, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), 162-3. He addresses revival directly in similar fashion: "...you must first be nailed on the cross of natural despair and agony, and then in the twinkling of an eye be miraculously released." *Idem*, 228. cf. Hayward, R., "Popular Mysticism and the Origins of the New Psychology, 1880-1910," (PhD Dissertation: University of Lancaster, 1995).

⁴⁴⁸ Evans, 1904, 45.

⁴⁴⁹ For an especially interesting study of the Welsh Revival's interaction with modernity see Gitre, E. J., "The 1904-05 Welsh Revival: Modernization, Technologies, and Techniques of the Self," *Church History* 73:4 (Dec. 2004), 759-827.

⁴⁵⁰ "At the turn of the century Seth Joshua had felt the danger of the prevailing emphasis upon educational rather than spiritual attainments, and...had it laid upon his heart to pray God to go and take a lad from the coal-mine or from the field, even as He took Elisha from the plough, to revive His work." Evans, 1904, 63.

⁴⁵¹ In a recent study, Tudur supported the idea, however, that the Revival was already under way before Roberts began his ministry and proposes that for the press to have made Roberts into the figurehead of

to pray in unison: 'Send now the Holy Ghost, for Jesus Christ's sake.' On 8 November 1904, the whole town flocked to the 6.00am prayer meeting, following a relatively unspectacular meeting the previous night. Soon, his meetings were packed with young people, and these often continued until late into the night. Eyewitnesses sometimes reported the total absence of preaching.⁴⁵² At other times, Roberts' abilities as an eloquent and powerful speaker were very apparent.⁴⁵³ It was at this time that *Here is Love, Vast as the Ocean* became the favourite hymn of the revival. This was often sung solo by Anne Davies who accompanied Roberts' on his missions. Roberts soon took his preaching to the surrounding towns and into North Wales. His ministry became associated with wild manifestations such as laughter, shouting, falling to the ground and constant interruptions from people bursting into song. Chapels were packed. Hundreds of people shut up shop early just to get to the prayer meetings. The newspapers carried stories every day and before long people from all over the world were visiting Roberts' meetings: notably Joseph Smale from Los Angeles and Alexander Boddy from Sunderland.

By the end of 1904, there were more than 34,000 converts. It was not long before a significant social impact throughout Wales was felt, especially in drink related

the Revival was "...to move the emphasis away from [the] true font of the Revival's energy," causing the Revival to decline too soon. Tudur, G., "Evan Roberts and the 1904-5 Revival," *Journal of Welsh Religious History*, 4 (2004), 95

⁴⁵² "Suffice it to say that throughout that service there was singing and praying, and personal testimony, but no preaching." "In connection with the Welsh revival there is no preaching, no order, no hymnbooks, no choirs, no organs, no collections, and, finally, no advertising." "Evan Roberts is hardly more than a boy, simple and natural, no orator, no leader of men."

<http://www.welshrevival.org/histories/goodrich/03.htm> accessed online 13 Jan 2009.

⁴⁵³ "The preacher soon after launches out into a fervent and at times impassioned oration. His statements have most stirring effects upon his listeners, many who have disbelieved Christianity for years again returning to the fold of their younger days. One night so great was the enthusiasm invoked by the young revivalist that after a sermon lasting two hours the vast congregation remained praying and singing until half-past two o'clock next morning." Report from the Western Mail dated Nov 10 1904; <http://www.welshrevival.org/histories/awstin1/01.htm> accessed online 13 Jan 2009.

crime.⁴⁵⁴ Pubs emptied, dance halls were deserted, courts had few cases, whole football and rugby teams were converted and started praying instead of playing.⁴⁵⁵ and the chapels and churches filled up.

The total converts recorded between 8 November and 31 December 1904 was at least 34,131. The figure for the month of January 1905 alone stands at 65,319, and for February 1905: 83,936.⁴⁵⁶ Partly thanks to the travels of Jessie Penn-Lewis, news of the revival spread far and wide, igniting, with varying degrees of intensity, revivals in Switzerland, Germany, England, Korea, China, Japan, South Africa, Latin America, the Pacific Islands and India. Global press coverage of the meetings was unprecedented for Welsh revivals, despite services being held mostly in Welsh.⁴⁵⁷

At the 1905 Keswick Convention, a detachment of Welsh prayer-warriors attempted to bring revival to the Convention. The Convention, however, had no place for the emotional excesses of the Welsh. At the same time, however, Frank Bartleman began writing to Evan Roberts asking him to pray for Los Angeles.⁴⁵⁸ Already two booklets about the revival were in circulation in Los Angeles.⁴⁵⁹ These, combined with reports of Joseph Smale's visit to the revival, were creating a heightened expectation.

Converts of the Revival, known as 'Children of the Revival' gathered in mission halls and many went on to become Pentecostal. Among them were George and Stephen

⁴⁵⁴ See drink-related crime figures in Edwards, B., *Revival: A People Saturated with God*, (Evangelical Press, 1990), 183.

⁴⁵⁵ AWSTIN 3:1 (Jan 1905). Accessed in Cauchi, T.(ed), *The Welsh Revival Library*, (Bishops Waltham: Revival Library CD-ROM, nd).

⁴⁵⁶ Phillips, D., *Evan Roberts: The Great Welsh Revivalist and his Work*, (London: Marshall Brothers, 1906), 455-462, taken from returns published in the Western Mail Revival Pamphlets.

⁴⁵⁷ Evans, 1904, 36.

⁴⁵⁸ Bartleman, F., *Azusa Street: The Roots of Modern-day Pentecost*, (Plainfield: Bridge, 1980), 15.

⁴⁵⁹ These were, *The Great Revival in Wales* by S.B. Shaw, and *Revival in Wales* by G. Campbell Morgan.

Jeffreys, who were also associated with Sunderland for a short time. George Jeffreys went on to found the Elim Pentecostal churches. Evan Roberts himself resisted the Pentecostal movement, possibly because of the overweening influence of Mrs Jessie Penn-Lewis with whom he spent most of his life between 1906 and 1926.⁴⁶⁰

After the revival, Roberts was burnt out. He had rarely taken any rest. For some two years he had taken barely 3 hours sleep a night. He suffered a series of four severe breakdowns and was confined to bed for some time. From August 1906 until his death, with a brief and powerful interlude in 1926-7, he lived in relative obscurity. He died in 1951.⁴⁶¹

4.1. Atonement Themes in Evan Roberts and Jessie Penn-Lewis.

Evan Roberts' most important early influence was the Calvinistic Methodist Hymnbook, which was "...the origin of many of his sublimest ideas."⁴⁶² He himself wrote many lines of beautiful poetry that were inspired by this hymnal. Besides this, he read the Calvinist systematician A.A. Hodge, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and C.M. Sheldon's, *In His Steps*. He was also an admirer of George Müller whose example made him "...strongly desirous of being able to rest completely through faith in God."⁴⁶³ Aside from the very obvious pneumatological emphasis in Roberts' preaching, a product of the Keswick teaching on baptism in the Holy Spirit, a further notable theme develops.

⁴⁶⁰ Jones, *Instrument of Revival*, chapters 17-20.

⁴⁶¹ Jones, *Instrument of Revival*, 250.

⁴⁶² Phillips, *Roberts*, 67.

⁴⁶³ Phillips, *Roberts*, 68. cf. Evans, 1904, 64.

Roberts' emphasis on atonement themes was part of a long revival tradition in Wales. Gethsemane had been a favourite theme ever since its significant role in the very first Welsh revival sermon. Thomas Phillips testifies:

Not far from this place [Llandrindon Wells] a great revival broke out as Daniel Rowland was reading from the Litany in Church: 'By thy agony and bloody sweat', and people broke down and the life of Wales was altered...⁴⁶⁴

Nantlais Williams received an assurance of salvation by way of Gethsemane:

I realized...it is by *believing* we receive salvation: not through effort and anguish in prayer all night on my part, but through the wrestling of Another for me in the Garden, and on the cross; yes, by relying on him and his bloody sweat and dying agony.⁴⁶⁵

It was noted by H. Elvet, writing to *The British Weekly*, that "the unveiling of the cross and the rediscovery of intercessory prayer" were notable characteristics of the 1904 revival, drawing particular attention to the hymns:

The most effective hymns of the present Revival are in the key either of the sufferings of Jesus in the Garden or on Calvary, or of the gracious wonder of His atoning love...⁴⁶⁶

Evans draws attention to the type of hymns that were sung as evidence that the Welsh Revival was not as influenced by Keswick as has often been claimed,⁴⁶⁷ saying that

⁴⁶⁴ Sermon by Rev Thomas Phillips at the Welsh Keswick of 1912: Jones, B., *The Spiritual History of Keswick in Wales 1903-1983*, (Cwmbran: Christian Literature Press, 1989), 23.

⁴⁶⁵ Testimony of Nantlais Williams' conversion while singing hymns at a Saturday night meeting, Evans, 1904, 106.

⁴⁶⁶ An article entitled "The Heart of the Revival" *The British Weekly* (2 Feb 1905), Evans, 1904, 167.

⁴⁶⁷ He cites in particular, Jessie Penn-Lewis' book, *The Awakening in Wales 1904-5* and R.B. Jones' *Rent Heavens*: "Keswick had not a little to do with the birth of the Revival, and many have wondered how it happened that, when it was born, the nurse did not seem to welcome her child." (p28), Evans, 1904, 168. F.B. Meyer was lambasted for claiming personal credit for the origins of the Revival, dating

those affected sang songs about “redemption and assurance” drawing from 18th Century Calvinistic Methodism, not the hymns of “holiness and consecration” that were sung at Keswick.⁴⁶⁸ Those impacted saw themselves in a direct lineage with previous Welsh Revivals, not “a novel English holiness movement.”⁴⁶⁹ An example of the assurance theme is found in this popular hymn:

Jesus’ blood exalts the feeble,
 Makes their victory complete;
 Jesus’ blood brings down the mighty,
 Lays them humble at His feet.
 Heavenly breezes!
 Breathe on me from Calvary.⁴⁷⁰

Added to the soul-stirring portrayals of Gethsemane and the wonders of full assurance of faith that one’s sins were forgiven, a theology of blood-bought victory developed in Roberts that goes one stage beyond this. The new emphasis was demonological in its orientation. A victory theme with reference to besetting sins was common currency in the wake of the numerous Keswick-style conferences for the deepening of the spiritual life held all over Wales, one of which had been the catalyst for the revival. Blood-bought victory over the devil, however, is an apparent *novum*. This victory, initially linked to the ascended Jesus,⁴⁷¹ (hence one of Roberts’ favourite hymns:

the decisive moment all the way back to a highly charged meeting he had held in August of 1904: Evans, 1904, 169.

⁴⁶⁸ Evans, 1904, 170.

⁴⁶⁹ Evans, 1904, 170.

⁴⁷⁰ Hymn by William Williams (1717-91), Jones, *Voices*, 158. There is a history of hymns by William Williams being instrumental in revivals. In a revival at Bontuchel in 1821 was this hymn had particular impact: “Let the gospel reach every land, And wash multitudes in Thy blood.” Evans, E., *When He is Come: The 1858-60 Revival in Wales*, (London: Evangelical Press, 1967), 16. The first appearance of a collection of his hymns, *The Songs of Those who Stand on the Sea of Glass*, led to an outbreak of revival under Daniel Rowland in 1762. Evans, 1858-60, 10.

⁴⁷¹ Evans also records a vision that Roberts experienced of the ascended Christ based on Rev.6:2 & 4 that he received during the very first week of the revival: “The Son of God was going forth to conquer with irresistible power.” Evans, 1904, 87.

Onward March, All-Conquering Jesus), became more and more linked to the cross and blood of Jesus as Roberts' years of revival ministry progressed.

Following his "bend us" experience, which Phillips designates as his baptism in the Holy Spirit, Roberts describes the results of this experience in his diary in the form of poetry:

Now, I am singing all day long
The praises of His blood
No other theme awakes my song
Like Calvary's crimson flood.⁴⁷²

The theme of assurance soon emerges:

Clothe us with Thy heavenly power.
Show to us the strength of guilt:
Show its darts on Calvary gleaming
When the Surety's blood was spilt...⁴⁷³

By 11 October 1904, the beginning of his devil-consciousness has shown itself. The answer to the devil is the blood:

...the devil is at his best these days. He attacks me with all his might; and he also ploughs up the past of my life. But I rejoice that all has been done away with by the virtue of the Blood...⁴⁷⁴

By 27 January 1905, Roberts became very conscious of attacks from the devil in which he was tempted to speak his own words instead of God's.⁴⁷⁵ Evans locates a turning point in the ministry of Roberts that took place in the wake of a hostile article

⁴⁷² Diary entry dated 29 September 1904, Phillips, *Roberts*, 132.

⁴⁷³ Phillips, *Roberts*, 537.

⁴⁷⁴ Letter to Mr Davies dated October 11 1904, Phillips, D., *Evan Roberts, the Great Welsh Revivalist and his Work*, (London: Marshall Brothers, 1906), 142.

⁴⁷⁵ Letter to Sydney Evans dated 27 January 1905, reproduced in Phillips, *Roberts*, 353. Tudur ascribes a definite change in Roberts' mental state to as early as December 1904 at which point there was already "...clear evidence in Roberts of the stresses and strains imposed upon him as his attitude toward his congregations began to change." Tudur, "Evan Roberts," 95.

about him in the *Western Mail* that appeared on January 31 1905. This article wrote off his meetings as a “sham” revival. From this time, Roberts was prone to detecting “hindrances” in the meetings, culminating in a meeting on 21 February 1905 in which he professed to have detected a person in the meeting who was damned beyond the point of recovery.⁴⁷⁶

It was his increasingly unstable behaviour that first provoked the intervention of revival chronicler Jessie Penn-Lewis, who met up with him for the first time over this period, apparently to counsel him over how to discern between the genuine guidance of God and counterfeit promptings.⁴⁷⁷

At this time he was also being advised by his doctor to take more rest.⁴⁷⁸ During a week of rest in which he, after four months of constant work, withdrew into complete seclusion to seek God, he continued to be aware of the attacks of the devil. This prompted him to seek God’s protection upon others as well as himself: “May the powers and light of the Eternal Spirit...keep their persons from the venomous darts of the enemy.”⁴⁷⁹ The following day, he writes, “Satan came, but he was driven to flight. Satan, the father of lies, the accuser, away to the everlasting burnings.”⁴⁸⁰

During this week of seclusion, a very strong emphasis on the atonement is also detectable:

⁴⁷⁶ Jones, *Instrument of Revival*, 90-91.

⁴⁷⁷ Jones, B.P., *The Trials and Triumphs of Mrs Jessie Penn-Lewis*, (North Brunswick: Bridge-Logos, 1997), 157. Even before the revival, Penn-Lewis had spoken of the need to “‘prove all things’ along the line of spiritual experiences,” warning of “the possibility of a Christian being deceived.” Penn-Lewis, J., *Life in the Spirit*, (Fort Washington: Christian Literature Crusade, 1991 (original nd but pp8 & 16 indicate a date between August 1903 and August 1904)), 77.

⁴⁷⁸ Evans, *1904*, 131-135.

⁴⁷⁹ Note written for his two friends B.T. Jones and J.R. Evans as they attempt to visit him but are turned away by his host. Dated 24 February 1905, in Phillips, *Roberts*, 367.

⁴⁸⁰ Diary entry dated 25 February 1905, reproduced in Phillips, *Roberts*, 368.

Keep my hands clean, so that they may not desecrate Thy work – work which cost Divine blood – work hallowed by sweat, yea, and tears, yea, and the heart-blood of my God...own Thy work these days: own it for the sake of the Atonement⁴⁸¹

The following day, he writes, “Wait not until thou goest unto heaven before beginning to praise the Blood. To praise the Blood in heaven cannot bring one soul to accept it.”⁴⁸²

On 6 March, he is again in retirement with a severe cold but insists:

...I shall again be strong to carry the Great Banner – the Great Banner of the Cross – a Banner without ‘Retreat’ to be seen anywhere on it. ‘Victory,’ and this written with the Divine blood of my God!⁴⁸³

Meanwhile Jessie Penn-Lewis had continued to write to Roberts, having heard reports of him lashing out at the crowds upon his return to public ministry in Newquay. She writes to a friend at this time saying, “Evan Roberts is in much need of prayer.”⁴⁸⁴

In the summer of 1905, Roberts’ devil-consciousness is clearly still with him:

The devil came to me, but I did not know at the time it was the devil. He said to me, ‘Thou art unworthy to be with this great and holy work.’⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸¹ Prayer dated 25 February 1905, reproduced from Roberts’ diary in Phillips, *Roberts*, 368.

⁴⁸² Diary entry dated 26 February 1905, Phillips, *Roberts*, 372-3.

⁴⁸³ Letter to Ambrose Williams dated 6 March 1905, Phillips, *Roberts*, 375.

⁴⁸⁴ Letter to a friend dated 29 March 1905, cited in Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 157.

⁴⁸⁵ Address given to 80 theological college students in Bala on 5 July 1905, reproduced from students’ notes in Phillips, *Roberts*, 432.

He goes on to speak at length about the devil. but this time with no mention of the Blood.⁴⁸⁶

It was over the summer of 1905 that regular contact with a determined Penn-Lewis began. By the time of his attendance at her Llandrindod Convention in August, he had begun to speak her language, talking much about “entering into the sufferings of the Cross.”⁴⁸⁷ In the wake of the Convention, she writes to him, convinced that she and her husband have received insight into God’s destiny for the young man: “If you have no light for future steps yet. OUR house is YOURS for as long as He wills.”⁴⁸⁸

Jessie Penn-Lewis, born in 1861 into a Calvinistic Methodist home in Neath, South Wales, and was converted in 1882 whereupon she and her husband William moved to Richmond, Surrey. Here they were impacted by the ministry of Evan Hopkins leading, in 1884, to Jessie Penn-Lewis making a solemn consecration of her life to Christ’s service.⁴⁸⁹ Jessie Penn-Lewis had frequent health problems and it became clear from a very early stage that she would not be able to have children.⁴⁹⁰ She appears instead to have channelled her motherly instincts into caring for wayward and troubled souls via her involvement with the YWCA, and later with the confused and broken Evan Roberts. From 1892, Penn-Lewis became involved with the Keswick Conventions and would later be the tireless organiser of countless local conventions modelled along similar lines. Between 1899 and 1901 was her period of “humiliation”⁴⁹¹ during which her travels across Russia were curtailed by a severe

⁴⁸⁶ Phillips, *Roberts*, 432-34.

⁴⁸⁷ Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 158.

⁴⁸⁸ Letter leaked to the secular press dated 1 Sep 1905, quoted in Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 158.

⁴⁸⁹ Evans, *1904*, 29.

⁴⁹⁰ Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 8.

⁴⁹¹ Chronicled in Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 86-95.

bout of respiratory problems. It was out of this time that her theology of the cross reached maturity. She appears to have emerged from this time much stronger and, from 1903, becomes the organiser of Wales's own full-blown Keswick, located at Llandrindod Wells. This convention would go on to draw the praise of one who commented, "Now at Llandrindod Wells the doctrines of Rowlands and Keswick have come together. The Cross and the Holy Spirit; Calvary and Pentecost..."⁴⁹²

Penn-Lewis herself, however, would be increasingly criticised for her "one-tracked" insistence on preaching the cross.⁴⁹³ She appears to have majored, increasingly, on co-crucifixion.⁴⁹⁴

She developed a strong demonological emphasis as early as 1897 when a series of addresses were given at the China Inland Mission Hall in London, later collected together under the title *Conflict in the Heavens*.⁴⁹⁵ By the time of the first Llandrindod conventions, she appears to have developed a fairly detailed doctrine of spiritual warfare, speaking in language more familiar in late 20th Century charismatic meetings, urging upon her hearers the need to "...bind the devil..."⁴⁹⁶ She appears to be extending the Keswick message concerning victory over internal troubles to include victory over the "wickednesses that are spirits."⁴⁹⁷ This functioned alongside

⁴⁹² Sermon by Rev Thomas Phillips at the Welsh Keswick of 1912: Jones, B., *The Spiritual History of Keswick in Wales 1903-1983*, (Cwmbran: Christian Literature Press, 1989), 23.

⁴⁹³ Evans, 1904, 30.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid. A fairly typical sample is this exposition of her beloved text, Romans 6:1-14: "The work of deliverance from the guilt and bondage of sin was wrought out at Calvary, and the Apostle calls upon the Roman Christians to enter upon the fruit of Christ's death, by a decisive act of faith. With Christ upon the Cross they died, and in His death they were cut off from their old life." Penn-Lewis, J., *The Cross of Calvary and its Message*, (London: Morgan & Scott, 1903), 33-34.

⁴⁹⁵ Garrard, M., *Mrs Penn-Lewis: A Memoir*, (Westbourne: Overcomer Book Room, 1947), 228-9.

⁴⁹⁶ Penn-Lewis, *Life in the Spirit*, 19 (italics original).

⁴⁹⁷ Penn-Lewis, *Life in the Spirit*, 13.

her pre-occupation with the need to be rooted in the death of Christ and to count oneself dead with Him. Victory over the “unseen forces of the powers of darkness”⁴⁹⁸ would not be possible without “an intelligent understanding of our death with Christ on Calvary.”⁴⁹⁹ Her interest in the blood was mostly in relation to the book of Revelation, with its triumphal imagery of the Lamb.⁵⁰⁰ All of this was against the background of a virulent premillennialism in which it was expected that the Deceiver was prowling around seeking to lead astray any who were not under the Blood.⁵⁰¹

As the revival came and then subsided, Penn-Lewis’ consciousness of a spiritual conflict appeared to heighten:

The Church throughout the world was more or less awakened...and now all who know anything of the Spirit-filled life find themselves in a spiritual conflict with the hosts of wickedness in high places, and are discovering that every manifestation of the Holy Spirit is being met by a counterfeit evil one.⁵⁰²

In February 1906⁵⁰³ she wrote again to Roberts, this time more persuasively, inviting him to the Penn-Lewises’ home in Great Glen, Leicester: “I am waiting for the Lord to show you His will and His time for coming here...”⁵⁰⁴ By March 1906, the month in which the exhausted Roberts would finally take up the offer of a home with the

⁴⁹⁸ Penn-Lewis, *Life in the Spirit*, 23.

⁴⁹⁹ Penn-Lewis, *Life in the Spirit*, 23.

⁵⁰⁰ ““They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb” (Revelation 12:11). It does not say here that *Jesus* overcame him, but that the believer overcomes on the ground of the blood...It means no self-indulgence, no grasping of anything for yourself. It means that it will take the whole force of the divine life in you to stand, and to overcome.” Penn-Lewis, *Life in the Spirit*, 74 (parenthesis & italics original). Cf. Penn-Lewis, *The Cross of Calvary*, 121-129.

⁵⁰¹ Her interaction with premillennialism is surveyed in Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 281-290.

⁵⁰² Garrard, *Memoir*, 229, quoting from Penn-Lewis’s booklet *The Warfare with Satan and the Way of Victory*.

⁵⁰³ By this time, Roberts had finished the last of his six preaching tours, the last one being a tour of the North and ending on 4 January 1906. Public attention was already being drawn away from revival to the coming General Election: Tudur, “Evan Roberts,” 94, 96.

⁵⁰⁴ Letter to Evan Roberts dated 19 Feb. 1906, in Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 159.

Penn-Lewises, Roberts' language has become still more demonological. and shows signs of Penn-Lewis' influence:

When I heard that the devil or the evil spirit attacked him, I could not but exclaim "O Lord, put him under the sign of the blood...Remember the blood. Count yourself dead. Count, and then what will the enemy do with dead ones?...My regards to you. May God abide in you, for the Blood's sake..."⁵⁰⁵

From the point of his having taken up residence at Great Glen, much of Evan Roberts' mail was intercepted and contact with him was forbidden to most, an act of control that was much criticised, and remains so⁵⁰⁶ yet appears to have been from honest motives, eager as the Penn-Lewises were to see Roberts make a full recovery from his exhaustion.

Roberts was no recluse over this time, however, and appeared, at his own insistence, at an Easter convention organised by Penn-Lewis in Bangor. Attendance was high owing to leaked information about Roberts' planned appearance there. On 24 April 1906, he opened a meeting in Bangor at which Penn-Lewis was presiding with a prayer that so impressed her that she had it published in the *Life of Faith*:

Put us all under the Blood. O Lord, place the Blood on all our past up to this moment. We thank Thee for the Blood. In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ bind the devil this moment. ...Reveal the Cross for the sake of Jesus – the Cross that is to conquer the world. Place us under the Blood..."⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ Letter to David Roberts dated 13 March 1906, reproduced in Phillips, *Roberts*, 453-4.

⁵⁰⁶ The latest detractor is the popular historical writer Roberts Liardon in his book, *God's Generals: Why They Succeeded and Why Some Failed*, (New Kensington: Whitaker House, 1996), 95-102: Here she is vilified as a "Jezebel" and portrayed as anxious to have a share in Roberts' fame.

⁵⁰⁷ Prayer offered April 24th 1906, reproduced in Phillips, *Roberts*, 476.

At this convention, Roberts preached two “passionate exhortations” about facing the cross⁵⁰⁸ and apologised for all his “unbelief in the power of the Blood.”⁵⁰⁹ It is here that he publicly adopted Penn-Lewis’s theology of the cross.⁵¹⁰

At another convention in Porth in the June of that year, it appears that the Penn-Lewisization of Roberts’ language has become complete. He is asked to open in prayer:

Claim victory for Thy Son now, Lord. He is worthy to have the victory. Thou art the all-powerful God. Oh, claim victory. We give all the glory to Thy name. No one else has a right to glory...Oh, Holy Spirit – do Thou work through us and in us now. Sanctify us. Bring us all under the blood of Calvary. Take Thy handmaid and speak through her...⁵¹¹

The following day, Roberts was preaching. In this sermon, he is utterly cross-centred, speaking throughout of being “face-to-face with the Cross of Christ,” and of “following Christ to Calvary.”⁵¹² He assures his listeners that “It is possible through Him to have God to cleanse the past with the Blood,” and recites 1John1:7.⁵¹³ He speaks freely about “Full Deliverance,” “The Power of the Blood,” and, “Getting Authority over the Enemy.”⁵¹⁴

Roberts went on to give four addresses at his first (and last) Keswick convention in July 1906, following this with an appearance at the Llandrindod convention in August at which he claimed that it had been the “Father of Lies” that had persuaded him not

⁵⁰⁸ Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 152-3.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 160.

⁵¹¹ Prayer offered on 28 June 1906 and taken down by David Phillips, reproduced in his, *Roberts*, 478

⁵¹² Sermon dated 29 June 1906, reproduced in Phillips, *Roberts*, 478-483.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 161.

to preach about the cross, implying, much to the chagrin of those present, that anyone who likewise failed to preach the cross as much as Penn-Lewis did had been listening to the same lying spirit.⁵¹⁵ The hostile response to him at Llandrindod brought on another severe mental and physical breakdown, forcing him to spend the next year recovering at the Penn-Lewises' home.

4.2. Jessie Penn-Lewis and Pentecostalism.

From 1908, Penn-Lewis's campaign against demonic counterfeit power was stepped up as news of the spread of Pentecostalism around the world reached her. To the applause of F.B. Meyer,⁵¹⁶ she began a series of articles in *The Christian* entitled "An Hour of Peril."⁵¹⁷ These articles reach an estimated 250,000 Christian workers worldwide and provoked a mixed response. It is at this time that correspondence with Alexander Boddy at Sunderland began.⁵¹⁸ Penn-Lewis took the trouble to attend at least one of the Pentecostal meetings at Sunderland - on 11 October 1907 - and endeavoured to maintain an eirenic spirit towards Boddy. She expressed concern in her first letter, which was never sent, that "...there are other spirits at work in your midst," and that no amount of "claiming the Blood" will help.⁵¹⁹ Following a far

⁵¹⁵ Jones, *Penn-Lewis*, 161.

⁵¹⁶ Like Penn-Lewis, Meyer would go on to become more definitely anti-Pentecostal, in his case, owing to the influence of Keswick speaker W. Graham Scroggie. By the end of his life, in 1929, however, Meyer's position would become more moderate; Randall, *Spirituality and Social Change*, 42.

⁵¹⁷ Garrard, *Memoir*, 227.

⁵¹⁸ Boddy seems to have initiated the correspondence on 1 June 1907. He was already concerned that Penn-Lewis's writings were putting people off: "...at present there seems a mighty effort to keep out of Great Britain this sign which the Lord is giving and which He promised." Letter to Jessie Penn-Lewis held at Donald Gee Centre for Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies.

⁵¹⁹ Unsent letter to Alexander Boddy dated 28 Oct. 1907. She goes on: "...unless the message of the Cross in its full objective power is followed by the deepest experimental talking (sic.) to death of the 'soulish' life - that the soulish life is the vehicle for Satan's subtle usage..."

friendlier version of this letter sent a few days later.⁵²⁰ Boddy wrote back lamenting that people had become so over-concerned about the possibility of counterfeit manifestations they needed to be reminded that “the Holy Spirit can and does manifest Himself more powerfully and wonderfully.”⁵²¹ Penn-Lewis replied in graver tones than before, voicing her concerns that Barratt was under the influence of “animal magnetism” through which evil spirits could operate but promises to “qualify” the contents of her forthcoming book on condition that Boddy and his wife (for whom she was especially concerned) agree to meet her.⁵²² The next piece of correspondence was from the pen of Mary Boddy. In this letter, she assured Penn-Lewis that “...we definitely put every meeting under the shelter of the precious Blood and ‘bound the strong man.’”⁵²³ She then went on to testify of her brother’s positive experience of the meetings in which he had a “vision of the power of the blood,” and exclaimed, “Oh, the victory of the Blood...”⁵²⁴ Penn-Lewis’s response to this appears to have been saved up for her forthcoming book.

During the years 1907-12, Penn-Lewis’s attitude towards the Pentecostals clearly hardened. The book that emerged out of that period is nowhere near as eirenic as her initial correspondence with Boddy had been. This book was “*War on the Saints. A Text Book on the Work of Deceiving Spirits Among the Children of God, and the Way of Deliverance*.” This first appeared in October 1912 with the endorsement of Evan Roberts on the inside cover: “As a key to a lock so is the truth in this book to NEED...” During her days as the organiser of the Llandrindod convention, from 1903

⁵²⁰ Dated 31 Oct 1907.

⁵²¹ Letter to Jessie Penn-Lewis dated 4 Nov. 1907. In this letter, Boddy is even so bold as to invite Evan Roberts to come and preach at Sunderland.

⁵²² Letter to Boddy dated 9 Nov. 1907.

⁵²³ Letter to Jessie Penn-Lewis dated 12 Nov. 1907.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

to 1909, her preoccupation had been with the doctrine of co-crucifixion as the true key to a higher Christian life. Now she turned her attention more fully to 'deceiving spirits,' portraying in great detail, with diagrams and appendices. how it is that demons can deceive Christians into a pseudo-baptism in the Spirit experience. The deception comes in by way of the senses, causing a Christian to be led away by various supernatural phenomena that can be seen and felt. This, apparently, detracts from pure faith. The object of her attack would appear to be entirely the Pentecostal movement, which was drawing in a large number of converts from the Welsh Revival.

Penn-Lewis has much to say about the blood of Christ in this volume. First, she denounces the "*mistaken conception concerning the 'shelter of the Blood,' claimed upon an assembly as a guarantee of absolute protection from the workings of the powers of darkness.*"⁵²⁵ Here, she clearly has the Sunderland meetings in mind. She corrects this "mistaken conception" by pointing out that, according to the New Testament, the functions of the Blood are to cleanse from sin,⁵²⁶ provide access into the Holiest of All and to provide the ground for victory over Satan.⁵²⁷ She points out that this victory is not automatic:

...we do not read that any can be put 'under the Blood' apart from their own volition, and individual condition before God; e.g., if the 'shelter of the Blood' is claimed over an assembly of people, and one present is giving ground for

⁵²⁵ Penn-Lewis, J., "*War on the Saints*" 3rd Ed., (Leicester: Overcomer Book Room, 1922), 61. Italics original.

⁵²⁶ She expounds 1John 1:7 with the accent on "scrutiny": "Evil spirits hate scrutiny...The Blood of Jesus Christ, God's Son, cleanseth us from all sin, if we walk in the light; but the *light must shine* in for the soul to walk in it." Penn-Lewis, "*War*", 206. This cleansing is the second of four conditions to receiving the Holy Spirit, the other three being: "1. putting away of every known sin...3.obedience right up to the edge of light through the Word of God; 4. full surrender to God as His entirely, with not one thing clung to and withheld from Him..." Penn-Lewis, "*War*", 290. This cleansing is "...needed continuously..." Penn-Lewis, "*War*", 234.

⁵²⁷ Penn-Lewis, "*War*", 61.

Satan, the 'claiming of the Blood' does not avail to prevent Satan working on the ground which he has a right to in that person.⁵²⁸

She offers the warning, as she had to Boddy years previously, that people present at a meeting where both God and Satan are at work may mistakenly believe that they are safe under the Blood.⁵²⁹

The way in which she recommends claiming protection by the Blood involves linking the idea to her co-crucifixion doctrine:

To resist the enemy on the ground of the blood of Christ, means wielding the weapon of the finished work of Christ, by faith: *i.e.*, His death for sin, freeing the trusting believer from the guilt of sin: His death to sin on the cross and the believer's death with Him, freeing the man from the power of sin, and His death victory on Calvary freeing the believer from the power of Satan.⁵³⁰

Both Alexander Boddy and Penn-Lewis felt that there was value in a demonocentric blood mysticism. Both agreed that the blood was essential to protect an individual or a gathering from coming under the control of a deceiving spirit as the experience of Pentecost is sought. They differed only in their view of the appropriation of it. For Boddy, the Blood worked, like the sacrament of the Eucharist itself, *ex opera operato*. For Penn-Lewis, the Blood only worked like a sacramental, it worked *ex opera operantis*, although she perhaps would not have put it in such terms. For Boddy, the blood worked automatically, while for Penn-Lewis, it worked only in conjunction

⁵²⁸ Penn-Lewis, "War", 61.

⁵²⁹ Penn-Lewis, "War", 62.

⁵³⁰ Penn-Lewis, "War", 199. This resistance must be ongoing: "Keep claiming the power of the blood (Rev.xii.11)..." Penn-Lewis, "War", 198. It must also be vocal: "The believer must now insist on EXPRESSING HIMSELF IN VOICE, until the spirit breaks through into liberty. This is 'the word of testimony' which is said, in Rev.xii.11, to be part of the overcoming power over the dragon. The wrestling believer stands on the (1) ground of the Blood of the Lamb, which includes all that the finished work of Calvary means in victory over sin and Satan..." Penn-Lewis, "War", 248.

with the consecrated attitude of the believer. And, of course, for Penn-Lewis, the mere fact that the Pentecostals were looking for visible, physical or sensual signs of the Spirit moving, placed them well outside the Blood's protection in any event.

Conclusion.

With Evan Roberts and Jessie Penn-Lewis, a new dimension of blood mysticism appears to have emerged. Until them, blood mysticism was first theocentric, it was merit before God and a motive to devotion. Then, with the advent of Christian Perfection and the need for a personal cleansing, it became anthropocentric. Now, with Roberts and Penn-Lewis, blood veneration took on a quasi-magical dimension. It was now demonocentric. It is the blood mysticism of spiritual paranoia; it is the kind of belief that develops in the breasts of those who feel themselves to be inhabiting a world torn between God and Satan, and praying through a heaven clouded with demons.

It is difficult to identify with precision at what point this brand of spirituality begins to develop. Whether or not Jessie Penn-Lewis is the true originator of the more recent terminology of spiritual warfare, such as 'binding the devil,' and claiming 'authority over the enemy' is not clear. Neither is it clear whether she is the originator of the usage of the blood in spiritual warfare. She does not appear to be the originator of devil and demon consciousness in Roberts, neither is she the originator of his understanding that the Blood was the key to victory, but she certainly appears to have had the effect of confirming and deepening his convictions about the cross and blood

of Jesus. Roberts himself was clearly conscious, after moving in with the Penn-Lewis, of a change in his own thinking about the importance and power of the atonement.

There are remarkable similarities between early Pentecostalism and the Roberts-Penn-Lewis approach. As we will see, Jessie Penn-Lewis and Alexander Boddy both saw the Blood in a similar light. They both understood it to procure the believer's victory over Satan, and that this victory must be appropriated in faith. They differed only in the methodology for exercising this confidence in the blood. We will also encounter further similarities between the language used by Roberts-Penn-Lewis and the language that William Seymour used as he sought to reassure people of the apotropeic power of staying 'under the blood,' a phrase first noticeable in Evan Roberts.

Thinking biblically, this pneumatic demon-consciousness might, on first sight, appear to be very different to the forms of spirituality evident in the 1st century. The highly pneumatic churches of the Gentile world do not appear to have been preoccupied with the devil. Neither is there any evidence that any in the early church developed a methodology based on the atonement for dealing with the devil.⁵³¹ It seems, instead, to have been the name of Christ that was invoked in encounters with demons, rather than the blood of Christ.⁵³² What Paul's charismatic churches had in common with the pneumatically-inclined of the 20th century was a strong anticipation of the return of Christ. In the 20th century, world events were such as to produce a kind of eschatological gloom amongst many Christians. The premillennial vision of an imminent return of Christ, the thought that Christ could come at any moment, further

⁵³¹ Notwithstanding Col.2:15; Heb.2:14 and Rev.12:11.

⁵³² In Philippi: Acts 16:18, cf.Phil.2:9-10, and in Ephesus: Acts 19:13, cf. Eph. 1:21.

intensified the apocalyptic mindset. And it was this mindset, fundamentally pessimistic as it was about the world's trajectory and thoroughly convinced as it was that there was a personal evil agent behind it, that supplied the context in which demon-minded blood mysticism took shape.

A third direct influence on Sunderland after Keswick and the Welsh Revival, namely the Azusa Street Revival of 1906, will now be examined.

5. 'Under the Blood' at Azusa Street.

Introduction.

The events of April 1906 in Los Angeles under the leadership of the one-eyed Afro-American holiness preacher, William J. Seymour, are still considered by most to be the beginnings of worldwide Pentecostalism.⁵³³ This is a consensus borne of two factors. Firstly, the fact that Frank Bartleman's account of the revival at Los Angeles, published in 1925, was the first to reach a wide audience. His version of events places Los Angeles at centre stage as far as Pentecostal beginnings are concerned, though he acknowledges the preparatory stages of the Welsh Revival and the Mukti Mission Revival in India.⁵³⁴ Secondly, as early as January 1907, Charles Parham, the chief contender for the title of true originator of modern tongues speaking, fell from grace in the eyes of the public, being unable to fend off unsubstantiated rumours of homosexuality.⁵³⁵ Further, his doctrine of tongues-speaking led him to be more cautious than Seymour about its use as a missionary tool. In contrast to Parham's

⁵³³ The main detractor of this perception has been Creech who cites "Azusa's journalistic boosters" as being the main contributors to the elevation of happenings at Azusa to the level of "apocalyptic events of international magnitude." Creech, J., "Visions of Glory: the Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History," *Church History* 65:3 (1996), 407. A recent study by Van Der Laan, however, places beyond doubt the historical, and not merely the symbolical, importance of Azusa Street as the prime point of origin for international Pentecostalism: Van Der Laan, C., "What Good Can Come From Los Angeles? Changing Perceptions of the North American Pentecostal Origins in Early Western European Pentecostal Periodicals," in Hunter, H.D., & C. Robeck (eds), *The Azusa Street Revival and its Legacy*, (Cleveland: Pathway Press, 2006), 141-159.

⁵³⁴ Bartleman, F., *Azusa Street: the Roots of Modern-day Pentecost*, (Plainfield: Bridge Publishing, 1980), 90.

⁵³⁵ Goff, J., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 136-142.

followers, Azusa Street missionaries held that tongues-speaking was a God-given way of communicating with foreign peoples. Excitement about this meant that Azusa Street produced far more overseas missionaries than Parham's Bible school produced. This international footprint of the Mission inevitably raised its profile above other Pentecostal centres in the USA at that time.⁵³⁶ Parham's importance to the movement has only recently been acknowledged.⁵³⁷ The place of Azusa Street, and therefore William Seymour's place, in history as the chief point of origin of global Pentecostalism seems undeniable.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ For Robeck, this is a major reason why Azusa Street is the "birthplace of global Pentecostalism." Robeck, *Azusa Street Revival and Mission: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement*, (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 239. cf. 240. A number of highly influential missionaries went to various destinations from Azusa Street: In November 1906, T.B. Barratt was baptized in the Holy Spirit in New York following correspondence with Azusa Street and took his experience back to Oslo with him. In December 1906, on the same ship as Barratt on his way back to Norway, Lucy Farrow, who had been assisting Seymour for some months, together with the now repentant Julia Hutchins and four others, sailed for North Africa. In January 1907 Alfred and Lillian Garr sailed for India and later went on to Sri Lanka and Hong Kong. In the October 1907-January 1908 issue of the *Apostolic Faith* it was claimed that "Spirit-filled missionaries have gone out from Los Angeles to Monrovia, Liberia, Africa, two sisters to South China and a band of nine missionaries to North China." In January 1908, Cecil Polhill received his baptism in the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street and went on to found the first Pentecostal missionary society: the Pentecostal Missionary Union. In the same year, John G. Lake visited Azusa and was inspired by Seymour. Lake went on to name his new South African Pentecostal denomination after Azusa Street: the Apostolic Faith Mission. Owen Adams brought the blessing of Azusa to Robert Semple, husband of Aimee Semple, who both then travelled to Hong Kong. After her husband's death, Aimee went on to make Los Angeles the base for her ministry. Robeck estimates that "nearly two dozen" missionaries went out from Azusa Street within the first year, followed by about the same number over the following two years. Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 69-95; "Testimonies of Outgoing Missionaries," *Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (October 1906), 8-9; "From Los Angeles to Home and Foreign Fields," *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec. 1906), 42; 54; "Pentecostal Missionary Reports," *Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Oct-Jan. 1908), 8; Robeck, *Azusa*, 250.

⁵³⁷ German Pentecostals, however, were exceptional in seeing Parham and not Seymour as the founding father: Van Der Laan, "What Good can Come From Los Angeles?" 155-159. From the Berlin Declaration of 1907 until 1919 when some correspondence began with Los Angeles, German Christians took exception to the fanatical and demonic "Los Angeles spirit." Ibid., 158.

