

**THE SHIFTING ROMANCE WITH ISRAEL:
AMERICAN PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY OF
ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH STATE**

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Abstract

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The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the nativity of fraternal twin movements: Zionism and American Pentecostalism. Both newborns, initially treated as weak and infantile in a religiously hostile world, had a basis of ideological support in three centuries of American myth and motif. The burgeoning Pentecostal movement of the early decades of the century, with its chief distinctive of speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit-baptism, had great difficulty persuading Christian contemporaries of the legitimacy of their idiosyncratic doctrine or of their *raison d'être* on historical or theological grounds. To assure the perpetuity of the Pentecostal movement, a Latter Rain ideology was quickly created which used the contemporary Zionist revival as corroborating evidence of the concomitant divine undertakings to restore both Israel and the Church. Israel was to be restored to Zion even as the Church was restored to its radical first-century apostolic essence. These divinely initiated twin restorationist efforts would bring Israel and the Church back full-cycle to their first-century points of departure as immediate prelude to the culmination of salvation history.

My research analyzes the one-sided and shifting romance of American Pentecostalism with Zionism and the Jewish State from the birth of the Pentecostal movement in 1901 till the end of the twentieth century. Past historical scholarship has carefully considered the different ideologies of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as they touched upon the question of Israel's role in the *eschaton*. Thorough analyses, too, have been made of the Evangelical and Fundamentalist Christian devotion to the Zionist enterprise in light of their eschatological perspective on the Second Coming. But my research is the first to analyze the century-long intellectual history of American Pentecostalism over several periods of romantically shifting sentiment on Zionism and the Jewish State as Pentecostalist ideology has been impacted by political, economic, and missiological developments.

The American Puritans had come to the New World ostensibly to function as God's New Israel. However, this Puritan outlook did not preclude the importance of a nationally restored Israel in the *eschaton*. Some Puritan writers concomitantly anticipated a new Pentecost to be outpoured upon the spiritually revived Church to affect increased sanctity and divine empowerment for Gospel global conquest. God's American chosen had experienced spiritual phenomena during the Great Awakening and related American revivals of the eighteenth century ostensibly as a means to intensified piety and power. But Jonathan Edwards' postmillennialism only envisioned a restored Jewish State at the climax of a thousand-year

march to the Christian redemption of the world. The nineteenth century's newly introduced scheme of dispensationalism ideologically afforded a revitalized Jewish State a crucial role in the future utopian millennial age Kingdom of God. This multifaceted heritage predisposed American Pentecostalism to eagerly salute the rising banner of Zionism particularly since Pentecostals viewed themselves as playing their own vital role in the *eschaton*.

As the initial Pentecostal "Latter Rain" movement gained momentum over its first generation to the end of World War I, its disposition toward Zionism soared according to the dramatically sequenced events of the war, the Balfour Declaration, Allenby's capture of Jerusalem, and the preliminary infrastructural developments in Zion. British political backpedaling combined with rising western anti-Semitism to both anger and frighten Pentecostals. Over time some began to question the inevitability of Zionism's success since Israel had yet to come to faith in Christ. While reaction against anti-Semitism stiffened in Pentecostal circles in the 1930s and 1940s, enthusiasm for a Jewish State persisted, as did continued pockets of Pentecostal doubt.

After World War II, Pentecostals could pride themselves in new levels of acceptance in the Evangelical world and wanted nothing to jeopardize their new status. In part to allow for the potential demise of the infant Jewish State within Pentecostal ideology, the Assemblies of God (AG), the leading Pentecostal denomination, found itself prepared to move away from its Latter Rain moorings in favor of a dispensationalist perspective shunting Israel's divinely promised destiny off into an uncertain eschatological future. The years of international threat against Israel immediately preceding the wars of 1948-49, 1956, 1967, and 1973, found Pentecostals dramatically stepping back from strong identification with an Israel in jeopardy. But the glorious Israeli victories in 1949, 1956, and 1967 resulted in temporary Pentecostal euphoria and celebration of the pending restorationist climax of the ages. The Yom Kippur War of 1973, however, was a watershed event that motivated the AG to organizationally fully disassociate from the Zionist enterprise for political, economic, and missiological causes.

Only within the past two decades has there been a renewed call to a certain sense of eschatological partnership with Israel in Pentecostal ideology, as it has been recognized that the classical Pentecostal distinctive and very *raison d'être* are inseparably bound to the success of the Jewish State.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG	General Council of the Assemblies of God
ATQ	<i>Adult Teachers' Quarterly</i>
CAH	<i>Christ's Ambassadors Herald</i>
CAM	<i>Christ's Ambassadors Monthly</i>
CRM	Charismatic Renewal Movement
GPH	Gospel Publishing House (AG)
LRE	<i>Latter Rain Evangel</i>
NAE	National Association of Evangelicals
NT	New Testament
PE	<i>Pentecostal Evangel</i>
SPS	Society for Pentecostal Studies

GLOSSARY

Apostolic faith. The term American Pentecostals initially used to describe their movement as a last-days restoration of Christianity as practiced by the apostles in the first-century.

Assemblies of God (AG). The designation of local churches affiliated with the General Council of the Assemblies of God.

Charismatic Movement. The movement penetrating non-Pentecostal historical denominations that has promoted the presence of the Spirit and spiritual giftedness.

Classical Pentecostals. Those members tracing their Pentecostal roots directly back to early Pentecostalism.

Dispensationalism. The dividing of history into seven periods according to perception of God's varied means of dealing with mankind.

Eschaton. The last days of time or the end of the age.

Glossolalia. Speaking in (sometimes ecstatic) tongues.

Holiness Movement. A large movement stemming out of Methodism in nineteenth-century American Christianity focused on personal perfection with special emphasis upon the works of the Holy Spirit.

"Latter Rain." With reference to prophecies in Joel 2:23 and Zechariah 10:1, early Pentecostals used the term *latter rain* to describe the twentieth-century outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

Premillennialism. The view that Christ's second coming will happen before the one thousand years of utopian righteousness known as the Millennium.

Restorationism. The hope of bringing back early Christian practices. Restorationists tended to ignore history and based their teaching on the New Testament alone. Some early Pentecostals expected restoration of the apostolic power of New Testament Christianity immediately prior to the Second Coming.

Initial evidence. The doctrine that speaking in tongues is the mandatory evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

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INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the United States and the Zionist movement and the State of Israel has been the focus of much historical scholarship such as the works done by Moshe Davis's *With Eyes Toward Zion: Scholars Colloquium on America-Holy Land Studies* [1977], Edward B. Glick's *The Triangular Connection: America, Israel, and American Jews* [1982], and Gershon Greenberg's *The Holy Land in American Religious Thought, 1620-1948* [1994], to name a few. Other scholastic works like Herzl Fishman's *American Protestantism and a Jewish State* [1973], Yona Malachy's *American Fundamentalism and Israel: The Relation of Fundamentalist Churches of Zionism and the State of Israel* [1978], and Yaakov Ariel's *On Behalf of Israel: American Fundamentalist Attitudes Toward Jews, Judaism, and Zionism, 1865-1945* [1991] and *Evangelizing the Chosen People: Missions to the Jews in America, 1880-2000* [2000], have dealt with the attitudes of American Evangelicals and Fundamentalists toward Zionism and Israel. Yet no historical study has focused in-depth on the unique connection between the Jewish State, Zionism, and one of the preeminent forces in world religion today, twenty-first-century American Pentecostalism. The large majority of Evangelical denominations have demonstrated positive attitudes toward Israel. Yet the American Pentecostalist sense of bond with Israel had as its uncommon and distinguishing source a radically primitivist New Testament ideology. Pentecostal ideology effectively bypassed eighteen centuries of Christian history and upheld the first-century Jewish-Christian milieu (The Book of Acts) as the idealized and lost model of Christian experience needing to be fully regained in order for sacred history to reach its climactic fulfillment.

A failure of the Zionist enterprise would have had a highly challenging impact upon the Evangelicals and Fundamentalists and required significant adjustments to their historically minded ideologies. But the same Zionist failure would have had an utterly devastating after effect on American Pentecostalist ideology and threatened the very self-understanding and survival of classic American Pentecostalism. While Evangelicalism generally welcomed Zionism as part of the pending *eschaton*,

Pentecostalism needed Zionism to a far greater extent since Pentecostalism drew its identity, not like others from the annals of Christian history, but from the radical primitivist ideals of the earliest Christian Church as observed in the historical Book of Acts which presumed a Zionist reality. The failure of the “Zionist experiment” would call into question the Pentecostal “restorationist” interpretation of history and hence, their own Pentecostal significance.

Given the phenomenal expansion of Pentecostalism not only in the United States but worldwide to now include some 500 million Christians among all faith traditions, it is crucial to understand the sources of the Pentecostalist ideology of Israel and the Jewish people. Such an inquiry may shed new light on the prevailing American support of Israel and lead to a better appreciation of the significant roles played by religious groups in determining the relationship between the United States and Israel long into the twenty-first century.

The historical role of the Jewish people within the classical Christian ideological scheme of salvation history has constituted a crucial dimension in the history of Jewish-Christian relations. Many movements through Christian history postulated that the Jewish people constituted an insignificant or even sinister force within salvation history since the first-century rejection of Christ while others anticipated that a nationally restored Israel in Zion would play a key role in the apocalyptic Second Coming. Christian responses to the question of Israel’s ultimate agency in the *eschaton* and salvation history largely determined the nature of the historical relationship between Christians and Jews for most of two millennia.

Previous historians have recognized the primary differences which have existed between traditional Roman Catholic and Protestant ideologies with regard to both the eschatological function of Israel and the particular significance of Israel as apocalyptic agent in nineteenth and twentieth-century Evangelical premillennial dispensationalism. But apart from Dwight Wilson’s very brief allusion to it in *Armageddon Now! The Premillennarian Response to Russia and Israel Since 1917* (1977), no scholars have historically demonstrated the unique identification early American Pentecostals made with the Jewish people, Zionism, and later with the State of Israel as a direct result of the new emphases found in their twentieth-century ideology. No other historian has researched the unique subject of my dissertation.

In the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century many bewildered and discontented Americans expressed their disillusionment with much of Protestant Christianity's traditionally staid liturgical expression. They complained of the modern liberal trends toward higher criticism of the Bible and Darwinian evolutionism that had ruined the active Christian faith of many. But these years simultaneously witnessed an intensification of widespread revivalist expectation that God would soon restore the modern twentieth-century Church to its pristine apostolic first-century essential form and practice. The first solid evidences of divine intervention to effect apostolic restoration came on the very first day of the twentieth century at Charles Parham's Bible school in Topeka, Kansas. By 1906 news of the Pentecostal "Azusa Street" revival in Los Angeles, under the pastoral tutelage of Parham protégé William Seymour, a son of share-croppers and former slaves, had electrified tens of thousands across America, and Pentecostalist revivals would soon dramatically spread to parts of western and northern Europe as well as central Asia. By 1999, the Pentecostal movement worldwide included in excess of 500 million adherents among nearly every Christian tradition and was broadly recognized as the most important Christian religious movement of the twentieth century as demonstrated by David Barrett in his *World Christian Encyclopedia* [1982], in "A Survey of the 20th-Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit, with It's Goal of World Evangelization" [1988], by Harvey Cox in *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* [1995], and Walter Hollenweger in *Pentecostalism: Origins and Development World-wide* [1997], among a host of others. Projected to double in number by year 2025, Pentecostalism has not only transformed much of American Christianity but has become the commonly accepted "third force" in global Christendom.

The American Pentecostalist movement was birthed over the first decade of the twentieth century against the socially altering backdrop of spectacularly improving systems of transportation, industrialized manufacturing, the widened use of electricity and the telephone, the grip of corporate monopolies and the politically new American global expansionism. This indigenously American Christian movement sweeping through growing cities and towns surfaced amid the social caldron of rapid dislocation from rural to urban existence and found a ready market among the massive numbers of

domestic migrants and alien refugees filling the poorly equipped and overcrowded industrialized inner cities.

From Pentecostalism's most primitive foundational years in the early 1900s, it quickly established for itself a divinely sanctioned direct linkage with the Zionist aspirations for a Jewish State. This connection was observed even in the revivalistic ministry of Charles Parham and in the rapidly developed teachings of the "Latter Rain," which advocated that the contemporary days of Pentecost were, in fact, the Latter Rain counterpart to the Books of Acts "Former Rain" experience on the original Day of Pentecost in first-century Jerusalem. Viewing their "tongues-speaking" movement as the initial evidence of both the full restoration of the Church to its radical first-century apostolic nature and the pending culmination of salvation history in the immediate future, early Pentecostals seized upon the contemporary rise of Zionism in 1897 as a divinely issued and reliable witness that the ultimate moment of the *eschaton*, the truly last of the "last days," had arrived.

The Pentecostal romance with Zionism and the Jewish State that has ensued in all the decades since has survived the many challenges of the twentieth century with its fluctuations along the way as the winds of political, social and religious change have twirled and swirled this one-sided romance for a hundred years. My research historically demonstrates for the first time the earliest sources for the Pentecostal romantic sentiment toward Zionism and chronologically follows the bends and twists of this on-going and often uneasy romance over the twentieth century.

American Christianity generally ignored the early Pentecostalist revival finding it to represent the irrelevant and archaic emotional expressionism of lower-class religious enthusiasts. But the more hostile Evangelical and Holiness sects, those much closer to the aspiring Pentecostal movement both in terms devotion to biblical literalism and eschatological expectation, largely repudiated Pentecostals for arrogating to themselves Hebrew prophecy dispensationally thought to be fulfilled only in Israel's future millennial Kingdom. Yet Pentecostals relied more and more on their coincident connection with Zionism to reinforce their Pentecostal basis for existence. They considered the twentieth-century restoration of the Pentecostal "tongues" distinctive to the Church to have been divinely synchronized with the providential undertaking of the Jewish national restoration in Zion in preparation for the Second Coming.

Pentecostals deemed both restorations vital to global readiness for the messianic advent and the long hoped for utopian millennial renovation.

Until now no historian has systematically examined the twentieth-century Pentecostal romance with Israel in light of its full century of Pentecostal literature, or offered historical analysis of the related Pentecostal mood swings tempered by political, economic, and missiological events. A few historians have briefly critiqued Pentecostal political inactivity on Israel's behalf but no one has analyzed Pentecostalism's ideological need for Zionism's ultimate nationalist success to justify its own continued distinct existence. By the end of the twentieth century it was clear that a wholesale abandonment of the relevance of the Jewish State would force classical Pentecostals to not only rewrite their eschatology but to radically rethink their own historic self-understanding and motif for sectarian existence. Though as early as mid-century some leaders had sought to fully separate glossolalia from tension-filled eschatological expectations or high drama prophecy, the disastrous divorce of tongues and the *eschaton* was coming home to roost with Pentecostals long before century's end.

Not deemed historically significant for many years, scholarship largely ignored the Pentecostal movement until recent decades. Pentecostals themselves had not considered history relevant to their own religious significance since they regarded everlasting spiritual achievement far more crucial to the divine program than a mere record of chronological event. They also expected a very brief earthly future. Therefore, they put no emphasis upon historical analysis of their origins and place in history. With their leadership preoccupied with readying the world for the auspiciously imminent Second Coming, they saw no virtue in thorough record keeping, membership rosters, or even historical accounting. Initial in-house Assemblies of God (AG) histories were done by Carl Brumback only in 1947 and by William Menzies in 1971 while broadly acclaimed histories of Pentecostalism came only with non-Pentecostal Robert Mapes Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited* [1979]. The decades since have seen prolific Pentecostal historical works by esteemed historians like Walter Hollenweger's *The Pentecostals* [1988], Vinson Synan's *The Twentieth-Century Pentecostal Explosion: The Exciting Growth of Pentecostal Churches and Charismatic Renewal Movements* [1987], Donald Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* [1987], D. William Faupel's *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal*

Thought [1996], Gary McGee's two-volumed *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions* [1986, 1989], Edith Blumhofer's two volumed *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism* [1989] and *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* [1993], Grant Wacker's *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* [2001], Harvey Cox's *Fire from Heaven* [1995] and sociologist Margaret Poloma's *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas* [1989]. The Pentecostal histories of the 1980s and 1990s focused primarily on the fascinating origins and rapid spread of the Pentecostal movement. Some examined more particularly, as I do here, the evolution of the AG, the most influential and best-archived Pentecostal denomination. But no historical studies have labored in the field of my unique thesis, the century-long shifting romance of American Pentecostals with Zionism and the Jewish State. In addition to a full examination of the available Pentecostalist literature preceding the 1914 organization of the General Council of the AG, the entire collection archived denominational periodicals, educational materials, and General Council minutes and resolutions for the balance of the twentieth century have been carefully explored, examined, and catalogued as they relate to my research. This thorough investigation into the intellectual history of the Pentecostal romance with Zionism and the State of Israel, which leads to an understanding of the early Pentecostalist romantic sense of partnered identification with Israel, will shed light on political, economic, social, cultural, religious and historical concerns to mutually benefit the Jewish and Pentecostal worlds.

The AG religious movement figures largely in this dissertation because of: 1) its undisputed leadership role in American and global Pentecostalism, 2) its abundant supply of archived primary sources, 3) its strategic role as the historical bridge between the Pentecostal and larger Evangelical worlds, 4) the fact that analysis of its historical disposition toward Israel will demonstrate the full range of Christian ideology from modern Evangelicals on the left to hard-line Pentecostals on the right, and 5) the fact that American Pentecostalism is so vast and complex, it is necessary to narrow the primary research focus to the single largest and best documented representative of the American Pentecostal movement, the AG.

Historical investigation into the romantic Pentecostal ideological identification with Zionism and the State of Israel was accomplished chiefly by an examination of the relevant intellectual history of the AG, which experienced its “ups and downs” through the course of the twentieth century but most notably declined over the last quarter century. The AG was deeply impacted by both World Wars and the successful rise of the State of Israel. But it was also driven by its need for social acceptance and its experience with increasing affluence. The desire to be recognized as one among equals in Western Christendom led to the compromise of significant portions of its early ideology. The longing for social acceptance and the disappointing delay of the Second Coming combined with the prolonged political entanglements in the Middle East to cast an increasingly dark shadow over traditionally indiscriminate American Pentecostal support for Zionism. While rank-and-file Pentecostals tended to hold profound affection for Israel and the Jewish people, much of the AG leadership, official organs, and educational institutions were clearly backing away from the former positions. No other denomination but the AG had boldly proclaimed their firm conviction concerning the re-establishment of national Israel by drafting it directly into their primary theological statement in 1927. But the wisdom of this very early proclamation was increasingly challenged particularly over the last quarter of the twentieth century when the AG resolved to become more religiously active in the Islamic world. The social agendas of American Pentecostals mingled with their new affluence, public popularity, and missions to the Islamic world to motivate the AG to “soft-pedal” the Zionist themes of earlier times. What might be the long term effect of the relaxation of ideological commitment to Zion even as American Pentecostals are increasing numerically, becoming more influential financially, growing stronger politically, and assuming more and more national leadership positions, i.e., U.S. Attorney General, John Ashcroft?

My research into the shifting twentieth-century Pentecostal romance with Israel is an investigation into the ebb-and-flow of the ideological favoring of Zion, which Pentecostalism inherited from restorationist and Holiness Movement sources. This predisposition immediately proved highly valuable to the Pentecostal *raison d'être*. But by the end of the century, it appeared to many that official Pentecostal identity was virtually independent of any Zionist strand. I here explore just how Zionist ideology proved initially useful to the Pentecostal movement but also how the movement finally

seemed to outgrow its need of Zionism as it found social accommodation and an anchored position in society.

The analysis of the shifting Pentecostal romance with Israel is not in any respect a theological treatise but rather an analysis of the historical factors which compelled twentieth-century American Pentecostalism to initially embrace Zionism as a fellow-traveler on the road to the providential restoration of the divine program and yet eventually modify its posture so as to deliberately distance the leading American Pentecostal church from any official appearance of favoring Zion.

The following kinds of questions needed to be answered to substantiate the thesis of my research: Did early American Pentecostals make a romantic connection with Israel? Did they view Zionism as a correlative to Pentecostalism, e.g., did Pentecostals see the political revitalization of Israel as an eschatological counterpart to the church's true restoration? Did Pentecostals utilize the Zionist phenomenon as an apologetic for Pentecostalist self-definition? What catalytic causes and events periodically elevated American Pentecostal fervor for Zionist aspirations and the State of Israel over the twentieth century? Why did Pentecostal enthusiasm for Israel not result in overt Pentecostal political support or humanitarian efforts on the behalf of Zionism? Is there evidence that Pentecostal ideological commitment to Zionism was compromised over the last quarter of the twentieth century? If so, what were the contributing causes that led to the waning of Pentecostal ideological support for Israel? Is there historical evidence to suggest that the gradual drifting of Pentecostals into the Evangelical camp had the effect of cooling down Pentecostal fervor for Israel? If so, why? Were any efforts made among Pentecostal ideologues and activists to try to sustain or rekindle the Pentecostal ideological romance with modern Israel? If so, did their efforts succeed or prove disappointing?

In order to make full discovery of my thesis, it was imperative to search out and answer the following questions: What were the historical realities that led to the earliest Pentecostal sense of identity with Zionism and the Jewish people? How did these historical realities play out in space and time? What caused the Pentecostal identification with Zionist causes to slacken over the decades leading to World War II? To what extent can Pentecostal enthusiasm for Jewish Statehood in 1948 be related to the widespread American sympathy for anti-Semitic atrocities suffered by the Jewish

people? Was there genuine Pentecostal conviction that Israeli statehood foreglimped the Second Coming? How did the pursuit of social acceptance in the higher circles of recognized Christendom contribute to a cooling of Pentecostal enthusiasm for the Zionist efforts in the 1940s and 1950s? To what extent did the Neo-Pentecostals or Charismatics from the interdenominational churches in the 1960s and 1970s foster changes in the AG which caused classic Pentecostals to take yet another step backward from identification with the Zionist enterprise? How did the strong *Missio Dei* commitment of Pentecostalism initially link American Pentecostals and the Zionist cause?

Whereas the secondary literature to date is still not as plentiful, there is an abundance of primary Pentecostal literature readily available. The extant writings of AG ideologues and highly influential early personalities like Ralph M. Riggs and Ernest S. Williams (General Superintendents and educators), Frank Boyd and Myer Pearlman (key educators and prolific writers), and Stanley Frodsham (decades-long editor of the national periodical, *Pentecostal Evangel*), are readily available in their original form in the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, the official home of the AG Archives in Springfield, Missouri. The extant writings of significant spokesmen and major Pentecostal leaders of later years seeking to influence Pentecostal attitude toward the Jewish people, Zionism, and the Jewish State were readily found. The major collections of C. M. Ward and Dan Betzer (national radio broadcasters), David Lewis and Mike Evans (highly famed, politically involved, and prolific “prophecy” evangelists), Stanley Horton (much acclaimed theologian for the AG, editor and textbook writer), and vast collections of traditional educational literature and numerous periodicals virtually blanketing the length of the twentieth century, are all preserved for ready examination.

The two primary historical influences causing Pentecostals to be predisposed to favor Zionism, i.e., the early America as New Israel tradition and the nineteenth-century ideological themes such as premillennial dispensationalism, the Holiness Movement and apocalyptic restorationism, have been here surveyed to ascertain their measure of influence on the twentieth-century Pentecostal romance with Israel in the American social context of the era. The unique ideological distinctives axiomatic to classical Pentecostalism enhanced the Pentecostal romantic bond with Zion, the Jewish

people, and the State of Israel. These distinctives are here identified and historically validated.

An analysis of the collected writings, sermons, and widely distributed educational materials of twentieth-century Pentecostal preachers, teachers, evangelists, leading Pentecostal educational institutions and other highly influential voices in the movement, are analyzed within their social context and time period. Reasons for the absence of overt corresponding Pentecostal political or social action in support of Zionism also are specified. In addition to a complete examination of AG sponsored sources of ideology on the Jewish people, Zionism, and the Jewish State, the influences of other North American Pentecostal authors (e.g., Grant Jeffrey, John Hagee, Gordon Lindsay, etc.) and, just as importantly, the outstanding impact of highly prolific non-Pentecostals writers (e.g., Hal Lindsey, John Walvoord, Charles Ryrie) who likewise wielded tremendous influence upon Pentecostals, were analyzed in terms of their effects upon American Pentecostals such as those found in the AG.

My research demonstrates and historically proves that the contemporary rise of Zionism and Pentecostalism at the turn of the twentieth century helped to provide greatly needed ideological support for Pentecostal self-identification and *raison d'être*. Because of Zionism's under girding ideological significance to continued Pentecostal distinctiveness, American Pentecostalism proved to be an ideological ally and friend to the Zionist cause for much of the twentieth century. The comprehensive social history of the American twentieth century is viewed as the historical context for proper interpretation of American Pentecostal ideological developments.

HIGH DRAMA: THE PENTECOSTAL ROMANCE WITH ZIONISM

A significant key to four centuries of American self-understanding has been the historical Christian Evangelical conviction that a revived national Israel would rise in Zion in tandem with the culmination of salvation history. Integral to much of early American Puritan thought was an end-time miraculously re-gathered, revitalized, and reconstituted Jewish nation in Zion established by divine design. Eighteenth-century American greatly awakened revivalism envisioned that one of the chief but ultimate global accomplishments of Providence would be a renationalized Israel which, incidentally, offered important ideological support to the American revolutionary

cause. In both American premillennialism and postmillennialism a divinely reestablished Jewish nation had been associated with the culmination of God's will and the climax of salvation history. The expectation of a reconstituted Jewish State performed a most strategic function in the new nineteenth-century scheme of Christian teaching called dispensationalism. Dispensationalism, which accorded eschatologically utopian Israel successful and lasting nationhood in the anticipated millennium, swept across important segments of Evangelical Christianity particularly in the later decades of the nineteenth century. The national resurrection of a Jewish political entity in Zion occupied a minor but strategic place in the Christian thought of Americans in the centuries leading up to the twentieth-century birth of American Pentecostalism.

For apologetic reasons the early Pentecostals utilized Hebrew prophecies to explain their distinctive identity and unique purpose within Christendom. The rise of Zionism in 1897 with the promise of Israel's national restoration quickly linked Pentecostalism and Zionism in Pentecostal thinking. Pentecostals perceived of themselves as one of the two divinely ordained fraternal twin revitalization movements at the end of days. Zionism had captured the imagination of most Evangelical-oriented denominational groups particularly with the rise of dispensationalism, but Pentecostals had added enthusiasm since they sensed Zionism offered corroborating evidence to support their own distinctive religious experience and provided them assurances they had indeed entered the *eschaton*. Their glossolalia (speaking in tongues) pointed directly back to the first-century's Book of Acts and Day of Pentecost experience in Jerusalem. They believed the nineteenth-century religious anticipation of the Church's restoration to its pristine first-century Pentecostal apostolic fullness had finally begun in modern America in 1901. For Pentecostals, the concomitant Zionist call for the Jewish national restoration clearly demonstrated providential activity in both Israel and the Church in fulfillment of the Hebrew prophecy of Joel 2:28-29. The Pentecostal revival signaled to them the beginning of the long anticipated final restoration of the Church and the pending culmination of salvation history. The rise of Zionism offered "Latter Rain" Pentecostals their much-needed corroborating proof of their conviction that the instant of global redemption was at hand.

The importance of my study then is to help modern scholarship better identify and analyze the intellectual history of the shifting American Pentecostal ideology of

Israel. The growing strength of varied Pentecostal movements in the United States portends their future political weight and importance in the democratic process. It is crucial to watch their changes in ideology and related political sentiments as they are influenced by modern events, religious expediencies, or classical structures of Christian thought. Projected by the world's foremost Christian statistician, David Barrett, to universally number one billion by year 2025, the profound growth of Pentecostal-Charismatic influence around the globe will undoubtedly impact international political decision-making in the twenty-first century. It is crucial for historians, politicians, religious leaders and other academics to be appraised of the Pentecostal ideology of Israel and recognize what does and does not trigger its radical mood swings. Following some of the trends among the broader Pentecostal and Charismatic worlds, my research more carefully centers on the AG after 1914 since the AG has remained the single most influential Pentecostal denomination and by far the best archived and documented. The sheer vastness of the Pentecostalist universe as it has gathered universal momentum over the twentieth century has mandated a conscious and deliberate narrowing down of the field of investigation for the most promising research for my dissertation's limited purpose.

In order to offer historical analysis of the Pentecostal romance with Zionism and the Jewish State, I briefly recount in chapter one the American understanding of Israel's significance in the *eschaton* as advocated by both premillennial American Puritans and postmillennial revivalists like Jonathan Edwards. I also consider their ideological impact upon the American mythical justification for new world national existence as it affected both religious revivalism and the American Revolution. The gradual shift from postmillennial to premillennial emphasis in Evangelical Christianity over the nineteenth century, in large part through the shock of the Civil War and the widespread and rapid acceptance of dispensationalism, a new theological scheme partitioning providential activity into seven chief eras, principally set the stage for American revivalism's general embrace of Zionism at century's end. Seventeenth-century American Puritanism, eighteenth-century revivalistic postmillennialism, and nineteenth-century premillennial dispensationalism, all contributed to the American predisposition toward an envisioned Jewish nation as restored in Zion. American Pentecostals would come to join in this salute to an eschatological Israel in the end of days.

In chapter two I focus on the Pentecostalist ideology of Zionism between 1901 and 1917. The Pentecostalist worldview was informed by an intensified American global perspective resulting from the new imperialism associated with the 1898 Spanish-American War, the popularizing of the theme of the White Man's burden, and the new political and economic horizons, which came into view with World War I. Pentecostals were quite prepared to envision their own significance in universal and apocalyptic terms. The most logical format for Pentecostal global impact was to be found in the arena of worldwide Christian missions.

The profound influence of Darwinian evolutionary theory was felt not only in the purely scientific disciplines but in historical, social, and religious arenas as well. Higher biblical criticism borrowed the logic of evolution to offer new interpretations of Scripture that were welcomed by many Americans wanting to demonstrate their modernity and scientific reasoning abilities. But Evangelicals and Fundamentalists were appalled at the university and seminary academic readiness to dispute or discount the literalist interpretations of Scripture. Pentecostals lined up alongside the more conservative Christian elements.

Whereas the more liberalizing Protestants, with their evolutionist scheme of thought, were prepared to cling to the classical Augustinian supersessionist model of an obsolete Jewish Israel fully replaced by the Church in the divine economy, Pentecostals joined Evangelicals and Fundamentalists in adhering to the premillennialist literalism mandating the redemption and restoration of national Israel. Earliest Pentecostalism was quite distinct in that it accepted neither classical Christianity's treatment of Israel as entirely irrelevant to the ongoing story of salvation history, nor dispensationalism's categorical Church replacement of Israel in salvation history for a nearly two thousand year hiatus, from the first century until the Second Coming. Pentecostals were more prepared to view Israel as an unwitting present partner in the unfolding *eschaton*. Without a Pentecostal doubt, Israel would need to nationally repent and receive Jesus as Messiah but this need not take long or demand additional Jewish suffering. For the earliest Pentecostals, the salvation of national Israel was at hand since the Second Coming was at the door and he was now knocking.

For Pentecostals, the cessation of miracle-laden apostolic Christianity with the close of the first-century New Testament era had been a tragic error imposed on the

Church by misguided Greek and Latin religious clerics. They perceived that miraculous demonstrations of God's Spirit at work would have continued unabated beyond the first century in a more biblically faithful environment. Pentecostals felt perfectly free to reach beyond eighteen centuries of alleged faithless religious blunder to directly reconnect themselves with first-century apostolic Christianity in all its radical essence. The recent revival of the practice of tongues speaking confirmed for Pentecostals the divine intention to presently sum up salvation history with the full restoration of the Church to its original Pentecostal faith and practice. As corroborating evidence of the present generation's entry into the *eschaton*, Zionism now visibly functioned as the ideologically mandated counterpart to the apostolically restored Church. Most Pentecostals fully anticipated the corresponding successful and complete restoration of the Jewish nation in Zion.

In contrast to common Evangelical dispensationalist ideology, earliest Pentecostalism made no great emphasis on an escapist Christian rapture to heaven while Israel endured a seven-year period of severe chastening resulting from Jewish unbelief. Instead, early Pentecostals were prepared to witness the instantaneous culmination of all biblical hope with an immediate Second Coming as a newly Zion-based Christ would execute the utopian millennial expectations in keeping with the patriarchal promises. The first decade of Pentecostalism saw the development of a Latter Rain ideology suggesting that the two seasons of rainfall in Palestine fore glimpsed both the first-century "Former Rain" on the Book of Acts Day of Pentecost (Acts 2) and the coming of the "Latter Rain" twentieth-century Pentecostalism. The biblical promises of both national and spiritual restoration evidenced to Pentecostals that Zionism and Pentecostalism were the twin restorationist events in eschatological time and space to doubly announce the imminent Second Coming.

Pentecostals were slow to establish denominations due to their long-term suspicion of organized religion. But to better coordinate joint efforts for the support of ministerial training and the sending of missionaries around the world, the General Council of the Assemblies of God officially organized themselves in 1914 in Hot Springs, Arkansas. As early as 1916, two Jewish believers, Mark John Levy and Dr. Frances Murcutt, who both urged the AG to take to heart its evangelistic duty to the House of Israel, addressed the national body of the General Council in session. The

extensive coverage of Jewish missions in Pentecostal periodicals in these early years makes clear the AG did indeed accept the charge.

Simultaneously, early twentieth-century Pentecostals found themselves hard-pressed to find convincing justification for their distinctive teaching and identity in a world doubting their religious authenticity and contemporary relevance. When Pentecostalism was perceived as claiming to be spiritual heir to the newly revived Kingdom reality on earth, ridicule from Evangelical Christianity was rife. In its own defense Pentecostalism pointed to modern Zionism's call for the restoration of national Israel as corroborating evidence that Providence was at work restoring both Israel to nationhood in Zion and the Church to its lost Pentecostalist first-century heritage. These parallel restorations were fully setting the world stage for the Second Coming. The Latter Rain teachings championed a divinely established connection between Pentecostalism and Zionism—the fraternal restoration movements of God's often persecuted peoples. Pentecostals could only assume the Jewish people shared their Pentecostalist hope for a messianic monarch in a restored Zionist state. Allenby's 1917 rescue of miraculously undamaged Jerusalem had only underscored the providential activity behind the Balfour Declaration of 1917 to provide yet further affirmation of the forthcoming Zionist restoration and signify auxiliary legitimization to Pentecostalism.

Chapter three encompasses the Pentecostal romance with Zionism from the end of World War I through the end of World War II in 1945. From the end of World War I, and on the heels of the new popular American levels of international awareness, the Balfour Declaration, and the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine, Zionist advances and developments in the Land were profiled and highly celebrated in the Pentecostalist press. When in distinction to all other Christian denominations, the AG categorically demonstrated its support for Zionism by stipulating in its original 1927 constitution its expectation for the "salvation of national Israel," Zionism and Pentecost could now be officially regarded as in divinely ordered lockstep.

However officially supportive the AG was of Zionism throughout the 1920s and 1930s, growing anti-Semitism in Europe and the United States with the rise of Nazism did chill the outlook of many Pentecostals. Periodic outbursts of AG anti-Semitism such as dalliances with support for the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* found their way into an otherwise overwhelmingly supportive Pentecostalist stand for the Jewish people as

God's chosen and for Zion as the site of the current restoration efforts of national Israel. But the uncertainties of the immediate Jewish destiny in light of the severe Nazi threat from the 1930s compelled many denominationally minded Pentecostals to make a strategic retreat from a fuller identification with the Jewish people. Cautious Pentecostals wanted to avoid choking on their own prophetic words in the event of an ultimate Zionist debacle.

Like the Evangelicals and Fundamentalists of the 1920s and 1930s who despaired of theological training in universities or seminaries in light of Darwinian and higher criticism influences, Pentecostals too embraced an intensified literalist approach to Scripture and multiplied Bible institutes across America to train their own new generation of pastors and missionaries. The general lack of distinctly Pentecostal textbooks forced Pentecostal educators to borrow extensively from Evangelical or other publishers. This enabled many ministerial students to soon develop sympathies with much of standard Evangelical and dispensationalist teachings.

By the 1940s, Pentecostals had wearied of the four decades of social contempt they had endured from American society and Evangelicalism. They looked for a way to reinvigorate and revitalize Pentecostalism subsequent to the religiously depressing years of the 1930s that had both preceded and accompanied the economic depression of that decade. Their solution came with the invitation to officially join the newly forming National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942. The general Protestant impact on American government and cultural development had been dramatically diminished over time with the liberalizing influences of scientism and rationalism. Evangelicals felt the need to reassert Christian influence upon the American culture and thus formed the NAE to facilitate their ability to have an audible voice in American social, cultural, and political life. Many Pentecostals were eager to come alongside their fellow Christian literalists to finally articulate their long-muffled corporate testimony. Pentecostal acquiescence to Evangelical overtures now fortified earlier attempts by recognized AG leaders to impose dispensationalism upon Pentecostalism in the mid-1920s and 1930s. Pentecostals were increasingly prepared to rehabilitate their image by bringing their teachings into closer conformity with the broader Evangelicalism and widespread dispensationalism. The false impression fostered by nationally recognized teachers and administrators of total Pentecostal acceptance of dispensationalist eschatology caused

many Pentecostals of the era to accede to the relegation of Israel's redemption off to a post-Second Coming utopian future. Far from anticipating an immediate redemption of Israel with the Second Coming in keeping with the earlier Latter Rain culture, hope for Israel's promised destiny was delayed and substituted with an expectation of preliminary intensified Jewish suffering. Such a trend then enabled Pentecostals, like other Evangelical dispensationalists, to accommodate the sufferings of the Holocaust into the logic of their thought system. Yet no one was prepared for the kaleidoscope of horror and Jewish catastrophe produced by Nazi Germany.

In chapter four, I follow the shifting Pentecostal romance with Zionism and the Jewish State from the end of World War II up until the end of 1972. Israel's declaration of statehood was followed in this period by the three Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1956, and 1967 while another pending war was fearfully anticipated (the later 1973 Yom Kippur War). Pentecostal identification with Israel ran strong during moments of ingenious military victory but generally hurriedly relaxed during the protracted seasons of threats to Israel from their surrounding Islamic nations. As Pentecostals moved rapidly into the middle class economic bracket and moved up the social ladder with the rising American prosperity, common American awareness of the dangers of oil shortages to western economies likewise grew among Pentecostals.

The initial years of Pentecostal euphoria at Israel's 1948 declaration of statehood soon gave way to further ideological distancing of the Zionist entity from any twin restorationist identification with Pentecostalism. Many feared that should the highly vulnerable new state collapse under the overwhelming weight of political or military adversity, a Pentecostalism linked with Zionism could not only lose prestige but its own distinctive reason for being or *raison d'être*. When in 1948, a newly independent and highly energetic "New Order of the Latter Rain" Pentecostalist movement served to remind third generation Pentecostals of their social relaxation, spiritual negligence, and even rejection of their early radical beliefs and practices, the AG officially condemned the "New Order of the Latter Rain" Movement as wildly heretical as quickly as 1949 in major part to preserve the AG's own newly earned prestige and Evangelical image in American Christianity.

The fuller AG embrace of highly popularized dispensationalism was finalized in 1961 with the official rewording in the AG constitutional "Statement of Faith" to

mandate postponement of Israel's redemption until a future millennial utopia. This further officially inspired shift toward dispensationalism in Pentecostal ideology then philosophically allowed for a hypothetical second Jewish Holocaust in the twentieth century! Yet Pentecostals could readily ignore the dispensationalists' theological pessimism in support of a bleak seven-year future tribulation for Israel at the first sign of any recent Israeli military victory. The dejected projections of Israel's immediate future published in the Pentecostal press from 1952 to 1955 gave way to Pentecostal exuberance in 1956 with Israel's victory over Egypt. The gloom and doom projected from 1958 to May 1967 immediately dissipated with the lightening strikes of the Six-Day War. But within two years, darker forecasts had returned to the Pentecostalist press as events were leading up to the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

The decades of the 1950s and 1960s witnessed the rapid decline of the historical American churches such as Anglicanism (Episcopalianism), Methodism, and Congregationalism. The liberalizing influences upon their teachings had generated widespread disillusionment among their constituents who often still privately held to the more basic Evangelical convictions. Not only did the Evangelical and Fundamentalist biblical literalist churches greatly expand during these decades, but Pentecostalism exploded with new growth. Curiously, the 1949 AG nationally condemned "New Order of the Latter Rain" Movement gave rise to the widespread healing revivals of the 1950s and the interdenominational Charismatic Renewal Movement (CRM) of the 1960s and early 1970s. The 1948 "New Order" had differed from the early twentieth-century Latter Rain emphasis inasmuch as the later teaching generally ignored the importance of the rise of modern Israel and did not assign it providential creation. This disregard for Zionism and the Jewish State even after the world-astonishing events of 1948 established the pattern that much of the Charismatic Movement of later decades would follow.

In chapter five I trace the rapidly declining Pentecostal romance with Israel from 1973 to 1999 while noting the recent decade's potential for the official rekindling of the Pentecostal romance with national Israel. While the modernist Protestant circles tended to openly endorse the Palestinian cause, Evangelicals and classical Pentecostals remained fundamentally loyal to the Zionist convictions. Nevertheless, in stark contrast with the euphoria of the Six-Day War, many Pentecostals experienced anxiety over

Israel's national strength as Israel's flaws and weaknesses quickly captured the attention of the world in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The victorious little Israeli-David of 1967 had become the fallen military giant Israeli-Goliath by 1973. Any AG denominational publication of Pentecostal endorsements of Israel, her policies or even Zionist sympathies was not considered politically astute in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, the Arab Oil boycott, and in light of the stinging effects overt support for Israel could engender among world Pentecostal and especially hostile Islamic readerships.

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed the phenomenal rise of Evangelical and Pentecostalist televangelism, which typically endorsed Zionism as fulfillment of biblical prophecy and a sure sign of the Second Coming. Such powerful enterprises revealed the social and economic ascension Pentecostals had made within American society. The new political entities of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition both enjoyed overwhelming private and unofficial Pentecostal support and were quite vocal in their ringing endorsements and defenses of the Jewish State. But the international secular media's widespread contempt for Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon was highlighted by the much publicized Palestinian refugee camp massacres laid at the feet of Israel's military leader, Ariel Sharon. This secular media-cultivated barbaric image only made a revived Israeli Goliath look both vengeful and bloodthirsty to many Americans.

Having largely recovered from the long lines and high prices for gasoline stemming from the stinging Arab oil boycott by 1982, new American sympathies for Pentecostal evangelism in Islamic nations became evident with the AG establishment of the Center for Muslim Ministries, a foreign missions effort ostensibly focused on evangelizing the proclaimed one billion people of the Islamic world. Plainly, the AG hope for missionary success in Islamic nations was perceived as mandating the continued silence in AG publications on any latent AG organizational leadership sympathies for the Zionist enterprise throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The very strident expressions of Pentecostal affections for the divinely Chosen People of Israel would be limited to private, unofficial, and non-approved publications by particularly interested Pentecostal ministers and to the official continued AG denominational ringing endorsements of ongoing Pentecostal Jewish missionary efforts. The AG leadership

was able to control published expressions of Pentecostal enthusiasm for Zionism due to the increased centralization of denominational power that had been carefully cultivated over time and most effectively utilized.

The Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal of the 1960s and 1970s, with its immense impact across the entire American religious landscape, helped to resurface the postmillennial and even amillennial teachings among Neo-Pentecostals also known as Charismatics. Significant portions of the Charismatic Movement in the mid-1980s categorically rejected any ongoing significance of Israel in salvation history. This reaching back beyond traditional Pentecostal ideological Latter Rain foundations to the replacement ideology of classical Augustinian Christianity fully stunned long-established Pentecostal sensibilities. Coupled with the awakening reality in Pentecostal academic circles that the embrace of dispensationalism was counterproductive to Pentecostal *raison d'être*, scholars began urging redefinition of theological positions and clarification of Pentecostal ideology. By the 1990s, some leading AG academics had reinforced Pentecostal support for the salvation of national Israel, renewed the standard Pentecostal rejection of replacement theology or supersessionism, and affirmed Jewish missionary work in the interest of Israel's full eschatological redemption, in the very face of new Charismatic challenges to traditional Pentecostal ideological tenets concerning Israel and in spite of the media's hostile coverage of the *Intifada*.

My study shows that during periods in which the Zionist reality appeared militarily vulnerable, politically susceptible, and in potential national jeopardy, Pentecostals tended to grow strangely quiet as if their own future mandated a muted response. But on the fewer occasions of Israel's exhibition of might and prowess, the fraternal spirit of Pentecostal restorationism would flood her published pages. For Pentecostals, a robust Israel suggested the ultimate victory associated with full restoration and the nearness of the Second Coming while a fragile Israel conjured up a sense of defeat and despair for Israel's immediate national well-being. Such despondency subjected Pentecostals to the same dispensationalist pessimism of yet more Jewish suffering enroute to the ultimate redemption.

My research illustrates the ideological struggles concerning Israel within Pentecostalism. Historicist dispensationalism, with its emphases on the diversification of providential undertakings in seven distinguishable eras and its marked divorce

between Israel and the Church in the divine economy, thrusts Israel's national redemption off to the millennial and utopian future thus allowing for periodically renewed and ongoing seasons of Jewish suffering prior to Israel's ultimately secure national establishment. Non-historicist early Pentecostal restorationism, which viewed the divine restoration of Israel as entirely relevant to the Pentecostal apostolic restoration of the Church, and envisioned Israel and the Church working in tandem as fraternal twins of God's dual works of restoration, posited that Israel's promised redemption was imminent and without need of further delay. My study also demonstrates that Christian missions to Jewish communities worldwide were integral to the Pentecostal ideology of Israel throughout the twentieth century as restorationist Pentecostals felt obliged to prophesy the *Ruach* of God into the nationally reformulated dry bones of a spiritually disoriented Israel.

My research reveals the distinct natural affinity and common interests Pentecostal restorationists had with Zionism and the Jewish State in contrast to the balance of twentieth-century Christendom. Classical amillennialists had dismissed Israel as having no ongoing meaning or significance to salvation history and regarded national Israel, therefore, as entirely expendable to Christianity and often a political nuisance. Postmillennialists often viewed Israel's true meaning as manifesting only at the conclusion of a thousand year march of Christian global victory. Premillennialists typically anticipated a regathering of Israel to Zion in final victory but only after a future period of intensified Jewish suffering culminating in Israel's national salvation at the Second Coming. But in contrast, the early non-historicist primitive restorationism of Pentecostalism anticipated a simultaneous restoration of the Church to its first-century apostolic essence and the Jewish people to their nationally restored home in Zion without any particularized need for intensified Jewish suffering or perpetuated ethnic agony. Pentecostal restorationists believed that the Church, pristinely restored to its Pentecostal first-century essence, faith, and practice, was in league with the Zionist undertaking to fully restore national Israel. The ultimate twin successes of Pentecostalism and the Jewish State were understood, particularly in earlier Pentecostalism, to be the divinely ordained fraternal twin projects of the twentieth century to bring salvation history to its rich culmination.

At the end of the twentieth century, the Pentecostal movement known as the AG was in romantic turmoil over its obviously uncertain and vacillating identification with its Israeli partner. Dramatically faulted for the AG's speculative but now largely silent fantasy over continued relationship with national Israel by a newer generation of dispensationalism-rejecting Charismatic tongues-speakers, AG intellectuals began to awaken to the dreadful realization that Charismatic Pentecostalism had fully adopted a supersessionist ideology, entirely discounting any continued significance for national Israel—early Pentecostalism's perceived vital fraternal twin partner in God's eternal program of salvation history. But a wholesale disregard for national Israel jeopardized early Pentecostalism's own mythical origins and *raison d'être*. At the end of the twentieth century a newly developing inquiry into the Israel-Pentecostal relationship shows promise. AG academics and national leaders at the highest levels are intuitively and intellectually recognizing the eternal bond that must exist between national Israel, international Jewry, and Pentecostals if the Pentecostal movement *per se* is to have any integrity or continued legitimacy.

Chapter One:

SOURCES OF THE PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY OF ISRAEL

To understand American Pentecostalist ideology as it relates to twentieth-century Israel and the Zionist enterprise, we must trace Pentecostal convictions back to their ideological roots through seventeenth-century Puritan historical premillennialism, eighteenth-century New Light postmillennialism, and the nineteenth-century holiness and dispensationalist schools, with their common tenet of the religious conversion and national restoration of the Jewish people.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PURITAN MOORINGS: THE PROMISED LAND

One of the main sources for the Pentecostal Romance with Israel was the Puritan movement. New World Puritans came to identify themselves with both biblical and eschatological Israel. Over the centuries Puritan ideological identification with the Jewish people helped foster an American cultural empathy with the Jews that became woven into the fabric of American religious ideology and passed like a baton to succeeding generations. What were the sources of this Puritan bonding with the Jewish people? How did this nexus develop? How was it buttressed?

Puritan ideologists laid the foundation for American revivalist thought concerning the eschatological role of the Chosen People and national Israel that would later characterize the Pentecostal ideology of Israel in the twentieth century. American Puritans inherited from their English forebears and borrowed from their contemporary English counterparts devotion to a primitivist restoration of first-century Christianity, a literalist interpretation of Holy Writ, and a worldview that included a Providence yet active in space and time. Restorationism and conviction of providential activity in the real world conditioned Puritans to anticipate a partnership with the Chosen People involving both ongoing Jewish participation in salvation history and Israel's national restoration in Zion. The Puritans or their progeny and the eschatological Jewish

remnant of the apostle Paul's "all Israel" of Romans 11 were to be conjoined in the great summation of human history and final accomplishment of providential victory.

THE INHERITED PURITAN IDEOLOGY OF ISRAEL

The Protestant Reformation historiographers regarded the Book of Revelation as the authoritative guide to human history and its revealed apocalyptic *eschaton* as the unveiling of salvation history. While neither Luther nor Calvin foreglimpsed the national conversion of Israel in Scripture, Martin Bucer at Cambridge and Peter Martyr at Oxford did understand Scripture to reference a future calling of Israel. In 1560, the English and Scot Protestant leaders produced the Geneva Bible which declared in the margins alongside Romans 11:25,26, "He sheweth that the time shall come that the whole nation of the Jews, though not every one particularly, shall be joined to the Church of Christ."¹ British clerics contended that pure apostolic Christianity had been transferred to England well before the seventh-century Roman Catholic infringement.² The pre-Catholic apostolic origins of English Christianity suggested a strong post-Reformation English role in the climax of providential history.³ The destiny of Israel in the drama of the historically interpreted *eschaton* provided a new and exciting image of the Jews as a corporate and key apocalyptic agent in the Puritan construction of salvation history.⁴

British Protestant John Foxe (1516-1587) had suggested in his *Acts and Monuments* [1563] that England played the role of the eschatological Chosen People, the elect nation, to the extent the English and salvation history were identified and indistinguishable. In contrast to other Puritan and Protestant apocalyptic writers, Foxe suggested no unique role for "all Israel" in salvation history other than what had

¹ Cited in Iain Hamish Murray, *The Puritan Hope: A Study in Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (London: Banner of Truth, 1971), 41.

² Avihu Zakai, "The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel: the Role of the Jews in English Apocalyptic Thought during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 5 (1996): 333. For studies in English historiography see J. R. Hale, *The Evolution of British Historiography* (London, 1967), 11; F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought* (London, 1962), 17; Arthur B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perceptions of Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, 1979), 171; John F. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, 1982), 407.

³ Zakai, "The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel," 313-315.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 336-337.

already transpired in centuries past.⁵ The English Puritans had originally embraced their mother-land, Great Britain, as the Promised Land and the British as the Chosen People. While God's Old Covenant people of Israel had failed God and delayed the ultimate triumph of his program for the ages, the British would heed the call, take up the prophetic mantle, and, as God's global agents, usher in the millennial age.

Puritans of the more traditional Augustinian persuasion understood that the ultimate Jewish conversion to Christ to which Paul attested in Romans 11:25-26 would become a reality leading to a spiritual rather than a national restoration of Israel. Rather than reconciliation to the Land, "all Israel" would be reconciled to a greatly enhanced universal Church. Others saw the final reconciliation of God and Israel in Christ to portend universal blessing for all nations; a world in which all mankind would be joined in the Kingdom of God in submission to Christ.

By mid-seventeenth century, Reformed theology had generated belief in a pending Second Coming that would be preceded by the salvation of national Israel. Peter Martyr's *Commentary upon Romans* [1568] helped prepare the way for Puritan adoption of the conversion of the Jews theme.⁶ From 1590 to 1660 many Puritans in England anticipated a Jewish restoration to biblical Zion either before or simultaneous to national repentance and faith in Christ.⁷ Those advocating a pending millennial kingdom envisioned the Jewish return to Israel's awaiting Messiah Jesus and to Zion as the first major event and introduction to the millennial reign of Christ in Jerusalem.⁸

The New England Puritans inherited the doctrine of the covenant from the British and regarded themselves chosen of God. A pact between God and his faithful ones in the new American Israel was patterned on the covenant between God and biblical Israel. As the elect of God, they advocated lives of virtue and righteousness in response to the sustained faithfulness of Providence. As in biblical history, calamity would give cause to Puritan introspection to discern how the covenant community had missed the providentially drawn mark.⁹

⁵ Ibid., 338-340.

⁶ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 42.

⁷ Robert M. Healey, "The Jew in Seventeenth-Century Protestant Thought," *Church History* 46 (March 1977): 76.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1992), 116.

For generations English Puritans were able to tenaciously cling to their wholehearted hope that the British people and crown would awaken to do God's work. It was expected that this would necessarily mandate national repentance and the pursuit of biblical righteousness, justice, faith in the Head of the Church, and the kingdom of God. However, when Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was deposed, Puritan hope that Britain would function as the agent of global redemption and serve as the seat for the administration of God's universal light and truth quickly dissipated. Disillusionment with hopes for Britain fostered Puritan dejection. Increasing numbers of British Puritans felt compelled to depart for the New World where God would finally set his devoted Puritan saints fully free to establish a new world order and build there a "Citty vppon a Hill" to correspond to their apocalyptic New Jerusalem.¹⁰ According to Avihu Zakai, "Having failed to execute the true reformation in England, Puritans turned their gaze on the New World."¹¹ The Puritan realization that the stage of providential history could not be hosted in apostate England compelled many Puritans to "establish a new center of sacred time and sacred space in the wilderness of America"¹² and led to Providence's sacralizing of New England in Puritan ideology.

According to Theodore Bozeman, the earliest Puritan settlers' chief motivation for making the transatlantic move was the opportunity to practice New Testament (NT) faith devoid of the apparent mandatory religious ceremonies and other cultural baggage that time and tradition had foisted on Christianity. Puritans longed for the first-century forms of evangelism, worship, Church order and discipline.¹³

THE PURITAN PURSUIT OF PRIMITIVE RESTORATIONISM AND ISRAEL IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE CHOSEN PEOPLE AND THE RESTORATION OF NATIONAL ISRAEL

The Puritans chiefly longed for an environment where a full restoration of primitive Christianity could be regained without the incessant interference of

¹⁰ Michael J. St. Clair, *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 268.

¹¹ Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, 8.

¹³ Theodore Dwight Bozeman, "Biblical Primitivism: An Approach to New England Puritanism," in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988): 25.

ecclesiastical establishment or state meddlers. Their objective was to model or demonstrate the pattern for the idealized New Testament Church. Their fully restored apostolic Church would enlighten the nations and foster universal faith in Christ as the Massachusetts Bay Colony experiment would typify idealized biblical Israel and inspire both the redemption of national Israel and the world of nations. Whereas Catholics and Anglicans would readily appeal to history and tradition, the Puritans were ready to bypass both in their earnest desire to go back to the “first” or “primitive” order of things as seen in the Book of Acts.¹⁴

According to C. Leonard Allen, biblicist primitivism has been largely overlooked by those seeking a pervasive pattern in Puritan thought. He contends primitivism underlaid and shaped most of the Puritan issues.¹⁵ Once the desperate Puritan reformers ventured across the Atlantic to a free and open setting devoid of religious persecutors, they endeavored to capture the primitive Christian freedoms.¹⁶ Puritans never seemed to tire of reflection on the golden days of biblically primitivist Christianity. Nothing was to encumber Christian practice unless it was based on clear biblical precedent.¹⁷

Puritans took up the cause of Christian primitivism with consistency and vigor; the rallying cry being, “that is true, whatsoever is first.” The genuine means to spiritual purity and the *eschaton* was the regaining of the ancient and humanly unspoiled ways. The appeal went straight to the apostolic period, “when all things were pure” and unstained by human corruption.¹⁸ Seventeenth-century Puritan documents reveal primitivist idealism to be the common foundation to Congregationalist concerns.¹⁹ Like their Pentecostal heirs, because Puritans could not find cooperation from either the

¹⁴ Ibid., 22.

¹⁵ C. Leonard Allen, “Roger Williams and ‘the Restauration of Zion,’” in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 33-34.

¹⁶ Bozeman, “Biblical Primitivism,” 26-27.

¹⁷ Ibid., 24-25.

¹⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹⁹ Ibid., 26-27. Several of the early fuller and more authoritative formulations of the Congregationalist way were the “*Model of Church and Civil power*” (1634 or 1635), John Cotton’s *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644), John Norton’s *Answer* (ca. 1645), Thomas Hooker’s *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* (1648), and *A Platform of Discipline Gathered out of the Word of God* (i.e., the “Cambridge Platform,” (1648).

Church establishment or society, they “turned their backs, not only on the established Church, but on society at large.”²⁰

The English Puritan religious dissenters envisioned a three stage unfolding of Church history. Stage one was the primitive Church’s encompassing the whole of Scripture and on to the fourth-century Constantinian era. Stage two was the era of Church decline and Roman Church apostasy. Stage three was the time of restoration or recovery, which was believed to have commenced with the Reformation.²¹ English Reformers predating the Puritans had appealed to Christian primitivism, to the “first, original and most perfect state.”²² In turning toward an American setting to create their idealized covenant community,²³ the American Puritan New Israel, like the Israel of old forced to flee Egyptian tyranny, considered itself to have been delivered out of bondage and providentially carried through the sea, to complete the stalled work of the Reformation.²⁴

According to Theodore Bozeman, John Cotton’s (1584-1652) *God’s Promise to His Plantations* made clear Cotton’s interest in the restoration of the Church and covenant community life over against any sense of pending eschatological fulfillment or the millennium.²⁵ Yet Puritan millennialism was the zenith of restorationist hope and the New England enterprising venture a restorationist movement. So much like the later Pentecostals, for the conservative John Cotton, the “old,” the “first,” the “original,” and the “ancient” provided the norm. Cotton’s view of Church history was “a reversion, undercutting both Catholic and Anglican appeals to a continuity of tradition, to the first, or primitive, order of things narrated in the Protestant Scriptures.”²⁶ But the apocalyptic vision for the millennium offered hope for a final victory of primitivist purity and simplicity in which a changeless pattern of biblical practice could be located

²⁰ Avihu Zakai, “The Gospel of Reformation: the Origins of the Great Puritan Migration,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37:4 (October 1986): 592.

²¹ Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 245.

²² Bozeman, “Biblical Primitivism,” 22-23.

²³ Zakai, “The Gospel of Reformation,” 592.

²⁴ Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 161.

²⁵ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 220.

²⁶ Franklin H. Littell, “The Power of the Restoration Vision and Its Decline in Modern America,” in *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, ed. Richard T. Hughes, (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 53.

and lived.²⁷ The Puritan restorationist ideals and practices were pregnant with themes of unity since the unity of the Covenant people was perceived as vital to genuine restoration.²⁸ The Puritan interest in millennialism was linked with such primitivist goals since the Protestant restoration would find its fulfillment in the final “reversion to primordial conditions.”²⁹

The Massachusetts Bay Colony soon became the chief focus and new geographic center for the fulfillment of salvation history. All the divine hopes originally vested in Israel and later transferred to the British, were now passed on and were to be executed by their Anglo-Saxon progeny in New England. New England then would function as the New Israel, the Chosen People, a city set on a hill, a light to the nations, the designated agents of the Kingdom of God. Strict compliance with biblical law accompanied by submission to Christ in the New World would combine to generate a double-edged witness to the nations: (1) the establishment of the God-centered model nation to demonstrate the wisdom and value of national submission to God and (2) the primary Christian mission agency to impact all mankind with the Gospel thus preparing the nations to make their respective allegiances to the universal messianic monarch.

Biblicist primitivism largely fueled Roger Williams’ protests against “human invention” in true religion.³⁰ Williams’ primitivist vision was the abiding conviction and foundation for much of his polemics. The task now, Williams believed, was not to found Churches but to denounce religious error and to wait for God’s impending restoration of “lost Zion.”³¹ Christianity could only be restored as the New Testament primitive Church was revitalized. Because of Christ’s incarnation, Williams claimed, “the New Testament alone is the ‘true paterne’ for the life of God’s people. It contains ‘the lights, patternes and presidents to all succeeding ages.’”³²

Williams was persuaded that in the restored pristine age, visible signs as in the Book of Acts would manifest God’s presence. He advocated that upon the reemergence of New Testament Christianity, not only would divinely reissued zeal and courage be

²⁷ Bozeman, “Biblical Primitivism”, 28-29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁹ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 18.

³⁰ Allen, “Roger Williams and ‘the Restauration of Zion’,” 34.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 35.

upon God's people, but the Spirit would "powre forth those fiery streames againe of Tongues and Prophecie in the *restauration* of Zion." (*Bloudy Tenent*, 3: 307).³³ Only God could recreate his Church into his intended maidenly and spiritually pristine condition that would climax in the commissioning of new apostles and the Second Coming.³⁴

PURITAN LITERALISM IN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION AND ISRAEL

A profound influence upon Puritan thought in the seventeenth century was the growing Protestant enthusiasm for Hebraic studies.³⁵ Although the numbers of Jews in the New World were small, the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic Judaism proved to be significant influences upon American Puritan ideology.³⁶ The seventeenth-century Protestant enthusiasm for Hebraic studies led to both the Christian observation of Hebrew's usefulness for Christology and the model the Hebrew Bible afforded those anxious for a divinely established theocracy. Investigation into rabbinical literature proved useful for Christian eschatology too in that it suggested a literal restoration of the Jewish people to ancient Zion in a manner consistent with a literal interpretation of Paul's Romans 11:26, "all Israel shall be saved."³⁷

Not everyone was pleased with the effects of the concretizing Hebraic influence. Some divines preferred to simply perpetuate the allegorical interpretations that required no new accommodation of the Jewish people nor called for an ultimate Jewish restoration to Zion. For example, Robert Baillie (1599-1662), professor at Glasgow, argued that a Jewish restoration to Zion was as vain a notion as Christian Torah observance and was in direct conflict with the teaching and character of the Gospel. Rather than a Jewish national conversion and return to Zion, Baillie insisted the Bible was to be allegorically or spiritually understood and not revert to earthy Jewishness.³⁸ But the growing English interest in Hebraic studies helped foster a rabbinic pollination

³³ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

³⁴ Williams's views on the restoration process are laid out in his tract, *Queries of Highest Consideration* (1644).

³⁵ Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660* (London: James Clarke, 1970), 23.

³⁶ Frank E. Eakin, Jr., "Judaism's Christian Problems During the Colonial Period," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 8 (Spring 1981): 101.

³⁷ Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 23-24.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 107.

of Christian apocalypticism, as is evidenced in Hugh Broughton.³⁹ Broughton (1549-1612), the first nominated English missionary to the Jews of the Levant, proposed translating the New Testament to Hebrew for Jewish consumption. Although the English bishops denied his Puritan wishes for missionary assignment, his *Commentary on Daniel* [1596] inspired further investigation into the question of Jewish national conversion and the *eschaton*.⁴⁰

Protestant reformers reintroduced divine importance to history. Conviction that God was working within time and space provided new meaning to eschatology, the apocalypse and the millennium, and gave new significance to the Jewish people in Puritan thought.⁴¹ After Paul's "all Israel" would nationally embrace Christ in concrete terms, a new venue would open for both Jews and Christians upon earth. Biblical apocalyptists advocated that sometime during a second millennium (1300-2300 C.E.) a great battle would take place between the Turks and their allies and a restored Jewish nation in Zion. God himself would intervene to miraculously rescue his people. This national salvation would climax in the full conversion of "all Israel" to Christianity and the ultimate restoration of the Jewish nation. A rebuilt Jerusalem would become the international center of godly piety and true religion and the center of a faithful universe. The Second Coming would occur at the conclusion of salvation history when the resurrections of saints and sinners, universal judgment, and the assigning of the judged to eternal heavenly or hellish destinies, would all be experienced in space and time.⁴²

As an example of the utter readiness of historically-minded English Christians to de-allegorize the Book of Revelation and fully concretize the apocalypse, the extremist "Fifth Monarchy" faction anticipated an immediate Second Coming, Jewish conversion, and a new millennium.⁴³ John Eliot (1604-1690), a Fifth Monarchist enthusiast, wrote in *The Christian Commonwealth* [1659] of his hope that the New Jerusalem would soon touch upon the American landscape but such fanatical ambition met with both state and ecclesiastical resistance. The Fifth Monarchists, self-identified as a "Chosen People" divinely called to establish a New Jerusalem, were interested in the Jewish

³⁹ Zakai, "The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel," 342.

⁴⁰ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 42.

⁴¹ Zakai, "Reformation, History, and Eschatology in English Protestantism," 306.

⁴² Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 30.

⁴³ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 48-49.

people. There is little evidence the Fifth Monarchists had any concern for the Jewish reentry to seventeenth-century England as they were primarily fascinated with the prospect of the apocalyptic Jewish conversion and national return to Zion. In spite of their enthusiasm for the Jewish national embrace of Christ, since the unworthy Christians had been so “polluted, profane, and filthy,” there was no purpose for sending contaminated missionaries to the Jews until the “great Whore, the city of Rome” had been destroyed.⁴⁴

By the third and fourth generation of American Puritanism, Puritans were not just idealizing a past pristine New Testament Church but anticipating a coming millennium and a literal one thousand year reign of Jesus from Zion. Divine intervention to radically differentiate the present age from the millennial age was essential for the Church to be restored to its “first Patterne”; the time when the regenerated saints would be separate from the world. As C. Leonard Allen clarified, “Under the Spirit-filled preaching of new apostles, a great influx of converts from the nations of the world would swell the ranks of the Church.”⁴⁵ As Catherine Albanese has written, “The millennium became a way to hope for the restoration of the past by transposing it into the time to come.”⁴⁶

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PURITAN MILLENNIALISM AND A CLOUD OF WITNESSES TO ESCHATOLOGICAL ISRAEL

Among the Puritan millennial intellectuals, the Second Coming was variably understood to be a powerful and dominating spiritual presence, a literal reigning physical presence, or a limited physical presence to effect divine judgment. Thomas Brightman (1562-1607), English apocalypticist and Fellow at Queen’s College, Cambridge, from 1584,⁴⁷ was the first important influence on a new British understanding of a pending millennium in which the Kingdom of God could be fully operational on planet earth within a generation.

⁴⁴ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 71-72.

⁴⁵ Allen, “Roger Williams and ‘the Restauration of Zion’,” 46.

⁴⁶ Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 117.

⁴⁷ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 26.

While Brightman emphasized the spiritual restoration of Israel, there seemed little Puritan intellectual doubt regarding the conversion of Israel and the related significance of Israel in the *eschaton*. However, two questions remained: (1) would Israel be nationally restored in Zion, and if so, would Zion's rebuilding occur prior, simultaneous, or subsequent to the Second Coming? and (2) to what extent would Israel be connected to the Church's revitalization and global impact in the world? Would the restoration of miraculous powers and speaking in tongues in the Church accompany a spiritually revitalized Israel?

Brightman provided English Puritans a coherent scheme of providential history and a sense of saintly corporate importance at the anticipated moment of millennial advent.⁴⁸ Brightman advocated that the drama of salvation history would be played out over time with the Kingdom of God rising to its full glory on earth. This understanding afforded the Puritans a sense of personal involvement in the cataclysm between the powers of good and evil, between Christ and anti-Christ.⁴⁹ Rather than putting their hopes in fallible princes, Puritans were encouraged to be engaged in advancing the Reformation cause.⁵⁰ In Brightman, apocalyptic prophecy and human action in time and space were the two legs needed to walk into the reality of the eternal providential objective. The challenge to Puritan enthusiasts was unmistakable as Puritan proactive engagement on earth could bring in the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Apocalypse within their own generation.⁵¹ The Kingdom of God could soon be fully realized and come to its richest and ultimate expression.

Brightman reintroduced the Jews back into the space and time of salvation history by assigning the sixth vial of the Book of Revelation to the religious conversion of "all Israel" as immediate prelude to the millennium. He was deeply convinced the millennium was on the immediate horizon and that the Puritans were duty-bound to do everything possible to facilitate the prophesied global redemption within their own era.⁵² Brightman was persuaded that Jerusalem would be wholly restored, the Jewish people would fully embrace Jesus, and that the earth would be "filled with the

⁴⁸ Zakai, "Reformation, History, and Eschatology in English Protestantism," 312-313.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 314.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 317-318.

⁵² Zakai, "The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel," 342-343.

knowledge of the Lord.”⁵³ By transforming the role of “all Israel” into a very positive apocalyptic agent in sacred history, Brightman influenced Puritan and American Protestant ideology for centuries.⁵⁴ His eight reasons why Christians should engage in efforts to evangelize the Jewish people included Brightman’s tenet that the divine covenant with Abraham had never been cancelled but only suspended until its full operation in the *eschaton*.⁵⁵ Brightman based his conviction of the Jewish conversion to Christ and the restoration of the Twelve Tribes upon Ezekiel’s vision of dry bones in Ezekiel 37.⁵⁶

German born Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638) is regarded as a father to modern premillennialism.⁵⁷ In his *The Beloved City* [1643] Alsted referenced Jewish apocalyptic literature in support of his persuasion that the Jewish people would nationally embrace Christ and experience deliverance from the antichrist.⁵⁸ Alsted linked the literal thousand year millennial reign of Christ of Revelation 20 with the national conversion of Israel and advocated that Jewish national conversion would transpire during the millennium and subsequent to the demise of antichrist.⁵⁹

Joseph Mede (1586-1638), who had studied at Christ’s College, Cambridge, proposed a future millennium inaugurated by the literal Second Coming, i.e., premillennialism.⁶⁰ Mede’s *Clavis Apocalyptica* [1627] soon fostered premillennialist ideology on both sides of the Atlantic. Mede used rabbinical writings to equate the (seventh) millennium with Judgment Day in his version of the *Key of the Revelation* [1643].⁶¹ During the millennium, bounded at its beginning by the resurrection of the faithful and at its end by the resurrection of the wicked for judgment, there would be a strong spiritual presence of Christ upon the earth. While Mede did not hold that Christ’s presence would be a visible one, he did allow that Christ may briefly appear to set up his Kingdom and gather Israel to himself.⁶² Mede contended in *The Mystere of St Paul’s Conversion, or The Type of the calling of the Jews* that just like the obstinate Paul, the

⁵³ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 31.

⁵⁴ Zakai, “The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel,” 343.

⁵⁵ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 119.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵⁷ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 51.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 52,54.

⁵⁹ Zakai, “The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel,” 347.

⁶⁰ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 48.

⁶¹ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 60.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 61.

Jewish people would have their corporate Damascus Road experience and miraculously become obedient to Christ. As the last nation to yield, Israel would prove to also be the most zealous for Christ. The new Jewish corporate faith toward Christ would provide an astonishing international witness leading to the general conversion of the last of the Gentile hold-outs. Even Christian Rome would accept reproof for its idolatries from the Jewish nation of prophets.⁶³

Mede's quickly developing association of Puritan ideas connected national Jewish conversion with revitalized Church expansion and an initiation of the millennium at the Second Coming.⁶⁴ By this literal reign of Christ on earth a new world order would be established.⁶⁵ But, as in later Pentecostal form, Mede went further to also advocate that the Church would experience the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy (2:28-32) with a new outpouring out of the Holy Spirit and revitalization of the *charismata*.⁶⁶ To Mede, the New Jerusalem depicted in the books of Ezekiel and Revelation was not a metaphor for the Church but the literal Zionist capital city of Christ's thousand year reign in a fully restored Israel.⁶⁷ He insisted that the recouped Jewish people would be the agency for bringing the entirety of mankind to Christ.⁶⁸ He anticipated a spiritual reunification of a redeemed Israel with the purified Church in the New Jerusalem. Providence would be at work in both camps to ultimately bring them together.⁶⁹ The more literalist Americans proclaimed the Jewish people would be fully restored in concert with the Second Coming.⁷⁰ The writings of Joseph Mede, reportedly the ablest student of biblical prophecy of his generation, thrust the future millennium into the fore of Puritan thought.⁷¹

John Cotton (1584-1652), vicar of Boston, Lincolnshire, for 21 years, and later pastor in Boston, Massachusetts, was under Brightman's influence. Cotton's millennium was to enter the cosmos by grace and Holy Spirit-inspired preaching

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 48-49.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁶⁶ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 64. The *charismata* are the spiritual giftings listed in I Corinthians 12 and Romans 12.

⁶⁷ Reiner Smolinski, "Israel redivivus: the eschatological limits of Puritan typology in New England," *New England Quarterly* 63 (Spring 1990): 370.

⁶⁸ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 218-219.

⁶⁹ Zakai, "The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel," 346-347.

⁷⁰ Smolinski, "Israel redivivus," 363-364.

⁷¹ Robert Middlekauf, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596-1728* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1971), 333.

following the destruction of both the Papacy and the Turks and the Jewish conversion to Christ. Like Brightman, Cotton anticipated a brief return of Christ just long enough to render judgment upon mankind.⁷² He preferred a return to primitive Christianity and the gradual development of God's earthly kingdom to an end-time cataclysm. It was Cotton's conviction that the calling of Israel to NT faith would initially find fruit among the lowest members of Jewish society and gradually extend upward toward more socially eminent Jews even as sound teaching and proper regard for the NT ordinances would work their way slowly through the nations.⁷³ Cotton stressed New England was to be the site for the fulfillment of the biblical prophecies concerning Israel. After 1640, however, he extolled biblical Israel more as a moral pattern exemplifying the pursuit of godly values.⁷⁴

Sir Henry Finch's text, *The Calling of the Jews* [1621],⁷⁵ was the first occasion of making the conversion of "all Israel" a book's chief theme in which Israel, Judah, Zion, and Jerusalem were earthly realities not to be allegorized away. According to Finch, following the destruction of Roman idolatry and 350 years of Turkish tyranny,⁷⁶ the entire Jewish nation would literally turn to Christ. The Jewish Church would enter its latter-day glory, be doctrinally pure and basking in spiritual graces. Happy and prosperous the Promised Land would be fully populated and fertile. The spiritual revitalization of Israel through faith in Christ would foster a spiritual rebirth of the nations as they turned to Christ and honored God's Chosen People, Israel,⁷⁷ even as the Jewish people would be the agency for bringing the entirety of mankind to Christ.⁷⁸ All resisting enemies would be subdued.⁷⁹ An unhappy King James arrested Finch and his Presbyterian publisher, William Gouge, since James imagined the book to advocate royal subservience to Jewish overlords. Finch and Gouge were later released unharmed

⁷² Ibid., 36.