⁵³⁸ One of Seymour's most ardent biographers, himself an African-American, would strongly support this but is slightly idiosyncratic in claiming that too much place has been given by historians to Parham due to "the influence of American racism on subsequent historical records," a view that seems difficult to sustain in the light of most of the published work of the past 40 years on the subject. Sanders, R., *William Joseph Seymour: Black Father of the 20th Century Pentecostal Charismatic Movement*, (Sandusky: Alexandria Publications, 2003), viii. Some significant work done on Seymour and Azusa Street in the past 40 years would include: Kendrick, K., *The Promise Fulfilled: A History of the American Pentecostal Movement*, (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1961). Nichols, J., *Pentecostalism*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), Synan, V., *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), Hollenweger, W., *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1972), Anderson, R., *Vision of the Disinherited*, (Oxford University Press, 1979). Nelson, D., "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival," (Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1981). Owen, R., *Speak to the Rock: The Azusa Street Revival: Its Roots and Its*

Born in 1870 in Los Angeles, William Joseph Seymour was the son of freed slaves. As a result of the Black Code of 1724, Seymour's parents would have been required to become Catholics. The Catholicism that developed among the slaves, however, was really a form of West African spirituality clothed outwardly in a Christian garb.⁵³⁹ Indeed, some have noted the similarity between the Pentecostal concept of baptism in the Holy Spirit and the West African concept of spirit possession.⁵⁴⁰ Seymour was raised in an atmosphere that made him very open to the existence of good and evil spirits and their beneficent or malicious affect upon people, as well as to the possibility of direct communication with the spirit world. The existence of and need for special revelation – messages received directly from God - seems to have become an important doctrine for Seymour not long after his conversion in 1895. It was possibly in connection with this subject that he developed a lifelong friendship with Charles Mason, founder of the Church of God in Christ.⁵⁴¹

Seymour was converted at an African Methodist Episcopal church in Indianapolis but soon joined the Evening Light Saints, a radical Wesleyan holiness group, as these were more sympathetic to his penchant for special revelation and his preference for premillennialism.⁵⁴² He was invited in 1905 by Lucy Farrow to pastor a holiness

Message, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1998), Robeck, C., "The International Significance of Azusa Street," *Pneuma* (Spring 1986) and Robeck's already cited book of 2006.

⁵³⁹ Robeck speaks illuminatingly of, "Seymour's formative years in the context where the supernatural was taken for granted, where spirits, both 'good' and 'evil' were commonly discussed, and where dreams and visions were understood to contain messages that sometimes foretold the future..."

Robeck, *Azusa*, 21.

⁵⁴⁰ Lovett, L., "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement" in Synan, V., (ed) *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, (Plainfield: Logos, 1975).

⁵⁴¹ Robeck, *Azusa*, 35-37.

⁵⁴² Robeck, *Azusa*, 30. Martin Wells Knapp, founder of God's Bible School in Cincinnati, at which Seymour studied for a time in 1900, may also have contributed to Seymour's theology of special revelation. Knapp wrote a book entitled *Impressions*, aiming at providing guidelines for distinguishing between true God-given impressions and counterfeit, demonic ones. Robeck, *Azusa*, 33.

mission near Houston. There, in Houston, he was introduced for the first time to Charles Parham and his Bible school. Early in 1906, Seymour was permitted, thanks to Lucy Farrow's mediation, to attend Parham's all white Bible school by sitting outside the window of the classroom. Seymour soon fell under the spell of Parham's teaching on tongues as the initial evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit, although neither he nor Parham had experienced the gift at this stage. Lucy Farrow had this gift, however, and was able to help convince Seymour of its reality. This latter-day restoration of the gift of tongues to the Church was described by Parham, an ardent Zionist, British-Israelist and premillennialist, as the Apostolic Faith. The faith and practice of the churches of the New Testament apostles was being restored in preparation for the return of Christ. Parham styled himself as the Projector of this Apostolic Faith Movement.⁵⁴³

Parham soon arranged for Seymour to do some preaching in Houston, being particularly keen that Seymour should be used to reach the African-Americans with the Apostolic Faith message. Seymour's competent preaching in Houston was witnessed by a member of a small black majority holiness group that was based in Los Angeles. This group was under the provisional leadership of Julia Hutchins. Wishing to appoint a male leader, Hutchins promptly invited Seymour to leave Houston to become the pastor of the group. Joseph Smale, a zealous Baptist preacher determined to bring the Welsh Revival to Los Angeles, and Frank Bartleman, the earliest chronicler of the Azusa Street revival, had both previously preached to this small gathering of nine families. When Seymour came, however, he brought a traditional Wesleyan holiness message combined with Parham's tongues emphasis.

⁵⁴³ Robeck, *Azusa*, 45.

stating overtly that unless one spoke in tongues one could not claim to be baptised in the Spirit. A number in Hutchins's congregation were quite willing to accept this message. Hutchins herself, however, considered herself to be already baptized in the Spirit because she had experienced entire sanctification. She had no need of a confirming sign. Still less did she want to be told that, without this sign, she was not in fact baptized in the Spirit at all. She was so offended by Seymour's teaching that she famously padlocked the door to him in time for his return for the evening service.⁵⁴⁴

Seymour then began his own work with a handful of sympathetic followers, beginning with a nightly prayer meeting at 214 North Bonnie Brae Street. On April 6 1906 a 10 day fast was inaugurated. On April 9, Edward Lee was healed and spoke in tongues. On the same day, Jennie Evans Moore (later to become Seymour's wife), spoke in tongues and miraculously played the piano. Soon, the meetings at North Bonnie Brae Street were attracting the attention of the whole neighbourhood:

They shouted three days and nights. It was Easter season. The people came from everywhere. By the next morning there was no way of getting near the house. As people came in they would fall under God's power; and the whole city was stirred. They shouted until the foundation of the house gave way, but no one was hurt.⁵⁴⁵

On April 12 Seymour himself spoke in tongues. By April 14, owing to all the publicity, the group had grown so large, it had to move to an abandoned building: 312 Azusa Street. The first of many less than flattering newspaper reports appeared on April 18 1906, the day before the portentous San Francisco earthquake. In a matter of

⁵⁴⁴ His text had been Acts 2:4: Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 45. Synan, *Century of the Spirit*, 46-47.

⁵⁴⁵ *Pentecostal Evangel* 6:4 (1946), 6.

months, this old fly-ridden building became a world centre for Pentecostal activity, and was open for prayer and preaching around the clock for three years until 1909. The publication of *The Apostolic Faith* helped spread the Pentecostal message throughout the USA and the world. Beginning with a distribution list of 10,000 addresses,⁵⁴⁶ *The Apostolic Faith* reached a readership of 50,000 within three years.⁵⁴⁷

When, in October 1906, Charles Parham came to see the mission for himself, he was disgusted at the racial intermingling and the unbridled fanaticism. Parham tried to take over the work but Seymour's followers were loyal. Parham then started a competing mission nearby. By June 1908, Clara Lum, the editor of *The Apostolic Faith*, appears to have stolen the mailing list⁵⁴⁸ and moved to Portland, Oregon, where she teamed up with a former church member, Florence Crawford, where they ran an independent mission, and, at the same time, claimed the paper as their own. In 1911, while Seymour was away preaching, William Durham attempted to take over the Mission but was repelled by Seymour's board of trustees and was locked out by Seymour himself.⁵⁴⁹ Like Parham before him, Durham then also started his own mission nearby. In 1913, Seymour was not invited to the Arroyo Seco camp meeting – the meeting of the very organisation he had founded, the Apostolic Faith Mission. In 1915, Seymour concluded that, since all these people who had sought to undermine his ministry were white, the problem was racism.⁵⁵⁰ As a result, he developed a policy

⁵⁴⁶ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec. 1906), 15.

⁵⁴⁷ Cauchi, T., "William J. Seymour and the History of the Azusa Street Mission" in *The Apostolic Faith: the Original Azusa Street Editions 1-13 Plus Editions 19 & 20 From Portland, Oregon*, (CD-ROM, Bishops Waltham: Tony Cauchi, 2004), 15.

⁵⁴⁸ This was initially under the guise of taking the mailing list with her to a conference so that she could continue her editorial responsibilities while away from the mission.

⁵⁴⁹ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 143, 150-52.

⁵⁵⁰ Seymour seldom publicly resisted anyone, however, and frequently invited his enemies to take the pulpit. Lardon points out that this might not have been down to his humility so much as his belief that if he lost the right attitude and became angry, he would lose his salvation. He cites this extract from the *Apostolic Faith*: "If you get angry, or speak evil, or backbite, I care not how many tongues you may

of forbidding anyone white from being appointed to leadership. The congregation gradually dwindled. Seymour himself died in 1922. One more takeover attempt was made by Ruthford Griffith in 1930, resulting in a protracted legal battle, in the middle of which the mission was demolished in 1932. After the loss of their building, the original Azusa Street congregation returned to their original home at North Bonnie Brae Street. Mrs Seymour died in 1936.⁵⁵¹

An emphasis on the blood at the Azusa Street mission is indicated in what has now become the most famous quotation from the early ministry of that church: "The color line has been washed away in the blood."⁵⁵² Frank Bartleman relates how "...the 'blood' songs" were very popular" in the meetings.⁵⁵³ Some of the most popular songs at the meetings included *Under the Blood*, *The Blood is all my Plea*, *Are you Washed in the Blood*, *Saved by the Blood of the Crucified One*, *Hallelujah! 'Tis Done*, and, *Oh The Blood, The Blood, The Blood Done Sign my Name*.⁵⁵⁴ William Durham, admiring what he saw at Azusa, reflected that, "The Holy Spirit always exalts Jesus, and His precious blood. As He is exalted and faithfully preached, God is restoring the old time power."⁵⁵⁵ New Testament scholar A.S. Worrell wrote approvingly of Azusa in the holiness periodical *Way of Faith*, "The blood of Jesus is exalted in these meetings as I have rarely known elsewhere."⁵⁵⁶ Wacker believes that, due to a declining emphasis on the atonement among most churches, some people were attracted to the

have, you have not the baptism with the Holy Spirit. You have lost your salvation." *Apostolic Faith* 1: 9 (June 1907), 12. Liardon, *God's Generals*, 159.

⁵⁵¹ The only published study devoted to her life is Robeck, C. M., "Moore, Jennie Evans (1883-1936)" *NIDPCM*, 906-907.

⁵⁵² F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street: the Roots of Modern-day Pentecost*, (Plainfield: Bridge Publishing, 1980), xviii.

⁵⁵³ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 57.

⁵⁵⁴ Robeck, *Azusa*, 146-7.

⁵⁵⁵ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 156.

⁵⁵⁶ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 86.

Pentecostals precisely because they “constantly talked about the saving efficacy of Jesus’ blood.”⁵⁵⁷ This declining emphasis on the atonement as a sacrifice for sin was, as intimated in earlier chapters, the result of theological liberalism. Among Evangelicals this was encouraging a radicalisation process that meant that many Evangelicals defiantly emphasised the death of Christ all the more.

Partly because of his refusal to be tied down to any one denominational group, and partly because of his prolific literary output that included some 550 articles for the Christian press,⁵⁵⁸ Frank Bartleman became hugely significant as the bearer of Pentecostal tidings across the English speaking world and beyond. Goff accords him the credit for so publicising the Azusa Street Mission over the late summer of 1906 that it rapidly grew from a congregation of about 150 regular attendees to an assembly that was packed to capacity (about 600) by nightly visitors from all across America.⁵⁵⁹ As alluded to earlier, Bartleman is also credited with having written the first complete history of the emergence of Pentecostalism in a book that first appeared in 1925 under the title, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles – As it Was in the Beginning*. I will be using a recent edition that includes a useful foreword by Vinson Synan: *Azusa Street: The Roots of Modern-Day Pentecost*.⁵⁶⁰ Bartleman’s account is significant to this study because of his detail regarding the continuity of the Los Angeles revival with

⁵⁵⁷ Wacker, G., *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 88. This is certainly borne out in later British Pentecostalism. Regarding the Oxford Group, one defector to Pentecostalism comments: “In all the meetings of the Group I have ever attended or heard about there has never been any mention of the blood of Christ in its expiatory character.” Commons, Harold, “My Experience with the Oxford Group,” *Redemption Tidings* 9:4 (April 1933), 3.

⁵⁵⁸ Robeck, C., “Bartleman, Frank” in Burgess, S., & E. Van Der Maas, (eds), *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 366.

⁵⁵⁹ Goff, *Fields White*, 113-5.

⁵⁶⁰ Publication details as at note 473. Another, slightly more recent edition has an epilogue by Arthur Wallis. In this he gives a church history survey from a Restorationist perspective, claiming exclusively the Welsh Revival of 1904 as the event “...out of which came the world-wide Pentecostal Movement...” without even a mention of Azusa Street, an extremely odd piece of work to use as a foreword for a book on precisely that subject, but which makes a useful point nonetheless: Bartleman, F., *Azusa Street*, (New Kensington: Whitaker, 1982), 165.

the Welsh Revival. thus providing the opportunity for an assessment of any possible dependencies with regards to atonement terminology. To his account we now turn.

5.1. Frank Bartleman's Account.

Frank Bartleman was born in 1871, the son of a “stern Roman Catholic”⁵⁶¹ and grew up on a farm.⁵⁶² He lived with perpetual poor health with the thought of death never far away. Following his conversion in 1893 at the age of 22, his zeal for the pulpit began.⁵⁶³ He was theologically somewhat better educated than many other early Pentecostal leaders, having studied at Temple College and Moody Bible Institute.⁵⁶⁴ He was a denominational drifter, allying himself at different stages with the Salvation Army and the Wesleyans in Pennsylvania, Pillar of Fire in Denver and Peniel Mission in Sacramento, before finally arriving in Los Angeles in December 1904.⁵⁶⁵ Here, after the tragic loss of his eldest child, Esther, at the tender age of three and a half, he made friends with Joseph Smale at First Baptist Church. After news broke of the Welsh Revival, lengthy prayer meetings were held at this church for revival to come to Los Angeles.⁵⁶⁶ These were heady days of expectation when all across the city many churches and holiness groups were stirred to pray for Welsh Revival phenomena to be seen in Los Angeles. Bartleman's account begins with his arrival in Los Angeles.

⁵⁶¹ Robeck, “Bartleman,” 366.

⁵⁶² Synan, V., “Frank Bartleman and Azusa Street” in Bartleman, *Azusa*, xii.

⁵⁶³ Synan, “Bartleman,” xii.

⁵⁶⁴ Robeck, “Bartleman,” 366.

⁵⁶⁵ Robeck, “Bartleman,” 366; Synan, “Bartleman,” xii-xv.

⁵⁶⁶ Synan, “Bartleman,” xv-xvi.

The Welsh Revival looms large throughout the early chapters of his book. Bartleman had a keen sense of Christian history and was clearly well taught on all the important names and movements of Protestant church history.⁵⁶⁷ Bartleman possibly saw himself as a Melanchthon:

Luther himself declared he was but a rough woodsman, to fell the trees. Pioneers are of that nature. God has polished Melanchthons, to follow up and trim and shape the timber symmetrically.⁵⁶⁸

He puts forward a biblical-historical framework for understanding the revival then taking place:

Wales was but intended as the cradle for this worldwide restoration of the power of God, India [the Mukti Mission revival] but the Nazareth where He was 'brought up',⁵⁶⁹

He has an Old Testament framework for Joseph Smale and William Seymour:

...Brother Smale was God's Moses, to lead the people as far as the Jordan, though he himself never got across [Smale never accepted tongues]. Brother Seymour led them over.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁷ He mentions John Wesley 11 x (pp.4, 16, 45, 75, 89, 99, 152, 168-9, Martin Luther 11x (pp.9, 62, 75, 80, 151, 165, 170, 171), Zwingli 4x (pp.102, 170, 171), Charles Finney 4x (pp.27, 137, 162, 173), Melanchthon 3x (pp.62, 80, 160), John Bunyan 1x (p.171), Fryth 1x (p.172), Cranmer 1x (p.172), and John Fletcher 1x (p.27). These suffering, misunderstood reformers of Protestant history are used by Bartleman as an interpretational matrix that helps him to make sense the good and the bad that he saw happening around him: "Cranmer, another of the reformers, did not embrace any particular party or age..." (p.172). "They wanted 'Pentecostal' meetings. The leader wrote me they were hungry for 'Pentecost.' ... The letter seemed full of enthusiasm, the thing John Wesley so strongly discouraged and depreciated... They had to learn that 'Pentecost' meant the dying out of the self-life... A man once asked Luther to recommend to him a book both agreeable and useful. 'Agreeable and useful!' replied Luther. 'Such a question is beyond my ability. The better things are the less they please.'" (p.99).

Bartleman, *Azusa*.

⁵⁶⁸ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 62.

⁵⁶⁹ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 90; extract from an article of his written for the *Apostolic Light* in October 1906.

⁵⁷⁰ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 62. Cf. "God found His Moses, in the person of Brother Smale, to lead us to the Jordan crossing. But He chose Brother Seymour, for our Joshua to lead us over." Bartleman, *Azusa*, 46.

Like Melancthon, Bartleman was a follower rather than a leader. He fully embraced each successive wave of doctrine that swept through the holiness ranks: first tongues, then William Durham's 'finished work' teaching of 1911, finally embracing the 'oneness' fad in 1913. It was through this latter move that he began to lose his influence.⁵⁷¹ One significant way in which he followed others was in his interest in the Welsh Revival, which he seems to have caught from Smale.⁵⁷² Bartleman's enthusiasm for the Welsh Revival reached its height in the months immediately following his acquisition of two books in May 1905.⁵⁷³

After Smale's visit to the Welsh Revival, from which he returned in June 1905, Bartleman was emboldened to make contact with Evan Roberts personally. Over the summer and autumn of 1905, he wrote to Roberts three times. Roberts' first two replies are polite and unexceptional. The third one, however, is decidedly combative:

Loughor, Wales, Nov.14, '05. My dear comrade: What can I say that will encourage you in this terrible fight. I find it is a most awful one. The kingdom of the evil one is being besieged on every side. Oh, the millions of prayers – not simply the form of prayer – but the soul finding its way right to the White Throne!...I pray God to hear your prayer, to keep your faith strong, and to save California. I remain, your brother in the fight. Evan Roberts.⁵⁷⁴

This would have chimed well with Bartleman's own obsession with the devil and all things Satanic. In particular, he frequently equates bodily sickness, whether his own or that of a family member, as an attack of the devil: "Then the devil attacked me with

⁵⁷¹ Synan, "Bartleman," xxiii.

⁵⁷² He also records hearing F.B. Meyer speaking of it in April 1905: Bartleman, *Azusa*, 7.

⁵⁷³ "May 1905. I wrote in an article 'My soul is on fire as I read of the glorious work of grace in Wales.'" Bartleman, *Azusa*, 12. The two books were *Revival in Wales* by G. Campbell Morgan, and *The Great Revival in Wales* by S.B. Shaw.

⁵⁷⁴ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 33.

a terrible stomach neuralgia."⁵⁷⁵ Similarly: "Little John was taken with convulsions and the devil tried to kill him."⁵⁷⁶

Second to this, any disruptiveness in a meeting, especially if it hindered him from preaching, was, likewise, seen as the devil fighting hard to prevent God's Word from being proclaimed: "I preached a number of times at the convention. But we had a great battle."⁵⁷⁷ Likewise here: "They subjected me to an attempted severe censorship...the devil tried to hinder my messages."⁵⁷⁸

In spite of this, he claims, "We try to keep from magnifying Satan's power."⁵⁷⁹ There appear to be two episodes in his life when he was especially conscious of demonic activity, the first being the time of his founding of the Eighth and Maple Mission in the Autumn of 1906, chronicled in chapter 4. This mission he then hands over to William Pemberton due to exhaustion. Even before he hands over to Pemberton, Bartleman testifies that throughout that time, "...the opposition steadily increased from the churches."⁵⁸⁰ This chapter of 33 pages⁵⁸¹ has 11 references to the word "devil" besides the other epithets he uses.⁵⁸² The second peak in references to the devil comes in the chapter describing his return, after much travelling, to the West Coast in the spring of 1908. He then travels east again. This episode is described in the 22 pages of chapter 6. At this time, on one occasion, he reports, "...I seldom if ever had felt such a wonderful flow of the Spirit before."⁵⁸³ This chapter also has 11

⁵⁷⁵ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 94

⁵⁷⁶ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 119.

⁵⁷⁷ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 124.

⁵⁷⁸ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 129.

⁵⁷⁹ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 71.

⁵⁸⁰ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 68.

⁵⁸¹ The average length of the 8 chapters that make up the main narrative is 19 pages.

⁵⁸² E.g. "Satan" 3x, "the enemy" 2x.

⁵⁸³ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 125.

references to the word 'devil' besides references to "the enemy" and the "forces of evil"⁵⁸⁴ Bartleman's devil-consciousness appears to rise and fall with the degree of intensity with which he feels conscious of the power of God. At such times, he often feels that he is breaking new ground, taking territory from the "enemy":

I was under special illumination of the Spirit at this place, capturing new territory from the devil. One can always tell in preaching when they have gotten onto new territory, not before recovered. The enemy is always discovered, and generally makes a furious attack upon you.⁵⁸⁵

Bartleman's experience thus gives us something of a window into the wider devil-consciousness that, as we shall see, was very visible in a wide range of revival participants. Why such devil-consciousness had not arisen in the similarly heightened supernaturalism of revivals prior to the Welsh Revival of '04-05 is mysterious. It would also seem to be the case that 19th Century revivals did not attract as much human opposition as was experienced by the early Pentecostals, and often it is human opposition that is being described in terms of the 'devil,' 'Satan,' 'the enemy' and the 'forces of evil.' It is also possible that at the tail end of the holiness movement in its various dimensions, there was an attempt being made to move the scene of battle from sin within to the devil without. The *pugnata spiritualis* was changing shape. It could be that the whole sanctification project, in both its Wesleyan and non-Wesleyan forms, was failing and a new enemy was needed to pin this failure on. Jessie Penn-Lewis appears to have been at the vanguard of this shift of focus from inbred sin to the "unseen forces of the powers of darkness"⁵⁸⁶ This shift to a more demonological

⁵⁸⁴ Once each. "Devil" occurs once in chapter 1 (13 pages long), three times in chapter 2 (30 pages), five times in chapter 3 (24 pages), eleven times in chapter 4 (32 pages), five times in chapter 5 (19 pages), eleven times in chapter 6 (22 pages), once in chapters 7 (22 pages) & 8 (12 pages) and none at all in chapters 9 & 10.

⁵⁸⁵ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 119-20.

⁵⁸⁶ Penn-Lewis, *Life in the Spirit*, 23.

worldview was also of a piece with the rise of the premillennial outlook and the conviction that these were the Last Days. The Tribulation was just around the corner. The imminent rise of the antichrist provided the milieu in which the devil was much more likely than before to be blamed for many other things besides personal sin. He could be blamed for disruption and fanaticism in meetings, persecution from the wider Church as well as bodily sickness.⁵⁸⁷

To continue with the Melanchthon likeness, Bartleman, was not only a follower of the pioneers and of spiritual fashions. He was also a 'trimmer' and 'shaper' of what the pioneers had cut. His criticism of unworthy elements in what he saw was virulent and unflattering. He had a keen eye for selfish ambition in preachers⁵⁸⁸ and lamented the disunity of the Church.⁵⁸⁹ Also of concern to him was the potential loss of a christological centre within Pentecostalism:

In the beginning of the 'Pentecostal' work I became very much exercised in the Spirit that Jesus should not be slighted, 'lost in the temple,' by the exaltation of the Holy Ghost, of the 'gifts' of the Spirit. There seemed great danger of losing sight of the fact that Jesus was 'all, and in all.' ... The work of Calvary, the atonement, must be the center of our consideration.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ Anderson's comment, "The extraordinary activity of evil spirits, Pentecostals believed, was evidence of a wholesale counter-movement of the demonic world against its impending destruction." would seem to support the idea that Pentecostal demonology was bound up with their eschatology: Anderson, R.M., *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 96.

⁵⁸⁸ Describing events at Eighth and Maple: "We had the greatest trouble with strange preachers, who wanted to preach. Of all the people they seemed to have the least sense... They liked to hear themselves. But many a preacher died in these meetings." Bartleman, *Azusa*, 70.

⁵⁸⁹ "The work had become one more rival party..." "Surely a 'party spirit' cannot be 'Pentecostal.' There can be no divisions in a true Pentecost." Bartleman, *Azusa*, 68.

⁵⁹⁰ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 85. cf. "Any mission that exalts even the Holy Ghost above the Lord Jesus Christ is bound for the rocks of error and fanaticism." Bartleman, *Azusa*, 106.

He mentions the blood of Jesus 13 times in his account. (never in direct connection with the devil). His main concern is that it be “exalted”⁵⁹¹ and “magnified,”⁵⁹² and laments that at one point in his own ministry, due to “self-pride,” the line of the hymn “nothing but the blood of Jesus,” had been somewhat “lost sight of.”⁵⁹³

While being strongly in support of the emphasis on the blood at Azusa Street, he only once proffers any explanation for this emphasis. Apparently, the Spirit Himself was the One ‘lifting up’ the Blood:

Great emphasis was placed on the ‘blood’ for cleansing etc. A high standard was held up for a clean life. ‘When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him.’⁵⁹⁴

There does not appear to be any obvious link between an emphasis on the blood in the Welsh Revival and an emphasis on it in Bartleman’s ministry. The link between the Welsh Revival and the Azusa Street revival as a whole is weaker still since Bartleman, like many other whites among the rank and file of the early Azusa congregation, is likely to have had little influence upon the mission, their somewhat stifled ministries leading to the founding of the Eighth and Maple and Upper Room missions in the Autumn of ’06. Seymour himself had no contact with the Welsh Revival and does not appear to have drawn much inspiration from it.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 86 & 156.

⁵⁹² Bartleman, *Azusa*, 64.

⁵⁹³ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 79.

⁵⁹⁴ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 54.

⁵⁹⁵ The only mention of the Welsh Revival in the *Apostolic Faith* is an excerpt from Alexander Boddy’s account of his visit to Norway in which he compares it to his visit to the Welsh Revival: “New Scandinavian Revival: The Witness of ‘Tongues’ Manifested in Christiania” *Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.1907), 8

An emphasis on the devil and spiritual warfare may well have been becoming a commonplace amongst turn-of-the-century holiness groups on both sides of the Atlantic. This emphasis was then given a new role in the midst of the virulent opposition, much of which was from other Christians against them. Fellow millenarians were denouncing them as the “last vomit of Satan.”⁵⁹⁶ For the Pentecostals’ part, they also blamed the devil for the enmity of other Christians, only with a much less bitter tone than was being used against them. It appears that at Azusa Street a strong link between the blood and spiritual warfare appears for the first time. For Seymour, this link was plain to see in the story of the Exodus. The use of such Exodus typology, as well as all the other uses to which the blood of Christ was put, will be explored in what follows.

5.2. The Apostolic Faith Magazine.

The impression that visitors had that the blood of Jesus was emphasised a lot at Azusa Street meetings is supported by even a cursory reading of the early issues of *The Apostolic Faith*, a magazine first issued in September 1906, distributed for free and acquiring a worldwide readership of 50,000 before being transferred to Portland, Oregon. So great was the spontaneous prayer and financial support of all those on the mailing list, that the transfer of all but the local mailing list to Portland in the June of 1908, is credited with sucking the life out of the Azusa Mission leading to the cooling off of the revival by early 1909.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁶ Nichol, J. F., *Pentecostalism*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 70.

⁵⁹⁷ Cauchi, “William J. Seymour,” 15-16.

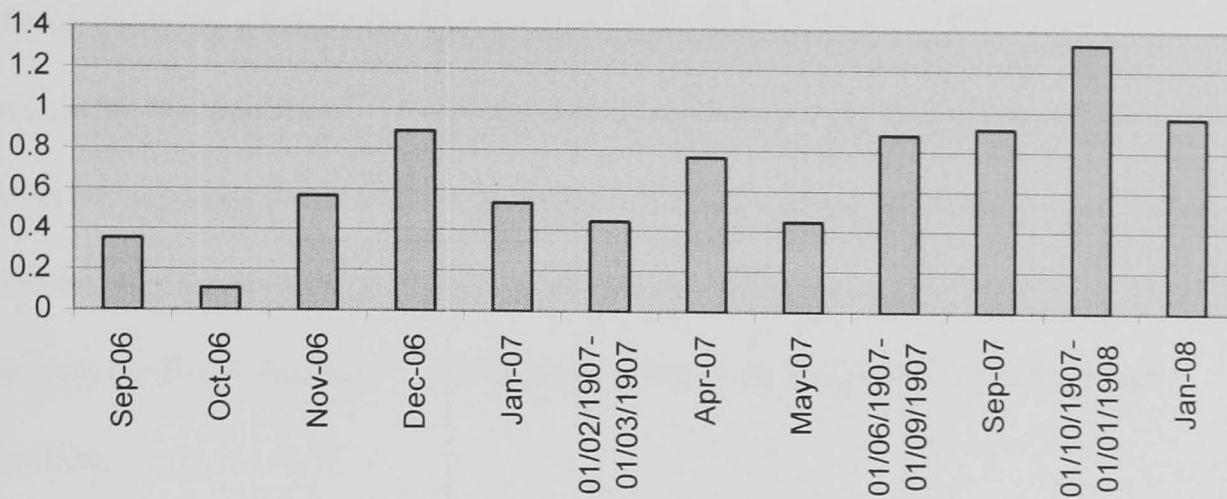
For this study, I will be concentrating on issues 1:1 (September 1906) to 1:12 (January 1908)⁵⁹⁸ which were all written and sent from Azusa Street and reflect the situation there. In these first 12 issues, there are an average of 27.5 references to the blood of Jesus per issue, each issue averaging at 42 pages in length,⁵⁹⁹ with a total of 7 articles devoted entirely to the subject of the atonement.⁶⁰⁰ There are a grand total of 331 references to the blood of Jesus in the first 12 issues. Needless to say, references to the blood, though extraordinarily high in comparison with much later periodicals, are no match for the number of references to the Holy Spirit. "Holy Ghost" is by far the most popular pneumatological term, used a total of 1,039 times. "Holy Spirit" occurs 228 times and "Anointing" features 52 times. These total a staggering 1,319, averaging at 112 occurrences per issue, over four times the number of references to the blood of Jesus.

⁵⁹⁸ I have taken the first 12 issues not only because these capture the movement at its most effervescent and definitive but also for the purposes of comparison with other periodicals for which I will use the same sample of the first 12 issues. You will note from my graphs (overleaf) that the dating is uneven. This reflects the irregularity with which *Apostolic Faith* went to press. It was a monthly only for the first 5 issues.

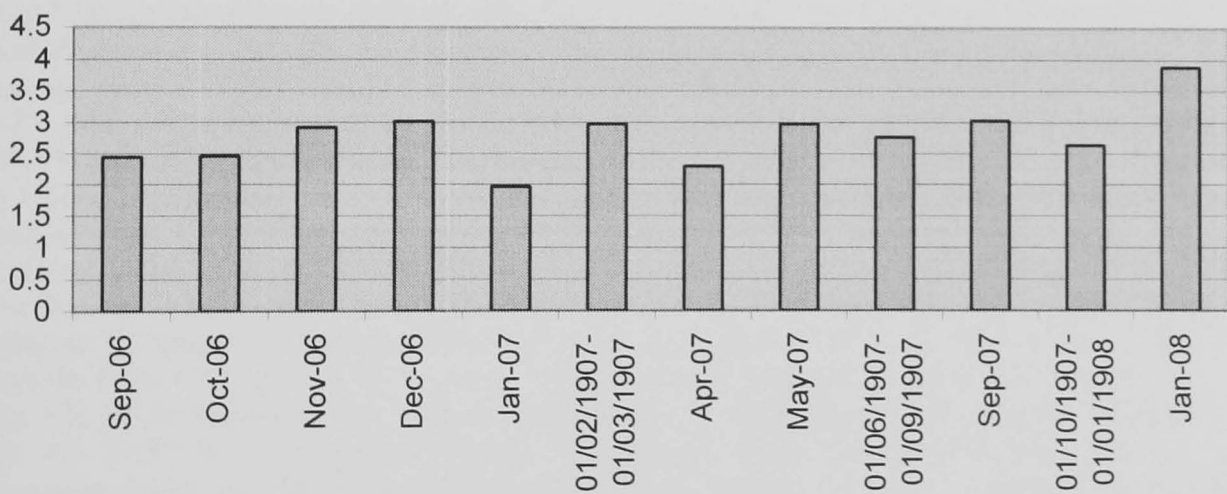
⁵⁹⁹ Issues 1:4-1:6 are all unusually long: 1:4 & 1:5 each being 56 pages long, and 1:6, 72 pages long. All other issues from the Azusa period range between 34 and 38 pages. Because of these variations I have averaged out the figures on a 'per page' basis for the graph.

⁶⁰⁰ Seymour, W.J., "The Precious Atonement," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 11-12; Anon., "The Spirit Follows the Blood," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 22; Anon., "Victory Follows Crucifixion," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 29; Anon., "The Spotless Lamb of God," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 46-47; Anon., "Bearing His Reproach," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 27-28; Anon., "Virtue in the Perfect Body," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.'07), 13-14;

Frequency of References to the Blood (Average No. Per Page)



Frequency of Pneumatological Terms (Average No. Per Page)



Among the teaching articles,⁶⁰¹ pneumatology is top priority. There are a total of 26 articles giving teaching on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts,⁶⁰² besides numerous

⁶⁰¹ My methodology in selecting only 'teaching articles' and excluding all testimonies is the same here as in all my analyses of periodicals. My intention is to create a level playing field of data. Figures for the Holy Spirit and for divine healing for instance could be swelled by testimonies yet this is not fair to the data on the Second Coming and the Atonement, which are subjects that do not attract testimonies. I have, however, recorded all poetry as I found that poems were often written by early Pentecostals on all four of these subjects.

⁶⁰² Anon., "Tongues as a Sign," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 12-15; Anon., "The Promise Still Good," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 23-24; Allen, H.M., "When the Holy Ghost Speaks," *The*

testimonies of baptism in the Holy Spirit (BHS from here on). The Second Coming of Christ is the second most dominant doctrinal urgency, there being 14 articles on this subject, showing a steady decline in prominence throughout the brief segment of time covered by this analysis.⁶⁰³ There are, as mentioned, 7 articles on the atonement. These show a very sharp decline in frequency while casual references to the Blood show an overall increase as shown on the graph. There are only 3 articles giving teaching on divine healing,⁶⁰⁴ while testimonies of healing, often very brief, are common.

Working with the hypothesis, based on Bartleman's account, that devil-consciousness, and, perhaps an attendant emphasis on the Blood go hand in hand with heightened

Apostolic Faith 1:2 (Oct.'06), 17-18; Hall, A., "Honor the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (Oct.'06), 35-36; Cook, G.A., "Receiving the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:3 (Nov.'06), 18-19; Anon., "The Ten Virgins," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:3 (Nov.'06), 35; Hill, F.E., "Baptized with the Holy Ghost," [song] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 17-18; Anon., "The Enduement of Power," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 18-19; Anon., "The Baptism with the Holy Ghost Foreshadowed," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 21-22; Anon., "The True Pentecost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 25-27; Anon., "The Sin Against the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 51-52; Ellison, J.W., "Pentecost Restored," [poem] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 24; Stewart, S., "Holy Spirit Be My Guest," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 24; Seymour, W.J., "Receive Ye the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 24-25; idem., "Gifts of the Spirit," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 26-27; Anon., "God is His Own Interpretation," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 28-29; Seymour, W.J., "The Baptism With the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.'07), 56-57; Anon., "Type of Pentecost. II Chron.5," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (Apr.'07), 18-20; Lupton, L., "This is That," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (Apr.'07), 22-24; Anon., "To the Baptized Saints," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:9 (Sep.'07), 19-22; Seymour, W.J., "Letter to One Seeling the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:9 (Sep.'07), 23-25; Anon., "Pentecostal Notes," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sep.-7), 24-26; Anon., "Questions Answered," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Oct.07-Jan.'08), 10; Anon., "The Baptism with the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Oct.07-Jan.08), 26-29; Anon., "Who May Prophecy?" *The Apostolic Faith* 1:12 (Jan.08), 16-17.

⁶⁰³ Anon., "The Millenium," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 21-22; Anon., "Jesus is Coming," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.'06), 29-30; Keyes, L., "A Message Concerning His Coming," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (Oct.'06), 24; Kilbeun, D., "A Message Concerning Christ's Coming," [poem] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 52-53; Hezmalhalch, T., "Jesus is Coming," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 55-56; Beck, A., "When Jesus Comes," [poem] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 15-17; Seymour, W.J., "Behold the Bridegroom Cometh," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.'07), 17-19; Beck, A., "The Warfare, The Rapture and Afterwards," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.'07), 28-31; Anon., "Signs of His Coming," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.07), 52-54; Kent, C.E., "Signs of the Times," [poem] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (Apr.'07), 17-18; Beck, A., "The First Resurrection," [poem] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:8 (May '07), 12-13; Anon., "Jesus is Coming," [poem] *The Apostolic Faith* 1:8 (May '07), 14; Hezmalhalch, T., "Type of the Coming of Jesus," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:9 (Sep.07), 31-33; Anon., "Notes on the Coming of Jesus," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sep.'07), 31-35.

⁶⁰⁴ Anon., "he Bore Our Sicknesses," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.'06), 27-28; Anon., "Healing," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.'07), 49-51; Anon., "Healing," *The Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sep.'07), 11-12;

awareness of the presence of the Holy Spirit, I have compared references to the Blood with references to the Spirit. Further comparisons will be made with references to the Devil. Overall, an emphasis on the Spirit seems fairly consistent, yet where fluctuations are apparent, references to the blood and the Spirit appear to rise and fall together. They rise together from October '06 through to January '07. Very loosely, there is a joint peak in the spring of 1907 and both themes reach their highest peaks in the New Year of 1908. There is also a joint slump in January 1907. The Autumn of 1906, during which there is a steady rise in Blood and Spirit speak, saw an evacuation of parishioners to the neighbouring Eighth and Maple and Upper Room missions as well as a painful and acrimonious split between Seymour and Parham in October. This period also shows the most coverage of opposition from other churches. Issue 1:2 (October 1906) carries two articles on the subject.⁶⁰⁵ and issue 1:4 (December 1906), a further one.⁶⁰⁶ It could be that this was a time when the Mission needed to affirm itself by recourse to its most cherished identity markers. It is more important, however, to note the way that the evidence, especially from the joint risings and fallings of October '06 to January '07, supports the idea that the blood and the Spirit were together in the experience of Pentecost as far as the Azusa Street worshippers were concerned. To mention the one was to imply the other. This conjoining of Christology and pneumatology can be seen in such pithy sayings as this: "After we get the Holy Ghost on our souls, we need the Blood just as much, because the Blood

⁶⁰⁵ "One Church," *Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (Oct.1906), 25; "Spreads the Fire," *Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (Oct.1906), 31-32. These both cover the events surrounding the expulsion of William Pendleton and 35 church members from their denomination (the Baptists).

⁶⁰⁶ "Pentecost with Signs Following," *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 1-4. During this month also, an anti-Pentecostal article by Phineas Bresee is published: "The Gift of Tongues," *Nazarene Messenger* (Dec.13, 1906). This article in turn was preceded by an article for *Rocky Mountain Pillar of Fire* in June: Bridwell, C., "Fanatical Sect in Los Angeles Claims Gift of Tongues," *Rocky Mountain Pillar of Fire*, (June 13, 1906).

brings life and sweetness,"⁶⁰⁷ and this: "...the only way to get right is to be born of the Spirit through the Blood of Calvary."⁶⁰⁸

The same principle works in reverse: the Spirit brings a new realisation of the importance of the blood: "I seemed to have a conception of the mighty efficacy of the Blood of Christ, and His omnipresence in Spirit as never before."⁶⁰⁹ And, quoting from a British BHS testimony: "The Holy Spirit came upon me on Sunday night, showing me the mighty power in the blood of Jesus."⁶¹⁰

In terms of composition, cleansing is, in true Wesleyan holiness tradition, top of the list of themes, with 1John 1:7 frequently quoted and paraphrased throughout. 19% (64 instances) of all references to the blood in the Azusa Street *Apostolic Faith* are about being cleansed and washed. Sayings like "How I worship Him today. How I praise Him for the all-cleansing blood!"⁶¹¹ were common at Azusa Street services: "A colored brother arose and sang the verses of a hymn, the people joining in the chorus: 'The Blood, the Blood, is all my plea; Hallelujah, it cleanseth me.'⁶¹²

The theme of sanctification is also very prominent in references to the Blood. In Wesleyan theology, this is virtually synonymous with the idea of cleansing, and comes out at 9% (29 instances). The second blessing of sanctification was clearly separated from the third blessing of BHS:

⁶⁰⁷ *Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.1907), 47.

⁶⁰⁸ *Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.1907), 55.

⁶⁰⁹ Mead, S.J., "New-Tongued Missionaries for Africa," *Apostolic Faith* 1:3 (Nov.'06), 20.

⁶¹⁰ Anon., "Testimony of a Yorkshire Farmer," *Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Jan.'08), 8.

⁶¹¹ *Apostolic Faith* 1:3 (Nov.1906), 14.

⁶¹² *Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (April 1907), 12.

So in the first chapter of Acts, Jesus taught His disciples to wait for the promise of the Father. This was not to wait for sanctification. His blood had been spilt on Calvary's cross. He was not going to send His blood to cleanse them from carnality but His Spirit to endue them with power.⁶¹³

Yet both the Holy Spirit and the blood are sanctifying agents:

The next step for us is to have a clear knowledge, by the Holy Spirit, of the second work of grace wrought in our hearts by the power of the Blood and the Holy Ghost.⁶¹⁴

And, as with traditional Wesleyanism, this second blessing of sanctification was sought and remembered as a nameable, datable experience: "The 30th day of October 1897, I was wholly sanctified through faith in the blood of Jesus Christ."⁶¹⁵

A distinguishing mark of Azusa Street blood mysticism is the recurring imperative to stay 'under,' or 'covered' by the blood. This is similar to Roberts and Penn-Lewis terminology but, for reasons already discussed, is not likely to have originated from them. References to being covered by or being under the blood comprise 10.5% (35 instances) of the total in the first 12 issues of *The Apostolic Faith*: "As long as we live under the Blood we will have life and be preserved..."⁶¹⁶ Readers are exhorted to, "Tell the saints to love one another and keep united in love, and under the Blood every day, and humble."⁶¹⁷ "Under the blood" becomes a standard way for contributors to sign off their articles by issue number 5 (Jan 1907).

⁶¹³ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 23.

⁶¹⁴ *Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.1907).

⁶¹⁵ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), article by H.M. Turney of San Jose.

⁶¹⁶ *Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.1907) 47.

⁶¹⁷ *Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (Apr.1907), from Andrew G. Johnson of Sweden.

Another distinguishing mark, besides the ‘covering’ theme, and one that would come to dominate Pentecostal blood mysticism, is the victory theme. If the themes of covering and victory by the blood are combined, these work out at 20.5%. If the themes of cleansing and sanctification through the blood⁶¹⁸ are combined these amount to 28%. Thus Azusa Street references to the blood are steeped in combative terminology almost to the same extent that they are steeped in 19th century holiness terminology.

The number of times the blood is described as a victory over “Satan,” “the enemy,” or the “devil” is considerable, amounting to 10% of the total (33x): “The blood of Jesus prevails against every force and power of the enemy. Glory to God.”⁶¹⁹ Readers are assured that, “...Satan is not able to make his way through the blood,”⁶²⁰ and may be confident that, “The Blood conquers all the forces of hell.”⁶²¹

There seems to have been a real fear amongst some, that a counterfeit miracle might take place when they were seeking the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the sign of tongues. This is when it became useful to know that one was ‘covered’ by the blood. inspired by Luke 11:9-13, Seymour reassures his readers: “Do you think when I get down covered with the blood of Jesus, and seek Him to baptize me with the Holy Ghost that He is going to give me a serpent?”⁶²²

⁶¹⁸ The two are virtually synonymous in the *Apostolic Faith*, as seen in the passage cited earlier: “This was not to wait for sanctification. ..He was not going to send His blood to cleanse them from carnality...” *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 23 (emphasis mine).

⁶¹⁹ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 3.

⁶²⁰ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 16, another possible reference to the Red Sea.

⁶²¹ *Apostolic Faith* 1:6 (Feb.-Mar.1907), 47.

⁶²² *Apostolic Faith* 1:2 (Oct.1906), 30.

Never let the hosts of hell make you believe that while you live under the blood, honouring the blood, and pleading through the blood for blessings from the throne, that God will let Satan get through the blood, and put a serpent into you.⁶²³

In later issues, the imagery becomes more defiant: "We can stand before the very gatling guns of hell and tell them that the Blood cleanseth."⁶²⁴

The October 1907 - January 1908 issue (1:11) contains what might be the first recorded use of the phrase 'plead the blood' within Pentecostalism:⁶²⁵

Remember, when the Lord works, the devil works too, but when satan presents anything to you, just tell him you are under the Blood. Just plead the Blood, and he will flee....So, when the Holy Ghost is working, keep your eyes centered upon Jesus, and when the devil presents a thought just rebuke him and plead the Blood.⁶²⁶

An additional dimension to the data is discovered when the use of Exodus typology is recorded. Throughout the magazine, I have found that Passover, Red Sea and Exodus language occurs alongside many of the blood themes. The malicious presence of Satan and his hosts (typified by Pharaoh and the Egyptians) is something of a common denominator among such references, though in some cases the thought has more to do with salvation from a sinful past:

⁶²³ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 37.

⁶²⁴ *Apostolic Faith* 1:12 (Jan.1908), 17.

⁶²⁵ The phrase "pleading through the Blood" occurs much earlier: *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 37. After that, *Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (April 1907), 18, features a poem by Bro. C.E. Kent entitled "The Signs of the Times" that has the phrase, "'The Blood,' they cry, 'is all our need.'" His are the merits that they plead." This, however, is traditional Wesleyan hymnodic language.

⁶²⁶ Anon., "Jesus, O How Sweet the Name!" *Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Jan.1908), 30.

The Passover Lamb was a type of Christ...The blood stood for salvation to save them from the destroyer. So the blood of Jesus saves us from sin, for Satan is not able to make his way through the blood.⁶²⁷

...evil spirits cannot come under the Blood any more than the Egyptians could pass through the Red Sea - the Red Sea represents the Blood of Jesus Christ. The Blood gives you power over all the power of the enemy.⁶²⁸

...and the passing over the Red Sea, which was a type of the Blood of Jesus Christ that gives us victory over all the powers of the enemy.⁶²⁹

The night when they ate the Passover in Egypt was the type of a sinner coming out of darkness, through the Blood of Jesus. Hallelujah!⁶³⁰

It was the blood that saved the people from the awful destruction in Egypt, and it takes the Blood to save us today from sin.⁶³¹

In terms of volume, the occurrence of Exodus typology alongside blood references is meagre – there are a total of 12 instances - yet I would suggest that these are significant.⁶³² The Exodus story had been a deeply rooted cultural metanarrative among African Americans since the days of slavery.⁶³³ It is the most likely underlying meaning to them of the phrase ‘under the blood.’ This phrase is almost certainly rooted in Exodus 12-14, a favourite Old Testament text, which pictures the Israelites being shielded from the destroying angel because of the blood of the lamb daubed upon their doorposts and lintels. They were thus ‘under’ the protection of the blood.

⁶²⁷ “Salvation and Healing,” *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 16.

⁶²⁸ “Questions Answered: Can a child of God be possessed by evil spirits?” *Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Jan.1908), 15.

⁶²⁹ *Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sep.1907), 14.

⁶³⁰ “Old Testament Feasts Fulfilled in our Souls Today,” *Apostolic Faith* 1:9 (Sep.1907), 13.

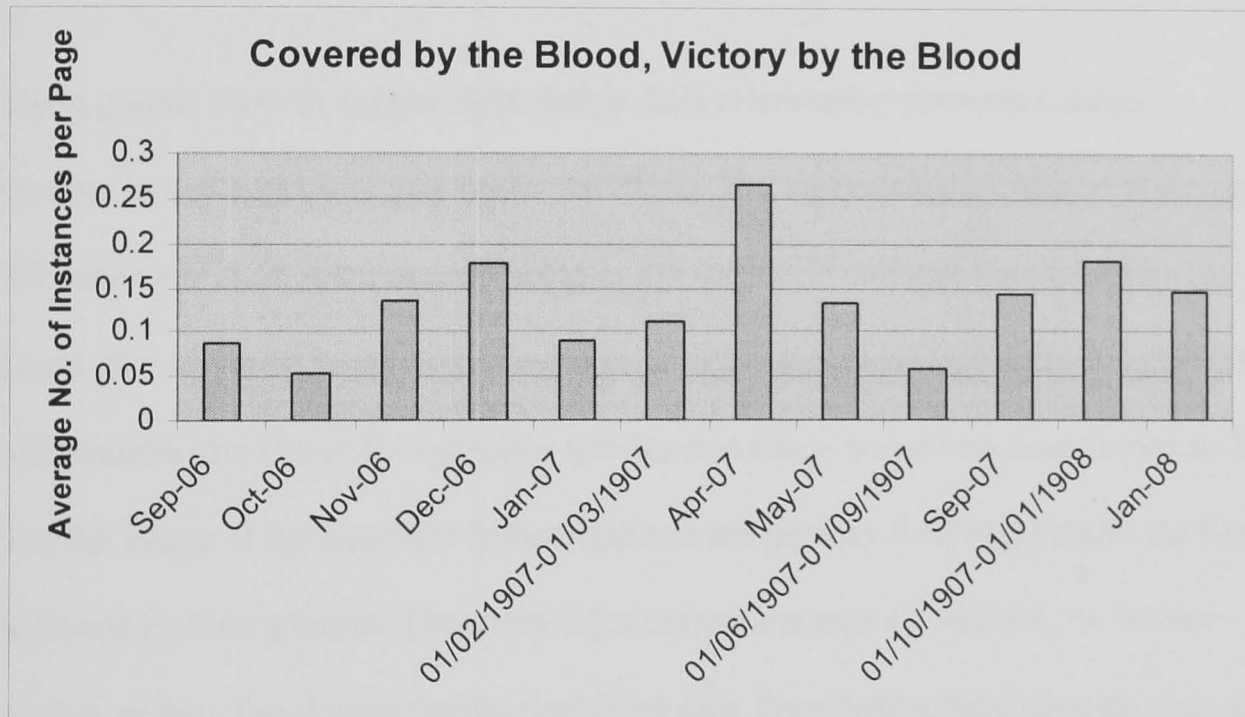
⁶³¹ “Who May Prophesy?” *Apostolic Faith* 1:12 (Jan.1908), 17.

⁶³² These peak in December ‘06 (4x), June-September ‘07 (3x), and October ‘07-January ‘08 (3x).

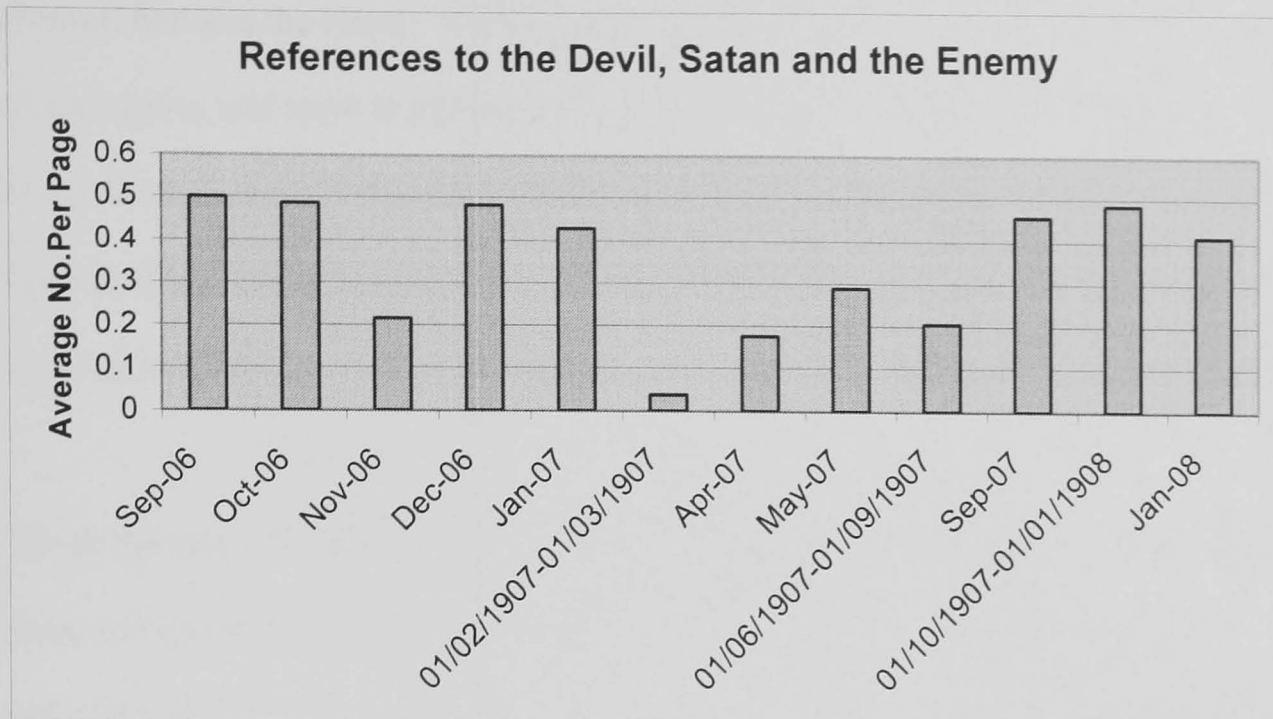
⁶³³ There have been a number of studies on African-American Pentecostalism, a number of which make reference to the widespread use of the Exodus narrative, e.g. “Africans in the ‘New World’ identified with the Israelites under Egyptian Bondage...non-violent victory over enemies and Pentecost, became the theological symbolic imagery for a people with whom God wandered through the desert...” Gerloff, R., “The Holy Spirit and the African Diaspora: Spiritual, Cultural and Social Roots of Black Pentecostal Churches,” *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* XIV (1995), 91

The Red Sea is further recruited as a “type” of the blood of Christ.⁶³⁴ Just as the Egyptians were covered by the Red Sea, so the past is under the blood, and just as the Israelites were cut off from the enemy by the sea, so the believer is cut off from sin and Satan by the blood.

However, there are surprising results when references to the Devil, Satan and the Enemy are compared with all references to being covered by the blood or having victory by the blood (including the Exodus type):



⁶³⁴ *Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sep.1907), 14.



These graphs seem to suggest remarkably little relationship between demon-awareness and appeals to stay under the blood. The most striking instance is the April '07 issue: a peak in references to being under the blood and gaining victory by the blood (the very next issue also shows a peak in Exodus typology) and yet a slump in references to the Devil. It is possible that the real threat was a very human one and that the image of the Israelites battenning down the hatches for a night under the blood, followed by their glorious liberation from oppression was a powerful one for the readers as they faced persecution. And there may indeed be a racial dimension to this as most of the opposition, as we saw in the introduction, was white. The ex-slaves were still not really free. The blood may have become a symbol of their spiritual emancipation.

Many other themes are represented. The blood is, of course, the means of 'salvation': 6% (20x). The need to 'honour,' 'hold up,' 'magnify' and 'exalt' the blood is seen as very important. Such references constitute 4% (15 instances) of the total. Indeed, God

Himself honours the blood: “God honours nothing but the Blood. This world is a mass of corruption, and there is nothing that keeps satanic power out of people but the blood of the Lamb.”⁶³⁵ Honouring the blood is a particular office of the Holy Spirit: “The Holy Spirit has not time to magnify anything else but the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁶³⁶

The remaining functions of the blood in the first 12 issues of *The Apostolic Faith* are many and extremely varied. The blood is linked strongly with the work of the Holy Spirit (13x).⁶³⁷ It is the means of being redeemed, purchased or bought by God (9x), it has power and efficacy (9x). It is to be simply ‘applied’ (3x), so that it is ‘in’ our hearts and souls (3x). From then on, all that believers are and do is in some vague sense “through” the blood (8x). For instance, one may eat swine’s flesh “through the blood”⁶³⁸ and one may claim one’s Pentecost “through the blood.” It is and gives life (5x), and it inaugurated the new covenant (5x). It is, significantly, the key to racial and denominational unity (4x): “This work is carried on by the people of Los Angeles that God has united by the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit.”⁶³⁹

A number of very vivid prophetic visions of the cross are recorded in which the cross is “dripping with fresh blood,”⁶⁴⁰ blood which also runs down from Christ’s pierced

⁶³⁵ *Apostolic Faith* 1:8 (May 1907), 17.

⁶³⁶ *Apostolic Faith* 1:5 (Jan.1907), 20. The capitalisation of the word ‘blood’ becomes more or less standard from this issue onwards.

⁶³⁷ E.g. “The Spirit follows the blood.” *Apostolic Faith* 1:1 (Sep.1906), 22. “We are tried and molded and purged and chastened and cleansed by the Holy Ghost, through the blood of Jesus Christ.” *Apostolic Faith* 1:8. “I have the sweet consciousness that my heart is clean through Jesus’ Blood and the Comforter abides in it and speaks for Himself.” *Apostolic Faith* 1:8 (May 1907), 29, testimony from D.M.Sellers of Dunn, North Carolina, April 24 1907.

⁶³⁸ Anon, “Question of Meats,” *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 46.

⁶³⁹ *Apostolic Faith*, 1:4 (Dec.1906), 3.

⁶⁴⁰ *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 49.

hand as he writes someone's name in the book of life (these and similar visions, 5x). If the blood is 'accepted' (2x), our sins will be 'blotted out' (4x). The blood "flows" (2x) and is "poured out" (1x). At Gethsemane it "gushed," and was "forced through" the flesh.⁶⁴¹ It is precious (3x), it was shed for sins (3x). If it is not honoured, it can be 'denied' (3x), strayed from (1x), left out (1x), lost (1x), rejected (1x) and trampled upon (2x), or counted an unholy thing (1x), all of which will lead to ruin and loss.⁶⁴² If not treated in this way, it preserves (1x), it brings justification (2x), and peace with God (2x). It atones (2x), it brings physical healing (1x), it can be pleaded against Satan (2x), 'pleaded through' (1x) and pleaded as merit before God (1x). Yet it 'calls for' a certain standard of life (1x), and should be 'testified to' (1x) and preached (1x). It is also, somehow, the means of knowing that God is really speaking (1x).⁶⁴³

Although most of the articles written for the *Apostolic Faith* during its Los Angeles years were kept anonymous in order to minimise selfish ambitious elements, yet the main voice behind the teaching found in its pages is likely to be that of William Seymour. The origins of his pneumatology have been vigorously researched and are easily traced to Parham and to Seymour's African-American spiritual heritage. The origins of Seymour's Christology, however, and in particular, his colossal emphasis on the shed blood of Christ, have not been investigated as rigorously. The options available to us are the Evening Light Saints, Martin Wells Knapp, Charles Mason, Charles Price-Jones, and Charles Parham. A likely early influence upon his Christian basics was the Evening Light group, with whom he was discipled. This radical

⁶⁴¹ *Apostolic Faith* 1:10 (Sep.1907), 8.

⁶⁴² e.g. "When we leave the Blood out, Satan has power to switch us to fanaticism, but no powers of hell are able to make their way through the Blood." *Apostolic Faith* 1:1. "If we get out of the Word of God and believe a lie, we lose the Blood and lose the life out of our souls." *Apostolic Faith* 1:5. "Beloved, if you reject Christ, if you reject His precious Blood, if you reject the Holy Ghost, ye shall be devoured with the sword..." *Apostolic Faith* 1:7 (Apr.1907), 14.

⁶⁴³ "He will witness by the Blood that He is speaking." *Apostolic Faith* 1:9 (June-Sep.1907), 12.

Wesleyan holiness group, later Pentecostalist and renamed the Church of God (Anderson, IN), inherited the altar theology of Phoebe Palmer that laid great stress on the need to be washed in the blood as part and parcel of the second blessing experience.

It may be, however, that much of Seymour's theological framework predates his conversion. As already mentioned, there was a strong Exodus tradition amongst African American slaves. There were many African-Americans in the Evening Light Saints who would have been conversant in this typology, as would Charles Mason and Charles Price-Jones have been. Doubtless, as Seymour continued to encounter racism throughout his ministry, such imagery would have been a comfort. It is worth noting the privacy involved in African-American coded speech. Christian imagery was used by them in a way that sounded the same as white Christian imagery but which had an additional meaning hidden in the only place a black slave knew of that was free of the white man's control – his heart. Originally, of course, the Egyptians would have been a type of the white man, and it is possible that on occasions when invasive, over-ambitious whites threatened to take over the mission, this typology would have reverted to its original usage. At any rate, all human opposition was read as satanic opposition, and to this the only answer was to take shelter in God's provision: the Blood.

In addition to the factor of human opposition, the demonological streak may have emerged as strongly as it did at Azusa Street due to the heightened spiritual awareness

that came with the many supernatural encounters that were taking place.⁶⁴⁴ Robeck reviews six personal testimonies from people at Azusa Street who experienced BHS. Somewhat appropriately, the best word that Robeck can find that describes these experiences is the word “encounter,” a word he uses 16 times in 9 pages as he describes the six personal testimonies.⁶⁴⁵ Judging from what appears on the pages of the *Apostolic Faith*, it appears that, arising from such encounters, there was a felt sense of danger. There was an anxiety about the possibilities of demonic activity masquerading as divine activity. Faith was then placed in the covering of the blood for its apotropeic power.⁶⁴⁶

5.3. Other American Pentecostal Periodicals.

It was not long before Pentecostal centres were starting up all over the United States, many of which, for a time, issued their own monthly papers⁶⁴⁷ along the lines of *The Apostolic Faith* and the many holiness periodicals in circulation. One of the earliest of these was J. Roswell Flower’s *The Pentecost*, published in Indianapolis from August 1908 until 1910 when, under a new editor, it became *Grace and Glory*.⁶⁴⁸ Its flavour is similar in many respects to the *Apostolic Faith*:

Satan cannot put His hands on God’s anointed, for the blood covers and that is sufficient to keep away every power of the enemy.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁴ The West African spirituality in which African-American spirituality was rooted has always been a spirituality of conflict in which the realities of Ephesians 6: 12 are self-evident long before conversion to Christianity: Temi Kpogho, a Nigerian, informal interview, 31 July 2007.

⁶⁴⁵ Robeck, *Azusa*, 177-186. cf. 10: “They were expected to pursue God, and then to be overwhelmed and transformed by God in the resulting encounter. The initial proof of this encounter, though by no means the only thing expected to bear witness to it, was speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.”

⁶⁴⁶ Sacrificial blood has a role in the “spiritual bulletproofing” of a West African community: Temi Kpogho, op.cit.

⁶⁴⁷ As many as 22 are listed in Warner, W.E., “Periodicals” in *NIDPCM*, 975-6.

⁶⁴⁸ Warner, “Periodicals,” 976.

⁶⁴⁹ Anon, Untitled, *The Pentecost* 1:1 (Aug.1908), 4.

Halsey Fisher signs off her “Testimony for Jesus” with the phrase “under the blood”⁶⁵⁰

The Latter Rain Evangel was founded in Chicago in October 1908 with William H. Piper as its editor and continued for over 30 years.⁶⁵¹ Here we find the blood strongly associated with divine healing for the first time:⁶⁵² “there are two very essential truths that light the path of divine healing; one is *the power of the blood* and the other is *the power of the Holy Ghost*.”⁶⁵³ These two truths are compared to a bird’s essential “two wings.”⁶⁵⁴ The blood ‘cuts off’ a person from hereditary sickness:

‘If any man be in Christ there is a new heredity.’ Our heredity now is the life of our Lord and by the power of the blood and the power of the Holy Ghost we are cut off from that old consumption and we are delivered from fear.⁶⁵⁵

The blood can even bring victory over death itself: “...is there not power in the blood of our Savior to give us victory over physical death?”⁶⁵⁶ When at death’s door himself, the writer of the article records that his victory over death came when he said “Read to me the twelfth chapter of Exodus.” Once the line “when I see the blood” was mentioned, he was ready to get out of bed.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁰ Fisher, H., “Testimony for Jesus,” *The Pentecost* 1:4 (Dec.1908), 15.

⁶⁵¹ Warner, W.E., “Periodicals” in *NIDPCM*, 977.

⁶⁵² Healing in the atonement was widely held in holiness circles from the mid 1880s. In 1882, R.L. Stanton first explicitly made a link between Isaiah 53, Matt. 8:16-17 and miraculous bodily healing. The idea was then popularised by Robert Kelso Carter, A.J.Gordon and A.B. Simpson: Petts, D., *Healing and the Atonement*, (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1993)52; Dayton, *Theological Roots*, 126-7. This article by Moorhead is the earliest reference that I have found that links healing specifically to the blood.

⁶⁵³ Moorhead, M.W., “Five Aspects of Divine Healing: Scriptural Truths Confirmed by Personal Experiences” *The Latter Rain Evangel* 6:6 (Mar.1914), 6.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Moorhead, “Five Aspects,” 7.

⁶⁵⁶ Moorhead, “Five Aspects,” 8. Wacker has found an instance when a certain Olive Mills was raised from the dead when a group of Pentecostals in Durham, Maine, shouted “The blood! The blood of Christ.” Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 88.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

The link between the covering of the blood and the image of the Exodus is made equally explicit in an article entitled "Latter Rain Sermon – Go Forward":

Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward. Go forward, go onward, go upward. Plunge deeper into that crimson flood. Go deeper. His blood will cover all. The blood of Jesus will cover all.⁶⁵⁸

An eschatological and demonological dimension is given to the idea of the Red Sea:

Do you know what our Red Sea is? We are marching day by day...until we are brought face to face with the days of tribulation, and then when Satan's power seems about to burst upon us...Jesus will come with the voice of the archangel...⁶⁵⁹

There is also a reference to pleading the blood as early as December 1908. It comes from the pen of the renowned healing evangelist F.F.Bosworth. He describes his experience of praying for the Holy Spirit to come to Plymouth, Indianapolis:

Realizing that we 'wrestle not against flesh and blood...' during the early part of the meetings God put upon me a great burden of prayer to plead the blood of Jesus and pray that He would send a stream of power upon the city.⁶⁶⁰

There is also a need to honour the blood if the power is to flow: "Jesus was lifted up, His precious blood honoured, and the Holy Spirit began His mighty movings in our midst."⁶⁶¹

William Piper himself defines Pentecost as the "power to serve the living God by exalting the blood of Jesus Christ."⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁸ Anon., "Latter Rain Sermon - Go Forward," *Latter Rain Evangel* 1:1 (Oct.1908), 11.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Bosworth, F.F., "Confirming the Word by Sings Following," *The Latter Rain Evangel* 1:3 (Dec.1908), 7.

⁶⁶¹ Lee, B.C., "They Were All With One Accord in One Place: Convention Jottings by One Who Saw and Heard" *The Latter Rain Evangel* 1:9 (June 1909), 2.

These periodicals shed a good deal of light upon Azusa Street and indicate that by the Autumn of 1908, the key themes of Azusa Street spirituality, including its blood mysticism, had been widely propagated throughout the American centres, a process brought about by the dissemination of the *Apostolic Faith* and of personnel from Azusa Street. A significant difference is that the contributors to these periodicals do not seem to be as dogged by fear and the need for protection as the Azusa Street worshippers were. Their demonology is more subdued.⁶⁶³ Yet the Exodus typology of being “under the blood” is clearly present, as are the beginnings of the Pentecostal practice of pleading the blood, which was first advocated in the *Apostolic Faith* in January 1908, and then appears in the December of that year in the *Latter Rain Evangel*. Healing through the blood is intimated in the *Apostolic Faith* in December 1906⁶⁶⁴ and becomes explicit in Moorhead’s article in October 1908.

5.4. The Influence of Azusa Street on British Pentecostalism.

Early correspondence has been preserved between T.B. Barratt, the man whose ministry is credited with the very first outbreaks of tongues speaking in Europe, and some letter writers at Azusa Street in 1906. Barratt, at this time was based in New York. In a complex and puzzling fundraising debacle, the Methodist bishops in America would not allow him to leave the country and return to Norway, yet the

⁶⁶² Piper, W.H., “Tarry, Tarry for the Promise,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* 1:3 (Dec.1908), 17.

⁶⁶³ All four of the 1908 issues of *The Pentecost* together have only one reference to the blood as a victory over Satan out of a total of 15 references to the blood of Jesus, and both of the extant 1908 issues of *The Latter Rain Evangel* also have only one demonologically orientated reference to the blood out of a total of 21 occurrences.

⁶⁶⁴ “The marks that were made on that perfect body of our Savior, the blood that ran down in Pilate’s judgment hall from His stripes, reach our infirmities and cleanse us from all sickness and disease and make us every whit whole.” Anon., “Salvation and Healing,” *Apostolic Faith* 1:4 (Dec.1906), 16.

Methodist Mission Board of America had refused to give him the funds he had come on the invitation of the bishops, to raise.⁶⁶⁵ Barratt could do nothing but wait in New York. While he was there, he received the very first edition of *The Apostolic Faith* newspaper in September.⁶⁶⁶ He sought and experienced BHS with the help of the spiritual counsel he obtained by corresponding with the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles.⁶⁶⁷ Three of the five letters written to him were signed off with the phrase, "Under the Blood."⁶⁶⁸ Other letters contain the phrase in the text.⁶⁶⁹ This phrase is expanded upon at only one point where Barratt is assured by a Mrs I. May Throop that, "...no matter what workings go on in your body, continually let, and ask, God to have his own way with you. You need have no fear while you keep under the blood".⁶⁷⁰

The considerable influence that Barratt went on to exert has earned him the name the apostle of European Pentecostalism.⁶⁷¹ Barratt went on to bring the experience of Pentecost with tongues to his congregation in Oslo in December 1906. Alexander Boddy's life-changing visit to Barratt's congregation took place in March 1907.⁶⁷² One of Boddy's congregation spoke in tongues as early as that summer.⁶⁷³ Finally, Barratt himself arrived in Sunderland on 31 August 1907 for his whirlwind mission, leaving on 18 October.

⁶⁶⁵ Bundy, D., "Spiritual Advice to a Seeker: Letters to T.B.Barratt from Azusa Street, 1906", *Pneuma* 1:14 (Fall 1992), 159-160.

⁶⁶⁶ Wakefield, G., *The First Pentecostal Anglican: The Life and Legacy of Alexander Boddy*, (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2001), 7.

⁶⁶⁷ Bundy, "Spiritual Advice", 160.

⁶⁶⁸ See transcripts of letters from G.A.Cook in Bundy, "Spiritual Advice", 163-165

⁶⁶⁹ See letters from I. May Throop and Clara Lum in Bundy, "Spiritual Advice, 162 and 166

⁶⁷⁰ Bundy, "Spiritual Advice", 162.

⁶⁷¹ Bundy, "Spiritual Advice", 159.

⁶⁷² Boddy, A., "Some Sacred Memories," *Confidence* 7:2 (1914), 24.

⁶⁷³ *Confidence* 9:10 (1916), 169.

Cecil Polhill, another man with significant links to Sunderland, came to Los Angeles in January 1908 at the invitation of his Cambridge friend George B. Studd. Polhill donated a large sum of money towards the Azusa Street mission in February, and received his BHS with tongues the following day.⁶⁷⁴ In January 1909, Polhill became the founder of the first Pentecostal missionary society, the Pentecostal Missionary Union. He remained Boddy's loyal ally, just as Barratt also carried on contributing to the movement in Britain through his attendance at the Whitsuntide conferences and his articles in *Confidence* magazine.

Conclusion.

Many at Azusa Street used language that appears very similar to that of Roberts-Penn-Lewis. Yet it would appear that this similarity is little more than coincidental. In fact, it was those participants in the Los Angeles revival who did have direct contact with the Welsh Revival that used Roberts-Penn-Lewis-type language the least, even though, in the case of Bartleman, they shared Evan Roberts' obsession with the devil. Seymour, on the other hand, who had no links with the Welsh Revival, used some similar language, invoking the Blood for covering and victory. Yet the similarities are superficial. Roberts' blood mysticism had a Calvinistic source that emphasised assurance of salvation. Seymour's blood mysticism had a Wesleyan root that offered no such assurance. Inevitably, Seymour's awareness of vulnerability to Satan, a powerful and clever being who might even counterfeit God's good gifts, was greater than that seen in Roberts even at his most paranoid.⁶⁷⁵ What is evident in the

Apostolic Faith is a deeply rooted African-American Exodus tradition married to a

⁶⁷⁴ Robeck, *Azusa*, 289.

⁶⁷⁵ Admittedly, it is precisely this worry, that of Satanic counterfeiting, that became the focus of Jessie Penn-Lewis. Interestingly, she never arrived at the same Exodus typographical solution that Seymour did, preferring Rev.12:11 as her main precedent for linking the Blood with victory over and protection from demons.

radical Phoebe Palmer style Wesleyan holiness theology. The Wesleyanism provides the emphasis on cleansing, the essential preliminary to BHS, while the Exodus typology provides the demonological dimension and perpetuates a possible racial dimension to the quest for liberation.

At Azusa Street it can be seen that Pentecostalism was birthed as a theology of liberation. The liberation of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt by the blood of the lamb was a significant biblical precedent. The Exodus narrative supplied the focal point for the Christology of early American Pentecostalism, while the Day of Pentecost narrative provided the pneumatology. And this Pentecostal liberation was only understood to work if both theologies were in place. Pentecostalism was birthed not only out of a unique pneumatological experience but a unique Christological experience also. Time and again, the early Pentecostals (on both sides of the Atlantic, as will be seen), showed themselves to be at pains to maintain that their message was not about the Spirit only, but about the Spirit and the Blood together, something that Bartleman was especially anxious to guard.

However distasteful or difficult to understand it may be at times, the Blood is almost as definitive of Pentecostal origins as the Spirit is. Bartleman's fear that error and fanaticism ensue whenever this precarious equilibrium is lost has resurfaced in the writings of Tom Smail as recently as 1995.⁶⁷⁶ Dabney has lamented similarly.⁶⁷⁷ This indicates that the tendency to veer away from this equilibrium in the direction of a monolithic pneumatology has continued to show itself, inviting occasional scholarly

⁶⁷⁶ Smail, T., "The Cross and the Spirit: Towards a Theology of Renewal" in Smail, T., A. Walker & N. Wright (eds) *Charismatic Renewal: The Search for a Theology*, (London: SPCK, 1995), 49-70.

⁶⁷⁷ Dabney, L., "Pneumatologia Crucis: Reclaiming *Theologia Crucis* for a Theology of the Spirit Today", *Scottish Journal of Theology* 53:4 (2000), 514

attempts at its correction. From an historiographical viewpoint, it is not entirely satisfactory that so much scholarship on Pentecostal beginnings has focused on only one of these twin soteriological themes, something that, had death not silenced them, the pioneers themselves would want to correct.

Empowerment continues to be the main selling point of Pentecostalism the world over and the story of the beginning of Pentecostalism reveals a spirituality of empowerment that involved being freed *from* something as well as being freed *for* something. The redeeming motif of Christ as Passover Lamb originally provided the means to be freed from everything that disempowers: darkness, sin and the demonic. This was the indispensable preliminary to receiving power for service: Pentecost, gifts and a missionary anointing.

The word 'Blood,' reverently capitalised and mentioned as often as possible by the pioneers of the Pentecostal vision of life, was more than a mere fetish or incantation. It was, just as it is in the New Testament itself, a kind of shorthand for experiences of profound safety in God's presence, encounters of great power, overwhelming love, of cleansing and of liberation. For the participants in this revival emphasising the Blood provided access to beneficial experiences that, it was felt, would not be experienced without this emphasis. Indeed, to neglect the Blood would be to place oneself at the disposal of the forces of spiritual anomy. In fact, rarefied experiences demanded, seemingly, a greater atonement-centredness than would have been normal among non-Pentecostals.

With regards to the significance of Azusa Street to the birth of British Pentecostalism, it seems likely, given that T.B. Barratt had corresponded with Azusa Street members, and Alexander Boddy himself also appears to have kept in touch with Frank Bartleman,⁶⁷⁸ that the spirituality of Azusa Street had at least some influence on Sunderland Pentecostalism. It would, after all, have been perfectly natural for those newly experiencing Spirit Baptism at Sunderland to look to those who had led the way in the things of Pentecost at Azusa Street. There are some similarities in the spiritualities of both centres. As will become apparent, Sunderland clearly shared with Azusa Street a fundamental anxiety about Satan. Indeed, it is perhaps surprising that the birth of the most remarkable phenomenon in modern religious history should begin with groups of people who at times seemed to be living with a siege mentality. For Azusa Street worshippers, victory was all about making sure that one is in the right position: under the Blood. The Sunderland worshippers, who were even more obsessed with the theme of victory, went further and developed a mechanical means of invoking the Blood when seeking BHS. This, and more besides, will be the subject of the next chapter in the story.

⁶⁷⁸ Bartleman, *Azusa*, 148.

6. The Sunderland Story.

The closing years of Victoria's reign, during which she remained in perpetual mourning for Albert, were dour times. The Naughty Nineties – the stuff of suggestive seaside postcards – had been a subversive response to this.⁶⁷⁹ With the accession of Edward VII in 1901 the atmosphere changed. King Edward pursued a relatively hedonistic lifestyle. A new permissiveness swept the country. Even the working classes now had more spare income and leisure time than ever: and more ways than ever of enjoying both.⁶⁸⁰ As Sunday was still the only full day off in the week for a working man, many such activities could replace going to church. Whatever the causes, church attendance dropped to 25%,⁶⁸¹ the greatest losses being amongst adult males.⁶⁸² Chief of the new mass entertainments was football. The FA cup final of 1888 had attracted a crowd of 17,000. The same event of 1913 attracted 120,000.⁶⁸³ Alcohol was an increasing problem. Until the Licensing Act of 1921, public houses could, and often did, open as early as 6am and not close until long after midnight. By 1915, Lloyd George despaired: "We are fighting Germany, Austria and Drink".⁶⁸⁴ Sexual promiscuity did not become a problem until the First World War, many

⁶⁷⁹ This minor moral rebellion was somewhat stemmed in 1895 by the trial of Oscar Wilde for his homosexuality. Briggs, A., *A Social History of England* 3rd Ed., (London: Penguin, 1999), 267.

⁶⁸⁰ This was not universal, however. Briggs notes that farm labourers at this time were worse off than the casual labourers who worked in the docks. Briggs, *Social History*, 263

⁶⁸¹ Thompson, P., *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society*, (London: Routledge, 1975, 1992), 173-4. Church membership in Britain, however, reached its peak at this time, estimated at 19.3% of the total population in 1910; Brown, C., *The Death of Christian Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2001), 163.

⁶⁸² Brown has traced the gender-specific dimension to church decline in the 20th century, beginning with adult males, female piety declining considerably later. This is the focus of his *Death of Christian Britain*, esp.145-169, but is also a thread running through his more recent *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2006), passim. Judging from contributions to *Confidence* magazine, a considerable proportion of participants in Sunderland Pentecostalism were, likewise, female.

⁶⁸³ Hibbert, C., *The English: A Social History 1066-1945*, (London: Harper Collins, 1987), 624.

⁶⁸⁴ Hibbert, *The English*, 700 citing a speech made by Lloyd George in March 1915.

soldiers returning home having caught venereal diseases. Illegitimacy rates also rose slightly during the war, before returning to the pre-War figure of around 0.5% of all births.⁶⁸⁵ There was also a brief rise in the otherwise extremely low divorce rate in the wake of the war, as imprudent marriages were hurriedly dissolved.⁶⁸⁶ On the whole, however, compared to more recent times, moral standards were still very high. Most British people had retained a Christian ethic even though many had abandoned Christian belief. There was a scrupulous honesty in business dealings and tax fraud was virtually unthinkable. Discontent was stirring, however. Queen Victoria had once provided a cultural rallying point that had brought national unity in an otherwise deeply stratified society as well as continuity through changing times.⁶⁸⁷ Now, the causes of future social unrest were more patent than before and from 1906, the new Liberal government made social reform a priority. Churchill introduced labour exchanges in 1909 and Lloyd George initiated national health insurance in 1911.⁶⁸⁸ These changes were tentative, however, and would prove insufficient to stave off the miseries of the '20s and '30s. For conscientious Christians, the trajectory of society was set in an alarming direction: away from a living faith in God and in the direction of moral decay, away from duty and respect and in the direction of self-interest and revolt.

Within the Church of England, there was a tendency towards ritualism. Anglo-Catholicism would achieve new levels of acceptance during and in the wake of the First World War. The Anglo-Catholic practices of praying for the dead and holding

⁶⁸⁵ Brown, C., *Religion and Society*, 32.

⁶⁸⁶ Hibbert, *The English*, 701.

⁶⁸⁷ Briggs, *Social History*, 263-4.

⁶⁸⁸ At this time, TB alone was killing 75,000 people every year, May, *Economic and Social History*, 309. There was also concern that some 40% of recruits for the Boer War were turned away on the grounds of being physically unfit. Further, the minimum height for an infantryman, already lowered in 1883, had to be lowered again in 1902, May, *Economic and Social History*, 303.

requiem masses gave it a particular appeal post-1918.⁶⁸⁹ Evangelicalism had, by now, lost its Victorian pre-eminence and post First World War Protestantism would come to be seen by many as bigoted and having no real answers for a nation in grief.⁶⁹⁰

On the radicalised margins of the Church, millennial expectations reached fever pitch with the turn of the new century, interest in the Second Advent being then further bolstered by the outbreak of the First World War.⁶⁹¹ The social and political unrest of the 1920s and 30s would go on to give such expectations a further boost.⁶⁹² These were presumed by many to be the “perilous times” foretold in Scripture (2Tim.3:1) in which the love of many would grow cold and Satan would set out to deceive Christians. Not so the Pentecostals. They were red hot in their conviction that the outpouring of the Spirit upon them with signs and wonders was the promised Latter Rain of Joel (Joel 2:23 cf.28-32), the final deluge of the Spirit just prior to the Lord’s

⁶⁸⁹ Pickering, W. S. F., *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity*, (London: Routledge, 1989), 46-47; Hylson-Smith, K., *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 246.

⁶⁹⁰ “Churches which had something comforting and hopeful to offer, some action that could be embarked upon, were at a great advantage over those which remained silent and only proclaimed doctrines that seemed cold and remote.” Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism*, 47. Nevertheless, having originated as the Oxford Movement of the mid-19th century, it shared with Evangelicalism a desire to “turn back the tide of history,” and was “a crusade to resist secular trends in a desperate rearguard action...” Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship*, 123, 125. cf. Nichols, A., *The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 114-129. Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics had in common a commitment to seriousness in the face of apathy and liberalism: Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship*, 207. Some Anglo-Catholics could even sound like Evangelicals: “Never be ashamed of the Blood of Christ. I know it is not the popular religion of the day...you are Blood-bought Christians...” Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship*, 206. In common with Keswick, Anglo-Catholicism was romantic in outlook, having had as its celebrity champion, the great poet and philosopher, Samuel Coleridge. See Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship*, 129. Pentecostalism’s appeal to intuition and the imagination as brought out by Cox. (Cox, H., *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*, London: Cassell, 1996, passim) also paradoxically gives it a lot in common with Anglo-Catholic spirituality. On this aspect High Church spirituality see especially, Bebbington, *Holiness*, 13-25.

⁶⁹¹ Premillennialism began to gain popularity in the 1870s but the apocalyptic events of First World War helped to give credence to the Advent Testimony and Preparation Movement which was launched by F. B. Meyer in 1917: Bebbington, D., “The Advent Hope in British Evangelicalism Since 1800.” *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 9:2 (1988), 105, 107. The Balfour Declaration on 2 November 1917 in which Britain pledged to create a homeland for the Jews caused “...tremendous excitement among students of the ‘end times.’” Randall, I. M., “Cultural Change and Future Hope: premillennialism in Britain Following the First World War.” *Christianity and History* 13 (1994), 19.