⁷³ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 244-245.

⁷⁴ Lowance, *The Language of Canaan*, 162.

⁷⁵ The longer title was, *The Calling of the Jews. A Present to Judah and the Children of Israel that joynd with him and to Joseph (the valiant tribe of Ephraim) and all the house of Israel that joynd with him. The Lord give them grace that they may returne and seek Jehovah their God and David their King, in these latter dayes.*

⁷⁶ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 32-33.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 33-34.

⁷⁸ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 218-219.

⁷⁹ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 33.

but their suppressed writing became well known to the Cambridge Puritans in the 1630s in spite of royal efforts to limit its effectiveness.⁸⁰

Finch's *Great Restauration* [1621] exceeded Brightman in describing the millennial reign in which Christian Jews would universally co-reign with Christ as kings and monarchs. The Gospel would be taken by example or military force to the ends of the earth until there were no nations opposing Christ's reign. Thus, Israel would obediently resume the mission of the biblically elected nation. Finch was the first English advocate of a literal Jewish restoration to Zion.⁸¹

With curious implications for later Pentecostalism, first generation American Thomas Shepard's (1605-1649), *The Day Breaking* [1647], queried which might come first, the conversion of Israel or the universal ingathering of Gentile nations. This was a contemporary concern since Indian resistance to the Gospel had been attributed to three primary deficiencies: 1) the need for Israel's prior conversion, 2) the need for Indian achievement of "civilization," and 3) the need for restored first-century miraculous powers and speaking in tongues.⁸² Here is witnessed a Puritan linkage between Israel's conversion and the restoration of first-century-styled Holy Spirit manifestations.

Robert Braille (1599-1662), Scottish divine, professor and principal at Glasgow University, embraced Jewish conversion with resultant benefit to the Gentile world but saw no need for a Jewish national return to Zion nor for a literal Second Coming with Christ ruling from Zion.⁸³

In an address to the House of Commons in October 1652, British cleric John Owen (1616-1683) spoke of the main characteristics of the pending season of Zion's glory: fullness of peace to the Gospel faithful, pure ordinances and worship, the conversions of nations, the rejection of all will worship, the subjection of the entire world of nations to Christ, the Scion of David, and the destruction of all that opposes him.⁸⁴ Owen's interpretation of the sixth vial (Revelation 16:12) called for the conversion of the Jewish people universal to Christ but did not require their return to

⁸⁰ Ibid., 32.

⁸¹ Zakai, "The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel," 347.

⁸² Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 38.

⁸³ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 50.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 39.

ancient Zion. He was content to have “all Israel” become outstanding Christian Church members.⁸⁵

Owen co-authored the *Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order* [1658]. He did not see the *eschaton* as being ushered in by a divine shaking of the nations but rather the Kingdom of God’s inauguration would be more gently accomplished by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts (Zech. 4:6) who would subdue men’s souls by spiritual power. The same outpouring of God’s Spirit upon mankind would lead to the national regeneration of Israel in Christ and the massive turning of Jewish souls to salvation in Jesus.⁸⁶ Yet Owen did not anticipate a physical return either of Israel to Zion or of Christ to reign on earth. Christ would only appear to all at the *eschaton* to execute divine judgment upon all ungodly opposition.⁸⁷ But again the salvation of corporate Israel was linked to renewed outpouring of the Holy Spirit in anticipation of the Second Coming even as advocated by twentieth-century Pentecostalism 350 years later.

American Puritan Increase Mather’s (1639-1723) *The Mystery of Israel’s Salvation Explained and Applied* [1669] advocated a returning of the Jewish people to Zion subsequent to their embracing of Christ. Focusing on Romans 11:25-26, Mather insisted that a literal interpretation was always to be preferred to an allegorical one. Therefore, he insisted the universal Jewish population would be restored to possession of the Promised Land as understood by Abraham.⁸⁸ He rejected any suggestion that the Church had replaced Israel in God’s economy. Jewish blindness was but a temporary problem as Israel’s national salvation had been eternally established by divine covenant. The Providential call to Israel “according to the flesh” to accomplish her mission would soon be heard by a responsive Jewish world.⁸⁹ Mather wrote that the redeemed nation of Israel would become “burning and shining lights” to surrounding Gentile nations and that God would establish churches in Zion in all locales and personally function as Defender.⁹⁰ As wonderful a type as the return from the Babylonian captivity had been, it could only pale in comparison to the ultimate

⁸⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁸⁶ Toon, *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 38.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 38-39.

⁸⁸ Smolinski, “*Israel redivivus*,” 365.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 365-366.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 380-381.

fulfillment of the antitype with the Jewish return to Zion at the appearance of Christ in the *eschaton*.⁹¹

Mather was convinced that the conversion of the whole nation of Israel was forthcoming. The traditionally persecuted Jewish people would then be the “most glorious Nation” in the earth and be held in highest esteem and honor among all nations. He assured his readership that his ideology of Israel was consistent with the apostolic doctrine.⁹² By 1676, Mather was prepared to assign America the mission of forerunner of the New Jerusalem. This led to the locating of apocalyptic meanings in current events, an art that would be well practiced in twentieth-century Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism.⁹³ Mather insisted that the conversion of “all Israel” was nothing new to Christian thinking but simply receiving new attention.⁹⁴ He was preoccupied with Israel since he saw in Israel a biblical type of New England. As late as 1695, Mather remained convinced that diaspora Jewry would regather as a nation in the Promised Land of Canaan and be party to the blossoming of the desert. In 1709 Mather responded to reports of Jewish conversions to Christ in Europe with his published sermon, *The Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation*.⁹⁵ By 1710 he was on public record as saying the national conversion of “all Israel” was then occurring even as the present diminishing of the anti-christic Pope and the hundreds of Jewish conversions to Christianity in Hamburg evidenced. All this foreglimpsed a religious revival that would lead to the commencement of the millennium⁹⁶ as the Second Coming was at hand.⁹⁷ Increase Mather believed that the conversion of “all Israel” would precede the Second Coming and Christ’s earthly kingdom.

Samuel Sewell (1652-1730), as a colonial Puritan, wrote in his *Phaenomena* [1697] that America could become “the seat of the Divine Metropolis” during the millennial reign of Christ.⁹⁸ Sewell added that the light-bearing Jews would “be entrusted with

⁹¹ Ibid., 368.

⁹² Ibid., 364-365.

⁹³ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 68-69.

⁹⁴ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 44-45.

⁹⁵ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 183.

⁹⁶ Middlekauf, *The Mathers*, 181.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 330.

⁹⁸ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 68-69.

great Empire, and Rule in the World.”⁹⁹ He labeled as “perverse” the concept of replacement theology, e.g., supersessionism, indicating that apocalyptic New Jerusalem was to be so named due to its essentially Jewish majority population.¹⁰⁰ But its geographical location, he hoped, would be America’s Mexico.¹⁰¹ He was unique in locating a literal New Jerusalem in the Americas but was in harmony with the Puritan majority in heralding the Jewish millennial leadership of the new earth. The key to a redeemed universe lay in the Jewish conversion to Christ and was directly linked with the revitalized and restored Jewish nation.¹⁰²

Cotton Mather (1663-1728), American Puritan pastor and son of Increase, greatly rejoiced that his preface “Return, O backsliding Israel” to his *Faith of the Fathers* [1669] had reportedly been instrumental in bringing a single Jewish conversion to Protestantism.¹⁰³ As late as 1696 a prostrated and praying Cotton Mather was still hopeful for Jewish conversion to Christ as reflected in his July 18 entry into his *Diary*:

This day, from the dust, where I lay prostrate, before the Lord, I lifted up my cries: For the conversion of the Jewish Nation, and for my own having the happiness, at some time or other, to baptize a Jew, that should by my ministry, be brought home unto the Lord.¹⁰⁴

As early as Mather’s 1690 sermon, “The People of God,” he proclaimed the role of Christian communities in all locales to be a “Surrogate Israel” so as to function as an “Israel of God.”¹⁰⁵ This was not a pandering of replacement theology since Mather was still persuaded at this time that Israel’s best days were still ahead. Rather, since Israel had failed in her mission thus far, God had the alternate means of shining his light through the local churches in all ages.¹⁰⁶

Mather’s 1691 sermon, “Things To Be Look’d For,” cited foreshadowings of the Second Coming in local happenings and world events. Current signs suggested the *eschaton* may commence in 1697 with its idealized millennial economic fairness, social justice, and communal harmony.¹⁰⁷ His early eschatological views were reflected in his

⁹⁹ Smolinski, “*Israel redivivus*,” 380-381.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 366-367.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 379.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 380.

¹⁰³ Middlekauf, *The Mathers*, 341.

¹⁰⁴ Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, 100-101.

¹⁰⁵ Edmund S. Morgan, *Puritan Political Ideas, 1558-1794* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 240-241.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 238-239.

¹⁰⁷ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 69.

unpublished 1703 manuscript, *Problema Theologicum*. The Second Coming would be signaled by the collapse of the Roman papacy, the cessation of Turkish hostilities against Christendom, and, importantly, the dramatic growth of the Church as a result of the national conversion of all Israel.¹⁰⁸

Mather used metaphor and allegory to establish clear parallels between biblical Israel and American Israel.¹⁰⁹ Millennial expectations were heightened about 1715 with the growing ecumenical unity between Christian groups, a given requisite for millennial bliss, and the bold proclamation by Joseph Mede that the Second Coming had been calculated for 1716. At the same time, William Whiston had calculated the prophetic fall of the papacy (the antichrist) to be slated for the very same year. Mather scanned the horizon for evidence of diminishing Turkish strength and the conversion of the Jewish people. Electrifying reports from Western Europe suggested numbers of Jews were now embracing the messiahship of Jesus. All this created immense eschatological tension for Mather.¹¹⁰

Cotton Mather's worship songbook, *Psalterium*, organized and utilized Hebrew Bible English songs to highlight the millennial reign of Christ and the conversion of the Jews.¹¹¹ At this time Cotton Mather believed the Second Coming would be a literal and personal return of Jesus to earth. He did not make Jewish conversion a contingency for the Second Coming but in *TriParadisus* wrote that either first-century Hebrew Christianity fulfilled the prophecies of Jewish conversion or that the Jewish nation would nationally convert after the imminent Second Coming.¹¹²

After the 1723 death of his father, Increase, Cotton Mather took public issue with the need to see the national conversion of the Jewish people as a required prelude to the Second Coming. Such a position, he insisted, generated spiritual danger and encouraged backsliding Christians who might vainly suppose Christ would thereby be forced to delay his coming. In contradistinction to Increase Mather's *A Dissertation concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* [1709] in which Increase countered English metamorphorists, Cotton Mather penned in his June 21, 1724, diary entry:

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1984), 171.

¹⁰⁹ Lowance, *The Language of Canaan*, 167.

¹¹⁰ Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, 303.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 304.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 416.

The glorious Lord has led me into fuller Views than I have ever yett had, and such as I have exceedingly longed for and asked for, of what shall be the true State of things in the Kingdome. And I am now satisfied, that there is nothing to hinder the immediate Coming of our Saviour, in these Flames, that-all bring an horrible Destruction on this present and wicked World, and bring on the new Heaven, and the new Earth, wherein shall dwell fight Righteousness. I purpose quickly to write on these things.¹¹³

Mather wondered if America would play a significant role in the eschatological drama¹¹⁴ and was taken with Samuel Sewall's hope that America would be the logical place for the coming New Jerusalem. This hope became a major theme in Mather's *Magnolia* [1702], *Theopolis Americana* [1710], *The City of Refuge* [1716], and *India Christiana* [1721].¹¹⁵ Mather revamped his earlier eschatological views regarding the national conversion of the Jews. His breaking in 1724 with the elder Mather's insistence on the required conversion of the Jews prior to the Second Coming may have been strongly motivated by his sense of the imminency of Jesus' return. Adopting a more metamorphorist opinion, Cotton Mather now believed that the prophesied Jewish conversion had probably already occurred with the first-century Jewish Church and that contemporary Jewish national conversion was unlikely.¹¹⁶

Cotton Mather believed New England to be the site for the New Jerusalem and the capital of the millennial messianic kingdom. He envisioned streets of pure gold in the holy American city. But as apocalypticism was losing some of its luster in the early eighteenth century, other ministers challenged Mather's eschatology insisting that Ezekiel had made it plain the New Jerusalem must be in Judea, not America.¹¹⁷ Near the end of his life he modified his expectations downward and speculated that perhaps even the American mission had already climaxed.¹¹⁸

Unlike his grandfather, John Cotton, who had regarded New England to be the antitype of Old Israel and who expected the imminent Second Coming, Mather established the analogy between New England and Israel without advocating as strongly that Massachusetts Bay was to be transformed into the millennial kingdom.

¹¹³ Cotton Mather, "Problema Theologicum," 24, and *Diary*, 2:733. Quoted in Reiner Smolinski, "Israel redivivus," 385.

¹¹⁴ Middlekauf, *The Mathers*, 342.

¹¹⁵ David E. Smith, "Millenarian Scholarship in America," *American Quarterly* 17 (1965): 540.

¹¹⁶ Smolinski, "Israel redivivus," 386-388.

¹¹⁷ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 70.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

His use of types suggested that the Israelite theocracy had only moral or spiritual significance, so that New England could not flatter herself into believing that she had usurped all the scriptural promises to Israel.¹¹⁹

SUMMARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PURITAN MOORINGS

The Puritans developed an ideology that embraced the ultimate victory of God over all earthly and spiritual opposition. They understood that the British and later their American successors were to function as the newly Chosen People working in cooperation with the Creator for the eternal betterment of all creation. The Puritans believed Providence was at work in space and time and concerned with earthly matters as well as heavenly. The Scriptures were not to be allegorized into abstraction beyond all Hebraic recognition but to be taken literally. While many Puritans expressed unquestioned confidence in the eventual national conversion of the Jewish people to Christian faith, some saw no need for a literal national return to Zion or even for a literal Second Coming beyond what may be minimally necessary to effect divine judgment upon a rebellious universe. More Puritans were ready, however, to anticipate a literal Jewish national return to Zion since the original recipients of the divine promise had understood them literally. Literal interpretation of Scripture implied a complete restoration of Israel to the very real estate promised to the patriarchs. Israel's restoration after nearly two millennia would result from her new relationship with Christ, the previously rejected King of Israel. But the spiritual transformation of the Jewish people would follow or immediately precede national restoration to Zion. The Second Coming would ultimately assure the proper execution of every divine promise to the Hebrew patriarchs and prophets.

Meanwhile, the American New Israel was to be patterned along the biblical lines of ancient Israel, model its social and legal system upon the Torah in the new wilderness, and fully honor Christ as King in the new Promised Land. While reflecting God's desire for the nations as a New Israel and radiating God's aspiration for mankind's redemption as a functional version of Book of Acts Christianity, the American Chosen People were to universally manifest God's best display of both a

¹¹⁹ Lowance, *The Language of Canaan*, 165-166.

faithful Israel and a faithful Church. Most importantly for my thesis is the continually braided three-strand ideological expectation in American Puritanism connecting the eschatological (1) Spirit-inspired supernatural revival of Book of Acts empowerment, (2) the restoration of the Jewish nation in Zion, and (3) the Second Coming.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN REVITALIZATION: REVIVAL AND REVOLUTION

Rather than do an exhaustive history of the Great Awakening, Methodism, or the Revolutionary period, my intent here is narrowly limited to (1) tracing the perpetuation of American identification with Israel and the Jewish people through the eighteenth century and (2) identifying the indigenous American religious sentiments and practices that were later inherited by and came to characterize American Pentecostals in the twentieth century.

The Pentecostal revival of the early twentieth century was heir to both Edwards' millennial ambitions and Wesley's hunger for encounter with the Spirit of sanctity. These aspirations would contribute to the creation of a later worldwide Pentecostal movement that would potentially rival the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation in historical importance and numerical impact. While not espousing Jonathan Edwards' postmillennialism, twentieth-century Pentecostals would embrace the same messianic motif of global redemption as American mission and destiny. Early Pentecostals would view themselves as the American people destined by God to ignite the fires of revival and spiritual renewal the world over as prelude to the Second Coming.

The message of personal sanctification characteristic of John Wesley's Methodism inspired later generations of Pentecostal Americans to anticipate a grand new encounter with God's Spirit to affect not only private piety but a restoration of primitive New Testament Christianity leading to successful global evangelization immediately preceding the Second Coming. The refreshing revival streams of the Great Awakening continued to irrigate the seeds of redemptive hope planted among the succeeding American generations. In concert with both Edwards' millennial hope and Wesley's primitive restorationism, the ideologically conceived revitalized nation of Israel would come to reassert its prominence in a redeemed world. Pentecostals would

later embrace Israel's Zionist aspirations and identify them with both the pending Second Coming and establishment of the millennial kingdom.

EDWARDS AND WESLEY: THE BRIGHTEST OF THE NEW LIGHTS

Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) wrote *Some Thoughts Concerning the Revival of Religion* [1742]. Edwards exalted the current religious revival, later known as the Great Awakening, above anything previously known in New England. He was sure this portended a glorious transformation of the world into the "Latter Day Glory." The millennium would undoubtedly commence in America where the present spiritual renewal registered such a strong signal of the imminence of the kingdom of Christ. The New Lights of the era were persuaded that this remarkable revival of biblical faith and profound religious experience, with its "multitudes flocking to Christ," was but "the earnest," "the dawning," "the prelude," "the forerunner," of what would ultimately culminate in the manifested millennial kingdom of God on earth.¹²⁰ The present revival was precursor to God's glorious renewal of mankind, which would begin in America. Edwards' postmillennial perspective would influence the American revolutionary corporate mind a generation later.¹²¹ When the fires of revival eventually cooled, Edwards no longer felt compelled to locate the coming millennium in America. But Edwards still embraced the postmillennial hope of a progressive reordering of the universe that would finally result in the defeat of the forces of evil in real space and time.¹²²

C. C. Goen has established that Jonathan Edwards envisioned the seventh age of the Book of Revelation as a millennial age for the Church to enjoy on earth within the time and space of history.¹²³ In his scheme millennial bliss would be achieved prior to the Second Coming as a direct result of universal Gospel preaching. Such a perspective

¹²⁰ Nathan Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 28-30.

¹²¹ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 71.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 35.

¹²³ C. C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology" (*Church History* 28, March 1959): 37.

would foster great Christian hope for an improved world and simultaneously call American Christians to a far grander sense of responsibility for the outcome of history.

Jonathan Edwards' *History of the Work of Redemption*, published posthumously in 1774, affirmed the ultimate re-establishment of the Jewish State in conjunction with their group conversion to Christ.¹²⁴ Ernest Lee Tuveson [1968] pointed up the long held American Christian persuasion that the Second Coming was contingent upon the spiritual conversion and regathering of Israel in Zion. That is, before the Church could really come into its own millennial destiny, all Israel must be nationally reconstituted in Jerusalem. This, he contended, was a source of great consternation and frustration to Christians who consequently held the Jewish people responsible for the delay of the kingdom and the corresponding millennial benefits. One way to skirt the Jewish rebellion against God's program was to provide a surrogate New England nation in the interim period. Accordingly, the satanic adversary could still meet with total earthly defeat by means of the newest chosen nation walking in faithful obedience to God while national Israel's redemption yet awaited her repentance and faith.¹²⁵

Certainly Jonathan Edwards, whom Paul Johnson has labeled "the man who first preached the Revolution," longed for a realized eschatology, that is, a world in which the kingdom of God was fully operational. Christians needed to be working toward a greatly improved and universal godly society with deliberate focus upon the climactic Second Coming at millennial end. According to Johnson, the American Revolution was the political and military expression of the Great Awakening.¹²⁶

The Great Awakening did generate keen eschatological tensions as the monumental religious revival was itself regarded as a sign of the pending millennium. The Kingdom of God was "at hand" declared a 1743 manifesto signed by seventy confident Christian ministers. Although later generations would shift their thinking away from Edwards' New Light postmillennialism, American Christians would come to identify the eschatological fulfillment of Scripture as characterized by an era of dramatic and widespread spiritual revitalization of the American faith community.

¹²⁴ Smolinski, "Israel redivivus," 367-368.

¹²⁵ Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role*, Reprint 1980 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 138-139.

¹²⁶ Paul Johnson, "The Almost-Chosen People," *The Wilson Quarterly* 9:5 (Winter 1985): 82.

John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism

John Wesley, a revivalist contemporary with Edwards, believed the revival of his day was a divine corrective to the traditionalist national Church. A break with the religious formalism and trite moralism was necessary for the genuine Gospel of grace to be released to continue the Reformation's objective and effect the recovery of pristine New Testament Christianity.¹²⁷ The early Wesleyan Methodists were primitivistic inasmuch as they relied upon the Scripture itself as the "sole rule of faith and practice," a Wesleyan religious philosophy that would dramatically impact new generations of Evangelical Americans for the next two centuries and beyond. The Methodist pursuit of the first-century apostolic Church would be inherited, borrowed, or re-invented by great sectors of American Christianity so as to make its pursuit a permanent feature of the American Evangelical religious spirit. The Methodist restorationist and primitivist influences were spread by self-educated preachers who embraced the straightforward biblical teaching of salvation but failed to see the significance of thorough studies of Church history or speculative theologies.¹²⁸

Donald Dayton directly connected Wesleyan restorationist and primitivist conviction to the early twentieth-century Pentecostal preoccupation with the restoration of the apostolic faith from the earliest moments of Pentecostalism six and seven generations later. Wesley's advocacy of original, true and primitive Christianity, was based upon his conviction that the Christianity of the first four (Ante-Nicene) centuries was the work of God himself. Man's idolatrous theological trappings soon militated against God's pattern and model for the redeemed messianic community.¹²⁹ From Wesley's perspective, it was after the fourth-century Council of Nicea that the Church and Christian religion became corrupted, distorted, and pulled down by the weight of humanly inspired religious baggage. But those under Methodist holiness influences in later generations, like the American Pentecostals, would freely by-pass even early Christian centuries and go directly to the first-century Book of Acts for a pattern to emulate.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Albert C. Outler, "'Biblical Primitivism' in Early American Methodism," in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988): 132-133.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹²⁹ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1987), 41.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Wesley was more interested in early Christian models for holy living than in the *charismata* of first-century Pentecostalism, as important as he regarded spiritual experience to be. Yet Wesley openly contended with those who disputed the reported continuation of the miraculous and spiritual manifestations in the three patristic centuries following the Book of Acts. He insisted that such spiritual dramatics were only discontinued after the Council of Nicea as a result of the spiritual coldness and mere religious formality of the Church's power-broking establishment.¹³¹ But spiritual liberation was considered even more significant than political freedoms.¹³² The shouting, falling down, or "being slain" experiences during public worship were considered indications of intense spiritual assurances resounding within. As in later Pentecostalism, such spiritual assurance was the believer's expected experience since it was regarded as the work of the very present Spirit of God.¹³³

The Great Awakening had demonstrated that fervent evangelism and spiritual revitalization could transpire without dependence upon intellectually disciplined clergy. In fact, the seminary-trained religious leaders appeared too rationalistic or spiritually limited. The more liberating atmosphere surrounding the untrained preachers yielded the higher enthusiasm and religious innovation that were taken as signs of divine activity. To these more intensely evangelistic congregations and denominations, the end of the world was imminent.¹³⁴ The early Methodists assigned their numerical successes to their devoted pursuit of the power manifested in first-century apostolic Christianity.¹³⁵ That message struck a very responsive chord in the American psyche. Methodism was perceived as a leaven that would revive a pure and primitive Christianity in colonial America among various Protestant groups.¹³⁶ Methodism's sense of mission was revisited by grand "Spirit-filled" moments in prayer or evangelistic worship services. The revitalized Christianity the Wesleys had

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹³² Emory S. Bucke, ed., *History of American Methodism*. Vol. 1 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), 298.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 299-301.

¹³⁴ Edwin S. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 129.

¹³⁵ Outler, "'Biblical Primitivism' in Early American Methodism," 137.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

introduced spread by word of mouth as new enthusiasts recruited still others seeking spiritual solace and the touch of God.¹³⁷

John Walsh demonstrated that George Whitefield and the Wesleys broke with ecclesiastical tradition in many respects and incorporated extemporaneous prayer, intimate group fellowship, the singing of freshly composed hymns with contemporary sound, and mobile services rather than fixation on one location. So characteristic of their twentieth-century Pentecostal progeny, the Methodists sought to abandon the traditional Christian dour face and stature in favor of enthusiastic emphasis upon the joys of Christian faith to make it clear that one walking in God's light had unspeakable happiness.¹³⁸ Charles Wesley's hymnody put emphasis upon assurances received by Holy Spirit witness to the human spirit. There were prayers directed to the Holy Spirit which fostered the expectation of divine visitation by spiritual fire. Recognition of the Spirit's habitation of the regenerated believer was appreciated yet the Holy Spirit's fuller coming for a grander possession of the believer was still anticipated.¹³⁹ Methodism helped set the stage for Pentecostalism.

The new communal order of brothers and sisters was regarded as a prelude to the family-of-God experience in the coming Kingdom in Zion.¹⁴⁰ The Methodist mention of Zion evoked the imagery of God's Chosen people in biblical Israel as well as eschatological Israel in Zion, the New Jerusalem. Spiritual identification with the Jewish people fostered a sense of Christian fraternity with Israel in terms of the ultimate mission to the still unredeemed world. God's New Israel, the redeemer nation, embraced the ideology of a Christian America, *The Nation with the Soul of a Church*. The Methodists then saw themselves as enjoying a Hebraic-type redeemer nation status in covenant relationship with God. They anticipated that the moving of God's Holy Spirit, which they claimed to be already experiencing, would soon more profoundly sweep over America and the world. This socio-religious theological understanding of reality would be generationally channeled to American Protestants for the next two centuries

¹³⁷ John Walsh, "'Methodism' and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism," *Evangelicalism*, Mark A. Noll, et al, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 30-34.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 27-30.

¹³⁹ Herbert McGonigle, "Pneumatological Nomenclature in Early Methodism," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 8 (Spring 1973): 67-68.

¹⁴⁰ Richard E. Richey, "The Four Languages of Early American Methodism," *Methodist History* 28:3 (April 1990): 157.

and profoundly impact Pentecostal ideological expectations for both Israel and the Church.¹⁴¹

John Fletcher (1729-1785), a protégé of John Wesley and his chosen theologian, advocated an approach to Scripture akin to later dispensationalism that provided a platform for eschatological themes such as the Second Coming.¹⁴² Fletcher's eschatology, according to Donald Dayton, exalted the original Day of Pentecost of Acts 2 to a defining event for the history of the Church so that it compared to the first coming in significance. Pentecostals would later seize this emphasis in support of their distinctive theological emphasis upon the Acts 2 experience of glossolalia in association with global evangelism and the Second Coming.¹⁴³

IDENTIFICATION OF THE BIBLICAL VISION OF ISRAEL WITH THE NEW AMERICAN DREAM

The civil millennialism of the revolutionary period can be traced directly to the Great Awakening religious revival of the 1740s. A strong sense of American destiny captivated the New Lights that then translated into the development of religious patriotism in the aspiring American republic.¹⁴⁴ The New Lights, such as Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, and their successors, reawakened the powerful sense of American mission and destiny first instilled by the New England Puritans and passed that intense fervor to a new generation of Americans.¹⁴⁵ After the French wars, preachers made regular reference to "British Israel," suggesting the British were also part of God's covenant people.¹⁴⁶ The idealization of British civil and religious liberty reached maturity in the 1740s and 1750s with ultimate liberties to be fully realized with the coming civil millennium.¹⁴⁷

Throughout the eighteenth century there were continuing premillennialist voices following in the tradition of Increase and Cotton Matter as well as Michael Wigglesworth, e.g., *Day of Doom* [1662]. The premillennialists fully anticipated a

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 164-165.

¹⁴² Fletcher was the first to use the terminology "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" in conjunction with sanctification and spiritual assurance.

¹⁴³ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 150-151.

¹⁴⁴ Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, 25.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 48.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 51.

Second Coming and millennial reign but only following a cataclysmic season of destructive fire, God's pouring forth of wrath upon human sin when the idolatrous creations of men would be annihilated by the consuming fire of God's judgment. Characteristic of later American premillennial dispensationalism, Increase Mather also anticipated a departure of the true Church, the "Bride of Christ," into the heavens to escape the fire and brimstone so deserved by the unfaithful. Premillennialist writers of the period offered no images of a gradually improving universe; only a cataclysmic eschatological Second Coming to execute judgment upon the nations for offenses against the Creator, the full restoration of a spiritually regenerated Israel, and the commencement of a thousand year reign of Christ in Zion.¹⁴⁸ In 1727 Joseph Sewall sermonized that recent earthquakes were signs of the approaching Second Coming. All should be spiritually readied as a day was soon forthcoming when the world would witness widespread Gospel preaching, an abundant outpouring of divine graces upon the nations, and the salvation of all Israel with certain residual benefit to non-Jews since the salvation of the Jewish people would herald an opening of heaven's blessings upon all mankind, including New England.¹⁴⁹

THE TRANSFORMATION OF *REVELATION* TO *REVOLUTION*

The millennial expectations resulting from the Great Awakening would fuel the demand for dramatically improved living circumstances to benefit Americans first and the world of nations second.¹⁵⁰ The Great Awakening had brought together peoples of diversified ethnic and cultural backgrounds for the first time across colonial boundaries. Paul Johnson has contended that George Whitefield's ecumenical style and continental celebrity helped shape political unity among the American populace. According to Johnson, the American Revolution was not so much political as religious since the spiritually revitalized American society shared common beliefs, standards, and attitudes while the larger ecumenical Christian ethic of liberty transcended

¹⁴⁸ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 75. But this should not obscure the reality that many postmillennialists also viewed the arrival of the glorious millennial future only through the prism of a dark and dreadful season of distress or persecution. Postmillennial optimism did not necessarily translate into easy escapism.

¹⁴⁹ James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 116.

¹⁵⁰ Paul Johnson, "The Almost-Chosen People," 82.

sectarian dogmatism.¹⁵¹ Their corporate capacity for religious pluralism lent itself well to the ideals they would later mutually support in their quest for nationhood. The altered religious sense of obligation to mankind, fostered by the Great Awakening, laid the foundation for the “spirit of ’76.”¹⁵²

In the 1750s both pulpit and press were used to offer jeremiads calling Americans back to the earlier generational Puritan motifs consistent with the providential election of the newly chosen American people. As the potential for American Revolution loomed larger and larger, these long recitations of mournful complaints emphasizing regeneration, restoration, and revitalization, suggested transformation into a fulfilled and progressive nation with potential for grand religious and socio-political advances. These later jeremiads could not find the same mark on their own enlightened and increasingly secularized generation, which their Puritan forebears had struck among a more religiously committed generation. Yet the jeremiads were significant inasmuch as they suggested a spiritually motivated continuation of the righteous cause of liberty.¹⁵³

The successful combining of the sacred and the secular was accomplished by utilizing biblical imagery to support revolutionary ideology.¹⁵⁴ The grand divine design for America had begun with their “errand into the wilderness” but would soon lead to a divinely sponsored American Battle of Armageddon in which the British forces of evil would be deposed and the godly reign of liberty ushered in to the glory of the Creator and the betterment of all his creation. The American Canaan would be transformed into the Promised Land of paradise and justice, a land flowing with milk and honey, as the ungodly were driven out before the New Israel, the newest Chosen People.¹⁵⁵

While no one doubted the central role Christian religion had played in the birthing of America, Americans intuitively recognized that Christian pluralism was a necessity for the fledgling nation. Denominational options and religious pluralism had

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 83.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Lowance, *The Language of Canaan*, 212.

¹⁵⁴ This can be observed in Samuel’s Sherwood’s *The Church’s Flight into the Wilderness* and Philip Freneau’s *Rising Glory of America*.

¹⁵⁵ Lowance, *The Language of Canaan*, 214-215.

multiplied greatly in the stir and aftermath of the Great Awakening¹⁵⁶ yet the overarching support of Christian religion was seen as the cornerstone for the civic spirit of America.¹⁵⁷ The instilled capacity for interdenominational cooperation and religious pluralism would characterize both the early Pentecostal and later Charismatic twentieth-century movements in their pursuit of pan-denominational flow in the *charismata*.

Even before the 1765 Stamp Act had politicized Puritan millennial history, the two preceding decades had impressed a revolutionary bent on civil millennialism. Edwards' non-political millennial hopes were replaced by the new millennialism in which freedom was perceived as God's own cause for man. Puritan motif was now explained in terms of political development rather than mere religious piety.¹⁵⁸ Even Scripture had been co-opted for the new political values of pre-revolutionary America.¹⁵⁹ The traditional apocalyptic hope of global conversion to Christianity became combined with Christian commitment to America as the seat of liberty.¹⁶⁰ The New Light persuasion that history would progress in relation to the spread of Christian piety fostered spiritual enthusiasm, widespread revivalism, and growing eagerness for independence.¹⁶¹ While the general influence of religion seems to have weakened in the latter half of the eighteenth century, American conviction of the New World as the "promised land" only intensified. The strategic use of sanctified and high sounding biblical language disguised much of the natural instincts of the politically oppressed Americans for vastly improved life on earth. But the given instruments of intellectual conveyance, the pulpit and press, served the purpose of ably identifying the will of politically defiant Americans with the divine will for God's New Israel and the world. It seemed apparent enough that a redeemed New England would enthrone Christ in the latter days from which seat he would govern the universe.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ John M. Murrin, "Religion and Politics in America from the First Settlements to the Civil War," in Mark A. Noll, ed., *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 25.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Johnson, "The Almost-Chosen People," 83.

¹⁵⁸ Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, 52-53.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁶² Coner Cruise O'Brien, *God Land: Reflections on Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 29.

Some New Lights, like Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790), disassociated the promised eventual millennium from the present course of human events. This allowed divine intervention into the realm of human history without making a progressively improving world requisite, a world which presently continued to be filled with disappointment. Bellamy's 1758 sermon, *The Millennium*, held out the hope of the Second Coming in the indefinite future quite apart from dependence upon Christian successes at improving the global human experience.¹⁶³ As the revival waned, the clergy increasingly refocused their solidarity around a devotion to apocalyptic history.¹⁶⁴

The demarcation between the interests of the kingdom of God and the American goals of political freedom were largely lost on the clergy by 1760. Liberty, both civil and religious, had become intertwined and enmeshed in clerical thought and communication. The evil of tyranny surpassed even dreaded heresy while the virtue of liberty dwarfed even piety as the antichrist became more fully identified with the dominance and exploitation of the European monarchies.¹⁶⁵

The French and Indian War (1754-1763) awakened the sleeping prophetic writers who renewed the traditional Protestant antichristic image cast over the pope. Thinkers in the 1750s and 1760s viewed Edwards' biblical apocalypse, with its regenerative power for mankind beginning with the Great Awakening, as revealing political and military divine sanction for the American present and future. The interests of the Kingdom of God and American independence were merged in the current interpretations of biblical prophecy and the American Revolution.¹⁶⁶ The convictions of the premillennial Mathers and the postmillennial Jonathan Edwards regarding America as seat of the millennial reign of God were revived by religious political radicals wishing to fully identify an independent America with the New Jerusalem and the very throne of Christ in the *eschaton*.¹⁶⁷

Many Americans believed they had been chosen to model godly nationhood before the watching universe while inhabiting a modern promised land. The biblically promised land of plenty, happiness, and fruitfulness both in terms of agricultural

¹⁶³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 40.

¹⁶⁵ Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, 43-44.

¹⁶⁶ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 72.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 72-73.

abundance and joy-filled children, would be the portion of the American God-fearing nation even as had been divinely promised to national Israel before her.¹⁶⁸ The present revolutionary spirit would act as a God-sent purifier to rid the new Israel of the last vestiges of political and social corruption.¹⁶⁹ In the 1760s and 1770s, as political and economic circumstances deteriorated, colonial leaders further beckoned preachers to use their pulpits and speaking skills to awaken their parishioners to political action.¹⁷⁰ The revolutionary and liberty-loving spirits had imbibed from their American Puritan forefathers their zeal against tyranny and their conviction of America as a new Israel in a western wilderness.¹⁷¹

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL VICTORY LEADS TO REVELATORY INTERNATIONAL DUTY

By the 1770s Christian ministers directly linked their millennial and apocalyptic vision to the pursuit of American liberties, i.e., American liberation from the British antichristic system. American political aspirations were now conceived as energized by divine sanction and would surely lead to the initiation of the earthly kingdom of God on American soil.¹⁷² American society was to be viewed as the model for all nations aspiring to liberty. By exporting the freedom values universally, America would be recognized as the earthly seat of Jesus' kingdom rule.¹⁷³

Samuel Langdon (1723-1797) served as the president of Harvard College from 1774 to 1780. During his tenure at Harvard, on May 13, 1775, and soon after the April 19th eruption of tensions in Lexington, Langdon spoke to the Congress of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to express his conviction that the biblically revealed Hebraic polity, divinely established through Moses, represented the perfect civil republic and was, therefore, worthy of all emulation.¹⁷⁴ Surely some of its principal laws were to be

¹⁶⁸ Catherine L. Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1976): 29.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁷⁰ Lowance, *The Language of Canaan*, 212-213.

¹⁷¹ Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers*, 33.

¹⁷² Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty* 53-54.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

¹⁷⁴ Gershon Greenberg, *The Holy Land in American Religious Thought, 1620-1948* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 29-30.

intelligently utilized in the present time.¹⁷⁵ Langdon besought the God of Jacob to lend strength to the Christians of American Zion, the Covenant Maker's chosen location for the reestablishment of biblical Israel's divinely sustained polity. A future American constitution should fully honor the spirit of both the Torah of Moses and the Law of Christ. Such an inspired composition of genuine social equity and religious liberty would enable future legislators to write just laws and help establish moral codes for public conduct.¹⁷⁶ Even as Israel had initially failed but still had a divine destiny yet to find fulfillment, so the American New Zion had failed to date but could yet succeed in creating a "city of righteousness" and become a "holy people."¹⁷⁷ The overwhelmingly positive response of the Continental Congress on March 16, 1776, had the effect of strengthening the identification of the American Christian Zion of the earlier American Puritans and Congregationalists with Israel.¹⁷⁸

In 1776 Connecticut's Reverend Samuel Sherwood declared that God and all his heavenly powers were on the side of the Americans and against Great Britain,¹⁷⁹ the man of sin, the antichrist. The commencement of the millennial kingdom would be in America where the wilderness would soon "blossom as the rose."¹⁸⁰ The successful establishment of American civil and religious liberties would extend to the millennial reign of Christ.¹⁸¹

The American story corresponded in striking manner with that of biblical Israel who had experienced divine deliverance, traveled through a harsh wilderness, and journeyed into the promised land. Modern Americans were in continuity with both biblical Israel and their own American forefathers, shared a common destiny with Israel,¹⁸² and represented a moral and ethical society more than a secular state or state religion. The American nation perceived that its corporate devotion to exemplary character was directly related to its millennial mission. Jonathan Edwards had

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 30-32.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 30-31.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 33.

¹⁷⁹ Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, 21.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 21-22.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 22.

¹⁸² Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers*, 27.

underscored the American past in the revolutionary social and cultural setting in his supportive posthumous publication, *History of the Work of Redemption* [1774].¹⁸³

When reports of British victories were received, rather than despairing of apocalyptic millennial vision, revolutionary clergy proffered hope of the imminence of the Second Coming. Even American losses signaled a swiftly approaching end to the tyrannical man of sin and the approaching American victorious chorus of “Babylon the Great is fallen.”¹⁸⁴ Preachers like Samuel West of Boston reasoned that liberty and true religion would be banished from the earth should the American continent lose its signal calling of God. America’s destiny was divinely decreed and firmly established since the hope for God’s mankind centered around it.¹⁸⁵

Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), grandson of Jonathan Edwards, identified the revolution’s prophetic significance with millennial human progress. The Yale graduate assured his fellows in his 1776 valedictorian speech some three weeks after the signing of the Declaration of Independence that, “that remarkable Jewish tradition” of a full millennium of “peace, purity, and felicity” would find its climactic expression in America. This would commence about year 2000, a notion both he and grandfather Edwards borrowed from Samuel Sewall.¹⁸⁶ America then was identified as the locale for the fulfillment of the ancient Jewish and traditional messianic anticipation. In Dwight’s *The Conquest of Canaan* [1785], he indicated that just as God had carefully planned his giving of Palestine to the Jews, North America was now being divinely bestowed upon Americans as the Creator’s final dramatic act of the fulfillment of biblical prophecy.¹⁸⁷ From Dwight’s perspective, America was not only the New Israel, but the base of the everlasting earthly kingdom.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, 40.

¹⁸⁵ Taken from Samuel West’s Boston sermon entitled, *A Sermon Preached...May 29, 1776*. Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, ed. *Nationalism and Religion in America: Concepts of American Identity and Mission* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 32-33.

¹⁸⁶ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 73.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 74.

¹⁸⁸ Taken from Timothy Dwight’s *A Valedictory Address...at Yale College, July 25, 1776* (New Haven, 1776). Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, ed. *Nationalism and Religion in America*, 61-62.

IN THE RELIGIOUS WAKE OF THE RIGHTEOUS REVOLUTION

The seeds of the biblical apocalypse were planted deep in the fertile soil of the American mind and would seasonably germinate with the proper ecclesiastical nourishment and political need. But there can be no doubt of the “remarkable continuity of basic themes and preoccupations.”¹⁸⁹ Subsequent to the liberation from the British monarchical confinements and clerical imperialism of European Christianity, the newly established United States fostered a sense of divinely issued ordination to inaugurate a new era for mankind, one of purity both religious and civic. Some envisioned the American spread of the Christian Gospel and republican principles would lead directly into the millennium. A marriage of political liberties and sacred faith made them largely indistinguishable and practically inseparable in the American psyche and worldview.¹⁹⁰ A new kind of eschatology was herein born.

The American fascination with the *eschaton* would never long subside in succeeding generations, as Americans would seek to redefine themselves and their national responsibilities to God and his beloved mankind in space and time. Themes both religious and secular were customarily intermingled in American eschatological thought from the time of the Great Awakening to the Revolution. But the interplay of politics and the *eschaton* would continue to fascinate and motivate the American populace into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Apocalyptic tension linked with eschatological conviction to mold American political and social ideology and the course of human events at crucial moments in American history.

Among the consistent themes of American eschatology were the recurring issues of American destiny, Israel’s future role, the identity of the antichrist and his economic and political impact, developments within the Islamic political world, and timelines of prediction. Specific details and named personalities would change with each generation, but the apocalyptic themes remained remarkably identical.

As the anti-type of biblical Israel, America was offered a strategic eschatological place in prophecy. America as New Israel was standard issue in pastoral sermons during the revolutionary and early national periods. Biblical events were viewed as antitypical to the American experience and, of course, the same God of the Bible was

¹⁸⁹ Hudson, ed. *Nationalism and Religion in America*, 61-62.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

behind it all.¹⁹¹ As Israel walked in God's favor in their faithful days, his end-time faithful Americans would likewise benefit from divine patronage and care, as American national prosperity would be undergirded by national piety.¹⁹² It was believed that America would enjoy a position of international prominence as Christianity and victory over political tyranny "covered the earth." The Second Coming would be the crowning act of a thousand years of American Christian influence upon the universe.

Even American Sephardic leaders such as Gershom M. Seixas (1746-1816) ascribed American victory to the God of Israel and expressed his persuasion that such victory was in anticipation of the ultimate liberation of *Eretz Israel*. The present was but a sign of the pending regathering of all Israel to Jerusalem and of the imminent coming of Messiah.¹⁹³ Religiously inspired revolt against enlightened European powers in the American west bode well for the redemption of the biblical Zion of the east. Peace in America would have universal implications. Soon the moral obligations of Jewish Americans would be satisfied, the call of the shofar to return to the Land would sound, and the Temple would be rebuilt.¹⁹⁴

Jews and Native Americans were often linked theologically by professors and preachers alike. Charles Crawford (1752-1815), an advocate of missionary activity among both Native Americans, as a remnant of the ten lost tribes of Israel, and the Jews, those with great promise for the future, believed that the converted Native Americans and Jews would return to biblical Zion around 1900 for the restoration of the Land of Israel.¹⁹⁵ Crawford believed that the American New Israel sharers in salvation history were to be used of God to help effect the eschatological restoration of the "beloved" people of God to biblical Zion.¹⁹⁶

The general theme of the national conversion and restoration of the Jews to Zion was not heavily stressed through much of the eighteenth century. But in the years immediately preceding and following the American Revolution, the regathering of Israel in Zion theme was renewed. Joseph Eyre's *Observations upon the Prophecies Relating to the Restoration of the Jews* [1771] is an earlier example. The French

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 76.

¹⁹² Ibid., 74-75.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 49.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 51-52.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 63, 65.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 67.

Revolution's challenge to the papacy ignited Christian pre-Zionist enthusiasm as witnessed in James Bicheno's *Signs of the Times* [1792] and Joseph Priestley's *Present State of Europe Compared with Ancient Prophecies* [1794]. Reportedly a Presbyterian minister created a wharf in New Haven, Connecticut, as a point for Jewish embarkation for Zion in the 1790s. Elhanan Winchester, also of New Haven, announced in 1800, "The return of the Jews to their own land is certain." Even a former president, John Adams, expressed such sentiments when he wrote, "I really wish the Jews again in Judea, an independent nation."¹⁹⁷

Ezra Stiles, Christian preacher and American patriot, declared that the day would come when the posterity of Abraham would be nationally re-gathered in Zion under the auspices of Christ. Stated he:

[Moses] foresaw, indeed, their rejection of God and predicted the judicial chastisement of apostasy....But, as well to comfort and support the righteous in every age and under every calamity as to make his power known among all nations, God determined that a remnant should be saved. Whence Moses and the prophets, by divine direction, interspersed their writings with promises that when the ends of God's moral government should be answered..., he would, by his irresistible power and sovereign grace, subdue the hearts of his people to a free, willing, joyful obedience....Then the words of Moses, hitherto accomplished but in part, will be literally fulfilled when this branch of the posterity of Abraham shall be nationally collected and become a very distinguished and glorious people under the great messiah, the Prince of Peace. He will then "make them high above all nations which he hath made in praise, and in name, and in honor, and they shall become a holy people unto the Lord their God" [Deut. 26: 19].¹⁹⁸

Simultaneously, Stiles made clear the Scriptures likewise referenced a political welfare for God's New Israel, an American Israel. Prophecies of prosperity and abundance would have application not only to a millennial Israel but also to the United States. The United States would also become exalted among the nations by the very hand of Providence.¹⁹⁹ America, as the seed of Abraham, was envisaged even in Abraham's day as the divine promises were issued to the patriarch regarding his posterity.²⁰⁰ According to Stiles, American-born minds, free of old European

¹⁹⁷ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 183.

¹⁹⁸ Taken from Ezra Stiles' *The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor, a sermon...at the anniversary election, May 8, 1783* (New Haven, 1783.). Quoted in Hudson, *Nationalism and Religion in America*, 63-64.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

ecclesiastical and complicit politically enslaving governments would be God's instruments to fully evangelize, propagate and fully diffuse the Gospel throughout the world even prior to the millennial reign of Christ. The whole earth would be sated with the knowledge of God's glory. Idolatrous and false religion would be entirely abandoned, as American missionaries would succeed at bringing the heathen to Christ. The American republic would be honored, without doubt, for its illumination of the nations with truth and liberty. America was the birthplace of civil and religious liberty, glories previously unknown to mankind.²⁰¹

Elhanan Winchester of New Haven envisioned an America highly populated and agriculturally enriched, a nation whose immense wealth would be used for divine purposes throughout the entire earth. Winchester, like his compatriots, was persuaded America's destiny included its divine use in spreading evangelical Christianity to all nations and peoples.²⁰² He believed God had uniquely smiled upon America and evidenced his favor by distinguishing America as the first nation with both civil equality and religious liberty. The American lights now needed to shine forth their happy teachings upon the nations.²⁰³ Winchester proudly boasted of American treatment of Jews, who, in contrast to much of their European experience, had been largely embraced by America and fully afforded the privileges of all American born subjects. The American reception and model treatment of the Jews should be a pattern of behavior for other countries to emulate. Such proper conduct assured the New Israel God's continued blessing upon an America continuing to eagerly provide protection and liberties for the Jewish people.²⁰⁴

Right up until the Civil War period, American Christians continued to be convinced that America had a divinely established mission to perform in God's universe of nations. While Puritanism had largely believed this mission would be accomplished by spiritual means such as piety, prayer, and Gospel promotion, there was no doubt that American Christians would help usher in the spiritual revitalization

²⁰¹ Ibid., 69-70.

²⁰² Taken from Elhanan Winchester's *An Oration on the Discovery of America, October 12, 1792* (London, 1792). Quoted in Hudson, *Nationalism and Religion in America*, 72.

²⁰³ Ibid., 70-71.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 71.

of the universe and witness the establishment of Christ's one thousand year reign from Zion.²⁰⁵

As an important part of my thesis, I have here demonstrated the oft-repeated early American conviction that a biblically promised and revived national Israel would materialize in Zion. This assurance was integral to the American religious psyche from the outset and persisted through the first centuries of Christian existence in the new world. They were persuaded that the American New Israel was to somehow mystically partner with the old but spiritually revived Jewish creation in Zion. The confidence that Providence was at work to accomplish his eternal objectives through his American New Israel and his ancient people Israel, afforded American Christians immense psychological and moral strength to embrace their unique national vocation.

The colonial bond with biblical and eschatological Israel evoked both a sense of religious relationship with the Jewish people and that profound sense of American destiny so vital to ideological legend for future American generations including twentieth-century Pentecostals. The primitivist and restorationist religious themes had informed the idealized American millennialism, which in turn informed the American revolutionary spirit. The intertwined American identification with Israel found between both highly pious religious thinkers and more secularized and enlightened circles had been constantly used in the diverse camps to motivate and unite the American masses in their pursuit of both religious and political liberties. A very real sense of fraternity with the people of the Book provided Americans intense motivation for religious renewal, social improvement and political change.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY INFLUENCES ON PENTECOSTALIST IDEOLOGY

The millennial optimism of Jonathan Edwards and the entire New Light aura over America inspired confidence that the world was spiraling onward and upward toward universal millennial utopianism. Labors to create a wholesome mankind coupled with further widespread commitment to purity would be jointly rewarded by the anticipated witness of the experiential commencement of the millennium. But the

²⁰⁵ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 226.

post-Civil War reality of evil compelled a complete reevaluation of millennial perspective and the issue of America as the New Israel.

The tender fabric of American society in the years that followed the American Apocalypse,²⁰⁶ the Civil War between the States, was fiercely tested by the radical changes imposed on the American masses: the new freedom of 3.5 million slaves, the challenging complexities of the Reconstructionist efforts in the South, the new expansive opening of the far West, new levels of American political corruption, the rapid growth of big business like steel manufacturing and oil production, extensive railroad systems, the propensity for invention including the telephone and light bulb, and the rise of Populism against the backdrop of rapid rural migration to the cities. All these changes over the few decades between 1865 and the late 1890s had profound impact upon the social psyche of the American people.

POSTMILLENNIALISM

The Great Awakening had stimulated masses of Americans to hope with Jonathan Edwards that the beginning of the very millennium the Puritans had longed for was about to commence.²⁰⁷ Edwards' postmillennial eschatology would be quite different from later Pentecostal millennialism in part since Edwards did not expect any restoration of the spiritual gifts associated with miracles, divine interventions or manifestations. Edwards' postmillennialism anticipated a gradual improvement of the human condition as mankind increasingly basked in the graces of God's presence and the Christian work of redemption. Christ would come the second time only to a universe eager to welcome him. Edwards did, however, expect a literal millennium, which contributed largely to the widespread American anticipation of a literal millennium throughout the next century. Postmillennialism offered a gradual rather than cataclysmic change, which orderly-minded Christians could govern through existing institutions. The postmillennial panorama was optimistic, socially comfortable, and spiritually forward moving.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ This phraseology is borrowed from James Moorhead's important text on the Civil War and its aftermath, *The American Apocalypse*. See *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War 1860-1869*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978.

²⁰⁷ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 153.

²⁰⁸ Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), 156-157.

By the time of the Second Great Awakening (1800-1805) progressive millennialism had been standardized in the faith system of the Protestant South. History was to be a success story of God's decreed better future for mankind.²⁰⁹ The postmillennial Southern Presbyterians believed the soul-saving institution of the Church was simultaneously improving the universe in preparation for the Second Coming. Piety and morality would universally intensify under the auspices of Christian missions. Governments and social institutions would experience Christian reform, as wars, vices, and other social maladies would be liquidated. Universal prosperity would follow on the trail of widespread knowledge and life expectancy would soon exceed the century mark.²¹⁰ The Bible was regarded as the final word from heaven till after the postmillennial Second Coming.²¹¹

The leading formalists²¹² of the 1840s North rejoiced in the social progress they witnessed in the development of volunteer benevolent and reform societies. Surely God would make America the stage for displaying his best intentions for man.²¹³ Southern formalists shared the optimism regarding America's role in the millennium and believed the world would steadily improve until climaxing in the Second Coming. Many Presbyterians likewise welcomed a calm, steady, and hopefully uneventful thousand year universal betterment.²¹⁴

Most antiformalists²¹⁵ likewise embraced postmillennialism since the world seemed to be constantly improving with daily material progress, self-betterment, and personal freedoms. They could envision a continuation of such enhanced living until all reached a crescendo in the Second Coming. Even so, some antiformalists held premillennial views. New England Baptist Abraham Cummings warned in 1799 that Christ would suddenly appear for world judgment. In the 1830's Methodist circuit

²⁰⁹ Jack P. Maddex, "Proslavery Millennialism: Social Eschatology in Antebellum Southern Calvinism." *American Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1979): 47.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

²¹² Formalism was the customary epithet for castigating "religion-as-usual" and described the tendency to preserve the traditional religious forms, moralisms, and meet conventional social expectations. Formalists would be derided by others who accused them of spiritual neglect, triteness, as well as cold and ineffective religion.

²¹³ Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America*, 159.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 159-160.

²¹⁵ Antiformalists were those preferring unencumbered and pristine first-century New Testament Christianity. Antiformalism was the pursuit of many in the holiness and spiritual experience oriented camps.

rider John Hersey proclaimed the imminent millennium would commence with Christ's reign in Zion.²¹⁶ So even as postmillennial optimists celebrated technological advance and human evolution leading to utopian perfection, premillennialist prophecies of doom became more pervasive and persuasive.²¹⁷

The Wesleyan Contribution

American Methodism freely associated with indigenous revivalism from the early nineteenth century. Methodism's perfectionism was a natural partner to indigenous Edwardsian postmillennialism. Together they fueled the postmillennial expectations of the optimistic new American nation.²¹⁸ Methodist perfectionism implied involvement in personal evangelism and commitment to the restoration of the faith of New Testament Christianity. But other new denominations were more deliberate in their teaching and pursuit of the restoration of the early abandoned New Testament Christianity which they believed was the key to the millennial future.²¹⁹

Methodism's human responsibility-oriented Arminianism and optimistic Christian perfectionism raised millennial expectations to unsustainable heights as historical events "on the ground" ultimately failed to support the postmillennial dreams of human achievement and loftier dimensions of Christian cosmic witness to divine glory. Eschatological millennialism would need the revitalization found by making the Second Coming premillennial and the very impetus for the millennium. The Second Coming would be sovereignly timed and independent of human accomplishment. Therefore, the Second Coming really needed nothing from mankind and could occur at any moment. Thus, Sovereign-oriented premillennialism found new and eager support among many previously discouraged and disheartened American Christians.²²⁰ Methodist author, William Arthur, published the popular *The Tongue of Fire* [1856], which anticipated a grand revival and restoration of the early Pentecostal religious experience.²²¹ His book climaxes with the prayer:

And now, adorable Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, descend upon all the Churches, renew the Pentecost in this our age, and baptize thy

²¹⁶ Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America*, 164.

²¹⁷ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 90.

²¹⁸ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 154-155.

²¹⁹ Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 189.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 159-160.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

people generally—O, baptize them yet again with tongues of fire! Crown this nineteenth century with a revival of "pure and undefiled religion" greater than that of the last century, greater than that of the first, greater than any "demonstration of the Spirit" even yet vouchsafed to men!

The Oberlin Perfectionists

Through Charles Finney's journal, *The Oberlin Evangelist*, he conveyed the idea that widespread holiness would be the grand harbinger of the millennium.²²² In the same periodical in 1841, Henry Cowles suggested the radical changes occurring in the contemporary world portended entry into a new prophetic era; the Holy Spirit would be effusively given so that piety and holiness would be the widespread Christian norm and, most importantly for my thesis, Cowles projected the national conversion of the Jewish people to Christ and their national restoration.²²³

Cowles believed the Church had a key role to play in effecting the coming of the millennium but that through neglect the Church could actually retard the millennium.²²⁴ The Church, in a spirit of expectancy, must fully cooperate with the Spirit of God in anticipation of the arriving millennium.²²⁵ Cowles' two published sermons on sanctification dealt with the "baptism of the Holy Ghost." A later published work was entitled, *On Being Filled with the Holy Ghost*. The written works coming forth from Oberlin freely used "Pentecostal" vocabulary to reference a general awakening or revival that saw its great archetype in the Day of Pentecost.²²⁶

Also crucial to the Pentecostal question were the writings of John Morgan, contributor to the first volume of the 1845 *Oberlin Quarterly Review*. Morgan's article, "The Gift of the Holy Spirit," offered that the Spirit baptism in Pentecostal fullness as preached in the primitive Church was to be the common experience of all the sanctified. Importantly Morgan emphasized that the common Pentecostal experience for all Christians was to be distinguished from the more familiar efficacious grace, or the wooing influence of the Spirit, so vital to the conversion experience. Morgan made emphasis upon spiritual "endowment from on high."²²⁷ Finney was convinced the experience of the Spirit's fullness should be normative Christian experience. The

²²² Ibid., 155-156.

²²³ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 156, 157.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid., 72.

Oberlin team popularized the terms “baptism” and “filling” with the Holy Spirit as labels for their espoused second crisis spiritual experience.²²⁸

SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

Nineteenth-century America was in flux from the period of the Civil War to the turn of the century as social, political, and economic norms were being altered. Not only philosophical but theological thought seemed to be shaking the grounds beneath the American worldview. The rapid pace of industrialization and urbanization was radically impacting social patterns. A wealthy class assuming little responsibility for the social welfare horrifically exploited the poor. Immigrants were pouring into the nation providing cheap labor and effecting crowded living conditions for city dwellers. The working poor were growing restless. Religious thinkers realized current conditions mandated a reappraisal of traditional and conventional Christian millennial thought.²²⁹ Within a few more years, the Southern Presbyterians embraced the premillennialist perspective that mankind was sinking into an evil abyss which only the Second Coming could remedy.²³⁰

James Moorhead suggests postmillennialism did not experience outright American rejection but merely ebbed away.²³¹ After the Civil War, postmillennialism faced repeated challenges to its philosophical perspective: the influx of Roman Catholics and the “antichristic” base, Lutheran immigrants with their cooler religious temperament, and migrations of European Jews and others outside the traditional sphere of Christianity.²³² In addition, biblical criticism was on the rise and new scientific developments such Darwinism combined to challenge the biblical creation account and the reliability of the Scriptures in general which had the effect of fostering new skepticism toward literal biblical interpretation. Simultaneously, America was in

²²⁸ Edith L. Blumhofer, “Puritan and Preparation: A Study in the Pentecostal Perfectionist Heritage” in *Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism*, Stanley M. Burgess, et al, eds. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986), 263.

²²⁹ C. Norman Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development* (Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1958), 13-14.

²³⁰ Maddex, “Proslavery Millennialism: Social Eschatology in Antebellum Southern Calvinism,” 60.

²³¹ James H. Moorhead, “The Erosion of Postmillennialism in American Religious Thought, 1865-1925,” *Church History* 53 (March 1984), 61.

²³² Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 160.

the throes of radical urbanization and industrialization that significantly came at the social and religious expense of rural Protestants migrating from middle and southern states to impersonalized cities.²³³

Christian victims of such social upheaval viewed their world in steady decline. While advocates of postmillennialism pointed to progress, growing literacy, science and commerce, as well as the greater missionary presence around the world, many doubted such advances sufficed to substantiate the traditional postmillennial view of reality.²³⁴ Obstacles were now perceived to have been strategically placed by devilish forces to disrupt America's fulfilling of her chiliastic destiny, i.e., four million whorish Romanists under the sway of the antichrist had immigrated to disrupt God's American saints.²³⁵

Revivalism seemed to grow most rapidly among the un-churched and followed the rural migrations to the cities. As if prelude to Pentecostalism, revivalistic shouting and rhythmic singing were accompanied by preaching as the main event.²³⁶ In the absence of the natural recreation and folk socialization rural living afforded, revivalistic worship services substituted as a common form of social recreation. Church brothers and sisters were glad alternates for natural family left in the countryside or on the farm.

THE PROPHETS OF PREMILLENNIAL DISPENSATIONALISM: JOHN NELSON DARBY AND CYRUS INGERSON SCOFIELD

John Nelson Darby (1800-1882) began his ministry as an Anglican curate in Ireland but mid-career developed a bleak assessment of the ecclesiastical establishment. Embracing apostolic austerity, simplicity in worship, mutual discipline, and the imminent Second Coming, he helped found the Plymouth Brethren and later led its most rigorous splinter group.²³⁷ Frank Littell terms Darby "the most important underestimated person in American Church history."²³⁸ Darby put the issue of the restoration of the primitive New Testament Church in a very different light than had conventional restorationism. He declined to provide a restorationist theme for the re-

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid., 161.

²³⁵ Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America*, 160.

²³⁶ Elizabeth K. Nottingham, *Methodism and the Frontier: Indiana Proving Ground* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 194.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Littell, "The Power of the Restoration Vision and Its Decline in Modern America," 66.

emergence of a pristine New Testament Christianity but rather, in his dispensationalist system, fully despaired of the primitivist restorationism that would prove so fundamentally vital to the later Pentecostal revival in the early twentieth century. But the characteristics of Darby's premillennialism included the Christian secret rapture, the battle of Armageddon, the Second Coming, and the Jewish regathering to Zion.²³⁹

Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843-1921), an American lawyer, attempted to concretize into simple form and structure the often nebulous and unwieldy eschatological teachings of Scripture.²⁴⁰ Rather than viewing the Hebrew Bible as primarily a preparation for the coming of Christ, dispensationalism negated the Old Testament significance to the Church altogether. It proposed that no link or historical relation existed between God's peoples in the Old and New Testaments and that "Law" was diametrically opposed to "Grace." The Hebrew Bible was applicable to Israel only. Prophecies of a coming millennial Jewish Kingdom had no relevance or application whatsoever to the Church.²⁴¹ Even Jesus' *Sermon on the Mount* may have, at best, moral application for Christians but its specific use and chief relevance would be during the Jewish millennial Kingdom.²⁴²

Into the radically changing nineteenth-century American society came the new hope of premillennial dispensationalism proffered first by John Nelson Darby soon after the Civil War, then broadly promoted by major Evangelical personalities, and subsequently catapulted to general American acceptance by means of the publication of Cyrus Ingerson Scofield's *Reference Bible* in 1909. By utilizing Greek paradigms to logically systematize the whole of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, Darby and Scofield combined to bring order out of the chaotic Christian understanding of the eschatological realities conveyed in the Bible. Their premillennial dispensationalism advanced that the current Church Age was doomed to soon end in failure as the King of Israel was ready to quit the Church's worldly utility and reinstitute the Kingdom to Israel. A repentant and nationally restored Israel would soon gladly celebrate Christ's universal reign from Zion. Hereby would the biblical plan of the ages find fulfillment and all peoples and nations reach their respective eternal destinies. Over time more

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 129-130.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 133.

²⁴² Ibid., 133-134.

Americans gradually relinquished the myth of unique Anglo significance and anticipated rather a speedy conclusion to human history.

According to the dispensationalist scheme, the Church Age would end in dismal failure and had, in fact, only been parenthetical to God's eternal aspirations for Israel. The Second Coming was now at hand and all should be done to encircle the globe with an evangelistic Gospel that all peoples and nations might be spared eternal wrath. Many dispensationalist sympathizers held that if Americans were to contribute to global redemption, they needed Spirit-issued sanctification and Spirit-infused boldness for evangelism, which mandated a special visitation of the Holy Spirit upon the Church prior to the rapture, the corporate and mysterious disappearance of authentic Christians to heaven. Only subsequent to the rapture, however, God would be free to renormalize his severed relations with Israel. At the conclusion of a seven year period of chastening, nationally restored Israel would welcome the Messiah Jesus who would then commence his thousand-year reign over mankind as he ruled in Zion in fulfillment of all the God-issued covenants and promises.

Scofield held that Acts 11:44 rather than Acts 2 marked the pivotal change in God's economy. Until this point, the Gospel had been offered to Jews only and the Holy Spirit had been given through apostolic mediation to those faithfully responding. But at the point of Acts 11:44, the transition into the normal order of the Church Age occurred. The Holy Spirit was now given without delay in response to simple faith in Christ. This event marked the changeover from the dispensation of "Law" to "Grace." Therefore, all that transpired in the Gospels up to and including Acts 11:44, was to be understood as being under the dispensation of the Law.²⁴³ Scofield taught that Jesus withdrew his offer of the messianic kingdom to Israel when Jewish resistance reached the measured threshold. The divine "plan B" was implemented, therefore, to "change horses mid-stream" and affect only a spiritualized Kingdom among the Gentiles until the Second Coming. Israel's salvation would occur only when Israel had a second national opportunity to embrace Jesus' Kingdom offer at the climax of the Church Age.

The most influential means of conveying and persuading the American Evangelical masses of the legitimacy of premillennial dispensationalism was the Scofield *Reference Bible* first published by Oxford University Press in 1909. It provided

²⁴³ Ibid., 124.

Scotfield's personal commentary and opinion in extensive footnotes.²⁴⁴ Oxford University Press reported that sales to 1967 ranged from 5 to 10 million copies but that the 1967 revision alone had sold 2.5 million copies by 1990. Scotfield's *Reference Bible* served as the chief American conduit for the dissemination of premillennial dispensationalism throughout the twentieth century and ranked among the most influential pieces of Evangelical literature.²⁴⁵

ESSENTIAL DISPENSATIONALISM AND ISRAEL

In order to assess later Pentecostal ideology so vital to my thesis, it is imperative to explore various aspects of this philosophy of history known as dispensationalism. Although at their radical cores dispensationalism and Pentecostalism are intellectually incompatible, nineteenth-century dispensationalism had an immense impact on twentieth-century Pentecostalism. The opposing nature of the two ideological systems would not be commonly recognized in Pentecostal circles until well into the latter third of the twentieth century. Until then Pentecostals rather freely used Scotfield's *Reference Bible*, taught Bible college courses advocating the dispensationalist system, and generally regarded Pentecostalism to be dispensationalism "with an edge." The most significant ideological contribution premillennial dispensationalism made to Pentecostalism was its pointed emphasis upon the imminent Second Coming for the rule of Christ in the restored Jewish State in Zion.

Postmillennialism's "Achilles heel" had been that it raised hopes and fostered expectations it failed to deliver on; the millennialist dream simply did not materialize. Despair replaced its grand optimism. How might millennial hope remain alive in light of the historical deterioration of civilization? The answer was found in rescheduling the Second Coming for the commencement of the millennium as opposed to the Messiah's arrival at the millennial climax. The Messiah Jesus would himself inaugurate the one thousand year reign and not simply wait for his throne to be readied by sympathetic supporters. Premillennialism thusly found new impetus. The prospect that God would issue "signs of the times" to alert his elect to the pending Second Coming had immense attraction to those considering themselves the chosen. Whereas the projected millennial

²⁴⁴ Littell, "The Power of the Restoration Vision and Its Decline in Modern America," 67.

²⁴⁵ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 97-98.

vision and historical reality were hopelessly incongruous, appeal was now made to an apocalyptic in which vision and reality were no longer interdependent but rather quite independent of one another.²⁴⁶ The dispensationalist apocalyptic allowed the millennial vision to remain intact by modifying historical expectations and dramatically lessening dependence upon noble human efforts. The onus was hereby lifted off the disappointed faithful and squarely placed on the shoulders of the sovereign God, the One capable of affecting his divine millennial objectives over against uncooperative men and the God-resistant nature of mankind. What man ultimately would not be able to accomplish, God would take upon himself to do at the moment of his own choosing and divine pleasure.

Historical Premillennialism

Historical premillennialists were persuaded that the cross had brought the equally needy Jew and Gentile together in their common requirement of God's grace and that Israel's millennial Kingdom experience would not be totally divorced from the balance of God's people or exclude the Church.²⁴⁷ The Church was not a side entity set quite apart from the redemption history of the world as Darby's scheme implied. Historical premillennialism had envisaged the dramatically visible and personal return of Jesus prior to a thousand year Kingdom establishment. The "spiritual Israel" of historical premillennialism had been the Church, the happy recipient of the spiritual covenant with God that had been officially transferred to the Church by means of the death and resurrection of Christ, the Sovereign King.²⁴⁸ But dispensationalism limited the millennial domain to a restored *Jewish* Kingdom as fulfillment of biblical covenant promises made to Israel and her patriarchs.

From the historicist premillennial point of view, Israel had rejected not only the Kingdom but also the very basis for the functioning of the Kingdom, the message of the cross. Israel would be nationally restored in perpetuity only when she accepted the basis for Kingdom perpetuity, i.e., the work of the cross.²⁴⁹ While historicist premillennialism distinguished between the Church and Israel, it had not done so to the

²⁴⁶ See Paul D. Hanson, *Dawn of the Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1975), 11-12.

²⁴⁷ Clarence Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1960), 29.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

same dispensationalist extreme that insisted that the Kingdom related exclusively to the restoration of national Israel and had no connection to the eschatological Church.²⁵⁰ The crucial dispensational tenets of eschatological faith were summed up as (1) requiring a literal interpretation of biblical prophecy, (2) the world was on a course to inevitable destruction and judgment, (3) Christ would literally return, (4) the Jewish nation would be restored in Zion prior to the millennium, and that (5) the entire eschatological scheme had been biblically foretold.²⁵¹

Israel and the Church

Darby's breaks with historical premillennialism were few, but his grandest dispensational departure was the radical divorce between the functions of Israel and the Church. As Gerald Sheppard has written, "This Church-Israel distinction provides for dispensationalists a guiding light which brightens and clarifies an otherwise dimly visible and ambiguous eschatological plan within Scripture."²⁵² Darby and Scofield offered sharp distinction between God's scheme for Israel as opposed to his plan for the Church. Dispensationalism assumed an essential and eternal difference between Israel and the Church in which the Jew was unique, separate, forever distinguishable, and the blueprint to God's next prophetic move. The Jew was ultimately non-conforming not as a result of social mechanisms but because God made him to be different for his own divine purposes.²⁵³ Dispensationalism did not allow the Church to impinge or benefit from Israel's relationship to God. There was no "spiritual Israel" label for the Church as though the promises of God could be spiritualized or allegorized out of their concrete significance to Israel. The promises for the children of Israel remained inviolate.²⁵⁴

In dispensationalism, the millennial focus rested upon Christ's own work of regathering Israel and creating a Jewish theocracy with Jesus physically seated on David's throne in Zion. Jerusalem would be the international seat of government with

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 31.

²⁵¹ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 7.

²⁵² Gerald T. Sheppard, "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6 (Fall 1984): 6.

²⁵³ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 220.

²⁵⁴ Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism*, 30. See also Yaakov Ariel, "American Dispensationalists and Jerusalem, 1870-1918." In *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World*, edited by Yehoshua Ben-Arieh and Moshe Davis. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996, 125-138.

all peoples in submission to the Jewish Messiah and re-gathered Israel the spotlight of adoring nations.²⁵⁵ The eschatological divorcing of Israel and the Church made historical process irrelevant to the Church. The Church did not represent an advancement of God's historical purposes but rather was impotent to alter the course of the human experience. Just as every previous dispensation had ended in human ruin, divine disappointment and wrath, the Church Age dispensation would climax with minimal impact upon a world inhabited by rebellious human beings rocketing through space away from God and his purposes.²⁵⁶

Darby clearly distinguished between what he considered to be of specific biblical relevance to Israel and what was of application to the Church.²⁵⁷ It was not the Church that would affect universal blessings upon mankind, but the messianically restored Jewish State in Zion.²⁵⁸ The Abrahamic Covenant provided assurance that Abraham's seed would be a great nation that would inherit Canaan for its eternal inheritance (Genesis 17:6-8). Premillennialism's embrace of the un-conditionality of the Abrahamic Covenant implied the ultimate restoration of the Jewish polity and Israel's full inheritance of the biblically promised estate.²⁵⁹ Since the Church did not replace Israel in God's program, Israel would be nationally restored and repossess the Land.²⁶⁰ Given that the Church had never been designated as Israel in the whole of Scripture, there could be no sense in which God's promises to Israel could be hijacked by or transferred to the Church. In fact, the contrasts between Israel, the Gentiles, and the Church had been maintained throughout the New Testament.²⁶¹ The redemption of the world and the reconciliation of the nations to their Creator was the divinely assigned task of Israel. The Jewish redemption of mankind that would find its ultimate victory in the millennium as the literal fulfillment of both the Abrahamic and Davidic Covenants was not Church-related.²⁶² At the conclusion of a seven-year "time of Jacob's trouble," the restored Jewish nation would effect cosmic spiritual redemption by universally

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 43.

²⁵⁶ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 135-136.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 30.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 52.

²⁵⁹ Charles Caldwell Ryrie, *The Basis of the Premillennial Faith* (Neptune, NJ: Loizeaux Brothers, 1953; reprint, 1989), 52.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 70.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 62-63.

²⁶² Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism*, 33.

preaching the Gospel in fulfillment of the Chosen People's ultimate purpose and destiny.²⁶³

The clear distinction between the Israel and Church in dispensationalism absolutely mandated strict division between God's diverse purposes for Israel and the Church. This radical distinction was the admitted brainchild of John Darby and clearly set dispensationalism apart from traditional Christian teaching²⁶⁴ since earlier Christian exegetes had standardly considered the Church to be the supernaturally expanded "new wine-skin" of naturally constricted "old wine-skin" Israel; the Christian agency for the universal perpetuation of salvation history originally restricted to biblical Judaism. The innovative Darby was compelled to invent the parenthetical nature of the Church's role within salvation history while Israel eagerly awaited final Kingdom restoration. Since the Jewish leadership had rejected Christ, the Kingdom was necessarily postponed. Its outward structures were suspended while the call to the Gentiles had gone out to fill in the time gap between the first-century House of Israel's lost opportunity and the final Kingdom accomplishment in the millennial *eschaton*. This political Kingdom surrounding an internationally prominent Israel was God's promise and purpose for Israel from the start.²⁶⁵ For God to keep his promise, Israel must be nationally regathered and restored. With Christ's establishment of the uniquely Jewish Kingdom, Israel would radiate universal glory.