⁶⁹² See Randall, “Cultural Change and Future Hope.” 21.

return.⁶⁹³ Indeed, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of eschatology to the fledgling Pentecostal movement's view of itself.⁶⁹⁴ premillennialism creates the theological framework, informs the religious language and supplies the spiritual atmosphere for everything the early Pentecostals believed, including, as will be seen, their view of the Blood.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ One example of this teaching is a thoughtful and persuasive sermon by Boddy himself, reproduced in *Confidence*: "The former rain falls in November and December, but that prepares the crops, but the latter rain is needed in the spring-time to finish the work. Without the latter rain the crops would dry up, and now God in His wonderful providence each year lately, until about 1906 or 1907. He caused it to become normal again. To-day is the day of the latter rain....Very soon we will see Israel possessing their own land again. 'Ask ye of the Lord rain in the days of the latter rain.' We live in the days of the latter rain." Boddy, A., "The Latter Rain," *Confidence* 6:9 (Sep. '13), 172-3. The paradox of this situation, the constant despair of any final answers other than the Lord's return on the one hand and the feverish expectation of an in-breaking of God in the here and now as a great revival sweeps the globe, is a confusing one and endures to the present day among charismatics. One reason why this contradiction was seemingly never harmonised would be the biblical literalism that was driving both interpretations of the end times. Because, as far as the Pentecostals were concerned, the Bible presented this twofold picture of both revival and deepening gloom without resolving it, so did the Pentecostals. Besides this, the dispensationalism of J. N. Darby that had been widely embraced by Pentecostals, had always affirmed that each new dispensation (including that of the End Times) begins with a show of miraculous power. See Smith, J. C., "Signs of the Times" in Brewster, P. S., (ed) *Pentecostal Doctrine*, (self-published:1976), 381-390 for something approaching a definitive outline of the Elim understanding of dispensationalism current at that time. According to Smith, the signs of the times – whether good or evil, are "...part of His plan for the present era," and, "...clearly spelt out as such in His Word." Smith, "Signs of the Times," 382. Despite seeing it as, in some ways, an evil age, Smith defines the era in which the last quarter of the 20th century fell as the "Age of Grace." Smith, "Signs of the Times," 382.

⁶⁹⁴ So Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, passim. He tells the American story of how the postmillennial dreams among Perfectionists in the wake of the 1957-59 revival were dashed by the American Civil War, and the evils of urbanization, industrialization and mass immigration. The vision then changed to a more pessimistic premillennial one that involved warning the world of impending judgement and preparing the Church for the return of the Bridegroom. A final outpouring of the Spirit that would parallel the first Pentecost was eagerly anticipated. The quality that would set this final outpouring apart from a run-of-the-mill revival would be the gift of tongues, as at the very first Pentecost. The Welsh Revival raised hopes to a new height. Finally, Azusa Street was accepted by some as the longed for outpouring. Faupel helpfully summarises all of this in his conclusion: *Everlasting Gospel*, 307-9. The British transition to premillennialism among holiness groups, beginning at Keswick, mirrored this story in many respects. Among the causes of the increasingly premillennial outlook among all holiness groups in Britain towards the turn of the 20th century, Glass highlights, "...changing social conditions and the increasing antagonism that orthodox Christian theology generated in circles of social, religious and academic sophistication." Glass, J., "Eschatology: A Clear and Present Danger – A Sure and Certain Hope" in Warrington, K., (ed), *Pentecostal Perspectives*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 133.

⁶⁹⁵ So Cartledge: "It is arguable that the expectation of the imminent return of Christ was *the* significant aspect to the theology of *Confidence* and that the other features must be seen as fitting into this overarching concern." Cartledge, "Early Pentecostal Theology," 126. Anderson ascribes all things central to Pentecostalism past and present as part and parcel of a realized eschatology and adds, "A 'realized eschatology' which sees the 'not yet' as 'already' is no worse than one that sees the 'not yet' always as 'not yet.'" Anderson, A., "Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology," in Ford, D., (ed), *The Modern Theologians* 3rd Ed., (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 600.

Promising a long-awaited rekindling of dying embers, Pentecost arrived in Britain⁶⁹⁶ at All Saints Church Monkwearmouth, Sunderland, in September 1907. 18 months after the beginning of the Azusa Street revival, and almost 3 years after the start of the Welsh Revival, but was an event deeply indebted to both.⁶⁹⁷ The figurehead of the initial pre-World War I phase of British Pentecostalism was the energetic and broad-minded Anglican vicar, Alexander Alfred Boddy (1854-1930).⁶⁹⁸ He drew inspiration

⁶⁹⁶ A number of very good histories of British Pentecostalism have now been written. The first and only book devoted to the history of all the British Pentecostal denominations is the oft-quoted Gee, D., *The Pentecostal Movement: A Short History and an Interpretation for British Readers*, (Luton: Redemption Tidings Bookroom, 1941), revised and enlarged under the title, *Wind and Flame*, (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1967). Besides this, Hollenweger's chapter on British Pentecostalism in his magisterial *The Pentecostals*, (London: SCM, 1972), 176-217 is very extensive. There is also the much smaller study, Hudson, N., "The Earliest Days of British Pentecostalism," *JEPTA* XXI, (2001), 49-67. Four histories of the Apostolic Church have been written to date: White, K., *The Word of God Coming Again*, (Apostolic Faith Church: Bournemouth, 1919), Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought*, (Bradford: Puritan Press, 1959), Worsfold, J., *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, (Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991) and Weeks, G., *Chapter Thirty-Two – Part Of*, (Barnsley: Gordon Weeks, 2003), Three histories of the British Assemblies of God have been written: Massey, R., "A Sound and Scriptural Union: An Examination of the Origins of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland 1920-25," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1987) Kay, W., "A History of British Assemblies of God," (PhD dissertation: University of Nottingham, 1989), subsequently published as *Inside Story: A History of British Assemblies of God*, (Doncaster: Assemblies of God Bible College, 1990), and Allen, D., "Signs and Wonders: the Origins, Growth, Development and Significance of Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland 1900-1980" (Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of London, 1990), besides the more recent article, Kay, W., "Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland" in Burgess & Van der Maas (eds) *NIDPCM*, (2002), 340-1. Curiously, besides E.C.W. Boulton's biography of George Jeffreys: *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous*, (now edited by Chris Cartwright and published by Sovereign World, 1999) the only histories of the Elim movement are Hathaway, M., "The Elim Pentecostal Church: Origins, Development and Distinctives" in Warrington, K., (ed), *Pentecostal Perspectives*, (Milton Keynes: paternoster, 1998), 1-39 and Cartwright, D., "Elim Pentecostal Church," in Burgess & Van der Maas (eds), *NIDPCM*, (2002), 598-599. Besides the foregoing, two highly specialised but very substantial studies deserve mention: Taylor, M., "Publish and be Blessed: A Case Study in Early Pentecostal Publishing History 1906-1926," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1994) and Hudson, D. N., "A Schism and its Aftermath: An Historical Analysis of Denominational Disruption in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-40", (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, King's College, London).

⁶⁹⁷ Although Pentecostalism as a movement did not begin in Britain until the September of 1907 with the seven week mission of T.B. Barratt, there were much earlier signs of what was to come in the form of the experience of Mrs Price of Brixton in the New Year and the experiences of a group of about six people who subsequently gathered in her home. All of these, according to Boddy's pamphlet, "Pentecost for England" had spoken in tongues by the summer of that year. Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 22.

⁶⁹⁸ To date there have been seven studies devoted to Alexander Boddy and his role in Pentecostalism: Boddy, J.V., "Alexander Alfred Boddy, 1854-1930" (unpublished memoir, c.1970), Robinson, M., "The Charismatic Anglican: Historical and Contemporary. A Comparison of Alexander Boddy and Michael C Harper." (Unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1976), Kay, W., "Alexander Boddy and the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Sunderland," *EPTA Bulletin* 5:2 (1986), 44-56; Lavin, P., *Alexander Boddy: Pastor and Prophet*, (Monkwearmouth: WHCG, 1986), Wakefield, G., *The First Pentecostal Anglican: The Life and Legacy of Alexander Boddy*, (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2001), Blumhofer, E., "Alexander Boddy and the Rise of Pentecostalism in Britain," *Pneuma*

from Azusa Street and the Welsh Revival while drawing more deeply still from the theology of Keswick and from the mentoring of the two bishops of Durham who oversaw his training and the earlier part of his ministry: J.B. Lightfoot (bishop from 1879 to 1890), one time Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and a celebrated expert on Paul, and B.F. Westcott (bishop from 1890 to 1901).⁶⁹⁹ another New Testament scholar, best known for his work on the Westcott & Hort edition of the Greek New Testament.⁷⁰⁰ Boddy eventually became vicar of All Saints Monkwearmouth, Sunderland in 1886. Fortunately for Boddy, the sympathetic Handley Moule succeeded Westcott. Were it not for Moule, it is doubtful whether Boddy would have been allowed to promote Pentecostalism within his parish.

Boddy's first contact with Keswick had been at the Convention of 1876. This convention proved to be the moment of his conversion from nominal Christianity.⁷⁰¹ This conversion experience led to his training for ordination at University College, Durham beginning in 1878. He was ordained to the priesthood on 18 December 1881 at the age of 26, a little over a year after his marriage to Mary.⁷⁰² From then on, Boddy entered what he describes as a time when the attractive and interesting things

8:1 (Spring 1986), 31-40, and Wakefield, G., *Alexander Boddy: Pentecostal Anglican Pioneer*, (Milton Keynes: Authentic, 2007).

⁶⁹⁹ According to Kay, these were the two biggest influences on Boddy: Kay, *Inside Story*, 17. Of these, Lightfoot clearly had the greater impact, see Wakefield, *Boddy*, 24-27. Kay quotes Boddy's daughter as saying "Bishop Lightfoot was one of the great influences in my father's life." Westcott, of course, is known for his distinctive view of the blood as life released rather than life taken, first expressed in his commentary on 1 John of 1892 but Boddy does not appear to have been influenced by this. Indeed, in 1880, Boddy was criticised during his ministerial training for having ignored Westcott's commentary on the Gospel of John in an essay: Wakefield, *Boddy*, 24.

⁷⁰⁰ Westcott, B.F., & Hort, F.J.A., (eds), *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, (Cambridge & London: Macmillan & Co., 1891).

⁷⁰¹ Wakefield, *Boddy*, 19-20, citing the memoirs of Boddy's daughter, Jane Vazeille. While there is no evidence of any subsequent visits to Keswick until 1907, there is a broad though not rigorously substantiated consensus that Keswick theology was very influential upon him: See especially Blumhofer, "Rise of Pentecostalism," 31-32, 35, 37, but also Wakefield, *Boddy*, 20-21. Wakefield, *Pentecostal Anglican*, 6, and Kay, "Outpouring," 46-47.

⁷⁰² Wakefield, *Boddy*, 25; Boddy, "Pentecost in Sunderland," 9.

of the world “crept in and took the first place.”⁷⁰³ In particular, he developed an interest in travel, an interest that, in fact, never left him. Travelling abroad provided much needed “pauses”⁷⁰⁴ when the pressures of ministry in the most industrialised part of Britain began to take their toll. His vast exposure to people of other cultures, creeds and classes was one of the factors that gave him his tolerant and eirenic approach to ministry.⁷⁰⁵ Boddy’s worldly period ended in 1892 when he had the second of seven significant spiritual experiences.⁷⁰⁶ It was the 6th anniversary of his appointment as vicar of All Saints Church, an event that he always celebrated by having a communion service. While officiating, Boddy describes how the Holy Spirit came upon him in “infinite love.”⁷⁰⁷ Another period of declining spiritual vigour followed, like the earlier one in 1881-92, this time culminating in a breakdown in 1897.⁷⁰⁸ Following a trip to the Holy Land and a time in Egypt during which he recovered, another formative experience for Boddy occurred. This was the healing of his wife, Mary, from asthma in 1899. This seems to have contributed to a progressive opening up to the work of the Holy Spirit for both him and his wife. In 1904, news reached Boddy of the Welsh Revival. He promptly went to see the revival for himself and even shared a pulpit with Evan Roberts. Boddy returned from Wales determined to bring revival to England. Roberts refused an invitation to conduct a campaign in

⁷⁰³ Boddy, “Pentecost in Sunderland,” 9

⁷⁰⁴ Wakefield, *Boddy*, 47 citing Boddy’s own *By Ocean, Prairie and Peak: Four Journeys to British Columbia and Eastern Canada*, (London: SPCK, 1896), 7.

⁷⁰⁵ Wakefield devotes a chapter to Boddy’s travel writings and his adventures in North Africa (1883), Russia (1886) and North America (1889-91). Wakefield, *Boddy*, 34-54. The tolerance this bred in him supplies a major plank in Wakefield’s thesis about the essentially pastoral contribution of Boddy to the fledgling Pentecostal movement. Wakefield concludes with the stained glass window made in memory of him that still adorns All Saints Church Monkwearmouth today: it is of a shepherd carrying a lamb in his arms: Wakefield, *Boddy*, 208, 221

⁷⁰⁶ The first five of these, ending in his first experience of fluently speaking in tongues, are vividly retold in the article “Pentecost in Sunderland: Story of a Vicar of the Church of England” *Latter Rain Evangel* (Feb 1909), 9-10. The first was while still an infant in his cot when he had an encounter with Jesus and the apostles: *ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁰⁷ Boddy, A., “Some Sacred Memories,” *Confidence* 2:7 (Feb 1914), 24. cf. Boddy, A., “From Sunderland to Pittington”, *Confidence* No.132 (Jan-Mar.1923), 72.

⁷⁰⁸ Boddy, “Pentecost in Sunderland,” 9.

Sunderland but offered the following typically combative advice to Boddy's by now very zealous little flock: "Tell them to believe the promises. believe the Lord. *They must fight Heaven down, they must fight it down.*"⁷⁰⁹

Accordingly, in 1906, regular prayer meetings were being held at the vestry as well as a number of fervent open-air meetings, one of which, held at the Roker Football Ground, attracted a crowd of 15,000.⁷¹⁰ The revival fervour was further added to by news of Azusa Street, and, shortly thereafter, of how the manifestations seen at Azusa Street had now "travelled over the Atlantic to Norway."⁷¹¹ It was on March 5, 1907, while visiting T.B. Barratt's church in Christiania (Oslo), that Boddy experienced another significant "inflow of the blessed Holy Spirit,"⁷¹² yet, so far, without the gift of tongues.

In the summer of that year Boddy was made aware of what he later considered to be the first BHS with the sign of tongues in Britain. This was the experience of Mrs Price of Brixton whose testimony Boddy published in a pamphlet entitled *Pentecost for England* that he went on to distribute at the Keswick Convention of that year. Interestingly, as with so many other BHS testimonies of the time, Mrs Price's experience included a dramatic vision of Jesus on the cross. She also gave a tongue interpretation, which was: "Glory to Jesus – the bleeding Lamb."⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁹ Boddy, A., "The Pentecostal Movement: The Story of its Beginnings at Sunderland and its Present Position in Great Britain," *Confidence* 3:8 (August 1910), 193.

⁷¹⁰ Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement," 194.

⁷¹¹ Boddy, "Pentecost in Sunderland," 9.

⁷¹² Boddy, "Pentecost in Sunderland," 9.

⁷¹³ Boddy, "The Pentecostal Movement," 195.

Meanwhile, at Monkwearmouth, the prayer meetings continued. During one evening meeting, held this time in the Vicarage, a light filled the room. Looking out of the window, Boddy and the others could see that this same light was now hovering over All Saints Church itself. For a reason that is not entirely clear, one of those present spontaneously cried out, "It's the *blood*. Oh, it's the *blood*."⁷¹⁴

Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940), the Methodist minister from Cornwall who was responsible for the revival happenings in Norway, eventually agreed to come to Sunderland. He arrived on 31 August 1907 and stayed for seven weeks. Meetings began on 1 September and within two weeks, 17 people had received an experience of BHS accompanied by the gift of tongues. Mrs Boddy's experience was on 11 September and was immediately followed by a "wonderful revelation as to the blood."⁷¹⁵ Boddy's two daughters received the experience on 21 September. Finally, Boddy himself spoke in tongues for the first time on 2 December, the 50th person at All Saints to do so.⁷¹⁶

News of these events quickly spread, the first national newspaper reports appearing in October.⁷¹⁷ These reports were largely cynical but had the positive effect of attracting ever-increasing numbers of visitors to Sunderland. Christian opposition was prompt

⁷¹⁴ Boddy, "Pentecost in Sunderland," 10.

⁷¹⁵ Boddy, "Pentecost in Sunderland," 10. In her *'Pentecost' at Sunderland 1: the Testimony of a Vicar's Wife*, (Published by the "Secretary," Roker, Sunderland), 6: she gives her own account of this "vision of the Blood" saying, "Oh, the *efficacy*, the *power* of the Blood. In one moment, what I had believed for years was illuminated as a *reality*." (italics original) This indicates that her theology of the atonement was already well established from other sources, the "vision" acting to corroborate her view of the Blood. This testimony is also reproduced in *The Apostolic Faith* 1:11 (Oct.07-Jan.08), 6-7.

⁷¹⁶ Boddy, "Pentecost in Sunderland," 10.

⁷¹⁷ Kay, *Inside Story*, 23-24; The *Sunderland Echo* printed a story as early as 30 September; Wakefield, *Boddy*, 89.

and severe and came mostly from Reader Harris (1847-1909)⁷¹⁸ and the Pentecostal League of Prayer.⁷¹⁹ The League was very strong in the area and Boddy himself had been an active member.⁷²⁰ Their denunciation of tongues first appeared in print in November.⁷²¹ Harris also objected to the “rolling on the floor” and the “loosening of the marriage tie” that he perceived to have been going on at the meetings that Barratt had led.⁷²² Jessie Penn-Lewis, initially not as strident, was equally unhesitating in voicing her concerns. As noted in chapter 4, Mary Boddy’s attempt to allay her fears by saying that everything was “under the blood,”⁷²³ a phrase possibly learned from Barratt,⁷²⁴ did not work. In fact, this provoked a further discussion about invoking the covering of the blood in Pentecostal gatherings such that the blood as well as tongues appears to have been at the centre of controversy in the correspondence. Curiously,

⁷¹⁸ Harris, an Anglican with Wesleyan sympathies, would initially have had a vision that chimed perfectly with that of Boddy: “What is the remedy for the individual, for the Church, for the nation, for the world? It is this. An individual, ecclesiastical, national, and universal Pentecost. Let every believer be filled with the Spirit of God, and you will see a revival that would shake the powers of darkness and set millions free.” Harris, R., *Power for Service* 6th Ed., (London: Christian Literature Crusade, 1953), 40. Boddy himself was the secretary for the Monkwearmouth League of Prayer group: Wakefield, *Boddy*, 92.

⁷¹⁹ Founded in 1891, this was an organisation with a mission to revive Wesleyan spirituality: Randall, I.M., “The Pentecostal League of Prayer: A Transdenominational British Wesleyan-Holiness Movement,” *Wesleyan Journal of Theology* (1998), 1-2. (<http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyantheology/theojrnl31-35/33-1-10.htm> accessed online 20 November 2008).

⁷²⁰ Robinson, “Charismatic Anglican,” 35, reckons their strength at five centres in Sunderland alone.

⁷²¹ Harris, R., “The Gift of Tongues,” *Tongues of Fire*, (Nov 1907), 1-2. According to Robinson (*op cit.*) this would have enjoyed a distribution of some 800 in Sunderland alone, more than any other town in Britain according to Cartwright’s reckoning: Cartwright, D., *The Real Smith Wigglesworth: The Man, The Myth, The Message*, (Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 2000), 25. The League’s strength nationally at the turn of the 20th century was around 150 groups containing 17,000 members: Randall, “Pentecostal League of Prayer,” 2-3.

⁷²² Harris, “The Gift of Tongues” 1-2. That they may indeed have been some rolling on the floor and similar wild behaviour might have been a factor behind Boddy’s resolve to maintain fairly strict order in the meetings from then on: Kay, *Inside Story*, 24.

⁷²³ Letter dated Nov 12 1907.

⁷²⁴ See my discussion of Barratt’s correspondence with I. May Throop of Azusa Street in chapter 6. Besides this, in his book *In the Days of the Latter Rain*, (Rev. Ed: London: Elim Publishing House, 1928), Barratt uses the phrase in ways highly reminiscent of Azusa: “Even if he [the devil] did try to make use of ‘tongues’ when we, in seeking our Pentecost, are UNDER THE BLOOD... God would be no better than the gods of the heathen, if He delivered us to the cruel tyranny of our most bitter enemy the Devil.” *Latter Rain*, 97 (also appears in *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov. ’08), 7-9); “When these people are living under the blood of Christ, it seems much like an insult to Him to say that the holy visions and signs that they receive, that stimulate to purer lives and worship and service, are of Satanic origin.” *Latter Rain*, 100; “Place yourself under the Blood of Jesus, trust your heavenly Father’s grace and power, lift up the shield of faith against the enemy, and open all the avenues of your being to the Holy Ghost...” *Latter Rain*, 204. (italics and capitalisation original throughout).

when Boddy finally did speak in tongues himself, it was first of all to her that he wrote to testify of it, expecting, it seems, a joyous response.⁷²⁵ To the contrary, Penn-Lewis's antagonistic position became progressively more entrenched, culminating in her famous book of 1912, *War on the Saints*.

By November 1908 there were as many as 50 Pentecostal centres across the UK⁷²⁶ and Boddy found himself not only receiving visitors from further and further a field, but also in demand as a speaker elsewhere. On 3-4 January 1908, Boddy helped to found the Bonnington Toll assembly in Edinburgh, placing it under the care of Mr and Mrs Beruldsen. Of this assembly Donald Gee would later become the pastor. Just north of there, in Kilsyth, was another Pentecostal centre. Andrew Murdoch's church in Westport Hall.⁷²⁷ Whether Boddy visited it at that time is not clear. A significant event took place there, in the absence of Boddy, on January 31 1908. On that day, a man by the name of John Reid "raised his hand and cried 'Blood! Blood! Blood!'" Immediately following this, 13 young people received the Baptism in the Spirit and spoke in tongues.⁷²⁸ From this point onwards, this repetition of the word 'blood', which was referred to as 'pleading the blood', became standard practice at Kilsyth as people sought the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. On one occasion, 43 people at Westport Hall received BHS over a single weekend of continuously crying out "the Blood!"⁷²⁹ It was not long before Westport Hall was receiving a flood of visitors from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Africa and North America. These visitors experienced exactly the same thing: they received BHS by 'pleading the blood.' Meetings were

⁷²⁵ Letter to Jessie Penn-Lewis dated 3 Dec. 1907.

⁷²⁶ Boddy, A., "Speaking in Tongues: Is this of God?" *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov '08), 9.

⁷²⁷ This church had initially been founded in 1896 by the Kilsyth United Evangelical Society in an effort to reach local miners with the gospel: Hutchison, J., "The Kilsyth Religious Revivals" (accessed online: 10 Jul 2007, <http://www.kilsythcommunity/history>)

⁷²⁸ Weeks, *Chapter Thirty-Two*, 19.

⁷²⁹ Worsfold, *Origins*, 46.

held every day for a period of 9 months.⁷³⁰ Before long, 28 young people had offered themselves for missionary service, causing these events to take their place in local history as the fourth significant revival to have taken place in Kilsyth.⁷³¹ The pastor, Andrew Murdoch, whose wife experienced BHS likewise through the cry of “Blood! Blood!” went on to become the apostle for Scotland in the Apostolic Faith Church, which made the blood-cry one of its cardinal doctrines.⁷³² White and Worsfold are probably quite correct in crediting the John Reid incident of January 1908 with being the start of the pleading the blood doctrine.⁷³³

Murdoch himself went on to defend the doctrine against detractors using the same argument that Hutchinson would later use: that the dedication of Solomon’s Temple required the sacrifice of 22,000 oxen and 122,000 sheep. It was a repetitious offering of blood. Likewise, in pleading the blood, the blood of Jesus is repetitiously offered to God as the believer seeks the gift of the Holy Spirit.⁷³⁴ It is a verbal equivalent of the mass: offering the sacrifice of Christ to the Father again and again. There does not, in fact, appear to be a strong demonological dimension to the doctrine in its Kilsyth

⁷³⁰ Worsfold, *Origins*, 46.

⁷³¹ The previous three revivals were under John Livingstone, 1627, James Robe 1742-3 and William Chalmers Burns in 1839; Hutchison, “‘Kilsyth’ Religious Revivals.”

⁷³² William Oliver Hutchinson, himself baptised in the Holy Spirit after 2 hours of pleading the blood in May 1908. He laid down pleading the blood as one of his cardinal truths alongside water baptism, the Lord’s Supper and paying tithes, with the founding of Emmanuel Mission Hall in November 1908. Worsfold, *Origins*, 34, 47, 49.

⁷³³ Worsfold, *Origins*, 45. He bases his information on White, *Word of God*, 83-134. I have so far found one prior reference to something resembling the practice, in the bizarre writings of Ellen G. White. In this instance, it is Jesus Himself doing the pleading on behalf of sinners: “My Blood, Father, My Blood, My Blood, My Blood.” *Present Truth* Aug 1, 1849. In *Present Truth*, Dec. 1, 1849, she states, “I saw that Jesus was pleading His blood for Bro. Rhodes.” accessed online at <http://www.ellenwhite.org/> visited 19 Feb 05.

⁷³⁴ Worsfold, *Origins*, 46. Note also the language used in a prophecy that was given at Kilsyth that was intended to explain the unusually precocious behaviour of a 5 year-old child who caused wonder by her praying and weeping and pleading of the blood: “I have a purpose in that I might show the innocence of the child being in the plan. For the little one verily was unconscious of My glory and could not take the glory unto the little heart that was praying, presenting the Blood of My Son...” Worsfold, *Origins*, 46-47.

form. Rather, an awareness of God's holiness in the process of encounter appears to be the main stimulus.

Boddy visited Kilsyth at the end of March 1908 and witnessed the now well-established practice of pleading the Blood before receiving Spirit Baptism. Whilst there he also experienced an intensity of power in the meetings that he described as greater than anything he had seen under T.B. Barratt in Norway.⁷³⁵ As a result, he carried this doctrine of pleading the Blood back to Sunderland where he and his wife Mary began to teach the doctrine as standard practice. One thing that appears to have made an impression on Boddy during his visit to Kilsyth was the power of the blood – power that is in putting faith in its benefits and vocalising that faith in the ways he saw demonstrated. His wife Mary, having already had a vision of the blood during her BHS, was equally convinced of this, and both were happy to promote the practice of pleading the blood in Sunderland for well over a year after Boddy's visit to Kilsyth. The very first issue of *Confidence*, published in April 1908, carries an article, written by Mary Boddy, which is devoted to the subject of the Blood. It is called, "His Own Blood" and opens with the laudation, "We praise our God that He is teaching us in these days the wonderful depth, efficacy, and power of the Blood."⁷³⁶

Confidence was a monthly periodical (distributed free of charge due to the generous funding of Cecil Polhill⁷³⁷) that quickly acquired both national and global

⁷³⁵ White, *Word of God*, 83-85. He had previously said exactly the same thing about T.B. Barratt's ministry in Oslo in comparison to the Welsh Revival: Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 20. This shows either a tendency towards sensational language on his part (something that can be traced to his travel writings if looked for), or else that his experience of Kilsyth was truly quite exceptional, surpassing even the Welsh Revival.

⁷³⁶ *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 4.

⁷³⁷ The best study of Polhill's role in early Pentecostalism is still: Hocken, P., "Cecil H Polhill: Pentecostal layman, *Pneuma* 10:2 (Fall 1988), 116-140.

significance.⁷³⁸ Taylor points out that, given the prevailing climate of decreasing interest in religious matters that was prevalent throughout the Edwardian period, for *Confidence* to have reached a circulation of 6,000, with an estimated readership of 20,000, is a remarkable achievement.⁷³⁹ Within two years, Boddy himself could claim concerning *Confidence*, "It travels to almost every part of the world where English is understood."⁷⁴⁰

From the first issue in April 1908 until the March of the following year, *Confidence* magazine can boast no fewer than 302 references to the word "blood" in relation to Jesus in its pages. This is far in excess of all the many other ways of referring to the atonement with words such as, "Cross"(80x), "Calvary"(47x), "crucified"(30x), "atoning"(6x), and "atonement"(4x), a fact which, to a lesser degree, is also true of the New Testament itself.⁷⁴¹ This high rating of 'blood,' however, is far outstripped by the understandably high pneumatological stress of *Confidence*, which boasts 657 references to the word "Spirit" (with capitalisation), 421 references to "tongues", 325 uses of the phrase "Holy Ghost", and 21 uses of "Anointing" over the same year long period. This makes articles published in *Confidence* about half as pneumatological-orientated as those published in *The Apostolic Faith*, but ranking about the same in its emphasis on the atonement. This first year of *Confidence* carries 6 teaching articles on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts, 4 articles on the atonement, 3 articles about the Second Coming and 2 articles giving teaching on divine healing. Figures for the

⁷³⁸ In Taylor's reckoning, "It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of *Confidence*." Taylor, "Publish and be Blessed," 119. By August 1908, donations towards the printing costs were arriving from 7 foreign countries: two from Australia, two from Holland, two from USA (Oklahoma and Seattle), one from Halifax (Canada), one from France (Paris), one from Sweden and one from South Africa (Johannesburg): Anon., "Offerings for Printing etc., July 9th to August 9th," *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 2.

⁷³⁹ Taylor, "Publish and be Blessed," 123.

⁷⁴⁰ Taylor, "Publish and be Blessed," 124. Original source not known.

⁷⁴¹ See Stibbes, *The Meaning of the Word 'Blood,'* 3-4.

Apostolic Faith were much higher owing to the far shorter length of each article, making up in numbers what was lacking in length. These figures can be compared as follows, the numbers indicating the total number of articles on the subject indicated found in the first 12 issues of each periodical:

	<i>Confidence</i>	<i>Apostolic Faith</i>
Holy Spirit/Gifts	6	26
Atonement	4	7
Second Coming	3	14
Healing	2	3

This shows that the Azusa Street worshippers initially had a far more heightened sense of their place in time as the harbingers of the Lord's imminent return. Those who contributed to *The Apostolic Faith* were also, as already noted, even more preoccupied with the person and work of the Holy Spirit than the contributors to *Confidence* magazine. By contrast, the contributors to *The Apostolic Faith* (principally Seymour) do not appear to have felt inclined to teach very much on the subject of the atonement compared to those who wrote teaching articles for *Confidence* (despite casual references to the blood being about the same, at 331 and 302 respectively). This could be due to the need at Sunderland to manage carefully the arrival of a brand new doctrine: the pleading of the blood.

A slightly different picture emerges when the dominant themes of the teaching articles are analysed over the entire length of *Confidence* magazine's publication, something that was not possible to do for Azusa Street as the magazine moved to Portland.

Oregon, after the 13th issue in June 1908 and thus very soon ceases to reflect the situation there or the urgencies of Seymour.⁷⁴² When such a complete survey is carried out with regard to *Confidence* magazine, the leading theme and, reportedly one of Boddy's favourite preaching topics⁷⁴³ is the second coming of Christ.

Throughout the total 18-year run of 140 issues of *Confidence* magazine, from 1908 to 1926, the magazine carries 61 articles and poems devoted to the *parousia* and events surrounding it, peaking in 1910-14 and petering out after the first 10-11 years of the movement.⁷⁴⁴ In comparison to this, there are a total of 54 articles giving teaching on

⁷⁴² Admittedly, the last 10 issues of *Confidence* are not issued from Sunderland but from Boddy's new parish of Pitlington in County Durham, yet the single editor that *Confidence* had throughout its life provides the continuity that *The Apostolic Faith* did not have with the change of editor to Clara Lum.

⁷⁴³ Wakefield, *Boddy*, 140.

⁷⁴⁴ Anon., "The Bridegroom Cometh," *Confidence* 1:1 (April '08), 19; Boddy, A., "The Near Coming of the Lord," *Confidence* 1:3 (June '08), "The Bride is Getting Ready," *Confidence* 1:6 (Sep. '08), 3; 17-18; Smith, A., "Caught Up," [poem] *Confidence* 2:4 (April '09), 80; Anon., "The Midnight Cry" [poem] *Confidence* 3:4 (April '10), 73; Jeffreys, S., "The Parousia or 'Appearing' of the Lord," *Confidence* 3:6 (June '10), 149-151; Anon., "The Day Star: A Meditation Upon Some Sacred Mysteries," *Confidence* 3:9 (Sep., '10), 212-215; Anon., "How He May Come: A Vision," *Confidence* 3:12 (Dec. '10), 278-81; Boddy, M., "Seven Signs of His Coming," *Confidence* 3:12 (Dec. '10), 281-83 & 287-88; Anon., "The Day of the Lord," *Confidence* 3:12 (Dec. '10), 288-9; Boddy, A., "The Great Pyramid and the Coming of the Lord," *Confidence* 4:1 (Jan., '11), 15-16; Pastor Niblock, "An Abundant Entrance," *Confidence* 4:2 (Feb., '11), 33-35; Boddy, A., "The Great Pyramid and the Coming of the Lord: Uncertainty as to the Date February 22nd-23rd," *Confidence* 4:2 (Feb., '11), 36-38; Beecher-Stowe, H., "A Remarkable Story," *Confidence* 4:7 (July '11), 147-150; Booth-Clibborn, A., "The Final Great Rejection: Which has probably already commenced, and which marks the close of this age," *Confidence* 4:7 (July '11), 150-152; Pastor Paul, "The Bride and Her Heavenly Bridegroom," *Confidence* 4:7 (July '11), 152-153; Boddy, M., "The Coming Rapture," *Confidence* 4:7 (July '11), 153-55 & 158; Anon., "The Coming of the Lord," *Confidence* 4:7 (July '11), 156; Booth-Clibborn, A., "The Final Great Rejection: Part II" *Confidence* 4:8 (Aug., '11), E.S.J.M., "Be Ye Also Ready," [poem] *Confidence* 4:9 (Sep., '11), 195; Booth-Clibborn, A., "The Final Great Rejection: Part III" *Confidence* 4:10 (Oct., '11), 224-6; 174-6; Anon., "The Second Advent" *Confidence* 4:10 (Oct., '11), 228-9; Hinchcliffe, E.A., "He is Coming," [poem] *Confidence* 4:11 (Nov., '11), 243; Booth-Clibborn, A., "The Final Great Rejection: Part IV," *Confidence* 4:12 (Dec., '11), 274-5 & 278-9; idem, M., "The Final Great Rejection Part V," *Confidence* 5:1 (Jan. '12), 6-8; idem, "The Final Great Rejection Part VI" *Confidence* 5:2 (Feb. '12), 33-35; Anon., "The Date of the 'Rapture'" *Confidence* 5:3 (Mar. '12), 56; Watson, S., "In the Twinkling of an Eye," *Confidence* 5:3 (Mar. '12), 51-56; Watson, S., "After the Rapture," *Confidence* 5:4 (Apr. '12), 78-83 & 86; Crawford, E., "Surely, I Come Quickly," [poem] *Confidence* 6:5 (May, '13), 87; Edel, P., "Behold, the Bridegroom Cometh!" *Confidence* 7:1 (Jan. '14), 9 & 13-14; Edel, P., "The Coming of the Lord," *Confidence* 7:3 (Mar. '14), 43; Anon., "How are the Dead Raised and with what Body do they Come?" *Confidence* 7:3 (Mar. '14), 47-49; Anon., "A Chart of the World's Ages and the Coming of the Lord," *Confidence* 7:4 (Apr. '14), 70-71; Boddy, M., "Death Swallowed up Victoriously," *Confidence* 7:5 (May '14), 90-91; Booth-Clibborn, A., "Ripening for Rapture," *Confidence* 7:5 (Jun. '14), 103-6; Weaver, A., "The Antichrist and his System," *Confidence* 7:9 (Sep. '14), 167-9; Boddy, M., "The War: Zecharia's Horses," *Confidence* 7:9 (Sep. '14), 170-71; Pastor Paul, "The Day-Star," *Confidence* 7:10 (Oct. '14), 190-1; Humburg, P., "The Coming of the Lord," *Confidence* 7:10 (Nov. '14), 210-212; Sidford, A.E., "Behold, I Come!" [poem] *Confidence* 8:1 (Jan. '15), 3; Anon., "When Our King Comes," [poem] *Confidence* 8:2 (Feb. '15), 23; Anon., "A Great Earthquake," *Confidence* 8:3 (Mar. '15), 54; Watt, A., "Signs of the Times," *Confidence* 8:4

the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts,⁷⁴⁵ aside from numerous BHS testimonies. Articles on this subject start to decline in frequency from around the middle of the First World

(Apr. '15), 72-73; Titterington, E., "The War and Prophecy." *Confidence* 8:9 (Sep. '15). 175-6; Anon., "How Will Christ Come?" *Confidence* 9:1 (Jan. '16). 8-9 & 11-12; Boddy, M., "With Patience Wait for it," *Confidence* 9:2 (Feb. '16), 30-31; Murray, M., "The Career of the Antichrist," *Confidence* 9:3 (Mar. '16), 44-47; Salmon, T.H., "The Last Generation," *Confidence* 9:3 (Mar. '16), 48-49 & 52-55; Murray, M., "The Career of the Antichrist Continued," *Confidence* 9:5 (May '16), 88-9; Anon., "The Lord is Coming: Message from a Soldier in France," *Confidence* 10:3 (May-Jun. '17), 39; Anon., "The World in Travail," *Confidence* 10:3 (May-Jun. '17), 41; Boddy, A., "Prophetic Items," *Confidence* 10:6 (Nov-Dec. '17), 91; Conway, L., "The Morning Cometh!" *Confidence* 11:2 (April-Jun. '18). 28-30; Rader, P., "Armageddon," *Confidence* 11:3 (Jul-Sep. '18), 43-48; Pettingill, W., "Caught up to Christ." *Confidence* 11:3 (Jul.-Sep. '18), 48-49; Moule, H., "The Hope of the Approach of the Lord's Return and its Influence Upon Life," *Confidence* 12:3 (Jul.-Sep. '19), 39-43 & 45-46; Jeffreys, T., "Pastor Jeffreys on the Rapture," *Confidence* 13:4 (Oct.-Dec. '20), 59; Boddy, A., "The Coming Deliverer: The Hope of Christians and Jews," *Confidence* 124 (Jan-Mar., '21). 5-7; Titterington, E., "The Coming Kingdom on Earth," *Confidence* 124 (Jan.-Mar. '21), 8-11; Boddy, M., "Death Swallowed Up Victoriously," *Confidence* 137 (Apr.-Jun. '24), 130-131.

⁷⁴⁵ Anon., "The Promise of the Father," *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov. '08), 3-6; Boddy, A., "Speaking in Tongues: Is this if God?" *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov. '08), 9-10; Boddy, A., "Tongues as a Sign." *Confidence* 2:2 (Feb. '09), 33-35; Boddy et al., "Discussion on Tongues," *Confidence* 2:2 (Feb. '09), 37-41; Boddy, A., "Prophetic Messages and their Trustworthiness," *Confidence* 2:2 (Feb. '09), 42-45; Reiman, O., "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Fruits of the Holy Spirit," *Confidence* 2:2 (Feb. '09), 45-47; Boddy, A., "Seven Hall-Marks of Heaven upon the Pentecostal Baptism with the Sign of Tongues." *Confidence* 2:8 (Aug. '09), 180-183; Barratt, T.B., "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost – What is it?" *Confidence* 2:10 (Oct. '09), 221-223; Mundell, T.H., "This is of God," *Confidence* 2:10 (Oct. '09), 233-5; Judd-Montgomery, C., "A Year with the Comforter," *Confidence* 2:11 (Nov. '09), 249-251; Boddy, A., "Speaking in Tongues: What is it?" *Confidence* 3:5 (May '10), 99-104; Pastor Paul, "The Scriptural Baptism of the Holy Ghost and its Results," *Confidence* 3:6 (Jun. '10). 140-142; Carothers, W.F., "The Gift of Interpretation: Is it Intended to be a Means of Guidance?" *Confidence* 3:11 (Nov. '10). 255-257; Boddy, A., "Tongues: The Pentecostal Sign: Love the Evidence of Continuance," *Confidence* 3:11 (Nov. '10), 260-61; Beyerhaus, E., "The Spirit of Pentecost and His Gifts," *Confidence* 3:12 (Dec. '10), 289-291; Boddy, A., "The Pentecostal Baptism: Counsel to Leaders and others," *Confidence* 4:1 (Jan '11), 5-8; Mundell, T.H., "False Prophets and Messages," *Confidence* 4:1 (Jan. '11), 11 & 14-15; Pastor Edel, "A Greater Pentecost," *Confidence* 4:3 (Mar. '11), 58-59 & 61; White, N., "A Song in 'Tongues;" *Confidence* (Jul. '11), 147; Boddy, A., "The Place of Tongues in the Pentecostal Movement," *Confidence* 4:8 (Aug. '11), 176-179; Anon., "Tongues in the 'Air'" *Confidence* 4:9 (Sep. '11), 204; Berg, G., "Some Thoughts on Prophetic Utterances," *Confidence* 4:11 (Nov. '11). 248; Pastor Paul, "Advice as to Prophecy," *Confidence* 4:11 (Nov. '11). 249; Beyerhaus, E., "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost," *Confidence* 4:11 (Nov. '11), 252-4; Anon., "The Holy Ghost for Us," *Confidence* 5:1 (Jan. '12), 11 & 19-21; Judd-Montgomery, C., "Sanctification and the Anointing of the Holy Spirit," *Confidence* 5:10 (Oct. '12), 228-9; idem. "The Residue of the Oil," *Confidence* 5:11 (Nov. '12). 252-255; Myerscough, T. & H. Hall, "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost," *Confidence* 6:1 (Jan. '13). 5-8; Barratt, T.B., et al, "Thoughts as to the Grace-Gifts," *Confidence* 6:2 (Feb. '13). 30-31; Anon., "What is Pentecost?" *Confidence* 6:5 (May '13), 89-93 & 96-97; Mrs Polman, "Speaking in Tongues," *Confidence* 6:8 (Aug. '13), 151-2; Pastor Edel, "Continue in the Spirit," *Confidence* 6:9 (Sep. '13). 173-176; Anon., "The Fire of the Holy Ghost," *Confidence* 6:9 (Sep. '13), 178-80; Tetchner, J., "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost," *Confidence* 7:1 (Jan. '14), 4-6; A. Boddy et al, "Tongues in the Public Assembly: Conference of Leaders at the Sunderland Convention," *Confidence* 8:1 (Jan. '14). 12-14; Dixon, W.T., "About Tongues: A Word in Season," *Confidence* 7:2 (Feb. '14). 26-28; Pastor Paul, "How to Get the Baptism." *Confidence* 7:2 (Feb. '14). 30-31; Pastor Edel, "The Gifts and Their Uses." *Confidence* 7:3 (Mar. '14), 44-45; C.E.D. de L., "The Glossalalia in the Early Church." *Confidence* 7:5 (May '14). 85-89; A. Boddy, et al, "Tongues in the Public Assembly: Conference of Leaders at the Sunderland Convention," *Confidence* 7:12 (Dec. '14), 233-6; Knight, K., "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit – Continued" *Confidence* 8:7 (Jul. '15), 120 & 133-4; Anon., "A Well-Known Missionary on Tongues," *Confidence* 8:9 (Sep. '15), 174-5; idem, "A Well-Known Missionary on Tongues Continued," *Confidence* 8:10 (Oct. '15). 193-5; Anon., "Brought to God Through Tongues."

War, possibly indicating a mild case of the ‘routinisation of charisma.’ There are a relatively meagre 22 articles devoted to the atonement⁷⁴⁶ over the same period despite casual references to the blood being extremely numerous. The atonement is a very early theme, very soon fading to little more than a yearly Easter message. Casual references to the blood fade less quickly. Finally, there are 18 articles giving teaching on the subject of healing,⁷⁴⁷ besides numerous testimonies. The subject of healing seems to become slightly more prominent with time, especially after the War when the great healing ministries of the Jeffreys brothers and Wigglesworth start to rise to fame.

Confidence 9:1 (Jan.’16), 15-16; Bartleman, F., “With Other Tongues,” *Confidence* 9:4 (Apr.’16), 63-66; Wigglesworth, S., “Our Great Need: Paul’s Vision and the Baptism in the Holy Ghost,” *Confidence* 10:6 (Nov.-Dec.’17), 84-87 & 90; Boddy, M., “Faith in God the Holy Ghost,” *Confidence* 11:4 (Oct.-Dec.’18), 68-69; A. Boddy et al, “The True Baptism in the Holy Ghost,” *Confidence* 12:2 (Apr.-Jun.’19), 19-21; Wigglesworth, S., “Immersed in the Holy Ghost,” *Confidence* 13:3 (Jul-Sep.’20), 42-43; C.P., “Torrents of Water, John vii.38” *Confidence* 13:4 (Oct-Dec.’20), 56; Moule, H., “The Holy Spirit,” *Confidence* 124 (Jan-Mar.’21), 8; Wigglesworth, S., “The Word of Knowledge and of Faith,” *Confidence* 136 (Jan.-Mar.’24), 117-120 & 122.

⁷⁴⁶ Boddy, M., “His Own Blood,” *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr.’08), 4; Anon., “Pleading the Blood,” *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug.’08), 3-6; Boddy, M., “See the Blood from Calv’ry Flowing [poem]” *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov.’08), 3; Boddy, A., “Divine Necrosis, or the Deadness of the Lord Jesus,” *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec.’08), 3-7; Boddy, A., “‘Christ in His Holy Land’: The Story of Calvary,” *Confidence* 3:3 (Mar.’10), 51-57; Anon., “The Great Victory,” *Confidence* 3:3 (Mar.’10), 60; Anon., “The Precious Blood of Christ,” *Confidence* 4:2 (Feb.’11), 36; Boddy, A., “The Good Friday Story,” *Confidence* 4:3 (Mar.’11), 51-58; Booth-Clibborn, A., “A Hymn of the Blood (What ‘the Blood’ Means).!” *Confidence* 4:6 (Jun.’11), 123; Anon., “Faith in His Blood,” *Confidence* 4:8 (Aug.’11), 185-7; H.A.M., “The Precious Blood of Christ [poem],” *Confidence* 4:10 (Oct.’11), 219; Anon., “The Blood of Jesus in the Old testament,” *Confidence* 4:12 (Dec.’11), 272-4; Boddy, A., “Gethsemane,” *Confidence* 7:3 (Mar’14), 72-75; Trussell, E.R., “The Lord’s Supper: Medicine for His Children,” *Confidence* 8:4 (Apr.’14), 70-71; Anon., “The Precious Blood of Christ,” *Confidence* 9:4 (Apr.’16), 69-72; Boddy, A., “A Glorious Hymn of the Blood,” *Confidence* 137 (Apr.-Jun.’24), 127-129; Sisson, E., “The Lamb Slain for the Wild Ass,” *Confidence* 139 (Nov.-Dec.’24), 151-2.

⁷⁴⁷ Judd-Montgomery, C., “Christ’s Quickening Life for the Mortal Body,” *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov.’08), 6-7; Boddy, A., “The Gifts of the Spirit in the Light of History,” *Confidence* 2:1 (Jan.’09), 11 & 16; Boddy, A., “Faith Healing” *Confidence* 3:1 (Jan.’10), 8-11 & 14-15; Boddy, A., “‘Health in Christ’” *Confidence* 3:9 (Sep.’10), 211 & 216; Pastor Paul, “Divine Healing and Health,” *Confidence* 3:10 (Oct.’10), 227-228; Sister J.C.G., & Brother Moorhead, “I am the Lord that HEALETH Thee,” [poem] *Confidence* 4:5 (May ’11), 99; Pastor Paul, “Discerning the Lord’s Body,” *Confidence* 4:8 (Aug.’11), 185-7; Pastor Edel, “Preaching and Healing,” *Confidence* 7:2, (Feb.’14), 28-29 & 31; Anon., “Healing by Faith,” *Confidence* 7:6 (Jun.’14), 110-111 & 113-114; Pastor Paul, “What Shall we Preach to the Sick?” *Confidence* 8:3 (Mar.’15), 47-48; idem, “What Shall we Preach to the Sick?” *Confidence* 8:4 (Apr.’15), 73-74; Judd-Montgomery, C., “A Message to the Sick,” *Confidence* 8:5 (May ’15), 87-88; Sisson, E., “Our Health His Wealth,” *Confidence* 9:10 (Oct.’16), 164-7; Pritchard, W., “Healing by Faith in Christ,” *Confidence* 124 (Jan.-Mar.’21), 12; Butlin, J., “Divine Healing,” *Confidence* 129 (Apr.-Jun.’21), 22-23 & 27-28; Boddy, A., “The Anointing with Oil: James v., 13-16,” *Confidence* 129 (Apr.-Jun.’22), 21-22; Wigglesworth, S., “‘Ever-Increasing Faith’ A Valuable Work on Divine Healing,” *Confidence* 140 (May ’25), 163-166; Boddy, M., “Spiritual Healing: Spiritual and Bodily Vitality, A powerful Plea,” *Confidence* 140 (May ’25), 166-167.

The Second Coming, the Holy Spirit, the Atonement and Divine Healing constitute the four dominant, and closely interwoven theological preoccupations of British Pentecostalism in its earliest stages.⁷⁴⁸ The reoccurrence of the gifts of the Holy Spirit was the supreme sign that the Lord was coming soon: these were the long-promised days of the Latter Rain. Aside from the spiritual gifts, other miraculous occurrences, as in the days of the first outpouring - the Former Rain - could therefore be expected, and chief of these was healing.⁷⁴⁹ So the movement had a forward-looking and backwards-looking dimension: the Last Days were also days of apostolic restoration. Because these were the Last Days, an increase in anti-Christian satanic activity could also be anticipated, just as the Scriptures foretold:

In these last days God is permitting His children to be tried. 'Satan has asked for us to be sifted as wheat,' not only in (sic.) Satanic fury trying to overcome us and devour us, but *God* is proving us...⁷⁵⁰

premillennialism was not optimistic about the state of the world.⁷⁵¹ Because of this, the Blood of Christ, in the manner of the Exodus story, was needed over the doorposts and lintels of the human heart. An especially interesting article appears that shows a diagram of the heart (pictured as a house) with the Blood on its doorposts and

⁷⁴⁸ In a recent study, Cartledge adds sanctification to this list to adduce a Wesleyan-Holiness five-fold gospel implicit in the theology of *Confidence*: Cartledge, M., "The Early Pentecostal Theology of *Confidence* Magazine (1908-1926): A Version of the Five-Fold Gospel?" *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, 28:2 (2008), 117-130.

⁷⁴⁹ The campaign of George and Stephen Jeffreys in Swansea was hailed as an "Apostolic Revival" precisely because of the healings that were taking place, as well as the tongues, of course. George Jeffreys writes to Boddy, reporting, "The work here is deepening, and numerous conversions are taking place [a run-of-the-mill revival], and many have received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost with the Signs following. Praise the Lord! Some miraculous cases of healing have also taken place, and it is a real Apostolic Revival..." Boddy, A., "An Apostolic Welsh Revival," *Confidence* 6:2 (Feb. '13), 28.

⁷⁵⁰ Boddy, M., "Life out of Death," *Confidence* 5:4 (May '12), 110.

⁷⁵¹ "...they expect things to go from bad to worse, and frankly tell me they have no hope of amelioration." Bebbington, D., "The Advent Hope in British Evangelicalism since 1800" *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 9:2 (1988), 106, citing a Postmillennial Methodist's comments on the mood of premillennialists. On the contradiction entailed in the parallel expectation of a worldwide outpouring of the Spirit see my discussion at note 690, p. 192.

lintels with, "Satan and his aerial hosts," written just above the house. These aerial hosts are unable to penetrate through the blood.⁷⁵² Such hosts as these were looking for opportunities to attack Christians that were earnestly seeking their own personal Pentecost. And so it was that pleading the blood, and a significant proportion of all other references to the blood at this time, took on a combative, demonological flavour.

The magazine was soon augmented by an annual Whitsuntide conference that was held a total of seven times before the First World War put a stop to them. Over the duration of the seven conferences a total of 42 foreign (mainly USA and Continental Europe) and 23 British leaders attended.⁷⁵³ Highlights from these conferences, as well as from many other conferences that Boddy attended often made up the bulk of the articles from June 1908 until the War. Mrs Barratt describes the atmosphere of the first conference:

A large part of the meetings was spent on our knees, praying, singing, or in silence praying to God's Lamb, whose Blood was so precious, in that the Spirit's Light fell over it, and we experienced that it cleansed us wholly.⁷⁵⁴

Throughout this time, besides the Pentecostal after-meetings in the vestry, Boddy conducted normal church services at All Saints, merely noting in his 1908 Visitation Return to Bishop Moule that, "The preaching of a Victorious Christ-Victory over the works of the devil through the Cross proves to be most attractive."⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵² Anon., "Faith in His Blood." *Confidence*, 4:8 (Aug. '11), 188.

⁷⁵³ Wakefield, *Boddy*, 120. Many of the British delegates went on to become prominent. Thomas Myerscough came in 1909, where he received his BHS. John Nelson Parr attended for the first time in 1910. John and Howard Carter attended from 1912. Kay, *Inside Story*, 30. George Jeffreys was invited by Boddy to speak at the conference of 1913: Boddy, A., "The Welsh Revivalists Revisited." *Confidence* 6:2 (Feb., 1913), 47-49.

⁷⁵⁴ Barratt, T.B., "The Conference in Sunderland." *Confidence* 1:4 (July '08), 5.

⁷⁵⁵ Wakefield, *Boddy*, 127.

It is now time to analyse the Blood theme at Sunderland, establishing, as in previous chapters in this thesis, the roles attributed to it by the people. Judging from the first year of issues of *Confidence* magazine, the 9 leading themes were: pleading:17%. victory:15%, protection:10%, cleansing:10%, power:9%, redemption:6%. honouring. magnifying, being loyal to, praising and adoring the blood:5%, sanctification. 4% and conjoinings of the work of the blood with the work of the Spirit:3%.

It is useful to compare these figures with the equivalent data on Azusa Street. The percentages listed indicate the proportion of the total of all references to the blood in the first 12 issues of each periodical that have reference to the theme indicated. I have listed only the top 9 themes connected with the blood in *Confidence*. Increases of more than 1% I have highlighted in bold. Decreases of more than 1% I have reduced to a 10-point font in order to highlight the changes:

	<i>Confidence</i>	<i>Apostolic Faith</i>
Pleading	17%	1%
Victory	15%	10%
Cleansing	10%	20%
Protection	10%	10%
Power	9%	3%
Redemption	7%	3%
Honouring	5%	4%
Sanctification	4%	9%
+ Spirit	3%	4%

The most notable thing about these figures is the dramatic rise in occurrences of pleading the blood, reflecting its promotion from a devotional theme inspired by Wesleyan hymnody to a technical term with a developed methodology, almost certainly deriving from Kilsyth. In the language of Durkheim, this piece of terminology had now passed from a “religious” sphere without defined outcomes into a “magical” role in which something specific was expected to happen.⁷⁵⁶ In effect, the use of the word blood had now become a speech-act. As part and parcel of this development, it also seems very clear that with the change of provenance to the UK (as well as from Kilsyth to Sunderland) there is a dramatic increase in demon-mindedness, so much so that the new practice from Kilsyth is commandeered in order to cope with it: the mechanical and repetitious pleading of the blood. There has been a concomitant reduction in the Wesleyan elements of cleansing and sanctification reflective of the more Keswick-orientated make-up of those that gathered at Sunderland. Moreover, it is clear that, in contrast to the Salvation Army, cleansing from sin was by no means synonymous with victory over the devil. Blood-orientated spiritual warfare was now becoming an art in itself.

6.1. ‘Victory’ Through the Blood.

The uses to which the word ‘blood’ was put over this period display an excessive *Christus Victor* theme when compared to the New Testament. As noted above, the victory theme accounts for 15% of all occurrences during the first year of *Confidence*. If combined with all other demonologically-orientated references, including every

⁷⁵⁶ Durkheim also made the interesting suggestion that magic develops out of religion and that it leads in the direction of lay participation: Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, (London: George Allen & Unwin), 36-47.

reference to pleading the blood (17%) and being protected by, under, covered by, sheltered by or safe beneath the blood (10%), then the demonological emphasis is extremely strong, totalling 42%. Salvation-related themes, including cleansing, forgiveness, justification, redemption, atonement, access, sanctification, salvation, life, finished work of, faith or trust in, peace through, merit of, birthright because of, and restoration of the image of God through, account for a further 34%. By contrast, in the New Testament, only 1 out of the 34 uses of 'blood' with reference to the death of Jesus actually speaks of victory over the devil (Rev.12:11). The remainder all carry soteriological subject matter. Yet in *Confidence*, gaining a decisive victory over Satan, and thereafter staying protected from him, was essential to all spiritual progress towards and beyond one's personal Pentecost. On one occasion, the victory that is to be enjoyed through the blood is expressed in the form of a vision:

She saw a River of Blood going out, and on either bank men and women stood hesitating, but some stepped into it. Then Jesus on a white horse seemed to ride down the centre, and as he raised His sword the hosts of Hell fell into the abyss, and many stepped into the stream and followed Him on to certain victory.⁷⁵⁷

An aspect of this victory was, of course, the practice of pleading the blood. Testimony after testimony describes the breakthrough moment, when Satan was overcome and the Spirit entered in, as being the moment when the seeker used such a phrase as "The precious blood of Jesus", or just "Blood!Blood!Blood!" Boddy recollects his visit to Kilsyth in this way:

...there is great Spiritual Power in the meetings. Sometimes, in the after-meetings, everyone will be earnestly engaged in prayer. Strong men wrestling with God, and especially pleading the Blood of the Lord Jesus. His finished work through the Blood, the victory obtained through the Blood. All this they

⁷⁵⁷ Boddy, A., "A Visit to Holland," *Confidence* 1: 6 (Sep 1908), 12.

mean when they just rapidly repeat, 'Blood, Blood, Blood.' and often they find the Spirit falling upon them and speaking with other tongues.⁷⁵⁸

Boddy elsewhere teaches emphatically: "The pleading of the Blood in the power of the Holy Spirit will put to flight all the powers of darkness."⁷⁵⁹ Smith Wigglesworth was very soon enamoured with the idea of pleading the blood. Writing in from Bradford, he enthuses:

We are realising the blessing that comes to us through pleading the Blood. There is certain victory if the pleader keeps the precious Jesus before him. Then the Holy Ghost commences to plead through him. This is the commencement of signs.⁷⁶⁰

From Pontesford, Mr George Beady writes in, following a visit by Wigglesworth, giving his testimony of BHS:

...from early morning I claimed God's promises and continuously pleaded 'the precious Blood of Jesus,' until about 1 p.m. in the afternoon when there came such a strong inspiration to go upstairs; so, saying nothing to anyone, I went by myself and knelt down by the bedside, still pleading 'the precious Blood of Jesus,' until suddenly the Holy Ghost came upon me, and I found myself glorifying God in an unknown tongue as the Spirit gave utterance.⁷⁶¹

It is clear that by this time, some vocal expression of faith or trust in the blood of Jesus was seen as an essential part of the whole experience of Spirit baptism. This was the case both at Sunderland and at the various other Pentecostal centres that were mushrooming throughout the UK that were aligning themselves with Sunderland. These centres were beginning to contribute regularly to Confidence magazine.

⁷⁵⁸ Boddy, A., "A Visit to Kilsyth," *Confidence* 1:1 (April 1908), 10.

⁷⁵⁹ Boddy, A., "Our Faithful God," *Confidence* 1:2 (May '08), 4.

⁷⁶⁰ Wigglesworth, S., "Bradford," *Confidence* 1:2 (May 1908), 9.

⁷⁶¹ Beady, G., "Pontesford. Good News from the Shrewsbury District," *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov 1908), 13.

enriching it with their own accounts, which will be analysed shortly, of how certain individuals received their Pentecostal Baptism.

6.2. The Blood as Badge of Evangelical Orthodoxy.

There is a trait within early Pentecostalism that can be seen in embryonic form in Azusa Street and which will yet reach new heights of urgency during the inter-war years. This trait is a development on the apotropeic motif. In other words, if being under the blood wards off the devil during the event of BHS, then BHS cannot therefore be of the devil and must be of God. Further, the affect of BHS is that people instinctively want to honour the blood more, not less, than they did before. Therefore, in their view, the Pentecostals rightfully belong to the wider blood-bathed Evangelical community. Events surrounding the founding of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship will suffice to illustrate the blood-centredness of non-Pentecostal Evangelicals at that time. Relations between the Evangelically-minded Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union founded in 1910, and the more liberal Student Christian Movement came to a head in 1918. Norman Grubb describes the moment:

After an hour's talk, I asked Rollo [head of SCM] point-blank, 'Does SCM put the atoning blood of Jesus Christ central?' He hesitated, and then said, 'Well, we acknowledge it, but not necessarily central.' Dan Dick [head of CICCUC] and I then said that this settled the matter for us in the CICCUC. We could never join something that did not maintain the atoning blood of Jesus Christ as its centre, and we parted company.⁷⁶²

Thus, at the 1919 Keswick Convention, IVF was born, defined by its attitude to the blood. Charles Spurgeon's claim that he would rather have his tongue cut out than ever agree to stop preaching about the blood has already been noted. Evangelical

⁷⁶² Grubb, N., *Once Caught, No Escape: My Life Story*, (Lutterworth, 1969), 56.

resistance to all things liberal, especially liberalism's revulsion at a penal sacrificial concept of the atonement, was a major identity marker. And so increasingly, the fact that the BHS experience would have the affect of magnifying a Pentecostal's appreciation for the blood was cited time and again as an apologetic device:

*Christ and His precious Blood was honoured. Surely these were the fruits of the Spirit and nothing else. Those who deny this because old forms of worship were broken are to be deplored and pitied and prayed for.*⁷⁶³

6.3. The Blood and Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

The significance of the blood was clearly amplified for Pentecostals, even compared to other holiness groups. As already stated, BHS would have the effect of increasing a person's appreciation for the blood. Not only was this so, but the blood had an essential practical role in BHS for Pentecostals that it did not have in the BHS experiences of non-Pentecostal holiness groups. As an example of this, Reader Harris sums up the steps that are necessary in order to receive the Holy Spirit as power for service:

1. Separate yourself from all evil
2. Separate yourself to God
3. Believe God
4. Do not wait for feelings⁷⁶⁴
5. Obey God.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶³ Barratt, T.B., "In Syria," *Confidence* 1:7 (Oct. '08), 21.

⁷⁶⁴ This was the issue that left Pentecostals totally unsatisfied by Keswick; Hudson, D. N., "Strange Words and Their Impact on Early Pentecostals: A Historical Perspective," in Cartledge, M., (ed), *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 55-56.

⁷⁶⁵ Harris, R., *Power for Service*, 47.

There is no mention of the blood of Jesus. T.B. Barratt, by contrast, also sums up his advice on how to receive the Spirit:

1. Seek it now
2. Seek it through the blood
3. Seek it after perfect cleansing
4. Seek it without anxiety, trusting the Word of God.⁷⁶⁶

It is to this subject of the blood of Jesus in the BHS experience that we now turn.

Over the course of *Confidence* magazine's first year of issue: April 1908-March 1909, a total of 25 personal testimonies were published. These were from people, both at the first Whitsuntide conference and at other times and places, who received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. These records are invaluable as a case study for understanding the anatomy of early Pentecostal spirituality. The Pentecostalism recorded here is part of a movement that, by the time of the publication of the first issue, was barely six months old. It is not surprising, therefore, that the testimonies related here display all the effervescence that Poloma describes as characteristic of the defining first stage in a social movement.⁷⁶⁷

BHS testimonies in *Confidence* fall broadly into a fourfold pattern: Aspiration, Consecration, Encounter, Results. I have, therefore, analysed the data as follows:

⁷⁶⁶ Barratt, *Latter Rain*, 97. Also appears in "Is Satan Divided?" in *Redemption Tidings* 3:6 (June 1927), 6.

⁷⁶⁷ Poloma, M., "Toronto Blessing" in *NIDPCM*, 1150-1152.

i) Aspiration.

This is the stage at which the seeker first becomes aware that he or she lacks something. This is described as “hungering and thirsting,”⁷⁶⁸ “...soul-hunger...”⁷⁶⁹ and “...a deep longing after Himself.”⁷⁷⁰ Boddy’s friend, Pastor Polman from Berlin, longed for “...power from on high, to be a witness for Christ.”⁷⁷¹

Sometimes, this hunger was generated by a sense of failure in some area of sin:

“Many seemed to get a great blessing and were able to say, ‘He has broken my fetters,’ but I could not sing these words, I felt I was bound.”⁷⁷² At other times the

longing was generated by news of Pentecostal revival breaking out elsewhere: “The Lord caused to be sent to us Pentecostal news from America.”⁷⁷³ One man records an inner witness when he “...heard of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Los Angeles.”⁷⁷⁴ These factors would lead to “...a holy, devout expectation...”⁷⁷⁵

The expectations that seekers had of what benefit the experience would give them may, to a significant degree, be summed up under two Keswick ideals. These were adumbrated at the Broadlands conference in 1874 as, ‘maintained communion with the Lord and victory over all known sin.’⁷⁷⁶ John Miller, for instance, gave his BHS testimony in the hope that, “...others may be helped into a fuller Life of Victory and

⁷⁶⁸ Mrs Elvin, *Confidence* 1:6 (Sep 08), 12

⁷⁶⁹ Mr W.H.S: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 9

⁷⁷⁰ Ms A.S. Kenyon: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08).

⁷⁷¹ Pastor Polman: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08).

⁷⁷² Ms Beruldsen: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 11.

⁷⁷³ Mrs Elvin: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 12.

⁷⁷⁴ Mr W.H.S: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 9.

⁷⁷⁵ Mr W.H.S: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 8.

⁷⁷⁶ Barabas, *So Great Salvation*, 20.

Power...⁷⁷⁷ Signora Malan of Turin describes a similar longing: "I have, year after year, had an increasing desire for complete deliverance from sin and self."⁷⁷⁸ The above statements mostly reflect the middle ground of the early Oberlin and Keswick theories.⁷⁷⁹ These saw BHS as having to do with both holiness and power for service, with the note of 'victory' uniting the two concepts.⁷⁸⁰

In addition to these aspirations towards personal victory, there was a further, and arguably more compelling, more dangerous, expectation. This was the desire for what today we might term as the 'Wow!' factor. They were after, "THE REAL PENTECOST,"⁷⁸¹ "...the manifest baptism of the Holy Ghost."⁷⁸² They had come to Sunderland, "...to wait upon God for full Pentecost with Signs."⁷⁸³ It was this element of "with Signs" that was the defining feature of the new Pentecostals. This differentiated them sharply from their Holiness contemporaries such as Reader Harris. He, together with many other Holiness adherents, believed that BHS was to be received quietly and accepted by faith, regardless of the presence or absence of any emotional or physical evidences. And so it was by 1912, that this "with Signs" element provoked Jessie Penn-Lewis into writing *War on the Saints*, in which she claimed that all such manifestations were demonic.⁷⁸⁴ It appears that the blood was pleaded much of the time in order to insure against this very thing. There appears to

⁷⁷⁷ *Confidence* 1:2 (May 08), 11.

⁷⁷⁸ *Confidence* 1:4 (Jul 08), 6.

⁷⁷⁹ David Leigh, in his testimony, quotes both R.A. Torrey and Hannah Pearsall Smith with approval: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 8. Torrey and Smith's teachings on how to obtain BHS and what it was for differed in quite significant ways (See Wesseis, R., "The Spirit Baptism, Nineteenth Century Roots" *Pneuma* 1:14 (Fall 1992), 133-157), yet both were Keswick speakers.

⁷⁸⁰ Similarly, Mary Boddy's testimony, which appears in a separate tract, includes the expectation of "the Power to love and believe and witness." Boddy, M., "Testimony of a Vicar's Wife," 6.

⁷⁸¹ Reverend C.W.D: *Confidence* 1:2 (May 08), 7.

⁷⁸² J.W: *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 10.

⁷⁸³ Ms Williams: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 14.

⁷⁸⁴ This book was responded to at the Whitsuntide Conference of 1913 and denounced in a "Declaration" recorded in *Confidence* 6:7 (Jul 1913), 135. This ably contradicts Penn-Lewis's surprisingly Cartesian insistence that any manifestation which can be registered by the physical senses must be demonic.

have been a real fear amongst the seekers of Sunderland, which Penn-Lewis was perhaps attempting to capitalise on, that they would be overtaken by a deceptive demonic power rather than experiencing a genuine Baptism with God-given tongues. The blood was, therefore, invoked for protection.⁷⁸⁵ One man, wishing to go along to William Oliver Hutchinson's church in Bournemouth, notorious for its excesses, was reportedly told to plead the blood of Christ and he would be "safe."⁷⁸⁶

ii) Consecration.

The baptism in the Spirit was not seen as something that could be lightly given by God. It was seen as holy and precious. The experience was seen as a meeting with God Himself. To prepare for this, it was necessary to confess all known sin and to surrender one's whole self to God.

The element of confession leading to a deep inward cleansing was important: "All known hindrances in the past were to be mutually owned in the presence of the searcher of all hearts."⁷⁸⁷ This was because, "God can only fill the cleansed Temple."⁷⁸⁸ The cooperation of the seeker with God was therefore essential: "While waiting, the Lord led us *to surrender at every point, and to WORK while we waited...*"⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁵ E.g. "But if a Seeker has humbly looked to God to give him *this sign* as a token of his Baptism, and if he is trusting the finished work of the Lord on the Cross (the Blood), then we are pressed into the belief that God would not allow him to be deceived." A. Boddy, "The German Conference". *Confidence* 2:1 (Jan 09), 6 (italics and parentheses original).

⁷⁸⁶ Worsfold. *Origins*, 37.

⁷⁸⁷ Reverend C.W.D: *Confidence* 1:2 (May 08), 7.

⁷⁸⁸ Margaret Howell & Mabel Scott: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 5.

⁷⁸⁹ Margaret Howell & Mabel Scott: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 5.

The human side of the act of consecration is made clear in Mrs Beruldsen's testimony as she is asked some tough questions by Mary Boddy: "Do you know of anything between you and God, or any person, that would need to be put right?"⁷⁹⁰

The cleansing power of the blood of Jesus was essential at this point: "We entered in through the precious Blood, the only way of perfect cleansing."⁷⁹¹ In the testimonies as a whole, however, the cleansing power of the blood is not as prominent a feature as one might expect at this stage.

As seekers prepared themselves in this way, many appear to have undergone a definite sanctification experience, prior to what they would have identified as their Baptism in the Spirit:

After 14 days' fasting and longing to receive the Holy Ghost, I asked the Lord one evening so to purge me that I might not continue in sin. I asked the Lord to make it a reality, and a wonderful joy and purity streamed through my body and lit up all things around me.⁷⁹²

Mrs Kenyon, likewise, reports a "...willingness to give up things that hindered from finding full satisfaction in Christ, the Holy Spirit then took fuller possession."⁷⁹³

Some, at this point would experience 'holy laughter' as a token of this fuller possession and the cleansing of the blood.⁷⁹⁴ Indeed, Alexander Boddy himself was

⁷⁹⁰ Mrs Beruldsen: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 12.

⁷⁹¹ Margaret Howell and Mabel Scott: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 5.

⁷⁹² Herr Beyerhaus: *Confidence* 2:1 (Jan 09), 6.

⁷⁹³ *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 9.

⁷⁹⁴ Mrs Elvin: *Confidence* 1:6 (Sep 08), 12; David Leigh: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 8; Anon., *Confidence* 1:7 (Oct 08), 6.

clear that sanctification was a definite Second Blessing preconditional for the Third Blessing of BHS with tongues.⁷⁹⁵

Consecration appears to have been a salient feature of the 'tarrying' experience and possibly seen as the main purpose of the tarrying meetings: "The Master had much to do in me – subduing, humbling, teaching – oh, so lovingly and tenderly, often during the waiting-time, giving sweet touches of love..."⁷⁹⁶ Smith Wigglesworth expresses all the elements and purposes of the Consecration stage well:

As the blood is applied through separation and holy surrender, the fire falls, the Spirit's clothing comes on to a pure spirit. What I am, what I have been, must be lost in Him.⁷⁹⁷

iii) Encounter.

It was anticipated that the encounter would be not only an encounter with God, but also an encounter with the opposition of Satan. The devil did not want God's child to experience the blessing, and may even give a counterfeit blessing. Hence Carrie Judd-Montgomery's testimony:

I asked them to pray for me, which they did. I said 'By the Blood of Jesus my whole being is open to the fullness of God, and by that same precious blood I am closed to any power of the enemy.'⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁵ At a conference in Germany Boddy is asked, "Was sanctification a condition for receiving such a Pentecost?" To which he answers, "Yes, most emphatically. Teaching as to the Clean Heart has always been on the lines of Romans vi., 6 and 11. Union with Christ in His Crucifixion, His Death and Burial, then Union with Him in Resurrection and Ascension, followed by Pentecost with the same tokens as at Caesarea (Acts x., 44-46)." *Confidence* 2:1 (Jan. '09), 5. Cf. "Tongues as a Sign," *Confidence* 2:2 (Feb. '09), 33.

⁷⁹⁶ Ms J.H: *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 8.

⁷⁹⁷ S. Wigglesworth: *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 9.

⁷⁹⁸ *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov 08), 13.

It was necessary, not to try to fight him on one's own merits, but to plead the blood of Jesus. Only the invocation of the blood could make the devil flee. John Martin was flat on his back in Andrew Murdoch's kitchen seeking the BHS when he reports:

I found I had spiritual enemies hindering my getting through. I felt them. They were like an atmosphere in front of me. I BEGAN TO PLEAD THE BLOOD. I assured myself and Satan that it was the all-atoning Blood, and that Jesus was both Lord and Christ.⁷⁹⁹

Moments later, he was swept "...in to the sea of Pentecostal Fulness with its unmistakable seal."⁸⁰⁰

The devil was believed to detest the subject of the blood of Jesus more than anything else, to the point where opposition to the Apostolic Faith Church's use of the blood cry was itself seen by some as demonic.⁸⁰¹

The mechanics of pleading the blood, as far as the seekers were concerned were rooted in the Scriptural description of Satan in Revelation 12:10 as the accuser of the brethren, hence the legal metaphor of pleading before a prosecution.⁸⁰² When a seeker approaches God in a waiting meeting, seeking the Baptism in the Spirit, he or she can expect to be buffeted by the accuser with reference to his or her lack of personal

⁷⁹⁹ John Martin: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 12-13

⁸⁰⁰ John Martin: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 13.

⁸⁰¹ Hathaway, "Hutchinson" 44.

⁸⁰² Boddy is quoted in a report of the December 1908 Hamburg conference: "A.A.B. said subsequently that Rev. xii warned them that the Dragon was always ready to devour any movement specially born of God in His Church. It seemed as if he succeeded each time, but now they must keep their eyes on the Blood of the Lamb; they must exalt Jesus and His finished work. Then we may expect to overcome (v. 11) and in due time to be caught up to Heaven." "The Gifts of the Spirit in the Light of History," *Confidence* 2:1 (Jan. '09), 16.

holiness and therefore unworthiness before God.⁸⁰³ This is designed to turn the believer away from God shame-faced and empty-handed. The implication seems to be that the believer is justified by the blood (Rom 5:9) and can therefore rest in what it has accomplished to make the seeker acceptable in the eyes of a holy God⁸⁰⁴ The role of the blood in the encounter stage, therefore, serves as a confidence booster as the seeker finds him or herself standing before the manifest presence of both Satan and God. This type of pleading the blood was markedly different to that which Zinzendorf would have commended or which Charles Wesley might have invoked in his hymns. For them, pleading the blood was theocentric. They appealed to the merits of the sacrifice of Christ as they contemplated approaching God in His holiness. For the Pentecostals, pleading the blood was, for the most part, intended for Satan's ears rather than God's.

The climax of the encounter was, of course, the moment when the seeker spoke in tongues:

I cannot tell how long elapsed, for I remembered nothing until I found myself prostrate, felt my tongue moving, and heard Mr Taylor say gladly to the others, 'It's Tongues!'⁸⁰⁵

Probably drawing not a little inspiration from Kilsyth, John Martin of Motherwell, could describe how tongues came when, "...I began to lose all my English save the one word 'Blood'"⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰³ "Satan will come to accuse, but steadfastly point him to the blood of that victorious life on high." Boddy, A., "The Way to Your 'Pentecost'", *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 24.

⁸⁰⁴ "We are apt to look at the matter critically, forgetting that, even when we stand at Heaven's gate, we shall have no other plea for entrance but the Precious Blood." Victor Wilson, "A Letter from Motherwell", *Confidence* 1:6 (Sep 08), 13

⁸⁰⁵ David Leigh: *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 8.

⁸⁰⁶ *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 13.

A man writing in from Pretoria had already received “sanctification by the power of the blood” and was lying on a sofa reading a travel book.

...when the power of God came upon me, and I was put upon the floor face down. I was two hours down there before I could let Jesus have His way. Praise Jesus, He did have His way, and I praised Him in the tongue He gave me.⁸⁰⁷

In every case, the encounter stage, just as with the Aspiration and Consecration stage, was very dramatic. The stories told are gripping and spectacular. Often manifesting severe shaking and prostrations, there is no doubt that these people were experiencing a little more than what was normally expected of a BHS experience in holiness circles. They appear to have been experiencing the *mysterium tremendum*, the *numinous*. They were experiencing, it seems, the awe of a creature before its Creator.

iv) Results.

Without exception, where long-term results were described, every expectation had been met. Besides the signs of ‘Full Pentecost’ – the tongues, prostrations and other signs - there was reportedly, a much greater victory over sin and a much closer relationship with God.

The victory theme was still associated with the blood even long after the experience of Pentecost. Indeed, one result of BHS appears to have been a new revelation of, and confidence in, the power of the blood: “There is victory where there was defeat, there

⁸⁰⁷ Thos J. Armstrong: *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 20.

is liberty where I was bound...He has given me such faith in the power of the Blood."⁸⁰⁸

I do praise Him for the power He has given me in my life to overcome. It was just what I needed. Oh, I was so tired of trying...He has overcome, and so do we by the power of the blood. I find that I have begun a new life of power...I am not ashamed to own Him before men.⁸⁰⁹

There is also a much deeper communion with God:

What is the outcome in my life? Just this – more of the Lord Jesus, more of His love, His tenderness, His prayerfulness, His love for the written Word, more desire to see others saved and love Him too.⁸¹⁰

Alexander and Mary Boddy's daughter, Jane, was clearly enamoured with Jesus as a result of her experience: "Since then Christ is my one aim, life is not worth living without Him, He is such a wonderful reality."⁸¹¹

Only occasionally is there a power for service motif. This may be reflective of the fact that most of the contributors were not in full time Christian ministry. Carrie Judd-Montgomery freely testifies to the new power at work in her ministry:

We have experienced and taught Divine healing for many years, but never have we personally known such a constant indwelling of the Healer as since we first received our Pentecostal baptism.⁸¹²

Mrs Kenyon sums up beautifully, saying her BHS was,

⁸⁰⁸ J.W: *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 10.

⁸⁰⁹ Thos. J. Armstrong: *Confidence* 1:9 (Dec 08), 20-21.

⁸¹⁰ John Martin: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 13.

⁸¹¹ Jane Boddy: *Confidence* 1:2 (May 08), 7.

⁸¹² *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov 08), 7.

...not a goal...but an entrance gate into a fullness of life in Christ. A life of wondrous possibilities lived on a plane few have an adequate conception of. a life growing in fullness, a life of communion with the Eternal God through the Holy Spirit.⁸¹³

The blood of Jesus played a part, to varying degrees, in every phase of early British Pentecostal spirituality as the BHS was sought. Expectations of BHS were that it would be not merely the act of speaking in tongues for the first time but a life-changing encounter with God, for which faith in the blood would be essential. While the seekers prepared themselves for this encounter, the blood was important in the often-lengthy process of confession and cleansing that was part and parcel of the act of consecration. During their encounter with the dimension of the *numinous*, the blood became vital to bring assurance as the seeker came face to face with unearthly powers greater than him or her-self. So disconcerting was this experience it seemingly became necessary at this point to vocalise one's faith in the blood. Finally, one result of BHS, which contributed to the fuller life of victory, communion and power, was a new appreciation of the blood of Jesus as an ongoing source of confidence and freedom that made it possible to go on enjoying life in the Spirit.

6.4. Early Sunderland: Some Initial Deductions.

A firm faith in the blood of Jesus in a more general sense, as with the Moravians, seems to have been of some genuine value in fostering assurance. Encounters with the holiness and awesomeness of God and with the finger-pointing malice of Satan could only be undertaken productively by invoking, not one's own personal track record at living a good Christian life, but by trusting in the sin-cleansing blood of Jesus. This alone could make it possible for a sinner to be baptized in the holy power of the Holy

⁸¹³ *Confidence* 1:5 (Aug 08), 9.

Spirit. Verbalising one's faith in the blood meant, more than anything, to be brought beneath the symbol of God-given victory. The blood was code for the promise of deliverance from a miserable life of failure and ineffectiveness into the realm of Holy Spirit possession and safety from the Devil.

While searching for theological language to make sense of and spiritual techniques to foster their own personal Pentecosts, the pioneers of Sunderland used what they knew best – the teachings and perspectives of Keswick. They then added the new insights about the blood gleaned from the Kilsyth revival. The early Pentecostal writers thus used, in the main, the supposedly inadequate theological framework of 19th Century holiness and Higher Life ideas to interpret Pentecostal experiences. Yet in view of the data presented here, such language seems entirely consonant. In 25 personal testimonies, it was holiness aspirations of victory that were fulfilled in the form of holier, more victorious lives.

A crucial difference exists, however, between the spirituality of Keswick and the spirituality of Sunderland. Keswick had been offering an alternative to worldly compromise in the form of an authentic Christian life. They held out the promise of a self-vindicating authenticity in the midst of a world that was no longer finding the claims of Christianity as credible as once it did. By simple faith, a Christ-like life was possible – a life of personal purity and power for service. Such a lifestyle was deemed sufficient to show that the message of Christianity was true and worked. Sunderland developed a spirituality, not of authenticity only, but also of direct divine authentication. Now, the expectation was that the seeker's faith could be legitimated by a powerful personal encounter with God, evidenced by the gift of tongues. This

goes beyond the quietism of Keswick, shy as it was of any dramatic manifestations. This transition from 'authentic' to 'authenticated' represents the possibility of a transition from holiness to power, from ethical vindication to miraculous intervention.⁸¹⁴ In time, power could take over from holiness, and an obsession with the miraculous, could overshadow a concern for how a sinner can come before God. But for the time being, the happy seekers of Sunderland were at a crossover point between Keswick's Higher Life and later Pentecostalism's power-filled life. The early Pentecostals, sending in their testimonies to *Confidence* magazine, were seeking both a holier life and a more powerful life. The blood was seen as the gateway to both. But the blood was already being invested with some of the power language that would characterise much later phases in Pentecostal and charismatic spirituality. There was power in the blood: power not to become a nicer Christian, but power to overcome the unseen forces of darkness.

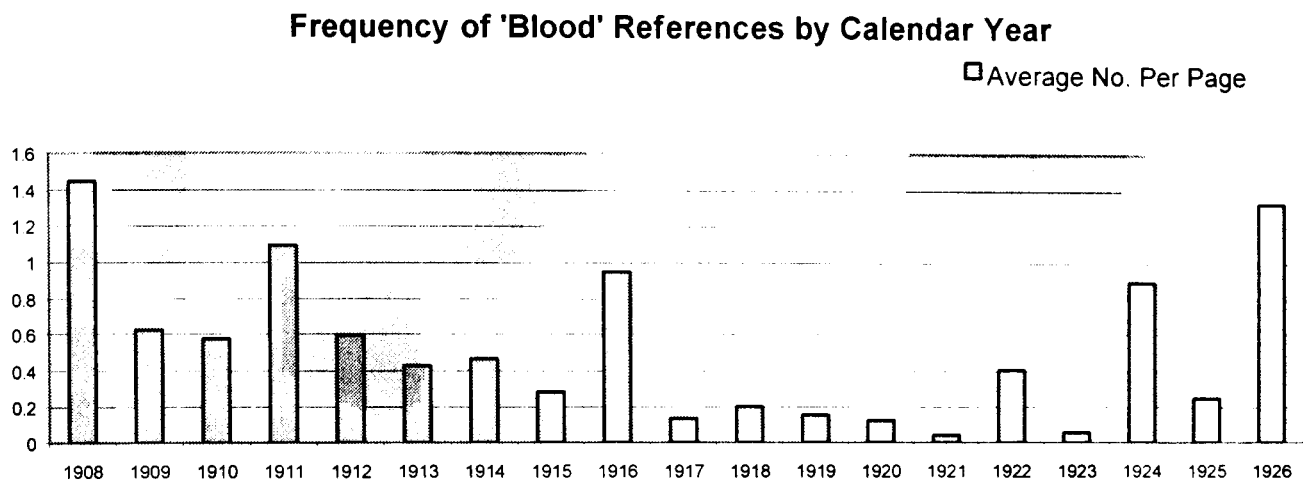
6.5. Is There Power in the Blood? A Waning Emphasis.