Rejecting any "New Israel" label for either Britain or America, Darby was readied to mark out an apocalyptic role for national Israel. Israel would soon be restored as a nation in Zion, rebuild the Temple, and embrace Jesus as the King-Messiah. The utter centrality of Israel in Darby's eschatological system was unique in Christian theological thought and made a long-term impact upon Evangelical ideology over two centuries.²⁶⁶ Premillennialists began looking to Israel, not America, as the catalyst to eschatological fulfillment. As Darby's dispensationalism gained wider American Evangelical acceptance, America as the "New Israel" and key to the millennial destiny dramatically declined.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Ibid., 54.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 26-27.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 139.

²⁶⁶ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 89.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 226.

Despair of the Church and Society

To Darby, the Church was in ruins. The pristine nature of the purest New Testament Church had been hopelessly corrupted by the dictates of human government.²⁶⁸ The Church was apostate and degenerating further all the time. He could not foresee the Church successfully accomplishing the mission task of global redemption. The dispensationalists contended the world would only further deteriorate in advance of the *eschaton*. It was not the work of the Church to effect social moral reform.²⁶⁹

Any Christian attempt to restore the ruined Church to its primitive form was doomed to abject failure, according to Darby, since God had never yet restored a shattered dispensation to its original condition. God was for new beginnings and the unfolding of the next grand dispensation that, to Darby, was the Kingdom dispensation.²⁷⁰ Darby's spiritual Church had existed outside history as a mere parenthesis between God's dealings with Israel.²⁷¹

Darby was convinced the ruin of the institutional Church and the Second Coming were both imminent. The universally longed for golden age of truth and justice, power and love, would become an earthly reality at the Second Coming. Darby's dispensationalism, while not accepting any responsibility for improving the state of the world, nevertheless did provide incentive for militant evangelism so as to ready mankind for the Second Coming and judgment. Not the temporary and potentially distracting social concerns of today, but the eternal state of lost souls was the all-important issue burning in the dispensationalist's prophetic bones.²⁷²

C. Norman Kraus has accused dispensationalism, however, of embracing an equally pagan "inevitability of futility on the historical level."²⁷³ Kraus pointed up that dispensationalism embraced the Greek philosophy of history with each historical cycle ending in apostasy and divine judgment. God's intervention in history was thereby

²⁶⁸ Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism*, 100-101.

²⁶⁹ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 56.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 105-106.

²⁷¹ William H. Shepherd, Jr., "Revelation and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism" in *Anglican Theological Review* 71 (Summer 1989): 285.

²⁷² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 16.

²⁷³ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 126.

limited to his launching of yet another dispensational cycle.²⁷⁴ This would be in stark contrast to the later Pentecostal perspective of a highly active God working in the world of space and time, in and through his people.

Israel and the Second Coming

Although Israel's periodic episodes of disbelief and misdeed may require God to temporarily banish Israel from the land, the covenant was eternal and binding upon the God who kept his promises.²⁷⁵ Israel's sin and disobedience may estrange her from the covenant's blessings for a season, but never affect a divorce.²⁷⁶ There was no instance in Scripture where the national promises to Israel were negated, nullified, or allegorized away.²⁷⁷ The "fullness of times" or the kingdom dispensation was identified with the millennium itself when the Davidic covenant would be fulfilled in Jesus' reign in Zion, as he would restore the monarchy, regather the outcasts of Israel, assert universal authority, and reign for a thousand years. Divine authority finally would be restored on planet earth.²⁷⁸

Summation of Dispensationalist Israel

Dispensationalists had to explain how the Second Coming suddenly could be imminent after nineteen long centuries. The dispensationalist apologetic centered on inserting a Church Age parenthetically between the events prophesied for Israel. When this parenthetical Church Age terminated at the pending but unpredictable moment of the rapture of the Church, the graphic launching of biblical prophecy would resume its eschatological countdown. The currently disruptive events in society and international affairs would be dwarfed by the grandest divine intervention of all, the Second Coming. Following the Church's rapture, the Kingdom of God would be fully identified with national Israel, the divine means of bringing mankind to Christ.²⁷⁹

Dispensationalism quickly gained adherents not only through Bible and prophecy conferences but through the publication of multiplied magazines and

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ryrie, *The Basis of the Premillennial Faith*, 53.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 59.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

²⁷⁸ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 26.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 8.

journals. As Bible institute graduates embraced premillennial dispensationalism, Church pulpits and mission societies were supplied strong advocates of the dispensationalist system.²⁸⁰ Darby and later dispensationalists kept the focus upon Israel and the Jews in American prophecy conferences between 1878 and 1918.²⁸¹

The dispensationalist notion that the Church was a makeshift interruption of God's program with Israel necessitated only by Israel's rejection of the messianic kingdom seemed to dramatically dwarf the role of the Church in global redemption. Darby's pronounced departure from conventional eschatology was every bit as radical a departure from Christian standard orthodoxy as was Charles Parham's later pneumatological persuasion that speaking in tongues was the distinct sign of Spirit-baptism.

BRITISH ISRAELITISM, MANIFEST DESTINY, AND THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

The initial pioneers on the Atlantic American frontier were motivated by the powerful sense of divine mission and the English sense of Chosen Peoplehood which Americans had carried with them to the new shores of the western hemisphere. Many American Puritans and even Jonathan Edwards were prepared to place the millennial Zion among English-speaking British descendants in America rather than biblical Zion.²⁸² "British-Israelism" captured the affections of many sectarians who taught that biblical eschatology applied to the English-speaking world as opposed to the ancient people of Israel.²⁸³ A close identification and divine destiny existed between England and the United States in the minds of many in the English-speaking world.²⁸⁴

Charles J. Little (1838-1905), professor at Syracuse University, called for keeping the "manifest destiny" alive. Christ's victory across the American continent was crucial

²⁸⁰ Timothy P. Weber, "Happily at the Edge of the Abyss: Popular Premillennialism in America," *Ex Auditu* 6 (1990):, 90.

²⁸¹ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 185.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 184.

²⁸³ Paul Boyer, 191-192, pointed up that Herbert W. Armstrong of the Worldwide Church of God would later write in 1967 that the "vital key" to God's plan "is the identity of the United States and the British peoples in biblical prophecy." Also, American indigenous sectarians like the Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses likewise denied revitalized Israel any eschatological significance. In fact, the Jehovah's Witnesses replaced the 144,000 Israelis of *Revelation* with converts to their own sect.

²⁸⁴ Kenneth M. MacKenzie, *The Robe and the Sword: The Methodist Church and the Rise of American Imperialism*. (Washington, DC.: Public Affairs Press, 1961), 17.

to the salvation of mankind. America became identified with the global expansion of the Gospel and the spiritual kingdom of God. A unique assignment was given to Americans that may be based on more than faith but physical descent from ancient Israel as well.²⁸⁵ America had duty toward God and his global interests.²⁸⁶ God had uniquely chosen the Anglo-Saxons and, more particularly, the Americans to fulfill the divine aspirations of global evangelization.²⁸⁷

The blessings of divine Providence were not purposeless but provisional for the execution of God's will and the American manifest destiny. Protestantism was blessed of God to reign in the West, and the Anglo-Saxons were chosen to dominate the land in the pursuit of global freedom. Romanism and Latin influences had been divinely shelved. The new type of civilization, one teeming with liberty, brotherhood, and progress, offering a free and independent manhood, was God's new order for mankind. God had founded the United States for this very assignment. It was the American mission to "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."²⁸⁸ As leader of the English-speaking world, the American nation would lead other Anglo-Saxons in their mastery of world and in their corporate spread of a far better civilization destined to dramatically improve every land it touched.²⁸⁹ America, for its part, was taking up the "White Man's burden" and contributing largely to the salvation of the universe.²⁹⁰

Josiah Strong (1847-1916) believed that, due to America's Anglo-Saxon physical stock, the United States was destined to be the dominant nation universally. This was assured not because of America's natural resources or accrued wealth but due to America's Anglo-Saxon physical stock. America should assert its God-given leadership role of the English-speaking nations, as the United States was to be the principal seat of Anglo power and influence. America held the destinies of nations and mankind in its hands.²⁹¹ America would aggressively develop the grandest of liberties, the purest forms of Christianity, and the highest of civilizations, to expedite its mission of impressing the nations for good. The influence of the American superior race would

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 18.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 31.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 113.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 115.

²⁹¹ Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York: Ronald Press, 1940), 341.

cover the globe, as the American people were the universal carriers of both civil liberty and spiritual Christianity.²⁹² Jonathan Edwards had linked the coming of the millennium with cooperative Christian efforts toward global redemption. By the end of the nineteenth century, the American “manifest destiny” to govern the continent provided the potential arena for the democratically enlightened American government to launch the millennium. With the incorporation of the new American regions West, the millennium would commence.²⁹³

OTHER INDIGENOUS VOICES

As ordinary Americans were sensing the imminent collapse of the world in the decades both preceding and succeeding the Civil War, a certain “folk apocalyptic” attitude went begging intellectual structure. Indigenous American prophets like Joseph Smith and Charles Taze Russell would seize the opportunity to provide spiritual direction to those desperate for apocalyptic solutions. Joseph Smith (1805-1844), the founder of indigenously American Mormonism, professed to have received in 1831 an angelic revelation that the Jewish people should flee to Jerusalem and that the “pure in heart” Jewish people would return to build the “waste places of Zion” in fulfillment of biblical prophecy. In 1843 Smith stated the return of the Jews and the restoration of the Land would pre-date the Second Coming and that both Jerusalem and the Temple would be rebuilt prior to the Messiah’s reappearance. Smith’s successors perpetuated his doctrine of Israel. Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916), founder of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, had been an independent minister schooled in the premillennial literalistic approach to Scripture. He embraced Zionism as a fulfillment of biblical prophecy and broadly circulated his ideas through the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of New York.

The imprint of the Jewish people and the Hebrew Bible upon the American religious public was so profoundly penetrating, biblical prophecy of a Jewish return to Zion often was center stage among the dogmatisms of the cults and sects uniquely indigenous to America. Whether eager to promote a Zionist vision or reacting in hostility to the seemingly inescapable Jewish restorationist issue, the rebuilding of Zion

²⁹² Ibid., 341-342.

²⁹³ Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 183.

in concert with the Second Coming served as a focal point for theological discussion and long term planning even for American groups clearly beyond the conventional American Evangelical circles. It is no wonder then that Evangelicalism in general and indigenous American Pentecostalism in particular would continue to place such eschatological importance upon the reconstruction of the Jewish State in Zion throughout the drama-filled Zionist twentieth century. But the American Pentecostals would have their own unique enthusiasm for the Zionist cause as we shall witness below.

John Nelson Darby's (1800-1882) increasingly widespread dispensationalism was supported by William E. Blackstone's (1841-1935) *Jesus is Coming*, first published in 1878 and widely distributed in the 1890s. It later had a publication of 700,000 copies in 31 languages as wealthy sympathizers reissued his book in 1908 for the benefit of hundreds of thousands of religious leaders.²⁹⁴ It generated much Evangelical enthusiasm for the re-establishment of a Jewish State in Zion.²⁹⁵ Blackstone, a Chicago lay businessman and real estate entrepreneur, eschatology specialist and missionary to the Jews, became a strong advocate of Zionism. His premillennial dispensationalism identified the Jewish restoration to Zion as a sign of the times and witness to the pending Second Coming. He presented legal and historical arguments in support of his eschatological premise and called for Christian compassion for international Jewish suffering. In 1891 he presented to U.S. President Benjamin Harrison 413 Christian and Jewish signatures calling for an international conference on the Jewish situation. As a premillennial dispensationalist, Blackstone was undecided as to *when* the Jewish nation would come to faith in Christ, before or after the return to Zion. But the destiny of Israel's messianic faith in Jesus was firm in Blackstone's writings. Yaakov Ariel has made an immense contribution to the understanding of Blackstone's significance to the cause of Zionism in the American Evangelical community with his important work, *On Behalf of Israel* [1991].

Blackstone was persuaded the "times of the Gentiles," the Church age, was ending and soon Israel would be regathered in Zion. Since Israel was already showing

²⁹⁴ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 91.

²⁹⁵ Robert T. Handy, ed., *The Holy Land in American Protestant Life: 1800-1948* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), 81. See also Yaakov Ariel, "American Fundamentalists and the Establishment of a Jewish State." In *New Dimensions in American Religious History*, edited by Jay P. Dolan and James P. Wood. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993, 288-309.

signs of desire for a renewed national existence and the *aliyah* had commenced, Blackstone spoke of the Zionist movement's objective to return world Jewry to the land of their fathers. To Blackstone, the Jewish people were the authentic heirs to the Promised Land and the current generation the very one God intended to use to fulfill the prophesied Jewish national restoration in Zion. Zion would have its prominent place among the nations and would yet fulfill its messianic destiny. Blackstone realized Zionism's secular character but believed a nationally restored nation would ultimately consist of Jewish people who would be also spiritually restored and once again walk with God.²⁹⁶

Premillennialists took the patriarchal promise of God to Abraham regarding millennial Israel's borders quite seriously and projected a Jewish State with national boundaries from "the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates," (Genesis 15:18), which Dwight Wilson noted exceeded, "even the wildest of Zionist dreams."²⁹⁷

PREMILLENNIALISM AND THE *ESCHATON*

Periods of social crisis or transition, social disintegration or disorganization, economic deprivation or the sense of powerlessness have usually provided the conditions most conducive to the rise of millenarian movements in which remedy is sought for suffering or oppression. Overthrow of the existing social order is mandated to effect relief and social revitalization. The victims of social dysfunction turn to millennial beliefs to escape their sense of meaninglessness in the chaotic midst of apparent social aimlessness. The current catastrophe or misfortune is understood to be prelude to deliverance so that despair is replaced by hope.²⁹⁸ When millennial hopes are not materialized, the group may modify its ideology and launch into intense proselytizing efforts often to keep hope alive and growing.²⁹⁹

Premillennialism had existed before the dramatic rise of dispensationalism but it was the aggressive teachings of dispensationalism through Bible and prophecy

²⁹⁶ W.E.B. [William E. Blackstone], *Jesus is Coming*, 2nd ed.; reprint, (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908), 240.

²⁹⁷ Quoted in Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 193-194.

²⁹⁸ St. Clair, *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context*, 16-17.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

conferences that helped provide it grander platform and visibility.³⁰⁰ In 1878 Christians suspicious of the veracity of postmillennialism began a tradition of sponsoring premillennialist prophecy conferences to examine the timing of the Second Coming and related issues and to disseminate the premillennialist perspective on Bible prophecy, the apocalypse, and eschatology. Their sense was the world would never experience redemption based on the level of current scientific progress or mission enterprise.³⁰¹ The first International Prophecy Conference was held in New York City on October 30, 1878. Its mission statement read:

When from any cause some vital doctrine of God's Word has fallen into neglect or suffered contradiction and reproach, it becomes the serious duty of those who hold it, not only strongly and constantly to re-affirm it, but to seek by all means in their power to bring back the Lord's people to its apprehension and acceptance. The precious doctrine of Christ's second personal appearing has, we are constrained to believe, long lain under such neglect and misapprehension.³⁰²

Among the resolutions passed at the conclusion of the conference were those affirming the absolute authority and literal fulfillment of the whole Bible, the impending Second Coming, the ongoing evil decline of society, and the Church's need to "pray, watch, and work."³⁰³ A less attended second prophecy conference was held in Niagara in 1885. W. E. Blackstone and others sought to reinforce the pessimistic dispensational view of progressive evil to the end of the Church Age.³⁰⁴ The popular writings of the Plymouth Brethren issuing in total pessimism toward the "world" and the recent eight years of theological liberalism impacting seminaries and pulpits had preconditioned the Niagara conference participants to hostility and pessimism toward a "hell-bent" society. The premillennial advocacy style of providing a litany of the "signs of the times" with all their evil implications soon developed in which the modern moral decline of society pointed to the approaching doom of the defiant. The universe was spiraling downward, not upward.³⁰⁵

Plainly, earlier aspirations of postmillennialism and interpretation of biblical prophecy would need radical modification in premillennialism. In an attempt at

³⁰⁰ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 72.

³⁰¹ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 161-162.

³⁰² Quoted in Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 82.

³⁰³ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 83.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

³⁰⁵ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 163.

eschatological realism, the anticipated world conversion to Christ prior to the Second Coming was scaled down to include those presently being evangelized who would embrace the Gospel. Evangelism itself was now to be understood not a means to revitalizing society but rather to reaching a “select few.” Christian behavior was to focus not on improving the state of the world so as to become the place Christ would gladly come but now on preparing the Bride of Christ for the rapture and soon coming of the Bridegroom.³⁰⁶

A. T. Pierson (1837-1911) and Cyrus I. Scofield made dispensationalism respectable in the Evangelical world largely by means of their participation in prophecy and Bible conferences and their writings.³⁰⁷ James Brookes, a St. Louis Presbyterian minister, published his *Maranatha: or, The Lord Cometh* [1870] which remained in print for decades. Premillennial literalism required the precise fulfillment of every biblical promise to Israel and the reign of Christ on earth to execute God’s promises to the Jewish people. The Abrahamic Covenant, in placing strategic importance upon physical Israel, supplied the key for biblical interpretation for both Old and New Testaments.³⁰⁸ Premillennialism offered great appeal on the basis of current events, the “signs of the times,” which included nineteenth-century secular and religious reports of Jews returning to Palestine and the miraculous restoration of Zion. The literal fulfillment of biblical prophecy of Zion’s restoration fostered literal expectation for the Jewish conversion to Christ as well. Multiplied notable examples of Jewish converts to Christianity suggested a foretaste of the millennial Jewish harvest.³⁰⁹ The nineteenth-century foreign missions enterprise was another indication of the *eschaton* since Jesus had promised the end would come when the Gospel had been universally proclaimed.³¹⁰

In 1901 Cyrus Scofield and Arno C. Gaebelin (1861-1945) formed a new conference organization, the Sea Cliff Bible Conference, which lasted ten years. But this group planned the grander prophecy conferences at Chicago in 1914 and New York in

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Shepherd, “Revelation and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism,” 285.

³⁰⁸ Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism*, 25.

³⁰⁹ Earl W. Kennedy, “Prairie Premillennialism: Dutch Calvinist Chiliasm in Iowa 1847-1900, or the Long Shadow of Hendrik Pieter Scholte,” in *Reformed Review* 46:2 (Winter 1992): 164.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

1918. So effective was their work that dispensationalism became virtually identified with premillennialism.³¹¹

The shift in Evangelical revivalism from postmillennial to premillennial positions between the times of Charles Finney (1792-1875) and Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899) is one of the most staggering developments in nineteenth-century America. Historic premillennialism embraced the concept of a messianic Kingdom on earth subsequent to the Second Coming. The Church would surely enjoy the Kingdom with the reigning Christ. Jewish participation was welcomed but possible only as Jews embraced the Gospel and were identified with the Church. But modern premillennial dispensationalism made the millennial kingdom Jewish and given to Jews alone. The Church had a very different spiritual character and destiny.³¹²

Restorationism

Many Evangelicals nationally were agreed that the Christian denominations had long departed the graces of God. Restorationist aspirations were expressed in Church historical terms: the “apostolic morning” had been lost during the “papal night” but followed by “Reform’s cloudy afternoon.” But the late nineteenth century would soon witness the restoration of pristinely primitive New Testament faith and practice in the “pure evening light.”³¹³ As they awaited the Second Coming, many Evangelicals worked hard toward the apocalyptic restoration of apostolic faith. The current “signs of the times”, as signaled by social upheaval and world events, persuaded them the end of the history of human rebellion against “the Lord and His anointed” was at hand. In an era of decreasing significance of the individual, Evangelical Christians increasingly were prepared to take personally heroic stands in advance of the Second Coming. Human worth and life’s meaning somehow had been lost in the faceless maze of American urban industrialization. But involvement in Kingdom enterprise provided spiritual status and personal value. Their confidence in their “Spirit-led” success of rescuing the damned and provoking luke-warm Christians to active involvement in the

³¹¹ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 104.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 105.

³¹³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 29.

end-time revival was assured. They were militantly determined by their “blessed hope” and sense of messianic destiny.³¹⁴

Jewish Restoration as Catalyst to the *Eschaton*

Nineteenth-century American Evangelicalism watched the pre-Zionist stirrings in the Holy Land since Christians perceived the Second Coming to be imminent. Those longing for the restoration of primitivist Christianity also anticipated the spiritual conversion of the Jewish people in Zion in concert with the Second Coming.³¹⁵ Nineteenth-century missionaries to the Jews helped American Christians transition their focus to Zion as opposed to America as the site of eschatological fulfillment.³¹⁶ According to Robert Handy, Christian enthusiasm for the rising Jewish openness to receive the printed and experiential Gospel message led to Christian eyes focusing upon Jerusalem. Even as the Jewish world now anticipated the Messiah’s appearance in Jerusalem, Jesus would soon assume his Davidic throne, rebuild the Holy City, and generate the national conversion of the Jewish people as Israel would embrace Jesus as the messianic lamb of God.³¹⁷ The restoration of Israel and her position in the reordered universe became closely associated with dispensationalism.³¹⁸ Although Evangelicals might dispute as to when the Jewish people would embrace Christ, whether before or simultaneous to the Second Coming, Protestant literalists saw no reason to doubt the full restoration of Zion in space and time.³¹⁹ The persistent American religious motif that Israel would be nationally restored found new impetus when intensified by nineteenth-century premillennial dispensationalism.

Pentecostal Restoration as Catalyst to the *Eschaton*

Edward Irving (1792-1834), an 1820s Presbyterian minister in London, gathered a following on his charismatic preaching style, social criticism, and anticipation of a soon Second Coming. Among Irving’s eschatological views offered in his 1828 lectureship in

³¹⁴ Ibid., 34.

³¹⁵ Greenberg, *The Holy Land in American Religious Thought*, 113.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 132.

³¹⁷ Handy, *The Holy Land in American Protestant Life*, 82.

³¹⁸ Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development*, 110.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 191.

Edinburgh on John's Revelation was that speaking in tongues (glossolalia) was a key sign of the pending *eschaton*, as foretold by Jesus himself.³²⁰ One of Irving's chief backers, Henry Drummond, a wealthy London banker and Tory member in Parliament, sponsored annual prophecy conferences at his estate in Surrey from 1826 that helped ignite the later spread of premillennialism in America.³²¹

In keeping with the mounting restorationist theme, faith healing emphases began surfacing in the 1880s and 1890s that taught physical healings as well as spiritual healings were part of the accomplished work of the cross. When A. B. Simpson was faulted for his idea that healing of the body was presently available, he was disputed on the basis that such embracing of the gifts of healings would open an avenue for some to suggest that even the dispensationally obsolete use of speaking in tongues would still be relevant as well. Simpson responded by insisting tongues would indeed be restored to a repentant Church for contemporary use in the universal missionary spread of the Gospel.³²²

Dispensationalist "Baptism in the Holy Spirit"

Dwight L. Moody, Reuben A. Torrey, A. J. Gordon, A. T. Pierson, and A. B. Simpson, all non-Wesleyan popular preachers personally engaged in the promotion of premillennial dispensationalism, strongly held that the Holy Spirit was given firstly to *purify* and, secondly, to *empower* the believers for global evangelization in anticipation of the Second Coming. Successful Gospel witness the universe over would require the Spirit's "endowment with power for service," a synonym for the "Baptism with the Holy Spirit." The specific work of endowment with power was for the particular purpose of global Gospel proclamation. Any believer involved in ministry not baptized with the Holy Spirit was strongly encouraged to stop everything until he has been "clothed with power from on high." Such endowment would be received by means of a crisis spiritual experience.³²³

³²⁰ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 86-87. See also Dwight J. Wilson, *Armageddon Now! The Premillennarian Response to Russia and Israel Since 1917* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1977), 21; and David Dale Bundy, "Edward Irving," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*, 2nd ed.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

³²² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 21.

³²³ Blumhofer, "Puritan and Preparation," 268-270.

Moody's annual summer conferences at Northfield, Massachusetts were commenced in 1881 for the purpose of exploring the relationship between the believer and the Holy Spirit. Over the following two decades thousands registered their being filled or baptized with the Holy Spirit and being "endued with power from on high."³²⁴ The Northfield conferences added a foreign missions emphasis by 1886 and popularized a host of new Gospel songs, which centered on the end-time outpourings of the Holy Spirit.³²⁵ Dwight Moody and R. A. Torrey believed this spiritual experience was so profoundly important that every believer should be Spirit-baptized in the interest of winning souls to Christ.³²⁶

What Evidence of the Spirit's Baptism?

At the close of the nineteenth century Evangelical focus turned to the commonly recognized need for an end-times outpouring of the Holy Spirit.³²⁷ However, neither Torrey nor his contemporaries ventured to advocate any single evidence for the baptism in the Holy Spirit.³²⁸ Darby had taught the present age would transition into a new era of the Holy Spirit. The Keswick camp picked up on this Holy Spirit emphasis to advocate the rising "holiness" as evidence of the pending Second Coming.³²⁹ In the absence of a broad consensus on the nature of the evidence of spiritual sanctification, the "sanctified" might seek to demonstrate their separation from worldly society by abstaining from pork, coffee, alcohol, and tobacco. Attending theater or dancing, engaging in mixed swimming, the wearing of neckties or stylish clothing, participation in spectator sports, and women's hair cutting were all forbidden.³³⁰

Spiritual assurance or a *confirming witness* to the work done in one's own heart and spirit by the Spirit of God had been a serious matter even among the Puritans and classical Methodists in earlier American religion. The enthusiasm of the revivalists was often directly related to their sense of an inner "blessed assurance" that the soteriological and pneumatological promises of Scripture had found fulfillment in their

³²⁴ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 31.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

³²⁷ J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue: The Impact of Twentieth-Century Revivals* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973), 67.

³²⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 31.

³²⁹ Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 172-173.

³³⁰ Blumhofer, "Puritan and Preparation," 267.

own lives.³³¹ The Methodists had earlier agreed that reformation of the Church would only have lasting significance if God would pour out his Spirit on his people. Christians should spare no effort to “pray and preach down” the Spirit’s outpouring.³³²

In the late nineteenth century the matter of “evidence” of having received spiritual blessing was taken even more seriously. Hannah Whittall Smith recorded in her posthumously published papers the testimony of one “Dr. R” who contended that the “Baptism of the Holy Spirit was a physical thing, felt by delightful thrills going through you from head to toe, and that no one could really know what the Baptism of the Spirit was who did not experience these thrills.”³³³ At the same time holiness leadership began warning against dependence upon physical or emotional signs of spiritual blessing by century’s end. In fact, Methodist Asbury Lowery published in an 1891 issue of *Divine Life* a strong protest against any expectation of outward signs as over against faith-based Wesleyan-styled inner assurance.³³⁴

Apostolic “Baptism of the Holy Spirit”

Reuben A. Torrey’s *The Baptism with the Holy Spirit* [1897] addressed key issues related to spiritual experience and its evidence. He asked what is to evidence the definite spiritual work of the Holy Spirit baptism? Plainly the apostles knew when their commanded tarrying should end. What had been *their* sign?³³⁵ Torrey went on to insist Spirit-baptism was clearly distinct from regeneration,³³⁶ that filling with the Holy Spirit could be absent from a regenerate Christian,³³⁷ that it was given in relation to Gospel witness³³⁸ and imparted power for service³³⁹ so that Gospel proclamation could be administered in liberty and fearlessness.³⁴⁰ It occupied the recipient with spiritual pursuits³⁴¹ and was absolutely mandatory for every sort of Christian ministry.³⁴² Baptism with the Holy Spirit was to have been the normal Christian experience through

³³¹ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 176-177.

³³² Walsh, “‘Methodism’ and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism,” 21.

³³³ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 177.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ R. A. Torrey, *The Baptism with the Holy Spirit* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897), 10.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

³³⁷ R. A. Torrey, *The Holy Spirit* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell, 1927), 114.

³³⁸ Torrey, *The Baptism with the Holy Spirit*, 14.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 28.

the ages.³⁴³ Whatever personal sacrifice might be exacted from the Christian was to be freely offered out of one's personal duty to those still needing to hear the Gospel.³⁴⁴

Moody indicated that beyond the Spirit's habitation in the believer resulting from spiritual regeneration, a distinct gift of the Holy Spirit was vital for anointed and qualified Christian service according to the will of God. In the seeking, one would find the gift of the Holy Spirit whose filling would influence the surrounding community.³⁴⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century a significant American Evangelical minority embraced the idea of a spiritual experience with the Holy Spirit as essential to the fulfillment of the Great Commission prior to the Second Coming.

Yet American Evangelicals could not be oblivious to domestic and international events around them at century's end beckoning American involvement in the perceived improvement of the human situation. According to Ralph Gabriel, American militarism and investment patterns made it clear that, on the heels of the Spanish-American War, Americans had accepted imperialism by 1900.³⁴⁶ During the Progressive Era, Americans probed the meaning of the myth of the American mission to the world. At the turn of the twentieth century, the old American dream of a universally successful Christian missionary enterprise was showing signs of potential realization. University students chanted, "the evangelization of the world in this generation."³⁴⁷ But new materialistic and idealistic meanings were likewise read into the old slogan of the "mission of America" to those with less than altruistic motivations.³⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

American Pentecostalist ideology would be formed at the beginning of the twentieth century as the cumulative result of several historical streams of intellectual thought channeled through great American religious minds. The seventeenth-century Puritans envisioned an American nation functioning as the New Israel, with the American people divinely chosen to inhabit a national "Citty vppon a Hill" and serving as the prime international agent of Gospel revelation. Yet American Puritanism would

³⁴³ Ibid., 31.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 32.

³⁴⁵ W. H. Daniels, *Moody: His Words, Work, and Workers* (New York Nelson and Phillips, 1877), 396-399.

³⁴⁶ Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, 339.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 340.

not lose sight of national Israel's biblically promised ultimate place among the nations, with Zion basking in the glorious adulation of the Gentiles, when corporate Israel would ultimately embrace Jesus as Messiah and finally walk in faithful obedience to God. This everlasting hope for a nationally restored Jewish people in Zion would characterize much of the Christian literalist camps for the next centuries.

The utopian aspirations of post-millennialism in the eighteenth century, as inspired by great minds and spirits like those of Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley, longed for a world free of all maladies and properly suited for the Second Coming of Jesus. The Christian duty was to affect the redemption of mankind through Gospel proclamation and social betterment so that in the end a Christian redeemed universe would submit to God and his Christ and enjoy divine blessing. While postmillennialists were assigning biblical duties of global enlightenment to the American Christian nation, the Jewish people were perceived to be yet awaiting national redemption and restoration. Israel's national salvation would come with the Jewish corporate embrace of their King-Messiah.

With the later nineteenth-century disillusionment with the negligible long-term effect of Christian influence upon a darkened world in defiance against God, premillennialism captured the intellectual loyalties of vast segments of American Christianity. Despairing of human efforts to bring global redemption, many were quite prepared to defer the outcome of salvation history to God's supernatural intervention into human affairs. John N. Darby and Charles I. Scofield advocated a new ideological system supporting a divine intrusion into a God-defiant universe in the form of premillennial dispensationalism. The intriguing logic of dispensationalism soon captured the imagination of great blocs of evangelical and holiness Christianity. Rather than pour vast resources and energies into improving the world by noble humanitarian efforts, Christians were to momentarily anticipate the Second Coming. Just prior to a secret rapture of genuine Christians to heaven, believers were to be fully engaged in evangelism to enable lost souls to find spiritual redemption in the closing days of time. It was believed that the growing emphasis upon holiness among many Christians would yield inner-sanctifying changes by the Holy Spirit and inspire boldness for preaching.

The dispensationalist ideology of the national salvation of Israel had afforded the Jewish people a new place of importance in the *eschaton*. Immediately after the removal of the Church from its active role on earth, the Kingdom would be re-offered to Israel and accepted with the Second Coming. The new Kingdom dispensation would experience the total fulfillment of all the biblical promises to Israel during the millennial age. But worldly affairs would only further deteriorate in the interim.

The duty of all sincere Christians until the rapturous escape from a spiritually darkened and Church-defeating world would be to seek a holy existence and to evangelize those otherwise facing divine wrath. What was needed was a "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" to equip the Christian with the needed holiness and boldness to perform his or her mission well in the present darkness. The controversial issue of the bona fide evidence for one's claiming to have received the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" would become directly connected with the rise of Zionism in Pentecostalist ideology with the turn of the next century.

Chapter Two:
**FRATERNAL TWIN INFANTS:
PENTECOSTALISM AND ZIONISM, 1901-1917**

The vital link between the twentieth-century fraternal twin phenomena of Zionism and the Pentecostal movement is discovered only after careful scrutiny of the motifs behind the distinct ideology of American Pentecostalism as it was formed in the caldron of religious controversy and social upheaval. The simple folks of early Pentecostalism lived in anything but simple times. Their unique theology strained to find justification for their novelties in support of the perpetuation of their movement. The highly charged religious experience of the Pentecostals located corroborating biblical and extra-biblical evidence of their end-time legitimacy in their fellow modern traveler, Zionism.

For the early Pentecostals, the “end-time” or *eschaton* was the biblically prophesied period for the divinely orchestrated restorations of Israel and the Church, the ultimate global revival, and the apocalyptic consummation of salvation history. The brightly re-lit torch of pristine NT Christianity would beacon universal enlightenment across the darkened cosmic horizon in momentary expectation of the Second Coming. The *flash* of American millenarian expectation of Jesus’ physical return was accompanied by the intense desire for the *flare* of spiritual experience. The Pentecostal ideological system afforded the merger of flash and flare, of apocalyptic anticipation and divine encounter. Most of the essential Pentecostalist ideology was not new since for years many Evangelicals had been promoting salvation, healing, baptism with the Holy Spirit, the Second Coming, and the ultimate restoration of the Kingdom to Israel. The one substantial distinctive in Pentecostal teaching was glossolalia or speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism. This distinctive would generate division between Pentecostals and the balance of Evangelical Christianity for decades. Yet the indigenously American Pentecostalist

ideology enjoyed widespread religious and communal appeal on the rapidly changing social landscape in the United States.³⁴⁹

While early Pentecostalism was birthed among many Christians otherwise persuaded of the particulars of premillennial dispensationalism, Pentecostalist ideology had inherent conflict with the finer points of dispensationalism.³⁵⁰ Pentecostalism did lay great emphasis upon eschatology but included a corresponding emphasis upon a contemporary “end-time” Pentecostal restoration of apostolic Christianity prior to the imminent Second Coming.³⁵¹ Evangelical and holiness camp negative reactions were swift and intense and required speedy Pentecostal response.

The publication of several “Latter Rain” writings in this period, including David Wesley Myland’s *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* [1910], articulated a distinctive Pentecostal stance against the Holiness Movement’s limited identification of “the baptism in the Holy Ghost” with the Wesleyan “entire sanctification” or “Christian perfection” traditions. For Pentecostals, the modern restoration of the spiritual gifts including the Spirit-baptism “tongues” experience, which clearly had not been functioning in the historic churches, was divinely-issued testimony to the second Pentecost or “Latter Rain” restoration of the Church to its apostolic origins, thus legitimating and validating Pentecostalism’s revitalized existence. The outpouring of the Spirit in this climactic period of “Latter Rain” was divine preparation for the ultimate spiritual harvest of mankind to be experienced at the pending Second Coming. The Church had needed to be brought up to proper spiritual standard in anticipation of the climax of salvation history so that the mandate for global evangelism could be fully executed prior to the pouring out of God’s wrath in judgment upon the nations. The new record-setting amounts of divinely issued annual rainfall in Palestine and the rise of the Zionist movement further signaled confirmation of the arrival of the *eschaton* and Second Coming.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 11-12.

³⁵⁰ Glen Menzies and Gordon L. Anderson, “D. W. Kerr and Eschatological Diversity in the AG,” *Paraclete* 27:1 (Winter 1993): 12.

³⁵¹ Gerald T. Sheppard, “Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship,” *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6 (Fall 1984): 7.

³⁵² D. Wesley Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* (Chicago: Evangel Publishing House, 1910), viii-ix.

PENTECOSTAL APPEAL TO LOWER CLASSES:
“THE VISION OF THE DISINHERITED”

The years 1890 to 1925 witnessed the transition of competitive entrepreneurial capitalism to monopolistic bureaucratic capitalism in the United States. The economic crisis resulting in the depression of 1893 to 1896 effected class conflict and farmer militancy. The recovery period in the succeeding years was consumed with the new developments associated with urbanization, massive immigration, the Spanish-American War, the birth of American imperialism and global expansionism. A corresponding ecclesiastical crisis revolved around questions allied with biblical “higher criticism,” Darwin’s theory of evolution with its extended applications to many disciplines, and the “social gospel” in conjunction with questions of the Church’s proper role in American society.³⁵³

While the early American Pentecostals came from broad racial and regional backgrounds, most had been economically deprived. They were the long-term victims of the rapid urban industrialization that followed the Civil War and had suffered deeply from the resulting social shock. Families found themselves uprooted from the quiet peace of spacious rural farm life and forced into overcrowded and impersonal urban dwellings. But the deteriorating rural societies they had abandoned had likewise generated social disillusionment. Modernity had resulted in material and spiritual loss to many such Americans. Those with a supernaturalist worldview were often drawn to experience-oriented and miracle-proclaiming Pentecostalism. Most Pentecostals shared two things in common: 1) they came from rural-agrarian backgrounds and had suffered cultural transplant to urban centers, and 2) they were trapped in a low social status as Blacks, or as immigrants from Eastern or Southern Europe or Latin America, or as economically and culturally impoverished native whites.³⁵⁴

Robert Mapes Anderson has contended that Pentecostalism was “born of radical social discontent” as people withdrew from the social struggle they faced in an

³⁵³ Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979), 224-225.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

overwhelming world. Their social powerlessness fostered aggressive hostility against a society inflicting injustices upon them. But considering themselves now energized by the grand Source of all power, the revolutionizing impulse of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, Pentecostals felt newly empowered to use spiritual authority to function as holy instruments of prophetic judgment upon a world they hated.³⁵⁵ They corporately shared a gloriously radical spiritual anonymity.³⁵⁶

While the mainstream historical churches in American Protestantism tended to ignore old-fashioned religious revivalism in favor of their much-preferred focus on newer levels of social sophistication, biblical higher criticism, and sundry culturally liberating agendas, by 1905 the nation's two largest denominations recognized the potential for a new American religious awakening. Methodism, accounting for about 33% of American Protestants, predicted a massive religious revival of national proportions. The Methodists officially journalized that a great and powerful revival was sweeping every corner of America with a renewed emphasis upon the Holy Spirit's power. They expected this revival would dramatically increase their local church membership rosters.³⁵⁷ The Presbyterians had also observed masses of Americans were anticipating "a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit."³⁵⁸ Strange phenomena were occurring in revivals throughout Missouri while a "new spiritual epoch" was reported in Kansas City.³⁵⁹

In 1905 the Baptists, a fraction smaller than the Methodists, published accounts concerning a "spiritual renaissance" of new spiritual life in churches and Bible colleges where "soul-winning" evangelism had become normalized in practice.³⁶⁰ In Dixon, Illinois, Baptists, Christians (Disciples of Christ), Congregationalists, Evangelicals, Lutherans, Methodists and Presbyterians were all cooperating in a "cyclonic revival" under the ministry of Billy Sunday, former professional baseball star turned

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 222.

³⁵⁶ Edith L. Blumhofer, "'Pentecost in My Soul': Probing the Early Pentecostal Ethos," *A/G Heritage* (Spring 1989): 14.

³⁵⁷ J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue: The Impact of Twentieth-Century Revivals* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973), 81.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 73.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 78.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 81.

evangelist.³⁶¹ Southern Baptists of Paducah, Kentucky, described their own “great pentecostal revival” which lasted from November 1905 through March 1906.³⁶²

The Awakening of 1905 ran through the southern states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana dramatically impacting Whites and Blacks among both the Methodists and Baptists.³⁶³ Ohio boasted of revival touching 50 congregations in Dayton alone in addition to the phenomenal reports stemming from Cleveland and Columbus.³⁶⁴ Methodists in Michigan reported an outpouring that awakened entire towns like Saginaw, Owosso, and Tuscola where the church was filled with “pentecostal power for five weeks.”³⁶⁵ J. Edwin Orr has related that the Pentecostal movement drew much of its initial strength from the 1905 Awakening in much the same way the Baptists benefited from the general English Separatist awakening of the seventeenth century and Methodist ranks dramatically expanded due to the eighteenth-century Great Awakening.³⁶⁶

The climate for revivalism was red-hot. With the revivalistic news out of 1901 Topeka and 1906 Los Angeles, the marginalized people, the “humbler orders of society,” gravitated toward Pentecostalism with high-spirited eagerness. Pentecostals drew heavily from the socially disadvantaged, the immigrant populations, and others at the lower end of the social scale. Vinson Synan has pointed up that the newly impressed Pentecostal faithful had been admittedly drawn from the “illiterate...common classes...and the 'scum' of society.”³⁶⁷ The Pentecostal faithful were often untaught and taken from the unimpressive elements of society. They frequently included habitual drunkards, gamblers, loose women and infidels.³⁶⁸ Originally appealing primarily to classical American “white stock,” soon both native and immigrant ethnic minorities filled the Pentecostal ranks.³⁶⁹ The egalitarian spirit of the earliest Pentecostalism added great strength to the bond between adherents. Without the need for ecclesiastical hierarchy or priestly class, people of many colors

³⁶¹ Ibid., 78.

³⁶² Ibid., 74.

³⁶³ Ibid., 75.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 76.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 178.

³⁶⁷ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1971), 177f.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 114.

and languages celebrated their common brotherhood. Few designed religious programming since most were inclined to simply “let the Spirit move” them. Worship services afforded public recognition of the manifestations of spiritual giftings ostensibly issued to benefit entire congregations.³⁷⁰ But no glory was to be wasted on man; no, to God would go all the glory.

Whether still rural resident or urbanized ghetto dweller, the typical Pentecostal stood just beyond the fringe of middle-class American society. The Pentecostalist found in his new radical faith, “the marginal religion that expressed and dignified his marginality.”³⁷¹ Pentecostalism compensated its faithful adherents by affording them the psychic reinforcement needed to justify marginalized life experience and provided a grand sense of belonging to a new and far more meaningful society. As Anderson has noted, Pentecostalism “brought clarity and meaning to (one’s) disoriented social circumstances.”³⁷² The Pentecostal experience provided membership into an elite fellowship of participants in the *eschaton*. Members of this eschatologically-equipped Pentecostal apostolic band enjoyed a marvelous sense of community and new significance in social status.³⁷³ The successful achievement of religious ecstasy was a glad exchange for social struggle in a difficult world.³⁷⁴

The normally estranged ethnically heterogeneous working class people with their divergent races, national languages, and social customs, shared a commonality in Pentecostal circles. While, as Robert Anderson has demonstrated, most American-born and immigrant Pentecostals had rural backgrounds and had been socio-culturally transplanted to industrialized centers, they tended to live in similar inner-city environments while simultaneously sensing societal exclusion from mainstream middle America.³⁷⁵ These Pentecostals intensified their group commonality by their preaching of the Pentecostal experience, e.g., Spirit-baptism, with a unity that transcended their important and very real cultural distinctives. The social integration of Pentecostal worship services offered a dignity and sense of community that

³⁷⁰ R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 140.

³⁷¹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 136.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

conventional Anglo-Saxon ethnocentrism could not afford the multi-cultural Pentecostals. Multiple services in various languages accommodated the socially marginalized and the diversified craftsmen alike over a wide social spectrum.³⁷⁶ For example, in one Portland, Oregon, mission,

“There was no color line. The red, the yellow, the black and the white all worshipped together.” Monday night services were in German; Saturday night in Swedish or Norwegian. Those converted in that mission included “Fallen humanity of every type and description...drunkards...and drug addicts” as well as “many tradesmen: contractors, engineers, bricklayers, carpenters, iron and concrete workers, electricians, painters, plumbers, sheet metal and furnace workers.”³⁷⁷

Pentecostals viewed their movement as the divine restoration of the full Gospel. This helped afford American Pentecostals forge a magical sense of identity and purpose not unlike the American national sense of mission and destiny. As Edith Blumhofer observed, Pentecostalism helped people replace their social despair with a sure sense of peace and ultimate victory.³⁷⁸ Involvement in speaking in tongues, exorcisms, and healings traditionally kept Pentecostals from influencing politics, the economy, or social relations within American society. Spiritual phenomena tended to either persuade participants or reinforce their predisposed convictions that improvement in society could only be accomplished by spiritual means, as men would follow God’s lead. As Anderson has bitinglly stated,

Even the presumed “radical” or “extremist” practices of tongues, exorcism, and healing are conservative in effect, because they have kept the Pentecostals busily engaged in activities which have no impact whatever on the fundamental political economy or social relations of American society, and because they serve to reconcile the Pentecostals to things as they are.³⁷⁹

Since human remedies could yield no lasting solution, Pentecostals largely left the social order in tact for better or for worse. They condemned both society and the Church establishment as weighted down in rebellion against God and as yielding nothing to eternal matters. But Pentecostals believed they could make a grand difference in the realm of the Spirit which would ultimately translate to natural change

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 122-123.

³⁷⁷ Apostolic Faith, *Historical Account*, 87-88. Quoted in Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 123.

³⁷⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 72.

³⁷⁹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 239-240.

“on the ground” in space and time.³⁸⁰ Eternity focused early Pentecostals were given to supernatural experience and truth and had little time for the mundane affairs of a world perceived to be in active rebellion against God. Elections and politics were for unbelievers not connected to the Eternal Source of power and truth.³⁸¹

Pentecostals lacked both economic and inner securities as betrayed by their fervent pursuit of religious certainty. Their readiness to move from group to group or from dogma to alternate dogma is a reflection of their “seekers” mode of life.³⁸² Their widespread early proliferation of Pentecostal fellowships in public halls and small storefronts testified to their eagerness for personal involvement and their quest for ever-grander faith experiences. In their commitment to holiness and divine encounter many Pentecostals seemed to be in perpetual movement toward the ever more enthusiastic or revived religious group.³⁸³

The simple country folks the Pentecostals represented found great solace, meaning and purpose by means of their ongoing engagement with Pentecostalism. The pending Millennium, soon to commence with the Second Coming, would initiate a just society. Their ecstatic prayer experience supported their hope for the fulfillment of the promised Kingdom. But the immediate and outward effect of their focus on the eternal was social passivity and conservative conformity.³⁸⁴ Early Pentecostals tended toward cultural insulation. The cosmic battle of good versus evil strongly fixed the Pentecostal worldview as an “us and God” versus “them and Satan” universe. Pentecostals might venture out into a hostile universe only to “rescue the perishing.” Expected behavioral and cultural norms strongly defined the Pentecostal community’s corporate sense of meaning, purpose, and spiritual obligation.

Within one year of the 1906 Azusa Street revival, Pentecostalism claimed ten to fifteen thousand adherents and had increased ten-fold by 1916.³⁸⁵ Pentecostalism’s greatest growth would come between 1910 and 1950 as America increasingly relocated from the farmlands to the cities. As Synan has demonstrated, the holiness and

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 240.

³⁸¹ Grant Wacker, “Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish: Primitivism, Pragmatism, and the Pentecostal Character,” in *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 145.

³⁸² Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 108-109.

³⁸³ Ibid., 110.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 240.

³⁸⁵ Some 81% of American Pentecostals were living in the South in 1916.

emotionally-liberating aspects of Pentecostalism continued to appeal to the transplanted migrants in urbanized society as Pentecostalism strongly corresponded with much of the pietistic “old-time religion” associated with the more traditional Protestant churches many had left in the countryside.³⁸⁶ But Synan disputed Robert Anderson’s claim that most of the numerical growth of the Pentecostal movement (1910-1950) had primarily come from among the working poor in the more responsive seasons of economic reversal or as the result of personal crisis.³⁸⁷

Naming the few exceptions, Anderson categorically stated that Pentecostal leadership largely consisted of young men from rural surroundings raised in humble circumstances like most Americans. A small number would qualify as solidly middle-class with most reared in the evangelical-pietistic tradition of nineteenth-century Protestantism.³⁸⁸ The Pentecostal congregational corporate emotionalism and working class character combined with the meager education and frequent menial secular employment of pastors to deny Pentecostal preachers much social status.³⁸⁹

EARLY PENTECOSTAL VOICES: CHARLES PARHAM AND WILLIAM SEYMOUR

CHARLES FOX PARHAM

Pentecostalism arose at the turn of the twentieth century as a consummation of nineteenth-century teachings emanating from restorationist and holiness sectarians. Restorationists among several denominational traditions had long expressed regret that the Church had lost its way in centuries past as it had radically departed from the simplicity and purity of first-century Christianity. They yearned for a return to a Book of Acts standard of Christian simplicity unencumbered by excessive church organizational structure. A growing sense of expectation in the holiness circles for a renewal of Holy Spirit imparted sanctification and empowerment of Christian lives for evangelistic ends likewise infused new hope among many in Evangelical ranks. Within a few short years, the American Pentecostalist movement had become an international phenomenon as it garnered numerical strength from among the multitudes of often

³⁸⁶ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, 201-202.

³⁸⁷ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 227-228.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 99, 100, 103.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 107-108.

financially impoverished and uneducated lower class émigrés. These transitional elements of society, among the most open in society to novel thinking, had combined their readiness for innovation with their restorationist and holiness tendencies to create the new Pentecostal reality on the American religious landscape.

Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929), sometimes mid-West Methodist evangelist and founder of Bethel Bible College in Topeka, offered the ingeniously unique teaching that speaking in tongues was the initial evidence of one having received “the baptism of the Holy Spirit.” “Tongues” immediately became the chief distinguishing characteristic of the new Pentecostal teaching and earned Pentecostals a fair amount of contempt in American Christianity.

Parham imagined he was equipped to approach the Bible with an unprejudiced mind, unencumbered with preconceived notions that may obscure the common sense interpretation of passages. Proclaiming he was able to view Scripture without the biased meanings theologians had imposed to justify their dogmas, he was able to read it “just as it says.”³⁹⁰ Reliance on spiritual illumination for biblical understanding became the model and standard Pentecostal practice. No “theology” was needed but only the enlightenment of the Spirit in the reading of Scripture, just as in apostolic days and before the “killing of the letter” done by church councils and schools of theology throughout the spiritually tragic history of the church. The same Spirit who had inspired Holy Writ in the first place could also inspire its proper interpretation in the twentieth century. Pentecostals began to scoff at conventional Christianity as “dead” and boldly asserted that the operation of the gifts of the Spirit³⁹¹ in their Pentecostal meetings demonstrated the Spirit’s endorsement of their Pentecostal message and interpretation.

Parham believed the chief purpose of tongues speaking was the successful evangelization of the globe in all languages, the ultimate sign of the Second Coming. Parham’s new interest in missions and evangelism coincided with his public advocacy of tongues as the biblical evidence of Spirit-baptism. “Tongues” immediately became the “litmus test” of the Pentecostal experience and was considered crucial to the

³⁹⁰ Sarah E. Parham, *The Life and Times of Charles F. Parham* (n.pub., 1930), 3.

³⁹¹ The nine “gifts of the Spirit” are listed in I Corinthians 12:7-11 as the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, the effecting of miracles, prophecy, the distinguishing of spirits, various kinds of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues.

recovery of the apostolic faith message and the restoration of the pristine NT Church.³⁹² Parham's conviction of tongues as contemporary language was based on that reality as found in Acts 2:6-8,³⁹³

When they heard this noise, a large crowd gathered. They were all excited, because all of them heard the believers talking in their own languages. In amazement and wonder they exclaimed, "These people who are talking like this are Galileans! How is it, then, that all of us hear them speaking in our own native languages?"

From Parham's perspective it was a tremendous waste of missionary time, resources and energy to learn new languages when the Spirit could linguistically equip apocalyptic spokesmen.³⁹⁴ Parham believed such ecstatic speech was divinely issued as the sealing for the last days³⁹⁵ and represented a "marvelous restoration of apostolic power."³⁹⁶ Speaking in tongues was the "authoritative (Bible) evidence" of having received the power and of the Spirit's own coming.³⁹⁷ Parham insisted that tongues were the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism based upon Acts 2:4 ("They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to talk in other languages, as the Spirit enabled them to speak"). This became the official General Council of the Assemblies of God (AG) position after 1914.

Parham and Zionism

In keeping with Parham's end-time restoration of the apostolic faith, he publicly lectured on his support for Theodor Herzl and the Zionist aspiration for a Jewish State. To Parham's thinking, British-Israelism, the notion that the Saxons were to be fully identified with the ten lost tribes of Israel, afforded Parham no historical qualm or ideological conflict. He was able to reconcile the Zionist dream and end-time Pentecostalism with Josiah Strong's philosophy that America's Anglo-Saxon physical stock was destined to nationally dominate the globe and Rudyard Kipling's "white man's burden" into one grand eschatological scenario. Parham's Pentecostal panorama of end-time prophetic events included the eschatological tensions surrounding the

³⁹² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 52.

³⁹³ Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, n.d.; originally published in 1902; 2d ed., 1910), 28.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

approaching seventh (sabbatical) millennium, the glorious manifestation of the truly prophetic sons of God due to publicly occur sometime between 1896 and 1901, and his facts concerning the migration from India to the British Isles of Isaac's Sons (read "Saxons") who had ultimately migrated as Puritans to the New World. God's call to biblical Israel extended to their "Saxon" descendants in America.³⁹⁸ Parham's ability to shift theological camps, i.e., from Congregationalist to Methodist to Holiness to Pentecostalist, enhanced his ability to religiously innovate and appropriate ideas from various Christian and secular schools of thought and reshape them into one larger whole.³⁹⁹

Edith Blumhofer has indicated, "Parham's lectures on Zionism sometimes proved vastly more popular than his stance on the gospel."⁴⁰⁰ Reportedly Parham would frequently preach or sit on a church platform wearing symbolic Palestinian garb. In fact, in later revivalistic crusades in Houston, Texas, Parham's entire team of 15 would don Palestinian apparel to drive home his Zionist point.⁴⁰¹

Parham's biweekly publication, *Apostolic Faith*, registered his growing use of restorationist themes. Spirit-baptism had eschatological meaning to Parham as it "sealed the bride" for "the marriage supper of the Lamb." So vital was Spirit-baptism that it provided the only escape from the "Great Tribulation" and, during Parham's 1890s, made water baptism dispensable.⁴⁰² Parham assigned a Pentecostal identity to the 144,000 sealed Jewish witnesses of Revelation 7 who would be active during the dispensationalist "Great Tribulation." Their special "sealing" would be accomplished by their tongues-speaking Spirit-baptism.⁴⁰³

Parham carried the Pentecostal message to Alexander Dowie's restorationist Zion in Illinois in the fall of 1906. There he created a Pentecostal constituency that would later yield a crop of leaders for the newly forming General Council of the Assemblies of God in 1914. Unfortunately, Parham had a history of physical and mental breakdowns that had the effect of intensifying his search for biblically based

³⁹⁸ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 82-83.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

⁴⁰⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 53.

⁴⁰¹ Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 298.

⁴⁰² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 46.

⁴⁰³ Charles Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 27.

healing and a greater sense of the divine.⁴⁰⁴ His highly complex soteriology and eschatology combined with his embrace of the “white man’s burden” to eventually limit his personal audiences.⁴⁰⁵ The ministry of a Parham protégé, African-American William Seymour, would soon eclipse Parham’s own ministry much to everyone’s surprise and to Parham’s great discontent.

WILLIAM J. SEYMOUR

William J. Seymour (1870-1922), black pastor at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, had spent from November 1905 to February 1906 at Charles Parham’s occasional Houston Bible School learning the general scope of Parham’s eschatology which portrayed a dismissive view of history.⁴⁰⁶ Seymour’s opening days of the Azusa Street revival in April 1906 coincided with the devastating San Francisco earthquake up the California coast. Religious interest quaked as well resulting in an abundance of respondents to the *Los Angeles Daily Times* coverage of the Azusa Street happenings. James Tinney included Jews in his list of ethnic peoples participating in the Azusa revival⁴⁰⁷ along with Chinese, Native Americans, Mexicans, various European nationals, African Americans and the general white population. They were convinced the presence of the *Shechinah* was in their meetings. The miraculous occurrences among them persuaded them the power of the first-century Church had been restored, that surely the Second Coming was imminent with the millennium set to begin.⁴⁰⁸

The Azusa Street revival shook Los Angeles. Holiness periodicals throughout the nation reported revivalist scenes of ecstasy and mass delirium as people spoke in unlearned languages. Many of the new participants were suggesting this new religious experience transcended anything they had known in their sanctified holiness existence.

⁴⁰⁴ Conkin, *American Originals*, 295.

⁴⁰⁵ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 88-89.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 89. See also, C. M. Robeck, Jr., “William Joseph Seymour,” *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*, 2nd ed., Stanley M. Burgess, ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002): 1053-1058.

⁴⁰⁷ James S. Tinney, “William J. Seymour: Father of Modern Day Pentecostalism,” in *Black Apostles: Afro-American Clergy Confront the Twentieth Century*, eds. Randall K. Burkett and Richard Newman (Boston: G. K. Hall and Company, 1978), 220.

⁴⁰⁸ Catherine L. Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1992), 174-175.

Tongues, they insisted, were vital to one's own "personal Pentecost."⁴⁰⁹ This claim to superior religious experience was destined to meet with religious hostility.

The mixed racial participation, the group-worship in ecstatic tongues, the trances, shouting, jerking, and rolling on the floor, all evoked not only curiosity but ridicule and mockery.⁴¹⁰ Azusa Street was reminiscent of the Great Awakening and nineteenth-century holiness camp meetings in terms of religious expressionism: shouting, jerking, shaking, dancing, jumping, falling prostrate, etc.⁴¹¹ Prepared for social and religious innovation, new arrivals to Los Angeles were ready to experiment with the emotionally thrilling and energy consuming worship exercises and events. Probably as many as 13,000 people experienced the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" in the first year alone of the 1906-1909 Azusa Street Revival.⁴¹²

Many holiness groups who had anticipated a coming "Pentecost" were initially resistant to the wild nature of the services; yet a fair number of holiness leaders and fellowships ultimately embraced the new "tongues experience." But the dogmatic Pentecostal tongues position first proffered by Parham would foster a major breach between the Pentecostal and the holiness camps resulting in sometimes bitter rivalry.⁴¹³

At Azusa Street, tongues in modern languages were to be signs to unbelieving heathen of the authenticity of the divine origin of the message brought by "last days" apostolic witnesses. A litany of divinely implanted languages were cited as having been given by the Spirit to the unlearned including Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu and other languages of Africa, Hindu and Bengali (dialects of India), Esquimaux, the deaf mute language, Chippewa and other languages of the Native Americans. In fact, Pentecostals held that the Holy Spirit would be speaking all the languages of the world through his children.⁴¹⁴

The conviction that God was dramatically using Pentecostals in the *eschaton* provided them excitement and awe. Now would be *the* very time and place for the restoration of the Church to its pristine NT condition of power and purity. Even as the first-century Jewish Pentecostals fully engaged in proselytizing efforts home and

⁴⁰⁹ Vinson Synan, *The Old-Time Power* (Franklin Springs, GA: Advocate Press, 1973), 105.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴¹¹ Tinney, "William J. Seymour: Father of Modern Day Pentecostalism," 214.

⁴¹² Conkin, *American Originals*, 299-300.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁴¹⁴ See *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), I (September 1906) in Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 90.

abroad, so too would the latter day Pentecostals.⁴¹⁵ The angry rejection of many of the holiness groups only evidenced to Pentecostals petty holiness dogmatic devotion to doctrinal matters.

The Pentecostal teaching quickly spread across the United States as influential visitors from across the board of the Holiness Movements came to experience the 1906 Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles first hand. Significant denominational groups and more individual congregations embraced the Pentecostal message and teaching.⁴¹⁶ Pentecostals manifested their millenarian group spirit by engaging in Pentecostal-styled worship and evangelism, by participating in world mission efforts to expedite the Second Coming, and by expressing their profound enthusiasm for the Zionist cause as a “sign of the times.” These missions-minded Protestants, who discarded the world order and discounted the value of Church history, desired the restoration of Christianity to its “ancient future.”⁴¹⁷ The growth of the movement coming out of Azusa Street caused it to quickly become one of the fastest-growing religious movements in the world that would reap both respect and fear from other religious groups.⁴¹⁸ The outbreaks of Pentecostalism in Chicago, Toronto, Europe and India all traced their connection to Azusa Street in 1906 Los Angeles.⁴¹⁹

EARLY PENTECOSTALIST IDEOLOGY: RESTORATIONISM, GLOSSOLALIA AND ZIONISM

The Pentecostal movement had arrived like a meteor upon the 1906 American religious scene arousing both curiosity in many circles and joy in others who regarded the neo-Pentecostalism as the restoration of the first-century power and gifts to the Church. Both the larger Evangelical oriented denominational churches and the main holiness camps quickly ostracized the movement. Pentecostalism had more appeal to newer fellowships, to independent spirits, and the socially fringed “come-outers,”

⁴¹⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 60.

⁴¹⁶ Edith L. Blumhofer, “Puritan and Preparation: A Study in the Pentecostal Perfectionist Heritage” in *Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism*, Stanley M. Burgess, et al, eds. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986), 274. Among those who helped diffuse the Pentecostal message nationally were: G. B. Cashwell (Pentecostal Holiness Church), A. J. Tomlinson (Church of God), Charles H. Mason (Church of God in Christ). Many congregations associated with A. B. Simpson’s Christian and Missionary Alliance likewise identified with the infant Pentecostal Movement.

⁴¹⁷ Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 172.

⁴¹⁸ Tinney, “William J. Seymour: Father of Modern Day Pentecostalism,” 213.

⁴¹⁹ Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, 179-180.

those ready to disassociate from any group or organization considered to be working at cross-purposes with the divine plan.⁴²⁰

Among the purposes given for glossolalia were 1) tongues were an eschatological sign, which inaugurated the season of the Latter Rain, and 2) tongues were the means God would use to issue his final Gospel proclamation to the nations. Parham, formerly a Methodist pastor, held to this view until his death, although real historical experience did not bear out his theory in Pentecostal missionary practice.

Pentecostal purpose, identity and dignity were located in the Pentecostal view of their participation and specific role in the *eschaton*. History was deemed useless, as the Church had been so utterly devoid of the Holy Spirit's manifestations. Only now with the coming of the latter rain had the Church the opportunity to reengage in mission as God had intended. The Pentecostals were the ones proving responsive to the Spirit's influence and through God's Spirit-filled people would the *eschaton* be ushered in. They were a vital key to the fulfillment of prophecy and functioned as apostolic apocalyptic agents.⁴²¹ They were the first drops of the "first showers of the latter rain" and represented the restoration of the "full" Gospel. Riding high on the American myth of a "Christian America" and a divine national destiny to benefit the universe, Pentecostals viewed themselves as the marines leading the Christian light and freedom brigade into a world presently in spiritual darkness and bondage. Personal significance in a society prepared to reduce men and women to virtual nothingness provided Pentecostals an island of inner peace in an ocean of turmoil. Pentecostal identification with the *eschaton* was vital to a healthy Pentecostal self-understanding.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECRIMINATION OF PENTECOSTALISM

Largely ignored by the more historical churches, Pentecostals suffered their greatest rejection from those who had more closely identified with the same restorationist and holiness moorings as the Pentecostals but, nonetheless, had categorically rejected Parham's revolutionary teaching on glossolalia. Indeed, the chief and most violent opposition to Pentecostal manifestations came from leading

⁴²⁰ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 78.

⁴²¹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 62.

Evangelicals and academics. There were few, if any, Pentecostals of sufficient apologetic acumen to respond to charges of Pentecostal extremism, extravagance, counterfeit spirituality, or even satanic motivation. In the absence of the ability to effectively counter such onslaught, Pentecostals within the denominational churches simply withdrew their memberships from Evangelical and holiness churches and began forming a wide variety of Pentecostal congregations.⁴²²

The Pentecostal conviction that American society was hopelessly corrupt, wicked and hostile to God created social contempt for Pentecostals as self-righteous and emotionally unstable fanatics.⁴²³ Pentecostals, like their Methodist and Baptist forbears in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, began as total social outcasts. Rumors of Pentecostal magic, trances, wild emotionalism and even sexual orgies became American folklore with regard to the Pentecostal “holy rollers.” Pentecostals were considered uncultured, uneducated, and marginalized as “white trash.” Public hostility toward Pentecostals often resulted in violence against them.⁴²⁴ Not only did tongues and interpretations of tongues frighten a critical American public, but Pentecostal worship features like “dancing in the Spirit,” “holy laughter,” and even the laying on of hands for physical healings likewise seemed cultic.⁴²⁵ Pentecostals exhibited tendencies of runaway emotionalism on atypical occasion but were labeled “pathological” or “mad” by Evangelical adversaries as well as by liberal Christian groups who generally had no experience with or exposure to living Pentecostals.⁴²⁶ The Pentecostal welcoming of women preachers also generated ridicule as did the long list of taboos forbidden to the Pentecostal communities.⁴²⁷ Over the course of time Pentecostals would be first suspiciously tolerated but ultimately become accepted as social equals within the American religious community.

The major southern Baptist and Methodist denominations had been socially distancing themselves from emotionally expressed Christianity, moving away from revivalistic display, and embracing more formalistic religion for some decades before

⁴²² Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, 185.

⁴²³ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 185.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁴²⁶ Michael J. St. Clair, *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 15.

⁴²⁷ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 190.

the arrival of Pentecostalism.⁴²⁸ Many of the holiness denominations had been drifting back toward Methodist middle-class social respectability during the last decades of the nineteenth century and were increasingly less in line with the spiritual experience oriented Evangelicals in the early 1900s.⁴²⁹ The Pentecostalist emphasis upon speaking in tongues in 1901 had immediately distinguished it from other holiness fellowships, but the strikingly outlandish display of Pentecostal worship forms, as soon noted in the media during the Azusa Street Revival from 1906-1909, simply amplified their socially elite Christian co-religionists' cause for contempt for emotional Pentecostal religion. The Pentecostals seemed to represent the revitalization of the very old-fashioned American revivalism from which so many in the Holiness Movements had wanted to completely disassociate.

The social frustrations Pentecostals experienced as the lower working class, as the less educated and less influential members of society during the first decades of twentieth-century American Pentecostalism only fed their collective aggressiveness. Disappointed that the Second Coming had been delayed, keenly feeling the rejection of their closest religious bed-fellows, and having experienced the near total lack of recognition in American society throughout their first generation, Pentecostal inner-group solidarity only grew in importance.

The Pentecostal focus on tongues as a recurrent Acts 2 "upper room" experience alarmed premillennial dispensationalists who anticipated the close of the Church Age in failure rather than in Church renewal to a Book of Acts form.⁴³⁰ But Pentecostals continued to fan the flames of a distinct premillennialism since they viewed glossolalia and divine healing as signs of the last days in preparation for the Second Coming.⁴³¹

As early as 1907, Arthur T. Pierson, highly influential advocate of evangelism and the higher Christian life, was using his *Missionary Review of the World* to caution against the Pentecostal excesses of subjectivism and obsession with spiritual manifestations. Overemphasis upon things of the Spirit were leading to a Spirit cult and excessive introspection in contrast to the exaltation of Christ and kingdom

⁴²⁸ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 134.

⁴²⁹ Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans*, 140.

⁴³⁰ Blumhofer, "Puritan and Preparation," 274.

⁴³¹ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 92-93.

expansion efforts.⁴³² Reuben A. Torrey had long advocated the Baptism of the Holy Spirit but wholly rejected the tongues-as-evidence doctrine originally stemming from Parham. While tongues could certainly be for the last days, the modern Pentecostal movement did not find its source in God.⁴³³ Harry Ironside, highly popular Bible teacher, also condemned Pentecostalism as unwholesome and not genuinely representative of the biblical Pentecost.⁴³⁴

With the widespread circulation of the newly issued Scofield *Reference Bible* from 1909, more Evangelicals protested the Pentecostal claim to modern miracles. Dispensationalists contended that miracles had ceased with the apostles, and therefore the Pentecostal movement was inauthentic. With the very basis for Pentecostalism dispensationally eliminated, the Pentecostals were theoretically stripped of any right to claim a unique role in modern salvation history. This struck at the very identity issue the Pentecostals had felt from the start of the movement. Such contemptible attacks upon Pentecostal legitimacy and identity could not be ignored and yet leave the movement in tact. Within a decade of Pentecostal origins, influential Christian leaders, otherwise so similar in their belief system, had strongly denounced Pentecostalism.⁴³⁵ A. B. Simpson had come out to label the tongues-as-evidence issue as divisive, fanatical, confusing, and evil producing. The Christian and Missionary Alliance, in their 1912 annual report, contended that the tongues-as-evidence doctrine offered an inaccurate view of Scripture and had effected less than desirable results.⁴³⁶ By April 13, 1914, the Alliance officially repudiated tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism.⁴³⁷

Frank Ewart, California Pentecostal pastor from 1912 and prolific author, complained of the hostilities Pentecostals were facing in the early years. The historic churches branded Pentecostalism as from the devil. Others said it was not of God, the last vomit of Satan, wicked and adulterous, founded by a Sodomite, anti-Christian, sensual and devilish. The “tongues movement” suffered at the hands of holiness

⁴³² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 105-106.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.

friends as well as Evangelical enemies.⁴³⁸ The dispensationalists insisted that the reappearance of the spiritual gifts was purely human invention at best and satanic counterfeit at worst. The very stiffest resistance to Pentecostalism came from their closest co-religionists in the holiness and fundamentalist camps. The greatly pained Pentecostals could only initially retort that their brethren's resistance to the Pentecostal emphasis was resistance to God himself. But better apologetics were desperately needed.

THE ESSENCE OF PENTECOSTALIST RESTORATIONISM

Prior to explaining the historical relationship between Pentecostal restorationism and the Jewish people, it is important to first define the essence of the Pentecostal ideology of restorationism. Whereas nineteenth-century Protestant perfectionist aspirations toward eventual Christian sinlessness had suggested a corresponding hope for the gradual transformation of the world within salvation history, Pentecostalism advocated a more immediate transformation of both believer and universe. The forever changed Spirit-baptized Pentecostals would be fully equipped and empowered from the moment of Spirit-baptism to manifest the Gospel to mankind without the need for parochial or gradual personal improvement in time and space. In a directly corresponding manner, the dynamic Second Coming would immediately remedy the universal God-defiant condition of humankind and transform a world cursed by God into a regenerated Garden of Eden.

Pentecostalism was essentially a primitive restorationist millenarian movement. While much of Protestant biblicism had long tended to ignore ecclesiastical history and tradition in favor of original New Testament (NT) faith and practice, historical Protestant traditions had virtually no compulsion for Pentecostals eager to rediscover lost biblical truths.⁴³⁹ Fundamentalists preferred to demonstrate their stand for the "historic Christian faith," and welcomed historical precedents for measuring

⁴³⁸ Frank J. Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost: "A History of the Latter Rain"* (St. Louis, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1947), 85.

⁴³⁹ George Marsden, "By Primitivism Possessed: How Useful is the Concept of 'Primitivism' for Understanding American Fundamentalism?" in *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 34.

consistency with biblical standards, but Pentecostal primitive restorationists were consumed with simply replicating the Book of Acts pattern.⁴⁴⁰

The early Pentecostals fully understood their Spirit-baptism to have eschatological meaning. The Pentecostal movement resulting from the widespread experience of Spirit-baptism was the very same ultimate revival many holiness and Evangelical groups had projected would occur just prior to the Second Coming. Pentecostals were convinced that a grand restoration of NT power would culminate in a fully restored apostolic faith and practice. The Pentecostal experience afforded even the humblest of recipients a profound sense of personal meaning and apocalyptic mission and strongly abetted the primitivist urge.⁴⁴¹

Grant Wacker has defined primitivism as “any effort to deny history, or to deny the contingencies of historical existence, by returning to the time before time, to the golden age that preceded the corruptions of life in history.”⁴⁴² Primitivist advocates assumed it was possible to know absolute truth, unencumbered by finite existence.⁴⁴³ Pentecostals believed their literalist understanding of Scripture had not been effected by history, but was rather to be received in its purity directly from the mouth of God for the radical present.⁴⁴⁴ Pentecostals were sure their new movement had “repristinized apostolic Christianity” and owed virtually nothing to Church history from the close of the Book of Acts to the present,⁴⁴⁵ since the Book of Acts alone provided the necessary blueprint for the exercise of modern apostolic Christianity. It required no adaptation, interpretation, or translation for modern Pentecostals “on board with God” since the Church apostolic experience in the first century was to be the same in the twentieth.⁴⁴⁶ For them the “final glorious restoration” and the Pentecostal experience were inseparably related to the *eschaton*. Stricter dispensationalists had pessimistically anticipated a rapturous escape from the darker days awaiting rebellious mankind. But early Pentecostalism was more optimistic about

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 42, 45.

⁴⁴¹ Edith L. Blumhofer, “‘Pentecost in My Soul’: Probing the Early Pentecostal Ethos,” *A/G Heritage* 9:1 (Spring 1989): 13.

⁴⁴² Grant Wacker, “Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism,” in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 197.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 197-198.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 198-199.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 199.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

the victorious immediate future of both Israel and the Church than standard premillennial dispensationalism allowed.⁴⁴⁷

The imminent Second Coming compelled Pentecostals to action. The nations would experience the wrath of God as executed by the Lion of Judah at the Second Coming. All tongues, tribes, and nations should be given ample warning and opportunity to repent and believe. Like the Hebrew prophets before them, an urgent sense of prophetic duty rested upon these “last days” Pentecostals. They had a mandate to evangelize all mankind as prelude to the Second Coming. Their ideology did not suggest all could be won to Pentecostal Christianity but that unbelievers should be warned against pending judgment. Failing in their task, the blood of the nations would be on the hands of silent Christians who would have to face the disappointed the Judge of the universe. It was precisely for the task of global evangelism the Pentecostals had received Spirit baptism as signs, wonders, and miracles would confirm their Gospel proclamation. But a second key and corresponding confirmation of the Pentecostal Gospel and the Second Coming was the return of the Jewish people to Zion.⁴⁴⁸

IN DEFENSE OF GLOSSOLALIA: “THE LATTER RAIN”

Religious ecstasy epitomized in glossolalia became the most celebrated Pentecostal distinctive, yet “speaking in tongues” needed a strong defense against Christian hostility if Pentecostalism were to survive. At the same time, Pentecostals needed to maintain bridges into the morally collapsing society around them while establishing and maintaining a clear line of demarcation between Pentecostals and the “worldly” God-defying culture if they were to have any earthly relevance.

Early Church history suggested glossolalia, a form of ecstatic speech in an unknown language, was extensively used until the third century when tongues-speaking Gnostics and Montanists were marked as heretical. But in the seventeenth century there were reports of appearances of renewed ecstatic unknown speech in western Christendom among the British Ranters and Quakers and the French Huguenots. Both the indigenously American Mormons and Shakers actually

⁴⁴⁷ Sheppard, “Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism,” 9.