As time went on, with some notable exceptions,⁸¹⁵ references to the blood of Jesus in *Confidence* magazine fell into gradual decline. This process is illustrated below. It is worth noting that all of the sharp peaks in the graph are the result of significant articles appearing that are devoted to the subject of the atonement in 1908, 1911, 1916

⁸¹⁴ So Randall: "It was an outward sign or manifestation of the Spirit, not a life of holiness, which was integral to much Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism." Randall, "Old Time Power," 63.

⁸¹⁵ 1916 shows a peak in references to the blood due to the repeat issue of an article in the April issue about pleading the blood, which originally appeared in August 1908. This article advocates the articulation of set prayers that expound the significance of the shed blood of Jesus. In 1924 and 1926, Alexander Boddy himself, who died in 1930, seems to be trying to recapture something of his earlier days in what, in comparison with then, had now become little more than a personal newsletter. Wakefield, likewise notes the nostalgic tone of the issues written after Boddy's move to Pitlington in December 1922: Wakefield, *Boddy*, 201.

and 1924. Casual references to the blood display a more uniform decline. The single 1926 issue is unusual. It is only 6 pages long yet has 8 references to the blood largely due to an article about salvation. It is also worth noting that the July-September issue of 1921 is missing.



One factor in the overall decline is likely to have been the secession of the Welsh in 1916 from the Apostolic Faith Church to form what would later be named the Welsh Apostolic Church. This split may have had the effect of highlighting the extremes of William Oliver Hutchinson, the leader of the Apostolic Faith Church. The Welsh were reacting against a number of his doctrines, including his penchant for the pleading of the blood. Once the stabilising influence of the Welsh Apostolics was gone, what was left is perhaps best described as the 'lunatic fringe.' Clinging in fanatical loyalty to Hutchinson, these later suffered a further secession, the breakaway group naming themselves, ironically, the United Apostolic Faith Church. Over time, Hutchinson, an ardent and vocal champion of the practice of pleading the blood, had come to believe that he was a messianic figure (the 'Man-Child' of Rev.12:5) who would usher in the

Kingdom of God under the flag of his rather unique version of British-Israelism.⁸¹⁶

Hutchinson had already developed a sophisticated Old Testament theology in defence of pleading the blood. This theology was based, in particular, on the repetitious blood sacrifices made by Solomon at the dedication of the Temple,⁸¹⁷ as well as the story of Abel's righteous blood sacrifice over against Cain's wicked bloodless one.

By 1916, most Pentecostals would have wished to distance themselves from Hutchinson and his beliefs. As early as July 09 there appears in *Confidence* a rather incidental cautionary note:

He [Anton Reuss of Florence] had learned to plead the Blood – not by repetition of the word “Blood,” but by presenting the Atonement to the Father in the power of the Holy Ghost.⁸¹⁸

However, even Hutchinson wanted to distance himself from the repetition of the word “Blood” as a tongue-twisting device to aid talking in tongues: “We do not plead the Blood for a tongue, as some suppose, but we do plead the Blood against the foe which opposes us.”⁸¹⁹ There does not appear to be any evidence that saying the word ‘blood’ again and again to help bring on tongues was ever a widespread practice yet the instances when “blood, blood, blood” would suddenly give way to fluent tongues-speaking were sufficiently common for observers to deduce that this was the case.

For reasons that are not entirely clear, in *Confidence*, from the September 1909 issue onwards, the words ‘plead’, ‘pleading’, ‘pleaded’ and ‘pleader’ when used in

⁸¹⁶ Hathaway, M., “The Role of William Oliver Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith Church in the Formation of British Pentecostal Churches,” *JEPTA* 16 (1996), 46-51.

⁸¹⁷ Hathaway, “Hutchinson”, 44.

⁸¹⁸ A. Boddy et al., “Sunderland International Pentecostal Congress, Whitsuntide 1909: A record in Detail,” *Confidence* 2: 4 (July 09), 159.

⁸¹⁹ Hutchinson, W.O., *Showers of Blessing* 5 (Aug-Sep 1910), 5.

conjunction with 'blood' almost completely disappear, never to rise again. The doctrine of pleading the blood seems to have been dropped at Sunderland as quickly as it was taken up, and this long before Hutchinson's eccentricities brought the doctrine into disrepute. Polman added his own caution in 1911 speaking against the need for "...any methods to bring people into the Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit,"⁸²⁰ yet any explicit teaching condemning the practice is nowhere to be found in the pages of *Confidence*.

Minus the language of pleading, a view of the blood as having the power to protect against Satan did continue to be supported by *Confidence*, as an earlier cited article in 1911 entitled "Faith in His Blood" shows.⁸²¹ This article proffers an Exodus typology for the protective power of the blood. Nevertheless, the rejection of the lunatic element in Pentecostal spirituality that followed the marginalisation of Hutchinson in 1916, represents the beginning of an eclipse of the whole blood-orientated approach to Pentecostal spirituality. This was despite the strenuous insistences, of both Boddy and Barratt, that the Holy Spirit only ever works in conjunction with the blood.⁸²²

Another factor in the relative decline of blood mysticism at Sunderland may be what Chan identifies as the loss of sanctification from the Pentecostal schema. In America, after the first 10 years of Pentecostalism, Baptism in the Spirit tended no longer to be

⁸²⁰ "The Place of Tongues in the Pentecostal Movement" in *Confidence* 4:8 (Aug 11), 177.

⁸²¹ *Confidence* 4:8 (Aug 11), 187-189.

⁸²² In a way that anticipates the Trinitarian urgencies of Tom Smail some 80 years later, Boddy, writing in *Confidence* 2:5 (Aug 09), 180-181, insists: "The Pentecostal Blessing...is claimed and received only because of the Cross. The Oil follows the Blood (Lev. xiv., 17). Absolute trust in the Atoning work, and the Substitutionary work of the Son of God at Calvary, is one of the HALL-MARKS of this Blessing." Cf. Barratt on p187: "The Holy Spirit *never* works outside of the Blood, but always in connection and in unison with it." (capitalisation and italics original, so throughout)

identified as the third blessing but as the second.⁸²³ Sanctification had been dropped and so was no longer seen as an essential preliminary to being filled with the Spirit and speaking in tongues.⁸²⁴ In America this difference of belief created an enormous rift between the Holiness Pentecostals who retained three blessings and the 'Finished Work' Pentecostals who held to only two. In Britain, where the Wesleyan Perfectionist influence was weaker there was no such rift. Yet the influence of Keswick also insured that there would be a strong holiness ethos to early Pentecostalism in Britain, even though it tended less and less to be articulated in the form of a distinct blessing.⁸²⁵ But even this holiness ethos faded over time.⁸²⁶

Outside of Pentecostalism, a contemporaneous recession of interest in sanctification as a distinct crisis event took place among all the holiness groups in Britain. The Keswick Conventions came under considerable pressure from the Calvinists to stop advocating the need for sanctification as a second blessing distinct from conversion. By 1906, this belief had been largely excised from the teaching programme at Keswick.⁸²⁷ Within the Salvation Army there had never been unanimity with regards to Christian Perfection. Disagreements came to a head as early as 1877, resulting in a

⁸²³ Chan, *Pentecostal Theology*, 67, cf.7. Chan identifies the first 10 years as "the heart of Pentecostalism."

⁸²⁴ Chan, S., *Pentecostal Theology*, 68.

⁸²⁵ Boddy himself, however, clearly did hold to a three-stage view but his concern to maintain unity meant that he never insisted on it.

⁸²⁶ Hudson traces the gradual shift within Elim away from an emphasis on sanctification as a condition to being filled with the Spirit, culminating in Lancaster's declaration in 1976: "Holiness is not a condition of the baptism in the Spirit." Hudson, N., *Roots and History of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements: The British Background to the Pentecostal Movement* (Notes from a lecture given June 2004, Regents Theological College), 4, citing Lancaster, J., *The Spirit Filled Church*. (Cheltenham: Greenhurst Press, 1976), 28.

⁸²⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 169. Celebrated Bible expositor at Keswick, W. Graham Scroggie led the way in opposing the idea of a baptism in the Holy Spirit, in both its non-Pentecostal and its Pentecostal forms. See his, *The Baptism of the Spirit and Speaking with Tongues*. (London: Pickering and Inglis, nd). He was insistent that baptism in the Spirit occurred at the point of conversion not in some later crisis event: Randall, "Old Time Power," 61.

compromise.⁸²⁸ Reader Harris's League of Prayer, from which the word 'Pentecostal' was officially dropped in 1943,⁸²⁹ and Jessie Penn-Lewis's *Overcoming Life* likewise lessened their stress on the experience in an effort to distance themselves from the Pentecostals. The cleansing of the blood had been an essential component to a crisis experience of sanctification. Remove the crisis experience and cleansing is still needed, especially as BHS is sought, but its place in blood mysticism becomes much more limited.

Conclusion.

In this episode of the story, a further intensification of the kind of spiritual warfare that was already in evidence in Evan Roberts, Penn-Lewis, Frank Bartleman and William Seymour has developed. A number of factors may have been contributing to this heightened devil-consciousness at Sunderland. First and foremost would be their virulent premillennial eschatology, which, according to my article survey, grew more intense with the approach of war. These were perilous times in which it was essential to stay under the blood. Secondly, in the face of allegations, for instance from Jessie Penn-Lewis, that they were succumbing to the power of demons, Pentecostals had to be sure themselves that, in these Last Days, they were not being deceived by false signs and lying wonders. Carrie Judd-Montgomery's phrase that we saw was a classic example of this 'just in case' mentality: "By the Blood of Jesus my whole being is

⁸²⁸ More recently than that, a comparison of the Salvation Army *Handbook of Doctrine* for the years 1935 and 1969 reveals a stark change. The section on Sanctification the 1935 *Handbook* is boldly titled, "Entire Sanctification" and proceeds to devote 25 pages to a traditional Wesleyan exposition: Anon., *The Salvation Army Handbook of Doctrine*, (London: International Headquarters, 1935), 122-146. By contrast, the 1969 edition drops the word "Entire," extends to 21 pages and prefers to define the word holy and give teaching on the call to a morally holy life: Anon., *The Salvation Army Handbook of Doctrine*, (London: International Headquarters, 1969), 145-165.

⁸²⁹ Randall, "Pentecostal League of Prayer," 9.

open to the fullness of God, and by that same precious blood I am closed to any power of the enemy.”⁸³⁰

Thirdly, and at this point it cannot be known for sure what they were experiencing. many seekers appear to have actually encountered Satan during their BHS experience. A striking example was John Martin, one of at least two people who received their BHS while lying on Andrew Murdoch’s kitchen floor: “I found I had spiritual enemies hindering my getting through. I felt them. They were like an atmosphere in front of me.”⁸³¹ Mr Martin here testifies that the hindrances that he encountered were very real and personal. Neither was there only one of them, but a number of “spiritual enemies” were trying to make it difficult for him to get through to his BHS. His answer? “I BEGAN TO PLEAD THE BLOOD.”⁸³²

The recruitment of the blood of Jesus in the service of spiritual warfare at Sunderland was initially inspired by events taking place during the remarkable revival at Kilsyth during the early months of 1908. Even though at Kilsyth there does not appear to have been a strong demonological dimension to their pleading of the blood, yet soon the blood as a weapon of spiritual warfare was being used widely at Sunderland. Two things then happened at more or less the same time. Firstly, William Oliver Hutchinson took pleading the blood to new extremes, and secondly, pleading the blood quite suddenly fell from the agenda at Sunderland. Although there is no evidence to connect the two developments, in all likelihood, Hutchinson was reasonable enough to drop the pleading of the blood. While his extremes had not yet by any means reached the heights of notoriety that they would by 1919, he was already

⁸³⁰ *Confidence* 1:8 (Nov 08), 13.

⁸³¹ John Martin: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 12-13.

⁸³² John Martin: *Confidence* 1:1 (Apr 08), 12-13.

known for his dangerously high view of directive prophesy and his elevation of the blood cry to a cardinal truth. And so, from September 1909, no more mention is made of pleading the blood, other than in a very moderate article on the subject that is repeated in 1916. Not only does pleading the blood disappear, the blood itself starts to vanish from the pages of *Confidence*. As will be seen, the *Elim Evangel* that began in 1919, and *Redemption Tidings* that started in 1924, supported this trend away from blood mysticism, maintaining, throughout the inter-war period, a frequency of Blood-referencing that was about two-thirds that of early Sunderland.

And so, before the next episode in the story of the blood even begins, sanctification by the blood as a crisis event, a classic holiness theme, has been dropped, never to rise again, and the pursuit of victory over Satan by the blood has been tempered by the need of a movement already up to its eyes in bad press to avoid being associated with the extremes of Hutchinson.

In attempting to draw positive lessons from Sunderland, the practice of pleading the blood is the most problematic. The lack of any clear biblical precedent for the practice of pleading the blood before Spirit baptism seems most prohibitive.⁸³³ Many

⁸³³ For a start, there is no clear precedent in the book of Acts for the practice of pleading the blood at all, let alone as a precursor to BHS. This is an especially important consideration given the increasing scholarly consensus that has emerged since I. Howard Marshall's commentary of 1970, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster). Many Lukan scholars, especially those who are Pentecostals, have, since that time, begun to assert that Luke was trying to teach his readers something and not merely narrate or describe. A significant name in Pentecostal Lukan scholarship is Stronstad who insists that "Luke always gives an interpreted narration." Stronstad, R., *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke*, (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984), 8. Against Stronstad, Turner has scorned the "democratising, idealising and individualising spectacles" with which people too often read Acts: Turner, M., "Does Luke Believe Reception of the 'Spirit of Prophecy' makes all 'Prophets'?: Inviting Dialogue with Roger Stronstad", *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 20, (2000), 10. Among the most recent non-Pentecostals to take the Howard Marshall line would be Ryken, who describes "the impulse to teach religious truth" as one of the three main impulses governing the Acts narrative: Ryken, L., *Words of Delight: A Literary Introduction to the Bible*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 419. If Luke's didactic purpose is granted, Acts 10:43-44 (Peter speaking to the household of Cornelius) and 14:3 (God bearing witness to "the word of his grace" with signs and

Pentecostals and charismatics have continued to see themselves as inhabiting a world filled with demons. Spiritual warfare methodologies have been developed, most notably by the late John Wimber, Peter Wagner, Peter Horrobin and Charles Kraft,⁸³⁴ that see the conducting of strategic prayer warfare as indispensable to successful evangelism. The main difference when compared with the early Pentecostals is that the field of conflict has now widened from the individual believer seeking his or her BHS to the claiming of whole cities and nations for God (although pleading the blood itself still tends to be a private matter). The contemporary significance of pleading the blood will be explored in my final chapter. One aspect of Sunderland blood mysticism that could have some contemporary significance is worth pursuing at this point.

In the post-modern world, in which language is to be deconstructed and the idea of truth is suspect, pragmatism is favoured as the best way of dealing with the general loss of consensus.⁸³⁵ In much contemporary Christianity also, pragmatism seems to be here to stay. The Christian press carries regular adverts for conferences in which mega-church leaders share their insights with the masses. Korean-style all-night prayer meetings, Willow Creek-style seeker-friendly services, the G12 model of Cell Church and the 'vintage Christianity' of the Emerging Church all compete for the

wonders) might perhaps be adduced, though only very tenuously, to indicate a coming of the Spirit that is normatively associated with the proclamation of atonement and forgiveness. More weightily, however, the blood plays no obvious part in any of the four BHS experiences recorded by Luke: Acts 2:1-4; 8:14-18; 10:44-46; 19:2-6. Were pleading the blood essential to BHS, one might expect Luke to 'teach' us this when he comes to describe the BHS experience.

⁸³⁴ Advice from the latter on "ground level," and "cosmic level" spiritual warfare as well as the cartographical delights of "spiritual mapping" has surprisingly found its way into the scholarly *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*: Kraft, C., "Spiritual Warfare: A Neocharismatic Perspective," *NIDPCM*, 1091-6.

⁸³⁵ In schools, for example, the synthetic phonics approach to teaching children how to read has now acquired dominance over the former pluralistic approach because it has been shown to work the best: <http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/dispatches/why+our+children+cant+read+937947>, accessed online 17 June 2008.

attention of desperate leaders of small churches.⁸³⁶ In this kind of ecclesiastical and cultural atmosphere, impatient as it is with theory, everything must be shown to have worked.

Of significance is the insistence at Sunderland, already seen in the analysis of Azusa Street, on conjoining the work of the Spirit with the work of Christ. At Sunderland, the participants in the after meetings appear, according to their own testimonies, to have been experiencing an intensification of the Spirit's witness-bearing activity. The intensity of their experiences appears to be the thing they are most eager to put across. These were people who would claim to have had a life-transforming encounter with God by His Spirit through the blood of His Son. They affirmed that an active leaning by faith on what the blood of Christ had accomplished was utterly central to the whole experience, without which the power and intensity of the encounter, or indeed the possibility of any encounter at all, would have been greatly impaired. Biblically, the fact that, in Paul, 'Christ' and the 'Spirit' are used almost synonymously in some places has been much discussed by Dunn.⁸³⁷ Furthermore, there is evidence from the New Testament that the Spirit's witness-bearing activity, especially with regards to signs and wonders, was intensified when the atonement-forgiveness nexus of the gospel of Christ was proclaimed.⁸³⁸ With the backing of Scriptural precedent, there might, therefore, be some pragmatic resources from the very beginnings of Pentecostalism waiting to be plundered.

⁸³⁶ A recent competent review of these developments can be found in Gibbs, E., "Church Responses to Cultural Changes Since 1985," *Missiology* XXXV:2 (April 2007), 157-168.

⁸³⁷ See especially Dunn, J.D.G., *Jesus and the Spirit*, (London: SCM, 1975), 318-326. Especially: "*The character of the Christ event is the hallmark of the Spirit*. Whatever religious experience fails to reproduce this character in the individual or community, it is thereby condemned as delusory or demonic; it is not the work of the eschatological Spirit. For the eschatological Spirit is no more and no less than the Spirit of Christ." Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 321-2.

⁸³⁸ e.g. Acts 10:43-44; 14:3; Acts 10:43-44; 14:3; Rom. 15:18-19; Heb. 2:2-3, as well as the teaching of the Upper Room Discourse: John 14:26; 15:26-27; 16:13-15.

7. Denominational Pentecostalism.

British Pentecostalism came of age during hard times. After an initial economic boom brought about by the rebuilding that followed the end of the First World War, things went from bad to worse. In 1922-3, unemployment rose to nearly 3 Million and never dropped below 1 Million (which constituted a quarter of the working population) throughout the inter-war years.⁸³⁹ The total dejection of such a significant section of the British population prompted J.B. Priestly to comment vividly on the dole queues. “Their self-respect was shredding away. Their very manhood was going.”⁸⁴⁰ Depression, boredom and lack of food led to a general apathy among many.⁸⁴¹ Times could be just as hard for those in work depending on what kind of job one had, yet for the majority of those in worthwhile employment, a paradoxical increase in the standard of living and in the amount of leisure time was enjoyed throughout the 1920s and 30s.⁸⁴² Spare income went on insurance, medical care, trade union subscriptions and pleasure.⁸⁴³ With the new licensing laws, the problem of alcohol did not significantly raise its head at this time. To the contrary, drunkenness came to be seen as “squalid and rather ridiculous.”⁸⁴⁴ With the increasing use of contraceptives and the decline in Christian influence, sexual moorings were gradually eroded. Female fashion became more liberated and sexual encounters before marriage were becoming

⁸³⁹ Hibbert, C., *The English: A Social History 1066-1945*. (London: Harper Collins, 1987), 696.

⁸⁴⁰ Priestly, J.B., *An English Journey: Being a rambling but truthful account of what one man saw and heard and felt and thought during a journey through England in the autumn of the year 1933*. (London: the Folio Society, 1997), 329.

⁸⁴¹ Hibbert, *The English*, 697.

⁸⁴² “Per capita income grew faster than at any time since the 1880s” May, *Economic and Social History*, 315.

⁸⁴³ Hibbert, *The English*, 699.

⁸⁴⁴ Hibbert, *The English*, 701, citing the *New Survey of London Life and Labour IX*. (1935), 245.

more common.⁸⁴⁵ In the wake of the First World War, spiritualism also saw a sudden but fairly short-lived rise in popularity as bereaved relatives sought comfort from those believed to be able to contact their loved ones.

On the whole, however, there seems to have been a fairly swift return to the high moral standards that were the norm before the war. The lasting legacy of the war, ending as it had in a precarious and bitterly resented armistice, was the destabilisation of Europe both economically and politically. There was no escaping the apocalyptic gloom that deepened with economic depression and the rise of Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler. Vivid dystopias of the future were invented with remarkable prescience by Aldous Huxley and George Orwell. They saw in the 20th Century's defiant fascination with progress and the huge upheavals that were resulting, the beginnings of a world in which people would be variously dehumanised either through state control, mechanisation, excessive pleasure or a combination of these. Yet this was also the era of vast mock Tudor suburbs: architecturally and culturally safe havens for white collar middle England. The mood of the period was thus a "confused haze of nostalgia and innovation,"⁸⁴⁶ the note of nostalgia proving to be the dominant one within the Pentecostalism of the period.

Within the Christian fold, life was tough for the scattered Pentecostal congregations that had struggled to survive often without a pastor during the First World War. During the 1920s and 30s, they faced almost universal hostility from the churches. Donald Gee reminisced that he doubted whether any Pentecostals anywhere in the

⁸⁴⁵ Hibbert, *The English*, 701.

⁸⁴⁶ Morgan, K., "The Twentieth Century (1914-2000)," in Morgan, K. (ed), *The Oxford History of Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 608.

world had to endure hostility that was so “determined, capable and prejudiced.”⁸⁴⁷ Despite this, growth was steady and sometimes, as in the wake of George Jeffrey’s campaigns, spectacular. However, by the mid-1930s, all the Pentecostal denominations were moving into a time of consolidation when relatively few new churches were planted, a time that Gee compares to the second journey of Paul to Asia Minor to strengthen the churches already established.⁸⁴⁸ For this consolidation to take place, permanent buildings were required yet the Great Depression meant that mortgage payments and maintenance costs on what were often very old disused chapels and gospel halls, proved a constant strain. Wages for full-time pastors were whatever was left over after these costs had been met.⁸⁴⁹ It is no surprise then that the leaders who rose to prominence at this time were strong personalities, people who thrived on opposition and hardship.⁸⁵⁰

The doctrine of the blood at this time was becoming less prominent in Pentecostal discourse. The language surrounding the veneration of the ‘precious blood’ could often sound the same, yet the meanings had either evaporated with over-use or else had changed into something quite different. For one thing, the Spirit by Himself, without reference to the blood, was seen increasingly as the sole sanctifying agent. Moreover, a new generation was now emerging that never knew that sanctification as a precondition to BHS was ever part of the original Pentecostal package.

⁸⁴⁷ Gee, D., *These Men I Knew*, (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1965), 88-89.

⁸⁴⁸ Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 163.

⁸⁴⁹ Hathaway, “Elim Pentecostal Church” 16.

⁸⁵⁰ This fact is clearly brought out by Whittaker’s survey: *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers*, passim, which covers Stephen Jeffrey, Smith Wigglesworth, Harold Horton, Howard Carter, John Carter, Donald Gee and Harold Hodgson, by no means an exhaustive selection.

The main role for the blood at this time was as a badge of orthodoxy. The need to prove to the wider Evangelical community Pentecostalism's doctrinal legitimacy remained an urgent one.⁸⁵¹ Pentecostals truly were rooted in historic Protestantism, especially in its Anglican and Methodist forms, and they were not as defiantly anti-clerical as the Brethren-influenced House Church movement of the generation following. Pentecostals, it seems, having begun their journey with ecumenical intentions, needed to belong and were never comfortable with a sectarian status. It was only with considerable deliberation that Elim and Assemblies of God, the two largest groups, finally emerged as denominations.⁸⁵² One group, however, lacked such hesitation and became the first Pentecostal denomination in the UK, soon further dividing into three. This was the Apostolic Faith Church.

7.1. The Apostolic Faith Church and its Secessions.

As early as 1908, three leading centres of Pentecostalism had emerged in Britain besides Sunderland: Kilsyth, under Andrew Murdoch, Waunllwyd, under Thomas Jeffreys (no relation to Stephen or George) and, the first purpose built Pentecostal church: Emmanuel Mission Hall in Bournemouth, under William Oliver Hutchinson (1864-1928). It was Hutchinson's church in Bournemouth that, by the Summer of 1911, having already launched its own magazine, *Showers of Blessing* (January 1910) and its own annual convention (Summer 1910), was named the Apostolic Faith Church, a term probably inspired by Azusa Street. By the Autumn of 1912, Hutchinson was recognised as the Apostle of the Apostolic Faith Church, which, by

⁸⁵¹ So Randall's general thesis that inter-war Pentecostalism was at pains to portray itself as in continuity with traditional Evangelicalism: Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, 206-30, cf. idem, "Old Time Power," 57.

⁸⁵² Even today, Elim prefers to call itself a "movement": Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 32.

now included a number of satellite churches, all experiencing increasing isolation from other Pentecostals owing to the increasingly high value that this group placed on directive prophecy. In 1914, Hutchinson publicly ordained Daniel P. Williams,⁸⁵³ the leader of a Pentecostal assembly in Penygroes, as the Apostle for Wales and Andrew Murdoch of Kilsyth as the Apostle for Scotland, both acts being the result of a prophetic word. The result was the prompt expulsion of both Williams and Murdoch from their churches.⁸⁵⁴

By 1915, tensions between the Welsh Apostolics, under D.P Williams, who by now made up the vast bulk of the denomination, and the mother church in Bournemouth were coming to a head. The complaints were rooted in a combination of Welsh nationalism and Hutchinson's excessive authoritarianism. Among other things, the Welsh flatly rejected the practice of pleading the blood.⁸⁵⁵ Hutchinson's dismissive rejection of D.P Williams' advice to appoint a treasurer to oversee a large gift of money that the denomination had received was the straw that broke the camel's back, leading to the secession of the Welsh in January 1916. These then became the Welsh Apostolic Church, later changing their name simply to the Apostolic Church, which is their name today.

Those who were loyal to Hutchinson were now even more isolated from other Pentecostals. Gradually, Hutchinson's teaching became more and more extreme.

⁸⁵³ His conversion experience on Christmas Day 1904 under Evan Roberts is noteworthy: "...he heard a young woman singing, 'The gates of heaven are open wide, I see a sea of blood.' As the song continued there came to him a vision of Christ on the cross and the blood flowing from His side. It was revealed to him that he had been a sinner but was now made white in the blood of the Lamb." Worsfold, *Origins*, 12.

⁸⁵⁴ Hathaway, "William Oliver Hutchinson, 45.

⁸⁵⁵ Hathaway, "William Oliver Hutchinson, 50. As early as 1914, this doctrine had already been excised by the Welsh, their 12 Basic Truths making no mention of it. Worsfold, *Origins*, 96-101.

Greater and greater weight was placed on prophetic words. It was his firm belief that these carried just as much authority as Scripture itself. This belief opened the door to cult-like developments. By 1919, Hutchinson had become deeply involved with British Israelism and had declared himself the Chief Apostle, the head of the spiritual Kingdom of God, paralleling the King of England's title as head of the earthly Kingdom of Great Britain. He began strongly hinting that he was himself the Man-Child of Revelation 12:1-6. Some were caught up in this hysteria. By 1925, William Hathaway was saying some remarkable things:

I rejoice in the name of Hutchinson...God is giving us a name by which we can overcome...it is the name of the chief apostle...I feel there is a holy power present at the conference that makes you want to dedicate yourself afresh to this revelation of Christ through William Oliver Hutchinson.⁸⁵⁶

The following year, the Apostolic Faith Church suffered a second secession when James Brooke, one of Hutchinson's leading ministers, together with William Hathaway and Kent White, confronted Hutchinson over financial concerns, authoritarianism and administrative issues.⁸⁵⁷ This resulted in the formation of the United Apostolic Faith Church, leaving only a few churches still relating to Hutchinson. Soon Hutchinson was the leader, once again, only of his original church in Bournemouth, the 'Root Church,' still hoping for the breakaway churches to one day be grafted back into the Root. From 1971, the United AFC based itself in London. It has a large following in South Africa and still, albeit very mutedly, espouses British Israelism.⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵⁶ Hathaway, "William Oliver Hutchinson," 49, citing the proceedings of the Bournemouth conference of 1925 in *Showers of Blessing* 48, p187.

⁸⁵⁷ Hathaway, "William Oliver Hutchinson," 49; Worsfold, *Origins*, 31, n.3.

⁸⁵⁸ Worsfold, *Origins*, 31, n.3.

The voice of this particularly interesting, and sometimes shocking, phase in early British Pentecostalism was the magazine *Showers of Blessing*. Edited by Hutchinson, this magazine, once launched in January 1910, quickly reached an annual circulation of 10,000, although it was published quite irregularly. Further to this, not all copies were available for research so a comprehensive survey of references to the blood of Jesus has not been undertaken in this instance.

In its pages, Hutchinson's 3-fold Wesleyan approach (in spite of his Baptist background) with its emphasis on confession and cleansing by the blood is evident, especially in the earlier issues:

If after the baptism of the Holy Spirit a persons (*sic.*) speaks evil or back-bites it is clear they have fallen from the sanctification and the Holy Ghost is grieved. They must come back to the blood after confession...⁸⁵⁹

This warning is reinforced by a tongue interpretation: "No man can worship Me with enmity in his heart, with unbelief, with impure thoughts – be ye pure. Pray ye that ye might be washed by My Blood"⁸⁶⁰ Worsfold points out that sanctification was important enough in the early AFC to be given creedal status.⁸⁶¹ Alongside this emphasis on sanctification, there was, in parallel with Sunderland, a strong demonological urgency to pleading the blood. Reasons are hinted at:

⁸⁵⁹ Anon., "Evil Speaking," *Showers of Blessing* 3 (Apr-May 1910), 5. Hutchinson's Wesleyan approach to sanctification probably came to him through Reader Harris, through whose ministry he came into an experience of a "clean heart," Worsfold, *Origins*, 33. By about 1914, however, Hutchinson came to believe in a two-stage Christian initiation that omits sanctification: Hathaway, "William Oliver Hutchinson," 43, 56.

⁸⁶⁰ Anon., "Tongue Interpretation," *Showers of Blessing* 3 (Apr-May 1910), 2.

⁸⁶¹ Worsfold, *Origins*, 45, n.1. cf. Anon., "What we Believe and Teach," *Showers of Blessing* 3 (Apr-May 1910), 5: "...Repentance, Confession, and Restitution, justification by faith in the Lord Jesus, Water Baptism by immersion, sanctification, that act of Grace through which the Blood of Jesus cleanses us from all sin and makes holy; the Baptism of the Holy Ghost as received on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii.4) with signs following (Mark xvi.18); Divine Healing; the Lord's Supper; the soon coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

...like as Daniel was opposed by the enemy (Daniel 10, 11, 12 and 13) and had to pray for twenty-one days before he got the answer, even though he was heard at the beginning of his petition, so we have to contend with wicked spirits in heavenly places who hinder us receiving the fullness of blessing. These cause us at times to doubt God, or we will have to wait etc. If a person with a true heart pleads the blood against these unseen forces, victory would soon come, Hallelujah!⁸⁶²

It would appear that the tarrying experience itself was the locus for all manner of apparently demonic activity that was designed to maximise the delay in receiving the longed-for BHS experience.

Five years later, the teaching of the AFC on pleading the blood against demonic attack appears unswerving yet has been balanced by a more theocentric emphasis, possibly in the face of increasing opposition from the Welsh:

We teach the pleading of the Blood of Jesus for acceptance before God, for the fulfilment of a promise, and also the use of it as a weapon against the powers of darkness.⁸⁶³

As the AFC begins to plunge into the Man-Child period Kent White, the first of many historians of the denomination, credits pleading the blood with the release of ministry gifts in their midst:

I believe these gifts [the giftedness of their prophets] have come through faith, in deep humiliations and sufferings with Christ, and through the pleading of the Blood before the throne of God.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶² *Showers of Blessing* 5 (Aug-Sep 1910), 5.

⁸⁶³ Anon., "The Doctrine of the Apostolic Faith Church," *Showers of Blessing* 13 (March 1915), 10.

⁸⁶⁴ White, K., "The Faith of Abraham Needed for the Latter Rain," *Showers of Blessing* 2:24 (Mar-Apr 1918), 4.

By 1922 references to the blood of Jesus have all but disappeared from *Showers of Blessing*, the movement now being more caught up in an eschatology surrounding the name of Hutchinson himself. Hutchinson looked back on the pleading the blood years as a season of preparation:

I often think of the pleading of the blood; it seemed unnecessary, yet we followed on as we were led, and when I look back and read scriptures like these [Rev.12:11], speaking of the overcoming by the blood and of garments dyed red in the blood of the Lamb that was slain...I can see that in it God accomplished a great preparatory work. It was *the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness* in the house of David.⁸⁶⁵

By now the movement is steeped in British Israelism and in a cult surrounding Hutchinson himself, in which he is severally identified as Melchizedek, the Mediator and the God-Man.⁸⁶⁶ Little interest in the blood of Jesus is evident at this stage.

The Apostolic Faith Church preserved for a long time the earliest phase in Pentecostal development: strongly Wesleyan, obsessively premillennial and intensely demonological. The AFC appears not only to have preserved this phase but also to have intensified it as it carried this heady mixture of doctrines forward into the war years. In the end, the mixture became so unstable that the denomination split and then split again, Hutchinson having made himself the focal point of the premillennial vision of the church. It is precisely because of this threefold intensity of feeling about holiness, eschatology and demonology that the pleading of the blood thrived for so much longer in the AFC than it did in the wider Pentecostal movement. The eschatology of the AFC was what brought urgency to its need to be washed in the

⁸⁶⁵ Hutchinson, W.O., "The Throne of God – the Throne of Israel: The Throne of Britain is the Throne of David," *Showers of Blessing* 40 Vol IV (July-Aug 1924), 123. Italics original.

⁸⁶⁶ Thomas, A.G., "The Mediator," *Showers of Blessing* 50 Vol VI (1926), 203; White, K., "God in Man," *Showers of Blessing* 50 Vol VI (1926), 205.

blood and to overcome the devil by the blood. The Bride had to get ready for the Bridegroom. All of these beliefs were given a highly destabilising fluidity by regular contributions of directive prophetic utterances that were accepted as unquestionably authoritative.

In the other denominations that were formed, the story of the blood is very different:

7.2. **Elim.**

Open air work is the special feature, and while they stand for the Full Gospel, and unfurl the Blood-Stained Banner of the Cross, amid much opposition, God has wonderfully enabled them to remember their motto, 'whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord,' and not be discouraged.⁸⁶⁷

Elim owes its origins to a single very powerful personality whose evangelistic campaigns across the British Isles and beyond made him by far the most successful British evangelist of modern times. That man, of course, was George Jeffreys (1889-1962), yet his brother Stephen (1876-1943), who went on to join the Assemblies of God in 1926, was also a notable healing evangelist. Both men saw outstanding miracles during their crusades. The often favourable newspaper coverage of a noteworthy healing was frequently the catalyst that drew people in their thousands to hear the message.

George and Stephen Jeffreys were both converted during the Welsh Revival⁸⁶⁸ and both were initially hostile to the new Pentecostalism. The Jeffreys' interest in BHS

⁸⁶⁷ Anon., "Elim Evangelistic Band General Reports: Elim Crusaders at Grimsby," *Elim Evangel* 6:12 (June 15, 1925), 144.

⁸⁶⁸ Elim therefore represents the strongest direct linkage between the Welsh Revival and British Pentecostalism. Through its founder, Elim is firmly rooted in the events of 1904-5 in Wales, while the American influence on the movement is datable from the time of George Jeffreys' visit to Aimee

stems originally from a family holiday in 1910, during which Stephen Jeffreys' 10 year old son, Edward, was heard to speak in tongues. This was followed, a few days later, by George himself singing in tongues.⁸⁶⁹ In 1912, Cecil Polhill sponsored George Jeffreys through the mission school in Preston where he sat under the teaching of Thomas Myerscough. Before he could complete his studies there, he received an urgent call from his exhausted brother to come and help in an unexpectedly successful evangelistic campaign in Swansea. This campaign was then reported in Cecil Polhill's *Flames of Fire* magazine, which publicised the work of the Pentecostal Missionary Union. Boddy also ran an article in *Confidence*, as did Penn-Lewis and Meyer in *The Life of Faith*. As a result of this publicity, George Jeffreys was invited to speak at the Whitsuntide convention at Sunderland in 1913. An Irishman, William Gillespie, was present at the conference and was so impressed with Jeffreys that he invited both brothers to Belfast to conduct a campaign there. Their work in Belfast led to the formation, in January 1915, of the Elim Evangelistic Band. By the June of that year, the very first Elim Pentecostal Church had been planted. In October 1918, the success of the Elim Evangelistic Band led to the official coming into being of the Elim denomination, called the Elim Pentecostal Alliance. By 1922, there were 22 Elim churches across Northern Ireland.⁸⁷⁰ From 1921, however, Irish unrest made it necessary for the Jeffreys to return to the mainland. Continued evangelism on the mainland led to the first English Elim church being opened at Leigh-on-Sea in 1921.

Simple McPherson's Angelus Temple in Los Angeles in 1924. So Hathaway: "...the revival was the fire which ignited the flame of the British Pentecostal movement." Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 2. (Other early Pentecostal leaders also converted during the revival were D.P Williams and Donald Gee). Hudson also points out the continuity in the Spirit-led style of services that carried over from the Welsh Revival into early Pentecostalism: Hudson, D.N., "Worship: Singing a New Song in a Strange Land," in *Pentecostal Perspectives*, 178-9.

⁸⁶⁹ Cartwright, C. (ed). Boulton, E.C.W., *George Jeffreys: A Ministry of the Miraculous*, (Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 1999), 12. William Oliver Hutchinson also appears to have had a part to play in Jeffreys' BHS in 1910, as well as his ordination, probably into the Apostolic Church in Maesteg: Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 10-11, although Jeffreys never publicly admitted to his earlier links with Hutchinson.

⁸⁷⁰ Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 13.

By 1933, there were 153 Elim churches in Great Britain. George Jeffreys' most successful period was 1926-1934,⁸⁷¹ culminating in his famous Birmingham campaign of 1930 that saw 10,000 people converted. Each Easter, the Royal Albert Hall was the location for the Elim annual conference during which hundreds of new converts received water baptism.

Owing to its roots in the Welsh Revival, Elim saw itself more as a revivalistic or missions organisation than a Pentecostal one. The focus on Christ rather than on tongues was further enhanced from 1926 by means of the Foursquare Gospel advocated by George Jeffreys.⁸⁷² It was this "Christocentric interpretation of Spirit Baptism" that consolidated Elim's identity as an evangelistic organisation.⁸⁷³ Tongues were never written into the constitution as the sole initial evidence for BHS. One significant factor that was lost through the adoption of this fourfold formula, however, was the early Pentecostal emphasis on sanctification. Christ was the Saviour, Healer, Baptiser in the Holy Spirit and the Soon Coming King. He was not the Sanctifier. As a result, the loss of sanctification, whether as a condition for BHS or as its result, happened earlier in Elim than in the Assemblies of God. In the AoG John Nelson Parr's holiness background meant that holiness was written into the constitution – not, however, as a Second Blessing but as a matter of lifestyle.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷¹ Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 1.

⁸⁷² He claimed divine inspiration for this yet without doubt, borrowed the foursquare formula from McPherson. She herself also claimed divine inspiration for it in 1922, yet almost certainly borrowed it from A.B. Simpson's motto of 1890, merely substituting "sanctifier" for "baptizer in the Holy Spirit." Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Movement," 6. In addition, much of Simpson's Christian and Missionary Alliance had now been Pentecostalisied and Jeffreys drew possibly as much inspiration from CMA as he did from McPerson: Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 8.

⁸⁷³ Hathaway, "Elim Pentecostal Church," 7.

⁸⁷⁴ This led not so much to a Salvation Army style emphasis on cleansing floods and crimson tides as the persistence well into the 1970s of holiness codes. My father-in-law, served under Parr at the Bethshan Tabernacle in Manchester. My wife can testify that during her childhood in this church in the 70s, wearing make-up, watching TV on a Sunday and going to the cinema were still frowned upon.

In terms of the blood, Jeffreys retained an affection for phrases like, "...the cleansing efficacy of the precious blood" but the orientation, in his case, was evangelistic: we are "saved" by the blood: "Forgiveness, pardon, cleansing are the words that certainly belong to the vernacular of those who have been saved through the blood of the Lamb."⁸⁷⁵ Interestingly, as late as 1933, Jeffreys is still espousing the old sanctification formula: "...our contention is that the Holy Spirit does not deliver or cleanse from sin of any kind. The Holy Spirit convicts of sin, but it is the Blood that cleanses."⁸⁷⁶ As will be seen, it is open to question whether this belief was widely held in Elim at that time.

The first issue of the *Elim Evangel* went to press in December 1919. From then on, it continued as a quarterly, appearing every December, March, June and September, until it became a monthly in January 1922 and was issued fortnightly from January 1925. The success of George Jeffreys' campaigns was such that, by June 1929, the *Elim Evangel* had enough to report for it to become a weekly. It was not until 1989 that it changed its name and appearance to become the glossy monthly, *Direction*.

The first twelve issues spanned from December 1919 to March 1922. These contain a total of 44 references to the blood of Christ, compared with the 302 references found in the first year of *Confidence*. To give an approximate parallel, the 12 issues of *Confidence* that span 1920-22, contain 42 references to the blood, indicating that both periodicals have reached the same level of emphasis at the same time. During this same period there are seven articles on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts,⁸⁷⁷ five

⁸⁷⁵ Jeffreys, G., *Healing Rays* 4th Ed., (Worthing: Henry E. Walter, 1985), 24

⁸⁷⁶ Jeffreys, G., *Pentecostal Rays*, (London: Elim Publishing, 1933), 35.