⁴⁴⁸ A. A. Boddy, “Seven Signs of His Coming,” *Confidence* (December 1910), 281-288.

incorporated tongues speaking into their constitutions. But glossolalia as an ideology did not come of age nor come to stay until the first moments of the twentieth century.⁴⁴⁹

The Wesleyan Methodist holiness groups had long held that a new wave of spiritual sanctification, refreshing, and empowerment was to accompany the end-time visitation by the Holy Spirit. The preaching in the last days would be accomplished by divinely issued capacities to preach in the diverse vernaculars of the universe. This belief carried over into early Pentecostalism. When, in fact, this linguistic ability did not materialize, Pentecostals began searching for other explanations and meanings for the tongues experience. Since Pentecostal missionaries could not speak in understandable languages without the agency of human education, their tongues experience was considered a satanic counterfeit by the Methodist holiness peoples who soon discredited Pentecostals as frauds or worse. These one-time fellow pilgrims were now strongly critical of Pentecostal teaching on two counts: there were no missionary uses of “tongues” and no biblical evidence of tongues being for private use. The making of much ado about tongues was pointless and without justification.

Restorationist primitivism was foundational to Pentecostalist premillennialism.⁴⁵⁰ It was assumed that the power of primitive Christianity directly corresponded to adherence to NT apostolic guidelines. Alexander Dowie, mentor to a host of later AG leaders, had insisted as early as 1904 that primitive apostolic power could only follow primitive organization, faith, simplicity and purity. Pentecostalism was not to be a new phenomenon in the earth but the restoration of the original NT Pentecostal Church, the exact duplication of apostolic purity, teaching and practice.⁴⁵¹

Pentecostals proved to be highly determined and ready to exhaust their own limited resources for the heavenly cause. Yet they tended to pragmatism to a greater extent than they would have wished.⁴⁵² Grant Wacker has pointed up that Pentecostals felt little hesitation embracing a tongues-evidence position on Spirit-baptism though it had never been suggested in either Judaism or Christianity prior to Charles Parham. The tenacious grip on the Pentecostal distinctive was stronger than the Pentecostal

⁴⁴⁹ Margaret M. Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, 1989), 37-38.

⁴⁵⁰ Wacker, “Playing for Keeps,” 205-206.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 207. See also Edith Blumhofer, “John Alexander Dowie,” in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*.

⁴⁵² Grant Wacker, “Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish,” 147.

commitment to orthodoxy.⁴⁵³ Without this sole distinctive, Pentecostalism would fall off the religious horizon. Pragmatic Pentecostal survival instinct proved stronger than theological abstraction. The “holy boldness” the Spirit-baptized often experienced was very close indeed, if not identical, to willful determination in the pursuit of the accomplishment of selected agendas. Holy boldness proved to be a highly practical spiritual mandate.⁴⁵⁴

Grant Wacker has argued that Pentecostals have faced two contending impulses: primitivism and pragmatism. Their *primitivist* urge motivated Pentecostals to want to destroy all humanly produced religious traditions as a means of returning to a pristine NT Holy Spirit-dominated first-century Church. Their *pragmatic* urge pushed Pentecostals to do whatever may be required along the way to accomplish their movement’s agendas and purposes.⁴⁵⁵ The melding of these two impulses was evidenced in the frame of mind Pentecostals brought to the formation of their ideology. The use of “exuberant creativity” or “swashbuckling inventiveness” enabled them to formulate their ideology quite apart from dependence upon other Protestant schools of thought. They felt at liberty to freely use Pentecostal ideas in Pentecostal ways.⁴⁵⁶ Early Pentecostal primitivism went beyond other indigenous American forms of restorationism in that it fostered the urge to smash all manmade traditions to entirely free the believers to return to sole reliance upon the Holy Spirit to rule their faithful hearts and minds, a spiritual world “pulsating with supernatural signs and wonders.”⁴⁵⁷

Pentecostal reaction to criticism and persecution energized them to defend and crystallize their ideology. They soon began to define themselves as a heroic minority stemming the tide of onslaught from the Christian resistance. Cut off from the reservoirs of potential holiness and fundamentalist recruits, the wellspring of newcomers began to dry up. Attack upon the Pentecostal distinctive was viewed as in harmony with the treatment received by past heroes of restorationist faith. Martin Luther, John Wesley and others had all been condemned by Christians of their own eras. The choice was not whether one could avoid Christian persecution but whether

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 148.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 150.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 142.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 148.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 143.

Pentecostals would stand for the truth or yield to the temptation to slip into religion-as-usual.⁴⁵⁸

Pentecostals dallied with dispensationalism to force it into a comfortable mold. They merged the Apostolic Dispensation and the Church Age into one thus making room for both the former and latter rains within one dispensation. The first Pentecost then marked the beginning of the Church Age while the second Pentecost marked its imminent closing. The general absence of the use of the spiritual gifts from the third century forward was not the result of God's will to withdraw the gifts from use in time and space but rather the result of Christian apostasy and disobedience. But now the gifts had been restored to full operation in the climactic end of the age.⁴⁵⁹

The twin emphases of the Second Coming and Spirit baptism accompanied by glossolalia focused the Pentecostal movement from the outset on the *eschaton*. The linkage was clear: Pentecostals were to be filled with the power of the Holy Spirit to proclaim the immediacy of the Second Coming.

PENTECOSTAL IDENTITY AND LATTER RAIN IDEOLOGY

Pentecostals were immersed in premillennial dispensationalism which created an ideological conflict for them. How could such profound spiritual victory ahead for the radically restored NT Church be understood alongside Darby and Scofield's spiritual demise, defeat, and rapturous escape of the Church at the conclusion of the Church Age? New interpretation was vitally needed to explain the upbeat and fervent expectancy of Pentecostalism if it were to successfully legitimize its continued existence against the backdrop of the widespread dispensationalist ideology suggesting an abysmal worldly end for the Church Age.

In order to establish their own Pentecostal significance in the divine economy for the ages, by 1910 writers like David Wesley Myland and W. H. Cossum had created a Latter Rain Covenant apologetic theorizing both the demise of second-century apostolic Christianity and its resurrection in the twentieth.⁴⁶⁰ In distinction to normal

⁴⁵⁸ A. G. Garr, "Tongues, the Bible Evidence," *A Cloud of Witnesses to Pentecost in India* (September 1907), 46-47.

⁴⁵⁹ Wacker, "Playing for Keeps," 204-205.

⁴⁶⁰ See Myland's 1910 *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* and W. H. Cossum, *Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History* (Chicago, IL: The Evangel Publishing Company, 1911).

historicity, Pentecostals formulated a Bible-based rendition of history.⁴⁶¹ Latter Rain advocates proffered that God had promised to manifest his power both during an initial preparatory period of “former” rain and during a secondary and ultimate “latter rain” in the *eschaton*. They advocated that the *charismata*, e.g., the spiritual gifts, were to be characteristic of two great apostolic eras: the first century and the *eschaton*.⁴⁶² For them, modern Pentecostalism and Zionism were the newly initiated and ongoing divine restorations of the original and primitive state of affairs; the Church could now reclaim its first-century apostolic faith and power, and the Jewish people could now reclaim their biblical heritage of the Land of Israel. Both were prelude to the Second Coming. Holiness of the highest sort was essential Pentecostal preparation for Christ’s Second Coming to judge mankind and a prerequisite for the Spirit’s endowment with power, e.g., Spirit-baptism, for the successful execution of the Great Commission.⁴⁶³ That much needed radical Pentecostal power would manifest itself in tongues speaking, prophecy and healings as prelude to the Second Coming. Zion would also be restored in preparation for the Messiah’s throne and millennial reign. Convinced they were living in extraordinary space and time, Pentecostals were compelled to engage in global evangelism, including Jewish evangelism in Jerusalem and the United States, in apostolic power in anticipation of the climax of salvation history.⁴⁶⁴

Charles Parham had been persuaded the new Pentecostalism was the phenomenological fulfillment of the prophesied “Latter Rain” as testified in his book, *The Latter Rain: The Story of the Origin of the Original Apostolic or Pentecostal Movements*.⁴⁶⁵ The Latter Rain ideology accepted axiomatically that latter day Pentecostalism would manifest the same phenomena as the Former Rain in the first century, i.e., speaking in tongues, exorcisms, healings, etc. The Last Days, the *eschaton*, had arrived with the same type of spiritual phenomena as validation.⁴⁶⁶ First generation Pentecostals were persuaded that the restoration of speaking in tongues to the Church signified the pending close of the dispensationally defined “Church Age.” Since tongues was the only sign unique to the Day of Pentecost, its modern

⁴⁶¹ Deuteronomy 11:14, Joel 2:23, and James 5:7.

⁴⁶² Wacker, “Playing for Keeps,” 203.

⁴⁶³ Blumhofer, “Puritan and Preparation,” 272-273.

⁴⁶⁴ Albanese, *America: Religions and Religion*, 175-176.

⁴⁶⁵ As alluded to in Grant Wacker, “Playing for Keeps,” 206.

⁴⁶⁶ Wacker, “Playing for Keeps,” 205.

reappearance revealed the end was near. *Prophetic Age*, a holiness Zionistic publication, avowed that the restoration of tongues must precede the close of the times of the Gentiles.⁴⁶⁷

To the early Pentecostals, speaking in tongues was more than a restoration of miraculous speech but the key to reestablishing the Church to the pristine Book of Acts heights from which it had fallen.⁴⁶⁸ The association between tongues and Spirit-baptism, with its new implications for eschatology shaped by a restorationist ideology, afforded Pentecostals a unique eschatological identity.⁴⁶⁹ Giving themselves to the study of prophecy, they found a sense of purpose and identity in the assigned apocalyptic significance of the Pentecostal movement.⁴⁷⁰ They were the “first showers of the Latter Rain.” Their unity of spirit would yield kingdom results as they waited for the spontaneous direction of the Spirit.⁴⁷¹

Pentecostalism shaped its evolving ideology around its need for identity. Pentecostal restorationism would be increasingly dynamic in pursuit of the end-time apostolic revival. As modern seers, they would receive new words from heaven, revelations, and prophecies that would stem from “fresh” anointings. All wanted to flow with the restoration lest they “miss God” as had their religious counterparts.⁴⁷² They became increasingly intolerant and exclusive as they presented themselves as the distinct and unique participants in the universal revitalization currently underway.⁴⁷³ The rejection experienced at the hands of co-religionists was carefully cultivated to yield Pentecostal social identity.⁴⁷⁴

Pentecostals openly expressed hostilities toward the established religious authorities found in Christian institutions and movements. Roman Catholicism and most branches of Protestantism were termed anti-Christian. Apostate adopters of “churchianity” were Christians given to formalism, liturgy, and organization and who had eliminated any vestige of spiritual life from the churches. Being “cold,” “dead,” “deniers of the power of godliness” they never heard personal testimonies or affirming

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 79.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 56.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 62.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 57-58.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 131.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 99.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 158.

expressions in public services as evidence of God's presence. Form and ceremony were enemy to genuine worship of God.⁴⁷⁵ Protestant clergy with their D.D. ("Dumb Dog") degrees from theological "cemeteries" were devoid of godly wisdom since they were reliant on the natural mind alone. They were given to expounding non-biblical subjects from their pulpits and engaged in carnal vices such as the use of tobacco or alcohol. Spiritually dead themselves and working along educational lines, they had no capacity to bring others to salvation in Christ.⁴⁷⁶ E. N. Bell, the first General Chairman of the AG, had said of those in denominational churches, "I see no way how one can be true to God, not compromise and yet stay in these churches."⁴⁷⁷ Pentecostals were an "anti-Establishment Protestantism that was anticlerical, antitheological, antiliturgical, antisacramental, antiecclesiastical, and indeed, in a sense, antireligious." Ecumenical attempts at unity were "Religious Babylonianism."⁴⁷⁸

As a millenarian movement, the Pentecostal movement wanted to retain its discomfiting prophetic role as social censure of the condemned and dying society. Pentecostals began to see themselves more as God's agents for ushering in the spiritual transformation to the millennial age in stark contrast to the strictly premillennial dispensationalist thought which viewed the world as beyond repair. Dispensationalists were prepared to withdraw and wait for the rapture. But Pentecostals presented a far more optimistic and aggressive vision of reclamation, revitalization, and restoration, as a part of readying mankind for the return of the redeemer. All people everywhere could still find personal renewal in God as testimony to the far grander restoration work of God currently underway that would soon climax in the Second Coming. The key to personal usefulness in this bold venture was the baptism of the Holy Spirit which was evidenced by speaking in other tongues.⁴⁷⁹ They preserved their conservative reactionism against an abusive society while holding forth the hope of redemption and spiritual empowerment to society's fellow victims. While all Evangelicals would preach regeneration and spiritual security, only Pentecostals could offer divine empowerment and spiritual revolution.

⁴⁷⁵ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 212.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 195.

While most of American Christianity completely ignored the Pentecostals as fanatics, those who did condemn Pentecostals awakened them to the reality they may need to live and perpetuate themselves on the fringe of society. While disdainful of organized religion, they were beginning to see little option to organizing to prevent the fanatical self-destruction of Pentecostalism.⁴⁸⁰ The growing number of stinging attacks in the pulpit and press hurt Pentecostal sensibilities. A defense was in order. They vested glossolalia with new and intensified significance, which clearly distinguished them spiritually above the Christian pack.⁴⁸¹ Status-hungry Pentecostals experienced a sense of dignity as mediators of the *eschaton*.⁴⁸² They were participants in an especially spiritually select and chosen community.

Pentecostals fundamentally viewed Church history as irrelevant. All that had happened since the close of the Book of Acts was the degenerate accumulation of obstructionist custom, tradition, and faithlessness. The old structures of dogma and classical Christendom were ready to collapse.⁴⁸³ The current Pentecostal renewal was re-elevating the Church to its original NT glory and leaving the chaff of conventional “churchianity” behind. It was, as Bennett F. Lawrence entitled his 1916 text, *The Apostolic Faith Restored*.⁴⁸⁴ The “Back to Pentecost” theme had no compulsion to historically trace the contemporary Church to its roots. No, the Pentecostal movement had no history apart from the Book of Acts. It had been disrupted by Christian carnality for eighteen centuries but was now undergoing restoration. Most of what had transpired in the interim between Acts and Azusa was tribute to religious folly.

First generation Pentecostals attempted to prove they had indeed replicated the Day of Pentecost. Faith could effect reception of the original Upper Room Book of Acts pattern of religious experience. All beliefs and practices then were to be brought into conformity to the standard measure of the Book of Acts. The exhilaration of entry into the spiritual liberties of pristine NT primitive Pentecostalism was intense and worth maintaining.⁴⁸⁵ The Pentecostals perceived they had rediscovered the genuine Christianity God really had intended for every century.

⁴⁸⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 99.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴⁸³ Wacker, “Playing for Keeps,” 201.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

The apostolic pursuit of Pentecostalism then postured them against Church tradition and ecclesiastical structures. Conventional Christianity with all its idolatrous dogmas and systems should be replaced by primal simplicity and apostolic purity.⁴⁸⁶ This was in evidence in the egalitarian social structure of the movement where no stock was placed in “man-made creeds, doctrines, nor classes of people.” In early Pentecostalism the distinction between laity and clergy was carefully blurred, as was sacred space. Worship could be entered and led by anyone so spiritually prompted while God should be worshipped anywhere without regard for religious edifice or decorum. Old order stratifications were initially razed although a new order would form in time.⁴⁸⁷

The Pentecostal disposition toward more conventional Christianity was not favorably regarded by the old order. More offensive than its impromptu theologizing or ecstatic displays was the rancorous sense of elitism others felt stemming from Pentecostals. Frank Bartleman (1871-1936), prolific Pentecostal author and evangelist, identified denominational rivals as “Pharisees” who maintained the mere form of religion. The Pentecostal open disdain for traditional Christianity in its embrace of “blueprint” Christianity was greeted with hostility by other denominations.⁴⁸⁸ Triumphantist condescension and hostility toward non-Pentecostal Evangelical sects would characterize much of the Pentecostal movement for generations.

Many Americans who perceived of themselves as otherwise victimized by the modern social poisons associated with the dramatic cultural drift away from rural-minded America, the erosion of cultural values, the compromises of biblical theology, and the rapid displacement of persons, found their antidote and life’s meaning in Pentecostalist primitive restorationism. Initiation by tongues into the elitist apostolic circle of Pentecostalism afforded the newly anointed ones a tremendous sense of identity, purpose and self-worth. Appealing to the American masses on the bases of the conventional American religious and social themes of restoration, health, virtue and empowerment, enabled Pentecostals to strike a responsive chord in their hearers.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 209-210.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 210.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 209.

⁴⁸⁹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 12.

Considered out-of-step with the “historic churches” was a social reproach gladly borne by Pentecostals and others from across the wide spectrum of American culture.⁴⁹⁰ Appeal to Christian unity and simplicity on the basis of dropping the man-made encumbrances accrued over religiously darkened Christian centuries likewise drew others aspiring toward the renewal of Christian family harmony and the optimistic pursuit of the “pure” Gospel.⁴⁹¹ Since some Pentecostals viewed themselves as helping to fulfill America’s divinely destined role, they were able to tap deeply into the conventional sentiment that America held unique eschatological significance just as Joseph Smith had suggested to his “Latter Day Saints” before them.⁴⁹² Submission to ecclesiastical authority was intolerable to most Pentecostals as the best of denominationalism had seriously missed God’s biblical program. The religiously blind had led the blind, and they had both fallen into the ditch. Pentecostals had no interest in repeating the blunders of religious history. As God had abandoned organized religion and could not be found in ecclesiastical traditions or creed, Pentecostals had no use for the historic denominations.⁴⁹³ The Pentecostal phenomenon often appealed to the more radically independent spirits who could see in primitive restorationism beyond the immediate persecution to future victory and ultimate glory.⁴⁹⁴

PENTECOSTAL RESTORATIONISM’S LINK WITH ZIONISM: “THE LATTER RAIN”

Among the most striking of world events setting the Pentecostal revival of the first decade of the twentieth century in clear distinction to previous spiritual renewals was the current returning of the Jewish people to Zion in significant numbers.⁴⁹⁵ While other key American revivals like the eighteenth-century Great Awakening and the early nineteenth-century Cane Ridge revival had had millenarian underpinnings, the Pentecostal revival against the backdrop of the Zionist movement enabled Pentecostals to both envision and anticipate a speedy “restoration of all things” to

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 13-14.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Wacker, “Playing for Keeps,” 203-204.

both the Church and national Israel. Just as Zion was in process of gradual reconstruction, the one-time apostolically exercised spiritual gifts were now being reutilized after long centuries of disuse. The efforts of the modern Pentecostal apostolic agents seemed to directly correspond to the Zionist pioneering efforts in Palestine in the *eschaton*.⁴⁹⁶

The biblical prophecies regarding the Jewish people had long been noted as having political implications for the faithful. Arno C. Gaebelein (1861-1945) promoted the international Jewish return to Zion throughout the 1890s in his journal, *Our Hope*, and at conferences and in pulpits across America. Gaebelein complemented the work of William Blackstone and his frequently reprinted *Jesus is Coming* [1878], which had widespread effect upon the American Evangelical world including many who would later embrace Pentecostalism.⁴⁹⁷ Yaakov Ariel has richly demonstrated the Gaebelein and Blackstone contributions to the Zionist cause in his *On Behalf of Israel*.⁴⁹⁸

As the Zionist movement was gaining ground, the Pentecostal movement expected the Jewish return to Zion to lead to the national restoration of Abraham's progeny. The Zionist momentum afforded Pentecostals external and corroborating evidence of God's restoration project in the earth. Both Israel and the Church were in process of restoration back to their first-century point of diffusion. A deadened and apostatized Christianity, catastrophic world events, earthquakes and related calamities, were all signs of the times. But the Pentecostals saw the Zionist hope for the return of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland as the chief sign. The simultaneously revitalized and divinely equipped Pentecostals would, as their part, bear God's Word to the ends of the earth. Manifestations of the Holy Spirit would demonstrate divine approval of their testimony to Christ.

According to Pentecostals, the God who could not break his Word would regather his Chosen People to the Messiah seated on the international throne in Jerusalem, the new capital in Zion, from which Christ would govern the world. In an effort to sober the Christians against the stupor of replacement theology, W. H. Daniels wrote in 1904:

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 204.

⁴⁹⁷ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 185-186.

⁴⁹⁸ Yaakov Ariel, *On Behalf of Israel: American Fundamentalist Attitudes Toward Jews, Judaism, and Zionism, 1865-1945*. Chicago Studies in the History of American Religion Series. Brooklyn: Carlson, 1991.

With such records behind them and such prophecies before them, what must those faithful sons of Abraham think of that “spiritualizing” process whereby the miracles of Moses and the prophets are minimized and the oft-repeated promises of the God of Israel are explained away?⁴⁹⁹

There were several key contributions to the Latter Rain ideology as it developed in the early years of Pentecostalism in relation to Zionism. The more influential of these works included F. A. Bright’s “Zionism” in *Living Truths* in 1904, William T. MacArthur’s series of articles in *Living Truths* between 1904 and 1907, George Floyd Taylor’s *The Spirit and the Bride* [1907] and *The Second Coming of Jesus* [1916], David Wesley Myland’s *Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* [1910] and *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* [1911], and W. H. Cossum’s “Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History” published as a series of articles in the *Latter Rain Evangel* in 1910 and later in book form as *Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History* [1911].

F. A. Bright

In F. A. Bright’s article, “Zionism,” published in the *Living Truth* journal in August 1904 he indicated that the Jewish people were still beloved of God and were yet to have a preeminent place above all nations.⁵⁰⁰ The Land would be redeemed through modern large-scale Zionist colonizing efforts. Zionists were no longer gazing heavenward in anticipation of restoration to the Land but now felt compelled to readily make any sacrifices necessary to proceed with the rebuilding of Zion. Bright acknowledged that not all Jewish people accepted the Zionist dream, but he took heart that many wealthy American Jews were among those presently returning to the Land.⁵⁰¹

Contributions to the Zionist funding effort for the building of Palestinian Jewish infrastructure and international Jewish transport return fares were being afforded by the sacrificial giving of Jews and “real Christians.”⁵⁰² Bright reported Israel Zangwill’s dream of an Israeli governmental model for the world, a “city set on a hill” in Zion that could function as a social, agricultural, political, and spiritual light to the nations. Meanwhile, carefully chosen skilled craftsmen would engage in the beginning of the

⁴⁹⁹ W. H. Daniels, “The New Jerusalem,” *Living Truths* 4:1 (January 1904), 29.

⁵⁰⁰ F. A. Bright, “Zionism,” *Living Truths* 4:8 (August 1904), 462.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 462-463.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 463.

national reconstruction of the model society.⁵⁰³ The Jewish people would soon be spiritually motivated as well to perform their mission to the world as an internationally coordinated people spiritually centered in Zion.⁵⁰⁴

Bright noted the absence of any dependence upon a Messiah in all these publicly observed Zionist aspirations. God himself would repair this breach, wrote Bright, largely caused by Christian abuse of Jewish people over the centuries.⁵⁰⁵ But Israel would yet be the “head, not the tail, of the nations” not through a Herzl dream or a Zangwill vision alone but through the Second Coming. Israel would nationally embrace their apostolic role to the nations at that time.⁵⁰⁶

For Pentecostals, Zionism was evidence that the dry bones of Ezekiel’s prophecy were coming together. Even among the Zionists, it was reported, there were some earnestly seeking God and anticipating the Messiah’s coming. Upon the Jewish return to Zion, Israel would finally look to God and find his deliverance for Israel in Jesus at his appearing. Then all Israel would know the Lord and function as a channel of blessing to all mankind.⁵⁰⁷

William T. MacArthur

William T. MacArthur published “Israel in the Light of Prophecy and Providence” in his 1904 journal entitled *Living Truths*. MacArthur fully supported the dispensationalist position on Israel as he relayed Providence’s compulsion to put aside a faithless and disobedient first-century Israel and temporarily transfer their mission assignment to alternate hands. The calling of Gentile substitutes and the formation of the Church as the replacement inheritor of Israel’s privileges and prerogatives so as to function as the instrument of both divine oracle repository and international dispenser of revelation was but a parenthetical episode to end upon the Second Coming.⁵⁰⁸ The Pentecostals tended to read the Hebrew Bible as fully anticipating the events of Acts 2

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 463-464.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 464.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 464-465.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 465.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 465.

⁵⁰⁸ William T. MacArthur, “Israel in the Light of Prophecy and Providence,” *Living Truths* 4:8 (August 1904), 434, 436.

and focused on the fulfillment of biblical prophecy.⁵⁰⁹ In stark contrast to orthodox postmillennialism, the Pentecostal believer was to await the Holy Spirit's visitation from heaven and enduement of power more in harmony with the apocalyptic premillennial frame of mind.

Upon the death of Theodor Herzl in 1904, MacArthur devoted a full issue of *Living Truth* to "the (Jewish) question." He registered his personal admiration for Herzl in his editorial:

The recent death of this distinguished leader of the Zionist movement (D. Herzl) has awakened profound sorrow throughout the Hebrew and Christian world. He was the founder of Zionism and its wise and trusted director. It will be hard to fill his place, but God, who undoubtedly raised up this movement, will surely provide a successor and carry on the work to its destined consummation.⁵¹⁰

The international Jewish circumstance had fared better in recent decades, MacArthur wrote, in terms of citizenship and civil liberties in most of Europe. This had resulted in the growth of the Jewish "population, wealth, education, and social, financial and political influence among the Hebrew people in Europe and America." Already a number of industrial colonies in the Land had found success.⁵¹¹ But the grandest exhibition of "Hebrew patriotism" had crystallized in the extraordinary success of the Zionist movement under the tutelage of the very recently deceased Theodor Herzl.⁵¹²

In a 1904 article entitled, "The Far Eastern War," MacArthur dealt with the issue of how God would treat nations at the judgment in view of their treatment of Israel. Since "Israel...has been the one objective point in all God's plans," the nations' treatment of Israel has always been "the determining principle in God's dealings in human history."⁵¹³ God has chastened Israel but will judge all nations that have abused the Jewish people. At the White Throne judgment itself Jesus had promised to

⁵⁰⁹ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1987), 151-152.

⁵¹⁰ William T. MacArthur, "Editorial," *Living Truths* 4:8 (August 1904), 430.

⁵¹¹ MacArthur, "Israel in the Light of Prophecy and Providence," 438-439.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 439.

⁵¹³ William H. MacArthur, "The Far Eastern War," *Living Truths* 4:4 (April 1904), 186-187.

so punish the abusers of Israel.⁵¹⁴ He cites abusive nations who had already felt the divine crush upon them for past sins against Jacob.⁵¹⁵

MacArthur had offered his Evangelical readership his analysis of the prospects for success of the infant Zionist movement as he built upon traditional American evangelical ideological thought of Israel.

The restoration of Israel is one of the most marked signs of the approaching advent. A twofold restoration is to take place. First, the nation is to be restored politically and then converted to Christ. The first of these movements is going forward in the extraordinary success of Zionism, and the second is rapidly deepening in a real spiritual revival among the Chosen People and a turning toward Christ and His Gospel.⁵¹⁶

The charting of rainfall in Palestine seemed to support a natural connection with the spiritual phenomena of the age. The signs of intensified rainfall in Palestine corresponded with intensified outpourings of the Spirit in his restoration ministry within the Church. To not come under the heavenly outpouring would result in spiritual drought and kingdom uselessness.⁵¹⁷

MacArthur called for “a new type of Christians” and Christianity in his day. Not the pleasure-seeking Christianity totally submerged in worldliness but a Christian community salvaged by “a baptism of the Holy Ghost” and separated to practical holiness and “a power from on high.”⁵¹⁸ God’s people needed to be lifted to “the normal level of Apostolic Christianity, an outpouring of the Holy Ghost which will last till Jesus comes, and which will usher in that glorious day.”⁵¹⁹

MacArthur’s June 1907 article entitled, “The Clock of Time,” addressed many key eschatological issues related to the Jewish people, Zionism and a Jewish State. He added, for example, the 1260 years of Daniel 12:7 to 637 A.D., the year the Moslems captured Jerusalem and set up Islamic worship on the Temple site, and discovered 1260 and 637 totaled 1897, the year Zionism arose through the efforts of Theodore Herzl. Zionism, he insisted, was the instrument God would use to regather all Israel to

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 187.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 187-188.

⁵¹⁶ William H. MacArthur, “The Outlook of the Age,” *Living Truths* 4:9 (September 1904), 500.

⁵¹⁷ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 96.

⁵¹⁸ William T. MacArthur, “The Need of a Great Awakening,” *Living Truths* 5:3 (March 1905), 134-135.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 135.

the land to establish political independence.⁵²⁰ The restoration of Israel would cause the Gentiles to lose preeminence. The long-deferred promises to Israel were soon to begin their fulfillment.⁵²¹ He went on to offer a series of speculative mathematical possibilities of prophetic events based upon chronological calculations, but the result was always the same: the restoration of Zion, the Second Coming, and the launching of the millennium.⁵²² But most crucial to the Second Coming was the spiritual condition of the Church, who should be standing ready for judgment and evangelistically issuing invitations to all comers to likewise prepare for Christ's reappearance.⁵²³ In the same issue of *Living Truths* MacArthur printed the full text of the "English Zionist Federation" which was to alert the Jewish community to the Zionist corporate objective.⁵²⁴

George Floyd Taylor

George Floyd Taylor (1881-1934), member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and later one of the early leaders of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, authored a ringing defense of the Pentecostal experience in his 1907 *The Spirit and the Bride*. This was probably the first book-length defense of the Pentecostal movement ever published. His persuasive stand for tongues as the "initial evidence" proved highly useful for Pentecostals across the spectrum.⁵²⁵ Taylor rehearsed the Latter Rain teaching in *The Spirit and the Bride* and concluded that Joel's prophecy (2:30-32) as quoted by Peter on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:17-20) was still future. The Latter Rain would be much greater and more powerful than revivals in apostolic days.⁵²⁶ Taylor offered that the cycle of apostolic restoration had been in movement for centuries. Luther's "justification by faith" was followed by Wesley's "entire sanctification." Next came the teachings of divine healing, premillennialism, and now Pentecost. Every step

⁵²⁰ William T. MacArthur, "The Clock of Time," *Living Truths* 7:6 (June 1907), 317.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 318.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁵²⁴ William T. MacArthur, "English Zionist Federation," *Living Truths* 7:6 (June 1907): 364-365.

⁵²⁵ Vinson Synan, "George Floyd Taylor," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Stanley M. Burgess, and Gary B. McGee, eds., (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988): 842.

⁵²⁶ George Floyd Taylor, *The Spirit and the Bride* (Falcon, North Carolina: Falcon Holiness School, 1907); reprint, Donald W. Dayton, ed., *Three Early Pentecostal Tracts* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), 90-91.

toward restoration to the apostolic standard had met with ecclesiastical attack and contempt. Pentecost would be no different.⁵²⁷

Taylor's 1907 Latter Rain ideology focused on Palestine's two annual rainfalls. The first enabled seed to sprout in the Spring of the year while the second in the Autumn enabled the harvest grain to "mature and mellow." Palestine was a microcosm of the world and was to be spiritually replicated universally. Therefore the early Pentecostal rains of the Books of Acts had yielded "mighty floods of salvation" that were later dammed up by ecclesiastical hierarchy and religion as usual thereby effecting a prolonged eighteen century-long spiritual drought. The Protestant Reformation had foreglimpsed the Latter Rain while the Holiness Movements of the 1890s had been preparatory for spiritual renewal, but only the current Pentecostal outpouring of the early twentieth century was sufficient to foster the genuine apostolic end-time revival of NT Christianity.⁵²⁸

Bennett Freeman Lawrence, trained in Alexander Dowie's Zion and one of the founders of the AG, wrote *The Latter Rain Pentecost* [1909]. Lawrence demonstrated the ideologically significant fact that, simultaneous to the Pentecostal revival, "the Jews are returning to their native land; the literal latter rain is falling upon Palestine, and the spiritual latter rain is falling upon God's expectant people."⁵²⁹ God was clearly renewing the outpouring of rain upon Palestine just as he was pouring out the Latter Rain upon God's responsive Pentecostal people.⁵³⁰

David Wesley Myland

David Wesley Myland (1858-1943), outstanding Pentecostal author of the early movement, composed the first widely distributed definitive Pentecostal theology in 1910 entitled, the *Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*. Myland fully espoused the dispensationalist eschatological emphasis that so clearly divorced Israel and the Church. In his 1911 book, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, Myland appends,

Look at the thousands and thousands and hundreds of thousands of Jews that have been slaughtered, and while they don't come under the head of

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 97-98.

⁵²⁸ Wacker, "Playing for Keeps", 203.

⁵²⁹ As stated in Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, n.p. In the Introduction by Alexander A. Boddy, Vicar, 1909.

⁵³⁰ Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, 1.

Bride and of saints, they come under the head of prophets, because all the Jews are God's prophets in a sense; God's prophetic people in the earth.⁵³¹

Myland, an ordained Methodist, supported the continued use of the spiritual gifts during the Church Age in contrast to other dispensationalists. Upon his departure from the Christian and Missionary Alliance at their official rejection of Pentecostalism in 1912, Myland founded the Gibeah Bible School in Plainfield, Indiana, where J. Roswell Flower and Alice Reynolds Flower were ordained in 1913. The Flowers went on to help found the AG in 1914. Myland became a regular contributor to the Flower-edited *Christian Evangel*, later the *Pentecostal Evangel*, which became the official organ of the AG.⁵³²

It was their sense of their place in salvation history that most set Pentecostals apart from other Evangelicals. The Latter Rain was being poured out upon them for eschatological purposes. Myland's "Latter Rain" teachings were circulated in the *Latter Rain Evangel* after his 1909 lecture series at Stone Church in Chicago had persuaded highly impressed Pentecostals that the new outpouring was the prophesied latter rain.⁵³³ Myland drew parallels between the course of nature in Palestine and the modern momentum of Pentecostalism. Just as the apostolic Church of the first century had received the "Former Rain," the twentieth-century apostolic Church had received the "Latter Rain."⁵³⁴ Myland affirmed that as literal rain was poured upon Palestine in the first century, the early Church received the spiritual Former Rain. Now as literal rain was again being poured out in new measure in Palestine signifying God's calculated renewal of Zion in anticipation of Israel's national restoration, so the latter twentieth-century Church was receiving the Latter Rain to affect the restoration of pristine first-century Christianity. It was all becoming apparent that "coming out into God's own purpose we shall realize the consummation of all his great plan for us and the world."⁵³⁵

Myland's teachings were quickly elevated to "Latter Rain Truths" among the Pentecostals and put on par with Luther's teachings on justification and Wesley's on

⁵³¹ D. Wesley Myland, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Chicago, IL: Evangel Publishing House, 1911), 216.

⁵³² Elizabeth B. Robinson, "David Wesley Myland," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Stanley M. Burgess, and Gary B. McGee, eds., (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988): 632-633.

⁵³³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 94-95.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵³⁵ Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, 2.

perfection. The Pentecostal outpouring was considered epoch-making in the annals of God's eternal program and salvation history.⁵³⁶ The experience of Pentecostal Spirit-baptism to Christianity was the spiritual equivalent of the Sinai experience to the Mosaic covenant. The fullness of the Spirit had displayed God's power and glory at Sinai when "clouds, darkness, fire, glory, personal manifestation (were observed) at the time of the inauguration and institution of the Israelitish people as a nation."⁵³⁷ All this was prelude to the birth of the Church at Pentecost where the same battery of manifestations were witnessed. Myland maintained a high ecclesiology by which he affirmed the Church as the highest order of God's work. But the Pentecostal link between Israel and the Church was undisputed as Myland reiterated, "Pentecost under law and Pentecost under grace."⁵³⁸

Myland published *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* [1911] in which he addressed the role of the Jewish people in the *eschaton*. Jerusalem was "the future headquarters of the Jewish people and nation." The 144,000 sealed Israelite witnesses would be carefully preserved by God and, as the elevated Jewish Bride, would be the first fruits of Judaism in clear distinction from the "Gentile Bride" (Church).⁵³⁹ The Spirit-sealed first fruits, the "Jewish bridal company" would then "sing their song to the Lord Jesus Christ on Mount Zion."⁵⁴⁰ They sing with Christ in his epiphany when "they become the leaders of the great evangelizers of the millennium."⁵⁴¹ Jerusalem would be divided as in David's day: the general city, the Temple mount, and the kingly residence on Mount Zion, the center of Messiah's power and administration.⁵⁴²

The Latter Rain Covenant had a dual significance for Myland. It surely had real historical meaning to literal Israel but also typological and prophetic importance to the Church, i.e., the Latter Rain would herald the Second Coming. Myland traced the biblical Hebrew term מְלִקְוֹשׁ to mean "the rain of the latter or second growth; the harvest rain, the rain of the after crop." The NT Greek compound equivalent is

⁵³⁶ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 95.

⁵³⁷ Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, 3.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁵³⁹ Myland, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 167-168.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 148-149

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 226.

ὄψιμος, signifying “late in the day rain, rain at close of day, at evening; in the end of a time or dispensation; rain needed to get the last crop or fruit.”⁵⁴³

Myland went on to assert that the Land of Israel was *watched by God*.

The eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it. God's eyes are on Palestine tonight. The usurper has tramped over it; Mohammedans have overrun it, the Sultan of Turkey has ravished it, and he is paying a part of the judgment now, for God's eyes are on it. Even this week negotiations are in progress for the purchase of Mesopotamia, which will finally eventuate in the ancient people of God entering into the Holy Land by way of Mesopotamia. This is the fulfilment of prophecy and shows the hastening of the end.⁵⁴⁴

Myland was certain of the direct prophetic correspondence between what God was doing with national Israel and what he was doing with the Church. “This is the latter rain coming upon Israel, and it has started on the church first. It has come upon the land contemporaneously and will soon come upon literal Israel.”⁵⁴⁵ Curiously, Myland contended that Israel would never have experienced the curse of a barren land had Israel nationally embraced Christ at his first advent. He drew from that negative experience that the Church could also miss the benefits associated with the Latter Rain if unbelieving of God’s gifts or unwilling to follow an unexpected direction from heaven.⁵⁴⁶ Myland made room in his thought for the possibility that Israel could have chosen for Christ which would have radically altered the divine activity associated with Israel’s experience. He rejected any Christian fatalism that demanded Jewish rejection of Christ as condition for Gentile evangelism, so characteristic of much of Evangelicalism.

W. H. Cossum

William Henry Cossum (b. 1863) delivered a series of lectures entitled, “Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History” at the Stone Church in Chicago in February 1910. They were published in the monthly *Latter Rain Evangel* but were finally printed in book form in 1911 with the same title by popular demand. Cossum accepted Darby’s dispensationalist notion that the history of the Chosen People had

⁵⁴³ Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, 8.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

been interrupted by the Jewish rejection of the kingdom and would be resumed only at the Second Coming when Christ would be embraced by Israel. Historically suspended in judgment, Israel was still divinely loved, guarded, and sustained in anticipation of ultimate victory.⁵⁴⁷ He wrote of the apocalyptic 144,000 of Israel as those who faithfully functioned as the first fruits of a spiritually redeemed Israel. The whole of Israel would experience unity surrounding their desired Messiah, the Son of David. With a Pentecostal styled heavenly outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the Promised Land and all Israel would experience a grand revitalization.⁵⁴⁸ Christians should not be jealous of Israel but celebrate the reality that God still intended to bless the Jewish people.⁵⁴⁹ Cossum warned Pentecostals that Spain had “reaped the judgment of God” because of her mistreatment of the Jews in the time of the inquisitions and expulsions.⁵⁵⁰ Pointing up the crucial nature of the study of prophecy for Pentecostal balance and circumspection as it related to the Jewish people, Cossum wrote, “We need the Holy Ghost; we need the prophetic truth, hence our study is relevant and proper, the study of the Jew in prophecy.”⁵⁵¹ The modern Jewish Zionist movement was the greatest sign of the pending Second Coming. “You ask me ‘What is the great sign of the Lord's coming.’ The Jew! ‘What is the great sign amongst the Jews?’ Zionism!”⁵⁵² Cossum pointed up the modern return to Zion was numerically more significant than the ancient return from Babylon. God had not forfeited his program for Israel, but it had been delayed until Israel would come to faith in Jesus. “He is going to come back when some of Israel are ready for Him, but He is coming back to Israel.”⁵⁵³

Although Cossum expressed some sympathy for Anglo-Israelism, he insisted the flow of biblical prophecy carried the Jewish people. He concluded his litany of eschatological events with his conviction that all Israel would ultimately become Pentecostal. Nevertheless, Cossum rehearsed the story of Theodor Herzl and listed the four points of the 1897 Basle Program. While recognizing the “arm of flesh” in the Zionist efforts, Cossum still reiterated, “The dry bones of Ezekiel’s vision are beginning

⁵⁴⁷ Cossum, *Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History*, 113-114.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 31.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 24.

to stir and come together, and by and by God is going to breathe upon them." Yet even the gathering to Zion in unbelief was cause for Christian rejoicing since, "It thrills our hearts not merely on account of the Jews, but because the quicker the Jews get together the quicker Jesus will come. The dry bones are twitching and it thrills us with expectation."⁵⁵⁴

Zionism was igniting Jewish passions the world over as Jewish people had "a strong spiritual nature." He believed the apostate spirit of the Jewish world was still defying God and was, for the present, still under God's judgment. With all that, however, the Zionist movement was still destined to succeed.⁵⁵⁵ The "new heart" and "new spirit" divinely promised in Ezekiel 36:26 was for Israel. The dry bones of Ezekiel 37 were to come to life as the resurrected nation of Israel.⁵⁵⁶ Cossum stated that this revitalization was the promised work of God. "He has spoken and it will be done."⁵⁵⁷

The contemporary regathering to Zion in nationalistic aspiration and current willful Jewish unbelief would result in fiery trials that would lead to ultimate repentance and reconciliation to God in Christ since, "these fires of tribulation are for purification" that would produce a "company that have been purified to meet Jesus when He returns to this earth."⁵⁵⁸ Cossum, a post-tribulationist rejecting the dispensationalist escapist rapture, held that when the 144,000 of the tribes of Israel accepted Christ, great spiritual activity would transpire. The Spirit was already being poured out in Zion according to recent Jerusalem missionary reports. There would be a mighty Jewish revival, and "the miraculous will be manifested in Palestine while the Jews are being gathered. God will be at work among his people; the sick will be healed and miracles will be worked."⁵⁵⁹ Upon Christ's Second Coming, the Jewish nation would recognize that the One hated, rejected and resisted for two millennia was, in fact, the genuine Messiah and redeemer of Israel. "Then Zionism will have reached its prophetic goal."⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 61-62.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 35.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 63-64.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 66.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 68.

In regard to Zion, restorationist George Floyd Taylor later wrote in *The Second Coming of Jesus*, "God's covenant can never be broken. The seed of Abraham *must* possess the land of Canaan *forever*."⁵⁶¹ He contended that the promises of God for the perpetuity of Jerusalem and Mount Zion were meaningful and not mere word pictures.⁵⁶² The seed of Abraham were to continue to inherit Canaan forever; "their race will never cease to be."⁵⁶³ The generations of Abraham would continue "not simply for a few thousand years, but forever."⁵⁶⁴ In the same way, "David's throne and Messiah's Davidic government on Mount Zion abide forever."⁵⁶⁵ Taylor established an eternal link between Jesus, Zion, and the Jewish people and made much of the fact that the Book of Revelation was to be taken literally rather than being subjected entirely to allegorical spiritualizations of Scripture, so characteristic of liberals. The binding of Satan, the set throne of Ben David, the thousand year reign of Jesus with saints sitting on thrones and reigning with Jesus in their glorified bodies, etc., were all to be interpreted quite literally.

Taylor offered a lengthy list of "signs of the end" like runaway greed, great advances in the speed of transport and travel, increased knowledge, social narcissism, etc.⁵⁶⁶ Taylor did not mention the rise of modern Zionism as one of the "sign(s) of the end" yet advocated, "At the second coming of Jesus, the Jews as a nation will accept Him as their Savior."⁵⁶⁷ He suggested that by the time of the Great Tribulation, "the Jews will have gathered back to Palestine in their unbelief,"⁵⁶⁸ and "the Great Tribulation causes some to turn to God, and to seek His salvation."⁵⁶⁹ Taylor affirmed the Scriptures taught a full restoration of Israel but not necessarily prior to the Second Coming. He, like Cotton Mather, contended the Second Coming need not depend upon an earlier full Zionist restoration but could as easily precede it.⁵⁷⁰ According to

⁵⁶¹ George Floyd Taylor, *The Second Coming of Jesus* (Franklin Springs, GA: The Publishing House, Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1916; reprint, 1950), 198.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 199-200.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, 216

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-27.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

Taylor, the Jews would be re-gathered in the millennial age, and salvation would then be offered to all living nations.⁵⁷¹

Summary

The “Latter Rain” message of the Autumn rainfall bringing the harvest to full maturity was a favorite apologetic for Pentecostal enthusiasts. The Pentecostal movement not only needed to preach the Gospel to all nations to effect the *eschaton* but needed to awaken the balance of Christendom to prepare for the pending Second coming. The restorationist theme as undergirded by the supportive tenets of the Second Coming and speaking in tongues, all major themes in first-century Christianity, laid a foundation for supporting the Zionist vision of a restored Jewish State. The returning Messiah would rule the universe from the Davidic throne in Jerusalem. In preparation for his reign, the nations must be forewarned of the pending divine judgment the Messiah would execute and be afforded opportunity to believe the Gospel to escape God’s wrath. Time was short, and Gospel ambassadors must be spiritually equipped to do a “quick work.” The twentieth-century Pentecostal outpouring along the pattern of the first-century Pentecostal outpouring would enable Spirit-filled ambassadors to rapidly evangelize the nations. The restored nation of Israel would become home to the conquering Messiah Jesus, and Zion would function as his throne. Therefore, in Pentecostal logic, there existed a direct connection between the Second Coming, Spirit-baptism as evidenced by tongues speaking, and a restored Zion. All were joined together in Pentecostal ideology as one multi-faceted divine strategy for the end of man’s sinful rebellion against the Creator and for a restored humanity living under the government of God.

Pentecostalism afforded Americans a continued role in the apocalypse while recognizing an independent Zion. Therefore, Pentecostalism could move away from a supersessionist or even strictly dispensationalist theology toward an ideology that more afforded a present mystical Pentecostal partnership with a restored Israel. Pentecostalists could simultaneously cling to their patriotic attraction to the mythical American sense of destiny while affording Zion its own place under the same prophetic sun and see themselves as engaged with both.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 22.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 ignited premillennial expectations as nothing else. Suddenly the re-establishment of a Jewish national homeland was more than a pipe dream or a fantasy of Christian prophecy buffs or soothsayers. The Jewish State was a pending reality with all the implications for the Second Coming such an event foreglimpsed. What further evidence was needed that God was busily engaged in his grand scheme of restoration of both Israel and the Church?

PENTECOSTAL IDENTIFICATION WITH ISRAEL'S DESTINY

PERIODICAL SOURCES OF INFLUENCE UPON EARLY PENTECOSTALIST THOUGHT

There were several key periodicals that profoundly impacted Pentecostalist ideology concerning Zionism and the Jewish people. Among the periodicals most extensively read were those Joseph and Alice Flower edited. Joseph Roswell Flower (1888-1970) had edited and published *The Pentecost* from 1908 until 1910. In the earliest years of the movement at the invitation of the stalwart Pentecostal statesman David Wesley Myland, protégé Joseph Flower began in 1913 editing and publishing a weekly Pentecostal periodical distributed as the *Christian Evangel*. By August 1915 the name had been changed to the *Weekly Evangel*. From its earliest years these forerunners of the *Pentecostal Evangel* would embrace Zionism, the "salvation of national Israel," and Jewish evangelism on all fronts, home and abroad. Flower became one of the founders of the General Council of the AG in 1914 and was the chief architect of the fourteenth article of the AG "Statement of Faith" which forthrightly anticipated the "salvation of national Israel" as included in the original 1927 AG constitution. No other twentieth-century Christian denomination had such a clause referencing "national Israel" as integral to its basic system of faith.

Word and Witness was a Pentecostal publication edited by Eudorus N. Bell from 1912 to 1915. It became the official organ of the newly created General Council of the AG at its organizational meeting in 1914. *Word and Work*, a widely circulated monthly edited by S. G. Otis, was a Pentecostal periodical published by the Massachusetts based Christian Workers' Union from 1899 to 1940. It proclaimed as its exclusive purpose the

spread of the Good News of the Second Coming.⁵⁷² *Confidence*, the highly influential British Pentecostal periodical, was published from 1908 to 1926. It bore the ideological marks of the Keswick theology of editor Alex A. Boddy (1854-1930), world traveler and academic revivalist. Boddy had studied theology at Durham but was active in the Pentecostal movement in England after 1907. William T. MacArthur's *Living Truths* published a series of articles between 1904 through 1907, which proved to be pace-setting in terms of their yield of Pentecostal awareness and growing enthusiastic endorsement of the Zionist enterprise.

The Stone Church in Chicago published its nationally distributed *Latter Rain Evangel* (LRE) from 1908 until 1939 when Depression era costs forced its discontinuation. During its heyday the LRE had profound impact upon new and inquisitive Pentecostals everywhere and functioned as a Pentecostal bastion of ideological innovation, theological expression, and missiological guideline. Among its many contributions to Pentecostal ideology was its focus upon "the salvation of national Israel." Many American Pentecostals took note of international Jewry's eschatological significance and the direct bearing of a restored Zion on the Second Coming as they read the highly popular and broadly disseminated LRE. The Zionist national restorationist aspirations closely paralleled Pentecostal spiritual restorationist expectations. The literalist approach of Pentecostals predisposed them to embrace the literal fulfillment of the biblical promises to the patriarchs and those specifically related to the rebuilding of Zion.

PENTECOSTAL APPRECIATION OF THE ZIONIST FEVER

After offering his rationale for devoting the entire August 1904 issue of *Living Truth* to the "great (Jewish) question," editor William T. MacArthur offered his readership the lengthy article, "The Late Dr. Herzl," which was reprinted directly from the *New York Sun* and a second article, "Dr. Herzl," taken in the whole from *Review of Reviews*. Both expressed their highest reverence for Herzl.

Albert Weaver wrote in "Palestine," for the *Word and Work* in 1909 that he had attended the Zionist conference in Basle in 1905 at which the future habitation of the Jewish people was under heated discussion. He reported that even by 1909 some 30

⁵⁷² *Word and Work* advertisement in *Bridal Call* (April 1918): 2.

Jewish settlements had been created in the Land. The Sultan's granting of a constitution had now permitted Jews to freely purchase land who then lost no time buying up all available property north of the city of Jerusalem.⁵⁷³

The *LRE* accented in 1910 the persecution and suffering the Jews had experienced in modern Palestine. The Jews were now "returning to their country" as biblically prophesied. The 50,000 Jewish inhabitants Jerusalem had purchased most of Mt. Zion from Muslims and established 24 colonies since the 1890s. Jews were coming primarily out of religious motive so that Jerusalem was being rebuilt "in our day" according to the Word of God. The roads destroyed according to prophecy were being rebuilt, rain was increasing, dew was plentiful, and the gates were wide open continually. These were all signs of the closing Church dispensation and the coming Kingdom age.⁵⁷⁴ *The Pentecost* noted in the same year the efforts of the Masons of Boston to incorporate a company whose given purpose was the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. This was yet another "sign of the times" and a fulfilling of prophecy. Jews were returning to Zion in unbelief but returning nevertheless.⁵⁷⁵

The romantic sympathies of the Pentecostals with the Zionist cause were continually accented. It was reported in 1911 by the *Latter Rain Evangel* that the Zionist movement had argued that the Jordan plain, thought to be desert, could be made to "bloom and blossom" again by modern means. The current development of modern Palestine and the international conflict over this real estate should have been, it was stated, of keen interest to students of biblical prophecy and the *eschaton*.⁵⁷⁶

Eudorus N. Bell, first General Chairman of the AG, in 1915 wrote "Preparations for the Return to Palestine," with the subtitle, "The Jewish Nation will Organize to take united action in compelling the Nations to recognize their rights to a Country and a Home."⁵⁷⁷ He suggested that the Jewish people had not been united except in religion and offered as evidence the difficulty the Zionists were having soliciting the energies of the greater majority of the Jewish people in support of the return of the Jews to Zion

⁵⁷³ Albert Weaver, "Palestine," *Word and Work* 31:9 (1 September 1909): 199. See also Ruth Kark, ed., *Land and Settlement in Eretz Israel 1830–1990. Selected Papers by Prof. Ruth Kark*. Jerusalem: The Land-Use Research Institute, 1995.

⁵⁷⁴ C. Antoszewski, "The City Shall Be Built From the Tower of Hananeel," *LRE* (1 March 1910): 11.

⁵⁷⁵ J. R. Flower, ed., "Editorial," *The Pentecost* 2:3 (1 February 1910): 4.

⁵⁷⁶ "Developments in the Holy Land," *LRE* (1 December 1911): 13.

⁵⁷⁷ Eudorus N. Bell, "Preparations for the Return to Palestine," *Word and Witness* 12:8 (1 August 1915): 2.

and national restoration. But the traditionally passive and weak Jewish voices were now demanding respect and recognition as witnessed in the first national gathering of Zionists in Boston in the summer of 1915. The Jewish-awakening Zionist movement purposed to give the Jews their needed rights to freedom and the privilege to live wherever Jews should desire. This coveted freedom would undoubtedly become reality at the conclusion of the European war. Stated Bell euphorically, "The fig tree is putting forth her leaves and we know that summer is nigh."⁵⁷⁸

An apparently impromptu resolution drafted by some 500 Jewish delegates at a New York demonstration demanding a "Jewish republic in Palestine" was printed in its entirety in the 1917 *LRE*.⁵⁷⁹ The same year the *Weekly Evangel* indicated that for every 100 Jews migrating to the Holy Land, thousands of Turks were migrating to America only proving that "God was providing homes for His people the Jews, making way for their return, which is very near."⁵⁸⁰ Meanwhile, the Sea of Galilee was reported to be teeming with fish, the Dead Sea was filled with chemicals useful to industry, streams of water were unexpectedly appearing in new locations, and railways were being built to service machinery. "All things were thus being prepared for the return of the Jews to the promised land."⁵⁸¹

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO THE ZIONIST CAUSE

Albert Weaver had suggested in 1909 that the Land promised to God's Chosen People was still flowing with milk and honey. The "Latter Rain," so long withheld from the Land, had been divinely restored for the last 15 years providing 40 inches of annual rainfall in the hill country. The signs were clear that the times of the Gentiles would soon be fulfilled. The Jewish émigrés' present allurements to other lands of the diaspora was nothing less than satanic opposition to God's will for the vast return of Jews to Zion.⁵⁸²

The *Weekly Evangel* gave prominence in 1915 to the newsworthy item that New York rabbis had called for the Jews of America to take a Monday to fast and pray for the end of the European war. A "bugle" (*shofar*) would be used for this solemn

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ "Next Year in Jerusalem," *LRE* (1 June 1917): 13.

⁵⁸⁰ Alice Reynolds Flower, ed., "What is Happening to Palestine," *Weekly Evangel* (28 April 1917): 7.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Weaver, "Palestine," 199-200.

occasion.⁵⁸³ The *Weekly Evangel* also included the frightening warnings of Cleveland rabbi, Moses J. Gries, who foresaw a looming crisis for the million Jews of Eastern Europe who were “buffeted from persecutor to oppressor.” National wars and racial conflicts would create a new epoch and dramatically effect Jewish lives. All such news was designed to generate Pentecostal awareness of the social and political conditions of God’s Chosen People as they bore on the *eschaton*. Bell went on in *Word and Witness* the same year to quote descriptions of current Jewish sufferings in Europe and referenced that over 200 pogroms had occurred in Poland since the war’s beginning in 1914. To demonstrate Jewish patriotism among all the warring nations, Bell highlighted the valiant efforts of Jewish soldiers on all sides.⁵⁸⁴

To foster Pentecostal intensified sympathies for the Jewish people, the 1916 *LRE* printed the horrific description of Jewish suffering and death of some 7,000 Jews at Austrian hands since the instigation of World War I.⁵⁸⁵ The *LRE* went on to declare in 1917 that while Jewish eyes were focused on Zion and Jews were working toward “national unity,” the Jewish people were currently suffering horrific Turkish abuse even as the military governor had vowed that Jews would suffer the Armenian fate.⁵⁸⁶

VESTIGES OF PENTECOSTAL BRITISH-ISRAELISM

James A. Gray of Manchester, England, offered a description of certain features of Jewish orthopraxy in the 1914 *Christian Evangel* and complained of historical Christian anti-Semitism. But Gray also expressed his embrace of British-Israelism and reported that many Russian Jews had migrated to England since they had known that the English and Americans were the “Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.”⁵⁸⁷ A. A. Boddy at least indirectly supported British Israelism in *Confidence* as he offered in 1915 that since “many of God’s loved ones believe, that the British nation is the birthright tribe of Ephraim, is it not highly possible that God will use us a nation to gain for Abraham’s seed...possession of the covenant land?” Boddy went on to offer support to the British-Israel tenet that “Jews” referenced the descendents of “Judah” while “Israel”

⁵⁸³ Alice Reynolds Flower, ed., “Jews to Pray for War’s End,” *Weekly Evangel* (11 September 1915): 2.

⁵⁸⁴ Bell, “Preparations for the Return to Palestine,” 2.

⁵⁸⁵ “Jewish Sufferings Through the War,” *LRE* (1 August 1916): 23-24.

⁵⁸⁶ “Next Year in Jerusalem,” *LRE* (1 June 1917): 12-13.

⁵⁸⁷ James A. Gray, “Prayer for the Jews: A Glimpse of Their Life, Doctrines and Practices,” *Christian Evangel* (17 October 1914): 2.

alluded to the lost ten tribes. But the divine promise was for all the sons of Israel: "This promised land was to be peopled by all Israel, not by the Jews alone."⁵⁸⁸

ISRAEL'S PENTECOSTAL DESTINY IN ESCHATOLOGICAL ZION

J. R. Flower's *The Pentecost* stated in 1909 that all twelve tribes of Israel would form one nation with Jerusalem as its capital, that all nations would be subject to Israel when Jesus reigned in Jerusalem with his Bride, and that the whole world of nations would be the redeemed nation of Israel's evangelistic field assignment.⁵⁸⁹ The link between the return of the Jewish people to Zion and the distinct Pentecostal experience was observed in a reprinted "Latter Rain" sermon in the 1913 *Confidence*. In spite of Turkey's obstructionist efforts, the Jews were reaching the Holy Land and were destined to possess all that Abraham had been promised. In these modern days of the "latter rain," God's ancient gift of ecstatic worship was correspondingly being restored to Pentecostals.⁵⁹⁰

The return of the Jews to Zion was proof to Pentecostals that the Second Coming was "at the door." In a 1910 *Confidence* printed sermon entitled, "Seven Signs of His Coming," A. A. Boddy offered "The Jews" as sign number two. He reported some 100,000 Jews had already gathered back in Palestine, with 60,000 already in Jerusalem, through the efforts of the Zionist movement, the Alliance Israelite, and the Jewish Colonisation Society. Turkey's new constitution now afforded citizenship to Holy Land residents, but God himself was effecting the Jewish return while Christ would soon come to them on the Mount of Olives in their moment of "stress and great need." Unwittingly, the Jews were fulfilling prophecy and soon Christ's own Jewish people would welcome him as the messianic deliverer.⁵⁹¹ *The Pentecost* noted the same year the Sultan's alarm at the Jewish colonization of Zion and recognized the inherent dangers to the Jewish people. It also celebrated the early development of Jewish infrastructure in Zion and the legal Jewish acquisition of land noting the development of banking and commerce, the creation of a hundred Jewish schools, the rapid construction of hospitals, homes, and synagogues, the four-fold increase of land value,

⁵⁸⁸ A. A. Boddy, "Signs of the Times," *Confidence* 8:4 (April 1915): 72.

⁵⁸⁹ A. S. Copley, "The Seven Dispensational Parables," *The Pentecost* 1:5 (1 January 1909): 7.

⁵⁹⁰ A. A. Boddy, ed., "Latter Rain," *Confidence* 6:9 (September 1913): 173.

⁵⁹¹ A. A. Boddy, "Seven Signs of His Coming," *Confidence* 3:12 (December 1910): 282.

advanced agricultural methods and machinery, and the steady purchase of Muslim farms.⁵⁹²

The bond between the Pentecostals and the Jews was religiously reinforced by the *Confidence* 1912 publication of a chapter from Sydney Watson's book entitled, *In the Twinkling of an Eye*, in which the Jewish Passover was linked to the Second Coming.⁵⁹³ A. J. Benson of New York City delivered a sermon at the Stone Church in 1913, which was soon printed in the *LRE*. It was entitled, "Burdened for the Chosen People." Benson believed the *eschaton* was imminent, that the times of the Gentiles were almost at an end, and God was turning toward the re-chosen remnant of the Jews to bring them into his will.⁵⁹⁴ The suspension of Jewish chosenness in first century would be cancelled just prior to the Second Coming. Strangely, Benson not only accepted the standard axiom of dispensationalist thought that the Antichrist would be Jewish but that, in a certain sense, all Jews were antichrists, i.e., against Jesus. Yet a Jewish remnant would be restored to the Land of Promise howbeit only after the Second Coming.⁵⁹⁵

One of the principal reasons given for Pentecostal interest in the war was that it was closely connected with the return of the Jews to their beloved land and the Second Coming. It stated that all biblical prophecy predicted "the future glory and final triumph of the Jewish race, with Jerusalem as the capital, and David their prince ruling over them in power and glory." It was only a question of how soon prophecy would become reality. Most Jews had passively assigned the redemption of Israel to the awaited Messiah while "Zionists" had agitated for the return of the Jews in anticipation of the restoration of Israel. At long last the Jews were finally rising to organize into a formidable body to "demand recognition and respect." Surely the Jews would live in freedom at the conclusion of the "European war." Yet turf wars with their hostile neighbors would ultimately climax in Armageddon with the invasion of Russia from the north.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹² J. R. Flower, ed., "God's Finger-Board," *The Pentecost* 2:4 (1 March 1910): 6.

⁵⁹³ Sydney Watson, "In the Twinkling of an Eye," *Confidence* 3:5 (March 1912): 54.

⁵⁹⁴ A. J. Benson, "Burdened for the Chosen People," *LRE* (1 July 1913): 8.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁹⁶ Alice Reynolds Flower, ed., "Preparations for the Return to Palestine," *Weekly Evangel* (7 August 1915): 3.

Boddy suggested in his 1915 *Confidence* that some men professed unbelief since the biblically “promised” land had never been fully inherited. This, declares Boddy, would be a temporary problem. It was not a question of “if” but only “when” the children of Abraham would inherit all the real estate “from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates.” (Gen. 15:18). The promise would yet find complete fulfillment.⁵⁹⁷ Boddy predicted the Jewish contribution to the British military war machine during World War I would lead to the fulfillment of prophecy as Jews would surely gain the right to inhabit Zion by legal rights and citizenship. Boddy was confident that the present 50,000 Jews serving in the King’s army would be rewarded with a new position of equality and freedom unknown to Jews since the Temple’s destruction.⁵⁹⁸ This post-war regathering of Israel in Zion would precede the Second Coming and include the inheriting of the land from the Nile to the Euphrates.⁵⁹⁹ In support of the pending national Jewish conversion to Christ and the Second Coming, Boddy offered rabbinical witness:

A very remarkable statement has recently been made by the Chief Rabbi of Palestine. He says that on comparing the Talmud, Rabbinical writings with Old Testament Scriptures, he had discovered that Christ must come within five years.⁶⁰⁰

A New York newspaper asked a battery of rabbinical leaders and Protestant ministers in 1917 about the significance of the British domination of Jerusalem. Alice Flower, editor of the *Weekly Evangel* indicated the responses the newspaper received demonstrated two things: one, that the Jewish people were about to return to Zion in unbelief, and two, that “the Christian leaders of today have utterly failed to grasp the import of what is likely to be one of the most significant and far reaching events of this momentous period.”⁶⁰¹ In fulfillment of Jesus’ prophecy, stated Flower, Jerusalem was indeed downtrodden of Gentiles for 1800 years. But Jesus’ portrayal of the temporary nature of this domination, e.g., “until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,” now had the prospect of immediate consummation.

⁵⁹⁷ Boddy, “Signs of the Times,” 72.

⁵⁹⁸ A. A. Boddy, ed., “With Our Troops in France,” *Confidence* 8:11 (November 1915): 209.

⁵⁹⁹ Boddy, “Signs of the Times,” 72.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Alice Reynolds Flower, ed., “What It Means: The British in Jerusalem,” *Weekly Evangel* (22 December 1917): 3.

The key composers of early Pentecostalist ideology fully anticipated a Pentecostal Jewish world in the *eschaton*. Parham had indicated that the sealed witnesses of Revelation 7 would be Israelites sealed with the Holy Spirit as accompanied by speaking in tongues.⁶⁰² Jewish participation in the Azusa Street Revival and messages in Hebrew “tongues” on the lips of unlearned Christians ostensibly for the benefit of visiting Jewish curiosity seekers yielded further evidence in ideological support of an eschatological Pentecostal Zion.⁶⁰³ Embracing the NT conviction that “the Jew requires a sign,” Pentecostals envisioned new messianic faith rising in Israel as “signs, wonders and miracles” would be effected by the high level of Pentecostal-styled activity in Zion. According to Cossum, the miraculous healings and related workings of God would lead not only to the salvation of the Jewish people but to Israel’s enduement with Pentecostal power.⁶⁰⁴

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PENTECOSTAL MISSION TO ISRAEL

A strategic part of the early Pentecostal ideology of Israel was its Pentecostal sense of mission to Israel. W. H. Daniel had written in 1903 that Jerusalem was awaiting its excellent glory as the capital of the world at the time when the longing souls of Israel would embrace the reign of “the King of Israel, the Lord of Hosts, the Lord of Lords, the Prince of Peace.”⁶⁰⁵ In William T. MacArthur’s 1904 “Israel in the Light of Prophecy and Providence,” he bemoaned that a spiritually opiating unbelief now clouded much of the Jewish faith perspective but that happily the Gospel had been making illuminating advances in the Jewish world for many decades. Without naming Jewish believers, MacArthur wrote:

During the past half century especially there has been marked progress in the spread of the Gospel among the Jews, and many noble examples have appeared of the sovereign grace of God in opening their eyes to the truth, and leading some of the brightest minds of Israel’s race to receive Jesus Christ and become leaders and teachers of their countrymen in the Gospel.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² Charles Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 27.

⁶⁰³ See *Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), I (September 1906) in Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 90.

⁶⁰⁴ Cossum, *Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History*, 66.

⁶⁰⁵ W. H. Daniel, “The Last Jerusalem Campaign,” *Living Truths* 3:6 (December 1903), 340.

⁶⁰⁶ MacArthur, “Israel in the Light of Prophecy and Providence,” 437.

In light of recent mission reports “during the past half century,” MacArthur insisted that with the “many noble examples” of the “brightest minds of Israel’s race” among dispersed Israel now becoming leading proponents of a Jewish communal embrace of Jesus, Pentecostals had “every encouragement to be faithful to our great commission to give the Gospel to ‘the Jew first’.”⁶⁰⁷ A serious part of blessing the seed of Abraham (Gen. 12:3) was the ongoing evangelistic efforts to point Jewish people to Christ. Israel’s spiritual transformation was perceived as foundational to the successful evangelization of the heathen world. The Christian community then had two strong and corresponding motivations for engaging in global evangelism: the salvation of Israel and the salvation of the heathen nations.⁶⁰⁸ For Pentecostals, nothing could be more transparent in Scripture than the divinely orchestrated restoration of Israel’s national glory, which would precede Israel’s spiritual conversion. The spiritually lifeless bones of Ezekiel were reassembling and standing erect as testimony that political restoration was already in progress. But when Israel inhaled the Holy Spirit, the spiritually lifeless forms would rise to form a grand army of God. As foretaste to this, many in Israel had already come to faith in Christ, and Hebrew copies of the New Testament were reportedly enjoying a widespread reading among Jewish people the world over.⁶⁰⁹

W. H. Cossum’s *Mountain Peaks* [1911] also encouraged Pentecostal evangelism among the Jews. Cossum credited Zionism with the successful return of the Jews to the Promised Land but bemoaned their return in unbelief. Their unfaithfulness would necessitate the harshest divine chastening of all Jewish history and would continue until Israel was prepared to repent, quit her self-reliance and resolved to rely on the Lord.⁶¹⁰ Upon Israel’s ultimate repentance and messianic faith, Jesus would come to release Israel from the awful grip of the anti-christic forces even as he regathered Israel from the four corners of the earth and established his Davidic throne in Zion. The regathering of Israel would be followed by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 440-441.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 438.

⁶¹⁰ Cossum, *Mountain Peaks of Prophecy and Sacred History*, 51-52.

Spirit's successful utilization of the children of Israel as "the evangelizers of the world"⁶¹¹ even as the blessing of God would "flow as a mighty river."⁶¹²

Cossum called for proper respect for the Jewish people especially in light of their eternal relationship with God. All incivility and abuse of Jewish people must need end.⁶¹³ The Pentecostal experience would be poured out in greater measure upon a fully redeemed national Israel than originally given in Acts 2.⁶¹⁴ When Israel would flow in Pentecostal power, global evangelization would be successfully completed. A Spirit-filled Israel would experience an anointing so rich and complete that successful global redemption would be virtually assured. All the prophecies of Israel's restoration would find fulfillment even as unbelieving Israel would soon come to faith in Jesus, be spiritually restored and share in the Pentecostal experience of Spirit baptism so as to be equipped to fulfill her glorious destiny of functioning as God's chief Gospel agents in the world.⁶¹⁵

In the face of Israel's national rejection of the King and his kingdom, God had selected the remnant of 120 Jews on the Day of Pentecost to inaugurate the bold global redemption effort. But the Church was only to be a stopgap measure until Israel came to Christ. At that point God would resume and complete the good work he had started in and through Israel.⁶¹⁶ According to Cossum, the Pentecostal experience was given only subsequent to the national rejection of Christ as a foretaste of what Israel would experience upon the national acceptance of Christ. The outpouring of God's Spirit in standard Pentecostal fashion would follow Israel's national conversion in the Kingdom established in Zion. This would inaugurate the full harvest, the ultimate meaning of the Feast of Tabernacles.⁶¹⁷ But the final accomplishment of universal evangelization must await Israel's national redemption and Pentecostal empowerment.⁶¹⁸ The destiny of Israel, God's national son, was inseparably bound together with the Messiah Jesus, the Chief Son of Israel. Israel's spiritual purification would follow her repentant

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 25-26.

⁶¹² Ibid., 27.

⁶¹³ Ibid., 19.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 118, 120.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 22.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 122-123.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 114.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 114-115.

acceptance of Israel's Chief Son and King-Messiah. Then would the Word of the Lord go forth from Zion with new power.⁶¹⁹

In Cossum's chapter on "The Jew and Pentecost," he registered that just as Israel was the key to human destiny, history and eschatology, Israel was also the key to the right understanding of Pentecost.⁶²⁰ The Jew is forever linked with Pentecost. The success of Israel's redemptive work among the nations would only follow their being filled with the Holy Spirit, their national reunification, and their proclamation of divine activities the world over. Restored Israel would be "the Spirit-filled company of evangelizers,"⁶²¹ that God would use as his messianic witnesses to the ends of the earth to complete the evangelization of the nations.⁶²²

Cossum linked the mission and destiny of Israel and Christ together. Christ personally represented the "greater nation which is to be brought out of its grave some day to go on with the Messiah and they shall be glorified together."⁶²³ As Israel's chief son, Christ had representatively carried on the mission of Israel. But Israel would ultimately be glorified together with him. God had lovingly preserved the Jewish people precisely for their glorious apostolic destiny "because He loves them, for they are really his people."⁶²⁴ The miraculously preserved Jewish people were divinely destined to accomplish their God-assigned national purpose. Meanwhile, Cossum made clear, the Christian should maintain a loving heart for the salvation of Israel in anticipation of God's guarantee of Israel's national redemption.⁶²⁵

PENTECOSTALS AND GLOBAL MISSIONS

The extraordinary religious phenomena of glossolalia, reports of physical healings and related miracles associated with Pentecostalism registered to adherents a clear confirmation of their eschatological expectations and intensified their commitment to international missions.⁶²⁶ The Latter Rain outpouring of religious revival was a sure indication of the pending Second Coming. Though it may have

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, 110.

⁶²⁰ Ibid, 112.

⁶²¹ Ibid, 124.

⁶²² Ibid, 125-126.

⁶²³ Ibid, 43.

⁶²⁴ Ibid, 44.

⁶²⁵ Ibid, 117.

⁶²⁶ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 89.

appeared so to others, speaking in tongues itself was not the intended Pentecostal message. Tongues were simply the divine confirmation and means to legitimatization and propagation of the message of that “Jesus is coming.”⁶²⁷ The Latter Rain second Pentecost had come to equip the saints of the *eschaton* to accomplish universal apostolic victories.⁶²⁸

According to Paul Boyer, the arrival of World War I was greeted with millennial expectation across the Evangelical Christian spectrum. A flood of books, pamphlets, and articles were published heralding the end of the present age in light of prophecy. The worse the world developments became, the grander the dispensationalist support for premillennialism. By the end of World War I, many in the Evangelical camps, including some Pentecostals, were prepared to accept the collapse of civilization.⁶²⁹ Yet positive spirited Pentecostals generally were more focused on the pending establishment of the Zionist state and the Second Coming as reflected in the *Latter Rain Evangel* and a host of other Pentecostal periodicals.

From their beginnings Pentecostals felt the powerful call to action and the need to “redeem the time” since the Second Coming was at hand. Messages received through prophetic gifts encouraged urgent evangelistic activity. Their enthusiasm to engage in spiritual warfare, in foreign missions and in the proliferation of congregations in major cities and small towns was rooted in their vision and sense of destiny.⁶³⁰ Soon it would be said that one could go anywhere and find three things: Coca-Cola, Singer sewing machines and the AG. Pentecostals were ready to send out apostolic missionaries in the power of the Spirit to assure global evangelism success and to prevent the ongoing financial waste of sending out powerless Protestant missionaries. Power, language skills and sealing against the tribulation attacks of the Antichrist, were all available through Spirit-baptism.⁶³¹

It was a profound shock to early Pentecostalism after a few years that the world had not been rapidly evangelized as the Pentecostal Latter Rain ideology would have suggested. But with all the Pentecostal naiveté regarding Spirit-issued foreign languages for global missions efficiency, the Pentecostal mission enterprise quickly

⁶²⁷ Ibid, 89-90.

⁶²⁸ Ibid, 89.

⁶²⁹ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 100-101, 104.

⁶³⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 113.

⁶³¹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 84.

became universal and surpassed the effectiveness of many older mission societies and denominations.⁶³²

The objective was not only compassion for infidels awaiting rescue from certain judgment but the expediting of the Second Coming. The Pentecostal conviction was that all nations and people groups needed to hear the Gospel's content before Jesus would be sent to earth the second time. They did not share the postmillennialist optimism that the world could indeed be "taken for Christ." Rather than global conversion to Christianity as the key to hastening the Second Coming, the real issue was the actual proclamation of the essential Gospel to all tribes and nations.

PENTECOSTAL PARTICIPATION IN THE MISSION TO ISRAEL

In at least one respect Pentecostal evangelism among the Jewish people would have unique significance, as Pentecostal missionaries would proclaim not merely the simple Gospel salvation message but the distinctly Pentecostal message of vitality in the Spirit so crucial to the accomplishment of Israel's ultimate Jewish mission. Hebrew Christian Bernhard Angel's 1904 article, "The Jews and the Gospel," was published in *Living Truths*. Angel insisted that, "Surely, the Spirit of God is at work among Israel"⁶³³ and claimed the Gospel was successfully penetrating the ten to twelve millions of world Jewry. Materialism and rationalism were proving disastrous to Jewish religion yet "the wall (is) weakening," "prejudice is fast breaking down," and the "ice is melting away."⁶³⁴ He announced that the New York Jewish community had its own remnant now studying the Gospel and examining the issue of the Jesus' messiahship. Jews convinced by the Holy Spirit were now leading others in worship. Angel himself was the regular Saturday preacher to a hundred Jews.⁶³⁵ He reported that Jewish missionaries had attended Zionist conferences and been courteously received as they shared their faith.⁶³⁶ Some 120 societies with 850 workers at 200 stations were spending

⁶³² Orr, *The Flaming Tongue*, 185.

⁶³³ Bernhard Angel. "The Jews and the Gospel," *Living Truths* 4:8 (August 1904), 469.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, 470.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 472.

one million dollars annually for Jewish evangelism globally. Now hundreds of Jews were preaching the Gospel they once despised.⁶³⁷

J. R. Flower's *The Pentecost* regularly expressed its ideological support for the pursuit of Jewish evangelism and the salvation of national Israel and regularly printed the testimonies of missionary work among the Jews. For example, *The Pentecost* published Louie Schneiderman's 1908 missions report letter under the caption, "Called to the Jews." Schneiderman wrote that London was "the greatest Hebrew Christian center in the world" with its seven Jewish missions, multiple and very capable Jewish missionaries, and many genuine Jewish disciples.⁶³⁸ Schneiderman was relieved his long unused Yiddish had returned to him so that now he spoke better than ever to the end many Jews were recognizing their need to turn to King Jesus, the offspring of David.⁶³⁹ John Lake, famous Pentecostal healing evangelist, reported in *The Pentecost* in 1908 on his South African revival services where some 200 to 300 Jews were in attendance and participating at every service.⁶⁴⁰ Joseph Roswell Flower provided a fair amount of coverage of Jewish missionary activity in *The Pentecost* because he believed the salvation of national Israel was directly related to the Jewish people's group submission to the King of Israel. He called upon Pentecostals to believe for the miraculous in conjunction with the salvation of the Jew as he wrote in 1909:

How can the Jew be reached unless he sees the healing of the sick in the name of Jesus? How can he be reached unless he hears the speaking in tongues in his own language by people who never learned the language? How can he know that Jesus is the Christ unless he sees something supernatural wrought in the His name. Miracles must be wrought, the sick must be healed, men must be led into the light of the Gospel of Christ before Jesus comes. We must believe God.⁶⁴¹

The first decade of the *LRE* witnessed the publication too of the testimonies and appeals of missionaries to the Jews in Jerusalem, the United States, and Europe. As early as 1909, the story was told of an Orthodox Palestinian Jew in Constantinople who found joy in Jesus' blood atonement for his sin.⁶⁴² Even Albert Weaver insisted in the

⁶³⁷ Ibid, 473.

⁶³⁸ Louie Schneiderman, "Called to the Jews," *The Pentecost* 1:2 (1 September 1908): 2.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁴⁰ John G. Lake, "Latest News from Africa," *The Pentecost* 1:2 (1 September 1908): 2.

⁶⁴¹ J. R. Flower, ed., "Editorial," *The Pentecost* 1:7 (1 June 1909): 6.

⁶⁴² L. and K., "A Search for the Blood of the Atonement: A Sermonette to Judah," *LRE* (1 April 1909): 23-24.

1909 *Word and Work* that Pentecostals were “indebted to the Jew for the Gospel” and asked, “Is it not a sacred duty to give unto them in return?” Thousands of Jews had become believers while thousands more secretly or openly were inquiring in spite of Jewish persecution. Weaver claimed to know of a rabbi who neither ate nor slept till he had finished reading his newly acquired NT and then became an ardent Christian.⁶⁴³

In 1910 the *LRE* published the seven-page testimony of Maurice Ruben, a Jewish believer living in Pittsburgh. Ruben claimed to have been lifted, “out of rationalism and Judaism” and to have “experienced conversion which entirely changed the manner of” his life.⁶⁴⁴ He lost his wife and son as a result of his faith commitment but was later reconciled when his wife also became a believer. Together they were sharing the Gospel with the Jews of Pittsburgh and had seen more than 200 “individual Jewish souls” likewise pray to accept Christ. Some of these had likewise gone into Jewish evangelistic work in spite of the official opposition they had received from “our people in the Jewish district (who) were bitter in hatred and contempt for the workers.”⁶⁴⁵

Phillip Sidersky’s Pentecostal Jewish mission in Baltimore was highlighted in the *LRE* in 1911. His recent Yom Kippur services had attracted over one thousand Jewish adults, some of who expressed their previous ignorance of how “Christ was so plainly spoken of in types and predictions in the Old Testament.”⁶⁴⁶ Yiddish New Testaments and tracts were disseminated at the close of the services. The lengthy and dramatic testimony of Jewish believer, Joseph R. Lewek, son of a Berlin rabbi, was published by the *LRE* in 1912. It included the story of his suffering religious persecution via the German educational system, his family’s rejection, his difficult transition to America, his ultimate conversion and call to the Christian ministry. This romantic drama captured the fascination of the Pentecostal readership offering perspectives on Jewish history and traditional Gospel resistance to encourage more effective Christian evangelism of the Jews.⁶⁴⁷

A. A. Boddy was interested in the conversion of Jewish people everywhere in anticipation of the Second Coming. He endorsed in his widely read international

⁶⁴³ Weaver, 200.

⁶⁴⁴ Maurice Ruben, “How a Jew Became a Christian,” *LRE* (1 January 1910): 13.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶⁴⁶ “Work Among the Jews,” *LRE* (1 November 1911): 13.

⁶⁴⁷ Joseph R. Lewek, “Bearing Persecution for Jesus’ Sake: A Jew’s Wonderful Conversion and Call to the Ministry,” *LRE* (1 January 1912): 13-19.

publication *Confidence* the Jewish ministries in a variety of nations including the ministries of businessman William Bernard in Liverpool, Bernard's Jewish disciple, Paul, in his Polish homeland, and Otto Kaper, Pentecostal missionary to the Jews in Silesia on the edge of the Pale of Settlement. Bernard reportedly had found friendly favor with the Jews of Liverpool since he was neither paid nor a "Meshumed" but a Christian businessman.⁶⁴⁸ Appeals for Bernard's ministry were frequent in *Confidence*. In support of Boddy's conviction that the redemption of Israel was at hand, *Confidence* pointed to present Pentecostal missionary activities in Jewish Jerusalem of Elizabeth Brown and visiting evangelist Dr. Frances Murcutt who Boddy described as "a striking and capable personality, on fire for the Lord." Murcutt had encountered Jerusalem's "intense bigotry and hatred" but this only had the effect of helping her realize "how tremendous was the work" where only "prevailing prayer and faith" would effect liberation from "darkness and death."⁶⁴⁹ *Confidence* also reported that the 1913 Sunderland Convention had emphasized that the English had missionary duties to the Jews as well as to Gentiles.⁶⁵⁰

Characteristic of E. N. Bell's enthusiasm for the revival of the Jewish nation was his embrace of Jewish missionary activities and especially American Jewish evangelism, which found regular support in *Word and Witness*. He printed in *Word and Witness* the 1913 and 1914 newsletters from Pentecostal missionary to the Jews, A. J. Benson of New York, who wrote that Christians needed to "give these millions of Jews the pure gospel, so the remnant may be saved." All God's Pentecostal people needed to bear the burden of extending Gospel mercy to spiritually lost Israel.⁶⁵¹ He complained of anti-mission efforts of "young Hebrews" to molest, disturb, and interrupt Jewish interest in Christianity. But since the heavenly host is with the missionaries, "real true and informed" Christian prayers assured him of success and victory.⁶⁵² Benson was not afraid to link the Church's history of imperfection with its estrangement from Israel in the 1913 pages of the *LRE*. He believed that God still brought judgment upon nations that abused the Jews and recommended kind

⁶⁴⁸ A. A. Boddy, "At Sea. A Letter from the Editor," *Confidence* 5:8 (August 1912): 187.

⁶⁴⁹ A. A. Boddy, ed., "Jerusalem," *Confidence* 6:2 (February 1913): 40.

⁶⁵⁰ A. A. Boddy, "Sunderland Convention: a Synopsis of the Meetings and Addresses," *Confidence* 6:6 (June 1913): 114.

⁶⁵¹ A. J. Benson, "God and the Jews," *Word and Witness* 9:6 (20 June 1913): 8.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 8.

treatment of the Chosen People. Life experience and devotion to ultimate Jewish redemption in Christ fostered in Benson a professed gratitude and respect for the Jewish community.⁶⁵³

Word and Witness also printed the 1913 testimony of Sarah A. Smith, newly arrived Jerusalem missionary, who stated, "Pentecost has fallen in the German colony here and they are speaking in tongues as in Acts 2:4."⁶⁵⁴ The reports of recent Pentecostal missionaries to Jerusalem doing orphanage and pastoral mission works in 1913-1914 like Charles S. Leonard, Mary Smithson, and Florence Bush, as well as one whom had been doing similar mission work in Jerusalem since the mid-1890s, Elizabeth Brown, were published in 1914 issues of *Word and Witness*⁶⁵⁵ and the *Christian Evangel*.⁶⁵⁶ Pentecostal Jewish mission efforts in Israel would largely go unnoticed, however, by the non-Pentecostal world. Bell promoted available copies of an evangelistic pamphlet in 1915 offering the testimony of Phillip Sidersky, the Baltimore missionary, which recounted his experiences with a synagogue rabbi's "misleading statements" regarding Christ.⁶⁵⁷

Florence Bush's report to Stone Church in Chicago was published in the 1915 *LRE*. Feeling called to "comfort" God's Chosen People upon her arrival in Jerusalem, she "realized that all the Jews needed Jesus to bring the comfort into their hearts that only He can bring."⁶⁵⁸ Bush added real human interest to her report by describing her pain for the sincere but lost religious Jews whose prayers "do not come to God in the name of Jesus." In the same year Pentecostal missionary Paul Joyner reported from Jerusalem to the *Christian Evangel*, "Ten or more have been saved and two received the Holy Ghost and fire."⁶⁵⁹

The *Weekly Evangel* reported that Dr. Florence Murcutt and Mark Levy both offered verbal reports at the 1916 General Council. The missionary efforts of Murcutt, "a converted Jewess," were reported to have included work in Jerusalem, Jericho,

⁶⁵³ A. J. Benson, "Burdened for the Chosen People," *LRE* (1 July 1913): 9.

⁶⁵⁴ Sarah A. Smith, "Jerusalem, Palestine," *Word and Witness* 9:8 (20 August 1913): 1.

⁶⁵⁵ Florence Bush, "God's Work in Foreign Fields," *Word and Witness* 9:11 (20 November 1913): 3; and 10:3 (20 March 1914): 4.

⁶⁵⁶ See Charles S. Leonard, "Jerusalem," *Christian Evangel* (31 October 1914): 4; A. Elizabeth Brown, "Jerusalem," *Christian Evangel* (31 October 1914): 4; Mary Smithson, "Jerusalem, Palestine," *Christian Evangel* (11 July 1914): 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Notice, *Word and Witness*, 12:10 (1 October 1915): 8.

⁶⁵⁸ Florence Bush, "God's Guidance and Blessing in Difficult Fields," *LRE* (1 December 1915): 9.

⁶⁵⁹ Paul Joyner, "Jerusalem," *Christian Evangel* (27 February 1915): 4.

Samaria, among both Jews and Bedouins.⁶⁶⁰ Of Levy, editor Flower wrote, "The Lord sent a very intelligent converted Jew, Bro. Mark Levy, to the Council meeting, and it was good to hear from him as he expressed himself from the Hebrew standpoint."⁶⁶¹ Both strongly urged AG involvement in Jewish evangelism.

By 1916 Florence Bush had moved her Jewish missionary work to Cleveland's 65,000 Jews.⁶⁶² Bush reported in 1917 that persecution had commenced in the spring with rabbinical condemnation in a Cleveland Jewish newspaper but this had resulted in increased Jewish attendance.⁶⁶³ By summer seven Jews were rejoicing in Jesus, preparing for water baptism and seeking Spirit-baptism.⁶⁶⁴ Bush insisted, "the outlook for the Jewish work was as bright as his promises."⁶⁶⁵ Such reports dramatically encouraged Pentecostals to engage in Jewish evangelism and confirmed their conviction of the pending Jewish return to Zion and Christ. Bush invited her 1917 *LRE* readership to participate in the mission "to the Jew first."⁶⁶⁶

Several less known Jewish missionaries were accented in the *Christian Evangel* and *Weekly Evangel* as well. Charles Spellman announced in 1917 his removal from Jerusalem to Los Angeles where "a department for the Jewish work has been opened at Bethel Temple." He characterized his Pentecostal work as "Where the full Gospel is being preached as it was on the day of Pentecost to the Jews of our city."⁶⁶⁷ Alberta Boothby and husband were Pentecostal missionaries for a combined nine years in Jerusalem and Egypt. They reportedly spent much time reading the Hebrew prophecies to Jerusalem's Jews, sharing their faith in Jewish wards in hospitals and witnessing in the surrounding five Jewish colonies. Several Jews, including one rabbi and a few socialist Jewish youths, reportedly did come to faith in Jesus after studying the messianic prophecies with the Boothbys.⁶⁶⁸

Phillip Sidersky, the Baltimore Jewish missionary, whose name frequently appeared in other contemporary Pentecostal periodicals, contended in the *Weekly*

⁶⁶⁰ Alice Reynolds Flower, ed., "Notes from an Eyewitness at the General Council," *Weekly Evangel* (21 October 1916): 13.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁶² Florence I. Bush, "A New Jewish Mission in Cleveland, Ohio," *Weekly Evangel* (2 December 1916): 16.

⁶⁶³ Florence I. Bush, "To the Jew First," *Weekly Evangel* (31 March 1917): 14.

⁶⁶⁴ "Fellowship in Christ," *Weekly Evangel* (11 August 1917): 14.

⁶⁶⁵ Florence Bush, "To the Jew First," *Weekly Evangel* (15 December 1917): 13.

⁶⁶⁶ Florence Bush, "To the Jew First," *LRE* (1 March 1917): 11.

⁶⁶⁷ Charles Spellman, "Announcement," *Weekly Evangel* (17 February 1917): 15.

⁶⁶⁸ Alberta Boothby, "Missionaries Back from Jerusalem," *Weekly Evangel* (3 March 1917): 13.

Evangel that the largest Jewish communities in the world were American based. Yet he protested in 1917 the Jews remained the most neglected people group in terms of Gospel proclamation. Spirit-filled Jewish believers were needed to present the pure and simple Gospel of grace to bring Jews to embrace the long awaited Jewish Messiah Jesus.⁶⁶⁹ Sidersky suggested the outpouring of the Spirit and the Jewish restoration to Zion were corresponding signs of the pending Second Coming.⁶⁷⁰ He proclaimed the greatest Jewish need to be Jesus since all Jewish aspirations would find their ultimate fulfillment in him. God's blessings were in store and simply awaiting corporate Jewish faith in Jesus, their coming glorious King.⁶⁷¹

JEWRY AND THE PENTECOSTAL EXPERIENCE

Pentecostals linked the experience of Spirit-Baptism with the Jews in the *eschaton*. This association strengthened the sense of Pentecostal bond with an envisioned national Israel and the Jewish people. Not only were Pentecostals the eschatological partners with the Jewish Zionists, but also Pentecostals were uniquely equipped to proclaim the Gospel "to the Jew first" as accompanied by miraculous signs. That Pentecostals would ultimately succeed in their mission toward Israel was assured by their finding in biblical eschatology a millennial Spirit-filled Jewish nation. There was an intensified attraction for Pentecostals to not only welcome Jewish faith in Christ but to behold their encounter with the Spirit and entrance into the Pentecostal experience.

The Pentecostal periodicals delighted in recounting the miraculous stories of Jewish encounter with Holy Spirit manifestations. *The Pentecost* published a report of the Jewish missionary work of Ida F. Sackett in Johannesburg, South Africa, where young Jews were bearing up well in their new faith in spite of Jewish persecution since they had been "baptized in the Holy Ghost."⁶⁷² A. A. Boddy was eager to recount dramatic stories of Jewish Pentecostal conversions in *Confidence* to inspire his readership to believe that Jews would come to Pentecostal faith given the proper demonstration of the Holy Spirit's power. Under the 1910 subtitle, "A Hebrew

⁶⁶⁹ Phillip Sidersky, "I Am Only a Jew, But...." *Weekly Evangel* (11 August 1917): 11.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷² Ida F. Sackett, "The Jews Receiving Christ," *The Pentecost* 1:12 (1 November 1909): 1.

Christian at Belfast," *Confidence* offered just such a testimony of one Jacob Nathan, "The Sunderland Jew" who had received Christ and the Pentecostal experience.⁶⁷³

Boddy went on in *Confidence* in 1912 to link the resurrection of national Israel with the revival associated with the Second Coming. It was really unfortunate that Israel refused Jesus' Lordship two millennia ago for, according to Boddy, the Jewish people could have been freely enjoying the benefits of the Kingdom of God under Jesus' reign all these nineteen centuries. But rejection of Christ meant Kingdom suspension until his Second Coming. Meanwhile, the Gospel of grace would continue to be preached to all mankind.⁶⁷⁴

Confidence recounted in 1913 a Pentecostal Jewish conversion where reportedly a young Jewish assistant to the local rabbi visited a Pentecostal worship service. During the service the rabbinic assistant received a message from God through the Hebrew-tongues-speaking of a Gentile Pentecostal. Well-known Pentecostals were named as witnesses to the story of this young Jew who both received Jesus as Messiah and was Spirit-baptized with speaking in tongues that night.⁶⁷⁵

Yet another manifestation of the gift of tongues in Hebrew was accented in *Confidence* in 1915.

Mr. Howell, a man deep "in Pentecost," entirely unacquainted with Hebrew, during one of the meetings said several times in Hebrew, "You must come down and acknowledge Jesus to be your Messiah."...(A Jewish) man sat there as if stunned. After a while he arose and said the message was for him, and he understood it. When opportunity was given to go to the front, the Jew went forward under deep conviction, as his groans and prayers showed; before long peace came, and when asked about his condition he replied, with a radiant face, 'Jesus is my Messiah. Messiah is here,' pointing to his heart.⁶⁷⁶

Jewish participation in the Pentecostal experience was vital to Pentecostalism's primitive restorationism and an important feature of the Pentecostal perception of Israel's immediate millennial future. Jewish encounter with the Pentecostal dimension radically confirmed the very essence of Pentecostal ideology.

⁶⁷³ A. A. Boddy, ed., "Ireland," *Confidence* 3:9 (September 1910): 219-220.

⁶⁷⁴ A. A. Boddy, "After the Rapture," *Confidence* 5:4 (April 1912): 81.

⁶⁷⁵ A. A. Boddy, "Transatlantic Experiences," *Confidence* 6:1 (January 1913): 15.

⁶⁷⁶ A. A. Boddy, ed., "A Well-known Missionary on 'Tongues'," *Confidence* 8:10 (October 1915): 193.

**THE FORMATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD**

The General Council of the Assemblies of God organized over April 2-12, 1914, in Hot Springs, Arkansas. The central theme was the Second Coming, which accented Pentecostalism's millenarian nature. But the common Pentecostal experience of speaking in tongues provided the basis for their organization. Their emphasis upon recreating a pristine NT Church community which encouraged religious spontaneity and freedom of worship marked them as those seeking the constant guidance of the Holy Spirit who was forever acknowledged in their midst.⁶⁷⁷ The AG adopted no creed or confession or statement of faith at its organizational meeting but rather expressed hostility to such instruments of division. Yet by 1916 it did officially adopt a statement of "Fundamental Truths" which included tongues as the "initial physical sign" of Spirit-baptism.⁶⁷⁸ The AG, which embraced Parham's tongues-as-evidence of Spirit-baptism and used tongues in public worship, was "prototypically Pentecostal."⁶⁷⁹ Pentecostal historical focus has been upon experience over doctrine.

Most Pentecostal leaders were fiercely independent restorationists and opposed organizing religion beyond the local level.⁶⁸⁰ Itinerant Pentecostals penetrated existing churches, missions, and denominations to proclaim the Latter Rain restorationist message. The wholesome promise of inner peace, healing, heavenly provision, dignity and the family of God status of their Pentecostalism was attractive indeed.⁶⁸¹ They felt the transient world was presently disintegrating and a new universe was battling to be born.⁶⁸² Even the 45 chief AG leaders tended to be mobile and marginal. Better-educated Northern preachers soon replaced the earliest leadership from the South.

As the largest and most nationally widespread of the Pentecostal groups, the AG found their greatest numerical strength in the greater Ozark region of the American mid-West.⁶⁸³ The exodus of many revivalistic pietists from liberal slanting denominations, together with the mystical compatibility of Pentecostalism with

⁶⁷⁷ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 155-156.

⁶⁷⁸ Vinson Synan, "The Role of Tongues as Initial Evidence," paper presented to the twenty-third annual meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies at Guadalajara, Mexico, 11-13 November 1993, 7-8.

⁶⁷⁹ Conkin, *American Originals*, 306-307.

⁶⁸⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 99.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁶⁸² Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 113.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 119.

immigrant Roman Catholicism and Black and Indian supernaturalism, yielded new rapid Pentecostal numerical growth. Pentecostalism stood ready to perpetuate mid-western and southern fundamentalist, puritanical, sectarian, and emotionally revivalistic patterns that had been dying away at the turn of the century in many other Christian circles.⁶⁸⁴

With the formation of the AG, an Assemblies Reading Course and Bible school curriculum included the works of Moody, Torrey, Simpson, Murray, and Pierson. Scofield's *Reference Bible*, an important channel for Keswick teaching, was extensively used in AG Bible Colleges.⁶⁸⁵ Scofield's dispensationalist text and the writings of Keswick proponents were advertised in Pentecostal periodicals and widely read by Pentecostal people. The Keswick teaching of enduement of Spirit-issued power dominated Pentecostal thought.⁶⁸⁶ AG anti-intellectualism was more than simple mistrust of the natural abilities of the human mind to comprehend spiritual realities; it was also the matter of wanting to "get the job done." How could Pentecostals sit and study for years at a time when the Second Coming was so near and the salvation of so many depended upon Christian witness?⁶⁸⁷

The AG had sought originally to avoid the composition of a theological statement of faith in 1914 but yielded to its practicality as early as 1916 when keen doctrinal dispute arose.⁶⁸⁸ In the minutes of that very General Council meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, October 1-7, 1916, the first "Reports from the Field" were offered by two Jewish believers on Monday, October 2. The minutes read, "Dr. Murcutt and Mark John Levy (two converted Hebrews) brought up a discussion of Pentecostal evangelism among the Jews."⁶⁸⁹ The *Weekly Evangel* later reported,

Brother Mark John Levy, a Pentecostal, Spirit-baptized Jew, who has been in St. Louis for sometime and who is here in the interests of the Jewish work, has prepared a resolution which he has requested us to publish in the *Evangel*, pursuant to its presentation at the General Council, which meets in St. Louis, October 1st. *THIS RESOLUTION on Israel's National and Social Freedom in Christ was withdrawn at the Philadelphia

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 134-135.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 112-113.

⁶⁸⁷ Wacker, "Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish," 150.

⁶⁸⁸ Synan, "The Role of Tongues as Initial Evidence," 7-8.

⁶⁸⁹ "Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God in the United States, Canada and Foreign Lands" (Held at Bethel Chapel, St. Louis, MO., October 1-7th, 1916): 4-5.

Conference of the Alliance, by special request of the Executive Board, on the promise that double time will be given for its discussion at the Pittsburg Conference, June, 1917. *RESOLVED, That the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America urgently requests "all the churches of the Gentiles" (Rom. 16:4) to proclaim to the Jews throughout the world that they are left free, if they so desire, to observe the national and social customs of Israel when they accept our Lord-Jesus Messiah, according to the teaching and practice of Christ and the Hebrew Christians in the primitive church. (Matt. 5:17; Acts 15:18-21; 16:3; 18:18; 21:17-26; 22:1-3; 28:17; Rom. 7:7-14; 11:1; 14:1-6; 1 Cor. 7:18; 9:20; Gal. 2:7-9.) *IN ADOPTING this resolution we distinctly affirm that neither Jew nor Gentile can be saved by works of the law, but only through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. *As stated above, this resolution is published by request of Brother Levy.⁶⁹⁰

Two crucial points stipulated in the 1916 officially adopted "Statement of Fundamental Truths" centered on the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Millennialism. Read the first:

6. THE FULL CONSUMMATION OF THE BAPTISM IN THE HOLY GHOST

The full consummation of the baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost and fire is indicated by the initial sign of speaking in tongues, as the Spirit of God gives utterance. Acts 2:4. This wonderful experience is distinct from and subsequent to the experience of the new birth. Acts 10:44-46; 11:14-16; 15: 8,9.⁶⁹¹

Read the second,

15. THE IMMINENT COMING AND MILLENNIAL REIGN OF JESUS

The premillennial (*sic*) and imminent coming of the Lord to gather His people unto Himself, and to judge the world in righteousness while reigning on the earth for a thousand years is the expectation of the true Church of Christ.⁶⁹²

As early as 1916 the AG began distancing themselves from those prone to new revelations and stubborn independence. Those inclined to abandon common sense in their more radicalized pursuit of restorationism were regarded as a danger to the durability of the Pentecostalist movement and were thus marginalized.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹⁰ "Resolution on Israel's Freedom in Christ," *The Weekly Evangel* (23 September 1916): 11.

⁶⁹¹ "Minutes of the General Council," 11.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁹³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 113, 134.

By 1917 the AG had grown to 620 ministers and 73 missionaries.⁶⁹⁴ In a resolution sent to President Wilson on 28 April 1917 in which the AG explained their early embrace of conscientious objection to taking human life even in wartime, the AG wrote of their numbers, "At a low estimation we believe there are about 75,000 adherents directly connected with the Council."⁶⁹⁵ In the process of its very early growth, the AG began veering off its millenarian restorationist moorings, as it was perceived to have fostered exclusivism. AG leaders may not have perceived they had renounced principles that had helped form the earliest Pentecostal ethos. The early freedoms associated with divine immediacy, "heaven below," and egalitarian readiness to be used as a divine "mouthpiece," was replaced by 1916 with more conventional boundaries borrowed from Evangelical doctrines.⁶⁹⁶ The pursuit of ever fresher revelations and ever greater apostolic anointings was reined in. The NT was increasingly proclaimed as all sufficient. The AG began to take history, historical institutions and traditions and the future into account which would have far-reaching impact upon the Pentecostal movement.⁶⁹⁷

CONCLUSION

When Pentecostalism suddenly appeared on the American religious horizon in the first decade of the twentieth century, its surprising emphasis upon glossolalia greatly staggered other evangelical and fundamentalist co-religionists. They had often anticipated a new holiness revival for sanctified Christian living in anticipation of the Second Coming but a revival plainly devoid of any added Pentecostalist dimension of "speaking in tongues." While the historical Protestant denominations largely ignored the Pentecostal apostolic restorationist awakening, their closer Christian bed-fellows found Pentecostalism to be ideologically threatening to their rather dogmatic and more conservative understanding of Scripture, their often dispensationalist worldview and their sense of Church destiny.

As the uniquely Pentecostal message of tongues speaking as the physical evidence of one's Spirit-baptism gained momentum, especially through the globally

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., 135.

⁶⁹⁵ "The Pentecostal Movement and the Conscription Law," *Weekly Evangel* (5 January 1918): 5.

⁶⁹⁶ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 135.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., 149.

elevated Los Angeles Azusa Street Revival between 1906 and 1909, the battle lines were clearly drawn between the regularized evangelical and holiness worlds of conservative Christianity and the irregular revival among the rogue lower class, migrant, and uneducated Pentecostals who appeared to be inciting ideological riot in growing measure among the Christian faithful.

From the perspective of many American Protestants, Pentecostals had abused traditional restorationism, the classical hope for an authentic Christian return to Book of Acts Christianity, free of centuries of ecclesiastical clutter and religious traditionalism that had obscured the genuine Gospel message and obstructed the biblical simplicity of Christian living. The Pentecostal emphasis upon the full return to the Book of Acts-styled NT faith and practice included a normalization of apostolic Christianity strangely replete with miraculous signs, wonders and miracles. The Day of Pentecost in Acts 2 became the Pentecostal model of Christian experience to be forever emulated. The chief distinctive of the Church's original Day of Pentecost experience had been the speaking with other tongues en masse that had captured the imagination of participants and observers alike. It was this divinely issued Spirit-baptism as evidenced by tongues speaking that became the all-important Pentecostal preparation for the bold Gospel proclamation to all mankind in anticipation of the Second Coming.

In response to their Christian critics, Pentecostals soon developed a "Latter Rain" Covenant ideology that supplied them with an apologetic to justify their apocalyptic uniqueness. Just as the Hebrew prophets had foretold a "former rain" of divine blessing upon God's people, the prophets had prophesied a "latter rain" of even greater proportion. The two seasons of rainfall in ancient Israel had typified the two eras of the providential outpouring of God's Spirit upon God's people. The first or former rain experience had come on the first-century's Acts 2 Day of Pentecost. The second or "latter rain" was presently falling upon God's people at the beginning of the twentieth century in readiness for the climax of salvation history. Even as the Church had received the Spirit and spoke with tongues during the era of the former rain, the eschatological Church was now receiving afresh the Spirit's baptism as accompanied by tongues speaking.

In further support of the eschatological value of modern Pentecostalism and the Latter Rain analogy, early writers noted that the traditional desert of ancient Palestine over the previous 15 years had received an average annual rainfall of 40 inches. The rise of the modern Zionist movement in 1897 onward with the return of thousands of diaspora Jews to the Promised Land, soon to be flowing again with milk and honey, was highly corroborating evidence that the sure hand of Providence was at work fully restoring both the Church and national Israel to their first-century points of departure. Israel had been physically scattered among the nations for nearly two millennia but now, at the time of eschatological fulfillment, was to be divinely restored to Zion. The Church, so long enslaved by clerical darkness, was coming back into its Pentecostal light to walk in full restoration of its first-century apostolic essence to discharge the Church's evangelistic global mandate as prelude to the Second Coming. Plainly, the restorations of both the children of Israel to Zion and Book of Acts Pentecostalism to the Church were twin testimonies of God's fraternal restorationist works in the *eschaton*. Each provided evidence of the other's legitimacy.

The high drama of Pentecostalist involvement in the *eschaton* provided enthusiasts a place in the sun. Their otherwise seemingly meaningless existence was afforded presently grand and eternal significance. The Spirit-baptism Pentecostal experience was not to be an end in itself but rather the means to the successful completion of the messianic mandate of Matthew 28. Prior to the Second Coming, divinely empowered Christians were to be engaged in the proclamation of the Gospel with signs, wonders and miracles following. The Spirit would supernaturally verify the truth of their message. This eschatological tension pushed Pentecostalism quickly into the fore of global evangelism and missionary work including Jewish missions.

Among the classic ideological creeds of American Christianity was the traditional tenet of national Israel's embrace of the Gospel in the *eschaton*. For Pentecostals, the day of the "salvation of national Israel" was on the "last days" horizon. Such conviction generated widespread Pentecostal enthusiasm for Jewish evangelistic missionary work in Jerusalem, in Jewish communities around the world, and especially in the United States as evidenced in the early documents of the twentieth-century's single most influential Pentecostal denomination, the General Council of the Assemblies of God.

It is clear that Zionism needed no awareness of Pentecostalism to be fully drafted as a team player in the Pentecostal *eschaton*. The “Latter Rain” ideology fused Israel’s present and future into full partnership with Pentecostal primitive restorationism. Both members of God’s family, Israel and the Church, were being revitalized for divine use in the last days. The relationship between the Jewish world and Pentecostalism in the *eschaton* was further amplified in popular Pentecostal thought by the broad publicity of the ongoing Pentecostal mission activities among the Jews and the formation of the Assemblies of God with its romantic attraction to eschatological Israel.

An ideology of Israel, formed in part to justify the Pentecostal movement as full partner in the end-time restoration of all things, would need to demonstrate a real Pentecostal contribution to the Jewish restorationist cause. Whereas Pentecostals shied away from governmental and political affairs, they were sure their heaven-sent message would be invaluable to Israel on a much higher level than mere agricultural pursuits or the construction of public works. Pentecostals had a heavenly vision of the Messiah that could be miraculously transmitted to the House of Israel. Reports of positive Jewish responses to Gospel proclamation or episodes of great impact upon Jewish people through speaking in tongues, with or without interpretation, supplied Pentecostals immense affirmation of their own legitimacy. A Jewish embrace of the Pentecostalist message fully supported the given Pentecostal movement’s *raison d’être* or reason for being, that is, the biblically promised restoration of both God’s peoples, Israel and the Church, in the last moments before the return of the Messiah.

Chapter Three:
**CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM'S ROMANTIC
IDEOLOGY OF ZIONISM, 1918-1945**

As Pentecostals basked in the 1914 formation of the General Council of the Assemblies of God (AG), they were forced to face ideological hostilities from many corners of society. Coping with an increasingly secularized disapproving social system before and after World War I had been manageable since religious leadership could ideologically explain impiety. But the unexpectedly harsh condemnation of Pentecostalism by closer religious bedfellows was harder to understand and accept.

Pentecostals desperately needed a distinctive to justify their independent existence but their few friends and many foes alike met their uniquely Pentecostal reliance on glossolalia as the sign of Spirit-baptism with ridicule and contempt. Charles Parham's chief contribution to the Pentecostal school of thought had indeed provided a strong distinction for the movement weak on biblical apologetic.

As seen in chapter two, the "Latter Rain" ideology suggesting a dual restoration of both Zion and the Church had been seized upon as a legitimization of the Pentecostal experience and aspiration toward a primitive restorationist vision of the revitalization of Christianity styled on the first-century Book of Acts. The "Latter Rain" Hebrew prophecy emphasis had ideologically centered on biblical Israel. Pentecostals needed to believe in ongoing providential activity with Israel in time and space, so any allegorical substitution of the Church in place of Israel in the "Latter Rain" equation was senseless. It was more pragmatic for Pentecostals to identify with a nationally restored "Latter Rain" Israel as fraternal twin to the Pentecostal movement and acknowledge a double restoration in time and space as God was busily revitalizing both Israel and the Church to their first-century heritage and errant point of departure. Pentecostalism then readily favored Zion from the earliest years and demonstrated its sense of genuine compatibility with Zionism most especially with the rise of the AG organization.

In this chapter the Pentecostal ideology of Zionism between 1918 and 1945 is carefully examined. The high pitch of Pentecostal enthusiasm and passion for Zionist advances from the end of World War I to the end of World War II are here chronicled. The Pentecostal literature's celebrations of the infrastructural developments in Palestine are noted by category and chronology to demonstrate a long term and consistent devotion to Zionism's success and to detect nuances in isolated historical circumstance.

Pentecostals viewed the restoration of Zion as the fulfillment of prophecy. Celebrating Zionism's hopeful message of national restoration afforded legitimacy to Pentecostalism in a variety of demonstrated schemes. Since the Hebrew prophecies of Zion's rebuilding nearly always afforded a Gentile spiritual component, it was relatively simple to capitalize upon Zionism to help explain the Pentecostal relevance to the *eschaton*.

Since Pentecostals had their own enemies in the Evangelical and holiness camps who had angrily disputed Pentecostalism's restorationist claims, they could appreciate the opposition the Zionist cause faced in its own attempt to advance what Pentecostals considered biblically mandated Jewish interests. Clearly siding with Zionism, the Pentecostal literature addressed Zion's Arab, British and international opposition. Yet the Pentecostals had not been entirely cleansed of their inherited Christian anti-Semitism. Ante-Nicene Christianity (pre-325 A.D.) had witnessed both the gradual decline of apostolic miracles and phenomenological manifestations and the Church's embrace of anti-Judaic supersessionism, e.g., the ideological replacement of Israel by the Church in salvation history. Whereas Pentecostalism had rapidly embraced restored apostolic manifestations in the Church, they more gradually came to comprehend the strategic role of restored Israel in the *eschaton*. Yet the publications of the case for Pentecostal anti-Zionism published in the *Pentecostal Evangel (PE)* were soon renounced. But sporadic fascination with British-Israelism and the dispensationalist tendency to identify the future anti-Christ as Jewish did accompany rare occasions of Pentecostal anti-Semitic thought. The AG was swift to condemn anti-Semitism primarily on biblical grounds but with several accompanying agendas which are characterized, catalogued and chronicled in this chapter. It is important to

recognize their rationale as well as the time frame in which each instance was immersed.

The classical romance of Pentecostalism with Zionism is displayed in this chapter's section on "Israel's Destiny and Messianic Faith," according to each contribution's theme and chronology. What becomes apparent is the indisputable and inevitable identification Pentecostalism made with Zionism. Pentecostalism and Zionism were more than fraternal twins or eschatological bedfellows; they were partners and fellow travelers.

The one flaw for Pentecostals in their fraternity with Zionism was the continued Jewish rejection of Christ. But Pentecostals consoled themselves with the notion that Jewish rejection of Christ was a temporary problem and soon would be overcome. Pentecostals felt the need to evangelize the Jews in *Eretz Israel* and the world over in anticipation of their corporate return to Zion. Jewish evangelism was broadly supported in the hope of expediting the conversion of national Israel to Christ and effecting the summation of the *eschaton*. Pentecostals believed that the uniqueness of revived first-century-styled apostolic Christianity would especially benefit the Jewish people since glossolalia represented the "confused tongues" the Hebrew prophets had advised ancient Israel to expect. The "tongues" people of Pentecostalism perceived of themselves as having a unique contribution to make toward the revitalization of Israel.

IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES IN AMERICAN PENTECOSTALISM FROM 1918-1945

The general ideological shift in American Pentecostalism in the period from 1918 to 1945 had a direct bearing on the shifting Pentecostal romance with Zionism. Only an overview of the Pentecostal circumstance and worldview as it modified from 1918 to 1945 can yield an appreciation of the Pentecostal compulsion to romantically cling to Zionism in spite of world events and occasional internal voices of protest. The recent histories of American Pentecostalism by Edith Blumhofer, Vinson Synan, Grant Wacker, Robert Anderson, and Margaret Poloma, have sufficiently established the internal trends and historical movement of the Pentecostals generally and the AG in particular during this era. The limited focus of my thesis is to demonstrate the

Pentecostal propensity for romantic identification with Zionism from 1918 to 1945 in light of the shifting Pentecostal ideology. Only a window here on the Pentecostal worldview can enable detection of the higher need for Zionism in Pentecostalism than in either Evangelicalism or Fundamentalism.

War World I had generated a new level of international awareness among all Americans including Pentecostals. The aftermath of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, the establishment of the British mandate, and the successes of the Zionist rebuilding efforts in Palestine electrified American Pentecostal Christianity. Yet the rising waves of anti-Semitic propaganda stemming from Europe had cooled small pockets of Pentecostalism for the short term.

Post-World War I Pentecostals were facing a new identity crisis that would lead to new actions. In distinction to their earlier purist Latter Rain ideology, some Pentecostal educators in the rising network of Bible institutes in the 1920s and 1930s sought to damper Pentecostal romantic speculations on pending Zionist accomplishment by their borrowed use of dispensationalist thought which relegated Zion's victory off to a millennial future. Many feared extensive correlation between Pentecostalism and the vulnerable Zionist enterprise may ultimately de-legitimize Pentecostalism. Yet even throughout the depression and European Nazi years leading up to World War II, the indefatigable exuberance of Pentecostal enthusiasm for Zionism continually challenged and checked the motifs of those more committed to denominational self-interest and potential for social impact. The magnetic pull to the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in the early 1940s overwhelmed conventional Pentecostal reservations against social and political entanglements and compelled Pentecostals to modify earlier teachings to gain greater social acceptance. While forthrightly condemning all forms of anti-Semitism in official session in 1945, during the 1930s and 1940s the AG increasingly balanced its expressions of Zionist support with frequently "soft-pedaled" distancing from the enterprise.

As elaborated in chapter two, the social eruption of the Gilded Age and early twentieth century were followed by the residual shock of World War I, the dissatisfaction of the "roaring" 1920s, the Great Depression, and the onset of the "European War." These combined experiences strained conventional efforts to perpetuate the traditional myth of America's role in the genesis of the millennium.

Over time this motif would hold ever less sway and function primarily as platitude for political hopefuls. Meanwhile, Pentecostal prophecy buffs would proclaim pending doom of the cosmic order even as fainter voices of the American myth still sounded.⁶⁹⁸

Until 1918 Pentecostals had viewed social, political, and intellectual transitions through the grid of biblical prophecy. Everything appeared to point to the Second Coming, the chief focus and professed ultimate purpose of Pentecostalism. Post-war “pilgrims and strangers” needed to take sides on cultural matters as they stood “on the firing line” for God. No longer quite as alienated from American society as their earlier millenarian restorationist ideology had mandated,⁶⁹⁹ they interpreted World War I to be an extension of the spiritual warfare in which Pentecostals were forever engaged.⁷⁰⁰ The American national vision and their own Pentecostal eschatology informed their shifting identity. They would be “in the world” but not “of the world.”

Charles Parham had advocated that glossolalia had been primarily given to enable Gospel proclamation in all languages. The Pentecostal need to legitimate speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism motivated Pentecostals to take a definitive position. Recognizing the limitations of human abilities to effect the full apostolic renewal, they proclaimed the Latter Rain restoration was indeed well under-way but that the Second Coming had been divinely postponed. The Latter Rain generation needed to relate to an earth-bound future after all. To some measure relaxing the imminence of their millenarianism and their restorationism, they rather emphasized the “fullness” of the Pentecostal Gospel, i.e., Fundamentalism with tongues.⁷⁰¹ As Pentecostals pondered their relationship with society for the next generation, new understandings emerged of citizenship, community, education, global missions, and the priority of communicating the “Pentecostal message.” The delay of the Second Coming plainly mandated a modified explanation for the modern utility of speaking in tongues.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁸ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 229-230.

⁶⁹⁹ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 142-143.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, 142.

AG constituents were prepared to assume a fundamentalist identity but remained somewhat oblivious to the attendant ideological problems such identification wrought. Some Pentecostals had insisted their “tongues” distinctive was vital even to the personalized new-birth experience. But the AG, for whom the Pentecostal experience was but a Christian option, was prepared to pursue relations with other “born-again” Evangelicals. Although Pentecostal ideology was incompatible with a strict dispensationalist hermeneutic, Pentecostals pragmatically brought themselves to hold the two opposing systems of thought in tension with minor difficulty.⁷⁰³ While Fundamentalists were hostile to Pentecostal “error,” AG adherents gladly related to Fundamentalism’s emphasis on biblical inerrancy and the current fulfillment of biblical prophecy.⁷⁰⁴

While Pentecostals considered themselves Fundamentalists, the “World’s Christian Fundamentals Association,” first organized in 1919, soundly condemned Pentecostalism in a resolution in their 1928 convention stating in part:

Whereas; the present wave of modern pentecostalism, often referred to as the "tongues movement,"...has become a menace in many churches and a real injury to some...

Be it resolved, that this convention go on record as unreservedly opposed to Modern Pentecostalism, including the speaking in unknown tongues, and the fanatical healing....⁷⁰⁵

Fundamentalists had largely embraced Scofield’s dispensationalism, which regarded the Pentecostal distinctives of tongues speaking and divine healing as characteristic of the NT apostolic period alone and for the extant purpose of introducing the “dispensation of grace” or the “Church Age” in the first century. According to this system of thought, both tongues and healings were divinely discontinued with the inauguration of the “Church Age.” Therefore Pentecostals were regarded as cultic and well beyond the pale of orthodox Protestantism.⁷⁰⁶ Methodists and other Evangelicals discredited the Pentecostals as frauds or worse.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 159.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1971), 205-206.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 206.

While the Pentecostal appeal was primarily to the lower classes, even as Anderson has demonstrated⁷⁰⁷ as elucidated in chapter two, Pentecostal constituents socially and economically largely ascended to the middle class by the second or third generation. The emotionalism, informality, working lay clergy, millennialism, and holiness standards of Pentecostalism appealed to myriads of hardworking Americans who simultaneously labored to become more financially viable.⁷⁰⁸ But as Anderson has also established, as AG constituents achieved greater social stability and circumstance, their Pentecostal ecstatic experiences lessened. During periods of economic duress, ecstasy would find higher profile in public worship, but improved social conditions led to the relaxation of their need for such experience.⁷⁰⁹ The precise meaning of Spirit-baptism was changing among the second and third generation Pentecostals as they became increasingly identified by their doctrinal statement rather than by their personal spiritual experience.⁷¹⁰ Doctrinal orthodoxy slowly replaced ecstatic spiritual experience and, in the process, brought Pentecostals into ever-closer identification with their Evangelical and Fundamentalist brethren.⁷¹¹

The Pentecostal ideology advocated social aloofness from an American culture perceived as God-defiant. Christians who were friendly with “the world” were “backsliders” bent on negating holy and Spirit-filled living. As Blumhofer has evidenced, American individualism nourished the Pentecostalist sense of independence from society.⁷¹² But even by the time of World War I, Pentecostals were delving into the implications of their espoused restorationist ideology and detecting a growing ambiguity in their sense of identity. With their post-World War I greater economic status and increasing social immersion into American culture, Pentecostals resolved to be engaged in the world about them rather than opt for the duties of heavenly citizenship alone. For example, at this historical juncture the AG moved away from its deep suspicion of patriotism and its advocacy of conscientious objection to military involvement. Few Pentecostals had engaged as fighting men in World War

⁷⁰⁷ Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979), 224-226.

⁷⁰⁸ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, 200-201.

⁷⁰⁹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 231.

⁷¹⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 157-158.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*

I. But by World War II, the AG strongly endorsed both American patriotism and military service.

Between the wars the early embraced Latter Rain ideology was soon moderated but then blurred. As Pentecostals found themselves increasingly embraced by the Evangelical mainstream as evidenced by their invitation to join the newly forming NAE in 1941, they resorted to historical record to legitimate their claims of continuous pockets of Pentecostal-styled apostolic anointing in the Christian experience from the Book of Acts to the present as seen below. Yet the modern link to first-century Pentecostalism remained strong as reflected in the first histories of modern Pentecostalism written by P. C. Nelson [1940] and Klaude Kendrick [1959] that directly connected the Assemblies of God to Acts 15.⁷¹³ Pentecostals still clung to the remaining vestiges of their primitive restorationist past that had simultaneously placed them both within and outside of history. While wanting to fully disassociate from an ecclesiastical history contaminated by its official condemnation of continued apostolic activity and its idolatrous imposition of clerical religious embellishment of Christianity, Pentecostals wanted to historically demonstrate that there had been ongoing pockets or periodic outbreaks of Charismatic experience to demonstrate that the will of Providence had always been the continued apostolic church. Whereas Pentecostalism may be new to modern Christianity, Pentecostals perceived that it had always been the will of God for the Church. The Pentecostals believed they should not be connected to the Church's historical guilt since they had now prophetically risen to condemn the historical ecclesiastical system while asserting their own historical respectability as the persecuted faithful remnant through the Christian centuries.⁷¹⁴

Titles of many of the publications of the early Pentecostal years conveyed the first generation's sense of total identification with the Latter Rain primitivist vision.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ For example, P.C. Nelson's 1940 publication of *The Jerusalem Council: The First General Council of the Assemblies of God*. Klaude Kendrick's doctor of philosophy dissertation for the University of Texas in 1959 represented the first scholarly history of the Pentecostal Movement. It was later published as *The Promise Fulfilled*.

⁷¹⁴ Grant Wacker, "Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism," in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 206-207. See also the new important text by Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁷¹⁵ For example, Charles Parham's "The Latter Rain: The Story of the Origin of the Original Apostolic or Pentecostal Movements"; the serialized and first history of the movement in the monthly *Faithful Standard* in 1922, was titled, "The Wonderful History of the Latter Rain: Remarkable Repetition of the

The chief reality that would keep the majority of Pentecostals in step with their early dogmatic stress upon the Second Coming was the hope of the national rebirth of a Jewish State in Zion. Perhaps all other “signs of the times” could be challenged as periodically recurrent events in history. But the Zionist hope for the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine provided Pentecostals that final link with restorationism that would underscore the legitimacy of the Latter Rain Pentecostal identity. Had Zionism been abandoned by the Jewish people, the Latter Rain teaching and restorationist Pentecostalism’s very legitimacy would have been undermined. As Zionism continued to build international momentum, Pentecostals could take greater hope for the climax of the ages in the pending Second Coming. Zionism offered corroborating evidence to support an apologetic for the Pentecostal movement and was viewed as a direct contemporary witness to the Latter Rain phenomena including tongues-as-initial-evidence. The initial evidence theme, in turn, afforded legitimacy to the perpetuation of Pentecostal denominationalism. Zionism strongly seconded the Pentecostal position.

Until the 1920s Pentecostals could hardly conceive of a delayed Second Coming necessitating an indefinite future of man. In the 1920s, however, it became increasingly apparent to Pentecostals that educational institutions were needed to equip young preachers for tomorrow’s Pentecostal expansion. Many denominational schools were openly hostile to Pentecostals so that it soon became clear Pentecostals would need to found their own religious institutions of higher learning.⁷¹⁶ Some postulated that AG dynamism and Pentecostal identity would be compromised by institutionalization. But if Pentecostalism were to persist, it was compelled to recognize its need to provide the education required to make perpetuation possible. The anticipated quick restoration of pristine New Testament (NT) Christianity and full apostolic power had evaded the Pentecostals. A new understanding of reality was called for to revitalize

Acts of the Apostles;" the Azusa Mission William Seymour’s article titled "The Pentecostal Baptism Restored: The Promised Latter Rain Now Being Poured Out on God's Humble People;" periodicals with millenarian titles such as *Bridegroom's Messenger*, underscored the connection and identity between the Early Rain of the first century apostolic period and the Latter Rain of the twentieth century: *Apostolic Banner, Apostolic Herald, Apostolic Light, Apostolic Messenger, Apostolic Faith, Apostolic Witness, Latter Rain Evangel, New Acts, Pentecost, Pentecostal Evangel, Pentecostal Power, Pentecostal Testimony, Pentecostal Wonders*, or Aimee Semple McPherson's most popular book, *This Is That*.

⁷¹⁶ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 149-150.

Pentecostalism and sustain its legitimacy in light of the failure of the Second Coming to materialize.⁷¹⁷

Most AG educators, pastors, and teachers, had very little formal education themselves and tended to accept common generalizations that negatively stereotyped other religiously educated groups. As restorationist themes and expectations were slipping, some recognized the need for quality education of youth who would bear the Pentecostal torch to the next generation.⁷¹⁸ Emphasis in the AG gradually shifted from the immediacy of the Second Coming to the long-term perpetuation of Pentecostalism for the twentieth century.⁷¹⁹ Even speaking in tongues became viewed as no longer primarily for the purpose of universal proclamation of the Gospel with boldness and power but increasingly for the revival of one's own soul. The primary distinctive of the AG, speaking in tongues, had to be theoretically strengthened to assure the continuation of the organized Pentecostalist movement.

Lacking the intellectual development associated with ample higher education and the economic tools typically available to the middle or upper classes, the socially disadvantaged Pentecostals defended themselves against the attacks of the media-savvy denominational Christian society by taking shelter in their Pentecostalist millennial ideology. Their social frustrations found release in their emotional Pentecostal experience and ideology which made both worthy of their defense not only on theological grounds but on account of the very real human needs they were meeting.⁷²⁰

Pentecostalism abstained from social involvement and castigated those engaging in "Social Gospel" ameliorative efforts by which they deemed the more liberal Christian elements were affording the poor, hungry, and infirm victims of society false comfort. The social problems of their American nation were considered the fulfillment of biblical prophecy and should be left to play themselves out. While contributing precious little to upgrade the social order, Pentecostals condemned the

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., 152.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 221.

society they refused to improve. Their focus would remain upon individual escape from eternal judgment while the world about them sank deeper into the abyss.⁷²¹

The early struggles with conflict and factionalism in Pentecostal circles were overcome by the step-by-step institutional creation of official doctrinal positions, rules and regulations, officially sanctioned codes of conduct and ministerial ethics. The very features of denominationalism once condemned in early Pentecostalism now became standard practices in the AG. Each new issue, “heresy” or dilemma needed an appropriate bureaucratic response to prevent any subversion of the ever-widening base of the institutionalized corporate interests.⁷²²

In the 1920s, the AG automatically lined up with the Fundamentalists against modernists since they shared common perspectives on America, were on par economically and socially, functioned at equivalent educational levels, and fairly represented the deeply felt yearnings of grassroots Americans.⁷²³ The AG’s understanding of the “full” Gospel was simply normal Evangelicalism but with the two added distinctives of “healing in the atonement” and tongues as the initial physical evidence of Spirit-baptism. With such teachings, however, the AG plainly would need to go on the defensive if they hoped to be a player in American Evangelicalism. But until the 1940s AG constituents were suspicious of any cooperation with non-Pentecostals and rejected any thought of ecumenism or related organizational affiliations. Pentecostals believed they enjoyed fuller understanding of the biblical revelation than others who ignored the Spirit’s enlightenment and giftings.

The affinity the AG pursued with Evangelicals disaffected them from more radical Pentecostals. But this alienation positioned them to embrace formal cooperation with the Neo-Evangelicals in the 1940s. Such identification with Evangelicals, however, created a subtle shift in Pentecostal ideology as the Pentecostal distinctive became conceived as an “extra” as opposed to a critical Christian experience. Over time, many Pentecostals would lose sight of their healing and tongues distinctives and be content to proclaim the more fundamental Evangelical ideology.⁷²⁴ Naturally, as the AG moved further away from a more radically

⁷²¹ Ibid., 201-202.

⁷²² Ibid., 194.

⁷²³ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 5.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 5-6.

distinctive Pentecostal ideology, they became increasingly palatable to Evangelicals and even Fundamentalists. The gradual waning of their primitivist restorationism and the apocalyptic by the second generation contributed to the changing Pentecostal perception of culture.

The AG renewed its public commitment to the revitalization of America and world evangelization by participation in the NAE.⁷²⁵ As the AG slackened in its restorationist commitment before and during the World War II years in their perceived new capacity to influence American national life,⁷²⁶ they identified with the “New Evangelicals.” While the AG would continue to affirm apostolic power for the present age, it celebrated its affinity with Evangelicals on basically all other matters. This not only created new distance between the AG and other Pentecostals but generated denominational responsiveness toward Evangelical overtures in coming years.⁷²⁷ Many AG leaders wanted to participate in what they had long considered the national chosenness of America and its divinely decreed destiny.⁷²⁸

At the same time, AG constituents vacillated on dispensationalism. For example, although executives often voted to exclude advertisement of the *Scofield Reference Bible* from the official AG Gospel Publishing House (GPH) materials, it was customarily advertised in the *PE*. In this period from 1918 to 1947, the AG seemed to increasingly embrace dispensationalism but still added dimensions of the Latter Rain doctrine to supplement the unique end-times Pentecostal focus on apostolic restorationism.⁷²⁹

PENTECOSTALIST IDEOLOGY OF ZION, 1918-1945

To grasp the fullness of the Pentecostal ideology of Zionism in the pre-Statehood years of national Israel, analysis is needed of the burning romantic passions of Pentecostals for Zion as manifested in both their celebratory statements and emotionally-charged reports on Zionist infrastructural developments, the Pentecostal deep-seated conviction of God’s own hand in modern Zionism, the sense of

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 195.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., 197.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 160.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 189.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 159.

Pentecostal obligation to protest all forms of anti-Semitism, the need to resist all opposition to Zionism, and the eternal bond between Pentecostalism and the Jewish destiny in Zion.

PASSIONATE PENTECOSTAL EXPRESSIONS ON ZIONISM

Pentecostal romantic enthusiasm for the continued development of Zionist objectives only escalated through both world wars. On the heels of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, AG periodicals and educational materials celebrated what appeared to be the hand of Providence at work in the Jewish world everywhere and in Zion in particular.

The *Weekly Evangel* reported in 1918 on a London Zionist demonstration of thanks for the British government's adoption of the Balfour Declaration. The overwhelming majority of London's Jewry were reported to be in support of "a proposed autonomous Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people." The emotional responses of the demonstrators to the playing of "Hatikvah" and the Hebrew words for "Next Year in Jerusalem" were accented.⁷³⁰ The editor of the *Weekly Evangel* wrote,

Do not we, who are looking for the coming of our Lord, and the "New Jerusalem," feel a thrill go through us as we read of the dry bones coming together (Ezek. 36) and the words of Christ...(Matt 24:32). The branch of the fig tree is indeed becoming tender in more ways than one, for we see signs not only of national life being manifested amongst the Jews, but their opposition to Christ is not so bitter as it was. Hallelujah, our summer is nigh!⁷³¹

In spite of a host of hardships, Pentecostals were confident God would use the efforts of Jewish leaders, as Ezra and Nehemiah before them, to restore Israel.⁷³² In an extensive 1921 report, *Confidence* dramatized General Allenby's victorious entry into Jerusalem upon Muslim surrender as well as Winston Churchill's response to the reception of a Torah from Rabbis Meir and Kuk at which he gave assurances Britain would keep its Balfour promises.⁷³³ In 1924 the *PE* boasted that recent congressional

⁷³⁰ "The Jews and Palestine," *Weekly Evangel* (5 January 1918): 5.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

⁷³² E. N. Bell, "'God's Grace to the Gentiles. And the Restoration of Israel,'" *Christian Evangel* (6 September 1919): 4.

⁷³³ A. A. Boddy, "Palestine Items," *Confidence* 125 (April-June 1921): 21-22.

legislation had aided the European Jewish return to Zion⁷³⁴ and that a New York rabbi had assured the rebuilding of a Temple in Jerusalem comparable to Solomon's.⁷³⁵

Frank M. Boyd, AG theologian and educator, empathetically recounted in 1925 the dramatic story and philosophy of Theodor Herzl and modern Zionism. He described for his Pentecostal enthusiasts the Zionist aspirations as observed in Herzl's *Der Juden Staat* and the Basle Program stemming from the first Zionist Congress in 1897.⁷³⁶ The boast was made that much of the Basle Program had already been realized as the Jewish national spirit had been reborn in the Jewish corporate breast. Hope for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine had generated zealous altruistic efforts among Jewish peasants and philanthropists, bankers and judges, professors and others in the Anglo world.⁷³⁷ Boyd even celebrated the housing problems in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem due to the influx of immigrants and offered glowing statistics of agricultural exports to the West.⁷³⁸ He passionately recounted Eliezer Ben Yehuda's successful struggle to revive spoken Hebrew and acknowledged its unifying power among internationally returning Israel.⁷³⁹ He was deeply enthralled with the new Hebrew University on Mount Scopus which "overlooks Jerusalem from the east."⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁴ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (13 December 1924): 6.

⁷³⁵ "Here and There," *PE* (13 September 1924): 8.

⁷³⁶ Frank M. Boyd, *The Budding Fig Tree* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1925), 85. Wrote Boyd: "The Basle Program was agreed upon which stated their aspiration in the following terms: 'The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly, legally secured home in Palestine.' To attain this the congress adopted the following means: '(1) To promote the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, handicraftsmen, laborers and professional men. (2) To centralize the entire Jewish people by means of general institutions, agreeably to the laws of the land. (3) To strengthen and further Jewish sentiments and national self-consciousness. (4) To obtain the sanction of governments to carry out the objects of Zionism.'"

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 101. Boyd exulted, "Perhaps the most momentous and significant event of recent months in Palestine was the dedication, on April 1, 1925, of the new Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, which overlooks Jerusalem from the east. It was from this mount that Titus, the Roman general, planned the siege of the city in 70 A. D. The writer has before him the Hebrew University issue of *The New Palestine*, a Jewish weekly and organ of American Zionists. The cover page pictures on both sides the administration building of the new university. This issue is really a magazine of 456 pages, containing an aggregate of articles by the greatest Jewish publicists and leaders of Jewish thought and activity, beyond any previous compilation. It fairly breathes Jewish optimism, vigor, power and intelligence, and it is positively inspiring, in the light of what it portends, to read it."

In his widely disseminated text, Boyd provided a detailed history of the Zionist political and economic developments from 1897 to 1925.⁷⁴¹ Even prior to World War I hundreds of local Zionist organizations had cropped up, the Star of David and “Hatikvah” had become national emblem and anthem respectively. A burning Jewish patriotism had marshaled the efforts of financiers, politicians, and diplomats as the colonization of Zion had begun in earnest and now flourished.⁷⁴² Boyd enthusiastically concluded his history with “Jewish activities in all directions have accomplished wonders.”⁷⁴³ He went on in Pentecostal ecstasy to link the return of Israel and the return of Christ to Zion.⁷⁴⁴

Myer Pearlman (1898-1943), a Hebrew-Christian and member of the first graduating class of Central Bible Institute in 1925, delivered a sermon at the Springfield, Missouri, commencement exercises which was published in its fullness in the *PE* in June of that year. Pearlman would soon go on to become an outstanding professor-theologian and adult Sunday School educational chief contributor and editor until his premature death in 1943. He was an important key to the theological framing of the AG ideology regarding Zionism and the subsequent State of Israel. In his published sermon Pearlman rehearsed the travesties of the Christian treatment of the Jews in the Middle Ages in shocking detail to his Pentecostal audience. But now things had dramatically changed to the point hope existed for a national return to Palestine as supported by the Balfour Declaration. The Jewish distant hope of the ages was no longer a far-off event even as David’s Shield waved triumphantly over Zion.⁷⁴⁵ In 1927 Pearlman wrote for popular Pentecostal consumption that “Without Palestine, Israel is incomplete, and they have always recognized this fact.” The present Zionist movement had effected the return of Israel to Zion by political means and had been

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 87. Boyd here reported that Jewish numbers in Zion had increased five-fold from 1880-1913 and 33 agricultural settlements had been established and astute Jewish diplomats had wisely seized upon President Wilson’s call for the self-determination of smaller nations.

⁷⁴² Ibid., 86.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., 87-88.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 98-99.

⁷⁴⁵ Myer Pearlman, “Israel, the Everlasting People,” *PE* (6 June 1925): 6. See also John G. Warton, “Through Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia,” *PE* (17 January 1925): 7; and Vida B. Baer, “Jerusalem,” *PE* (16 May 1925): 11. Typical of the *PE* and other Pentecostal periodicals were the published reports of traveling missionaries who labored or traveled through *Eretz Israel*. The growing beauty and Jewish numbers in Jerusalem portended a soon “end of the times of the Gentiles.”

birthed out of the “furnace of Jewish affliction.”⁷⁴⁶ Herzl was elsewhere assigned the status of prophet.⁷⁴⁷

In its publication of “Chief Rabbi Kuk’s Message to the Jews,” the *PE* contended that in the face of European opposition to Zionism, Kuk had properly encouraged Zionists to cling to the promises of the Bible rather than rely on governments.⁷⁴⁸ The *PE* also reported that the agricultural colonialists of “Peta Tikva” openly anticipated the coming of Messiah.⁷⁴⁹ Chief Rabbi Kuk’s sounding the shofar on “Mount David” had evidenced that “We are living in the days of marvels. ...Jesus is coming!”⁷⁵⁰ The correlation between Zion’s rebirth and the Second Coming of Jesus were solidly conjoined in Pentecostalist thought.

In the 1931 *PE* Pentecostals seemed eager to give Chaim Weizmann credit for rescuing civilization:

There was a little Jew exiled from Russia, by the name of Chaim Weizmann. He was a professor of chemistry in the University of Manchester, England, and while working in his laboratory he invented a mighty explosive. ... TNT, the invention of a Jew, saved Anglo-Saxon civilization from destruction.⁷⁵¹

The *PE* offered an extensive column in 1932 concerning Zionist developments. Having preferred Caesar to Christ, Jews had suffered exile “but now once more the Lord is stirring up the spirit of many Jews to go back to the land.”⁷⁵² In support of the continued Zionist enterprise in the face of growing European and Arab opposition, the *PE* quoted Nahum Sokolow, the President of the World Zionist Organization, as saying, “The Jews have come to Palestine to stay. ...No threat will deter them, no violence cow them.”⁷⁵³ That same year the *PE* expressed the hope that Christian

⁷⁴⁶ Myer Pearlman, “The Jewish Question from the Viewpoint of a Converted Jew,” *PE* (4 June 1927): 8. Pearlman also provided a brief history of the life and work of Theodor Herzl including the chief ideals of Herzl’s *The Jewish State*. See also *Ibid.*, 6. The 1897 Basle Zionist Congress’ restorationist objectives were to legally secure a Jewish home in Palestine, promote agriculture, organize and centralize the Jewish people, and strengthen Jewish national consciousness by inspiring a spirit of patriotism. Indicative of the progress of the Zionist efforts, the Palestinian Jewish population had grown from 55,000 to 155,000 from 1918 to 1927.

⁷⁴⁷ Harry Long, “Hitler and the Jews,” *Word and Work* 55:12 (December 1933): 10.

⁷⁴⁸ Albert Weaver, “Chief Rabbi Kuk’s Message to the Jews,” *PE* (13 December 1930): 9.

⁷⁴⁹ “Editor’s Notebook,” *PE* (28 February 1931): 5. See also “Jews Expect Messiah,” *LRE* (1 September 1928): 13.

⁷⁵⁰ Otto J. Klink, “The Jew --- God’s Great Timepiece,” *PE* (16 May 1931): 5.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁵² Stanley H. Frodsham, ed., “The Editor’s Notebook,” *PE* (28 May 1932): 4.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*

enthusiasm for Zionism would translate into Jewish evangelism.⁷⁵⁴ Pentecostals perceived that Zionism without faith in Jesus was ultimately insufficient.

In 1933 the AG's *Christ's Ambassador Herald (CAH)* sought to foster Pentecostal youth appreciation for Zionism and the strategic contributions Jews were making to American political life by offering the recent slate of newly elected Jewish Americans⁷⁵⁵ and by quoting president-elect Franklin Roosevelt as stating:

Jewish achievement in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration vindicates the high hope which lay behind the sponsorship of the Homeland. ... (and) is not only a attribute to the creative powers of the Jewish people, but, by bringing great advancement into the sacred land, it has promoted the well-being of all the inhabitants thereof. I shall personally watch with deep sympathy the progress of Palestine.⁷⁵⁶

The *PE* romantically recounted in 1936 the chain of events that led to the happy developments in modern Palestine⁷⁵⁷ and further supplied two lengthy statements put out by Zionist leaders offering both apologetics and expressions of Jewish determination for the establishment of a Jewish State in Zion.⁷⁵⁸

Myer Pearlman's *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* [1937] was the first broadly based book of doctrine composed to fill a vacuum within the AG and became the standard theological textbook for the training of clergy in AG institutions for the next generation.⁷⁵⁹ Pearlman described Christ as "the promised Messiah of Israel" and blurred any distinction between Israel and the Church in his discussion of "The Founding Church," thereby linking in perpetuity the Messiah, Israel and the Church. The present distresses in 1939 of imminent world war and intensified European anti-

⁷⁵⁴ Myer Pearlman, "Shadow and Sunshine in Israel," *PE* (3 December 1932): 8.

⁷⁵⁵ "Prominent Jews," *CAH* 6:1 (1 January 1933): 2.

⁷⁵⁶ "President Roosevelt on Palestine: Message to American Zionist Organization," *CAH* 6:1 (1 January 1933): 2.

⁷⁵⁷ William H. Nagel, "Palestine -- What of its Progress," *PE* (31 October 1936): 8. These included: (1) the publication of Moses Hess' *Rome and Jerusalem* in which Hess contended the Jews must return to Zion to reestablish a Jewish nation to save themselves from the vulnerabilities of national homelessness; (2) the 1882 May Laws and pogroms in Eastern Europe that gave rise to the *Halutz* or Pioneer movement for Jewish youth; (3) Theodor Herzl's 1896 book, *The Jewish State*, followed by the first Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897 which announced its aim as, "The establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people secured by public law"; and (4) the securing of the Balfour Declaration in 1917.

⁷⁵⁸ "The Solution of the Jewish Problem," *PE* (1 August 1936): 7. These statements were captioned here and in "Arabs Not Crowded Out."

⁷⁵⁹ Gerald T. Sheppard, "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 6 (Fall 1984): 12.

Semitism were sure signs of the pending Jewish re-establishment in Zion. But the Jewish national restoration would also result in a spiritual resurrection of Israel.⁷⁶⁰

PUBLISHED PENTECOSTAL CELEBRATION OF REDEMPTIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN ZION

Pentecostal publications exuberantly expressed their joy even as they witnessed to the reconstruction of the biblically Promised Land. The amazing Zionist accomplishments clearly testified to the pending *eschaton* and climax of salvation history. The multiplied reports of Jewish migrations to Palestine, the staggering growth of Jewish population figures, the creation of new Hebrew academies both in the diaspora and Zion, the revival of Hebrew as a modern spoken language, and reports of a “new attitude in Judaism” leading to the restoration of the Land to its former beauty, all provided Pentecostals corroborating evidence of the legitimacy of their own restorationist experience.⁷⁶¹ Pentecostal periodicals and texts highlighted Jewish population figures as evidence of the divine restoration of the Jewish people to their biblical heritage.⁷⁶² By 1936, Pentecostal reports were issued of over a million Jews returned to Zion whose burning hearts were perfectly reflected in their flaming songs of Jewish restoration in Palestine.⁷⁶³ Some 300,000 Jews had returned just since

⁷⁶⁰ William Burton McCafferty, “The National and Spiritual Resurrection of the Hebrews,” *Word and Work* 61:4 (May 1939): 10.

⁷⁶¹ “Jewish Notes,” *LRE* (1 March 1920): 23. The various tidbits that excited the AG constituents into ecstatic Second Coming euphoria included news like that of agriculturalist Jews from the mountains of Russia who had embraced the Zionist dream and had departed for Palestine; 9,000 Jewish Siberian veterans who had established a Zionist trust and newspaper; by 1915 the *Chebra Tarbut* association had opened a school for Hebrew culture in Moscow and by 1918, *Chebra* operated 119 Hebrew public schools and 75 kindergartens; Hebrew had been made an official language in Palestine; and three million Ukrainian Jews were ready to depart for Zion. See also Stanley H. Frodsham, ed., “The Editor’s Notebook,” *The PE* (May 28, 1932): 4. The *PE* offered a clip from the *Palestine Bulletin* that reported a “new attitude of Judaism” and twice directly linked the restoration of the Land with its former pristine beauty during Christ’s own lifetime.

⁷⁶² “Editor’s Notes,” *PE* (11 October 1924): 9. Pieces on “Jews returning to Palestine” and “The rallying of the Jews,” offered impressive statistics of Jewish immigration to Zion and current population figures. In the same issue, Frodsham reprinted *The Jewish Tribune’s* article, “High Tide of Palestine Immigration” which enthusiastically recounted great numbers of new arrivals in Zion. See also “Here and There,” *PE* (13 September 1924): 8. World Jewish numbers had reportedly grown from about one million in year 1500 to five million by 1800, to seven million by 1850 and to 15 million by 1924. Also William M. Faux, “Pentecost in Palestine,” *PE* (12 September 1925): 11. Along with Jewish general immigration westward, five hundred Jews a week were entering the Land compelling massive new construction efforts and heralding a new Jewish era.

⁷⁶³ Dolores Redman, “Missionary Review,” *CAH* 9:1 (January 1936): 14.

the Balfour Declaration and had helped turn Zion into a world-class agricultural country.⁷⁶⁴

THE REDEMPTION OF THE LAND

The current restoration of Israel further evidenced rapid preparations for the *eschaton*.⁷⁶⁵ The Garden of Eden was being recreated in Zion through the altruistic enterprise of thousands of student-aged Jewish youths.⁷⁶⁶ God had left treasures latent in the soils and seas of the Promised Land that would only now be mined for Jewish national benefit at the climax of history.⁷⁶⁷ For example, the estimated [1924] \$40 billion in mineral wealth contained in the Dead Sea was believed to be a miracle of divine Providence since such wealth had been preserved for the use of the regenerated Jewish nation.⁷⁶⁸

Pentecostals were exhilarated by the news of the developments of agricultural collectives⁷⁶⁹ and the building of modern cities like Tel Aviv. The Jewish colonialist had greater credibility to Pentecostals since he had been divinely endowed “with many qualities of mind and spirit which the Arab lacks.”⁷⁷⁰ The mushrooming growth of modernly industrialized Tel Aviv and its sole use of electricity and oil for energy was considered “an astonishing example of the romantic enterprise of the Jews.”⁷⁷¹ The Jews had set out to scientifically colonize Palestine but God had intervened. A great

⁷⁶⁴ “October 4 -- What Time is it?” *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 15.

⁷⁶⁵ “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (21 August 1926): 3.

⁷⁶⁶ “Editor’s Notebook,” *PE* (5 July 1930): 4. The *LRE* reported in 1927 that some 21,000 Jews in Palestine had taken up agricultural pursuits as wines and oranges had been introduced to European markets. By 1930 some 32,000 youth, largely students, had devoted their lives to draining marches and road building. Half of these had died in their efforts but a “veritable garden” of almond and orange orchards had been created.

⁷⁶⁷ Nathan Cohen Beskin, *The Return of the Jews and the End of the World* (Chicago, IL: Peacock Press, 1931), 87-88. Beskin reported that the Jewish population in Zion had doubled over the past seven years, that great tracts of land had been reclaimed, that agricultural colonies and sophisticated irrigation systems had been established, and rich potassium deposits had been discovered in the Dead Sea which stood to commercially benefit the Jewish people.

⁷⁶⁸ “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (13 December 1924): 6.

⁷⁶⁹ “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (25 April 1925): 6-7. The citrus, wines, modern irrigation systems, and new massive Jewish land purchases were lauded.

⁷⁷⁰ A. A. Boddy, “The Return of the Jews to the Holy Land. What it Portends,” *Confidence* 13:3 (October-December 1920): 54.