⁸⁷⁷ Mrs Crisp, "The Uplifting Spirit," *EE* 1:1 (Dec.'19), 3-5; Hackett, T.E., "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost and Gifts of the Spirit – Why Now?" *EE* 2:1 (Dec.'20), 10-12; Saxby, A.E., "Signpost Bible

articles on the Second Coming,⁸⁷⁸ four articles teaching about divine healing⁸⁷⁹ and three articles on the atonement.⁸⁸⁰ *Confidence* had six, three, two and four respectively, reflecting a drop from second to fourth in priority for the subject of the atonement on the part of the *Elim Evangel* .

The composition of references in *EE* may also be analysed by comparison with *Confidence* over the same period. As before, a theme that has shown an increase of more than 1% I have highlighted in bold. Decreases of more than 1% are in a 10 point font:

	<i>Elim Evangel</i>	<i>Confidence</i>
Redemption	28%	3%
Cleansing	18%	10%
Covenant ⁸⁸¹	11%	0%
Victory and Protection	9%	25%
Salvation	9%	2%

Studies: Notes on 1 Corinthians: Spiritual Gifts," *EE* 2:1 (Dec.'20), 13-15; idem. "The Gift of Tongues," *EE* 2:2 (Mar.'21), 32-34; Anon. "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost," *EE* 2:3 (Jun.'21), 49-50; Lake, W.L., "A Present Day Message," *EE* 3:1 (Jan.'22), 13-14.

⁸⁷⁸ Myerscough, T., "Things to Come Shortly," *EE* 1:3 (Jun.'20), 40-44; Panton, D.M., "Praying for the Lord's Return," *EE* 2:1 (Dec.'20), 15-18; Hackett, T.E., "The Nearing Advent of our Lord," *EE* 2:3 (Jun.'21), 42-44; Boulton, E.C., "Studies in a Life of Faith: Translation – or the Climax of Faith," *EE* 2:5 (Dec.'21), 78-81; Sel., "The Last Prayer-Meeting," *EE* 3:1 (Jan.'22).

⁸⁷⁹ Wheeler, T., "Why we Believe in Divine Healing," *EE* 1:1 (Dec.'19), 13-15; Anon. "Divine Healing," *EE* 2:1 (Dec.'20), 7-9; D.M., "Why Not Healed?" *EE* 2:3 (Jun.'21), 39-42; Boulton, E.C., "Divine Healing," *EE* 2:4 (Sep.'21), 62-65.

⁸⁸⁰ Booth-Clibborn, A., "Glory...in the Cross," [poem] *EE* 1:2 (Mar.'20), 21; Booth-Clibborn, A., "Glory...in the Cross Part II," [poem] *EE* 1:4 (Jun.'20), 37; Leech, J., "The New Covenant," *EE* 1:4 (Sep.'20), 55-58.

⁸⁸¹ The prominence of this theme is traceable to the following article on the subject of communion: Leech, J., "The New Covenant," *EE* 1:4 (Sep.'20), 55-58, a theme that does not seem especially prominent in subsequent years.

The remaining uses occurring in *Elim Evangel*: substitution (2x), innocent blood of (2x), oneness with Christ by the blood (1x), power (1x), blood “between” (1x)⁸⁸² access (1x), value of (1x), physical healing (1x),⁸⁸³ “and Gospel” (1x) and atonement (1x) are too negligible to be worth comparing in this way.

These figures represent a dramatic switch to Evangelical orthodoxy on the part of Elim. This drive towards the resurrection of 19th century language about the blood continued throughout the inter-war years, as will be seen from both the title and content of AoG’s *Redemption Tidings*. Perhaps to reinforce the point, modernism, the common enemy of conservative Evangelical and Pentecostal alike is rigorously attacked (a feature that also rises to still greater prominence *RT*):

After singing and prayer, Mr Leech rises, and the audience listens with close attention as he extols the Cross of Christ, unmasking the subtle attempt on the part of many modern teachers to deprive the Gospel of the Blood.⁸⁸⁴

Attacks on bloodless gospel preaching are virulent:

It is damnable to tell a man to save himself by works, and finally be lost, when the Word positively says, ‘There is no remission of sins without the shedding of blood.’ Such doctrine is as heartless as it is bloodless.⁸⁸⁵

Going on into the ‘30s, illustrations of the central importance of the blood are quainter than ever:

⁸⁸² “I put the blood of Jesus between the person and that wrong thing.” Mrs Nuzum. “Loosed” *EE* 1:4 (Sep ’20), 65.

⁸⁸³ “The Lord Jesus PURCHASED DIVINE HEALING WHEN HE WENT TO THE CROSS. His precious blood being the purchase price.” Boulton, E.C.W., “Divine Healing,” *EE* 2:4 (Sep. ’21), 63.

⁸⁸⁴ E.W.H., “Ballymena,” *EE* 3:2 (Feb. ’21), 28.

⁸⁸⁵ Fletcher, G., “The Three Future Judgments,” *EE* 8:5 (March 1, ’27), 71.

Through every inch of the cordage of the British Navy runs a scarlet cord, so through every book of the Bible runs the story of salvation from Divine judgment by the shedding of blood.⁸⁸⁶

Picture Rahab fastening that cord. How careful she was! How firmly she fixed it!...Our scarlet cord can never fall. It is immovably fixed. The scarlet cord is the blood of Christ. Hiding behind it we are safe.⁸⁸⁷

Attacks on bloodless preaching are still just as passionate: "Pity the poor, polite preachers who are too polite to preach the blood from the pulpit!"⁸⁸⁸ The object appears to be to underline the power and virility of blood preaching over against the weakness and innocuousness of bloodless preaching. D.L. Moody's success in preaching is elsewhere attributed, on Moody's own admission, to his emphasis on the blood.⁸⁸⁹ Billy Bray is also cited for support. On one occasion, he reputedly cried out "The Blood!" at the top of his voice three times, resulting in the power of God falling upon the meeting.⁸⁹⁰

A significant motive, though surely a fading hope, still appears to be acceptance with other Evangelical denominations: "Evangelical denominations have no quarrel with us over preaching salvation through the blood, immersion of believers, or the breaking of bread..."⁸⁹¹ The only stumbling block was this: "...but when we tell them that there is a sign accompanying the baptism of the Holy Spirit, what a change."⁸⁹²

Yet, aside from this sore point, contributors to *Elim Evangel* (*EE* from here on) seem to quite genuinely share the concern of Evangelicals at the prevalence of modernist

⁸⁸⁶ Anon., "Sheltered by Blood," *EE* 12:33 (Aug. 14, '31), 526.

⁸⁸⁷ Parker, P., "Family Altar: Sunday January 3rd," *EE* 13:1 (Jan. 1, '32), 7.

⁸⁸⁸ Lacey, R.L., "Where Love and Justice Meet," *EE* 14:32 (Aug. 11, '33), 509.

⁸⁸⁹ Gortner, J.N., "The Blood," *EE* 14:47 (Nov. 24, '33), 742.

⁸⁹⁰ Frodsham, S., "The Blood that Speaketh," *EE* 14:21 (May 26, '33), 322.

⁸⁹¹ Anon., "Signs," *EE* 15:9 (Mar. '34), 133.

⁸⁹² Anon., "Signs," *EE* 15:9 (Mar. '34), 133.

theology⁸⁹³ and its popularisation at that time via the pulpits: “There is no biblical doctrine which is more fiercely combated to-day, even from the pulpit, than the doctrine of the Blood.”⁸⁹⁴

Pleading the blood is still referred to occasionally at this time, and with approval. Its power in fighting off demonic attack is explained in a way that echoes Bartleman: “The blood is the standard of the Spirit, and when the enemy comes in like a flood the Spirit of the Lord shall raise up the standard against him.”⁸⁹⁵

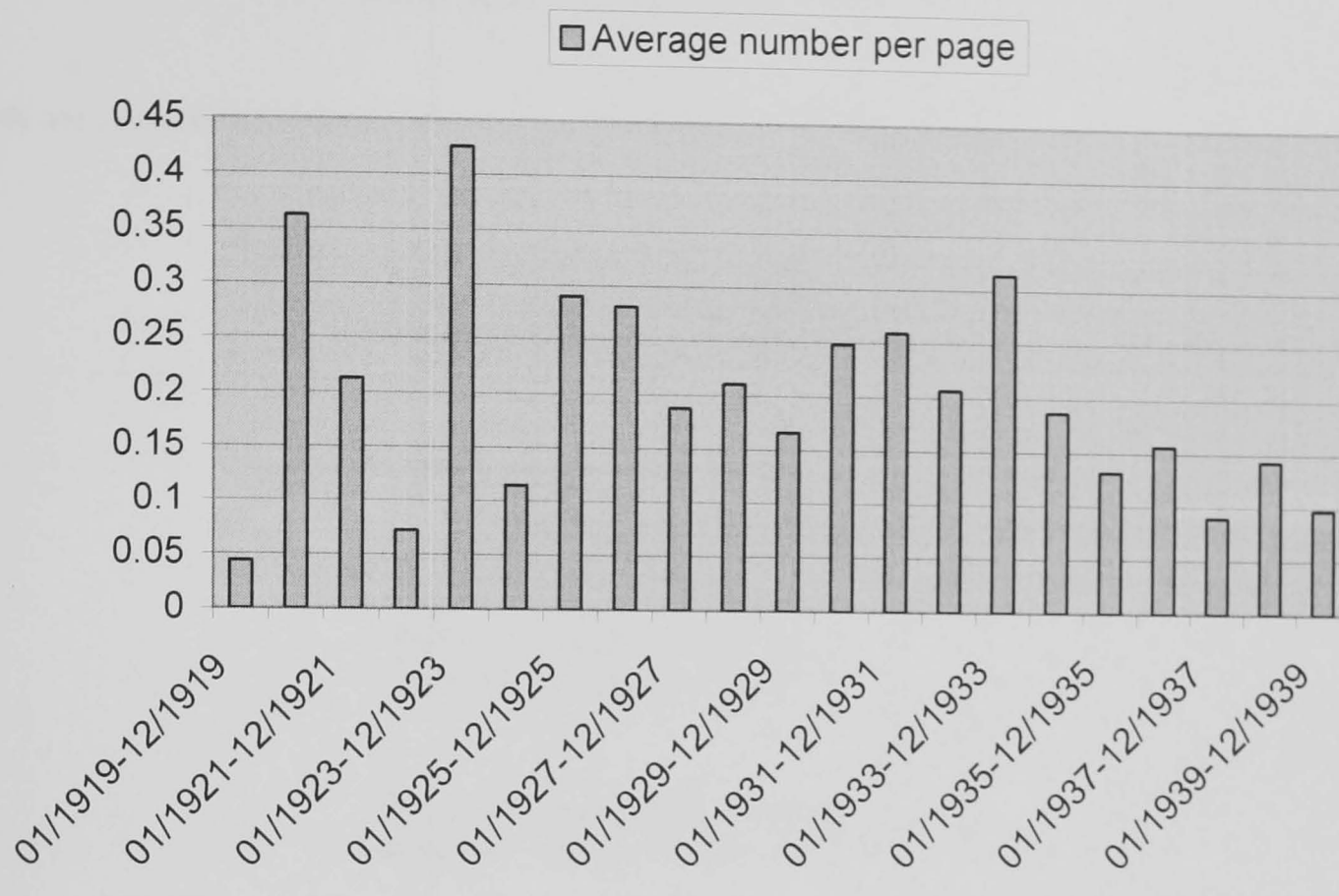
Over the entire inter-war period, the frequency of references to the blood in *EE* initially fluctuates wildly, then stabilises, showing an overall decline through the 1930s:

⁸⁹³ Specifically, this took the form of a commitment, on the part of Evangelicals to verbal inspiration, premillennialism and holiness, but especially the defence of the verbal inspiration of Scripture. There were strong links with North American fundamentalism at this time: Rennie, “Fundamentalism,” 337-339.

⁸⁹⁴ Proctor, H., “The Precious Blood,” *EE* 12:34 (Aug 21, '31), 532.

⁸⁹⁵ Scurrah, E., “Voices,” *EE* 11:34 (Aug. '30), 540.

Frequency of References to the Blood in Elim Evangel



Emerging out of the Elim movement, in 1951, came the famous *Redemption Hymnal*. This hymnbook captures the spirituality of inter-war Pentecostalism. The priorities of the *Redemption Hymnal* are similar to those of the *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*. However, this hymnal displays a much wider frame of reference than the *Hymns*, lacking its complete obsession with cleansing. In a hymnbook of 800 hymns, there are 227 references to the blood of Christ, an average of well over one in every four hymns boasting at least one reference to the blood. 28% of these carry a cleansing, washing, ‘made pure’ or ‘purging’ motif:

We thank Thee for the precious blood

That purged our sins and brought us nigh.⁸⁹⁶

Come, believing, cleanse your garments
In the blood on Calv'ry shed...⁸⁹⁷

22% are about being redeemed, bought, purchased, paid for or set free:

Let us know the full redemption
Purchased for us by the blood.⁸⁹⁸

Let the power of the highest
Be upon us today;
For this world dearly purchased
By the blood of God's Son,
Back from Satan's dominion
And from sin must be won.⁸⁹⁹

He, to rescue me from danger,
Interposed His precious blood.⁹⁰⁰

References to Christ's blood shed 'for us', as a 'sacrifice,' as sprinkled on the
"blood-stained mercy seat,"⁹⁰¹ as an 'atonement' and to the blood as having 'atoning'
significance constitute 9%:

Oh, the precious Blood of Christ,
All I need, all I need,
It's the perfect sacrifice,
He is all I need.⁹⁰²

Let your will to God be given,
Trust in Christ's atoning blood.⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁶ *Redemption Hymnal*, (Eastbourne: Elim Publishing House, 1951), Hymn No.67.

⁸⁹⁷ Hymn No.218.

⁸⁹⁸ Hymn No.224.

⁸⁹⁹ Hymn No.248.

⁹⁰⁰ Hymn No.601.

⁹⁰¹ Hymn No.535.

⁹⁰² Hymn No.642.

References to the blood as procuring our pardon, forgiveness or freedom from guilt, as being our righteousness or our plea constitute 7%.

He like a victim stood,
And poured His sacred blood,
To set the guilty captives free.⁹⁰⁴

The theme of pleading the blood, merit, death or person of Jesus still has a place but has reverted to its Wesleyan, theocentric origins.⁹⁰⁵

His death is my plea;
My Advocate see,
And hear the blood speak that answered for me.⁹⁰⁶

Other themes include: sanctification (7x), victory (6x), power (6x), eternal life (5x), and salvation (5x). The blood is mentioned in conjunction with the work of the Spirit 4 times. The blood is also the believer's evidence of God's love (4x), and his or her source of wholeness (4x) and healing (3x). The blood is the believers "surety" (3x), peace (2x), "hope and peace" (1x, No.333), "hope and comfort" (1x, No.468), and "mercy" (2x, Nos.389 & 701), so that to him or her it is "precious" (2x, No.352), a treasure (1x, No.387), a stimulus to prayer (1x, No.539), the seal of God's promises

⁹⁰³ Hymn No.358.

⁹⁰⁴ Hymn No.23.

⁹⁰⁵ Hymn No.366 by Zinzendorf: "E'en then shall this be all my plea, 'Jesus hath lived, and died, for me.'" Hymn No.377: "I need no other argument, I need no other plea. It is enough that Jesus died, And that He died for me." Hymn No. 463: "Only in Thee, dear Saviour slain, Losing Thy life my own to gain; Trusting, I'm cleansed from every stain – Thou art my only plea!" Hymn No.468: "Thy righteousness, Thy pardon, Thy precious blood must be, My only hope and comfort, My glory and my plea." Hymn No.539, by John Newton: "That rich atoning blood, Which sprinkled round I see, Provides for those who come to God, An all-prevailing plea." Hymn No.602, by L.C.W.Boulton: "Now in Christ we're chosen kings and priests to be, Living offerings bringing, His own blood our plea." Hymn No.642: "Jesus Christ is made to me, All I need, all I need, He alone is all my plea, He is all I need." Hymn No.701: "Here I rest, for ever viewing, Mercy poured in streams of blood: Precious drops, my soul bedewing, Plead, and claim my peace with God."

⁹⁰⁶ Hymn No.275, by Charles Wesley.

(1x, No.494) and friendship (1x, No.707), the revelation of His will (1x, No.452). The worshipper's heart "feels" the blood (1x, No.607), visualises it (1x, No.330) and sings of it (1x, No.297) so that it stays "under" the blood (1x, No.411), the source of reconciliation (1x, No.386) and covenant (1x, No.378) and hopes for this blood to be revealed to sinners (1x, No.336).

Bloodless, euphemistic hymns have continued since Keswick: "All my sin-stains vanished in the crimson flow / And He'll keep me ev'ry hour, I know."⁹⁰⁷ To offset this, there are numerous hymns and choruses that are devoted entirely to the subject of the blood,⁹⁰⁸ the most famous ones being the holiness classics: *There is Power*, *Power, Wonder working Power* (No.288), *Nothing But the Blood* (No.333), and *Are You Washed?* (No.309).

The general picture, however, is of a tradition, preserved at its richest in the *Redemption Hymnal*, which has moved back to its holiness roots in language but moved away from them in practice. Despite the statement of Jeffreys in 1933, there does not appear to be any widespread return to 19th century thought concerning sanctification. The purpose of the nostalgic language was not to resurrect old doctrines but to stave off Evangelical attack – in spite of the fact that 19th century cleansing floods of sanctification were no longer being plunged into either by the Pentecostals or their attackers.

⁹⁰⁷ Hymn No.525.

⁹⁰⁸ Hymn Nos. 288, 309, 329, 333, 335, 342, 352, 369, 411, 598 and 788.

7.3. Assemblies of God.

The Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland came into being on the 1st of February 1924 in a room above a garage in Aston.⁹⁰⁹ After the bitter experience of the conscienceous objectors during the war who were imprisoned because they were not part of a registered denomination, Parr was particularly keen to organise all the remaining independent Pentecostal assemblies into a denomination. Another factor was that Parr had been alerted to the fact that the Welsh Apostolic assemblies had approached the Assemblies of God in the US with a view to becoming a British wing to an American denomination. American domination of British Pentecostals was seen as unnecessary and undesirable.

The early leaders of Assemblies of God came from a variety of denominational backgrounds: independent Holiness (John Nelson Parr), Anglican (John and Howard Carter) Wesleyan Methodist (Wigglesworth), Methodist (Fred Watson, Harold Horton and Tom Woods) Congregationalist (Donald Gee), Plymouth Brethren (Thomas Myerscough), and Welsh Congregational (the Jeffreyses).⁹¹⁰ Reflected in this diversity is the fundamental independence of all AoG assemblies. The statement of Fundamental Truths that Parr drew up was in no way intended to impinge upon that closely guarded independence but rather to serve as a basis for administering discipline when needed.⁹¹¹ These Fundamental Truths included tongues as initial

⁹⁰⁹ Those present, 12 men and 1 woman: J.N. Parr, R.C. Bell, Charles Buckley, Howard Carter, John Carter, Mrs Cantel, J. Douglas, Donald Gee, Tom Hicks, Arthur Inman, F.W. Moser, Fred Watson and Arthur Watkinson: Kay, *inside Story*, 73.

⁹¹⁰ Kay, *Inside Story*, 67.

⁹¹¹ Kay has since shown that a significant proportion of AoG ministers today do not comply with the statement even in its amended form: Kay, W., "Assemblies of God: Distinctive Continuity and Distinctive Change," in Warrington, K (ed), *Pentecostal Perspectives*, (Carlisle: paternoster, 1998), 60-63. cf. Kay's extended piece of empirical research on Pentecostal ministers in idem., *Pentecostals in*

evidence and the need for holiness of life, healing in the Atonement and the premillennial Return of Christ.⁹¹² To help disseminate these ideas through the denomination, the Fundamental Truths were soon expounded in a long-running series of teachings initiated by John Carter in *Redemption Tidings*.

Gee states the main reasons for going ahead with denominational formation:

This two-fold menace, as it was felt to be, both erroneous doctrine and practice, to the scores of little Pentecostal Assemblies scattered throughout the British Isles, produced an increasing desire for some form of organised fellowship among themselves that could safeguard the whole.⁹¹³

What Gee probably had in mind were, first and foremost, the extremes of William Oliver Hutchinson and the personality cult that had been growing up around him since around 1919. This was the most serious example of erroneous practice. Secondly, A.E. Saxby, (initially involved with the early moves towards forming AoG but not present at the inaugural meeting), was teaching universalism, or, 'Ultimate Reconciliation.' This was the most serious erroneous doctrine.

The multitude of independent Pentecostal assemblies that were not either founded by or affiliated to Elim soon joined the new denomination so that by 1929, AoG had 200 congregations, compared to Elim's 70.⁹¹⁴

Britain, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), passim. David Petts' PhD thesis: "Healing and the Atonement," represented the first significant questioning at an academic level by an AoG minister of one of the Fundamental Truths: the doctrine that healing is available through the atonement on the same basis that forgiveness is available. At a local church level, the belief is still widely, but not universally, held: Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000).

⁹¹² There are 12 points altogether, all recorded in the "Minutes of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland January-May 1924" held at the Donald Gee Centre.

⁹¹³ Gee, *Pentecostal Movement*, 140.

⁹¹⁴ 70 is an approximate figure as it dates to 1928 rather than 1929. The figures are derived from Kay, "Distinctive Continuity," 42. Following George Jeffreys' campaigns in the '30s Elim quickly grew to much the same size as AoG.

At the meeting above the garage in Aston, one of the items agreed on was the launch of the magazine *Redemption Tidings*, of which Parr would become the editor. The first issues were quarterly: July, October and December 1924 and January and April 1925, then becoming a monthly from June 1925, by which time it was already enjoying a circulation of 5,000.⁹¹⁵ *Redemption Tidings*, as its nostalgic name suggests came into being as a vehicle to articulate a widespread concern for “biblical truth in a time of uncertainty and error.”⁹¹⁶ Accordingly, this magazine boasts the phrase, “Redemption through the Precious Blood of Christ” on every title page and “Redemption through the blood of Christ” as its “Message.”⁹¹⁷

Reflecting Parr’s evangelistic concerns, the first few issues seem to be addressed, at least in part, to the interested non-Christian inquirer:

Make thy choice now, for there is no hope beyond the grave, therefore in the Name of the Lord Jesus escape now by accepting the Salvation purchased for you by the blood of Christ.⁹¹⁸

There is a seamless continuity with the rear guard action mounted by *EE* to defend the blood-soaked Evangelical orthodoxy of Pentecostalism. John Carter makes his appeal:

What an evidence of the Divine origin of this present-day out-pouring of the ‘latter-rain’ upon believers is afforded by the testimony they give to the blood of Christ when filled with the Holy Ghost.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁵ Kay, “Distinctive Continuity,” 42.

⁹¹⁶ *Redemption Tidings* 1:1 (July 1924), 17.

⁹¹⁷ Anon., “Editorial”, *Redemption Tidings* 1:1 (July 1924), 8: “Our Message will be Redemption through the blood of Christ – full and complete for Spirit, Soul and Body.”

⁹¹⁸ Anon., (possibly Parr) “Bible Study: Where are the Dead? Or The Destiny of the Human Race.” *RT* 1:3 (Dec. ’24), 18.

⁹¹⁹ Carter, J., “Studies on the Fundamental Truths No.4: Salvation through faith in Christ, who died...and through His blood we have redemption.” *RT* 2:4 (Apr. ’26), 13.

His brother Howard joins him:

Let us examine the fruit of the experience that so many reject...There is a joy in the Holy Ghost, a love of the Word of God, a magnifying of the precious Blood, and an atmosphere of praise.⁹²⁰

As in *EE*, this Evangelical apologetic is combined with virile attacks on 'modernism.' Its elimination of "Blood redemption and Substitution"⁹²¹ is described as "Blasphemous and anti-Christian teaching."⁹²² Kay also has noted how *Redemption Tidings* (*RT* from here on) self-consciously stood against "modernistic Christianity."⁹²³ At the heart of this stance was the denunciation of 'bloodless' preaching as a "pernicious anaemia."⁹²⁴ John Carter explains the situation:

These are days when the doctrine of the precious blood is being ridiculed, and the gospel of Redemption by substitution is treated with contempt. It is termed 'Slaughter-house religion'⁹²⁵

Against this background of contempt for sacrificial atonement doctrine, the need, originating at least as far back as D.L. Moody, to honour the blood, is again restated: "Exalt the Precious Blood and the marvellous Man of Calvary!"⁹²⁶ The Oxford Group provides one contributor with an opportunity to assert, once again, the old-time

⁹²⁰ Carter, H., "The Fruit of the Land," *RT* 10:16 (Aug. 15 '35), 3.

⁹²¹ Boughton, R.H., "Converging Signs of the Advent," *RT* 11:23 (Dec. '35), 14.

⁹²² Ibid.

⁹²³ Kay, *Inside Story*, 80.

⁹²⁴ Anon., "Says a Missionary," *RT* 12:24 (Dec. '36), 6.

⁹²⁵ Carter, "Studies on the Fundamental Truths," 13. cf. Price, C., "God's Irresistible Plan," *RT* 10:10 (May 15, '34), 2: "Churches to-day are coming up with a new plan, a new method, a new message. They have taken *the Blood* out of the hymns and services..."

⁹²⁶ Jeffreys, Stephen, "Separation and Revelation", *RT* 2:8 (Aug 1926), 2.

gospel: "In all the meetings of the Group, I have ever attended or heard about there has never been any mention of the blood of Christ in its expiatory character."⁹²⁷

An observer from Poland adds his weight: "The proof of the divine origin of this movement in Poland is that Christ is honoured and the Blood of the Cross extolled."⁹²⁸

Stanley Frodsham also joins the chorus. As evidence that the Pentecostal movement is of God, he describes his own first encounter with Pentecostal preaching:

How that preacher magnified the cleansing, purifying, all-blotting-out blood of the Lord Jesus Christ that day!... I could not but feel as I left that Church, 'I wish other preachers would exalt the precious blood of Christ as that Pentecostal man does.'⁹²⁹

Old Testament sacrificial typology was a constant theme in *RT* just as it is in *EE*.

Thomas Myerscough offered a long-running series of articles on Hebrews, while John Carter, with a contribution from his brother Howard, began to unfold his Tabernacle teaching.⁹³⁰ Almost every detail of the tabernacle furnishings is interpreted in typological terms. In John Carter's book summarising the teaching, even the fact that the cherubim were made of "beaten work" is seen as a type of Christ's sufferings.⁹³¹

⁹²⁷ Commons, H., "My Experience with the Oxford Group," *RT* 9:4 (Apr. '33), 3.

⁹²⁸ Greenstreet, W.T., "Revival Tidings From Far and Near: Pentecost in Poland," *RT* 9:5 (May '33), 15.

⁹²⁹ Frodsham, S., "Is the Present Pentecostal Revival of God?" *RT* 9:9 (Sep. '33), 1-2.

⁹³⁰ Myerscough, T., "Bible Study: The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews, Study No. 1," *RT* 1:9 (Sep. '25), 14-15; idem, "Bible Study: Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Bible Study No. 2," *RT* 1:10 (Oct. '25), 15-16; idem, "Bible Study: St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Bible Study No. 3," *RT* 1:12 (Dec. '25), 14-15; Anon., "How to Study the Scriptures Part VI: Seven Methods of Bible Study (Contd) No. 4 – The 'Typical' Method," *RT* 2:1 (Jan. '26), 4-5; "...the blood-stained Mercy-Seat speaks of His propitiatory death." (p.5); Myerscough, T., "Bible Study: St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Bible Study No.4," *RT* 2:2 (Feb. '26), 14-15; idem, "Bible Study: St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Bible Study no. 5," *RT* 2:3 (Mar. '26), 13-14; Carter, J., "Christ – His Ministry," *RT* 4:8 (Aug. '28), 4-5; Carter, H., "Meditations for Meditation," *RT* 8:8 (Aug. '32), 5.

⁹³¹ Carter, J., *God's Tabernacle in the Wilderness and its Principal Offerings*, (Nottingham: Assemblies of God, 1970), 77.

while the horns of the altar were where the fugitive “clung to the blood.”⁹³² The frequent recourse that writers make to the Old Testament in an effort to explain and reaffirm the significance of the blood, is indicative of a tired theology in need of reprimand from its original sources.

The total number of references to the blood of Jesus in the first 12 issues of *RT*, spanning July 1924 to December 1925 is almost identical to that of *EE*, standing at 45. The Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts ranks uppermost in the articles, with a total of seven articles.⁹³³ There are six articles on the Second Coming,⁹³⁴ one article on the atonement⁹³⁵ and none on at all healing.

The composition of references to the blood may be compared with *EE* thus:

	<i>Redemption Tidings</i>	<i>Elim Evangel</i>
Redemption ⁹³⁶	40%	28%
Cleansing ⁹³⁷	18%	18%

⁹³² Carter, *God's Tabernacle*, 24.

⁹³³ Anon, “Speaking with Tongues and Other Gifts: Pentecost to 1924,” *RT* 1:1 (Jul. '24), 11-14; Corry, P., “The Baptism in the Holy Spirit,” *RT* 1:4 (Jan. '25), 2-3; Gee, D., “Shall We Give up Tongues?” *RT* 1:4 (Jan. '25), 9-10; Anon, “The Right Use of the Gift of Tongues,” *RT* 1:5 (Apr. '25), 12; Gee, D., “Spiritual Gifts,” *RT* 1:8 (Aug. '25), 5-7; Carothers, W.F with A.W. Frodsham, “The Gift of Interpretation and Prophecy: Are They Intended for Guidance?” *RT* 1:10 (Oct. '25), 5-7; Burton, W.F.P., “Did St Paul Disobey the Holy Spirit in Going to Jerusalem,” *RT* (Oct. '25), 9-10; Gee, D., “Speaking with Tongues the Initial Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit,” *RT* (Dec. '25), 5-7.

⁹³⁴ Gee, D., “Jesus is Coming Again!” *RT* 1:1 (Jul. '24), 9-10; Anon, “The Last Days,” *RT* 1:1 (Jul. '24); Marvin, E.P., et al, “Signs of the Times,” *RT* (Oct. '24), 6-9; Anon, “Jesus is Coming Soon,” *RT* 1:6 (Jun. '25), 11; Anon, “Bible Study: Where are the Dead or the Destiny of the Human Race,” *RT* 1:6 (Jun. '26), 18-19; Buist, F.C., “Behold I Come Quickly.”

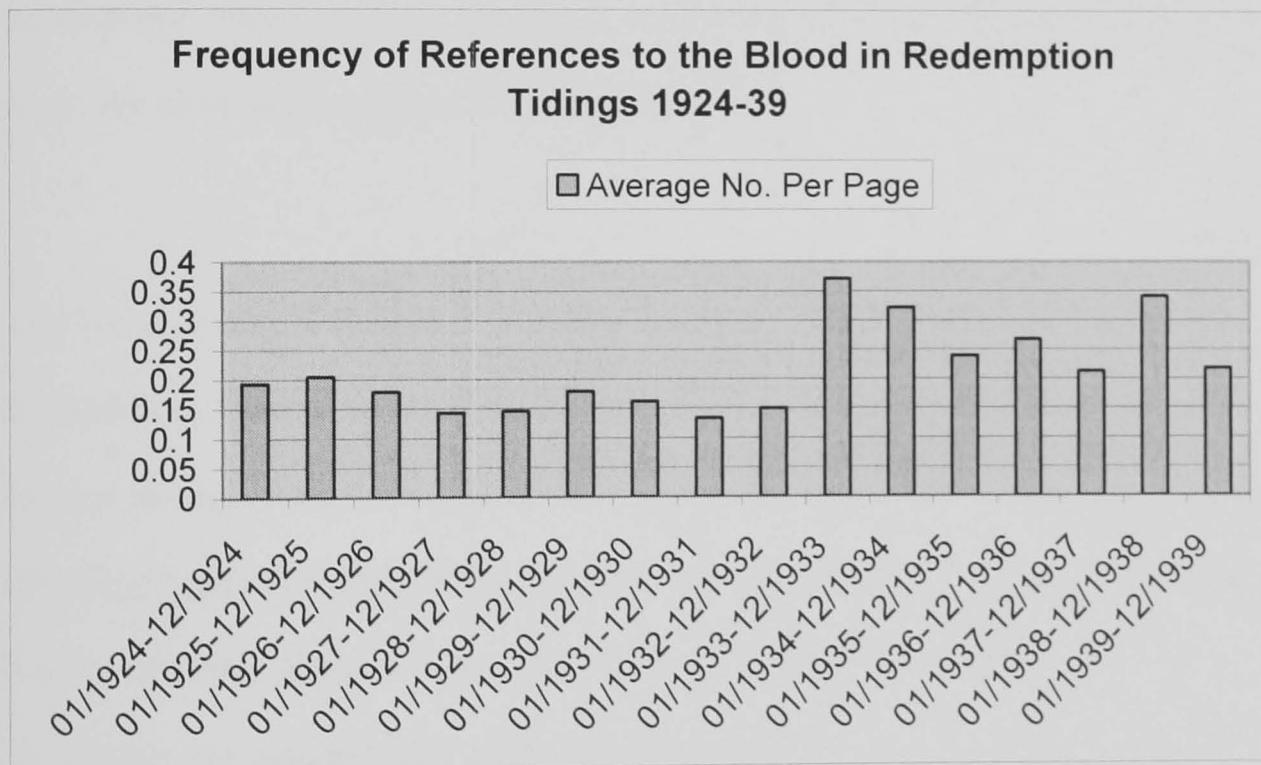
⁹³⁵ Anon, “Christ our Passover,” *RT* 1:5 (Apr. '25), 11-12.

⁹³⁶ Including ideas of “freedom from sin” and “deliverance from sin” as well as “redeemed,” “bought” etc.

⁹³⁷ e.g. “Have we finished with the guilt and pollution of sin? If not, there is sufficient power in the blood to make us clean: There's power in Jesus blood / To wash me white as snow.” Thomas, W. J., “Free From Sin,” *RT* 1:8 (Aug. '25), 10.

All remaining themes never occur more than twice. These include: “Merit(s) of,”⁹³⁸ and access (to the Holy Place) via, each occurring twice, plus all the following occurring only once: Faith in, justification by, refuge in, salvation by, reconciliation by, healing through, putting away sin by, atoning, under, obedience to,⁹³⁹ and conjoining with Holy Spirit.⁹⁴⁰

The frequency of references to the blood over the entire inter-war period in *RT* is as follows:



The rise from 1933 is difficult to explain. This was the year that Hitler came to power and political events are reported frequently in *RT*, generally interpreted as signs of the

⁹³⁸ “Praise God the Blood avails, and prayers to our God through the merits of the Blood WILL be answered.” Bell, R.C., “P.M.U. Notes” *RT* 1:9 (Sep. ’25), 14.

⁹³⁹ “Absolute obedience to the blood of the Lamb will keep me free from the tyranny of sin.” Thomas, W.J., “Free From Sin,” *RT* 1:8 (Aug. ’25), 10.

⁹⁴⁰ “When the blood has finished his work, the Holy Ghost does His work. Amen.” Thomas, W.J., “Free From Sin,” *RT* 1:8 (Aug. ’25), 10.

Lord's return. There is an ongoing affection for OT typology of the blood throughout this time, particularly the Exodus typology in which the believer is pictured as dwelling safely beneath the blood regardless of events taking place in the world.

Outside of *RT* similar themes emerge in the writings of prominent AoG leaders.

Howard Carter's BHS for instance, is yet another example of a crucicentric experience of the Spirit, much as Mrs Price's had been at the very beginning: "...the cross of Calvary seemed so wonderfully great to me and the atonement so much more wonderful than ever before."⁹⁴¹ Harold Horton in his teaching on homiletics was insistent that: "We must keep the cross in the forefront, the blood-soaked, sin-clearing cross. We must ever emphasise the Atonement."⁹⁴²

John Nelson Parr (1886-1976)⁹⁴³ set great store on preaching the blood. His church, the Bethshan Tabernacle in Longsight, Manchester, opened in 1928, and grew to become the largest Pentecostal church in Britain, the result both of a very successful campaign there by Stephen Jeffreys in 1927 and his own preaching efforts. My father-in-law, Mr Brian Dixon, was, at one time one of Mr Parr's workers, serving in evangelism and Sunday School at Bethshan Tabernacle. He has given a number of insights into Parr's theology of the blood that reveal him to be absolutely typical of the Pentecostal leaders of his generation. Here, Mr Dixon speaks of Parr's attitude to

⁹⁴¹ Whittaker, C., *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers*, (Basingstoke: Marshall Morgan & Scott), 104.

⁹⁴² Whittaker, *Pioneers*, 139, citing Horton's *Preaching and Homiletics* of 1946.

⁹⁴³ Besides his autobiography, *Incredible*, (Leamington Spa: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1972), the definitive work on Parr is an unpublished PhD thesis: Letson, H., "Keeper of the Flame: The Story of John Nelson Parr in the Context of Pentecostal Origins. (Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Wales, Bangor, 2005).

the liberal Methodist minister. Dr Leslie Weatherhead, author of *A Plain Man Looks at the Cross*:⁹⁴⁴

He would condemn anybody who preached a bloodless gospel. He would call Dr Weatherhead 'Leatherhead' because he would not subscribe to his teaching on a bloodless cross...I can well remember him sending Leslie Knowles to London when Billy Graham came to London. He had been told that Billy Graham was a bloodless preacher...On the night that Billy Graham was preaching, he preached on First Peter: 'We are redeemed not by corruptible things like silver and gold but by the precious blood of the Lamb.' And when Leslie Knowles came back and told him about it, he was thrilled and he thought, 'This is the man. This is what we want.'⁹⁴⁵

The apotropeic dimension was also in evidence. As part of his evangelistic work, Mr Dixon did a lot of open-air evangelism and door-knocking for Parr:

He believed in being covered by the blood....I can remember once knocking on a door and a spiritualist answered the door and he would encourage us that if we went to such a person that we would emphasise the blood of Jesus. He would warn us that they wouldn't like the idea. He made it clear that we must cover ourselves with the protection by mentioning the blood.⁹⁴⁶

So, once again, the mere mention of the blood was perceived as carrying a weight of spiritual significance with it that only demons fully understood and were duly terrified of.

In Parr's written work, the cleansing theme dominates. In his *Death's Mystery Solved*, cleansing, and especially washing, is the subject of 8 out of the 9 occurrences.⁹⁴⁷ In

⁹⁴⁴ Weatherhead, L., *A Plain Man Looks at the Cross: An Attempt to explain in simple language for the modern man, the significance of the Death of Christ*, (London: Independent Press, 1945). The bone of contention would appear to be chapter 8: "'Saved by His Precious Blood,'" which begins affirmatively enough but then proceeds subtly to debunk traditional Evangelical understandings, converting Christ's blood into a "symbol" of his "self-giving": pp144-5 & 152.

⁹⁴⁵ Dixon, B., recorded interview, 12 Aug 2007.

⁹⁴⁶ Dixon, *ibid.* I, unfortunately, neglected to draw out of Mr Dixon what the reaction was of the spiritualist when confronted in this way.

⁹⁴⁷ Parr, J.N., *Death's Mystery Solved*, (Leamington Spa: Full Gospel Publishing House, nd.), *passim*.

Divine Healing, he teaches that it is necessary to ward off the devil in order for a person who has been ministered to not to lose their healing: "Accept not his accusations; the way of victory is through the blood of the lamb and the word of testimony."⁹⁴⁸ The way to discern between a false, demonic healing and a divine healing is the blood:

...there is one great acid test for all seducing spirits, cults and movements...it is their attitude towards that great foundation truth of Divine revelation, i.e., their attitude towards 'The Atoning Power of the precious blood of Christ...the sole and only ground for the justification of sinners.'⁹⁴⁹

Conclusion.

In this last chapter, we have seen the return to 19th century thought forms about the blood of Christ as a cleansing and redeeming power, the only difference being that the order has been reversed. Cleansing now takes second place as understandings of BHS have moved on and the acquisition a Clean Heart by way of a Second Blessing is simply not on anyone's agenda anymore. Redemption, instead of cleansing, has, by default, taken first position.

The reason for this U-turn away from the more new fangled blood mystical phenomena of Kilsyth, Sunderland and Bournemouth was the total isolation that the often tiny and scattered Pentecostal assemblies experienced. Their formation into denominations had been of little comfort to them. George Jeffreys, endeavouring, as

⁹⁴⁸ Parr, J.N., *Divine Healing*. (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1955), 61.

⁹⁴⁹ Parr, *Divine Healing*, 45, cf. 43-44

Moody had before him, to gain a hearing with as wide an audience as possible, was perhaps the most keen of them all to be seen not as the leader of some strange new sect but as an old-time Welsh revivalist. The Pentecostals may have added something, namely tongues, but they were eager at this stage to stress that they had taken nothing away. They were orthodox Evangelical Protestants. The isolation felt was exacerbated by the continued opposition experienced, especially from other churches, and the financial hardships of trying to plant churches and acquire and maintain real estate during a massive financial depression.

The inter-War period brings us into a situation in which the blood is no longer as self-evidently integral to Pentecostal theology as it had been when it was seen as the essential sanctifying agent prior to BHS. The urgency with which it was invoked for protection from Satan all but disappears. The enemy during this period is not the devil but the liberals. And so it is during this time that the blood is in danger of becoming a mantra that is theologically and spiritually emptied of meaning and is nothing more than a badge of orthodoxy. The efforts of John Carter, in his tabernacle teachings, to recover the biblical theory behind all the blood-soaked preaching and singing is probably an attempt at mitigating precisely this danger. This situation in which a tradition has all but lost its inner logic, its necessity, its life, yet remains intact for purely external reasons, sets the scene for the next chapter in the story.

8. The Blood and Pentecost Today.

After World War II, the religious scene in Britain began to change. By the 1960s, more and more people in the older, non-Pentecostal denominations were beginning to experience BHS. Initially sceptical, especially when Roman Catholics professed the experience, Pentecostals soon began to realize their own need for renewal. Donald Gee's sermon of 1960 calling for "Another Springtime" was becoming more than merely desirable. As numbers of Pentecostal churches left Elim and AoG to join the emerging House Church movement, renewal within classical Pentecostalism became essential if it was to survive. And so, in their search for renewal, Pentecostals began to look and sound more and more like charismatics. The dominance, in particular, of charismatic songs and worship styles soon became absolute. And so it is at this point that a brief survey of charismatic attitudes to atonement themes in general, and the blood in particular, is important in setting the scene for the present time.

8.1. Charismatic Spirituality.

The place that the cross occupies in charismatic church life has been described as "...a kind of natural background music."⁹⁵⁰ It has often enough been observed that the charismatic movement's emphasis on immediacy⁹⁵¹ leaves little place for a theology of the cross, or indeed any theology at all.⁹⁵² Terry Virgo, who has now emerged as

⁹⁵⁰ Runia, K., "The Preaching of the Cross Today," *European Revue of Theology* 25:1 (2001), 53.

⁹⁵¹ This word "immediacy" is the linchpin of Yves Congar's critique of the charismatic movement. Congar, Y., *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* Vol. II. (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), 165.

⁹⁵² Tom Smail bemoans the fact that the charismatic movement not only lacks a theology but is not even looking for one. Smail, T., "The Cross and the Spirit: Towards a Theology of Renewal" in Smail, T., A. Walker & N. Wright (eds.) *Charismatic Renewal: The Search for a Theology*. (London: SPCK,

the leading light of the apostolic networks in Britain, is himself concerned about “...the neglect of essential apostolic doctrine by charismatics...”⁹⁵³ stating that he has “...tried hard to arrest the drift wherever possible.”⁹⁵⁴ Many have identified the danger of a one-sided emphasis on the things of the Spirit. Smail warns that where such one-sidedness exists, “Christless mysticism” and “Charismatic excess” are among the dangers to be faced.⁹⁵⁵ John Goldingay is sure that only as the charismatic emphasis on the experience of Pentecost is “systematically linked to the cross” can charismatic spirituality avoid being “a baptizing of the spirit of the age.”⁹⁵⁶ It is perhaps not for nothing that one branch of charismatic Christianity has been described as “Charismatic Humanism.”⁹⁵⁷ Tom Smail, though a leading light in the Renewal, was relentless in his criticism of the Charismatic Renewal as having failed to adequately integrate the message of the cross with the message of Pentecost.⁹⁵⁸ He derisively describes Pentecostal and Charismatic Christian initiation as taking place in two-stages: ‘O’ Level, corresponding to an Easter faith, and ‘A’ Level – a fully fledged faith in Pentecost.⁹⁵⁹ Dabney has observed a pendulum at work in the history of Protestantism, the lack of place given to the Spirit in Protestant orthodoxy leading

1995), 49. Pawson ably highlights the same weakness: Pawson, D., *The Fourth Wave: Charismatics and Evangelicals: Are we Ready to Come Together?* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 65-71.

⁹⁵³ Letter to the author, dated 13 Aug 2004.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁵ Smail, T., *The Giving Gift: The Holy Spirit in Person*, (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1994), 132.

⁹⁵⁶ Goldingay, J., “Charismatic Spirituality: Some Theological Reflections”. *Theology* (May/June 1996), 7.

⁹⁵⁷ Farah, C., “A Critical Analysis: The ‘Roots and Fruits’ of Faith-Formula Theology” *Pneuma* 3 (Spring 1981), 6.

⁹⁵⁸ This critique began, in book form, with his *Reflected Glory* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975). The book was written, says Smail, “...in reaction to the tendency in Pentecostalist teaching to cut loose the work of the Spirit from the work of the Son.” Smail, *Giving Gift*, 44.

⁹⁵⁹ Smail, “The Cross and the Spirit”, 57. The pastoral problem created by there being, by implication, two classes of Christian was, of course, close to the heart of James Dunn’s famous work, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, (London: SCM, 1970). By the time of his *Jesus and the Spirit*, (London: SCM, 1975), it was clear that he had begun to think along the lines of Spirit-Christology, much as Smail would go on to articulate in his *The Giving Gift* of 1988. Among Pentecostals, Gordon Fee, likewise rejected the doctrine of separability and subsequence: *Gospel and Spirit: Issues in New Testament Hermeneutics*, (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 105-119.

inevitably to periodical “Spirit-movements” by way of reaction.⁹⁶⁰ These are then checked with another dose of Reformed orthodoxy. The result is that, with a few notable exceptions, no equilibrium is ever reached between a “‘Spiritless’ theology of the Word” on the one hand, and a “‘Wordless’ theology of the Spirit” on the other.⁹⁶¹

When the charismatic movement has focused on the atonement, it tends to have centred on the concepts of victory and healing.⁹⁶² The charismatic concept of sin is that it is a disorder requiring healing,⁹⁶³ or, as in the case of the Restorationists, a disorder requiring the discipline of spiritual authority.⁹⁶⁴ In these ways, the atonement is certainly seen as a substitution – Jesus experiences defeat so that others may share in his ultimate victory; Jesus bears the sicknesses and psychological problems of others so that they can be made whole,⁹⁶⁵ but it is not necessarily a penal substitution. Indeed, Tom Smail and others who spoke at the 1995 St John’s College Symposium

⁹⁶⁰ Dabney, L., “*Pneumatologia Crucis: Reclaiming Theologia Crucis for a Theology of the Spirit Today*”, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 53:4 (2000), 514. This is a piece of work that deserves attention, offering a significant synthesis at a theological level of the kind of dichotomy here discussed. Classical Pentecostalism, however, is historically less guilty of this estrangement between the work of Christ and the work of the Spirit. We have already observed early Pentecostalism’s complete integration of faith in the blood with the experience of BHS. Indeed, Kärkkäinen does not feel that the Pentecostal tradition, with its four-fold gospel radiating from the person of Christ, is anything like pneumatological enough. To the contrary, he claims that “Pentecostal spirituality is shaped by Christ-centredness.”

Kärkkäinen, V., “The Doctrine of Theosis and its Ecumenical Potential” *Sobornost* 23:2 (2001), 46, 62.

⁹⁶¹ Dabney, “*Pneumatologia Crucis*,” 514.

⁹⁶² Not at all a bad thing in itself. There is now a wide consensus among Evangelicals that the cross is a many faceted work and must be allowed to speak to the contemporary world in ways other than ‘penal substitution’. See McGrath, A., *The Enigma of the Cross*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1987) passim; Morris, L., *The Cross of Jesus*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) passim; Smail, T., *Windows on the Cross*, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1995) passim; Goldingay, J., (ed) *Atonement Today*, (London: SPCK, 1995), 131-253; Tidball, D., *The Message of the Cross*, (Leicester: IVP, 2001), 184-185: the cross has “...a substitutionary and redemptive significance which Paul could capture only by using a ‘dazzling array of colours’ for his portrait of the cross...How sad that, in our desire for systematic neatness, we have frequently reduced his brilliantly varied portrait to a two-dimensional, monochrome picture!”

⁹⁶³ Bebbington notes the “drift away from concepts like ‘sin’ and ‘salvation’ to less abstract terms like ‘healing’ and ‘life’” in charismatic hymnody yet concludes that there is an essential continuity with Evangelical vocabulary: Bebbington, *Evangelicals*, 247, citing Hopkinson, B., “Changes in the Emphases of Evangelical Belief, 1970-1980: Evidence from the New Hymnody,” *Churchman* 95:2 (1981), 130 & 134.

⁹⁶⁴ So Walker, A., *Restoring the Kingdom*, (Hodder & Stoughton, 1985, 1988), 153-162.

⁹⁶⁵ See Prince, D., *The Divine Exchange: The Sacrificial Death of Jesus Christ on the Cross*, (Harpenden: Derek Prince Ministries, 1995), 20.

on the atonement, are vehemently against the idea of penal substitution.⁹⁶⁶ As a result, what Evangelicalism has customarily seen as the reason for the absolute centrality of the blood of Christ to the preaching and life of the church, namely that Christ bore an otherwise inescapable penalty, is gone. If it is not absolutely necessary, it need not be absolutely central.

Among native British charismatics I have so far found no evidence of blood pleading. Its insipient occurrence in that context, however, may form the background to a small booklet that was produced by the King's Churches, based in Aldershot in 1989. The author, Trevor Martin, provides a very similar assessment of the practice to that given by Donald Gee in 1957.⁹⁶⁷ Martin, like Gee, begins by debunking the superstition involved in pleading the blood, for example, before crossing the road in busy traffic, before making a journey, before casting out a demon or for protection over a household. Like Gee, he points out the erroneous appeal to the Exodus narrative, and, like Gee, advocates invoking the name of Jesus rather than His blood as a more Scriptural paradigm when confronting the devil.⁹⁶⁸

At a more global level, it seems clear that pleading the blood, both among charismatics and Pentecostals, is a practice that has survived from early Pentecostalism and is alive and well. Some Pentecostal African students I recently taught, who belonged to the Apostolic Faith Mission founded by John G. Lake, say

⁹⁶⁶ Goldingay, *Atonement*, 3-127. Cf. *The Forgotten Father*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1980)129: Smail rejects the view of the cross as a satisfaction for sin, saying that it leaves us with "...a cringing guilt-ridden religion which has to hide behind the love of Jesus in order to be saved from the only just contained wrath of an angry God." The St John's College Symposium was replied to 5 years later at the Oak Hill College annual School of Theology in a conference entitled "Proclaiming Christ Crucified Today", later published as Petersen, D., (ed) *Where Wrath and Mercy Meet: Proclaiming the Atonement Today*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001).

⁹⁶⁷ Gee, D., "Under the Blood," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (Dec 8 1957), 4. This article will also be discussed shortly

⁹⁶⁸ Martin, T., *The Power of the Blood*, (Aldershot: Fruitful Word Publications, 1989), passim.

that their preachers will routinely plead the protection of the blood of Jesus over a meeting before they begin. Benny Hinn recommends similar practices. For him, this takes the form of a simple daily prayer for his family: "Lord, cover Suzanne, Jessica, Natasha, Joshua and Eleasha with Your blood."⁹⁶⁹ He has written in detail about the subject, offering the story of the Passover as his chief biblical precedent.⁹⁷⁰ Joyce Meyer has also taught extensively on this subject.⁹⁷¹ While the provenance of such teaching tends to be the USA, a huge shop window for it is British Christian bookshops and the God Channel where Hinn and especially Meyer are currently extremely popular.

Within the charismatic movement, there have arisen occasional speakers who profess to have been given special insight into the importance of the idea of 'covenant' in the Bible. Rooted in the idea that Christ's shed blood was life released rather than life violently taken, an idea that goes back at least as far as B.F. Wescott's late 19th Century commentary on the epistles of John, blood covenant teachers bring to their subject insights that are drawn mostly from native American culture. In other words, when God "cut the covenant" with man, He became his blood brother. The dominant motif is the intermingling of life rather than the substitution of life for life.⁹⁷²

In Abram's day, the blood covenant signified an absolute and unbreakable guarantee of a man's word. Nothing short of a blood agreement could have convinced Abram of God's desire to bless him....By making a blood covenant

⁹⁶⁹ Hinn, B., *Power in the Blood: the Biblical Significance of the Blood from Genesis to Jesus to the Modern Believer*. (Lake Mary: Creation House, 1993), 75.

⁹⁷⁰ Hinn, *Power in the Blood*, passim.

⁹⁷¹ E.g. Meyer, J., *The Word, The Name, The Blood*. (Lebanon: Time Warner, 2003), 115-138.

⁹⁷² As early as 1932, something very similar was taught in *EE*: "Behold that crimson stream, God and man's blood mingling and flowing together. God's blood flowing manward and satisfying man, man's blood flowing Godward, satisfying God, and eternally sealing our union in an everlasting covenant." Stephens, F.R., "The Blood Covenant Part II" *EE* 13:39 (Sep. 23 '32), 371.

with him. Almighty God proved that He wanted to exchange His strength. His weapons and His authority with Abram.⁹⁷³

Copeland's source appears to have been a book by H. Clay Trumbull, of 1885, called *The Blood Covenant*.⁹⁷⁴ Trumbull acknowledges Westcott but the main ideas seem to have been arrived at independently of him through contact with Native American Indians. So far, this intermingling of blood idea does not appear to have received very widespread acceptance in Britain, possibly because of our great remove from cultures in which this is practised.

The blood is not a prominent theme in contemporary charismatic worship. Two sources of new songs, however, are noteworthy for their relatively high emphasis on atonement themes, including the blood. The first is Terry Virgo's New Frontiers International, which, until 2004, was producing a new worship compilation every year, recorded at the Stoneleigh Bible Week held at the National Agricultural Centre in Stoneleigh, Staffordshire. Of particular interest is Stoneleigh's interaction with the Toronto Blessing. *Ruach: Holy Wind of God* came out in 1994 during the height of the Toronto Blessing at which time some 14,000 people attended the Bible week. Out of a total of 15 tracks there are two references to the blood, one in a revamping of William Booth's hymn *God of Burning, Cleansing Flame (Send the Fire)*, the other in the song *Great is the Lord*. Its mildly Calvinist grace theme is reflective of the theological tastes of NFI's leader and main speaker at the Bible week, Terry Virgo:

By the power of Jesus' name
You have raised me up from sin and shame...

⁹⁷³ Copeland, K., *Covenant of Blood*, (Fort Worth: KCP, 1987), 7, 11.

⁹⁷⁴ Trumbull, H.C., *The Blood Covenant: A Primitive Rite and its bearings on Scripture* 2nd Ed., (Jefferson: Impact Books, 1975).

By grace I'm saved through faith in God
Not by works alone but by Jesus' blood...⁹⁷⁵

The 1997 Stoneleigh was notably different. Attendance figures reached 20,000. Ken Gott from Sunderland⁹⁷⁶ was invited to bring some prophetic input, some of which is recorded in between songs. By now, the Toronto Blessing had clearly not brought about the revival that many thought it would and the unusual manifestations were petering out almost everywhere except at the Sunderland Christian Centre. The album begins with an optimistic song from Sunderland, the last ray of hope:

This is the time
This is the place
We're living in a season of amazing grace
We are the people
Born for this hour
And we will be willing in the day of His power.⁹⁷⁷

The blood becomes an unusually prominent theme on this album. The motif is access to God:

By Your blood I can enter the holiest place,
To the throne of my Father and King...
Far away from the stress and turmoil of life,
I now come to seek Your face.⁹⁷⁸

I come by the blood, I come by the cross,
Where Your mercy flows

⁹⁷⁵ David & Nathan Fellingham, *Great is the Lord*, (Eastbourne: Kingsway's Thankyou Music, 1994), track 6 on *Ruach: Holy Wind of God*.

⁹⁷⁶ His involvement with the arrival of the Toronto Blessing at the Sunderland Christian Centre is related in Fitz-Gibbon, A & J., *Something Extraordinary is Happening: The Sunderland Experience of the Holy Spirit*, (Crowborough: Monarch, 1995), 11-21.

⁹⁷⁷ I still recall this being sung almost every Sunday with great enthusiasm at Derek Brown's King's Church long after Toronto manifestations and the special meetings to promote them had ceased.

⁹⁷⁸ Fellingham, D., *By Your Blood*, (Eastbourne: Kingsway's Thankyou Music MCPS), track 8 on *Love's Compelling Power*.

From hands pierced for me.
For I dare not stand on my righteousness.
My every hope rests on what Christ has done,
And I come by the blood.⁹⁷⁹

In spite of the Toronto anticlimax, the Stoneleigh Bible week of 1998 saw the attendance figures break the record again with 22,000 in attendance. The inside cover of the album that resulted from it, *Beautiful Saviour*, describes the event as a time of “re-envisioning.”⁹⁸⁰ The title song uses the blood theme to re-align the worshipper with long-held Evangelical tradition:

I will trust in the cross of my Redeemer,
I will sing of the blood that never fails.
Of sins forgiven, of conscience cleansed,
Of death defeated and life without end.⁹⁸¹

This trend away from prophetic progressivism in the direction a more traditional approach in both content and musicality in NFI has continued. Two songs in particular have been written that are, both musically and lyrically, in the style of a hymn. The language is theologically rich, emotive and atonement centred. One is *In Christ Alone*:⁹⁸²

And as He stands in victory
Sin's curse has lost its grip on me,
For I am His and He is mine-
Bought with the precious blood of Christ.⁹⁸³

The other song is *Oh, To See the Dawn*:⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁷⁹ Cook, Steve & Vikki, *You are the Perfect and Righteous God (I Come by the Blood)*. (People of Destiny/Word Music), track 9 on *Love's Compelling Power*.

⁹⁸⁰ Townend, S (producer), *Beautiful Saviour*, (Eastbourne: Kingsway's Thankyou Music, 1998).

⁹⁸¹ Townend, S., *All my Days (Beautiful Saviour)*, (Eastbourne: Kingsway's Thankyou Music, 1998), track 4 on *Beautiful Saviour*.

⁹⁸² Words and music by Stuart Townend and Keith Getty, (Eastbourne: Thankyou Music, 2001).

⁹⁸³ Verse 3 *ibid*.

Oh, to see the pain
Written on Your face,
Bearing the awesome weight of sin.
Every bitter thought.
Every evil deed
Crowning your bloodstained brow.

The second source of new British worship songs that is of interest is Matt Redman and Soul Survivor. Redman sings that his “every road leads to the cross.” He uses the word ‘cross’ far more commonly than blood and writes of it with emotion in *Jesus Christ (Once Again)*: “I’m humbled by Your mercy and I’m broken inside.”⁹⁸⁵ However, Redman is by no means squeamish about using the word ‘blood,’ and does so in some interesting ways:

Death that brought me life;
Blood that brought me home.⁹⁸⁶

Thank You, thank You for the blood that You shed
Standing in its blessing we sing these freedom songs...
You have opened the way to the Father.⁹⁸⁷

In charismatic worship then, the blood, in these few examples, often takes on a function similar to the inter-war years of Pentecostalism, in which 19th century language was employed to portray the blood’s cleansing and redeeming power. Added to this is the hitherto recessive theme of access: the blood making a way for the child of God to have unlimited access to the Father. This would tie in with the charismatic love of immediacy, its penchant for imminence over transcendence.

⁹⁸⁴ Words and music by Keith Getty and Stuart Townend. (Eastbourne: Thankyou Music, 2005).

⁹⁸⁵ Redman, M., *Jesus Christ (Once Again)*. (Eastbourne: Kingsway’s Thankyou Music, 1995).

⁹⁸⁶ Redman, M., *For the Cross*. (Eastbourne: Kingsway’s Thankyou Music, 1998).

⁹⁸⁷ Redman, M., *Thank You for the Blood*. (Eastbourne: Kingsway’s Thankyou Music, 1999), track 11 on *The Father’s Song*.

Throughout the literature and hymnody of early British Pentecostalism and its precursors, beginning especially with Andrew Murray, the blood's relationship to the Spirit is a subplot that never quite rises to the prominence of other themes. Tom Smail (1928-) is the first thinker in British Pentecostal and Charismatic circles to analyse this relationship in depth. He is clearly heavily indebted to, though not uncritical of, Karl Barth and spent a year in Basel being taught by him. He is especially receptive to Barthian thought that has been modified through the filters of T.F. Torrance and Jürgen Moltmann. Though receiving his BHS under Dennis Bennett, his Reformed theology compelled him to reject Bennett's Pentecostal framework by which to interpret charismatic experience.⁹⁸⁸ This questioning of Pentecostalist two-stage concepts of Christian initiation was confirmed by an experience he had not long after receiving his BHS. It happened when Smail exercised the gift of tongues in public for the first time: "The interpretation was given by a young woman, and I have never forgotten what she said, 'The way to Pentecost is Calvary: the Spirit comes from the cross.'⁹⁸⁹

All of his thinking from that time on appears to have been an exploration of this idea. In his writings, he works his way back from the cross into the Trinitarian life of God Himself, and then back out to Calvary again. Much of this reflection took place during his time as Chairman of the Fountain Trust, editor of *Renewal* magazine and of the doomed, *Theological Renewal*,⁹⁹⁰ and as Vice-Principal of the Anglican St John's

⁹⁸⁸ Smail, "Cross and Spirit," 53.

⁹⁸⁹ Smail, "Cross and Spirit," 55. Cf. *Reflected Glory*, 105: "...the interpretation was given by a young woman, unknown to me before or since, who said, 'There is no way to Pentecost except by Calvary: the Spirit is given from the cross.'"

⁹⁹⁰ This ran from 1975 to 1980 and was scrapped through what Wright considers to be a very telling lack of interest in theology on the part of charismatics at that time: Wright, N., "The Charismatic Theology of Thomas Smail," *JEPTA* XVI (1996), 6. cf. Stibbe, M., "The Theology of renewal and the Renewal of Theology," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 3 (1993), 71.

College, Nottingham. The result of his thinking was a trilogy of books on each member of the Trinity from a critically charismatic perspective written between 1975 and 1988: *Reflected Glory*, *Forgotten Father* and *The Giving Gift*. In these works, his greatest concern is how best to integrate the work of the Spirit with the work of the Son. Having worked his way back from Calvary to the Trinity, he discovers the statement of Jesus concerning the ministry of the Holy Spirit in John 16:14: "He will glorify me, for he will take of mine and declare it to you." As he admits in *Giving Gift*,⁹⁹¹ Smail was initially so keen on this thought as a way of correcting faults that he perceived in Pentecostalism⁹⁹² that he emphasised it almost to the point of minimising the full personhood of the Spirit in *Reflected Glory*. By the time he writes *Giving Gift*, his thinking has matured and is expressed thus:

On the one hand, the Spirit depends upon the Son for the content that he conveys to us: without the Son the Spirit would have nothing to convey, because he brings no content of his own. On the other hand, without the Spirit, what the Son has would be shut up in himself...⁹⁹³

On that basis, the work of the Son is utterly definitive of the work of the Spirit. The Spirit's mission is to reveal the cross. And so, working back from the Trinity to the cross again, this idea is communicated throughout his writings in the form of various different slogans:

The Spirit reveals himself not as a new object of our knowledge, but as the one who makes it possible for us to know and receive Christ crucified.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹¹ *Giving Gift*, 44.

⁹⁹² Wright has a point, however, in querying whether or not this apparently Christless pneumatology in Pentecostalism that Smail has such a problem with might actually be a straw man: "...very rarely, if at all, does he cite Pentecostal authors... Instead there is an assumption concerning what Pentecostal theology might claim." Wright, "Thomas Smail," 10

⁹⁹³ Smail, *Giving Gift*, 51

⁹⁹⁴ Smail, *Giving Gift*, 63

The deed done on Calvary long ago has its contemporary effect in the present inrushing of Pentecostal power.⁹⁹⁵

The cross and its liberating effect makes possible the movement of the Spirit from the Father to us.⁹⁹⁶

The Holy Spirit is himself the living water that flows from the side of Christ.⁹⁹⁷

On the basis of this arguing from the cross to the Trinity and back again, Smail produces his critique of charismatic renewal: "If in our thinking we loosen the connection between Christ and the Spirit, we are in danger of severing one of the nerve-centres of the New Testament gospel."⁹⁹⁸

The more the renewal relates itself to the central things of the gospel, e.g. the person and work of Christ rather than just tongues or healing, the more its contribution becomes recognisable and receivable by the rest of the Church, and the more it is delivered from its own idiosyncrasies and eccentricities.⁹⁹⁹

I present Smail here then, not as someone who has contributed to the kind of blood mysticism that I have described elsewhere in this thesis: he would doubtless be repulsed by much of it. Rather, I present him as someone who has been able to articulate very ably thoughts that have often occurred to many of the Pentecostals and holiness adherents named in this thesis. In articulating these ideas of Spirit-Son mutuality and relating them to the atonement, Smail provides a theological framework in which a great deal of the irrational-sounding material I have presented can be made

⁹⁹⁵ Smail, *Giving Gift*, 134.

⁹⁹⁶ Smail, *The Forgotten Father*, 123.

⁹⁹⁷ Smail, *Giving Gift*, 81.

⁹⁹⁸ Smail, *Giving Gift*, 125.

⁹⁹⁹ Smail, *Giving Gift*, 18.

safe, sensible and beneficial. He provides a way back to the Christ-centredness of historic Pentecostalism in such a way as makes clear the reasons why the cross and blood of Christ ought to be emphasised by those who profess to be given to the Spirit. The reason is that the cross is on the mind of that very Holy Ghost that a Pentecostal or charismatic would claim to be filled with. Smail helps to define a true Pentecostal as someone who knows what the Spirit's greatest boast is, what His greatest concern is, what His mission in the church and in the world actually is: to glorify Christ and His work.

8.2. The Blood and Classical Pentecostalism Today.

By the 1950s, within classical Pentecostalism, the climate had so changed that in 1957, Donald Gee could write an article for the American periodical, *The Pentecostal Evangel*, in which he claimed that in the early days of Pentecostalism, exhortations to plead the blood had always "perplexed" him.¹⁰⁰⁰ The importance that early Pentecostals placed on the blood he sympathetically put down to the "truculent modernism of fifty years ago"¹⁰⁰¹ with its scorn of Evangelical "'slaughterhouse religion,"¹⁰⁰² yet he regarded much of the reaction to it as a superstitious "fetish."¹⁰⁰³ He went on to debunk the pleading of the of the blood as a means of invoking God's protection prior to making a journey by train, car or boat, or over a house or a person or when encountering demons. He pointed out that appeals made to the Exodus story, the commonest Scriptural justification adduced by blood-pleaders, are moot seeing as the protection obtained through the blood on that occasion was from the wrath of

¹⁰⁰⁰ Gee, "Under the Blood," 4.

¹⁰⁰¹ Gee, "Under the Blood," 4.

¹⁰⁰² Gee, "Under the Blood," 4.

¹⁰⁰³ Gee, "Under the Blood," 4.

God, not from the devil. He goes on to suggest that the name of Jesus rather than his blood ought to be invoked for victory over the devil.¹⁰⁰⁴

As though to buck the trend, Percy Brewster (1908-80), converted under George Jeffreys before eventually becoming Secretary-General of Elim in 1974, preserved an earlier phase in Pentecostal blood mysticism. He was proud of maintaining the practice of pleading the blood: "I must confess, and quite unashamedly, that I plead the blood of Christ in prayer every day of my life..."¹⁰⁰⁵ The very fact, however, that he has to shrug of the possibility of feeling shame in making this statement, reveals something about the changes that had taken place in attitudes towards the blood. Whether Brewster's blood-pleading is directed at God or Satan is not clear, but he goes on to defend the practice thus: "These are terms that have sprung into daily use from the types and symbols of the Old Testament." In a unique phrase, he summarises the content of Hebrews 9:14 as describing "Pentecostal blood," going on to devote one of his longest chapters to the subject of "Blood and Fire."¹⁰⁰⁶

In AoG, John Carter (1893-1981), having written a series of articles on Tabernacle typology for *RT*, went on to release a book in 1970 devoted to the subject: *God's Tabernacle in the Wilderness and its Principal Offerings*.¹⁰⁰⁷ In this volume, he also appears to have held on to the doctrine of pleading the blood. In his case, it is clearly theocentric:

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gee, "Under the Blood," 4.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Brewster, P., *The Spreading Flame of Pentecost*, (London: Elim Publishing House, 1970), 57.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Brewster, *Spreading Flame*, 65.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Carter, J., *God's Tabernacle in the Wilderness and its Principal Offerings*, (Nottingham: Assemblies of God, 1970).

There can be no true worship except through Christ's death. The shed blood is the foundation of our acceptance and of our worship. We plead His blood for every blessing.¹⁰⁰⁸

As for the present day, the most recent complete year of data available at the time of writing on *EE* and *RT*'s successors, *Direction* and *Joy* respectively was 2006.

Surveying *Direction* and *Joy* for that year yielded almost no occurrences of the word blood in relation to Jesus. *Direction* had five references to the blood of Jesus, including the ideas of covering, healing and redemption. This compares with *EE*'s 44 references to it in the 12 issues from 1919-22. *Joy* had six references to the blood of Jesus, including the motifs of covering, cleansing, transubstantiation, Gethsemane, covenant and love. This compares with the 45 occurrences recorded in *RT* in its first 12 issues from 1924-5. So, on average, there were about as many references to the blood of Jesus in a single issue of *EE* and *RT* as there were in a whole year of *Direction* and *Joy*.

In *Direction* there were five articles about divine healing,¹⁰⁰⁹ three articles on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts,¹⁰¹⁰ three articles on the atonement¹⁰¹¹ and no articles on the Second Coming. In *Joy* there were three articles on the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts,¹⁰¹² two articles on the atonement,¹⁰¹³ no articles on healing (other than

¹⁰⁰⁸ Carter, *God's Tabernacle*, 90.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Warrington, K., "Healing Matters," *Direction* 52 (Jan.'06), 36-7; idem, *ibid*, *Direction* 53 (Feb.'06), 20-21; idem, *ibid*, *Direction* 54 (Mar.'06), 30-31; idem, *ibid*, *Direction* 55 (Apr.'06), 37; idem, *ibid*, *Direction* 56 (May'06), 33-35.

¹⁰¹⁰ Lancaster, J., "And Finally: Though sometimes we find it hard to accept, the Holy Spirit knows best," *Direction* 53 (Feb.'06), 54; Dye, C., "Working with the Holy Spirit in Preaching," *Direction* 60 (Sep.'06), 34-36; Lancaster, J., "Watch out – Pentecostal punctures can be dangerous," *Direction* 61 (Oct.'06), 50.

¹⁰¹¹ Dyer, M., "How we are Blessed Through Communion," *Direction* 53 (Feb.'06), 32-34; Price, K., "Father Forgive Them," [poem] *Direction* 55 (Apr.'06), 34; Vines, J., "My Brother for Whom Christ Died," [poem] *Direction* 55 (Apr.'06), 34.

¹⁰¹² Littlewood, D., "Pioneers of Charismata and Healing," *Joy* 143 (Aug.'06), 41; idem, "Gift of Tongues Sparks a Century of Pentecost," *Joy* 145 (Oct.'06), 40; Ralphs, V., "Agabus – A Gifted Prophet," *Joy* 147 (Dec.'06), 22.

testimonies) and no articles on the Second Coming. The main interests of *Direction* in 2006 were the debate with atheism sparked off by Richard Dawkins' book, *The God Delusion*, the evolution versus intelligent design debate, personal suffering, retirement, the middle east and worship. It appeared to be a magazine aimed at older, well-educated people and was much more interested in current affairs than *Joy*. It lacked any interest in the traditional gospel themes of early *EE*, two of the three articles on the atonement being very short Easter poems sent in by readers. Its commemoration of Easter was otherwise non-existent. *Joy* in 2006 was a magazine very interested in celebrity. This being the case, the magazine was probably aimed at much younger people than *Direction*'s readership. Besides celebrities, its main interest by far was church growth and church planting, other interests being personal guidance and how to cope with suffering. "Redemption through the Precious Blood of Christ," the avowed chief interest of *RT* in 1924 appeared very far away from the concerns of *Joy*'s contributors in 2006, despite the increase in the number of articles on the subject compared to 1924-5. As is plain from the figures given above, all interest in the Second Coming of Christ had completely evaporated from both magazines in 2006, the greatest concerns being how to live the Christian life in the present.

All these figures may be compared as follows. The numbers indicate the total number of articles recorded on the theme specified on the left:

¹⁰¹³ Keith, C., "Forgiving Others as God Forgave Us," *Joy* 139 (Apr.'06); Allen, D., "We Neglect the Brealing of Bread at Our Peril," *Joy* 139 (Apr.'06), 20-23.

	<i>EE</i>	<i>Direction</i>
Holy Spirit/Gifts	7	3
Second Coming	5	0
Healing	4	5
Atonement	3	3

	<i>RT</i>	<i>Joy</i>
Holy Spirit/Gifts	8	3
Second Coming	6	0
Atonement	1	2
Healing	0	0

The figures display a steady erosion of classical Pentecostal beliefs, suggesting that Pentecostals are not as charismatic as they were, and not at all expecting the Lord to return at any time in the near future.¹⁰¹⁴ The casual use of Atonement language in Pentecostal discourse, which held its own in the inter-war years, had almost completely vanished, while the number of articles on the subject was, surprisingly, comparable to the earliest issues.

¹⁰¹⁴ The main reason for this trend among Western Pentecostals is suggested by Anderson, who, agreeing with Land (*Passion for the Kingdom*, 76), cites the upward mobility of Western Pentecostals who now see the world as getting a little better: Anderson, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Theology," 598.

All in all, British Pentecostalism appears to have moved on. Its self-conscious ecclesiology and contemporary existential concerns, together with its down-playing of Pentecostal distinctives means that it has begun to merge and will continue to merge with wider Evangelicalism – the very thing that the inter-war leaders longed for. The Christological heart of Pentecostalism that was once preserved so vocally and so ardently, to the tune of “Nothing but the Blood,” in which there was “Power, power, wonder-working power” appears not to be beating as strongly as once it did.

Concluding Remarks.

All the above have been snapshots of the role of the blood in post-War Pentecostalism up to the present time. The pleading of the blood still appears to be practised in some quarters but has clearly never regained the place it had in the very earliest days of Kilsyth and Sunderland. The idea of a Native American style blood covenant is one that could yet capture the imaginations of some in this country but does not yet appear to have done so. In contemporary hymnody, the all-important mode of expression for popular spirituality, there is little attachment to the blood of Christ.¹⁰¹⁵ When it is mentioned, the aim appears to be to invoke tradition, to remind worshippers that they are part of something time-honoured and venerable. The language, therefore, tends not to be straight from the Bible. Rather it has the feel of something lifted straight from a hymnbook. Tom Smail has attempted, perhaps in vain, to reconnect charismatics with the Christological and crucicentric heart of their faith. This he has done by demonstrating in a legion of different ways that “The Spirit comes from the

¹⁰¹⁵ This may be part of a wider Evangelical perception of the subject as contentious. According to Marini, even early American Evangelical hymnals tended to omit hymns on contentious subjects: Marini, “Hymnody as History,” 280-284. Warner has noted the increasing polarity within wider Evangelicalism on the issue of the atonement: Warner, R., *Reinventing English Evangelicalism, 1966-2001*, (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 225-227.

cross.” Because of this, the cross is the focus of the Spirit’s Christ-centred ministry. A brief look at the successors of *Elim Evangel* and *Redemption Tidings* has confirmed the relative lack of interest in all matters connected with the atonement in contemporary classical Pentecostalism. There has been an even more striking loss of interest in the Second Advent compared with the earliest days. An interest in healing and in the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts have continued but not to anything like the extent that one would expect of two denominations whose identity is so closely bound up with baptism in the Holy Spirit. In place of these classical urgencies, ecclesiological and existential issues have taken first place.

Conclusion.

The New Testament appears to supply the original reason why Christians felt that all matters to do with the cross ought to be given a special emphasis. As the history of the Church unfolds, this emphasis appears to progressively deepen. The cross soon took over from the fish as the symbol of Christianity and the communion table soon became the point around which its people gathered to show their allegiance to Christ. Before long, the wine was holy blood and the bread was sacred flesh. The mystique surrounding the elements seems to have greatly inspired those who wrote from within the monastic tradition. There was soon a body of devotional literature all about the passion. The suffering human Christ stumbling as he carries His cross through the streets of Jerusalem was an image that caught the imaginations of the devout across medieval Europe. This human Christ perhaps served as a welcome and accessible counterbalance to the divine and exalted Christ of Chalcedon. All of the Reformers, of course, emerged from a Catholic tradition already steeped in passion meditation. Luther was no exception, forming his own *theologia crucis* that insisted on the absolute merit and centrality of the blood of Jesus. The man described as Luther come back to life was Count Zinzendorf whose Moravian community went on to acquire a degree of notoriety due to the vulgarity with which they gloried in the blood and wounds of Christ. The Moravians in turn, influenced the Wesleys. Charles Wesley in particular, adopted much of their devotional language in his hymns. For John Wesley, the cleansing of the blood was part of a datable crisis event subsequent to conversion that he called entire sanctification, terminology he would spend his life debating and defending. In the hands of Phoebe Palmer and the American holiness movement,

Wesleyan concepts of sanctification were simplified and mechanised into a 3-step altar theology, a way of obtaining sanctification by faith without the need for any evidence that it had happened. Under the influence of American holiness teachers, Britain raised up two significant holiness movements of its own: Keswick and the Salvation Army. Both of these movements placed great emphasis on the cleansing power of the blood of Christ. The blood, in the minds of the devout, had now progressed from an awesome mystery and catalyst of deeper devotion into something that does something. It “cleanseth.”

As the 20th century approached, premillennial eschatology promised to explain the unrest of nations and the apostasy of the Church: the Lord was about to come but first there would be one final outpouring of the Spirit, one last, great big revival. Yet Christians would need to be on their guard: these were perilous times. The devil was very active and the Christian’s only sure defence was the blood of Christ, daubed on the lintel and doorposts of the heart. The blood of the Lamb would overcome the accuser. The Welsh Revival happened: could this be the final outpouring? Azusa Street happened. This time there were spiritual gifts, as foretold in Joel’s prophecy. Soon, thanks to T.B. Barratt, the phenomena experienced at Azusa Street travelled across the Atlantic to Norway. From thence, thanks to the persuasiveness and enthusiasm of Alexander Boddy, it came to Sunderland. From then on “the eyes of the religious millions of Great Britain...” were “...fixed upon Sunderland.”¹⁰¹⁶ It was there that the blood as a tool of spiritual warfare, already pioneered by Evan Roberts and Jessie Penn-Lewis, was finally honed and perfected. In time, the effervescence subsided, and along with it the millennial fever - and the blood mysticism. Inter-War

¹⁰¹⁶ The words of T.B. Barratt: Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 22.

Pentecostals preserved the blood mystical tradition in a nostalgic way, using 19th century phraseology to identify themselves, in the face of bitter opposition, as rooted in the old-time gospel. However, it soon became time, as Donald Gee put it, for “another Springtime.” By the 1950s, Pentecostalism was losing its vitality. With the rise of the charismatic movement in the 1960s that Springtime seemed to have come for many, yet the Pentecostal themes of the Second Coming, divine healing, the power of the blood, even Baptism in the Holy Spirit itself, the defining doctrines of the early days, were never fully recovered.

What remains of the blood theme has been taken up by some charismatics, among whom, largely under the influence of American speakers (who have also retained the premillennial focus) the pleading of the blood is still practised. The Pentecostals, in an effort not to be passed by when the charismatic renewal happened, adopted much of the popular theology of the charismatics. The ecclesial structures of Pentecostal churches have been self-consciously adjusted – modernised even – to emulate the apostolic networks. Their worship is more or less dominated by charismatic liturgy and hymnody. Such historical curios as Elim’s foursquare gospel lie muffled beneath these adaptations. One only need imagine how out of place an article would look now in the pages of the blindingly high-gloss *Direction* magazine that made continual reference to the blood-stained banner of the cross or the precious blood of the Lamb.

Outmoded though it is, this aspect of Pentecostal origins could speak into current debates about Pentecostal identity that draw much from its distinctive pneumatology and eschatology but which presently see less that is distinctive or identity-depicting in its Christology. Tom Smail has already provided a theological framework that makes

the reintegration of Pentecostal-charismatic pneumatology and Christology imaginable. No one as yet seems to have made any use, academically or otherwise, of these insights. The early Pentecostals, like Smail, were at pains to maintain the mutuality of blood and Spirit as central to their spirituality. They insisted that the Spirit points to the blood of Christ. Putting faith in that blood in turn was, for them, the only reliable way to receive a genuine experience of the Spirit. The early 20th century, much like the present time, was a pragmatic era, intolerant of impractical theories.¹⁰¹⁷ In that context, the Pentecostals were convinced that their spirituality was centred on a methodology that worked. Great claims were made, not only for the power of being baptized in the Spirit but also for the efficacy of the blood in providing both initial and ongoing access to that power. If this tradition in its completeness is to be rejected by present day Pentecostals, perhaps some pragmatic reasons should be advanced for so doing.

This piece of work also supplies resources that may be found useful in the wider Evangelical debate about the atonement. One common objection raised against the doctrine of penal substitution is that it does not obviously point the way to the ethical or spiritual transformation of the individual. In this thesis is a significant body of evidence that shows that many individuals, mostly of Evangelical persuasion and almost entirely subscribers to a penal view of the atonement, found ways of subjectivising the atonement. This they did by making a simple adjustment in their terminology from 'cross' to 'blood.' The subjective appropriation of the blood of Christ seems to have enabled many of the Evangelicals and Pentecostals cited in this volume to overcome the dialectic between status and state. Further, it was the penal

¹⁰¹⁷ The pragmatic philosophers of that era: John Dewey and William James, have provided the main inspiration behind the contemporary explorations of pragmatism by leading thinker in this field, Richard Rorty, e.g. Rorty, R., *Philosophy and Social Hope*. (London: Penguin, 1999), xii-xv.

substitutionary doctrine itself that offered, from within its own internal logic, the very kind of symbolic language (of blood sacrifice) that believers seem to have found so useful. This same body of historical data, however, could also be used on the other side of the debate. It could prove that there was a difficulty inherent in the atonement theology of those cited that was overcome in this way. This adaptation, it could be argued, would not have been necessary had their atonement theology been more satisfying to them in the first place. Both interpretations of the data could doubtless produce some worthwhile results for the debate.

The demonological turn that is so visible in early Pentecostalism is but one example of how understandings of the role of the blood of Jesus changed in response to a changing cultural climate. This piece of work offers a collection of data that may be found useful by those researching the interaction between Christianity, especially in its more radical forms, and the cultural forces brought to bear upon it. It is in surveying the many uses to which the blood was put, depending on the need of the hour, that an unexpectedly colourful range of Christian responses to culture can be seen. Indeed, it is noteworthy that even within a culture that was identifiably Christian, the people cited in this work were desperate to be cleansed and were, for the most part, hostile to the Christianity of Christendom. Carter's recent revisiting of Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture*¹⁰¹⁸ provides a stimulating starting point for reflecting on what kind of interaction with culture is possible post-Christendom. Alan Mann's

¹⁰¹⁸ Carter, C., *Rethinking Christ and Culture: A Post-Christendom Perspective*. (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2006).

*Atonement for a Sinless Society*¹⁰¹⁹ relates the contemporary situation to the atonement specifically.

And so, with much work that could yet be done. I commend this attempt at telling a previously untold story to the wider research community.

¹⁰¹⁹ Mann, A., *Atonement for a 'Sinless' Society: Engaging with an Emerging Culture*. (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005). See also, Green, J & M. Baker, *Rediscovering the Scandal of the Cross*. (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003).

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