⁷⁷¹ “Prosperity in Palestine,” *PE* (23 May 1925): 11. See also “The Balfour Forest at Nazareth,” *PE* (18 August 1928): 3. Reports were offered on the huge cement works, agricultural developments with the potential for European markets, the irrigation systems, the new garden-laden cities, and the general labor shortage. The *PE* reported in 1928 on efforts underway “to provide for road-making, irrigation, training, and education, having its apex in a Jewish university.”

annual increase in rainfall had occurred in each of the past twenty years as Providence had prepared the land for the return of Israel. The desert was now “blossoming as the rose,” and the land was now “awakening to the sound of the modern reaper”⁷⁷² as prominent irrigation experts were turning the desert into “one of the most fertile lands in the world.”⁷⁷³ Frank Boyd assigned four decades of combined Zionist credits in 1934 to the original efforts of Theodor Herzl and the Balfour Declaration of 1917.⁷⁷⁴

The amazing Jewish skills and altruistic sacrifices had enabled the extensive use of Haifa port and the redemption of 40,000 acres of plague-infested swamps with another 12,500 malaria infested swamps of the Hula plains in immediate projection.⁷⁷⁵ Pentecostal confidence was expressed that Samaria would become Jewish-owned since “God intends to keep His Word.”⁷⁷⁶ The 1937 *PE* sang the praises of Jewish accomplishments in Palestine that had, under the earlier custodians, deteriorated to become a “desolate, barren waste.”⁷⁷⁷ Pentecostals expressed the expectation that even more Jews would be attracted back to Zion due to its renewed farming productivity.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷² Beskin, 80.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*, 84. See also GPH, “Lesson 6: The Parable of the Pounds,” *The Pentecostal Teachers’ Quarterly* (10 May 1931): 46. GPH educational materials offered that so eager were the Zionists to rebuild the land’s productivity that 20% now lived and worked on agricultural colonies.

⁷⁷⁴ Frank M. Boyd, “Israel and the Nations,” *PE* (14 July 1934): 6. But Jewish colonization had started long before Balfour with meaningful agricultural, industrial, educational, and cultural advancements. Major city construction in Tel Aviv, reforestation, agricultural exports of oranges, wine and oil, a new harbor in Haifa, Dead Sea mineral extracts, Jordan River driven electric power plants, railways, airline service, and the establishment of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on Mt. Scopus, all attested to the rapid development of Zion.

See also Charles S. Peters, “News Flashes from Palestine,” *LRE* (1 April 1934): 9-10. The *LRE* here offered glowing reports of advances in the planting of trees, immigration numbers, land redemption, new construction, finance, and road and highway construction.

⁷⁷⁵ Otto J. Klink, “Otto-Graphs,” *CAH* 9:7 (July 1936): 16. See also, William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- What of its Progress,” *PE* (31 October 1936): 9. The *PE* published that the richly agricultural Valley of Jezreel was, in fact, Armageddon, the valley destined to become the battle scene of the *eschaton*.

⁷⁷⁶ William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- What of its Progress,” *PE* (31 October 1936): 9,11.

⁷⁷⁷ Charles S. Peters, “Eretz Israel,” *PE* (2 April 1937): 5. Peters had also offered Stone Church a sermon which was reprinted as “The Significance of the Jew Returning to Palestine” for the February 1936 issue of the *LRE*. He provided a beautifully uplifting description of the phenomenal advances made in Palestine in the last several years, the tremendous growth of infrastructure, and punctuated it with graphic depictions of Jewish children happily playing in the streets as biblically prophesied. Palestine was now pulsating with life and springing up with desert springs and orange orchards and filled with dairy farms, vineyards, new factories, homes, schools, hospitals, and synagogues. The Jordan had been harnessed to give light and power while the Dead Sea was ready to give up its wealth of potash and chemicals for shipment all over the world.

⁷⁷⁸ Long, “Hitler and the Jews,” 10. See also Charles S. Peters, “News Flashes from Palestine,” *LRE* (1 May 1934): 16-17. The *LRE* offered its readership 1934 a series of reports on the British incarceration of leading Arab belligerents, increased immigration, first time telephone connections from Palestine to Johannesburg and Chicago, the lower infant death rates in Tel Aviv, discussions of a new harbor in Jaffa, and the runaway orange industry.

CONSTRUCTION IN THE CITIES OF ZION

For Pentecostals the Jewish return to Zion was “one of the certain signs of His coming.”⁷⁷⁹ An informative 1928 article on the spectacular rise and development of the new city of “Tel Aviv: The City That Grew Overnight,” advised Pentecostal youth that the spectacular rise of Tel Aviv was but an “earnest” of Zion’s coming prosperity.⁷⁸⁰ New housing was being constructed in the major cities like Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa.⁷⁸¹ These kinds of massive construction efforts in Zion were positive signs of the pending *eschaton* and Second Coming.⁷⁸²

The *PE* reported on the glories of the Galilee including the city of Tiberias, with its natural springs and sulfurous waters, and Galilee’s imperial Roman Baths, with their continuous yield of valuable minerals and therapeutic benefits. It boasted of the rise of the boom city of Tel Aviv that had grown from a 1910 population of 550 to 125,000 by 1936 and elaborated on the rapid industrialization of the port city of Haifa.⁷⁸³ The building up of Jerusalem with its “beautiful for situation” neighborhoods had multiplied the Holy City’s property values by 1000%.⁷⁸⁴ The *PE* was persuaded that a moral, social and intellectual national foundation had been laid by Jewish

⁷⁷⁹ A. A. Boddy, “The Return of the Jews to Palestine,” *Confidence* 13:5 (October 1923): 108. The *Confidence* article addressed current changes to cities in Palestine. Whereas Ramallah, Beersheba, Hebron and Nablus had changed for the better, Jerusalem itself had seen the greatest change. See also “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (21 February 1925): 7. The *PE* reported a new avenue, “King George,” had been opened in Jerusalem with great celebration by 10,000 Jewish residents in anticipation of 100,000 more.

⁷⁸⁰ “Tel-Aviv: The City That Grew Overnight,” *Christ’s Ambassadors Monthly* 3:12 (December 1928): 2. See also Ruth Kark, *Jaffa—A City in Evolution, 1799–1917*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990.

⁷⁸¹ Charles S. Peters, “Late News from Palestine,” *LRE* (1 October 1933): 10. The *LRE* registered that with all the international anguish of the Jews in modern times, Palestine was flourishing. In spite of recent drought and crop failure, its infrastructure and economic continued to be strengthened. Factories and agricultural colonies were excelling.

⁷⁸² Charles S. Peters, “The Budding Fig Tree,” *PE* (2 June 1934): 3. Tel Aviv accommodated new immigrants and industry, sponsored municipal elections as a “first step toward a legislative assembly in Palestine,” and had constructed a new post-office. See also “The Gospel in Foreign Lands,” *PE* (15 September 1934): 10. Pentecostal missionary Laura Radford returned to Jerusalem in 1934 after a year’s absence and reported being startled at the improvements. She indicated her confidence that God had given the Promised Land to Abraham’s seed. God was again active among the children of Israel. All the “Good roads, artesian wells, gardens, orchards, vineyards, modern houses, well-lighted shops, western farm implements, western machinery for all kinds of factories and mills -- the very climax of a Century of Progress in the West, seems to have been reached...to make Palestine what it is today.”

⁷⁸³ See also “Radio-Interview Over Station WDEL,” *CAH* 9:9 (September 1936): 4. Reports of Otto Klink’s answers to radio-interviewer Ralph P. Hughey’s questions over station WDEL were significant for Pentecostal youth. To the question, “Can you tell us of some fulfilled prophecies?” Klink responded, “Yes. The perhaps most fascinating prophecies are the ones given concerning the Jews....I wish to call your attention to a 3600-year-old prophecy that has been literally fulfilled....(Genesis 49:13) is fulfilled by the recent development of Haifa, Palestine, into an important harbor.”

⁷⁸⁴ William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- What of its Progress,” Part 2, *PE* (7 November 1936): 10.

cooperative efforts.⁷⁸⁵ Plainly, the fig tree had budded and the Gentile era was closing.⁷⁸⁶

THANKS TO JEWISH TENACITY AND SKILL

The *PE* provided AG readership lofty and emotionally charged updates on infrastructural development in *Eretz Israel* to establish “evidence of Jewish acumen and ability.” Since the entire infrastructure was “in Jewish hands,” the economic future of Palestine was considered secure.⁷⁸⁷ But the *PE* offered an eye-opening article in 1928 describing the struggles the Zionists had been experiencing during from 1926 to 1928. Because Palestine had been receiving more immigrants than it could absorb, a surprising number of Jews had left to return to their former nations. The current economic crisis had meant hardships that had dashed the high hopes of many. Zionism’s enemies were ready to assign failure to the Zionist cause by the late 1920s.⁷⁸⁸ Yet, demonstrating Jewish tenacity in 1944, the *PE* reported that World Jewry had invested half a billion dollars over the previous twenty years in the Zionist cause.⁷⁸⁹

The agricultural revitalization of Zion was considered miraculous. Having refused Argentine and Ugandan alternatives, the Jewish world would settle for

⁷⁸⁵ “Accomplishments in Palestine,” *PE* (8 April 1944): 12.

⁷⁸⁶ GPH, “Lesson 10: The Olivet Discourse,” *Adult and Young People’s Teachers’ Quarterly* (4 June 1944): 67.

⁷⁸⁷ “Progress in Palestine,” *PE* (28 June 1924): 7. Detailed descriptions of paved streets, modern plumbing, the construction of costly buildings, the installation of electrical capacity, mile-long business districts, modern flour mills, hydro-electric developments, provisions for modern sanitation and water systems, all provided cause for confidence in the pending restoration of Israel.

⁷⁸⁸ Stanley H. Frodsham, et al, eds., “The Land of the Bible in the Last Days,” *PE* (25 August 1928): 2. The information used for the article was taken from *Literary Digest* and the *Sunday School Times*. See also “Conditions in Palestine and Syria,” *PE* (23 July 1927): 11. The *PE* reported that the economic crisis in Palestine was severe. Jewish population figures had jumped from 125,000 in 1924 to 158,000 by 1927 in spite of the fact the total immigrant number for January and February 1927 had been 401. The situation was bleak enough that some were starving while others went insane. Unemployment was rampant as only 10% of foreign pledges arrived. Also, year 1926 had seen 13,081 immigrants but 7,365 emigrants. Worse, 1927 witnessed only 2,713 immigrants but a shocking 5,071 emigrants.

⁷⁸⁹ “Rebuilding Palestine,” *PE* (8 April 1944): 12. See also, GPH, “Lesson 11: God’s Chosen People, the Jews,” *Adult and Young People’s Teachers’ Quarterly* (10 December 1944): 63. After quoting from the Balfour Declaration in his 1944 national Sunday School lesson, E. S. Williams offered that the signs proving the Jewish fig tree was “putting forth her leaves” included the founding of the Hebrew University, publication of a Hebrew newspaper, the sole use of Hebrew in 135 Zionist-controlled educational institutions, and the definite plans for the rebuilding of the Temple. See also Dolores Redman, “Missionary Review,” *CAH* 9:1 (January 1936): 14. The *CAH* wrote of modern infrastructural developments as advanced by educational programs, i.e., 250 Jewish schools, secondary and agricultural schools, a technical college, a music school, an Arts and Crafts Institute and a Hebrew University. See also, “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (13 December 1924): 6. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a frequent illustration of the development of the pending Jewish State, had opened with 110 students and promised to become “the most powerful agent for disseminating Hebrew literature throughout the world.”

nothing less than the Promised Land. The Jews of Zion had “refused to be discouraged” by extensive widespread Arab violence. The Zionist pioneers demonstrated all the evidence of being “supernaturally inspired.”⁷⁹⁰ Pentecostals were also quick to publish a refutation of the false charges of Jewish confiscation of Arab lands.⁷⁹¹

THE SCENE OF THE ULTIMATE JEWISH VICTORY

In spite of all the “supernatural” inspiration Israel had been recently afforded, Pentecostals admitted this inspiration had not yet yielded spiritual insight leading to Israel’s national salvation in Christ.⁷⁹² But the Jewish return in unbelief, Pentecostals were assured, would be soon mended by the spiritual restoration of the Jewish people to God through faith in Jesus.⁷⁹³

Pentecostals were persuaded that Jewish population growth and return to Zion represented the beginnings of the *eschaton* that would effect the climax of salvation history and directly lead to the fulfillment of all biblical prophecy issued to Israel. As Vida Baer, Pentecostal missionary to Jerusalem, reported in 1925,

In 1922 about 100,000 Jews settled in the Holy land. The long night of years is past, a new day is dawning. ...A glorious future is just ahead. Zion shall yet be a praise in the earth. ...What a paradise Palestine will be when God’s plan has been worked out.⁷⁹⁴

The marvelous reconstruction of Jerusalem, with its children joyfully playing in the streets, was point-for-point fulfillment of biblical prophecy.⁷⁹⁵ Pentecostals believed God had brought about rapid Jewish population growth for his own divine restorationist agendas.⁷⁹⁶ God himself was returning the Jews to the entire 300,000 square miles originally covenanted to Abraham that extended from the Nile to the

⁷⁹⁰ John G. Warton, “God’s Ways with the Jews,” *PE* (12 December 1936): 8.

⁷⁹¹ H. C. McKinney, ed., “Prophetic News,” *Word and Work* 55:8 (August 1938): 5.

⁷⁹² John G. Warton, “God’s Ways with the Jews,” *PE* (12 December 1936): 8.

⁷⁹³ “Here and There,” *PE* (26 March 1926): 6. The *PE* reported here that up to 100,000 new Jewish immigrants would join the present 125,000 Jews in Zion within the year.

⁷⁹⁴ Vida B. Baer, “In the Land of Palestine,” *PE* (28 February 1925): 10.

⁷⁹⁵ William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- What of its Progress,” *PE* (7 November 1936): 10.

⁷⁹⁶ “Jewish Population,” *PE* (12 November 1932): 10. Jewish numbers had multiplied to 16 million by 1925. See also, R. H. Boughton, “The National Restoration of the Jews,” *PE* (30 June 1934): 3. The *PE* declare God had “preserved and increased (the Jews) for the fulfilling of His purposes in these, the last days.”

Euphrates Rivers.⁷⁹⁷ Yes, the budding “fig tree” was indeed regathering for both purification and her final restoration and glorious destiny.⁷⁹⁸

The current return of the Jews to Zion and the modern western Jewish population growth were the greatest of modern evidences of the pending Second Coming and Jewish preparations for the Messiah.⁷⁹⁹ Recent Jewish acquisition of the agriculturally promising Jezreel Valley was but a reminder to Pentecostals of the coming Battle of Armageddon. Reports of Jewish euphoria in Zion directly translated into Pentecostal euphoria in America.⁸⁰⁰

THE PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY OF ZIONISM AS FULFILLED PROPHECY, 1918-1945

Pentecostals published as early as 1918 that the Jew is the true key to the philosophy of history and all history has been tailored to reposition the Jew in Zion. All nations would be forced to reckon with this Jonah, the Jew, who was presently seeking to avoid his prophetic charge to the Gentiles. The God-defiant nations had abused the Jew, but God would still make Israel his ambassador to the world.⁸⁰¹ God’s eternal intentions for Israel would soon find fulfillment, as the Eternal does not break his word. A Gospel-resistant Israel would come to messianic faith after a season of divine chastening. The nations had never been able to consume the indigestible Jew; like Jonah, the tattered but surviving prophet, the Jew would miraculously survive to perform his prophetic mission “out of Zion.”⁸⁰²

The *PE* declared in 1922 that the Zionist efforts in Palestine anticipated Jesus’ reign over the restored kingdom of Israel, even as current land restoration and political guarantees suggested.⁸⁰³ Mark John Levy, a Jewish convert widely appreciated in *AG*

⁷⁹⁷ Boughton, “The National Restoration of the Jews,” 3. Modern Palestine, it was noted, covered only 10% of the Promised Land.

⁷⁹⁸ A. Elizabeth Brown, “Forty Years a Missionary,” *PE* (6 April 1935): 11.

⁷⁹⁹ J. N. Hoover, “Hitler and the Indigestible Jews,” *PE* (24 February 1934): 3. Hoover reminded his Pentecostal readership that Jesus was Jewish and that Judeo-Christian civilization was based upon the Hebrew Scriptures.

⁸⁰⁰ G. Murchie, Jr., “Tide of New Age Floods Palestine,” *LRE* (1 July 1934): 19-20. In this article reprinted by permission of the *Chicago Tribune*, the marvelous advancements being made in Palestine were celebrated. The concluding words were, “On and on strides the Jew, now adding a little more brawn to his well-known brain and a little more soul to his frail body. He is happy. He is home at last.”

⁸⁰¹ Paul Rader, “Armageddon,” *Confidence* 9:3 (July-September 1918): 43-45.

⁸⁰² A. B. Simpson, “Freed from the Heel of the Turk,” *LRE* (1 February 1918): 18.

⁸⁰³ Alice Flower, “The Budding Fig Tree,” *PE* (27 May 1922): 5.

circles during the first decade of its existence, published a tract printed in its entirety in the *PE* in 1923. Its first paragraph read,

Our Hebrew brethren are reoccupying the Holy Land in preparation for the near return of our true Messiah on the “white horse” of victory, to begin His glorious reign of universal righteousness and peace on earth.⁸⁰⁴

Pentecostals held two conflicting issues in tension: the Eternal’s commitment to Israel’s perpetual inheritance and the Jewish rejection of Jesus. These two concerns could only be reconciled when the Jewish people would repent and embrace Jesus as Israel’s Messiah. The *PE* offered in 1925 that the Bible proves Israel could no more pass away than the Word of God itself. But shutting Israel’s national eye to Jesus had been a grave sin against the Judge of all, which had resulted in the judgments on Israel foretold in the Torah.⁸⁰⁵ Yet the *PE* further advocated that God had determined in millennia past that Palestine belonged to the Jewish people. Unhappy quibblers could not annul God’s very literal contract with Israel.⁸⁰⁶

Leading AG thinker, theologian, and trendsetter, Frank M. Boyd’s *The Budding Fig Tree* [1925] dramatically stated that next to the pending Second Coming itself, the most striking and exciting current development was the plain evidence afoot of God’s fulfilling his “covenant promises to His Chosen People Israel.”⁸⁰⁷ Only the self-blinded ones could miss what the Bible taught on Israel’s literal restoration as God himself had inspired the present developments in Zion. The “dry bones” in Ezekiel’s vision were assembling and would soon be nationally quickened⁸⁰⁸ as thirty years of Zionism had prepared the way for God’s restoration of Zion.⁸⁰⁹ Among Boyd’s list of crises, dilemmas, and “signs of the times,” the Jewish return to Zion was the ultimate sign of the Second Coming.⁸¹⁰ With a dispensationalist mindset, Boyd taught God had been forced to humble a God-defiant Israel by means of a time of submission to the Gentiles⁸¹¹ but that this judgment had a time limit.⁸¹² In 1927 the *PE* again linked the

⁸⁰⁴ Mark J. Levy, “A Son of Levi Writes to His Brethren,” *PE* (24 November 1923): 23.

⁸⁰⁵ Myer Pearlman, “Israel, the Everlasting People,” *PE* (6 June 1925): 5.

⁸⁰⁶ Albert Weaver, “Chief Rabbi Kuk’s Message to the Jews,” *PE* (13 December 1930): 9.

⁸⁰⁷ Boyd, 76.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸¹² Frank M. Boyd, *The Budding Fig Tree* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1925), 23.

Second Coming to the restoration of the Jewish nation in Zion. The Jew was the key to both comings of Jesus.⁸¹³

Pentecostals held in 1931 that recent outbreaks of conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine were due to current construction rivalry between Mosque and Temple advocates.⁸¹⁴ Pentecostals were able to distinguish the Zionist movement as political rather than religious and protested the Zionists were oblivious to their fulfilling prophecy by returning to their land in belief.⁸¹⁵ The *Latter Rain Evangel (LRE)* offered in 1933 that the present Jewish return “in unbelief” was indeed a temporary problem. Israel would soon gather “in the name of the Lord.” Until then, however, unrepentant Jewry would literally face misery, woe, and suffering until submitting to God’s reign as prophecy foretold.⁸¹⁶

In spite of any and all obstacles, the success of the Zionist enterprise commended the Pentecostal tenet of the Second Coming and the restoration of “all things.” The *PE* declared in 1934 that he most striking “sign of the times” was a Palestine destined to play the most dramatic role of the *eschaton*, Second Coming, and the millennial age. Palestine belonged to the “indestructible Jew” by covenant promise. Though many Jews had become Communists after centuries of suffering, the Jew remained the “national miracle of the ages.” The times of the Gentiles were rapidly closing while God was moving providentially on behalf of the Jews.⁸¹⁷ The return of the Jewish people to Palestine from sixty countries on the heels of new persecutions with the rise of anti-christic governments pointed to the return of Messiah who would destroy evil powers and establish his kingdom.⁸¹⁸

The *PE* reiterated in 1936 that modern Zionist developments were in fulfillment of biblical prophecy.⁸¹⁹ After a 2000-year “Galuth” (exile), Zionism offered all Israel a

⁸¹³ “Editor’s Notes,” *PE* (13 August 1927): 7.

⁸¹⁴ Nathan Cohen Beskin, “When the Antichrist Reigns,” *LRE* (1 August 1931): 5.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6. Beskin predicted that Jews would refuse to worship the anti-christ in the Temple whereon he would call on the Chinese, Japanese, and the dark nations to defeat Israel. *Ibid.*, 4. His own Yeshiva teaching father “excommunicated any student from the seminary if he found he was a Zionist.”

⁸¹⁶ Niels P. Thomsen, “The Present Jewish Crisis,” *LRE* (1 June 1933): 15. See also, Otto J. Klink, “The Jew --- God’s Great Timepiece,” *PE* (16 May 1931): 4. Otto Klink engaged in an interesting piece of biblical numerology in 1931 to demonstrate that the very day the British General Allenby captured Jerusalem had been prophetically pin-pointed. “This prophecy was fulfilled on the ninth day of December, 1917, and don’t you ever tell anybody the Bible isn’t the inspired word of God.”

⁸¹⁷ Frank M. Boyd, “The Budding Fig Tree,” *PE* (7 July 1934): 6.

⁸¹⁸ Hoover, “Hitler and the Indigestible Jews,” 3.

⁸¹⁹ William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- What of its Progress,” *PE* (31 October 1936): 8-9,11.

“springtime of hope” that had never really been put to death.⁸²⁰ Pentecostal sympathies to the Zionist cause were based on the activity of the Holy Spirit in bringing Jews back to Zion in fulfillment of 2500-year-old Hebrew prophecies.⁸²¹ The Jew, “God’s great time-piece,” was proof that the Bible was true and the God still ruled the universe.⁸²²

The prophet Ezekiel’s “valley of dry bones” had been a standard Pentecostal theme regarding the *eschaton*. *Word and Work* offered in 1939 that the “dry bones” pictured modern Jewry as beyond man’s power to resurrect. Since they had been both spiritually and nationally dead for nearly 2000 years, God alone could resurrect Israel.⁸²³ Modern men had failed to understand God’s prophetic resolve for Israel, which he was now readied to openly display. Current sorrows of the closing age were but the means to effecting Israel’s national rebirth even as the Turkish relinquishing of Zion had exhibited. Therefore, Jewish suffering had significance.⁸²⁴ But the real fulfillment of the biblical promises of return to Zion would be that future permanent dwelling of Israel in millennial peace.⁸²⁵ The ultimate answer for Israel would be Jesus, but the “eyes of Israel are still blinded to their brightest Glory.” Upon the Second Coming, Israel would repent, experience resurrection life, and function as Jesus’ global messengers.⁸²⁶

Pearlman embraced the dispensationalist teaching of Israel’s stopping of God’s prophetic clock through faithlessness. But the clock would begin again during the time of Jacob’s trouble.⁸²⁷ He believed the NT taught that Jewish dispersion had resulted

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸²¹ William H. Nagel, “The Jew --- What Is Your Attitude?” *PE* (23 January 1937): 3, 11, 12.

⁸²² “October 4 -- What Time is it?,” *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 15.

⁸²³ William Burton McCafferty, “The National and Spiritual Resurrection of the Hebrews,” *Word and Work* 61:4 (May 1939): 10.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁸²⁵ Max Isaac Reich, “The Mystery and Romance of Israel,” *PE* (16 December 1939): 6. Max Reich asked the AG constituents in 1939 the rhetorical question, “Is there a story more romantic than the history of Israel?” The Bible tells Israel’s story past, present and future. “The Jew is the miracle of history, his story is the history of miracle.” The eternal Jew is witness to both the “reality of the miraculous and the truth of prophecy.”

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸²⁷ Myer Pearlman, “Daniel Speaks Today,” *CAH* 14:11 (November 1941): 15. See also Myer Pearlman, “Windows into the Future,” *CAH* 12:5 (May 1939): 6,7. In Pearlman’s 1939 study on Revelation 7:1-8, “Visions of Grace -- the Jewish Company,” he wrote of God’s turning to Israel. Upon the “rapture” of the Church, God would reassign the Jews their abandoned mission. Those 144,000 Israelites sealed for divine service would survive the anti-Christ’s attempts at genocide during the time of Jacob’s trouble.

from the Jewish rejection of Jesus as Messiah of Israel. As delicate an issue as this was to the Jewish world, "it is a matter of history that the leadership of Israel rejected Him as the Messiah, and their decision has affected the attitude of their descendants ever since."⁸²⁸ Pearlman understood the Jewish dilemma to be "spiritual dislocation," an inability to escape the Torah's judgment and a refusal to receive NT remedy for rebellion.⁸²⁹ Satan had specifically targeted the Jews for abuse since God had a wonderful destiny for Israel. Ironically, the nations to whom Israel should have been preaching the Gospel throughout history themselves became the very sources of so much Jewish suffering. But Jewish anguish would continue until Israel was prepared to accept her messianic destiny as God's prophets to mankind.⁸³⁰

Nearly all dispensationalists, including many Pentecostal dispensationalists, believed that a seven-year period of Jewish suffering was on the prophetic horizon and would be masterminded by the anti-Christ. This made Jewish suffering even in the present still repugnant but more consistent with Evangelical expectation. Prophecy writers during World War II did not hesitate to point to candidates for anti-Christ. One 1942 writer stated of his nominee, Hitler, "God is against him for his treatment of his ancient people. The Prophetic Word is against him, and all these forces combined will bring him down to defeat."⁸³¹ Yet indemnity of anti-christic mistreatment of Jews was clear from the earliest years. The antichrist's anti-Semitic attacks upon the Jewish people would function as the final stroke of chastening against Jewish apostasy that God would use to fully purge his beloved Israel of sinful rebellion and effect their deliverance and restoration with the Second Coming. Christ himself would defeat the armies of the anti-Christ at the Battle of Armageddon and redeem national Israel.⁸³²

The single most comprehensive Sunday School lesson concerning the Pentecostal ideology of Zionism from 1918 through World War II, was the December

Here the number 144,000 signified the totality of Israel's full restoration and indicated God's intention to use these Jewish believers for His assigned mission in the earth.

⁸²⁸ Myer Pearlman, "Those Strange People -- the Jews!" *PE* (4 July 1942): 2.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸³⁰ Myer Pearlman, "Daniel Speaks Today," *CAH* 15:2 (February 1942): 6. See also, Adolph Saphir, "The Jew of Today and Christ," *PE* (21 October 1944): 2. The *PE* here stated that Jewish perpetuity was the result of tenaciously clinging to the Torah, Sabbath-keeping, celebration of the holy days, and parental devotion to teach children God's commandments.

⁸³¹ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 110-111.

⁸³² Boyd, *The Budding Fig Tree*, 42-43. See also, Niels P. Thomsen, "The Battle of Armageddon," *LRE* (1 March 1934): 3. Armageddon would entail the gathering of the nations under the direction of the anti-Christ against Israel.

10, 1944 lesson on, "God's Chosen People, the Jews," composed by Ernest S. Williams, who served as the General Superintendent of the AG for twenty years. Modeling a proper Pentecostal perspective Williams wrote,

The Jewish nation is the only nation whose history has been minutely foretold from its very commencement; it is the one solitary exception to the otherwise universal rule of the assimilation of scattered races, and the Jews have long survived all the empires which have enslaved and oppressed them.⁸³³

Every spiritual blessing that has come to all other races has come originally from this race. This is in fulfillment of the promise to Abraham, repeated to Isaac and Jacob, that in their seed should all the nations of the earth be blessed.⁸³⁴

While Israel is "the special object of Divine Love," she was obliged to perform her mission against the backdrop of numerical, political, and moral disadvantages. But Israel had never yet performed her mission task.⁸³⁵

AMERICAN PENTECOSTALISM'S IDEOLOGICAL REACTION TO ANTI-ZIONISM, 1918-1945

The *PE* of 1931 reported on "Rifts in Zionism" and advised that not only were Hebrew-Christians dissatisfied with anything less than the spiritual regeneration of Israel but that a new generation of Zionists were expressing displeasure with Chaim Weizmann's old style. To newer Zionists, more than a mere Jewish homeland, a Jewish State was needed.⁸³⁶ But the irritating nuances of Hebrew-Christians and newer Zionists paled in contrast to Arab, British, and other international open opposition to Zionist aspirations.

ARAB OPPOSITION

Quite straightforwardly the 1920 *LRE* labeled Arab uprisings against the Jews as the work of Satan in opposition to biblical prophecy. But neither "men (n)or devils"

⁸³³ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (10 December 1944): 59.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 60. Williams seems to have been oblivious to the widespread Jewish missionary activities during the intertestamental period which continued until after the adoption of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire.

⁸³⁶ "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (1 August 1931): 4.

could thwart the steadfast Scripture.⁸³⁷ Reports of Moslems and Christians demonstrating with banners reading, "Palestine is Ours," or "Down with the Jews," were destined to the same meager impact as winds on the vast ocean since God "will work and none can hinder."⁸³⁸ In a 1923 *PE*, the Arab resistance to the Zionist pioneering aspirations was likened to Hagar's Ishmael mocking Rebekah's freshly weaned little Isaac.⁸³⁹ When the British had sought to establish a legislative council and later an advisory committee, the Arabs would not cooperate.⁸⁴⁰ On balance, however, in an article expressing disappointment in the Jews, *Confidence* negatively stated in 1923 that newly arriving Jews reportedly behaved badly, as though masters over the Arabs, which had led directly to riots and bloodshed. Polish and Russian Jewish arrivals had introduced Bolshevist teaching while the religious Jews were provocative and arrogant.⁸⁴¹ But Frank Boyd insightfully registered in 1925 that recent Arab opposition to the Zionist movement was more the result of Arab hatred for western powers than contempt for Jews.⁸⁴² Boyd attributed satanic resistance to the re-establishment of Israel in Zion as the reason for infrequent Arab expressions of resentment but laid heavy blame on the papacy.⁸⁴³ But whatever the source of Arab resistance, the time of God's restoration of his chosen and eternally loved Israel was near. Nations that opposed God's intentions for the Jews would be judged.⁸⁴⁴ The *PE* indicated in 1928 that the origin of the Arab-Jewish conflict dated back to the biblical epic of Ishmael versus Isaac.⁸⁴⁵ This allegorical theory would be seized upon by a host

⁸³⁷ "Palestine and the Jews," *LRE* (1 May 1920): 15.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, 16. See also "The Missionary Department," *PE* (29 May 1920): 13. The *PE* here reported through Jerusalem resident Elizabeth Brown in 1920 that 400 to 500 Arab casualties had been suffered as Arabs strongly protested to the British the return of Jews "to their own land."

⁸³⁹ "Here and There," *PE* (18 August 1923): 8.

⁸⁴⁰ Alice Reynolds Flower, "Affairs in Palestine," *PE* (11 August 1923): 9. The *PE* stated some 84,000 Jews were then resident in Palestine.

⁸⁴¹ Boddy, "The Return of the Jews to Palestine," 102.

⁸⁴² Boyd, *The Budding Fig Tree*, 60. Boyd quoted Emir Feisal's letter to Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School expressing Arab sympathies for Zionist aspirations which stated, "We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement."

⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.* See also Morton Sisters, "Palestine -- Today and Yesterday," *LRE* (1 November 1925): 9. The *LRE* reported here that both Jews and Christians in Jerusalem were suffering indignities at enemy hands.

⁸⁴⁵ Stanley H. Frodsham, et al, eds., "The Land of the Bible in the Last Days," *PE* (25 August 1928): 2. See also, Laura Radford, "Days of Terror in Palestine: Jerusalem the Scene of Bloody Massacre. Hebron and Safed Filled with Indescribable Atrocities," *PE* (26 October 1929): 15. Laura Radford here provided a very graphic description of the Arab terror incited by the Grand Mufti and carried out by Arab masses in Jerusalem, Safed, and Hebron. She stated that "about 2000 ruffian Moslem youths" had intended to kill all Jerusalem's Jews by direct Muslim religious order. Finding such an order inconceivable, the Jews

of AG writers, professors, and preachers throughout the twentieth century so that the conflict appeared to have a biblical cause.

In an effort to defend against accusations of Zionist misconduct, a 1930 *PE* article quoted Albert Einstein as saying:

During the whole of the work of Jewish colonization not a single Arab has been dispossessed; every acre of land acquired by the Jews has been bought at a price fixed by the buyer and seller. Indeed, every visitor has testified to the enormous improvement in the economic and sanitary standard of the Arab population resulting from the Jewish colonization.⁸⁴⁶

The *LRE* recounted in 1931 a remarkable episode of goodwill between Jews and Arabs in Zion. On the Feast of Pentecost (*Shavuot*), some 20 Arab notables had kissed the reinstated Torah in the Hebron synagogue and begged forgiveness for harming the Jews. They swore to safeguard Jews in the future. Jewish families had now returned to Hebron and more would follow.⁸⁴⁷

The *PE* insisted in 1933 that recent Arab complaints of economic woes as assigned to Jewish immigration were mostly for propaganda purposes as figures had been exaggerated to negatively influence government Jewish immigration policy. The *PE* declared that, actually, arriving Jews had carried with them capital, energy, knowledge, and Western enterprising skills which stood to benefit the Arabs.⁸⁴⁸ Some of the loudest Arab voices of protest were coming from those selling or renting their real estate to Jews at exorbitant prices.⁸⁴⁹

AG educational material taught that the highly relaxed Arab work ethic was no match for Jewish diligence. The Jews were effectively colonizing the Land by generous legal purchase and hard work. The enmity between Jews and Arabs was accentuated by Jewish land ownership, cultural vivacity, and commercial superiority. The Arab

had not taken such rumors of the call for Jewish massacre seriously and so were unprepared. Over 600 Jews of all ages had been mercilessly butchered. The loss to housing, industry, and commerce had not been fully calculated. "Pray for the rulers of the land," Radford asked AG constituents, "for the outlook before them is very dark."

⁸⁴⁶ "Preparing Palestine for the Drama of the End," *PE* (18 January 1930): 8.

⁸⁴⁷ "A Rift in the Clouds," *LRE* (1 September 1931): 1. See also "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (5 July 1930): 4. The *PE* had reported that the 1929 riots had greatly but only temporarily shocked the Jews who quickly recovered from depression and resumed their tasks.

⁸⁴⁸ Charles S. Peters, "Ishmael and Isaac," *PE* (2 December 1933): 3. See also Charles S. Peters, "Late News from Palestine," *LRE* (1 October 1933): 10. Although the Jews were still outnumbered by Arabs four to one, Arab resistance to fuller land sales to Jews had developed. This was true in spite of the new prosperity the Arabs were now enjoying as a result of Jewish enterprise.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.* British authorities were reported to be effectively policing forbidden Arab demonstrations and related rioting which had resulted in several Arab deaths.

display of anger was reinforced by promises to kill the Jews upon the British departure.⁸⁵⁰ The Arabs had destroyed Jewish wheat harvests, gardens and orchards including 40,000 fruit trees and much of the forests while Jews had shown immense restraint even at the cost of Jewish life. Leading Arab instigators had been incarcerated as the only available means to control the rioting.⁸⁵¹

In a 1936 series describing developments in Palestine and the growing problems of Arab guerrillas,⁸⁵² the *PE* suggested that should the British cowardly renounce the Balfour Declaration and Jewish immigration policy, God would simply raise up another national power to effect the same prophetic ends.⁸⁵³ Arabs needed to be reconciled with Jews or be deposed.⁸⁵⁴

The new influx of western Jewish capital into Palestine had weakened the control of Arab powerbrokers and fostered resentment against Jewish newcomers. The goodwill of Arabs benefiting from the Jewish presence had further weakened the cause of Arab nationalism.⁸⁵⁵ Until such disturbances would cease upon the soon Second Coming, Pentecostals were to “pray for the peace of Jerusalem.”⁸⁵⁶

The *PE* reported in 1937 that no Arab land had transferred to Jewish hands without the Arabs voluntarily selling at high prices. All these “Ishmael and Isaac”

⁸⁵⁰ GPH, “Lesson 10: Nehemiah Rebuilding the Wall of Jerusalem,” *Adult and Young People’s Teachers’ Quarterly* (8 December 1935): 74. This identical quote from Myer Pearlman was re-issued in “Lesson 5: Overcoming Opposition,” *Adult and Young People’s Teachers’ Quarterly* (1 February 1942): 37. All the evidence to date reportedly supported these proposed intentions.

⁸⁵¹ “Perilous Times: Uprising in Palestine,” *PE* (29 August 1936): 9.

⁸⁵² William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- Why the Disturbances,” *PE* (5 September 1936): 8. Nagel described the growing problems of Arab guerrillas: (1) they had 12 inch knives for hostile Arabs to kill Jews; (2) the streets in Jerusalem were strewn with nails by the Arabs to reek havoc in Jewish transportation; and (3) Muslims issued threats against reluctant Christian Arabs not in sympathy with Muslim nationalist views and refusing to participate in strikes. Christian Arab shops had been burned and their windows smashed. Arab bombs were intimidating Jewish shopkeepers and transporters while harvests and orchards were burned.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.* See also William H. Nagel, “Palestine -- What of its Progress,” *PE* (31 October 1936): 8. It was observed that the native detractors of Ezra and Nehemiah’s day were of the same spirit as the present Muslims who sought to weaken Jewish resolve in part by falsely accusing the Zionists before potential political adversaries.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-9. Suggestions of intermarriage and assimilation over time were out since, “Israel is destined of God to retain her individuality.”

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 9, 12. Nagel recounted a conversation with a respected Muslim who accused the Jews of stealing Arab land. Yet the Muslim freely admitted that fairly worthless land had been purchased at quite exorbitant prices and without pressure. Yet the Muslim insisted Zion would only become a national Jewish cemetery.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

problems in Palestine were to be viewed as a bitter family quarrel.⁸⁵⁷ The 1937 *LRE* emphasized both the vigorous application of Arab political force to discourage England's partition plan for Palestine and the social and economic distress the German Jewish communities were presently experiencing.⁸⁵⁸ Evil powers were perceived to be not only victimizing Jews in the Diaspora but also seeking to prevent the Jewish right to a city of refuge, the security of a home in their own Promised Land.

BRITISH OPPOSITION

The *PE* not only followed agricultural, social, and religious trends and developments in Palestine but followed political developments very carefully for its Pentecostal readership. When political crises generated Jewish agony, Pentecostals were not challenged to write the president or protest to their congressmen but rather called upon to "Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem." Such prayers would defeat the current British opposition to the Zionist cause.

Confidence quoted the British Bishop in Jerusalem in 1923 who had recently preached in Durham Cathedral that the Jews had read far too much into Balfour's Declaration and in their runaway excitement, had done untold political harm by their claims over against the interests of the Arabs. The Arabs, stated the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, should realize it monstrous to evict the Arabs from the homes and fields they had tilled for multiplied centuries.⁸⁵⁹ The Bishop also protested that the Zionist movement showed no interest even in Judaism so that there was little hope of communicating the Gospel of Jesus to regathered Jews either.⁸⁶⁰ But the *PE* answered British skepticism toward the Zionist movement in 1923 with the assurances that, even if Zionism should fail, God's purposes for Israel had been divinely placed in Jewish breasts; Jews annually prayed, "Next Year in Jerusalem," and God had heard the

⁸⁵⁷ Peters, "Eretz Israel," 4-5. The four Arab demands put forth to a recent royal commission of the British government were listed as (1) the Jewish national home project be immediately discontinued; (2) not one more Jew be permitted entry into Palestine; (3) Arab sale of land to Jews be legally prohibited; and (4) the British Mandate be immediately replaced by an independent Arab state.

⁸⁵⁸ Albert J. Lebeck, "The Prophetic Digest," *LRE* (1 August 1937): 10. See also Vaughn Shoemaker, "Solomon Up To Date?," used by courtesy of the *Chicago Daily News*, *PE* (29 January 1938): 11. In 1938 a *PE* cartoon depicted King Solomon in his royal court holding up a baby by the feet with his left arm and holding a thick sword in his right. King Solomon was labeled "Great Britain" and the baby as "Palestine." The two mothers below wore labels "Arabs" and "Jews" with the Jewish mother looking on with horror. The caption asked, "Solomon Up To Date?"

⁸⁵⁹ Boddy, "The Return of the Jews to Palestine," 108.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Zionist vision in the Sabbath liturgy for centuries. The fig tree had begun to shoot forth and nothing could hinder the on coming of a blessed summer for the Lord's ancient people though this may well be incredulous to those ignorant of Scripture.⁸⁶¹

In 1930 the *PE* reported the vociferous protests against British politician Lord Passfield's "unparalleled act of treachery" in which attempts were made to reverse Jewish freedom from migration quotas and restricted land acquisition. Major leaders like Chaim Weizmann and Lord Melchett had resigned their respective presidencies of Jewish organizations in protest. A resolution published in part read, "Lord Passfield has reduced the Balfour Declaration to a scrap of paper."⁸⁶² The "Jewish Outcry" against British backpedaling on its commitments and attempts to severely limit Jewish migration to Israel were again accented in the *PE* in December 1930. The editor was empathetic with Jewish protests,⁸⁶³ but no demonstrations or writing campaigns are called for among the Pentecostals. Rather appeal was made for prayer since "[t]here is something prescribed in the Word of God which will be far more effective than mass political gatherings."⁸⁶⁴ When a new White Paper lifted restrictions against Jews in Palestine, the editor of the *PE* wrote, "God will yet fulfill His purpose for Israel."⁸⁶⁵

Portions of British Jewish leader Lord Melchett's impassioned proclamation urging the British to abide by the terms of the Balfour Declaration were printed in the *LRE* in 1930 for American Pentecostal readership. Melchett's rhetoric represented exactly the kind of rugged "we'll-go-it-alone" spirit so woven into the American psyche.⁸⁶⁶ Melchett's fiery speech would ignite Pentecostal pulpits across America as

⁸⁶¹ "Here and There," *PE* (18 August 1923): 8.

⁸⁶² "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (8 November 1930): 4. The *PE* published reports of "Dr. Hitler's" anti-Semitic political objectives. A six point list of restrictions against the Jews advocated by Hitler's National Fascists were elucidated in the November 8 issue. The editor went on to historically recall the demise of nations who had expelled or abused the Jews. The British government appointed the Commission of Enquiry and made it responsible to report back on its investigation of the disturbances of August 1929. World Jewry strongly protested the report as grossly unfair. Rejecting any curtailment of Jewish immigration or the Jewish purchase of Arab lands was deemed politically and legally illegitimate since "there can be no National Home without men and land."

⁸⁶³ "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (6 December 1930): 4. Accusations of Britain's betrayal of the Jews and the breaking of Britain's "word of honor" accompanied reports of U. S. Representative Hamilton Fish's June 17th statement as a member of the House Committee of Foreign Relations that "the establishment of a Jewish National Home is a moral obligation..." and that if Britain was incapable of delivering on her promises, she "must confess her inability to do so, so that proper action may be taken."

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶ "The Budding Fig Tree," *LRE* (1 February 1930): 21. Quoting Melchett: "There is no power on earth great enough to stop the march of Israel back to Palestine...."

Pentecostals strongly welcomed the Jewish resolve to boldly rebuild Zion which was eschatologically understood to be the fulfillment of biblical prophecy and a sign of the soon Second Coming.

The *LRE* elaborated on the resistance to the British partition plan in September 1937. The Jews protested that the original mandate issued by the 1922 League of Nations had not been enforced which could have prevented the current Jewish-Arab conflict. The European nations actually supported the Jews on this partition issue. The British were indicted in the *PE* as unduly influenced by their fear of the Muslim world.⁸⁶⁷

One month later the *LRE* reported in "The Partitioning of Palestine" the rationale offered by the British for their partition plan which met with disapproval by both the Jews and Arabs. "For 20 years the Jews have worked indefatigably, transforming the desert into fruitful vineyards, investing life energy and money. Now says Rabbi Stephen Wise, 'We are betrayed.'"⁸⁶⁸ A year later the *LRE* accented the widespread assassinations, the growing mutual contempt of Jews and Arabs, and the fact that the British had double-crossed both Jews and Arabs by contradictory commitments in 1918.⁸⁶⁹ The *PE* indicted the British in 1945 for breaking covenant with Israel on the commitments of the Balfour Declaration. Soon the British, all Hitlers, all Mussolinis and all anti-Semites would "cry to the rocks to fall upon them and cover them from the wrath of Him that sitteth upon the throne. Their day of retribution is coming."⁸⁷⁰

Hundreds of Jewish brains, . . . thousands, I might say -- organizers, experts, financiers, are giving an amount of time to Palestine which is out of all proportion to the place. Tens of thousands of people who could have earned a safer and bigger living elsewhere have gone to till the soil and rebuild our land. I say that we will not have the work interfered with, that we will not have it stopped, and that we will continue it on a greater scale than ever. . . .

We . . . have been persecuted in all countries and in all climes. But we have always gone on and we shall go on now! . . .

The blood of our martyrs once more waters the ground of Eretz Israel. Our hearts go out to them, our souls bleed with them. It is terrible to us, terrible to the world, but out of the martyrdom will yet arise a greater land, a greater race, a greater ideal than we have ever yet had in the long, weary history of our race.

⁸⁶⁷ Albert J. Lebeck, "The Prophetic Digest," *LRE* (1 September 1937): 16.

⁸⁶⁸ "The Partitioning of Palestine," *LRE* (1 October 1937): 20.

⁸⁶⁹ Albert J. Lebeck, "The Prophetic Digest," *LRE* (1 September 1938): 20.

⁸⁷⁰ E. F. M. Staudt, "Jerusalem, the Coming Center of the Nations," *PE* (28 April 1945): 3.

INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION

The growing international Jewish dilemma leading up to the horrific events of World War II compelled the AG to constantly address the “Jewish problem” with a standard set of Pentecostal resolutions: a Jewish national homeland in Zion, Jewish repentance and faithful embrace of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah, the Second Coming, and the establishment of the millennial reign.

Pentecostal sympathies for a Jewish homeland in Zion were reinforced in a *LRE* news clip in 1919 reporting that 1.5 million Russian and Polish Jews were traveling in miles-long caravans to Palestine since they were no longer able to endure the persecution and massacres in the lands of their birth. These included, “old men and women staggering along under heavy bundles, (whom) plod patiently on by the side of children, young husbands and mothers with tiny babes in their arms.”⁸⁷¹

The *PE* published in 1930 that world media had strongly focused on the 1929 Arab massacres of the Jews. This Jerusalem media fixation signified the nearness of the Second Coming. The biblical warnings against Babylon should alert all nations who would posture themselves against the welfare of the Jewish people or disregard God’s promise of the Land to the seed of Abraham.⁸⁷²

The *PE* offered a 1932 description of Dr. Tannenbaum’s address to the American Jewish Congress that warned of the gravest crisis in Jewish history at the hands of European anti-Semitism, which had as its goal the complete destruction of the Jewish people.⁸⁷³ The real solution to the Jewish dilemma, insisted the *PE*, was a national gathering to the Shepherd of Israel. With Bolshevism destroying Russian Jewry, with Polish nationalism grinding its Jewish community, and with the Depression devastating the American Jewish economy, it “surely look(ed) like the foreshadowing of ‘Jacob’s Trouble.’”⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷¹ “A Forward Step of Faith,” *LRE* (1 May 1919): 11.

⁸⁷² Arthur W. Payne, “The Land of Promise,” *PE* (5 April 1930): 6.

⁸⁷³ “Entire Jewish Race Threatened,” *PE* (16 July 1932): 13.

⁸⁷⁴ “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (August 13, 1932): 5. The *PE* here noted the pending September 1932 Zionist convention in Geneva to further seek “the development of a virile national life in Palestine.” Cultural or educational enlightenment had failed to eliminate “the Jewish problem” in the Soviet Union further proving a national Jewish homeland was vital. Pearlman also cited tragic evidences of continued anti-Semitism in England, Austria, Germany, and Russia with outbreaks of the blood libel in Nazi Germany, Quebec and Mexico. See also, “Israel Unites,” *PE* (12 November 1932): 10. Here the planned in advance 1934 Jewish World Congress in Geneva was said to be a modern expression of the ancient Jewish resolve to “act as one man” when threatened by anti-Jewish sentiments and dangers.

The so-called “Jewish Problem” was simply portrayed as hostility toward the social and cultural preservation of Jewish distinctives in the midst of non-Jewish cultural milieus. Political leaders such as pharaoh, Haman, or Hitler, had standardly capitalized upon xenophobic tendencies to advance their own agendas. The *PE* contended that peoples and nations attempted to rid their societies of Jews by means of elimination or segregation. Elimination was sought by destruction, absorption or expulsion. Segregation was either hostile (creation of the ghetto) or friendly (embracing a Zionistic conviction that inassimilable Jews should have a polity and land of their own). The friendly means of solving the Jewish problem indeed “is the Bible solution” which would be accomplished by the Lord himself and command the respect and recognition of the nations⁸⁷⁵ since “No nation ever lost any thing by treating the Jews with kindness...No nation ever gained by persecuting that nation.”⁸⁷⁶

The Jews, while “chosen of God for a special service,” were seeking refuge by the thousands in “the country of their fathers.”⁸⁷⁷ The *PE* rehearsed Hitler’s sinister rise to power and his hostility to the Jewish people. But “the Jews were there before Hitler came and the Jews will be in Germany when Hitler is gone.”⁸⁷⁸ Hitler was reportedly making a huge mistake since God’s Chosen People cannot be destroyed. In the spirit of anti-Christ, Hitler was currently replacing the Old Testament with German mythology and seeking to compel the whole of Protestantism to come under one new organizational authority.⁸⁷⁹

That anti-Semitism was a commercially self-destructive act was demonstrated in the current German confiscation of Jewish businesses and their placement into Aryan hands. This had led to an 80% business failure rate. Insisted the 1939 *PE*, the “law that God passed centuries ago against Anti-Semitism is still enforced...Gen. 12:3.”⁸⁸⁰ In

⁸⁷⁵ Myer Pearlman, “The Jewish Problem Outlined,” *PE* (11 November 1933): 12.

⁸⁷⁶ “The Abrahamic Blessing,” *PE* (July 29, 1933): 7.

⁸⁷⁷ Hoover, “Hitler and the Indigestible Jews,” 2.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.* See also Charles Ramsey, “Persecution Cartoon,” *PE* (19 June 1937): 10. The *PE* here featured a political cartoon in 1937 depicting differently uniformed men with one identified as “Gentile Nations” with a raised horsewhip and reading “Persecution” whipping a second fallen Jewish man identified as “Israel.” At the top were printed the words of Zechariah 2:8, “For thus saith the Lord of hosts...he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye.” Also, “Faces Toward Zion,” *PE* (22 October 1938): 15. A *PE* cartoon here protested the growth of anti-Semitism in Romania and the threats of Jewish expulsion. The message suggested that such persecution only strengthened the argument for the need of a Jewish State in Palestine.

⁸⁸⁰ “The Cost of Anti-Semitism,” *PE* (9 September 1939): 20.

1940 the *PE* stated, "God has warned the Gentiles concerning their attitude to Israel" in light of Jeremiah 30:16. Holding up the fall of Tsarist Russia as an example, the *PE* strangely concluded, "God gives the Christ-crucifying Jew to the Gentile tigers, but the Gentile tigers must be butchered in their turn."⁸⁸¹ Anti-Semites would be divinely eliminated for their mistreatment of Jews. In 1942 the *PE* described much of what were only recently known horrors of Jewish suffering in Poland, Rumania, and Germany. The writer editorialized, "The Jews have suffered, and will suffer. So will all who disobey God, both individuals and nations."⁸⁸² While forthrightly condemning government sponsored anti-Semitism, the *PE* still viewed Jewish suffering as a direct result of group disobedience to God.

PENTECOSTALIST IDEOLOGICAL ENCOUNTER WITH ANTI-SEMITISM

American Pentecostalism had strongly identified with the Zionist developments in Palestine from their earlier years in the twentieth century. An entire Latter Rain Covenant theology had formed correlating the divine twin acts of restoration of the Church and the Jewish people to their first-century heritage. Israel's current faithlessness in Jesus was but a temporary problem to be overcome with proper Christian witness and the Second Coming. After commencing in such a pro-Zionist fashion, many Pentecostals were stunned at the blatant expressions of anti-Semitism that surfaced from the 1920s with Henry Ford, European nationalist socialism, and even in some corners of American Pentecostalism. Recognizing the rise of anti-Semitism to be of satanic origin, many Pentecostals felt it their duty to confront expressions of anti-Semitism with wholehearted condemnation.

HENRY FORD AND THE *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION*

The anti-Semitic campaign of Henry Ford was first identified in Pentecostal literature in a 1921 issue of *Confidence* in conjunction with the publication of Ford's 230-page, *The International Jew, the World's Foremost Problem*, which had been published by Ford's own newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*. *Confidence* warned Pentecostals that the highly influential Ford had dramatically stated the Jewish people were gaining

⁸⁸¹ D. M. Panton, "A Solemn Warning," *PE* (24 February 1940): 5.

⁸⁸² "Oppressed and Spoiled Evermore," *PE* (10 January 1942): 10.

power over the nations and the future of the planet. Ford had even warned that (pro-Zion) Christian prophecy buffs needed to beware. Pentecostals had recognized Ford's "extreme hostility to the Jews" as he focused on the Bolshevik movement in Russia and elsewhere.⁸⁸³

The same year the *PE* boldly confronted the anti-Semitic conduct of Henry Ford by stating he was a modern Balak seeking to foster a new anti-Semitic movement. But it was sure such an effort would only yield a curse on Ford and his wealth since anti-Semitic campaigns to nullify the promises of God to the Chosen People were entirely futile. The *PE* printed, "One might as well attempt to hold back the rushing waters of the Niagara with a straw, as to try to stop what God has declared of His Chosen People -- the indestructible, irrepressible Jew." God already viewed the Jews as returned to Zion and they were beginning to enjoy the "latter rains." Ford would do well to repent and himself receive the Messiah Jesus.⁸⁸⁴

Even in the year 1930, the *PE* published reports of "Dr. Hitler's" anti-Semitic political objectives and elucidated on a six-point list of restrictions against the Jews advocated by Hitler's National Fascists. The *PE* went on to historically recall the demise of nations who had expelled or abused the Jews.⁸⁸⁵ Myer Pearlman anguished in 1932 that the age-long prejudice against the Jewish people persisted in the face of the advance of culture. The growth and perpetuation of anti-Semitism should convince the Jews of their need for a normal national existence in their own land.⁸⁸⁶ But nationality would not be possible, according to Pearlman, until "they return to the Lord and to the Son of David whom they are now rejecting."⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸³ A. A. Boddy, ed., "Jewish Notes," *Confidence* 124 (January-March 1921): 5.

⁸⁸⁴ Christine I. Peirce, "Looking from the Top," *PE* (16 April 1921): 7. See also, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (21 August 1926): 5. A word also condemning the growing epidemic of anti-Semitism was offered in this 1926 discussion of treatment of Jews in Romania as "troops, especially the officers, are infected to the marrow with that virus, which is the violent method of anti-Semitism....Almost every day Jewish men, women, and children are assaulted without the assailants ever being brought to trial." In Johannesburg an anti-Semitic organization, the "League of Gentiles," had been formed to "cast out, socially, industrially, and economically, the Jewish element, which is too powerful."

⁸⁸⁵ "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (8 November 1930): 4.

⁸⁸⁶ See "Anti-Semitism in Quebec," *PE* (29 April 1933): 4. The rising tide of Canadian anti-Semitism stemming out of Quebec was here noted. See also, "The Editor's Notebook," *PE* (29 April 1933): 4. It was here noted that Germany was actively moving toward a total repudiation of both Old and New Testaments in favor of ancient German paganism while abuses of the Jewish people had led to international Jewish boycotts of German goods.

⁸⁸⁷ Pearlman, "Shadow and Sunshine in Israel," 8.

All persecution of the Jewish people was considered to have found its energy in satanic inspiration designed to thwart God's program for Israel. Pearlman described anti-Semitism in 1935 as having a demonic source that had frustrated Jewish attempts to rebuild the homeland.⁸⁸⁸ The divinely issued Jewish mission and promised destiny had provoked satanic persecution of the Jews and made them the target of the wrath of mankind in corporate rebellion against God.⁸⁸⁹ Unbelieving Gentiles might engage in anti-Semitic evil but biblical Christians had never been divinely commissioned to contribute to the sufferings "of the Wandering Jew."⁸⁹⁰

Otto Klink offered AG American youth a general scoffing of anti-Semitism in 1935 that was followed by this important disclaimer: "...let it be remembered that we are not in politics, we are just commenting on the signs of the times. That is all!"⁸⁹¹ Klink was keenly aware of the conventional Pentecostal suspicion of Christian participation in political affairs. All those depending upon the governmental "arm of flesh" were destined for disappointment. The far nobler conduct of citizens of God's Kingdom was to rely solely upon Providence for intervention in international politics. Meanwhile, Jews were being assessed cost prohibitive ransoms to exit Germany and many could not pay such ransom.⁸⁹² Warned of a new Bible for Germany which ardent Nazi pastors were rewriting to harmonize their anti-Jewish feelings and professed belief that Christ, after all, "was not Jewish,"⁸⁹³ Pentecostal youth were provided a litany of tragic anti-Semitic episodes involving German Jews that included assaults, murders and suicides and concluded that "Jacob's trouble" seemed near.⁸⁹⁴

The 1938 *PE* declared the treatment of Viennese Jews to be purely diabolic.⁸⁹⁵ The AG sorrowfully declared in 1941, "Even in the event of an Allied victory it will be

⁸⁸⁸ Myer Pearlman, *Through the Bible Book by Book*. (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1935), 108. See also page 88.

⁸⁸⁹ Myer Pearlman, *Through the Bible Book by Book*. Part II (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1935), 109-110. Israel, like the reluctant Jonah, would experience extreme discomfort until fully readied to perform Israel's destiny. The "time of Jacob's trouble" would be the divine instrument of chastening to return Israel to a place of submission to God. Satan and his cohorts, in cooperation with the antichrist, would seek the extermination of the Jewish people, but heaven's Angel would ultimately preserve the Sons of Israel.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸⁹¹ Otto J. Klink, "Otto-Graphs," *CAH* 8:9 (September 1935): 16.

⁸⁹² Otto J. Klink, "Otto-Graphs," *CAH* 9:2 (February 1936): 16.

⁸⁹³ Otto J. Klink, "Otto-Graphs," *CAH* 9:5 (May 1936): 15. Discussing why Gentiles persecute the Jews, Klink suggested it was pure jealousy for Jewish accomplishments noting that 21 German Jews had received the Noble Prize for scientific achievement.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁹⁵ "Israel's Anguish," used by courtesy of *Spectator, PE* (8 October 1938): 9. An eye-witness had written: Jews in the Jewish community headquarters were forced to strap the sacred phylactery rolls on their

generations before European Jewry recovers from the effects of the current anti-Semitic campaigns."⁸⁹⁶ But E. S. Williams acknowledged that vestiges of the epidemic of anti-Semitism that was presently sweeping over much of Christendom was probably at an unprecedented level even on American soil. He chided certain ignorant Pentecostal clergy in 1941, "And in our own free country there are those, some of whom profess the Christian ministry, who would like to inflame the people against the Jews."⁸⁹⁷ Rabid anti-Semitism captured the attention of prophecy writers as they sought for eschatological meaning in events.⁸⁹⁸ Most prophetically focused writers of the 1930s and early 1940s taught that Hitler had sealed his own doom with his anti-Semitic campaigns. Quoting Genesis 12:3, "I will bless them that bless thee and curse him that curseth thee," the writers insisted that God's Word to Abraham could not fail.⁸⁹⁹

THE PENTECOSTAL CASE FOR ANTI-ZIONISM

There were few highly profiled incidents of anti-Zionism in the Pentecostal press. Yet Stanley Frodsham, who had become the editor of the *PE* in 1921, figured largely in the most damaging ones. Frodsham had been temporarily influenced by the 1920 rhetoric surrounding the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He would later regret and publicly apologize in the 1930s for his reprinting of an address by D. M. Panton presented to the London Prophetic Society in the September 4, 1920, *PE*. In his

wrists, and with them to clean out closet bowls with their hands. I watched the Jews coming out of his hell of sacrilege, their faces ashen, their eyes full of indescribable horror, their facial muscles twitching. Here overnight 200,000 Jews were made free game for the mob, despoiled of their property, deprived of police protection, ejected from employment, sources of relief from their fellows closed, their religion outraged, and frontiers hermetically sealed against their escape." See also, "Jewish Extermination," *PE* (23 November 1940): 11. Borrowing a clip from *The Jewish Missionary Magazine*, the 1940 *PE* warned, "Jewry in Poland...is facing total destruction. It is estimated that 120,000 Jews lost their lives during and since the war in Poland. The constant massacre, which seems to be the Nazi boast, according to their Press, is accounting for 200 Jews per day. In addition to deaths from starvation, exhaustion from forced labor in stone quarries, the homeless roaming in fields are perishing by their thousands. Deaths from epidemics and disease are enormous. It has been said by an observer who toured Nazi occupied Polish territory, that unless a miracle happens, the whole of Polish Jewry in this area, estimated at two and a half million, will be exterminated in a short time."

⁸⁹⁶ Myer Pearlman, "Daniel Speaks Today," *CAH* 14:11 (November 1941): 15.

⁸⁹⁷ Ernest S. Williams, "Be Encouraged, Ye Jews," *PE* (18 January 1941): 6.

⁸⁹⁸ "The Passing and the Permanent," *PE* (13 May 1944): 16. In a news piece captioned, "Uprooted Jews," the *PE* offered a bleak report on the fate of Jews living in the Axis-powered regions of pre-war Eastern Europe. It read: "The World Jewish Congress has informed the U.N.R.R.A. that when the war ends there will be over 3,000,000 uprooted Jews in occupied Europe and Soviet Russia whose existence will depend solely upon organized relief. Out of the prewar total of 8,300,000 Jews in Axis-dominated countries of Europe, more than 3,000,000 are believed to have perished; the remainder were transported to concentration camps or evacuated to the Russian interior."

⁸⁹⁹ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 108.

preface to the Panton address, Frodsham had largely endorsed the general notions surrounding the *Protocols* and tied together Jews, Bolsheviks, international conspiracy and Zion. He would be long in trying to overcome the damage he had done in the preface and in the articles which later followed in which he had denounced the “atheistic, anti-Christian Masonic Jewish Conspiracy” and specific “apostate Jews.”⁹⁰⁰

Frodsham’s second mistake was his April 1922 cover article, “The Budding Fig Tree,” which offered a terse attack upon current Jewish efforts to restore Zion prior to the Jewish national acknowledgment of Jesus and the Second Coming. Frodsham took a decidedly different tone than most previous or succeeding articles on the Jewish people, Zionism, or Jewish religion found in Pentecostal literature. He adamantly negated the current Zionist stirrings as totally pointless and doomed since only Jewish faith in the Messiah Jesus would function as the prime catalytic change agent in Israel’s destiny. He strongly insisted God would not start working toward the restoration of Israel until the world had been successfully evangelized. Israel was trying to restore herself out of God’s timing and without faith in God’s messianic agent. All such efforts were doomed to failure. Since Israel was regathering quite apart from faith in their God-appointed leader and the messianic shepherd of Israel, their hearts had obviously not changed. God would accordingly overrule their restorationist efforts and bring things to naught. Eighteen centuries of accumulated judgment would yet fall upon rebellious Israel no matter their location. God would not use real Christians as his chastening agents but rather the anti-christic forces upon earth equally living in defiance of the Almighty. And so it would remain until Israel honored Moses’ prophecy of Deuteronomy 18:15-18 that promised another prophet like Moses for Israel to heed. Until Israel resolved to obey the Mosaic Messiah Jesus, the Jewish people would continue to suffer. But the peoples that persecuted the Jews would, in turn, be punished as sinners in the hands of an angry God. “The nation that persecutes Israel will in turn be persecuted Double for all their sins.”⁹⁰¹

⁹⁰⁰ See the *PE* (22 November 1930): 6f; (31 January 1931): 6f; (18 May 1935): 1,9; (25 May 1935): 6f. Cited in Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 218.

⁹⁰¹ Stanley Frodsham, ed., “The Budding Fig Tree,” *PE* (15 April 1922): 1.

THE PENTECOSTALIST IDEOLOGICAL ENCOUNTER WITH BRITISH-ISRAELISM

For centuries vestiges of Anglo identification with biblical Israel had lingered in Christian circles. The more extreme versions, such as that espoused by Josiah Strong a mere generation earlier, had suggested that Britons and Americans, the progeny of Anglo ancestry, were the physical descendents of the Ten Lost Tribes of ancient Israel. The patriarchal promises divinely covenanted with Israel were to be fully experienced in space and time as England and America executed the anciently prescribed mission of Israel in the end of the age.

To help alleviate much of the continued confusion that it had generated in many Pentecostal circles, the 1934 *LRE* systematically exposed the fallacies of the British-Israelism with its systematic replacement of a pending national Israel with Anglo civilization. This was of great importance as British-Israelism, like other replacement-of-Israel ideologies, had the capacity to dramatically diminish Pentecostal affinity with the Jewish people.⁹⁰²

A second *LRE* address confronting British-Israelism was published in 1936. Daniel Finestone, a Hebrew-Christian, pointed up the basic tenets and axioms of British-Israelism and effectively dismantled them one by one. The basic issue revolved around the concept that the Anglo world, as the actual progeny of the ten tribes of Israel, was executing the original mission of Israel through global missionary endeavors. The chief problem on the pragmatic level was the elimination of Jewish significance in this world or in the *eschaton*.⁹⁰³ The implications of such a doctrine were immense for classical Pentecostalism. Inclusion of additional articles on this theme over the succeeding years pointed up the ongoing problem the Anglo-Israel teaching created for Pentecostals. It was a case of radical supersessionism or replacement theology twice removed. British-Israelism was denounced as “pernicious, hurtful, and dangerous” in a 1940 issue of the *PE*. Even as late of 1944, the *PE* recognized a need to provide a number of substantial arguments against British-Israelism that had captured the imagination of many Americans.⁹⁰⁴ The main tenets of this “delusion” were identified as follows:

⁹⁰² N. P. Thomsen, “Anglo-Israelism, Under the Searchlight of God’s Word,” *LRE* (1 May 1934): 3-6.

⁹⁰³ Daniel Finestone, “Anglo-Israelism -- Fact or Fancy?” *LRE* (1 May 1936): 13-15.

⁹⁰⁴ Frank Varley, “Is Britain Israel?” *PE* (29 January 1944): 3.

The British are the lost ten tribes, and the Israel to whom the many promises in Scripture are made;

That all Jews are of Judah and that they alone crucified Jesus; Israel (the lost ten tribes -- the British) having had nothing to do with it;

That God has withdrawn His favor from the Jews and has bestowed it upon Israel (Britain);

That Paul's mission was to preach to and gather in the members of the lost ten tribes;

That the British Empire and not Christ, is the Stone of Daniel which is to fill the whole earth; and

That God's kingdom was transferred from the Jews to the Israelites, and from Palestine to Great Britain" through the matchmaking efforts of the Prophet Jeremiah.⁹⁰⁵

THE "JEWISH" ANTI-CHRIST

Pentecostals seemed of two opinions on whether the anti-Christ would be Jewish. Gentiles were prepared to accept his Jewishness but Hebrew-Christians sometimes challenged this common postulate. Dispensationalism, as disseminated by the teachings of J. N. Darby and C. I. Scofield, and especially through the agency of the 1909 publication of Scofield's *Reference Bible*, had consistently held that the anti-Christ of the seven-year Great Tribulation period would be Jewish. This extra-biblical notion was nearly axiomatic in Evangelical, Fundamentalist and even Pentecostal circles. For example, A. A. Boddy offered in 1920 that the anti-Christ would "as a Super-man, an able, a clever political Jewish leader in Palestine, who should capture the hearts of the people...but later turn renegade to the Jewish faith."⁹⁰⁶ In stark contrast, in 1931 Beskin, a Hebrew-Christian, challenged the dispensationalist axiom that the anti-Christ would be a Jew suggesting instead the anti-Christ would be perceived as a messiah and be accepted by Jews, Roman Catholics and "weak-kneed" Protestants for part of the seven-year tribulation period, but would not be Jewish.⁹⁰⁷ In a low-keyed challenge to the Jewish anti-Christ notion, Hebrew-Christian Myer Pearlman wrote, "...it is only fair to say that the subject of Anti-christ's origin and nationality are still matters of debate among students of prophecy."⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁵ Charles E. Robinson, "The British-Israel Delusion," *PE* (11 May 1940): 7.

⁹⁰⁶ A. A. Boddy, "The Return of the Jews to the Holy Land. What it Portends," *Confidence* 13:3 (October-December 1920): 51.

⁹⁰⁷ Nathan Cohen Beskin, "When the Antichrist Reigns," *LRE* (1 August 1931): 4.

⁹⁰⁸ Myer Pearlman, "Daniel Speaks Today," *CAH* 14:12 (December 1941): 11.

ASSEMBLIES OF GOD CASES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Although Pentecostals desperately needed the restoration of Israel as corroborating evidence of their own place in salvation history, the instilled anti-Semitism of the Christian centuries did not entirely escape AG ranks. Customarily the anti-Semitic nature of the writings or teachings of AG leadership was not self-evident to the leaders themselves as the strand of anti-Semitism was so closely woven into the fabric of their otherwise conventional belief system as to be undetectable. For example, amazingly even one time *Protocols* supporter, Stanley Frodsham, condemned anti-Semitism in others only later to become a repeat offender himself as seen below.

By the 1930s Frodsham had wholly condemned the *Protocols* as “Anti-Christian Propaganda Against the Jewish People” and published articles fully repudiating anti-Semitism. In response to published *New Republic* accusations of AG anti-Semitism, Frodsham officially spoke in defense of the denomination by citing the numerous articles the AG had published exposing the *Protocols* as “a forgery and a fake.” He insisted that the denominational position was “that no one can be a true Christian and at the same time hate and persecute Jews.”⁹⁰⁹

When the principal of the AG Southwestern Bible Institute at Forth Worth, Texas, was slow to repudiate the *Protocols*, Frodsham wrote him, “It certainly would be a most terrible thing, if you...should poison the youth who attend that institute with the awful virus of anti-Semitism, which to me is the greatest menace that we have before us in America at this time.”⁹¹⁰

There were other cases of anti-Semitism in Christian educational materials as well in this period. For example, a lesson taken from 1931 stated that Paul, a Jew, was perfectly revolted at being a friend to Gentiles even as his Jewish forebears had so conditioned him since they “had hated and abhorred the Gentiles.” Jewish hatred for Gentiles was thought to be as natural as breathing.⁹¹¹ In another 1931 children’s lesson on “Paul in Corinth,” Sunday school girls were expected to weep “because the Jews, like bloodhounds, were everlastingly on his trail.” Blessings came to Gentiles “in spite

⁹⁰⁹ Stanley H. Frodsham to the editor, *New Republic*, 12 April 1941. Quoted in Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 218-219.

⁹¹⁰ Stanley H. Frodsham to Cecil J. Lowry, 22 May 1942. Quoted Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism*, 219.

⁹¹¹ GPH, “Lesson 3: Paul in Thessalonica and Berea,” *The Pentecostal Teachers’ Quarterly* (18 October 1931): 25-26.

of Jewish opposition.” The same lesson to Sunday School boys taught “Paul left the Jews and gave his attention to the Gentiles” but the “Jews gave him about as much comfort as a threatening volcano; any moment their fury might break loose and destroy him utterly.”⁹¹²

Charles S. Peters protested of Christian “silly sentiment wasted on the Jew” who was always pictured as gentle, pious, and abused. Peters claimed his experience in Jerusalem demonstrated modern Jewish pride, arrogance, and intolerance. Rather than expressions of remorse for their unbelief and sin, their rebelliousness and lack of repentance seemed undiminished.⁹¹³

Reverend Harry Long, Pastor of Bethel Tabernacle in Rochester, New York, published “Hitler and the Jews” in *Word and Work* in December 1933. His article is an eye-opener on the mind-set of the local AG pastor and the congregation he served. Long’s piece reflects what can be labeled a “love-hate” sentiment regarding the Jews. Long believed in 1933 that Hitler was a “hunting” instrument in God’s hands to force the otherwise reluctant Jewish migration to the Promised Land.⁹¹⁴ Gentiles were divinely assigned to provoke Israel to spiritual jealousy but to date had largely only succeeded in provoking Israel to rage.⁹¹⁵ Long was prepared to assign Theodor Herzl the status of prophet and considered the Jewish problem a moral plague upon the nations that would eventuate in the return of the Chosen People to Zion. But the Jews had corrupted the moral standards of the Gentile nations by means of the Jewish owned movie industry.⁹¹⁶ Land fertility would allure Jews back to the Land but if that should fail, Hitler’s hunters would chase the Jews back to Palestine.⁹¹⁷ The Jewish return to the Land ought to awaken Christians to be anticipating the Second Coming. Christians should be praying for the Jewish people as God was obviously at work among them.⁹¹⁸

Long cited examples of Nazi atrocities against the Jews in Germany as early as 1933 yet seems to have embraced the idea of Jews being a fifth column wherever they

⁹¹² GPH, “Lesson 4: Paul in Corinth,” *The Pentecostal Teachers’ Quarterly* (25 October 1931): 35.

⁹¹³ Charles S. Peters, “Coming Up Jonah,” *PE* (28 April 1934): 7.

⁹¹⁴ Long, “Hitler and the Jews,” 1.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

were nationalized. He stated that others were right to say that the sponsors of the Jewish national idea were enemies of American unity.⁹¹⁹ He seemed confused whether to attribute Jewish “know-how” to God or to a sin nature. He wrote, “the Jews are full of trickery” and “a Jew will always get the best of us” yet the Jew has “a God-given wisdom apart from all this and the brightest minds of the world are among the Jewish people.”⁹²⁰ The only answer for the moral-corrupting, fifth-columned, misfit Jew was expulsion to the Promised Land where the Jew would ultimately fulfill his unchanged divine mission. The end result would be the re-commissioning of Israel for God’s universal Gospel and Kingdom purposes.⁹²¹

One Niels P. Thomsen evidenced his embrace of classic Christian anti-Semitism with the following words published in the 1933 *LRE*,

It is strange -- and this is not saying anything against the Jewish people -- but wherever they have been they have stirred up trouble -- there have been financial difficulties, business problems and others. Why? Because that is a part of the curse. They said of Jesus, “His blood be upon us and upon our children,” and the curse of rejecting their Messiah is upon them. Wherever they settle down among the nations there has been trouble.⁹²²

A youth lesson in 1936 had as its the two main points the scattering and punishment of Israel and the gathering and reestablishing of Israel. Among the biblically prophesied punishments of Israel listed were that the Jews would become a hiss and byword, their Land would become desolate, their holy places defiled, and their rains withheld. The word for “reproach” or “byword” in the Hebrew was described as “Sheninah” from which came the commonly used “Sheenie,” thereby literally fulfilling this prophecy.⁹²³ Here the writer freely admits standard Pentecostal use of this epithet. In discussing the gathering and reestablishing of Israel, the writer stated:

They control the money market, moving picture industry, tobacco, clothing, jewelry, grain and cotton industries, also news distribution, 50% of meat packing. In other words, they “hold the pocket book of the world!” All this was prophesied over 2000 years ago, that while they

⁹¹⁹ Ibid.

⁹²⁰ Ibid., 12.

⁹²¹ Ibid.

⁹²² Niels P. Thomsen, “The Present Jewish Crisis,” *LRE* (1 June 1933): 14.

⁹²³ “October 4 -- What Time is it?” *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 15.

were to be scattered and punished, God would again bring them into their own land with the “wealth of the Gentiles.”⁹²⁴

William H. Nagel pointed up that by 1937 the Jews were being stigmatized and pogroms were returning. The times required every Christian to ask himself, “What is your attitude toward the Jew?” Nagel pointed up the proper Christian posture of love toward God’s Chosen People. Yet in the course of his argumentation condemning anti-Semitism, he used derogatory terms like “kike” and “sheeny.” A freedom to publish these terms reflected their standard use at the grassroots level.⁹²⁵

In 1937 the *LRE* printed a sermon delivered by J. N. Hoover on, “The Word of God Concerning the Jew.” There was a marked anti-Semitic tone in this article as opposed to his writings of prior years in spite of the fact he herein acknowledged the return of the Jews to Palestine to be divinely orchestrated. In his introduction he stated, “You need to watch your step when you are trading with a Jew, for all the Jacobs are not dead,…”⁹²⁶ Hoover preached the Jews were a corporate “Anti-Christ,” against God and the Bible as witnessed in the rise of Bolshevism.⁹²⁷ The nature of this statement around the time of the most vicious of Nazi propaganda suggested an influence on Hoover’s tone. He acknowledged that God had made the Jews a great nation and given them good government and worship. But the consequences of their rejection of Christ had haunted them since the crucifixion: “The harvest of sin is destruction.”⁹²⁸ The Jews had learned transgression of God’s law the hard way but their suffering would ultimately end as divinely promised.⁹²⁹ God promised Israel a return to their own land and a glorious future but it could only come by way of persecution and “unspeakable tribulation” even as the events of 1937 suggested.⁹³⁰ With obvious Nazi propaganda bias, Hoover stated, “The time...has come for the Jew to go home, and stop trying to run the affairs of Gentile nations.”⁹³¹

Myer Pearlman wrote in 1939, “The Jews boasted of being heaven’s favorites, but Jesus declared that they would be cast out of the kingdom and their place taken by

⁹²⁴ Ibid.

⁹²⁵ Nagel, “The Jew—What is Your Attitude?” 2-3, 11-12.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

⁹²⁷ Ibid.

⁹²⁸ Ibid.

⁹²⁹ Ibid., 17-18.

⁹³⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁹³¹ Ibid.

the Gentiles.”⁹³² Pearlman had simply parroted the conventional anti-Judaic interpretation of Matthew 8:10-12 without utilizing the proper hermeneutic in context. But his interpretation did reflect the classical Christian and Pentecostal understanding of the passage.

Ian S. Bain quoted Dr. Oscar Levy in the 1939 *LRE* as confessing the Jews were the “world's seducers, its destroyers, its incendiaries, its executioners” and “we have finally succeeded in landing you into a new hell.”⁹³³ Bain referenced Samuel Roth’s “Jews Must Live,” in which Roth established Jews had “evil leadership.” Jews were parasitic vultures living off of others but, “we would never have done so much damage to the world if it had not been for our genius for evil leadership.”⁹³⁴ Bain stated even apostate Jews believe they are chosen. According to Bain, out of intellectual Jewish apostasy had come the communistic philosophy of Zionism by which Gentile nations would be ruled. Bolshevist ideals “are consonant with the finest ideals of Judaism.” Fascism was born of antithetical Communism and now sought to revive the anti-christic Roman Empire in fulfillment of prophecy. As in Germany, many nations resented international Jewish bankers and Jewish success during the depression.⁹³⁵

Frodsham offered in 1942, with strong replacement overtones, a harsh interpretation of the NT episode of the cursing of the fig tree. His siege-upon-Jews interpretation was characteristic of orthodox Christianity. Frodsham understood the passage to suggest the Church had taken Israel’s place in God while Israel’s dark day remained in full swing by God’s own design. “Yesterday the Lord wept over Jerusalem. Today He blights her.”⁹³⁶ Obviously unaware of much of Jewish history and literature, Frodsham wrote,

With the destruction of the Temple by Titus all the ritual and profession of a people of God faded out of the Holy Land. ...Israel became an imperishable monument of unbelief and its punishment, a blasted and lifeless fig tree on the wayside of history.⁹³⁷

In the same vein, Frodsham stated, “The modern Jews who are apostate even from Judaism are unsurpassed in their bitterness against both Christ and God.” A

⁹³² Myer Pearlman, “The Sin of the Pharisee,” *CAH* 12:7 (July 1939): 11.

⁹³³ Ian S. Bain, “The Jew in the Present Dilemma,” *LRE* (February, 1939): 12.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹³⁶ Stanley H. Frodsham, “The Fig Tree,” *PE* (6 June 1942): 4.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*

homeless and denationalized Israel remained fruitless and leafless as Israel locked out God. Yet even this harsh, almost vindictive, writer could not escape the biblical promise of regenerated Israel's restoration and messianic redemption.⁹³⁸

Pentecostal teachings could not escape their inherited sentiments regarding Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Christ and continued to consign Jewish suffering to that event. Even E. S. Williams, in his nationally distributed Sunday School lesson entitled "God's Chosen People, the Jews," offered that the NT pointed out many standard sins for which Jewish religionists were guilty, but Williams wrote, the Jews' "crowning sin was the rejection and crucifixion of the Messiah."⁹³⁹

THE PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGICAL CONDEMNATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM

On Biblical Grounds

With all the seeds of anti-Semitism implanted deeply within the inherited portions of their ideology by centuries of extra-biblical Christian dogmatics, Pentecostals still sensed a duty toward the sons of Israel. The rationale for Pentecostal condemnation of anti-Semitism and proper treatment of the Jewish people was taken from the Scriptures, the professed chief source of Pentecostal ideology. Religious idolatries and anti-Semitism had their common source in falsehood; responsible Pentecostal behavior toward the Jewish people would be governed by a Pentecostal ideology based upon a perceived legitimate understanding of the Scriptures.

Pentecostals recognized a grand Christian debt was owed the Jews in thanksgiving for its revealed religion given to mankind. Pentecostals owed the Jewish people a spiritual debt for the Bible, the Gospel, the apostles and all that is precious to Christians.⁹⁴⁰ They believed that Christ had come to save Israel whom he loved everlastingly and that God was not yet finished with his prophetic Jewish people.⁹⁴¹

The futility of anti-Semitic campaigns was witnessed against the backdrop of the commitments of Providence to the patriarchs. From where God sat, the "fulfillment of biblical prophecy was certain," and any seeing person should see the

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

⁹³⁹ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (10 December 1944): 62.

⁹⁴⁰ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 219.

⁹⁴¹ Alexander Marks, "Our Debt to Israel," *PE* (16 August 1941): 3.

same in current events. The Judean desert was becoming a veritable Garden of Eden under “magic touch of the hand of the Jews, as God is beginning to send the former and latter rains.”⁹⁴² From his divine perspective God saw the ultimate Jewish condition, e.g., Chosen Israel acclaiming Jesus as Messiah-King and evangelizing the nations with the fullness of God’s Word.⁹⁴³

Pentecostals in 1937 chided any form of Christian anti-Semitism and promoted expressions of goodwill toward Abraham’s seed. The whole of Scripture testified to God’s love for Israel. Those truly filled with God’s Spirit would never hate but only profoundly love and pray much for the Jewish people.⁹⁴⁴ In 1939 it appeared self-evident that Jewish rejection of Christ would continue “until the end of the gospel dispensation.” But then God would “begin dealings with the Jews” and effect “restoration through tribulation.” Meanwhile the Church should beware of any temptation to be “looking down upon the Jews” which, after all, had been the Roman Church’s transgression. Israel would yet be restored to her divine mission of witness to the nations. In spite of persistent Jewish resistance to the Christian Messiah over the centuries, God had not turned away from Israel.⁹⁴⁵ Pentecostals needed to share Paul’s goodwill towards Israel and his hope for their salvation.⁹⁴⁶

All subscribers to the “world order,” such as H. G. Wells and others blinded to history, would perish while the “Jew will return to Palestine and a remnant will be saved.”⁹⁴⁷ The world had many proposed solutions to the “Jewish problem” but God was perceived as having the only real answer: The Jews in Zion with Jesus as King. Though suffering oppression today, the Jewish prophetic horizon was aglow with light and Zion’s hope. While the budding fig tree testified to the pending Second Coming, surely Pentecostals needed to pray for Israel.⁹⁴⁸

For Pentecostals in 1934, the growing anti-Semitism in America, England and Central Europe pointed up the significance of Palestine as the only real hope for Jewish national security and permanency. The Haman-like genocidal madness of Nazi anti-

⁹⁴² Peirce, “Looking from the Top,” 7.

⁹⁴³ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁴ Stanley H. Frodsham, “Sunday School Lesson,” *PE* (19 June 1937): 10.

⁹⁴⁵ E. S. Williams, et al, “The Restoration of Israel,” Myer Pearlman, ed. *The Adult’s Student Quarterly*, 18:4 (24 October 1937): 27.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁹⁴⁷ Ian S. Bain, “The Jew in the Present Dilemma,” *LRE* (February, 1939): 13.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Semitic atrocities were surely on the Jewish horizon but it was the Christian duty to “intercede for Israel with the King of kings” as earnestly as had Esther in her desperate effort to save the Jews.⁹⁴⁹ Surely Armageddon would spell the ultimate end of anti-Semitism.⁹⁵⁰ The Master of the universe was deemed to be orchestrating world events to prepare the stage for the imminent Second Coming of Israel’s Sovereign.⁹⁵¹

The Pentecostal ideological position was based upon biblical passages from both Hebrew and Greek Testaments that had predicted Israel’s restoration to Kingdom privilege. All these prophecies were conjoined with the Second Coming emphasis in Scripture in Pentecostalist thought. Soon the day Paul foresaw would arrive when all Israel would be saved and nationally restored.⁹⁵²

The Jew was likened to the reluctant prophet Jonah repeatedly in Pentecostalist writings. Jonah reportedly had held the greatest religious revival the world had known. Even Peter’s three thousand converts on the Day of Pentecost were a veritable handful in comparison to the Nineveh awakening. But when God would succeed in getting the Jew fully engaged in his divinely assigned mission of preaching the Gospel to the nations, the universe would witness the ultimate revival, the greatest revival in all of human history.⁹⁵³

Anti-Semitism as an Alien Instrument for Evil

According to sound Pentecostal ideology, the Jew was a miracle of God in that while dispersed among the nations he remained indigestible and unassimilated. God’s present punishment of the Jew would soon terminate. All wrongs done against the Jews throughout history would be divinely avenged as the Scriptures had promised. Myer Pearlman, noted in 1932 with trepidation and anguish, the rising influence of the “Hitlerites” in Germany and the newly passed laws against Jewish immigrants. Abuse

⁹⁴⁹ “Leading to Armageddon,” *PE* (16 May 1942): 2.

⁹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵¹ Frank M. Boyd, “Israel and the Nations,” *PE* (14 July 1934): 6.

⁹⁵² Pearlman, “Those Strange People -- the Jews!” 3. See also Frodsham, “The Fig Tree,” *PE* (6 June 1942): 4. A young Jewish believer is here quoted: “Sooner or later, the Jews will accept Christ with great joy...the moment of the reconciliation of the Jews with Christ will be the greatest in the history of mankind. It seems to me that this moment is approaching.”

⁹⁵³ “The Indigestible Jew,” *PE* (17 June 1944): 3.

of the Jews would certainly result in German national decline.⁹⁵⁴ Pentecostals called for the proper treatment of the Jews with the warning, "Every nation on the face of the earth that has persecuted and mistreated the Jew has had to pay for it." The Jewish-abusing Czarist royal family in Russia had learned the hard way "it does not pay to persecute the Jews."⁹⁵⁵

Anti-Jewishness was regarded as the result of ignorance of Scripture as manipulated by human leaders with religious or political agendas. The only hope for overcoming the deliberately misleading errors of mistaken men was by the overwhelming display of biblical truth, as light would successfully dispel darkness. As case in point, Henry Ford's efforts at promoting American anti-Semitism were forcefully condemned. Offering a divine perspective on the Jewish people, the *PE* claimed the Eternal Lover of Israel omnisciently viewed his scattered refugee people as free of perversity.⁹⁵⁶

Pentecostals should be disabused of any lingering anti-Semitic myths that suggested the Jews held the greatest wealth, controlled the global economy, owned the largest periodicals and stores, or had manipulated the Depression. Pentecostals, like Beskin, attacked the anti-Jewish propaganda of a rumored international Jewish conspiracy.⁹⁵⁷ Yet Beskin bemoaned a current Jewish American fascination with socialism and atheism.⁹⁵⁸ Simultaneously, the *PE* displayed a woeful ignorance of the historical outbreaks of anti-Semitism in either Germany or England.⁹⁵⁹ While Anderson insisted the *AG* record was as honorable as any denomination's, he did suggest "traces of anti-Semitism continued to plague the movement."⁹⁶⁰

By 1933 the *Protocols* was fully regarded as an anti-Semitic and spurious work written to stir up anti-Jewish sentiment. The accusations found among the supporters of *Protocols* "may cause suffering to thousands of innocent Jews who have already

⁹⁵⁴ See Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (20 August 1932): 6. One positive development, according to Pearlman, was that Jews were increasingly aware of the difference between Gentile and Christian as a result of the pagan treatment of Jews.

⁹⁵⁵ Otto J. Klink, "The Jew --- God's Great Timepiece," *PE* (9 May 1931): 1.

⁹⁵⁶ Peirce, "Looking from the Top," 7.

⁹⁵⁷ See also Norman Cohen Beskin, "The Truth About the Protocols," *LRE* 26:1 (1 October 1933): 3.

⁹⁵⁸ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 219-220.

⁹⁵⁹ Nathan Cohen Beskin, "When the Antichrist Reigns," *LRE* (1 August 1931): 4.

⁹⁶⁰ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 220. Anderson suggested that at least Beskin betrayed a readiness to attribute Jewish political dissent to Jewishness.

borne much persecution."⁹⁶¹ Yet, due to the overwhelming propaganda machine of Nazi Germany and anti-Semitic sympathizers, the *PE* reported in 1933 that charges similar to those found in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* had begun appearing in depression-riddled Christian circles. Beskin insisted that the Hitlers, Henry Fords and even belligerent preachers were spewing out their anti-Semitic propaganda but this would spell their own doom. The falsehoods being broadcast, like those in the *Protocols*, were bogus. Those who believe that "the Jews own Wall Street" or are the prime movers in international banking, or that "the Jew manipulated the depression," believed the "brain-child of a crazy man."⁹⁶² Declared Beskin, "There is not a particle of evidence to the truth of those *Protocols*. The story was fabricated from whole cloth."⁹⁶³

Pentecostals attacked the *Protocols* forgery again in 1934 as "supreme folly and great wickedness" and the "pure fabrication and the product of corrupt minds, devised for the purpose of harming the Jewish people." God himself would punish the Jews' persecutors. Pentecostal readership was solemnly warned, "to have no part in hurting the Jews, or in propagating any accusations that will tend to inflame against them the angry passions of sinners."⁹⁶⁴ The article concluded with a quote from the *King's Business* of Los Angeles:

There is not a single shred of reliable evidence, acceptable in any court of law, to indicate: 1. That there exists a Jewish World-Conspiracy. 2. That the *Protocols* were a part of the minutes of the first Zionist Congress. 3. That the *Protocols* are of Jewish origin. 4. That the *Protocols* are authentic. 5. That the *Protocols* had any connection with the Masonic Lodge. 6. That the *Protocols* were secured from a responsible source. 7. That there is an organization known as the Elders of Zion with secret membership, secret meetings, and a secret movement designed to bring about the overthrow of all non-Jewish governments, the substitution of a Jewish world government, and the destruction of all religions other than Judaism. 8. That the Jews as a nation are in any way responsible for the present world-wide economic depression.⁹⁶⁵

Stanley Frodsham labeled the *Protocols* "a mischievous anti-Semitic attempt to whip-up social hysteria against the Jewish people." This "inflammatory harangue"

⁹⁶¹ "The So-Called Jewish Peril," *PE* (22 July 1933): 7.

⁹⁶² Beskin, "The Truth About the *Protocols*," 5.

⁹⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁴ Charles E. Robinson, "A Lawyer Examines Evidence," *PE* (27 January 1934): 3.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

was filled with illogic from a non-Jewish source. Incredulity was expressed that “any thinking Christians would [give] any credence to such sinister forgeries.”⁹⁶⁶

The AG youth column, “Otto-Graphs,”⁹⁶⁷ frequently referenced Zionist developments, the threat of anti-Semitism and its growing effect on European Jewry, and Pentecostal responsibility toward the Chosen People. Otto Klink wrote occasional youth articles like, “Who is this Hitler Who Defies the World?”⁹⁶⁸ and included the transcript of a radio broadcast which dealt with the Jews and Pentecostal responsibilities.⁹⁶⁹ When many of the atrocities against the Jewish people already committed by Hitler’s Nazism by the mid-1930s became known, AG Pentecostals were called upon to break with their isolationist past and engage in the defense of the Jewish people.

You many say that all this is none of our business. I say, it IS! For only Christian world opinion has been able to save the German Jews from complete extermination. I say, it IS our business, when one single individual tries to set back the clock of civilization and culture to the Middle Ages. I say, it IS our business, for the persecution of the Jews constitutes one of the darkest and bloodiest chapters of the world’s history. Militant supernationalism stupefies, swindles, and disrupts. That is an outstanding fact today.

It is the time of the end. The days of Jacob’s trouble are approaching. The Jew is hated everywhere. ... Let us as Pentecostal Christians never forget the command of God, “Pray for the peace of Jerusalem.”⁹⁷⁰

Pentecostals were warned that unless the scourge of Nazism was stopped in Europe, American Jews could face the same nightmare.⁹⁷¹ Evil anti-Semitic accusations of the Jewish people, such as being the authors of Communism, would reap the wrath of God.⁹⁷² The modern revival of the ancient charges of Jewish ritual murder was

⁹⁶⁶ E. Bendor Samuel, “Anti-Christian Propaganda Against the Jewish People,” *PE* (18 and 25 May 1935): 1,9; 6,7. An academic paper presented to the Prophecy Investigation Society, a London-based Christian interest, entitled, “Anti-Christian Propaganda Against the Jewish People: An Examination of the Book Called, ‘The Jewish Peril, or The Protocols of the Elders of Zion’” was fully reprinted over two successive issues of the *PE* in 1935.

⁹⁶⁷ Otto J. Klink, maintained a regular “Otto-Graphs” column during from 1935 though 1937 in the *CAH* which he used to combat anti-Semitism.

⁹⁶⁸ Otto J. Klink, “Who is this Hitler Who Defies the World?” *CAH* 9:5 (May 1936): 4-5.

⁹⁶⁹ “Radio-Interview Over Station WDEL,” *CAH* 9:9 (September 1936): 4-5.

⁹⁷⁰ Klink, “Who is this Hitler Who Defies the World?” 5.

⁹⁷¹ Otto J. Klink, “Otto-Graphs,” *CAH* 9:8 (August 1936): 15.

⁹⁷² Otto J. Klink, “Otto-Graphs,” *CAH* 9:9 (September 1936): 16.

proclaimed with equally palpable and reckless lies.⁹⁷³ Severe financial consequences always came to any nation for abuse of the Chosen People as modern Frankfurt and the current Spanish Civil War had illustrated. "Let our 'fundamentalist' Nazi-Agents Beware!"⁹⁷⁴ The AG press was used to express Pentecostal contempt for money-minded anti-Semitic politicians and insisted America could not avoid bankruptcy for even a day without God's ancient people.⁹⁷⁵

Pentecostals paradoxically demonstrated their high regard for Jewish people and the pending restoration in Zion as well as their culpability for stereotypic attitudes toward the Jewish people in 1937. Zionism and Communism were philosophically dichotomized since it had been incorrectly generally believed that Bolshevism was the product of Jewish thinkers and was maintained by Jewish socialist manipulations.⁹⁷⁶

God himself had demanded that certain Jewish social distance from others for his own divine purposes. There could be no excuse for the shameful Christian persecution of the Jews in the past that had contributed "so unmercifully to the Jews' woes." Jews had historically witnessed quite enough Christian anti-Semitism and now needed to see in Pentecostals "the spirit of Christ in showing kindness and giving the gospel of His love 'to the Jew first'..."⁹⁷⁷ Any anti-Semitism stemming from Christian pulpits designed "to inflame the people against the Jews" in Europe or America was fully condemned.⁹⁷⁸

Horrific recounting of wartime atrocities committed against Jewish victims of Nazism horrified the 1943 *PE* readership. But a dire warning immediately followed against the possibility of American anti-Semitism in a land with ten times the Jews of Nazi Germany. America was perceived to have had "an appalling amount" of latent "anti-Jewish prejudice." Every Christian was duty-bound to unflinchingly set his or her face against the incipient anti-Semitic danger.⁹⁷⁹

The *PE* insisted in its 1944 cover article that "Hitlerism Must Lose." It provided several pithy statements worthy of note:

⁹⁷³ Otto J. Klink, "Otto-Graphs," *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 16.

⁹⁷⁴ Otto J. Klink, "Otto-Graphs," *CAH* 9:2 (February 1936): 3.

⁹⁷⁵ Otto J. Klink, "The Jew --- God's Great Timepiece," Part 2, *PE* (16 May 1931): 4.

⁹⁷⁶ Nagel, "The Jew --- What Is Your Attitude?" 2.

⁹⁷⁷ Ernest S. Williams, "The Jew and the Church," *PE* (11 January 1941): 6.

⁹⁷⁸ Ernest S. Williams, "Be Encouraged, Ye Jews," *PE* (18 January 1941): 6.

⁹⁷⁹ John Stuart Conning, "Israel! What of Tomorrow?" *PE* (4 December 1943): 8.

Hitlerism cannot win; for if Hitlerism wins, then the Jew must die, and the Jew cannot die.

Those nations which tried to crush the Jews in days gone by, are now all gone and forgotten. God's word cannot be broken.

(Hitler) has succeeded in destroying large numbers of people, but he will never destroy the Jew. The Jews will long outlive Hitler. Hitler is not the first Haman that the Jews have had to face. ... No nation shall prosper that raises the hand of persecution against the Jew.

God has kept the Jews right through the ages as the apple of His eye.⁹⁸⁰

In protest of contemporary anti-Semitism, a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* was reprinted in a nationally distributed 1944 Sunday School lesson.

In the sight of anti-Semitic fanatics, the Jews can do nothing right. If they are rich, they are birds of prey. If they are poor, they are vermin. If they are in favor of a war, that is because they want to exploit the bloody feuds of the Gentiles to their own profit. If they are anxious for peace, they are either instinctive cowards or traitors. If they give generously, they are doing it for some selfish purpose of their own. If they don't give -- then what would one expect of a Jew? If he lives in a strange land, he must be persecuted out of it; and if he wants to go back to his own land, he must be prevented.⁹⁸¹

Pentecostals believed Satan had tried to destroy the Jews on two counts: because the Jews were Jesus' own people and because "anyone with a God-given destiny becomes the object of (Satan's) attacks." To discourage any expression of Pentecostal anti-Semitism, it was made clear that any divine chastening of the Jewish people required no Christian help.⁹⁸² Plainly, the AG Pentecostal leadership wanted no part of any form or articulation of anti-Semitism and offered a reasoned and solemn warning against any local Christian expression of anti-Jewish rhetoric or conduct.

The German national support of the current 1933 Jewish plight was actively moving in the direction of a total repudiation of the full Bible in favor of ancient

⁹⁸⁰ Mark Kagan, "Hitlerism Must Lose," *PE* (25 March 1944): 1. Next to this *PE* lead article a political cartoon was captioned "The Whip Breaks the Jew -- God Breaks the Whip." It showed a faltering Jew suffering from a whip forming the word "Nazism" being held by a right hand appearing out of the heavens.

⁹⁸¹ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (10 December 1944): 63.

⁹⁸² Myer Pearlman, "Daniel Speaks Today," *CAH* 14:11 (November 1941): 15.

German paganism. But the *PE* protested the blight of religious neglect even characterized American Jews.⁹⁸³

Jewish Virtue

While reportedly Jews had been involved in socially destructive forces like Bolshevism, atheism, infidelity and socialism, the *PE* positively stated in 1931, "Yet everything we enjoy religiously, we owe to the Jew." That the Church born on the Day of Pentecost as a Jewish faith community was strong testimony that Christians were "indebted to the Jew for everything we know and have." Christian persecution of Jews was entirely without justification. God would soon return to the Jews and establish the Jewish nation as head among the nations. The Jews were still the Chosen People with God-given "great, wonderful and marvelous promises."⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁸³ "The Editor's Notebook," *PE* (29 April 1933): 4. A quote from Rabbi George Benedict's book on the secularism of Jewish Americans also demonstrated American Jews were moving away from religious observance. Benedict registered that 1.6 million Jews out of a total 2.5 million in greater New York City had no synagogue affiliation and argued this trend was reflective of Jewish religious life in America.

⁹⁸⁴ Klink, "The Jew --- God's Great Timepiece," 1. See also Frances E. Spooner, "The Unlawful Trial of Jesus in A.D. 30," *LRE* (March and April 1933): 9-13. Spooner, writing from an attorney's perspective, published her two-part, "The Unlawful Trial of Jesus in A.D. 30," in the 1933 *LRE*. For years reports had been circulating of a new Jewish call for a Great Sanhedrin to regather in Jerusalem for the specific purpose of retrying Jesus. In the end, the Jewish world could see no positive outcome from such a highly profiled spectacle and shelved the project. But Christian intrigue remained high. Spooner took it upon herself to address the trial of Jesus on the basis of Jewish law as witnessed in her subtitle, "Seventeen Illegalities in the Proceedings from a Lawyer's Viewpoint."

What is especially worth noting is not the fact the Jesus' trial was found to have no legal foundation to it, since Christians had recognized that fact for years, but the very positive disposition Spooner exhibited toward Jewish law itself. As one familiar with the import of ever-evolving legislation, Spooner could write, "As the Jewish people grew and their relationships became more complicated it became necessary to enlarge and to clarify laws, customs and legal remedies." Spooner's evaluation of the Talmud offered an enlightened Christian perspective. She offered a valuable apologetic to her Pentecostal readership, so accustomed to the standard beratings of Jewish law. She wrote:

The Talmud is a peculiar piece of literature, the most maligned, the most misunderstood. But I will say this: of all the literature of the nations it is most beautiful, barring none. It is really an encyclopedia and is roughly divided into two divisions called the Mishna and the Gemara. The Mishna might be called a dissertation or exposition on the laws and customs of Israel, the Gemara is poetry, proverbs, exposition and theology.

Spooner offered historical insights into the very Sanhedrin, which had behaved so illegally. Its high priest had been customarily selected by Herod until succeeded by the Roman governors. Herod had expelled or murdered some 46 members of the Sanhedrin, replacing them with his own puppets. Most of the Sanhedrin of Jesus' day were sons and relatives of Annas while others had purchased their position. Spooner offered, "The Talmud gives a most scathing, burning account of some of the members of this Sanhedrin that tried Jesus." Caiaphas would later become an apostate and criminal while other members of the Sanhedrin were convicted of crimes and even unspeakable sins according to Talmud. Plainly Spooner uses the Talmud as a friend to her own case.

Spooner went on to provide seventeen instances of serious violations of Jewish law in the trial itself before concluding, "there was not one scintilla of legality from start to finish in the whole of the

The blame for Jewish resistance to the Gospel was laid at the feet of Christians in 1937. Christian attitudes had so misrepresented and betrayed the loving Jesus that his own extended family had associated Christian faith with Jewish pain.⁹⁸⁵ The Jew had played both Patriarch and Prophet in providing the richness of the biblical record for Christian benefit. Jews had been great American patriots in persons like Haym Solomon, major financier of the American Revolution, and had contributed significantly to the efforts of each of the American wars. In spite of his frequent Christian isolation, the *PE* acknowledged that the Jew had plainly contributed to modern civilization as the supreme idealist and model family man.⁹⁸⁶ Emancipation of European Jews from 1789 onward had enabled mankind to witness Jewish qualities as they made leading contributions to the world "in medicine, music, astronomy, literature, invention."⁹⁸⁷ As a result of 3500 years of the influence of Moses' Torah and 2000 years of resistance to Jesus' Gospel, Jews were understandably different, but such Jewish distinctions were regarded as having no negative bearing on Jewish American patriotism or their loyal U.S. citizenship.⁹⁸⁸

Appeal to Pentecostal American Self-Interest

The *PE* made poignantly clear in 1933 that the Christian aspiration should always be to conform to God's nature; since he loves and shows infinite mercy to the Jewish people, Christians should do the same. Traditional Christian treatment of the Jewish people had been disgraceful, as Jews had faced persecution in much of Christendom. But in America a new light had dawned upon a biblically based Christianity making it clear that Israel should be honored and caused to rejoice. The likes of Henry Ford and other *Protocols* anti-Semitic seditionists should be hastily checked so that Jewish Americans not be "wounded in the house of their friends." Pentecostal leadership recognized that very much depended on a right Pentecostal attitude towards Jews. Christians should all be advised that the Jewish messianic

world's greatest tragedy." But entirely absent from her two-part series was any vindictive against the Jewish people or assigning of blame to anyone but the Sanhedrin itself.

⁹⁸⁵ Nagel, "The Jew --- What Is Your Attitude?" 11.

⁹⁸⁶ Ernest S. Williams, "What of the Jews?" *PE* (4 January 1941): 2.

⁹⁸⁷ Ernest S. Williams, "The Jew and the Church," *PE* (11 January 1941): 6.

⁹⁸⁸ Pearlman, "Those Strange People -- the Jews!" 2-3.

judge of all the earth would himself soon determine the fate of peoples and nations according to their attitudes and treatment of his own Jewish brethren.⁹⁸⁹

Christian attitude toward Israel should be the opposite of Mark John Levy's indictment after hearing a child say, "I love Jesus, but I hate the Jews." Levy was reported to have said, "this is the attitude of nearly all who profess to be followers of Christ."⁹⁹⁰ The *PE* advocated to its broad AG constituency readership that Pentecostals should exhibit God's loving mercy toward Israel and avoid the disgraceful historical Christian treatment of Jews.⁹⁹¹ But poor Christian attitude toward the Jewish people earned renewed warning in 1934:

When I hear some speak with disregard and disparagement against this nation which God loves with an everlasting love, I feel like sounding out a warning. "Take heed lest you find yourselves taking an exactly opposite attitude to what God takes, for He has said to Israel concerning their enemies, 'I will contend with him that contendeth with thee'."⁹⁹²

Pentecostals indicated that Jews had been hounded and persecuted in all nations but America and considered that that might be one reason God had so prospered America.⁹⁹³ The ultimate judgment of the nations was to be largely informed by their treatment of the Jews. The damnation of nations would rest on their mistreatment of Jesus' own Jewish people and determine the nations' own eternal destinies.⁹⁹⁴

Pentecostal Witness to the Jewish People

During this period of intensified anti-Semitism as but one product of the western-directed Nazi propaganda machine, Pentecostal leadership recognized a duty to confront the common use of offensive language so as to not offend Jewish people. Pentecostal youths were cautioned in 1930 that some Christians may have used words

⁹⁸⁹ Stanley H. Frodsham, "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (9 December 1933): 4. Frodsham cited a lengthy grievance from a Jewish refugee who complained against suffering at the hands of dedicated Christians. At the close of his quotation, the refugee stated: "Fundamentalists are in the lead of stirring the anti-Semitic spirit which does not need stirring at all. Again we are wounded in the house of our so-called friends." Frodsham seized this occasion to again blast the *Protocols* as he stated: "A close examination of this document will prove to any who know anything of Jewish life and customs that these Protocols are a forgery invented by a Gentile ignorant alike of both Jewish customs and ideals."

⁹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹² "Editor's Note," *PE* (30 June 1934): 4.

⁹⁹³ "October 4 -- What Time is it?" *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 15.

⁹⁹⁴ "Leading to Armageddon," *PE* (16 May 1942): 2-3.

like “sheeny” without evil intent but had committed evil just the same. The use of terms of reproach or contempt against the Jewish people, “those whom the Lord loves,” placed one in the awkward position of offending Christ himself. The world despised the Jew and perhaps the Church had too thoughtlessly followed the world’s lead in neglect and abuse of the Jewish people.⁹⁹⁵

The attack upon Jews was viewed as part of humanity’s attack upon God. God’s program for the ages still centered around the Jewish people which had motivated Satan and his cohorts to seek the destruction of the Jew for long centuries. But Anglo-Saxon peoples were duty bound to fulfill their promises to enable the children of Israel to dwell in security and rest.⁹⁹⁶

Pentecostals offered that the entire Bible testified to God’s eternal love for his Chosen People Israel, which obligated Pentecostals to partake of that same loving Spirit toward Israel rather than the hateful spirit of the world.⁹⁹⁷ As members of the New Covenant, Pentecostals had a biblical relationship and obligation to the Jewish people, to whom they owed so much. Certainly the Jews were not faultless but Jacob would yet become a regenerated Israel.⁹⁹⁸ Pentecostals were obliged to do the exact opposite of foolish anti-Semitism; they were to provide the Jewish community a Gospel hearing. “There is one thing we can do . . . We can ‘pray for the peace of Jerusalem.’ We can give them the gospel. They certainly have as much right to it as we have.”⁹⁹⁹ But the Gospel was no escape from persecution. The *PE* pointed up in 1943 that Nazi hatred did not discriminate between Jews, religious, secular or Hebrew-Christian and that many of the Jews killed by the Nazis were Hebrew-Christians.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹⁵ Charles E. Robinson, ed., “What is the Proper Christian Attitude Toward the Jew?” *Christ’s Ambassadors Monthly* 5:10 (October 1930): 15.

⁹⁹⁶ Louis S. Bauman, “When Russia’s Bear Meets Judah’s Lion,” *LRE* (1 May 1932): 16.

⁹⁹⁷ Stanley H. Frodsham, “Sunday School Lesson,” *PE* (19 June 1937): 10.

⁹⁹⁸ Pearlman, “Daniel Speaks Today,” *CAH* 14:11 (November 1941): 15.

⁹⁹⁹ “The Jew -- A Paradox,” *PE* (24 July 1943): 5. See also, Harry M. Stemme, “Lights from the Jewish Ghetto,” *PE* (3 February 1945): 2. As evidence as to what could be done to challenge American Jews to reconsider the Gospel, an AG pastoral address to the Sisterhood of Ohave Sholom Synagogue was published here. Stemme, pastor of Rockford Assembly of God, demonstrated to the Jewish congregation the great difference between a “Gentile” and a “Christian.” Growing up a ruffian near Maxwell Street in Chicago, Stemme had served a synagogue and many families as a *Shabbes goy* for five cents per Sabbath. But his rebellious inner person was radically transformed by the power of God when he became a born-again Christian. The “Gentile” who had earlier taken advantage of the Jews he resented now had a real “Christian” conscience as evidenced by his teenage return of improperly gained finances to those he had earlier deprived.

¹⁰⁰⁰ John Stuart Conning, “Israel! What of Tomorrow?” *PE* (4 December 1943): 8.

Mitch Glaser, who reported that some 250,000 victims of the *Shoah* were Jewish believers in Jesus, recently corroborated this fact in his Ph.D. dissertation.¹⁰⁰¹

Pentecostals sensed they could not simultaneously believe the Scriptures and be against the Chosen People. Rather, Christians had the responsibility to keep in mind God's promise to bless those who bless Israel and curse those who curse Israel according to Genesis 12:3.¹⁰⁰² The very existence of the Jewish people was sufficient evidence for the inspiration of Holy Writ and the veracity of its promises. The Jews represented the purest bloodline on earth and had accordingly not degenerated¹⁰⁰³ yet; admittedly, the Jews had backslidden in rebellion against their priestly role as the holy nation.¹⁰⁰⁴ Since God's love for Israel was recognized as everlasting, Christians were likewise considered obligated to love the Jewish people. This love should translate into support for Zionism. The present Zionist activities were a sign pointing to the soon closing of the Gentile age and the Jewish restoration to Zion.¹⁰⁰⁵

1945 General Council Resolution on Anti-Semitism

The following excerpts are taken from a resolution condemning anti-Semitism that was adopted on the floor of the General Council of the AG in national bi-annual session in 1945. It was published in the *PE* on October 20, 1945, as follows:

Whereas, we have witnessed in this generation an almost universal increase in Anti-Semitism, and this has resulted in the greatest series of persecutions in modern times; and

Whereas, even in the United States there has been an alarming increase in Anti-Semitism;

Therefore be it resolved:

That we as a General Council declare ourselves as being opposed to Anti-Semitism, and that we disapprove of our ministers becoming identified with those who proclaim this propaganda.

That the editor of the *Evangel* be instructed to prepare an article including Section I of this resolution and stating our position in the matter, and that it be published in the *Evangel*.

GOD'S WORD CONCERNING ISRAEL

¹⁰⁰¹ Mitch Glaser, "A Survey of Missions to the Jews in Continental Europe 1900-1950," (Ph.D. diss., Fuller School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1998), 159-161.

¹⁰⁰² Nagel, "The Jew --- What Is Your Attitude?" 2.

¹⁰⁰³ Klink, "The Jew --- God's Great Timepiece," 9.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁵ Charles E. Robinson, "What of the Jew?" *PE* (12 December 1925): 11. Here the author offered a stern warning to AG youth that Satan would try to get Pentecostal youth to "speak and think slightly of the Jew" in order to "get God's wrath stirred toward such young people."

What is our position in this matter? That which is set forth in the Scriptures of truth, which we have taken as our sole guide for faith and conduct. We do not fail to recognize that God has redeemed the children of Israel unto Himself to be His people *for ever*....

GOD'S GOODNESS AND SEVERITY....

But despite all Israel's failures, the Spirit of God tells us they are still "beloved for the fathers' sake." Rom. 11:28....

ISRAEL'S RESTORATION

Every child of God who finds joy in the revealed will of our Father, delights in the glorious promises of Israel's restoration.

A WARNING

God gives solemn warning to those who hate and persecute Israel.

PRAYER FOR ISRAEL....

Like the apostle Paul, we are all called to be intercessors for Israel.

WHY LOVE JEWRY?

The greatest reason why no Christian should be anti-Semitic is that our Savior was a Jew. Gentiles came to Him at His birth and worshipped Him as "King of the Jews."....On the day of Pentecost three thousand devout Jews yielded their lives to Him and today there are many devout Jews whose hearts God is meeting....

JEWRY'S OPENNESS....

Let us remember the word, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem," and the promise attached: "They shall prosper that love thee." Psalm 122:6. If you pray for the people represented by Jerusalem, you will never be guilty of being anti-Semitic.¹⁰⁰⁶

The AG stood to defend Israel's continued centrality in salvation history on biblical grounds. It plainly condemned all forms of anti-Semitism and identified its source as that great company of evil-doers who, in cooperation with diabolic agencies, resisted the loving heart and expressed will of the Almighty as he remained eternally devoted to Israel. The Jewish people were perceived to be in an admittedly backslidden spiritual condition and far removed from the current stream of God's ongoing communication with the redeemed. The Jewish blessings upon mankind had first issued in early revealed religion and later in the arts and sciences. Israel's successful and ultimate spiritual blessing of mankind would soon dwarf these temporal blessings by universally preaching Christ. Meanwhile, those Pentecostals who wanted divine blessing for themselves and their American nation needed to bless the Jewish people. From their Pentecostal perspective, the greatest way to bless Israel was to provide Jewish people an opportunity to hear the true Gospel message. But of

¹⁰⁰⁶ "The Editor's Notebook," *PE* (20 October 1945): 4-5.

great contemporary importance too was Pentecostal resistance to all forms of anti-Semitism as offered and denominationally embraced with the adoption of the 1945 General Council resolution against anti-Semitism.

PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY ON ISRAEL'S DESTINY AND MESSIANIC FAITH

Between 1918 and 1945 Pentecostal ideology on Israel's ultimate destiny continued to develop and find greater clarity. Beyond mere Pentecostal passion for Zion and celebration of Zionist accomplishments, and more than just facing Zionism's political obstacles and offering its Pentecostal condemnation of anti-Semitism, the Pentecostals believed in the future of national Israel and her God-decreed destiny on biblical grounds. God's own intention for Israel would be displayed to the universe as the *eschaton* unfolded. The "times of the Gentiles" were closing as Zion was experiencing the present birth-pangs of messianic redemption. As Pentecostals shared their faith with the Jewish nation, Israel would become that redeemed and faithful messianic nation that God had promised would affect global redemption.

Only with the broad panorama of the Pentecostal ideology concerning God's purpose and intention for Israel, the closing of the "times of the Gentiles," the ideology of Zionism as prelude to the *eschaton*, the ultimate victory of God's redeemed nation of Israel, and the ultimate fulfillment of Israel's prophetic mission, can the historian begin to fathom the essence of Zionism's romantic hold on the Pentecostal heart and mind from World War I through World War II. Therefore, it is vital to here summarize the evolving Pentecostal eschatology relative to national Israel—as it was being progressively informed by dispensationalism—and observe other crucially related aspects of Pentecostal theology in order to full understand the Pentecostal ideology of Zionism as advocated between 1918 and 1945.

GOD'S PURPOSE AND INTENTION FOR ISRAEL

Acknowledging both the ancient heritage, longevity, and universality of the Jewish people, Pentecostals taught that no people had suffered centuries of shame and persecution as had Israel. This tragic history was laid squarely at the feet of the first-century Jewish religious establishment's rejection of Jesus, the Jewish Messiah.

Shutting Israel's national eye to Jesus had been a grave sin against the Judge of all which had resulted in the judgments on Israel foretold in Torah. But the Bible had also proved Israel could no more pass away than the Word of God itself. In the recent generations this old nation had renewed its youth to become some 15 million strong. But Israel would not find its coveted rest "until He come, who is the Root and Offspring of David."¹⁰⁰⁷

The adamant AG conviction in 1925 was that the Jewish people had remained the living manifestation of the truthfulness of Holy Writ. While all the great historical civilizations had long since collapsed, the distinct Jewish identity remained as tribute to God's scripturally revealed design to set Israel as a people apart, separated for God's holy purposes, his own "peculiar treasure." Israel's perpetuated existence was guaranteed by God's own will that Israel be "His witnesses in the earth and be the custodians of the oracles of the Almighty."¹⁰⁰⁸ Their failure to live up to God's desires was but a temporary problem. His chastening hand would affect their complete redemption. The heartrending history of anti-Semitism, so characteristic of the Christian Era, that had resulted from Israel's resolve to disobeyingly come out from under the protective hand of God, was deeply bemoaned. But the faithful God of Israel had not forsaken but rather preserved the Jews to bless the entire human race.¹⁰⁰⁹

Pentecostals remained persuaded that God had chosen to be with the indestructible Jew, the great miracle of history.¹⁰¹⁰ Israel's pending despair would be brief, and the time of chastening was near its end. The dawning of Israel's glorious new day was at hand and would signal their final restoration, replenishment and blessing.¹⁰¹¹ That Israel would never again be nationally uprooted portended a yet future ultimate restoration as Israel had, in fact, previously experienced restorations but had been again uprooted.¹⁰¹² The long apostasy and Jewish neglect of the messianic king would be remedied by the chastening of "the day of the Lord" that would also witness God's judgment upon the nations for their "unGodliness and ill-

¹⁰⁰⁷ Myer Pearlman, "Israel, the Everlasting People," *PE* (6 June 1925): 5.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Boyd, *The Budding Fig Tree*, 76-77.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰¹¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, 83.

treatment of the Jews.”¹⁰¹³ Israel would then reject the anti-christic “pseudo-Messiah,” “call upon the Lord in truth,” and turn “to the long-rejected Messiah,” Jesus. At the point Israel would be surrounded by an international confederation of armies ready to fully devour Israel, an ultimately “repentant Israel will call upon the Lord for help.” The divine Deliverer and Messiah Jesus would then manifest from heaven, take vengeance on Israel’s enemies, judge the nations, and set up the glorious Davidic messianic throne in Zion for a thousand year reign.¹⁰¹⁴ Israel would then become a theocracy. A restored and rebuilt Jerusalem would function as the seat of global government. The full estate of land promised to Abraham, which still had been not even once fully occupied by Abraham’s seed, would soon become the undisputed possession of national Israel. This renewed kingdom of Israel would extend from the Nile to the Euphrates, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, and take in the full Arabian Peninsula.¹⁰¹⁵ Healing waters would flow from a river beneath the rebuilt temple into the Dead Sea to “transform its present saltiness” so that fish would abound and its shores experience great fruitfulness. This river would result from the upheaval generated by the Messiah’s touching down on the Mount of Olives at the Second Coming.¹⁰¹⁶

The fulfillment of Joel 2:23-32 would find its ultimate expression as Israel’s “sons and daughters, her old men and matrons” were richly anointed with the Holy Spirit. Then the nations would mightily benefit as the finally restored Israel walked in the multiplied spiritual blessings of God. Evil would be defeated and all nations, following Israel’s example, would know the Lord. The *Shechinah* would return to Jerusalem, and God would be manifestly present over the Holy City.¹⁰¹⁷

The Jew was God’s barometer in things political and spiritual.¹⁰¹⁸ Only the Jews had benefited over the past decades as the Jewish homeland had come into focus. The Jewish people would now return to the Promised Land in unbelief but then look to God and the Davidic King Messiah. Israel in Zion had always been the divine program for the Jewish people. Had Israel not proved steadfastly unfaithful to God,

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., 111.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., 112.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., 113.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid., 114.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., 115.

¹⁰¹⁸ Beskin, *The Return of the Jews and the End of the World*, 3.

they would not have been uprooted two millennia earlier.¹⁰¹⁹ But Israel's return to Zion had been divinely incorporated into Holy Writ centuries before the fact.¹⁰²⁰ All Jewish history had divine purpose since the Jews were the custodians of the "living oracles" which bore testimony to the One who enlightens the Gentiles and is Israel's glory.¹⁰²¹

The day would come when Gentiles, out of their desire to experience the very presence of God within his Chosen People, would be gladly led by Jewish people.¹⁰²² The Jews had been globally scattered as by a divine whirlwind yet God had an "infinite plan of mercy" in mind for Jerusalem and the Jewish people. Their "mournful fasts" would be turned into "cheerful feasts" as the whole universe would benefit from a new capacity for intercessory prayer in Zion. This would result from the return of Jesus to his own Jewish people, as he would "turn away ungodliness from Jacob." Soon the One rejected at Mt. Calvary would be embraced on Mt. Olivet. Prophecies regarding the Jewish return to Zion from the ends of the earth were finding fulfillment.¹⁰²³ God had always wanted to do the very best of things for Israel but disobedience and infidelity had delayed God's program.¹⁰²⁴ At the end of the age Israel would be delivered from tribulation, restored to Zion, be under the authority of Messiah Ben David, be cleansed of sin and enjoy the New Covenant blessings that were to have always been their God-given Jewish portion.¹⁰²⁵

Israel would fully participate in the *eschaton*, as the Holy Spirit would be outpoured afresh upon the Jewish nation as on the Day of Pentecost. Even as signs of the Second Coming, Armageddon and the judgment of the nations had been fore-glimpsed, the restoration of Israel had also been prophesied.¹⁰²⁶ A sin-purged Israel would be a "humble, trustful and holy nation." The result of Israel's divine chastening would be the blessing of Israel's remnant and the Almighty's presence in the midst of the restored and exalted nation.¹⁰²⁷

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰²⁰ Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (20 August 1932): 6.

¹⁰²¹ Max Isaac Reich, "The Mystery and Romance of Israel," *PE* (11 June 1932): 2.

¹⁰²² Stanley H. Frodsham, "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (9 December 1933): 4.

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁴ "Editor's Note," *PE* (30 June 1934): 4.

¹⁰²⁵ Pearlman, *Through the Bible Book by Book*, Part II, 41.

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73. See Joel 2:28-3:21; 2:28-29; 2:30-32; 3:1-16; 3:17-21.

¹⁰²⁷ Pearlman, *Through the Bible Book by Book*, Part II, 99. See Zephaniah 3:8-20.

Though God had not yet fulfilled his purposes in Israel, the preservation of the Jewish people was a perpetual reality. While empires and nations had tried to expel or exterminate the Jewish people, the divine solution for Israel was regeneration. God would never drop his ideal that Israel should show forth God's praise in the earth. The Jew was not to be "a dealer in second hand clothes," "the world's financier" or a vaudeville comedian. The modern Jew was a Jonah, the runaway prophet. The nations were still in turmoil because Israel, the first-born nation, was not yet walking in harmony with the will of God.

The Messiah needed to be restored to his Jewish brethren in order for Israel to fulfill her destiny. Without him, Israel would continue "to dwell in a desolate house." The *Shechinah* was waiting to return to Israel to effect repentance and forgiveness of sins. God would keep his promises of Israel's ultimate restoration just as certainly as he kept his promises of dispersion and exile.¹⁰²⁸

It had been Paul's perspective that Israel was still the covenant people of God and would yet be restored to divine favor.¹⁰²⁹ The spiritual blindness would be lifted off Israel when the "fullness of the Gentiles" resulted in "all Israel (being) saved." God's program for Israel had not changed, since "the gifts and calling of God are without repentance."¹⁰³⁰ God had chosen the Jews to be his custodians of the Torah and his witnesses to the nations. They were the Chosen in order to serve others.¹⁰³¹ Appeal to Israel should be to fully identify with the Man of Sorrows that Israel could become in truth the suffering Messiah's fellow servants of the Lord.¹⁰³² Such would be the ultimate Jewish destiny in any event.¹⁰³³

Christians needed to understand the important role of Israel in God's program. It was of "utmost importance" for an accurate understanding of the Bible to recognize Israel's role in God's economy since without the Jew there was no key to either

¹⁰²⁸ Myer Pearlman, "The Restoration of Israel," *The Adult's Student Quarterly*, 18:4 (24 October 1937): 30-31. Demonstrating a sympathetic affinity with traditional Judaism, Pearlman also recounted an anecdotal story about Rabbi Akiba and his distraught rabbinic disciples walking on the destroyed Temple site on Mount Moriah as Akiba reiterated that even as God promised the Temple's desolation, He also promised restored glory to Zion and Israel.

¹⁰²⁹ See especially Romans 9 through 11.

¹⁰³⁰ Ernest S. Williams, "A New Day Coming to the Jews," *PE* (25 January 1941): 2.

¹⁰³¹ Pearlman, "Those Strange People -- the Jews!" 2.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰³³ Frodsham, "The Fig Tree," 4.

Scripture or history.¹⁰³⁴ “Jews were God’s chosen earthly people” and he had promised to make their lives and circumstances fruitful. At present a veil of unbelief effectively blinded part of Israel until the Second Coming but then, in Christ, Israel would be fully restored to God’s fellowship and favor.¹⁰³⁵ The Jew would become God’s flaming evangelist to all humanity though to the present he had failed in his mission. The world was in disorder and would thus remain until Israel was divinely restored to her uniquely ordained place in God.¹⁰³⁶ A repentant Israel would be transformed into an effective messenger of God’s grace to the nations even as God intended from the time of the Exodus. The presently improving positive Jewish faith response to Jesus would be characteristic of all Israel at the Second Coming.¹⁰³⁷ The world was in an uproar because the Jew had been displaced by world events.¹⁰³⁸ Without Christ, the Jewish destiny would only remain frustrated.¹⁰³⁹ But Israel would soon have a new beginning with Jesus as Leader. Israel’s restoration to her Messiah would enable him to inherit the uttermost nations for his earthly possession.¹⁰⁴⁰

THE PENDING CLIMAX OF THE “TIMES OF THE GENTILES”

Since the first century, the Jews had gone “on short rations” but would “have their fill of bread again one day.”¹⁰⁴¹ Israel had temporarily been divinely shelved but would be reactivated on the conclusion of the Spirit’s “full course of operation among the Gentiles.”¹⁰⁴² The present age was “the Great Parenthesis” when Gentiles would experience God’s intended Jewish blessings.¹⁰⁴³ Gentiles had indeed benefited from God’s faithful patriarchal covenant with Israel by being grafted into “the good olive tree of spiritual blessings promised to Israel.” The Gentiles had seized the very opportunity Israel had rejected. But Israel had only temporarily lost connection with

¹⁰³⁴ Thomas L. Chalmers, “Israel’s Place in the Divine Plan,” *PE* (19 June 1943): 5.

¹⁰³⁵ “The Jewish Sabbath and the Lord’s Day,” *The Adult’s Student Quarterly*, 18:3 (24 September 1944): 79.

¹⁰³⁶ “Jonah, a Type of Israel,” *PE* (29 January 1944): 5.

¹⁰³⁷ E. F. M. Staudt, “Jerusalem, the Coming Center of the Nations,” *PE* (28 April 1945): 3.

¹⁰³⁸ Max Isaac Reich, “The Mystery and Romance of Israel,” *PE* (23 June 1945): 5.

¹⁰³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴¹ E. N. Bell, ““God’s Grace to the Gentiles. And the Restoration of Israel,” *Christian Evangel* (6 September 1919): 4. Baptist pastor turned Pentecostal, Eudorus N. Bell (1866-1923), twice chairman of the General Council of the AG, edited the *Christian Evangel* and *Weekly Evangel* from 1917 to 1919.

¹⁰⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴³ A. A. Boddy, ed., “Jewish Notes,” *Confidence* 124 (January-March 1921): 6.

the life flow and would soon be spiritually regrafted and their fullness restored.¹⁰⁴⁴ The current transition of Jerusalem to Jewish hands portended the Second Coming and Israel's full redemption.¹⁰⁴⁵ While subsequent to the Day of Pentecost, Israel had apostatized and been pruned from the patriarchal Olive tree which resulted in Gentile believers being grafted on, Christendom had now also apostatized and would be cut off so that the natural Jewish branches would be regrafted onto their original Olive Tree.¹⁰⁴⁶ Israel's political and spiritual rise evidenced the *eschaton*.¹⁰⁴⁷ While the Church had occupied but a parenthetical post until Israel's "repentance and restoration,"¹⁰⁴⁸ Christian apostasy would ultimately give way to Jewish national conversion and rebirth.

The divine restoration of Israel would accompany Messiah's successful inheritance of the nations and possession of "the uttermost parts of the earth."¹⁰⁴⁹ The uniquely chosen Jewish nation was distinctly destined to rule during the Millennium.¹⁰⁵⁰ The anti-Semitic western nations would soon release Israel to perform his prophetic mission to the world. The "times of the Gentiles" were at their climax while a spiritually revived Israel would soon embark upon its prophetic destiny.¹⁰⁵¹ It was God's purpose to bless the universe of nations with Israel's restoration to divine favor and national exaltation. It was protested that many Christians had mistakenly conceived that God had rejected Israel or that the Church had superseded Israel in God's purposes. But the Church had been but a temporary solution to fill the gap left by Israel's absence until the Second Coming. The times of the Gentiles were climaxing in light of recent political realignments in Europe and Asia. Israel would still be forgiven their sins, maintain a genuine fear of God, receive an outpouring of the Spirit, and yet see the pierced One at the Second Coming. Such a move of God among Israel

¹⁰⁴⁴ GPH, "Lesson 4: Restoration of Israel," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (24 October 1937): 30.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Charles E. Robinson, ed., "Why Do We Expect Jesus' Second Coming Soon?" *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 1:8 Part 4 (28 November 1928): 4.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Beskin, *The Return of the Jews and the End of the World*, 151.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁰⁴⁸ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (10 December 1944): 60.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Max Isaac Reich, "The Mystery and Romance of Israel," *PE* (11 June 1932): 2.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Alice A. Luce, "Helps for C. A. Meetings," *CAH* 5:5 (May and June 1932): 11.

¹⁰⁵¹ W.E.B.C., "The Whale Begins to Vomit," *LRE* (1 June 1933): 1.

would occur when the “full complement of the Gentiles be come in.” The national conversion and “final” restoration of Israel had been biblically prophesied.¹⁰⁵²

Jewish suffering over the centuries “ought to move a Gentile heart to its depths.” Such suffering was attributed to the chastening hand of a heart-broken God. The Gentiles believers were but temporary branches in the patriarchal olive tree while the real “life stock is Israel.” The mercy of God was witnessed in his making “Israel the pivot of the salvation of the world.”¹⁰⁵³ As the result of a variety of national sins, the Hebrew Bible had promised Israel’s exile. The prophetic clock charting Israel’s appointments in God’s program had stopped at the crucifixion. But in spite of constant calamity, a surviving Jewish people would increase while preserving their godly distinctives in unsettled circumstances among the nations.¹⁰⁵⁴ Romans 11 had anticipated the resumption of the clock’s ticking after the church age when “the godly Jewish remnant would be re-instated into the olive tree” and become the nucleus of a wholly redeemed Israel.¹⁰⁵⁵ National Israel would be resurrected to enjoy salvation at the Second Coming as God’s love and sure promises to the patriarchs were to be to Israel’s perpetual benefit.¹⁰⁵⁶

ZIONISM AS PRELUDE TO THE *ESCHATON*

Pentecostals were ideologically committed to the ideal, growth, and development of the Zionist enterprise since they believed Zionism’s success to be an immediate prelude to the summation of salvation history and the Second Coming. As early as 1920, Pentecostals taught, “Christians should pray for the restoration of the Jews to their land, for thus,...we may help to hasten the day of the Lord’s coming.” The biblically proportioned Promised Land¹⁰⁵⁷ would have a land mass at least ten times greater than that of Palestine and “blossom as the rose.”¹⁰⁵⁸ While multiplied thousands of young *chalutzim* had arrived in Palestine from countries best “compared

¹⁰⁵² Frank M. Boyd, “Israel and the Nations,” *PE* (14 July 1934): 6.

¹⁰⁵³ D. M. Panton, “The Re-engrafted Olive,” *PE* (9 October 1937): 5.

¹⁰⁵⁴ GPH, “Lesson 11: God’s Chosen People, the Jews,” 60-61.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Myer Pearlman, “Windows into the Future,” *CAH* 12:10 (October 1939): 7, 13.

¹⁰⁵⁶ GPH, “Lesson 3: The Judgment of Hoshea and the Captivity of Israel,” *Adult and Young People’s Teachers’ Quarterly* (21 April 1940): 20.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Boddy referenced Gen. 15:18, “from the River of Egypt to...the River Euphrates.”

¹⁰⁵⁸ A. A. Boddy, “The Return of the Jews to the Holy Land. What it Portends,” *Confidence* 13:3 (October-December 1920): 51. See Yaakov Ariel and Ruth Kark, “Messianism, Holiness, and Community: A Protestant American-Swedish Sect in Jerusalem, 1881–1933,” in *Church History* 65 (1996): 641–57.

with hell,"¹⁰⁵⁹ Arab opposition had slowed the formation of a Jewish State. But in spite of all human defiance, even as God had promised, soon "our Jewish Saviour is coming...to reign at Jerusalem as King of Kings and Lord of Lords."¹⁰⁶⁰

In 1923 Mark John Levy, a Jewish convert widely appreciated in early AG circles, published a missionary tract in the *PE* for a secondary Pentecostal readership. Its first paragraph read:

Our Hebrew brethren are reoccupying the Holy Land in preparation for the near return of our true Messiah on the "white horse" of victory, to begin His glorious reign of universal righteousness and peace on earth.¹⁰⁶¹

Pentecostals believed that the "terrible fear, sufferings and desolation" of the Jewish people since the close of World War I would continue until the Jews had both returned to Palestine and ceased their rebellion against God. The return to Zion and submission to God went hand in hand.¹⁰⁶² Christians lovingly rejoiced at the role Israel forever played in God's plan but were saddened to note Israel's return to Zion in unbelief and without a dependence upon Scripture. Yet the returning Jews would ultimately establish Jerusalem as a religious center with the rebuilt Temple and reinstated worship.¹⁰⁶³ Pentecostals looked beyond the immediate problems and obstacles in anticipation of a Jerusalem that would become the political and educational center of the new nation and the seat for formulating "the advancement and development of the country." As Jewish genius, talent, commercial wealth and resources would be tapped for Zion's reconstruction, Israel's future would be glorious.¹⁰⁶⁴ While secularized Zionism was "not directly of God" and would prove to be a spiritual failure, it was, nonetheless, preparing the way for the fail-proof fulfillment of Scripture with the planting of a new nation in Zion's soil. Past mistakes would be overcome, as the energized Jewish race astonished the world.¹⁰⁶⁵ Within the span of one lifetime the Jewish people had resumed the governance of Jerusalem after

¹⁰⁵⁹ A. A. Boddy, "Palestine Items," *Confidence* 125 (April-June 1921): 22.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶¹ Mark J. Levy, "A Son of Levi Writes to His Brethren," *PE* (24 November 1923), 23.

¹⁰⁶² Stanley H. Frodsham, "Massacre of the Jews," *PE* (November 29, 1924): 24.

¹⁰⁶³ Myer Pearlman, "Israel, the Everlasting People," *PE* (6 June 1925): 6.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Stanley H. Frodsham, et al, eds., "The Land of the Bible in the Last Days," *PE* (25 August 1928): 2.

a 2500 year hiatus. The fig tree was rapidly budding as Jewish possession of the Land progressed.¹⁰⁶⁶

Allenby's liberation on December 21, 1917, had evidenced the lifting of the divine curse against Jerusalem. Jews since then had been massively returning to Zion to rebuild the Jewish homeland. God was now blessing the Jews as cities were being built, railroads were going in and busses were being imported.¹⁰⁶⁷ In the newly fortified Zion, Jerusalem would be the national headquarters of the Jewish homeland. Anti-Christ would attack the regathered of Israel, but rescue would come at Armageddon with the Second Coming.¹⁰⁶⁸ The one-third of Israel converted to messianic faith in Jesus prior to the Battle of Armageddon would form the renewed ruling nation and play a strategic role in the millennium¹⁰⁶⁹ as in "the last days divine guidance shall be restored to Israel."¹⁰⁷⁰

Much Pentecostal goodwill existed toward the Jewish people. It was believed God was bringing the Jewish people back to Zion in large numbers to accomplish his long-term objectives by allowing them the current European political discomfort. Hitler's recent edict had inspired the previously well-situated 600,000 German Jews to look favorably on relocation to Zion to till the soil, develop new colonies, and even contend with Arabs. Zion was the locale for the fulfillment of prophetic Scripture.¹⁰⁷¹ God's special blessings upon Israel would come by means of Christ's return to his own Jewish people. The Jewish people would be successfully regathered from the four corners of the universe, a process that had already started in fulfillment of biblical prophecy.¹⁰⁷² An unrepentant Israel was being regathered for restored nationality in unbelief. But after a time of chastening during Jacob's trouble, the Lord would breathe life into Israel's dry bones for national birth in a day. Zionism and other Jewish-related signs all pointed to the pending millennial reign of Jesus. The spiritually restored

¹⁰⁶⁶ Robinson, "Why Do We Expect Jesus' Second Coming Soon?" 16.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Nathan Cohen Beskin, "Jerusalem, Past, Present and Future," *LRE* (1 September 1931): 3.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁷⁰ GPH, "Lesson 11: Israel Journeying Toward Canaan," *The Pentecostal Teachers' Quarterly* (11 September 1932): 80.

¹⁰⁷¹ Thomsen, "The Present Jewish Crisis," 14.

¹⁰⁷² Stanley H. Frodsham, "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (9 December 1933): 4.

Jewish people would then become the agents of international rest and prosperity and witnesses to the triumph of truth.¹⁰⁷³

The *PE* proclaimed Jews deeply sensed a Jewish distinctiveness, “a peculiar, invisible, mysterious barrier” that ultimately disallowed assimilation. This had all been by providential design to guarantee Jewish national restoration for divine purposes.¹⁰⁷⁴ Now the “times of the Gentiles” were rapidly climaxing in anticipation of the Second Coming, when the regathered and restored of Israel would “be re-commissioned as God’s evangelists in the earth.”¹⁰⁷⁵ The biblically promised boundaries of Israel’s heritage allowed “plenty of room” for all returnees.¹⁰⁷⁶

Jews were returning to Zion in record numbers but in unbelief and common disdain for Jewish religion or Scripture and with apparent idolatrous devotion to work. But Christ alone could affect remedy for the struggling Jewish people.¹⁰⁷⁷ The Arab-Jewish conflict would find solution when both peoples crowned Jesus King. To Pentecostals, the rebuilding of Zion was but one sign of the pending *eschaton* in company with international disturbances and the wide spread plague of atheism.¹⁰⁷⁸ Meanwhile Pentecostals felt their need to simply pray for the Second Coming and the accompanying peace of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷⁹ There was no doubt that the Jewish people pragmatically needed their own nation in such a politically hostile world. The real biblical solution to the Jewish problem was “friendly segregation,” i.e., the formation of a Jewish State in their own land. The Jews would finally be honored as a great nation when the Lord himself restored them.¹⁰⁸⁰ Israel’s spiritual revival would only follow their national return, but in the final analysis, “Regeneration (was) the only solution to the Jewish Problem.”¹⁰⁸¹ Israel would ultimately become all God desired in Zion as the dry bones were collected, clothed and revived to become God’s

¹⁰⁷³ Boughton, “The National Restoration of the Jews,” 3.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Myer Pearlman, “The Message and Power of the Old Testament Prophets,” *LRE* (1 October 1935): 13.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Charles S. Peters, “The Significance of the Jew Returning to Palestine,” *LRE* (1 February 1936): 3.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Otto J. Klink, “Otto-Graphs,” *CAH* 9:7 (July 1936): 16.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Hoover, “The Word of God Concerning the Jew,” 18. The adoption of the shekel and the raising of the Jewish flag over Jerusalem were undeniable signs that the Gentile dispensation was passing off the scene. Soon the Great Tribulation would be followed by the millennium.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Nagel, “Palestine -- Why the Disturbances,” 12-13.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Myer Pearlman, “Whither Israel?” *PE* (23 July 1938): 2.

¹⁰⁸¹ Reich, “The Mystery and Romance of Israel,” *PE* (9 December 1939): 10.

international "Salvation Army" during the millennium.¹⁰⁸² While many Jews had sought assimilation and had no Zionist aspirations, God himself was committed to the Zionist cause and had allowed oppression to foster Jewish emigration to Zion.¹⁰⁸³ It was impossible for some Pentecostals to envision the successful re-establishment of the Jewish State prior to Israel's faith in Christ as both Israel and the nations were to be blessed by his messianic government.¹⁰⁸⁴ Jewish dependence on their own militias to deliver Jerusalem rather than dependence on God was considered vanity.¹⁰⁸⁵

Pentecostals seemed frustrated that presently neither the Jews nor Jesus were in their proper places. The reluctant of international Israel should hastily return to Zion in harmony with God's program, for when Israel had settled under Messiah's rule, a duly glorified God would fill the earth with his glory.¹⁰⁸⁶ The revival of the Jewish nation presaged the Second Coming. Jewish dependence upon modern civilization for peace would be met with disillusionment. In fact, no peace or resting place would be afforded a Jewish nation still in defiance of God's appointed messianic king. "Jacob's Trouble" was quickly approaching but would soon be followed by the salvation of Israel right out of its miserable grip.¹⁰⁸⁷ Some contended that Israel would experience the "punishment and misery" known as the time of Jacob's Trouble. The cruel atrocities Jews were currently experiencing in Russia reportedly paled in comparison with what awaited them.¹⁰⁸⁸ While dark days lie ahead for contemporary Israel, extermination would not be the Jewish destiny, as the Scriptures foretold a noble Jewish future.

It will be at this time, in the darkest hour of Jewish history, that our Lord Jesus will return to this earth to fulfill His prophecy to Israel, "Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord."¹⁰⁸⁹

¹⁰⁸² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰⁸³ "When a Jew Met Jesus: The Story of a European Jew who lost his Home but Found His Saviour," 10.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Ernest S. Williams, "A New Day Coming to the Jews," *PE* (25 January 1941): 3. The AG General Superintendent prayed, "Hasten, O Lord, the day of Israel's restoration and the reign of Him who is to be Israel's King and King over all the world."

¹⁰⁸⁵ "Protection for Palestine," *PE* (17 January 1942): 12.

¹⁰⁸⁶ "Moving Day," *CAH* 16:11 (November 1943): 15.

¹⁰⁸⁷ "Entire Jewish Race Threatened," 13.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Thomsen, "The Present Jewish Crisis," 14.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Williams, "Be Encouraged, Ye Jews," 6.

The Jewish nation had demonstrated a propensity for following false messiahs. The Pentecostals believed the Scriptures indicated that Israel would embrace another false messiah, the anti-Christ, who would lead Israel into a potentially fatal destiny. But Israel's call for divine deliverance in the *eschaton* would result in Israel's astounding new faith in Jesus, Israel's ultimate redeemer.¹⁰⁹⁰ Startling tales of renewed Jewish interest and faith in Jesus were recounted to inspire continued Pentecostal conviction that the Second Coming was at hand.¹⁰⁹¹ The presently witnessed dramatic Jewish craving for the coming of the Messiah was linked with the return to Zion and the Second Coming. Such a messianic desire, Pentecostals were persuaded, would encourage the massive Jewish return to Zion even prior to the rapture.¹⁰⁹² Ezekiel's valley of dry bones was related to the whole body of Israel whom God would soon revitalize and restore to Zion.¹⁰⁹³

ULTIMATE VICTORY OF THE ISRAEL OF GOD

For Pentecostals the successful Zionistic land reclamation in Palestine or the achieved construction of a Jewish State in Zion would ultimately never suffice. Only an accompanying Jewish restoration to God, a renewal of the Kingdom covenant, and a reintroduced sweet communion between a submissive Israel and God would do since anything less than Israel's full reentry into the swift-flowing river of God's spiritual blessing would not eventuate in the whole world sharing in Israel's blessing.¹⁰⁹⁴

Anti-Semitism would be a thing of the past in the Jew's coming day as "he will be highly esteemed and sought for." But this could not happen until Israel had fully repented since "first there must come on the part of the house of Judah and the house

¹⁰⁹⁰ Pearlman, "Israel, the Everlasting People," 8. The prophetic record would find its climax in space and time when Israel was head of the nations, Palestine the glory of all lands, Jerusalem a praise in the earth with Mt. Zion's Christ, the Royal Son of Deity, reigning as supreme King of kings.

¹⁰⁹¹ Beskin, "The Return of the Jews," 6. Rabbi Steven Wise, "the greatest Jewish Rabbi in the world today, and the leading Zionist," was quoted as saying, "We Jews have been waiting for the Messiah. We do not need to wait any longer. The Messiah is here already, and if we will accept the teachings and the philosophy of Jesus Christ we will have our Messiah."

¹⁰⁹² Thomsen, "The Present Jewish Crisis," 15. Thomsen expressed familiarity with Jewish messianic appeals, e.g., "Send back our Messiah," "We must have our Messiah!" and "Send back our messiah quickly."

¹⁰⁹³ Williams, "A New Day Coming to the Jews," 2. The Second Coming would defeat the invading power coming against regathered Israel. A great destiny awaited Israel and a divinely ruled world when Christ alone would reign as Israel's Davidic King.

¹⁰⁹⁴ "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (1 August 1931): 4.

of Israel a getting right with God."¹⁰⁹⁵ God's last chapter in salvation history included Israel's return, and only one nation's history had been written in advance.¹⁰⁹⁶ God had made a covenant with Abraham that promised the real estate of modern Syria, Trans-Jordan and Northern Arabia. Modern Palestine was only one small strip of what God promised.¹⁰⁹⁷

Jewish repentance and faith in Jesus were the keys to Israel's ultimate inheritance. No power but God's would restore to the Jews the Promised Land when the Jews would turn to him in true repentance. But, the *LRE* reported, many Jewish youth were discovering that Hebrew biblical prophecy matched the NT record of Jesus. Pentecostals were encouraged to give copies of the Gospel of Matthew to American Jewish youth in the confidence that the Word of God would yield spiritual prosperity for Jewish people.¹⁰⁹⁸

With whatever keen disappointments both Jews and "end-times" focused Christians were experiencing, "God will work out His purposes concerning the Jews and the land which He promised to Abraham for an everlasting possession, regardless of any obstacles men or nations may put in His way."¹⁰⁹⁹ While Jews were still undergoing punishment and had been "temporarily dispossessed,...they have been, are being, and will be, wonderfully preserved for a glorious future."¹¹⁰⁰

Pentecostals observed the rising tide of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in the modern political arena. A "great conflict in Palestine" was looming, as the nations would soon gather against Zion. The intensity of Armageddon would make World War I "look like a flea bite." But the One unexpected by the nations would come to the rescue of his Jewish kinsmen. The enemies of Israel would be crushed in the winepress of God's wrath. Jesus would fulfill his promise to Israel by bringing both righteousness and peace to them.¹¹⁰¹ Upon Israel's national rescue, the Jewish people would embrace their senior Kinsman. Meanwhile, Israel needed to learn to lean on God rather than the nations. Significantly, Pentecostals grew to believe the common

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (20 August 1932): 6.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Laura Radford, "God Fulfilling His Covenant with Abraham," *LRE* (1 February 1934): 3.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁹ "The Partitioning of Palestine," *LRE* (1 October 1937): 21.

¹¹⁰⁰ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," 63.

¹¹⁰¹ Stanley H. Frodsham, ed., "The Editor's Notebook," *PE* (28 May 1932): 5.

dispensationalist teaching that two-thirds of Israel would be lost in the refiner's fire before the veil over Jewish unbelieving hearts would be taken away.¹¹⁰²

That the dispersed of Israel would be regathered, rising as they had fallen, to experience resurrection life after two millennia of national death was true both nationally and spiritually.¹¹⁰³ Christ, the Davidic Good Shepherd of Israel would seek out and bring back his sheep to their own land, effecting the resurrection life of all Israel by the virtue of his own covenant blood.¹¹⁰⁴ Purged of unbelief and disobedience to the Lord, national Israel would be eternally secured and function as head of the nations with Christ as King. Jerusalem would be enlarged by two hundred times, adorned, and "become the metropolis of the world." The Chosen People would enjoy longevity, fruitfulness, and fertility and function as international blessing to all nations. The biblically Promised Land, including Canaan and all the territories from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea, would finally be inherited.¹¹⁰⁵

In spite of nearly 2000 years without a sign of repentance for the crime of the ages, a day of national repentance in Israel was on the horizon. God's harsh dealings with a rebellious Israel were plain to see, yet the nation would be born in a day when Christ came in power to establish his millennial reign. The Smiting Stone would crush Gentile dominion and establish Israel's international leadership in the everlasting kingdom.¹¹⁰⁶

THE FULFILLMENT OF ISRAEL'S PROPHETIC MISSION

It had always been God's plan to accomplish his purposes through the Jews, issuing Israel the types, law, covenant, and all other provisions needed to use them as his global witnesses. While God loved all mankind equally, in submission to her King, Israel would be God's prime vehicle to bless the universe.¹¹⁰⁷ The Son of David would reign over a converted and loyal Israel upon his coming to the Mount of Olives to affect Israel's deliverance. The Jews would become a nation of Spirit-filled

¹¹⁰² Ibid.

¹¹⁰³ William Burton McCafferty, "The National and Spiritual Resurrection of the Hebrews," *Word and Work* 61:4 (May 1939): 11.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹¹⁰⁵ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," 63-64.

¹¹⁰⁶ E. F. M. Staudt, "Jerusalem, the Coming Center of the Nations," *PE* (28 April 1945): 3.

¹¹⁰⁷ Rader, 44.

missionaries.¹¹⁰⁸ Escaping every curse, the Jews would joyfully enter into their salvation as followers of Christ and happily preach him to all nations.¹¹⁰⁹ From the divine perspective, the prophecies were as good as completed since the omniscient God presently viewed the Jews as his fully sanctified Chosen People acclaiming the Savior-Messiah to an Evangel-filled world.¹¹¹⁰ The rebuilt Temple would serve as Christ's administrative office. The Holy Spirit would be poured out on all humanity as a reborn national Israel attracted the nations to the illuminating reign of Christ.¹¹¹¹ Israel had permanency in God's eternal program since the "unchangeable and indestructible" Jew would soon be re-commissioned to be "God's evangelists in the world."¹¹¹²

A favorable Pentecostal disposition toward the Jewish people was encouraged along with the expectation of Israel's spiritual redemption. Saul of Tarsus and his Damascus Road experience had been the archetype of Israel. Since the outpouring of the Spirit was for Jews too, Pentecostals were to pray "constantly, fervently, perseveringly for this."¹¹¹³ In spite of "living in a lawless age, in a chaotic, disordered, sin-sick world," true believers would soon witness the dazzling brightness of the rise of the Sun of Righteousness. The unveiled eyes of Israel would behold him prior to their re-commissioning as God's universal witnesses.¹¹¹⁴ As the result of Pentecostal-styled heavenly outpourings, Israel would be saved and resurrected to generate great revival among the Gentiles.¹¹¹⁵

The spiritual revival of Israel, beginning with their indispensable regeneration, would follow the national return to Zion.¹¹¹⁶ Israel would ultimately become the readied messengers of God even he had always desired of Israel.¹¹¹⁷ The re-employed Jewish "Jonah" would generate "one of the greatest revivals in the history of the

¹¹⁰⁸ Boddy, "The Return of the Jews to the Holy Land. What it Portends," 55.

¹¹⁰⁹ Boddy, "Jewish Notes," 6.

¹¹¹⁰ Pearce, "Looking from the Top," 7. See also, Long, "Hitler and the Jews," 12. Resurrected Israel would function as a missionary nation and preach the Gospel to all mankind.

¹¹¹¹ P. C. Nelson, "Things Which Are Most Surely Believed Among Us," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 4:11 (November 1929): 13.

¹¹¹² Peters, "Coming Up Jonah," 7.

¹¹¹³ "Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem," *PE* (1 August 1936): 5.

¹¹¹⁴ Peters, "Eretz Israel," 5.

¹¹¹⁵ Stanley H. Frodsham, "The Coming Great Ingathering," *PE* (19 March 1938): 5.

¹¹¹⁶ Max Isaac Reich, "The Mystery and Romance of Israel," *PE* (9 December 1939): 10.

¹¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

world.”¹¹¹⁸ Ironically, Israel would enjoy immense international influence in spite of current events. The so-called “curse” among the nations would become their greatest asset, as Israel would be providentially guided to provide her mandated missionary and revival services.¹¹¹⁹

Israel’s early error in rejecting Jesus had not compromised their covenant relationship with God. God’s program for Israel had not changed in the least since God had not revoked his call and giftings to Israel. Restoration to divine favor and blessing awaited the lifting of their spiritual blindness, and when Gentile fullness had sufficiently accrued, “all Israel shall be saved.”¹¹²⁰ The Jewish national conversion was assured. Jesus’ Jewish brethren would be alongside his throne during the millennium, as Israel’s new nation became the center of world government and divine worship. The Jews themselves would be called the ministers of the Lord and serve as missionaries to the ends of the earth.¹¹²¹

The cycle of prophecy was coming back to its original place in space and time. Just as the apostolic *charismata* were functioning afresh in the restored NT Church, Israel was being restored both to Zion and to faithful obedience to God. The spiritual reclamation of Israel would require more than farmer’s tools or governmental decrees. The spiritual rebirth of Israel would command the manifestations of the Holy Spirit’s presence and knowledge.

PENTECOSTAL FRATERNAL IDENTITY WITH ISRAEL

Pentecostals sensed a fraternal identification with the Jewish people on three bases as witnessed in the Pentecostal publications between 1918 and 1945. Pentecostals were forever joined with Israel as fellow-restorationists, as team players in global messianic redemption, and as people dependent upon the Spirit’s infusion of life-energy for the successful accomplishment of the assigned divine mission.

The Balfour Declaration of full British support for a Jewish restoration had stirred “the hearts of Christian Jews” as God had torn down the barriers to the

¹¹¹⁸ “The Indigestible Jew,” 3.

¹¹¹⁹ Ernest S. Williams, “Abraham’s Two Seeds,” *PE* (1 February 1941): 2.

¹¹²⁰ Ernest S. Williams, “A New Day Coming to the Jews,” 2. See also Romans 9-11.

¹¹²¹ Ralph M. Riggs, “The Jew,” *PE* (15 September 1945): 3. See also Isa 61:6; 66:19; Zech 8:23.

immediate restoration of Israel and their Land.¹¹²² E. N. Bell clearly established a direct correspondence between the Pentecostal outpouring and the restoration of national Israel since Kingdom restoration needed to be preceded by the powerful demonstration and witness of the Spirit of God. When the Spirit's work associated with the former and latter rains had been completed, the Kingdom would be restored to Israel. Therefore, demonstration of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal supernatural power would accompany Israel's restoration.¹¹²³

Importantly, the 1922 *PE* rejected a low ecclesiology that speculated the Church would be overshadowed by a rising national Israel. Dispensationalism had long fostered the notion of a declining Church as the restored Kingdom approached. But Pentecostalism, while increasingly sympathetic to dispensationalism, viewed the Church of the *eschaton* as ultimately victorious in its fully restored Pentecostal state.¹¹²⁴ All the development of Zion was not without its corresponding spiritual elements in the Jewish world too. An orthodox Jewish community in Bochara (USSR) had been anticipating the coming of the Messiah as reported in the 1925 *PE*. Mysterious signs, heavenly messages, and the final portion of the Book of Daniel had convinced scholarly Bocharan Jews to expect an early arrival of Messiah. Many Jewish congregations were celebrating his pending arrival with "festivals and dancing in the streets."¹¹²⁵

The destiny of regenerate Christians, the spiritually redeemed of the present age, was "inextricably linked with the purpose of God to restore Israel and make her the head of the nations." The overcomers in this "age of the Spirit" would rule with

¹¹²² A. B. Simpson, "Freed from the Heel of the Turk," *LRE* (1 February 1918): 17-18. Simpson, a major influence upon the younger AG, was the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Simpson's praise for the proven efforts of Zionism, along with the recounting of his time of weeping for joy when the news of the Balfour Declaration reached him, was here reprinted. See also, "A Written Notice," *LRE* (1 December 1917): 11. Within weeks of the Balfour Declaration, the 1917 *LRE* published a call for a Jewish Conference to be conducted under the auspices of the Chicago Hebrew Mission in January 1918. The pending British control of Palestine was stated to have potentially profound significance to Jewish Christians whose prayers had long called for Turkish evacuation. See also, "This Year in Jerusalem," *LRE* (1 January 1918): 13. Here a similar Chicago gathering of 5000 Jews for a Convention of the Federated Zionist Societies of the Middle West was equally reported. The highly romantic call for exactly 42,386 volunteers to serve as the advance team for Zion's reconstruction in keeping with the actual number of those who returned from Babylon to rebuild Jerusalem was dramatically noted for Pentecostal readers.

¹¹²³ E. N. Bell, "'God's Grace to the Gentiles. And the Restoration of Israel,'" *Christian Evangel* (6 September 1919): 4.

¹¹²⁴ Flower, "The Budding Fig Tree," 5.

¹¹²⁵ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (25 April 1925): 7.

the Jewish Messiah over the nations during the millennial reign.¹¹²⁶ Boyd offered this ecstatic admonition linking the return of Israel and the return of Christ to Zion:

Watch Palestine! Watch Palestine! Inform yourself as to events happening in Palestine! Turn your eyes toward the East. The earth's long night of sorrow for Jew and Gentile is coming to a close, to be followed by the glorious millennial day of the Sun of Righteousness which will soon dawn. The King is on His way—"the King of the Jews," their Messiah and ours.¹¹²⁷

The *PE* contended in 1927, "Israel, Christ and the Bible are inseparably connected." All three had survived attacks, contained elements of the supernatural, and were eternal. Pentecostals recognized the Abrahamic covenant as unconditionally guaranteeing Palestine to Abraham's descendants in perpetuity, that Israel must be restored, and God's gifts and calling upon his beloved Israel are without repentance. The remnant of Jewish believers stood as pledge of the salvation of the entire nation of Israel. The *PE* stated categorically that Christians should have more than just interest but also love for the Jew.¹¹²⁸

Gerald Sheppard noted that Myer Pearlman, Jewish-born AG educator and prolific writer, did not draw a sharp distinction between Israel and the Church, as would strongly pronounced dispensationalism. This was seen in his text, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible*, where little distinction could be detected between Israel and the Church. He considered the "Bride of Christ" to be the faithful people of God throughout the Hebrew and Greek Testaments.¹¹²⁹

Pentecostals focused on the Stalinist war on God and Christianity that had now extended to God's people to make life for three million Jews under Stalin's Soviet rule so intolerable as to generate a "concerted exodus."¹¹³⁰ The "Moscow Pharaoh" would not permit a grand departure of Israel, so Jews had to slip off to Palestine in smaller groups. But the 1931 *LRE* advised that the obvious current fulfillment of biblical prophecy in Palestine "should thrill the hearts of all true Christians and stir up the

¹¹²⁶ Boyd, *The Budding Fig Tree*, 118.

¹¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

¹¹²⁸ Pearlman, "The Jewish Question from the Viewpoint of a Converted Jew," 1.

¹¹²⁹ Sheppard, "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism," 13.

¹¹³⁰ W.E.B.C., "Another Jewish Exodus," *LRE* (1 March 1930): 1.

indifferent to know the portent of the deepening shadows that are gathering o'er all the earth."¹¹³¹

A GPH teachers' manual cautioned that some had erred in making allegorizations of the biblical predictions for Israel so as to apply them to the Church. Such teachers had mistakenly assigned all biblical blessings to the Church and left all the judgments for Israel. But, the GPH protested, all God's promises for national Israel were to be literally fulfilled even as Romans 9-11 portended. When a heart-stricken Israel would genuinely recognize Christ, Christians would stand in amazement at God's love. Israel's loving repentance would sweep them over the globe in evangelistic effort that would only shame contemporary missionary enterprise.¹¹³² Never losing sight of the spiritual relevance of the Jewish people, the 1930 *PE* insisted Israel remained God's greatly beloved people, which had universal implications for the nations.¹¹³³ The day was coming when the Jews, in recognition of the Messiah, would fall down and worship him. One writer professed his affection for the "Stars and Stripes," but claimed greater love for his Savior's flag, the "Magon Dovid," the banner bringing peace and joy in the millennium.¹¹³⁴

In 1933 Pentecostals declared that Israel would not be able to find redemption through Zionistic programs alone. Rather, the scattered sheep of Israel needed their Good Shepherd who had laid down his life for his Jewish sheep first. Pentecostals were chided for an indifferent and ignorant attitude toward the Jews but rather should

¹¹³¹ "Prophecies and Their Fulfillment in Palestine," *LRE* (1 June 1931): 1.

¹¹³² GPH, "Lesson 11: Jeremiah," *The Pentecostal Teachers' Quarterly* (14 September 1930): 92. See also Opal Frances Sievert, "The Jewish Ancestor of our Christian Sunday School," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 5:6 (June 1930): 2,3,14. This article was quick to distinguish Talmudic tradition from the Hebrew and Greek Bibles nevertheless drew a strong link between the Jewish *Bet HaMidrash* and the modern Christian Sunday School. The keenly insightful comparisons fostered a sense of fraternity with the Jewish people among Pentecostal youth.

¹¹³³ "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (8 November 1930): 5.

¹¹³⁴ Otto J. Klink, "The Jew --- God's Great Timepiece," *PE* (16 May 1931): 5. See also, Nathan Cohen Beskin, "The Return of the Jews," *LRE* (1 May 1931): 3. Sermons by Beskin, a converted Russian Jew stemming from a long line of Orthodox rabbis, were printed in three issues of the *LRE* in 1931. Beskin, a professed direct descendant of Aaron, had been imprisoned for the Gospel three times and had the scars on his body to witness to the beatings he suffered for the faith. He would remain a dramatic and magnetic personality for American Pentecostals. Beskin declared his own repudiation of conventional Replacement Theology. He admitted the Jews had been "down" but were now coming "up" politically and spiritually. Gentiles would have "the supremacy" only until Jews grew sick enough of the consequences of sin to "come back to God through Christ." Then the Jews would rapidly ascend even as had already begun.

take Jewish people upon their hearts and pray for Jewish faith in Jesus.¹¹³⁵ The Jewish return to the Land ought to awaken Christian anticipation of the Second Coming and properly lead to prayer for the Jewish people as God was obviously speaking today through his work of restoring Jews to Zion.¹¹³⁶ Pentecostal involvement with the Jews was urged since the moment had now arrived that “your fullness and mine has come” so that Jewish ignorance of Christ should now dissipate. Pentecostals should intercede without ceasing until Israel experienced their biblically promised deliverance¹¹³⁷ and were to remember, “If you want to keep God’s blessing upon you, pray for His Chosen People.”¹¹³⁸

The *LRE* emphasized in 1934 that the nations were currently driving out their Jews and compelling them to run to Palestine. Over time, it would become clear to these same hostile nations that Palestine had been divinely prospered. The economically depressed anti-Jewish nations would be provoked to covet Israel’s prosperity and seek to wrest the wealth of Palestine from the hands of the regathered Jewish people. These anti-Semitic nations wanted neither God or God’s people, the Jews or Christians, since they were opposed to all those who “line up with God.” Jews and Christians had been fraternalized into the same extended group of God’s people.¹¹³⁹

In 1935 the AG adopted a significant repudiation of the post-tribulation rapture, the idea that both Israel and the Church would remain on earth for the seven-year tribulation, which had still been commonly advocated in Pentecostal circles.¹¹⁴⁰ Until this clear ideological shift in the direction of dispensationalism, Pentecostals had not been quite as prepared as traditional dispensationalists to entirely relegate the final global proclamation of the Gospel to tribulation or millennial Israel in total distinction to the revivalistic outworkings of Pentecostalism. From a strictly Pentecostalist position, there had been room enough for the joint global effort of both redeemed Israel and Spirit-filled Christians. Israel was national while the Church was international. There was a definite continuity between Israel and the Church while yet

¹¹³⁵ “The Editor’s Notebook,” *PE* (29 April 1933): 4.

¹¹³⁶ Long, “Hitler and the Jews,” 11.

¹¹³⁷ Thomsen, “The Present Jewish Crisis,” 16.

¹¹³⁸ Beskin, “The Truth About the Protocols,” *LRE* (1 October 1933): 21.

¹¹³⁹ Thomsen, “The Battle of Armageddon,” 4.

¹¹⁴⁰ Sheppard, “Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism,” 11.

it was recognized that distinct promises in the Hebrew Bible had been given to each.¹¹⁴¹ Such early Pentecostal ideology was both incongruous with any version of “replacement theology” and did not welcome dispensationalism’s low ecclesiology. Both Israel and the Church were God’s people and were to work in harmony for God’s purposes in the earth. A redeemed national Israel was to function within the larger internationally born-again “spiritual Israel” community without ethnic groups or nations forfeiting their cultural or national distinctives.

The Church, just like Israel, would be “not spared” should the Church likewise rebel against God’s program. The time was at hand for Israel to “again be grafted in” which would result in a grand potential blessing of restoration for the whole world.¹¹⁴² In his 1937 teaching on “The Restoration of Israel,” E. S. Williams stated Israel was the nation chosen to ultimately bless the world of nations whose fates had been “bound up with Israel’s destiny and calling.” Israel’s initial rejection of Christ threatened total loss to the other nations, but God had intervened. If nations had been blessed in spite of Israel’s rejection of Christ, though, how much more would the nations become blessed by Israel’s restoration to Christ and Zion? Williams pointedly wrote, “the blessing to the world...will be brought by the restoration of the Jews.” He then added, “For the same reason you ought to be interested in the salvation of the Jews.”¹¹⁴³ Williams rejected any notion of replacement theology and insisted that Israel’s national promises of blessing “cannot be realized and fulfilled by the church.” God would never go back on his Word. The first-century Jewish failure to embrace Christ was not the climax of Jewish history but a temporary problem since “God has a future for them.”¹¹⁴⁴

Noel Perkin, head of the Department of Foreign Missions, wrote to the missions-minded constituents of the AG, “If we are lovers of the Word of God, we shall be lovers of Israel.” He had come to the realization that “the greatest national and international need is the salvation of Israel.” Gentile Christian missionary efforts had largely failed, but Perkins still envisioned the original missionary people reengaged in spreading the Gospel in Pentecostal power as had their Jewish apostolic forebears.¹¹⁴⁵ Stanley Frodsham added to the same lesson, “let us pray mightily for Israel, for the

¹¹⁴¹ Ibid., 18-19.

¹¹⁴²E. S. Williams, et al, “The Restoration of Israel,” 30.

¹¹⁴³ Ibid., 27.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 26.

¹¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 31.

salvation of this wonderful people whose restoration will mean to the whole world 'life from the dead'."¹¹⁴⁶

The *LRE* of 1939 insisted that the only explanation yet found for the uniqueness of the Jews was that they were a "supernatural people" guided by the Omnipotent author of a supernatural Book. There was no other logical explanation. Although the Jews had been temporarily set aside, the day of God's dealing with them afresh had evidently started with Allenby's 1917 capture of Jerusalem.¹¹⁴⁷

The *PE* in 1941 commended both Pentecostal Spirit-baptism and widespread evangelization in "Restored Israel and Restored Power." A restored Israel would follow the Latter Rain outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Current signs of abundant rainfall in Zion were but prelude to the restoration of Israel's kingdom. The fig tree was budding and would yield its figs. It was time to seek Pentecostal power for the coming harvest.¹¹⁴⁸

Gerald Sheppard noted that as the conflict between dispensationalism and early Pentecostalist ideology grew apparent, Frodsham ultimately saw primitive restorationism's vital and distinct contribution to the Pentecostal perspective on Israel. Plainly, Israel and Pentecostalism were linked in the *eschaton*:

Many have eyes to recognize the very significant evidence forthcoming concerning the restoration of Israel at this time, but how few recognize that at the same time God is bringing about the restoration of His true church, giving to her in these last days what she had at the beginning?¹¹⁴⁹

Anderson contended that Pentecostals viewed traditional Christian denominations as nearly all anti-Christian in contrast to the Jewish non-Christians who would someday come to national salvation in Christ. The Pentecostal sense of relationship with Israel was often keener than that with revelation-defying Christians. Anderson stated,

The Pentecostals had a feeling of kinship toward the Jews who were, in their view, God's original "tree of Israel" into which the Pentecostals themselves had been grafted as the "spiritual Israel." Because they believed that the return of the Jews to their ancient homeland in Palestine

¹¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹¹⁴⁷ Bain, "The Jew in the Present Dilemma," 12. Bain wrote that the Jews were in the throes of prophetic developments but remained the greatest living miracle and stood without equal in the annals of both ancient and modern history.

¹¹⁴⁸ "Restored Israel and Restored Power," *PE* (30 August 1941): 4.

¹¹⁴⁹ As quoted in Sheppard, "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism," 24.

was a necessary precondition for the Second Coming, they were actually Zionists.¹¹⁵⁰

ZIONISM AND PENTECOSTAL MISSION EFFORTS AMONG INTERNATIONAL ISRAEL

During this secondary period in American Pentecostalism, 1918-1945, Pentecostals continued to sense their profound relatedness to the Jewish progeny of the patriarchs. Since political involvements were considered beyond the scope of legitimate Christian activity, the chief contribution Pentecostals could make to the full restoration of Israel was perceived to be in the realm of spiritual redemption. Calls were made for Pentecostal youth and others to share their Christian faith with the Jewish people on several bases. First, there were evidences of new Jewish openness to listening to the presentation of the Gospel. Second, since modern testimony abounded of intensified Jewish expectations of the coming Messiah, the time was ripe. Third, the very presence of a fair number of Jewish leaders ministering in the AG or related Evangelical fellowships indicated the dividends for Jewish evangelistic enterprise were high; it was a fruitful harvest season. Fourth, since a redeemed Israel played such a crucial role in the *eschaton* leading to the Second Coming, Jewish evangelism was consistent with God's end-time program.

Several well-known rabbis were quoted in the 1926 *PE* to inspire Pentecostals to recognize a new Jewish responsiveness to the Christian Savior.¹¹⁵¹ A set of provocative questions clearly designed to challenge the stereotyping of Jewish people by Pentecostal youth was followed by a missiological observation that a profound change in Jewish attitude toward Christ was underway. The traditional Jewish hatred of Jesus was melting into proud recognition of his wonderful Jewish personality.¹¹⁵² Wrote one, "The Jews are looking to see if they can see any Christians living the Christ-life." Pentecostal youth were encouraged to reflect the Spirit of Christ to Jewish people.¹¹⁵³

The *PE* supplied documentation in 1929 from a Jewish group in Denver calling for the convening of a Great Sanhedrin for the purpose of reexamining the historical

¹¹⁵⁰ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 218.

¹¹⁵¹ "What Rabbis Say Concerning Christ," *PE* (19 June 1926): 5.

¹¹⁵² Robinson, "The Jews: their Past, Present and Future and Our Attitude Toward Them," 4.

¹¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

trial of Jesus in terms of both its procedure and verdict. Upon the conclusion of such deliberations, it was presumed that fresh judgment would need to be published which would have immense significance for the Jewish world. The *PE* concluded, "It is felt that the nation must come to a definite decision concerning His nature and claims." He was uncertain whether such a retrial would come to fruition but indicated it was clear Israel wanted to take a fresh look at the Nazarene.¹¹⁵⁴ It was also reported that Reform Rabbi Stephen S. Wise had raised a furor over his commendation of Jesus' teachings.¹¹⁵⁵

The indications in the 1932 *PE* were that Jews were becoming Christians 3.5 times faster than were Gentiles. The Jewish media had reportedly taken note of this trend and one had complained that 10,000 Jews were baptized in Budapest during the first six months of 1920. One Jewish newspaper had protested the 100,000 Jewish conversions since 1917 even from among all the respected professions.¹¹⁵⁶

Beskin had also published a hostile *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* report in 1931 of one hundred thousand "Christ-believing Jews" which purported to include prominent Talmudists and rabbinical teachers. He rehearsed a Reuters report which indicated a Jewish sect of 15,000 was currently forming a Jewish Church near Vilna where both Christ's deity and rabbinical regulations were honored. He further reported on American synagogues where entire Jewish congregations had accepted Christ and been baptized.¹¹⁵⁷ The Jewish believer was no longer a novelty, but thousands of Jews the world over were themselves preaching the Gospel of Christ as "unctionized by the Holy Spirit." The fullness of the Jewish return was surely coming.¹¹⁵⁸

The *PE* offered in 1933 that many Jews were reluctant to embrace Christ out of fear of alienation from Israel but that many others were now turning to him since their eyes had opened to God's given Savior and Messiah.¹¹⁵⁹ Many rabbis had faith in Jesus as a result of their NT studies but did not confess their faith openly due to their fear of

¹¹⁵⁴ Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (17 August 1929): 5.

¹¹⁵⁵ Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (27 July 1929): 5. He reported too on other rabbinical statements expressing hope that the teachings of Jesus may create better understanding and unity between Jews and Christians.

¹¹⁵⁶ Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (15 October 1932): 6. Pearlman repeated here that 204,500 entered the Christian church in the nineteenth-century. He calculated this represented 1 in every 156 Jewish people while the heathen converted at a rate of 1 in 525.

¹¹⁵⁷ Beskin, *The Return of the Jews and the End of the World*, 149-150.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

¹¹⁵⁹ "The Editor's Notebook," *PE* (29 April 1933): 4.

the consequences. Yet some rabbis did publicly speak highly of Jesus like Rabbi Freehof of Chicago who openly declared,

The personality of Jesus was a noble evidence that He was the Son of God. The Spirit of God was manifest in his words and deeds. Even far, far more than any prophets or holy men of old could ever have done, did He impress the world that He was a child of the living God. His personality brought the very God to man.¹¹⁶⁰

Alexander Marks' Jewish testimony in 1939 assured Pentecostals that tremendous Jewish responsiveness to the Gospel had been presently witnessed and its intensification was on the horizon. The evidence offered included 15 Jewish families and a rabbi who attended AG evangelistic services in Illinois.¹¹⁶¹ Pentecostals were admonished to pray for and evangelize Israel's lost sheep with loving kindness.¹¹⁶² Similar testimonies by Elinor Stanford Millar,¹¹⁶³ Rachel Kalinsky,¹¹⁶⁴ Jeannette Fox,¹¹⁶⁵ Zonya Novlensky,¹¹⁶⁶ and the six-installment story of "David"¹¹⁶⁷ by Agnes Scott Key, were all to the same effect.

The GPH published in 1939 a story borrowed from a Jewish newspaper concerning a Jewish journalist in attendance at a Zionist congress in Zurich who had been confronted by a Jewish Christian girl with her "secret" that Israel would have no rest until receiving Christ into the Jewish corporate bosom. Even the Jewish newspaper's readiness to publish the friendly response of the journalist was noted as a positive sign.¹¹⁶⁸ A Rabbi Isserman's declaration that "as a Jew I am proud of Jesus" was coupled in the same lesson with Rabbi William Rosenblum's pulpit remark that "there should be a place for Jesus in the synagogue comparable to that which Moses

¹¹⁶⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶¹ "When a Jew Met Jesus," 11.

¹¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶³ Elinor Stanford Millar, "The Love Story of an Australian Jewess," *CAH* 14:11 (October 1941): 6,14.

¹¹⁶⁴ "Rachel's Sacrifice," a book review for *Rachel* by Agnes Scott Kent, *CAH* 11:11 (November 1938): 16. Noted the writer, "The price of confessing Christ in an orthodox Jewish home is very great." Christians need to have, "a more sympathetic understanding of this peculiar Chosen People." It was available for purchase through the GPH.

¹¹⁶⁵ Jeannette Fox, "A Jewess Speaks," Two Parts, *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 5; *CAH* 9:10 (October 1936): 5-6.

¹¹⁶⁶ "Zonya," a book review for *Zonya*, by Agnes Scott Kent, *CAH* 13:8 (August 1940): 16. The reviewer wrote that young and old alike, "all should read a book that will give a more sympathetic understanding of God's Chosen People." It was available for purchase through the GPH.

¹¹⁶⁷ Agnes Scott Kent, "David," in six installments in *CAH* 3:7-12 (July-December 1928).

¹¹⁶⁸ GPH, "Lesson 4: The Healing of the Centurion's Servant," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (23 April 1939): 27.

and the Prophets occupy in the church."¹¹⁶⁹ Many stories of the distribution of the NT to Jewish people promising to read it were recounted.¹¹⁷⁰ Jewish testimonies were used as incentive for Christian prayer.¹¹⁷¹

A second impetus for Pentecostal evangelism among the Jews was the conviction that Israel still very much anticipated the soon coming of the Messiah. For example, Evangelist Paul Rader told Pentecostals in 1918 that Jewish people he knew were still anticipating a personal Messiah.¹¹⁷² The *PE* characterized the current Jewish messianic aspirations as in full anticipation of a King of the Jewish nation who would terminate the next war. In 1928 Palestine, one-third of the current 150,000 Jews were said to expect the Messiah's speedy revelation and to that end prayed daily. The Pentecostals should likewise offer special prayers for Jerusalem to become "a praise in the earth."¹¹⁷³

A third Pentecostal conviction undergirding Pentecostal evangelism among Jews was the tremendous fruitfulness such labors had yielded in recent times. In proportion to their numbers, Hebrew converts entered Christian ministry three times more often than Gentile Christians. Of keen significance to Pentecostals was the unexpected testimony that most Jewish converts were won to Christian persuasion by Gentiles rather than by fellow Jews.¹¹⁷⁴

Several outstanding Jewish Christian ministers were highlighted to illustrate the great value of faith sharing with Jewish people. For example, the *PE* recounted in 1924 the story of Joseph Wolf, a Jewish man who had functioned as a world-traveling ambassador for Christ and had enjoyed particular ministry success in the Islamic

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁰ Mrs. George T. B. Davis, "The Gospel to Every Creature -- to the Jew First," *PE* (7 January 1939): 11.

¹¹⁷¹ "Pray for Israel," *PE* (24 February 1940): 5. See also, "For What Shall We Pray?" *CAH* 13:12 (December 1940): 14. Here the famous pioneer missionary to Burma, Adoniram Judson, was reported to have earnestly prayed for Israel and many Jews had been converted as a result of his life and labors.

¹¹⁷² Rader, 44.

¹¹⁷³ "Editor's Notebook," *PE* (28 February 1931): 5. See also "Jews Expect Messiah," *LRE* (1 September 1928): 13. As a superman, his expected kingdom center would radiate peace and brotherhood the world over. He would come immediately after the Temple's reconstruction, which would have the effect of provoking the Muslim world. Coming from heaven when Palestine seems lost, Messiah would be victorious and be the first Jewish king in twenty centuries.

¹¹⁷⁴ "Here and There," *PE* (13 September 1924): 8. The *PE* reported here that there were 115 missionary societies working among the Jewish people worldwide involving 700 Christian missionaries, one for every 20,000 Jewish people. Some 204,540 Jews were reportedly baptized in the nineteenth century, one Jewish believer for every 156 Jewish people, a ratio noted to be three times greater than Gentile conversion to Christianity.

world. The article ended with the eschatological thought, “May the Lord raise up many such witnesses from the Jewish people in this generation.”¹¹⁷⁵ The offering of Jewish Christian testimonies of those later entering evangelistic ministry would become a standard Pentecostal practice.

The *PE* recounted the story of Solomon Michael Alexander, rabbinical convert to Anglicanism, who was made an Anglican bishop in 1841 and later founded Christ Church within the Jaffa Gate of Old Jerusalem.¹¹⁷⁶ The *PE* explained the story of a group of Hungarian Jews who, without any interest in denying their utter Jewishness, embraced Jesus as Messiah. These self-described “Christ-believing Jews” professed their conviction that Jesus was the promised messianic redeemer of the Jewish people. Simultaneously they wished to only strengthen their union with their Jewish brethren.¹¹⁷⁷ God obviously still had plans for the Jews and Jesus himself had not forgotten his people.¹¹⁷⁸ In fact, Jesus’ own empathy with Israel continued unabated.¹¹⁷⁹

A fourth impetus for AG participation in Jewish evangelism stemmed from the conviction it was simply the will of God for the Church to successfully provoke Israel to spiritual jealousy and faith in Jesus. But even well intended Christian evangelists needed preparation to avoid needless offense. The testimony of a believing Jew, Armin A. Holzer, the son of a noted Jewish rabbi and university professor, was printed in the *LRE* in 1925. Holzer elaborated on the Jewish foundation to NT Christianity, on his various experiences as a Jew and new Christian, and supplied a host of examples of Christian anti-Semitism that had so negatively impacted the Jewish understanding of Christianity in his and other Jewish lives.¹¹⁸⁰

An admonition was offered in the 1927 *PE* to “Be Kind to a Jew.” This Pentecostal advice was given to effectively promote Jewish conversion to Christianity as statistics proved nearly 98% of all Hebrew-Christians had first considered the Gospel after a “disinterested” act of Christian kindness.¹¹⁸¹ Pentecostal leadership

¹¹⁷⁵ “A Jewish Missionary,” *PE* (6 September 1924): 7.

¹¹⁷⁶ “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (13 May 1944): 16.

¹¹⁷⁷ “Christ-Believing Jews,” *PE* (8 February 1936): 7. See also Beskin, *The Return of the Jews and the End of the World*, 149-150.

¹¹⁷⁸ E. N. Bell, “God’s Grace to the Gentiles. And the Restoration of Israel,” *Christian Evangel* (6 September 1919): 4.

¹¹⁷⁹ Boddy, “Jewish Notes,” 6.

¹¹⁸⁰ Armin A. Holzer, “From Synagogue to Pentecost,” *LRE* (1 May 1925): 17-21.

¹¹⁸¹ “Be Kind to the Jew,” *PE* (6 August 1927): 3.

designed plans to motivate and enable Pentecostal youth to evangelize Jews as seen in both recounted stories and practical witnessing guidelines.¹¹⁸² Ruth Angel described the events and circumstances surrounding her parents' New York Jewish mission, which she had also joined as a minister. It was written to not only inform but also inspire Pentecostal youth to engage in Jewish evangelism.¹¹⁸³ Another article designed for Pentecostal youth in 1930 rehearsed a long list of biblical and ideological connections between Pentecostals and the Jewish people and, on that basis, cited the Pentecostal preaching of Christ to the Jews as a prime duty.¹¹⁸⁴

The *PE* surfaced in 1929 the rabbinical protests against the charges of deicide that had characterized vulgar Christian behavior for centuries. In recent years rabbis had openly remonstrated that the crucifixion story had inspired hatred and persecution of Jews. The *PE* agreed that European Christians had historically often "kindled fires of cruel persecution," but still urged Pentecostals to say to the Jewish world,

The Cross was never intended to kindle fires of persecution, but the fires of love; its message is not preached in order to stir up prejudice, but rather to inspire good will; the Cross was never meant to divide Jew and Gentile, but rather to slay the enmity between them, and unite them under a common Father and a common Messiah.¹¹⁸⁵

The language of love was especially needed when sharing the Gospel with Jewish people as illustrated in a 1932 article depicting the language spoken by an English woman to a Jewish sales-girl,

"I'm interested in you, because I love the Jews." Tears dimmed the eyes of the young Jewess as she replied, "I have never heard a Gentile say that before." Then there followed a heart-to-heart talk while the girl listened to the story of Jesus' redeeming love.¹¹⁸⁶

¹¹⁸² Agnes Scott Kent, "David," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 3:7 (July 1928): 1. From July through December 1928 a six-part story of "David" offered as its purpose a presentation to Pentecostal youth of what was the expected Jewish experience in coming to Christian faith and related missionary difficulties. See also Ruth Angel, "How to Point a Jew to Christ," two parts, 3:4 (April 1928): 13; and 3:5 (May 1928): 3,10. Two successive issues featured Pentecostal Jewess Ruth Angel's "How to Point a Jew to Christ: Twelve Practical Suggestions."

¹¹⁸³ Ruth Angel, "The Gospel in the Ghetto," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 4:5 (May 1929): 1,2,16. Angel was the Jewish daughter of Jewish missionaries in New York's "Jewish Ghetto" and published this human-interest laden article.

¹¹⁸⁴ Robinson, "What is the Proper Christian Attitude Toward the Jew?" 15.

¹¹⁸⁵ Myer Pearlman, "Jewish Notes," *PE* (27 July 1929): 5.

¹¹⁸⁶ Milton E. Fish, "The Holy City," *Word and Work* 54:10 (October 1932): 5.

Some Pentecostal protest was published against the construction of Christian edifices in Jerusalem while the Jewish people remained unevangelized. Intercessory prayer rather than expensive buildings was vital for Pentecostal renewal in Jerusalem.¹¹⁸⁷ The *PE* offered in 1932 that news regarding God's Chosen People should do more than provoke interest; it should lead to Pentecostal spiritual concern for the lost house of Israel.¹¹⁸⁸

Pearlman admonished in 1935 that since God had in focus such a glorious future for Israel, Pentecostal interest in Jewish people should be intense. The spiritually backslidden Jewish people would soon become "Israel, the prince of God."¹¹⁸⁹ In his undated *The Synagogue of the Nazarenes*, Myer Pearlman insisted that Christians should not lose sight of the fact that Jesus was the legal King of Israel and profoundly belonged to the Jewish people. Jewish believers simply came into their own when embracing Christ and were regrafted into their own olive tree. Paul had clearly forewarned Gentile Christians about misapprehending God's design for Israel.¹¹⁹⁰ Jesus would yet lead Israel into a destiny in keeping with Israel's calling to be a holy nation and kingdom of priests. When *Kol Yisroel* would embrace Christ, a new spiritual era for mankind would be opened which would not be hard to imagine considering "the gifts and genius of the Jewish people."¹¹⁹¹ While Judaism's spiritual leaders had erred, "mistakes can be rectified. ...For Jesus never said an eternal farewell to His people" Israel.¹¹⁹² The spiritual progeny of the "synagogue of the Nazarenes," should have their Pentecostal faith rekindled and their hearts filled with hope for Israel's own biblically prophesied spiritual rekindling by the Messiah's eternal flame. Pearlman complained that emotional Jewish reaction against new Jewish believers was akin to anti-Semitic prejudice and intolerance.¹¹⁹³

Pentecostal periodicals printed the stories of Jewish believers who typically resisted the Gospel early on but finally yielded to divine revelation and entered Christian ministry often as Pentecostal missionaries to the Jews. According to

¹¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁸⁸ Pearlman, "Shadow and Sunshine in Israel," 8.

¹¹⁸⁹ Pearlman, *Through the Bible Book by Book*. Part II, 89.

¹¹⁹⁰ Myer Pearlman, *The Synagogue of the Nazarenes* (Springfield, MO: GPH, n.d.), 57.

¹¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

¹¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 60-61.

¹¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 48.

Jeannette Fox's testimony in the 1936 *CAH*, she enjoyed her Pentecostal experience and expressed her strong desire to see her own Jewish people trust in Christ.¹¹⁹⁴ Mr. and Mrs. Claude Gregg of Chicago were cited as "our first missionaries to the Jewish people of the United States" in the 1937 *PE*. The article focused on the neglected challenge for the "Pentecostal missionary people" to evangelize the Jews in larger American cities.¹¹⁹⁵

Efforts were made to actively promote Jewish evangelism among AG laymen. Sunday School students were taught that just as the sons of Israel had rejected Joseph to the benefit of the Gentiles, and ultimately embraced him as the national and international savior, a temporarily derailed Israel would still embrace Christ when sufficiently provoked to jealousy by the manifest evidence of God's blessings upon the Gentiles.¹¹⁹⁶

The published testimony of Rabbi Chil Slostowski in the 1939 *PE* was designed to demonstrate to Pentecostal readership that even sophisticated rabbinical seminary professors could become true believers in Christ.¹¹⁹⁷ Jewish missionaries were reporting "from America, Europe, Palestine and other lands," their agreement regarding the phenomenal new openness of Jews to the Gospel as a result of anti-Semitic persecution and the conflict in Zion, which had evoked a hunger for restful security of the soul. This should call Pentecostals to reach the Jews with the Gospel. A Pentecostal army prayerfully proclaiming the Word might speedily lead significant Jewish numbers into the Kingdom of God. He urged participation in a December International Day of Prayer for world Jewry.¹¹⁹⁸ In 1939 the *PE* accented the willingness of Paul to be eternally cursed, should that result in Israel's salvation, as consistent with the intercessory hearts of Christ and Moses. Christians filled with the Spirit of Christ should exhibit that same prayer burden for a "nation of Pauls and Peters evangelizing the world."¹¹⁹⁹ Myer Pearlman wrote in a 1939 lesson that "Israel has a future. Purified in the fires of the tribulation, the nation shall return to God and

¹¹⁹⁴ Jeannette Fox, "A Jewess Speaks," Part Two, 6.

¹¹⁹⁵ "To the Jew First," *PE* (30 October 1937): 7. See also, Zella Reynolds Mussen, "The Jew First," *LRE* (1 September 1935): 10-11. This was a testimony by a missionary to Shanghai who illustrated her strong belief that systematic giving toward Jewish evangelism would be signally blessed of God.

¹¹⁹⁶ Williams, et al, "The Restoration of Israel," 26-27.

¹¹⁹⁷ Chil Slostowski, "A Palestine Rabbi Finds Christ," *PE* (18 November 1939): 4-5.

¹¹⁹⁸ "A Prayer for Israel," *PE* (18 November 1939): 4.

¹¹⁹⁹ Stanley H. Frodsham, "In the School of Prayer," *PE* (18 March 1939): 5.

God's Messiah."¹²⁰⁰ Awareness of their spiritual debt to Israel should compel Christians, and not only Jewish missionaries, to personally engage in reaching Jewish people with the gospel. Proper methods could be used by local churches to impact their respective Jewish communities by demonstrating the harmony between Old and New Testaments and exhibiting Pentecostal friendliness with its egalitarian spirit.¹²⁰¹

In 1942 Pearlman offered in the *PE* three guidelines as to what the AG might do "to lead Israel from reproach to glory." First, the Church must take the right attitude toward the Jews. Pearlman challenged identifiable traditional anti-Jewish misinterpretations of the NT and called for ideological change to improve Christian disposition toward the Jewish people. While Jews may not be superior to others individually, it was true that the Jews had a national divinely assigned destiny distinct from others. Secondly, Christians could remind Jews that the first church was cradled in their nation. Thirdly, Christians could appeal to Jews to identify themselves with Christ since he had so identified himself with them.¹²⁰² The *PE* offered to that Paul's tears for Israel had their origin in Jesus' eyes; that it would be errant for Christians to focus on Jewish mistakes of the past and thereby be blinded to the fuller picture.¹²⁰³

Pentecostal duty to evangelize the Jews was emphasized in an E. S. Williams 1944 nationally used educational manual in which he indicated that the present dispensation's evangelism would effect the salvation of the Jewish remnant and that evangelistic efforts should follow the biblical precedent "to the Jew first." Williams offered the statistic of one million Jewish products of modern evangelism yet urged

¹²⁰⁰ Myer Pearlman, ed., "A Warning Against Unbelief," *The Adult's Student Quarterly* (3 December 1939): 69. See also Reich, "The Mystery and Romance of Israel," *PE* (9 December 1939): 1, 10. In 1939 Max Isaac Reich, instructor at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, spoke for the AG headquarters in Springfield, Missouri. His topic was the same as his 1932 article for the *PE*, "The Mystery and Romance of Israel." He offered that Jews would be saved in God's own time. Israel had been set aside but not cast away. Paul's Damascus Road experience of his own religious hostility being overcome by his transforming encounter with Christ was an earnest of the salvation of all Israel. The present Jewish believers were the pledge of the ultimate salvation of national Israel that would follow the times of the Gentiles.

¹²⁰¹ Marks, "Our Debt to Israel," 3.

¹²⁰² Pearlman, "Those Strange People -- the Jews!" 3.

¹²⁰³ Adolph Saphir, "The Jew of Today and Christ," *PE* (21 October 1944): 2. See also "Let's Talk it Over!" *CAH* 18:10 (October 1945): 26. In this AG youth column, the writer illustrated the use of discretion when faith-sharing with an example of what *not* to do, e.g., accuse one's Jewish listener of killing Jesus. Friendship would prove more fruitful.

greater efforts, especially in light of Israel's present plight and spiritual condition and the Pentecostal gratitude for the Jewish Savior and Scriptures.¹²⁰⁴

Ralph M. Riggs (1895-1971), later General Superintendent of the AG (1953-1959), offered in the 1945 *PE* that Pentecostals needed to engage in Jewish evangelism out of regard for Jesus' love for his own Jewish people. Careful approach and painstaking study would be demanded to assure Pentecostal appreciation of the Jew's place in God's economy.¹²⁰⁵ Pentecostals should realize that evangelism should be preached "to the Jew first," that Jews could be won as NT history displayed, that devotion to Christ should motivate Jewish evangelism, that Christians should recognize their indebtedness to Israel, that a divine blessing followed lovers of Israel, and Jewish "first-fruits" needed to be readied for their tribulation ministry.¹²⁰⁶

PENTECOSTAL MISSIONS IN *ERETZ ISRAEL*

Since Pentecostals were suspicious of anything that smacked of political involvement or the liberal Christian "social gospel" agenda, the sole realm open to Pentecostals to bless or minister to the Jewish people was in the capacity as Jewish missionaries. So completely Zion-focused with regard to the Jewish people, for a long time Pentecostals primarily envisioned ministry to Jews as taking place in the Promised Land itself through the agency of Christian missions.

Earlier missionary Florence I. Bush's initial Jewish ministry in Jerusalem had focused on testifying to Jerusalem's Jews of Jesus and the Second Coming.¹²⁰⁷ Bush termed Jerusalem a "dark" place with "hardships attendant"¹²⁰⁸ but had written in 1914 of seven or eight young Jewish men who stood to profess confidence of their personal salvation in Jesus. Bush published her gratitude that prayers for both the "Latter Rain" and actual rainfall had been finally answered.¹²⁰⁹

¹²⁰⁴ GPH, "Lesson 11: God's Chosen People, the Jews," *Adult and Young People's Teachers' Quarterly* (10 December 1944): 63.

¹²⁰⁵ Riggs, "The Jew," 2.

¹²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹²⁰⁷ Florence I. Bush, "A Visit to the Dead Sea," *Christian Evangel* (9 May 1914): 3.

¹²⁰⁸ Florence I. Bush, "Tidings from Jerusalem," *Christian Evangel* (12 September 1914): 4.

¹²⁰⁹ Florence I. Bush, "Jerusalem, Palestine," *Christian Evangel* (10 October 1914): 4. See also Florence I. Bush, "Florence I. Bush and Mother, Jerusalem," *Christian Evangel* (7 November 1914): 2. She described a spiritual "Latter Rain" event in which six Jewish men became believers in one of her recent nightly Jerusalem meetings.

The 1918 *LRE* expressed confidence that Israel would indeed become a nation but not without “Zion’s King,” “Morning Star,” “Rock,” and “Anchor,” all clear allusions to Jesus. It was the responsibility of Christians to fully apprise the Jewish people of the mandated centrality of Jewish faith in Jesus if Zionism were to ultimately succeed.¹²¹⁰

The Jews of Jerusalem reportedly rose at 3:30 every morning to cry and mourn in prayer as they recited Psalms on the cold stone floor. Immigrants from Russia¹²¹¹ were arriving in an attempt to perpetuate “real” traditional Judaism which they believed would be lost in the new Russia after the 1917 revolution. Modern Zionism, with all its billions spent, had accomplished nothing for Palestine since it was the product, not of the Messiah Jesus, but the result of anti-Semitism.¹²¹² The final re-establishment of Zion would be the prerogative solely of the Jewish Messiah, “the Stone which the builders rejected.” Meanwhile, Christians should be wholehearted in their prayers for the Jewish world while emphatically communicating to the Jew that God has chosen Israel for his own purposes, e.g., “to make known His name among the nations.”¹²¹³

Jerusalem missionary Elizabeth Brown petitioned *Weekly Evangel* readership in 1918 to offer prayer and material support for the needy of Jerusalem, those “whom your great Friend and Brother calls His brethren.”¹²¹⁴ The 1918 *LRE* offered Brown’s description of the hardships of living in modern Jerusalem including food and housing shortages, diseases and related medical needs of the residents.¹²¹⁵ She complained that the Jewish bigotry and bitterness she encountered in Jerusalem was the worst she had seen in spite of her previous Jewish evangelistic efforts in Chicago, New York, and Pittsburgh.¹²¹⁶ But more missionaries to Jerusalem were called for since the Jews soon

¹²¹⁰ S. B. Rohold, “Zionism: Past, Present and Future,” *LRE* (1 February 1918): 15. The *LRE* reprinted the January address of S. B. Rohold given at a Christian-sponsored Jewish Conference.

¹²¹¹ Immigrants like Jacob Schiff.

¹²¹² *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹²¹³ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹²¹⁴ “Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem,” *Weekly Evangel* (12 January 1918): 14.

¹²¹⁵ Elizabeth Brown, “Recent Conditions in Jerusalem: Plague, Pestilence and Famine!” *LRE* (1 April 1918): 5.

¹²¹⁶ *Ibid.* See also A. Elizabeth Brown, “Back to Jerusalem,” *Weekly Evangel* (22 February 1919): 13. Upon a return to Jerusalem as an AG missionary in 1919, Brown became committed to relief work due to the distressing conditions. See also, Elizabeth Brown, “Glory Out of Shame,” *LRE* (1 August 1923): 13. Brown quickly shifted her work toward prison ministry and primarily among Muslim or Christian inmates.

returning to Zion “may listen to the Gospel message”¹²¹⁷ in spite of the continued restrictions on missionary work.¹²¹⁸

A meeting in Cairo where the “District Council of Egypt and Palestine” had formed and elected three presbyters was reported in the 1920 *PE*, the new name for the *Christian* or *Weekly Evangel*. The AG would soon establish a Bible school in Cairo where an unnamed Jewish youth from Jerusalem would matriculate.¹²¹⁹ The renewed call for Jerusalem workers stipulated that “romantics” need not apply but a married pastor was needed.¹²²⁰

By 1921 the *LRE* claimed that Palestinian Jews were putting up resistance to the Gospel with resentful Jerusalemites even advocating an anti-missionary campaign. Yet Pentecostals could be confident that the stream of prophecy would still flow.¹²²¹ Their admittedly “wee” number of nine swelled to 80 to 100 listeners during special services later that year.¹²²² Several positive responses to the Gospel among Muslims and by “a young Jewish boy” who had all become “lovers of Jesus Christ” were cited by 1923.¹²²³ Yet the 1923 *Confidence* conveyed the protest of an Anglican Bishop that the Zionist movement showed no interest even in Judaism so that there was little hope of communicating the Gospel of Jesus to regathered Jews.¹²²⁴

Laura Radford, new AG missionary to Jerusalem, noted in the 1924 *PE* that the mourners at the Wailing Wall were filled with remarkable conviction of the soon restoration of Israel’s national glory.¹²²⁵ But these outwardly repentant ones “have not yet turned unto Him with all their heart.” Acknowledging the need for spiritual

¹²¹⁷ Brown, “Back to Jerusalem,” 13.

¹²¹⁸ A. Elizabeth Brown, “Jerusalem, Palestine,” *Weekly Evangel* (28 June 1919): 11. See also A. Elizabeth Brown, “In the Regions Beyond,” *Weekly Evangel* (9 August 1919): 10. She later pled for a pastor and wife to be sent “to take charge of the meetings and reading room” and offered a price list for groceries designed to shock potential donors.

¹²¹⁹ C. W. Doney, “Egyptian and Palestine Convention and Conference,” *PE* (6 March 1920): 13.

¹²²⁰ “The Missionary Department,” *PE* (12 June 1920): 13. See also “Missionary Department,” *PE* (25 December 1920): 13. On Christmas Day 1920 the *PE* reported that Palestine presently offered mission possibilities. Although thrilled at the prospects for Zion, a crisis had been precipitated by the sudden influx of world Jewry.

¹²²¹ “Palestine and the Jew,” *LRE* (1 February 1921): 22. See also “Missionary Department,” *PE* (23 July 1921): 13. Brown reported in the *PE* that a Pastor Samuel was now leading their Jerusalem congregation of nine souls.

¹²²² “Missionary Department,” *PE* (15 October 1921): 12.

¹²²³ “Missionary Department,” *PE* (8 September 1923): 12.

¹²²⁴ Boddy, “The Return of the Jews to Palestine,” 108.

¹²²⁵ “Missionary Department,” *PE* (16 February 1924): 11. Laura Radford had reports on Pentecostal mission work in Jerusalem regular published in both the *PE* and the *LRE*. For example, “From the Mission Field,” *LRE* (1 August 1924): 14.

refreshing in Jerusalem, missionaries longed for a new outpouring of the Latter Rain.¹²²⁶

Another new missionary, Vida B. Baer, wrote of her initial Jerusalem impressions in a 1924 letter to the *PE*. She recounted her telling a disheartened Jewish immigrant, "Your Messiah is coming." With tears in his eyes, he responded, "I don't know; we have waited so long." She assured him the Second Coming would reveal Christ as the Jewish Messiah. "I talked on and finally said, 'And when your Messiah comes he will be our Christ.'" Baer believed a supernatural visitation of the Latter Rain would be prerequisite to Jerusalem's preparation for that Second Coming.¹²²⁷

David Baron's Jewish missionary activities were highlighted also in 1924. He expressed great satisfaction at the marked change in Jewish attitudes toward Jesus and his teachings. On both the academic and popular levels Jewish people in all the colonies and cities were showing tremendous interest in the historical Jesus and were keen to read the NT.¹²²⁸

The AG provided for the rented use of facilities in Jerusalem in 1924 for congregational meetings. Baer was expectant of great change as Jews returning were open to the NT and seeking to learn about Jesus whom they proudly touted as Jewish.¹²²⁹ She asked for prayer in support of pending special evangelistic meetings "that the Latter Rain may again fall in Jerusalem."¹²³⁰ The Zionists were coming into the mission to listen by night with a tear, a sob and an interrogative "Why?"¹²³¹ Baer expressed confidence that Pentecostals would finance the required needs of the Jerusalem work since, "The Latter Rain is due in Jerusalem and there must be an 'upper room' provided."¹²³²

Vida Baer focused more on the Jewish people and current victories in the 1925 *PE*. Great evangelistic opportunities were now afforded at the end of the times of the

¹²²⁶ Ibid. See also Laura Radford, "A Word from Jerusalem," *PE* (21 June 1924): 5. Radford's glowing-tourist two column second letter never referenced Jews which offered some indication that the readership of the *PE* were still quite taken with the Land of Israel apart from modern Jews *per se*.

¹²²⁷ Vida B. Baer, "A Letter from Palestine," *PE* (15 March 1924): 7. But also see Vida B. Baer, "Evangelizing in Bible Lands," *PE* (6 September 1924): 6. Baer's later 1924 *PE* piece offered no specifics on ministry to Jewish people.

¹²²⁸ "Jews Turning to Christ," *PE* (6 September 1924): 7.

¹²²⁹ "Missionary Department," *PE* (25 October 1924): 10.

¹²³⁰ Ibid.

¹²³¹ Vida B. Baer, "Jerusalem Shall Yet Be a Praise in the Earth," *PE* (2 August 1924): 7. A Jewish banker had expressed to Baer profound appreciation for Brown's 30-year ministry in Jerusalem.

¹²³² Ibid.

Gentiles. A revived remnant of Israel consisting of Spirit-infused dry bones would be on hand to greet the Second Coming.¹²³³ Large numbers of Jerusalem's Jews had confessed faith, been river baptized and were ready to read the Hebrew NT. Many of the colonial young Zionists had been highly responsive. As his own way of expediting the Second Coming, one elderly Jewish believer in Jerusalem had purchased all the (both testament) Bibles he could locate to place in hotels.¹²³⁴

Vida Baer wrote in 1925 that many were coming into their wonderful new facilities in Jerusalem and that a Jew had been "saved." Jews were flocking in for the "really good music." Some sat unseen outside while younger Jews were open in their interest in the Gospel message.¹²³⁵ In the same year the *PE* reported that a messianic congregation of 70 souls had formed in Tiberias that served the growing number of Jews interested in Jesus.¹²³⁶ William M. Faux, Missions Secretary of the Foreign Missions Department, reported that Palestine, with its weekly 500 new Jewish immigrants, had great possibilities as Jews were "all aglow" that a new era was dawning.¹²³⁷

Laura Radford reported in 1928 on the counsel she had received to seek to win the more sincere, truth-seeking and probably more responsive Jewish orthodox, many of whom had not heard the Gospel nor even seen a NT. Their religiously sheltered existence had kept in darkness those hungry seekers who would otherwise come to the light of Christ. Upon seeing the real Jesus, they would believe. Radford asked for prayer for the 2,000 Jewish religious students in Jerusalem whom all should, like Paul before them, receive a NT revelation.¹²³⁸

¹²³³ Vida B. Baer, "Jerusalem," *PE* (16 May 1925): 11. For example, Baer wrote anecdotally of the New York Jewish sailing of the steamer, the "President Arthur," with its hoisted "Shield of David." This would provide an important link between American and Zion even as God's Word was finding fulfillment in a rebuilt Palestine and its returned Jews.

¹²³⁴ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (21 February 1925): 6.

¹²³⁵ "Here and There," *PE* (3 January 1925): 6. Vida Baer became quite prolific in appendage of intriguing descriptions of the biblical sites to her readers' delight. This not only assured a wide Pentecostal reading among those keenly interested in descriptions of current events and accomplishments in Palestine as well as biblical history, but assured Pentecostal enthusiasm for financial support of the AG efforts in Jerusalem and environs. For example, see Vida B. Baer, "Visiting the Sea of Tiberias," *PE* (10 January 1925): 6.

¹²³⁶ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (25 April 1925): 7.

¹²³⁷ William M. Faux, "Pentecost in Palestine," *PE* (12 September 1925): 11.

¹²³⁸ Laura Radford, "When They Know That Jesus is the Messiah They Will Believe," *PE* (1 September 1928): 6.

Walter J. Fuchs, AG newly appointed missionary to Tel Aviv, offered a report regarding the existence and promotion of Christian faith in the new city:

We...found a group of nominal Christian Jews hungry for the full gospel. Its seems that these people, numbering from twelve to fifteen, were in the habit of gathering on the Jewish Sabbath and also Sunday to hold Christian meetings. How grateful we are to the Lord for this opening... Thus has the gospel seed been planted in this 100 per cent Jewish city.¹²³⁹

Fuchs offered assessment of Jewish responsiveness to the healing Gospel in 1928 with his account of the story of a Jewish veterinary surgeon who had been healed of eczema.¹²⁴⁰ He shortly thereafter wrote for the *PE* of several extremely positive encounters he had enjoyed with Jews in the Land. He admitted he had to keep relocating, as terrible persecution against new Jewish believers at the hands of fellow Jews needed to be avoided.¹²⁴¹

Beskin reported in 1931 a spiritual awakening, too, among Jerusalem's Jews as many new believers were attending services at the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church.¹²⁴² On the heels of World War I and the Balfour Declaration, a new Jewish toleration of Christ and Christianity had developed.¹²⁴³ Rather than the standard persecution of the Jewish believer in Jesus, Jews were demonstrating more acceptance and allowing Jewish believers rights to their opinion. Even pulpit rabbis were declaring "Jesus to be the Greatest Teacher the World has ever had."¹²⁴⁴ Not only was hostility to Christ dissipating, but also every Jew would now offer that the execution of Christ had been unwarranted and wrong.¹²⁴⁵ Radford penned in 1932,

Before our very eyes the attitude toward Christ on the part of many seekers after truth is changing. To a vast number of Jews in this city Christ has arisen as 'the greatest Jew the world has ever known.' This

¹²³⁹ "Tel-Aviv: The City That Grew Overnight," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 3:12 (December 1928): 2, 10. See also Ruth Kark, "The Rise of Jaffa as the Social and Cultural Center of the New Jewish Settlement in Palestine," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, ed. I. L. Levine, 3 (1983): 212-35.

¹²⁴⁰ "News from Many Lands," *PE* (9 March 1929): 11.

¹²⁴¹ "In the Whitened Harvest Fields," *PE* (15 June 1929): 16. Fuch's new automobile had been of great service in the distribution of literature that had yielded tremendous witness opportunities in the colonies.

¹²⁴² Beskin, *The Return of the Jews and the End of the World*, 83.

¹²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 140-141.

¹²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 141. See also, "Mission Study Course. Lesson Sixteen: Palestine and Egypt," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 4:8 (August 1929): 11. After rehearsing the numbers of Jewish returnees, hardships, and religious opposition, this AG educational material indicated a wonderful shift in Jewish attitude as bitter antagonism toward Christ and Christianity was subsiding. The time was opportune to offer Jews the Gospel.

new consciousness of his greatness is a step out of the hatred toward that wonderful name which has possessed their minds for the centuries, and conscious of the great spiritual need they are asking, "Is Jesus the Christ?"¹²⁴⁶

Jerusalem missionary Vera Swartzrauber offered a graphic description of the rapidly improving life for Palestinian Jews in 1935 and celebrated her conviction that God was bringing his people back to their Land. Her chief concern was the Jewish spiritual condition.¹²⁴⁷ Since the Spirit of God was again moving over his land, it was the time to beseech him for a pouring out of "latter rain" upon a "dry and parched people."¹²⁴⁸ The answer to the problem of Jewish resistance to the Gospel was perceived to be a yet stronger dose of Pentecostalism for until then "the new day of opportunity" may be "not yet fully come."¹²⁴⁹

Noel Perkins, the Missions Secretary of the Department of Foreign Missions, wrote of his visit to the Holy Land, the AG mission enterprises there, and the "little companies" gathered through "the faithful efforts of our (eight) missionaries in Jerusalem." He reported in 1940 that "striking conversations" had taken place with Arabs and Jews and that numbers were improving since the start of the war. With regard to the Jewish future, Perkins wrote,

Jewry weeps and prays for the restoration of Israel and God's glory to the holy city. Perhaps the time is not far distant when those prayers are to be answered, but until He comes again to reign in the city of David, we want to do our utmost to help human hearts to open to the King of Glory.¹²⁵⁰

¹²⁴⁶ "The Gospel in Foreign Lands," *PE* (26 March 1932): 8.

¹²⁴⁷ Vera Swartzrauber, "Physical and Spiritual Transformations in Palestine," *LRE* (1 July 1935): 6.

¹²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁴⁹ "The Gospel in Foreign Lands," *PE* (17 April 1937): 11. A "Missionary Review" of AG statistics for Zion was provided in the 1936 *CAH*. Some seven missionaries and two AG missions were in Jerusalem. The report suggested incredulity that returning Jews would yet be Gospel resistant. Past Chairman of the AG, J. W. Welch, accompanied current General Superintendent Ernest S. Williams on a 1937 fact-finding mission to Jerusalem. The published purpose of the trip was to ascertain the circumstances of mission enterprise there. The subsequent report offered that while romantic interest in Palestine characterized every Christian, it remained a "difficult and discouraging" mission field. With a strong dose of realism, the reporter admitted the response among all groups had been dismal.

¹²⁵⁰ Noel Perkin, "A Visit to the Holy Land," *PE* (30 November 1940): 13.

REPORTS OF INTERNATIONAL JEWISH RESPONSE TO JESUS FROM 1918 TO 1945

Over time Pentecostal awareness of Jewish responsiveness to the Gospel extended beyond the parameters of Palestine to include Jewish mission activities the world over. While Anglo Jews had been highlighted earlier,¹²⁵¹ others were noted from 1922 when the *LRE* reported on the great numbers of Hungarian Jews being received by the Reformed Church, some ten thousand since World War I.¹²⁵²

The *PE* offered reports of increased Jewish faith response to Christ in 1924. The “times of the Gentiles” had run out simultaneously to the lifting of Israel’s blindness when Jerusalem was wrested from Turkish hands in 1917. Since then, there had been an increasing number of the “sons of Judah” seeking God. The fig tree was putting forth branches in this, “the ends of the ages.” The Spirit of God was moving upon the “outcast sons of Judah” to say “blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.”¹²⁵³ Also reported was the keen interest in Christ developing among Ukrainian Jews to the point Hebrew-Christian Assemblies had been formed which had retained their independence from denominations by refusing any Christian support or formal affiliation.¹²⁵⁴

Two noteworthy Jewish conversions were accented in 1924; those of Hans Herzl, son of Theodor Herzl, and Joseph Rabinowitz, colonizing scout to *Eretz Israel* sent by the Jewish community in Kishineff, Russia. Herzl had been baptized into the Baptist church in Vienna while Rabinowitz had come to faith while reading the Hebrew NT on the Mount of Olives during the performance of his community assigned mission to Zion. Upon his return to Russia, Rabinowitz told his Jewish community synagogue audience that the key to the Holy Land was Jesus; that the

¹²⁵¹ See J. M. Harris, “Life Out of Death: From Judaism to Christianity; A Curse Turned to a Blessing,” *LRE* (1 March 1918): 16-19. The four-page dramatic testimony of Jewish believer, J. M. Harris, was printed in the 1918 *LRE*. Harris had been raised an Orthodox Jew in England but had become a drug addict who seriously contemplated suicide prior to becoming a believer and student at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. Also, Herman Newmark, “From Infidelity to Christianity thro’ Reading the Word: A Jew’s Conversion and Call to Ministry,” *LRE* (1 May 1919): 2-6. The *LRE* recounted the four-page testimony of Herman Newmark, an English Jewish businessman in Japan who became a Christian as a result of reading the entire Christian Bible.

¹²⁵² News clip, *LRE* (1 March 1922): 14.

¹²⁵³ George A. V. Robinson, “Among the Jews of Eastern Europe, North Africa, and Asia,” *PE* (5 April 1924): 7.

¹²⁵⁴ “Editor’s Notes,” *PE* (11 October 1924): 9.

Jewish nation would find in him not only their Messiah and King but their answer to the Jewish question.¹²⁵⁵

Enthusiastic reports were published in 1925 of Jewish missionary work in Tunisia and Ethiopia. Tunisian Jews were gladly receiving missionaries everywhere even as hundreds of Jews, including rabbis, endorsed their teaching as correct.¹²⁵⁶ Falasha Hebrew-Christians in "Abyssinia" (Ethiopia) were preaching in the synagogues among other Jewish seekers that Messiah "is very Christ."¹²⁵⁷

Again in 1925 it was reported that groups of Polish Jews of 500 to 1,200 were packing out meeting rooms and churches to hear about the Gospel and the redemption of Israel from missionaries in a manner reminiscent of the Day of Pentecost.¹²⁵⁸ Philip Lewis, a London Jew, had become an evangelist and had won 6,000 Australians to Christ. Phenomenal responses of European Jews to the Gospel were reported, as in "the past seven years 25,000 Jewish converts have been received in the Presbyterian church of Budapest alone." Between 1919 and 1921 over "11,000 Jews entered the Lutheran church in Vienna, and some hundreds more have joined the Reformed church."¹²⁵⁹ Even the Jews of Beirut were responding.¹²⁶⁰

A conversation with a Jewish physician was recounted in the 1926 *PE* in which a doctor admitted that when Palestine was restored to the Jews, they would accept Christianity. Expecting that many secret Jewish believers were forming the anticipated Jewish remnant, he focused on the conversions of Jewish believers in Poland, a converted rabbi, a "pleasure-seeking" Jewess, and the fact that a book on the life of Christ was in great demand in Jewish Poland.¹²⁶¹

The *PE* reported in 1927 that many Jews in Eastern Europe were taking Jesus as Savior. Some 40,000 in Hungary had declared as Christians since 1918. In Budapest alone over three thousand Jews had joined the Protestant churches. Similar reports were coming out of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Ukraine. Hans Herzl, the only son of the "Modern Moses" of Zionism, had become a Baptist. In Jassy, Romania, there

¹²⁵⁵ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (13 December 1924): 6-7.

¹²⁵⁶ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (26 July 1925): 6.

¹²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵⁸ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (21 February 1925): 7.

¹²⁵⁹ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (25 April 1925): 7.

¹²⁶⁰ "Among the Jews in Syria," *PE* (4 July 1925): 7.

¹²⁶¹ "Jewish Notes," *PE* (21 August 1926): 2.

reportedly was a secret Jewish brotherhood of those who believed in Jesus who wished to remain Jews and retain their Jewish customs in a colony in Palestine. In Vienna, a similar Hebrew-Christian secret society had developed among the upper class Jewish women.¹²⁶²

Pearlman noted in 1929 the report that some 600 Jews were preaching the Gospel throughout Europe and that thousands of Jews had “turned to Christianity” in Bialystock and elsewhere. This was especially significant in light of the persecution necessarily endured by every Jewish believer including exposure to bitter hatred, loss of employment, banishment from beloved Jewish communities and even loss of family and friends.¹²⁶³ In “A Jewish Colony in Poland Becomes Christian,” Pearlman rehearsed the same Reuters report as had Belkin describing the 15,000 Jews near Vilna who had recognized Christ’s deity, studied the NT, and continued to adhere to rabbinical regulations. The Hebrew-Christian Alliance in Poland was to follow up and strengthen these Jews in their new messianic faith.¹²⁶⁴ The last Czar’s court violinist, a Russian orthodox Jew and concertmaster of the Imperial Grand Opera Orchestra, Alexander Kaminsky, had the previous year been “gloriously converted.” He immediately surrendered his professional life and enormous income to use “his talents to the glory of the Lord he loves.”¹²⁶⁵

On a regular basis, Otto Klink offered updated Jewish world population figures and persistently faulted the Nazi abuse of European Jewry. Klink was eager, too, to inform Pentecostal youth of the high rate of Jews turning to Christianity in concert with the parable of the fig tree. He claimed the numbers of Jewish Christians to be 97,000 in Hungary, 150,000 in Russia, 80,000 in Poland; 40,000 in America; 30,000 in Germany; and 20,000 in Austria.¹²⁶⁶

AMERICAN ASSEMBLIES OF GOD JEWISH MISSIONS

As always, good news of Zion was accompanied by enthusiasm for the prospect of improved missionary opportunities.¹²⁶⁷ While celebrating the implications of Jewish

¹²⁶² “Here and There,” *PE* (7 May 1927): 4.

¹²⁶³ Myer Pearlman, “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (17 August 1929): 5.

¹²⁶⁴ Myer Pearlman, “Jewish Notes,” *PE* (27 July 1929): 5.

¹²⁶⁵ “God’s Wonderful Grace,” *PE* (13 July 1929): 4.

¹²⁶⁶ Otto J. Klink, “Otto-Graphs,” *CAH* 8:10 (October 1935): 16.

¹²⁶⁷ Simpson, “Freed from the Heel of the Turk,” 18.

conversion to Christianity in *Eretz Israel* and around the world, Pentecostals could not ignore the millions of American Jews. Charles Spellman, missionary in Los Angeles, appealed for Pentecostal involvement in Jewish evangelism in the 1921 *PE*. He expressed his grief for the millions of American Jews who, without knowledge of Christ, were drifting into atheism and materialism. He was convinced it was in America that Jews had their greatest opportunity to witness the purest Christianity.¹²⁶⁸

Mark John Levy's book, *Christianity, the Flower and Fruit of Judaism*, was highly touted in the 1923 *PE*. The book's reviewer offered an anecdote concerning a well known older Pentecostal who "whenever he saw a Jew he took off his hat" in respect for their Jewish identity. The reviewer admitted, "We must confess that we, too, have like feeling towards the Jews" and especially toward those embracing Christ. The believing Jews were cited as among the most insightful and thrilling teachers of the Scriptures as demonstrated by Levy's new book.¹²⁶⁹ Levy was credited with making the strong NT case that new Jewish believers were at spiritual liberty to "observe the national rites and ceremonies of Israel when they accept Christ." It was recalled that Levy had presented similar arguments at the 1916 General Council and that it had been determined in session that the question was to "be thoroughly studied."¹²⁷⁰ This revealed an early AG Pentecostal appreciation for Jews and Jewish culture especially in light of the spiritual significance Jewish faith in Christ was to play in the *eschaton*.

Dr. Rennie MacInnes' personal interaction with Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York was reported in the 1924 *PE*. Visiting Wise, MacInnes discovered a picture of Jesus on the wall. When questioned, Rabbi Wise replied that Jesus belonged to the Jews too and that he was the greatest of Jew of all time. To another picture on the wall depicting the crucifixion, Wise responded, "That was the most tragic blunder ever committed." Wise went on to explain his theological position that Jesus was not from heaven *per se* but rather one who was so close to God he was able to bring others with him into his holy presence.¹²⁷¹

The "New Attitudes in Jewry" were accented in the 1928 *PE*. After offering a dour depiction of Christ as experienced in one's Orthodox Jewish childhood, the newly

¹²⁶⁸ Charles Spellman, "Jewish Evangelistic Work of California," *PE* (25 June 1921): 14.

¹²⁶⁹ "A Remarkable Book by a Hebrew-Christian," *PE* (8 December 1923): 6.

¹²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁷¹ "Among the Jews," *PE* (3 May 1924): 8.

published book by Constantin Brunner, son of a rabbi, entitled, *Our Christ* (*Unser Christus*), was highlighted in which Brunner called for Jewish examination of Jesus' "profound and holy words" which must "be heard in our synagogues and taught to our children" for good and blessing so that he may find those he had been seeking.¹²⁷²

In *LRE* reported in 1931 that an Orthodox Jewish newspaper had protested that in Austria and Hungary Jewish university students were gathering to study the NT, praying to Jesus, accepting Christianity, and were losing all sense of priority. They read and prayed in unison, shouted and acted mad. "They get blessed and are acting just like people used to act when they got saved."¹²⁷³

Not just Jewish laymen but rabbis had come to faith according to Norman Cohen Beskin. A San Francisco rabbi had become a believer in Jesus and finally admitted to his congregation his intention to be baptized the next day and become a Christian minister. Many congregants were baptized with him and formed the Jewish Christian Baptist Church.¹²⁷⁴ Beskin wrote of Jewish complaint against Rabbi Wise's belief in Jesus. But rabbinical America voted to reject his resignation as national head of their organization. To Beskin, the rabbis were thereby accepting Jesus as "their philosophical Messiah." The dramatic persecution of Jewish believers seemed a thing of the past.¹²⁷⁵ He also reported that 300,000 Jewish converts had turned to Christ across America in recent years, that two-thirds of his audience in San Francisco had been Jews, and that Jewish study groups to investigate the NT had been established in cities like Wichita, Kansas.¹²⁷⁶

AG confidence in the future redemption of Israel fostered support for evangelistic efforts among the Jews. Meyer Tan Ditter, AG appointed missionary to the Jews in Chicago, wrote in 1936,

Faith will spring up in many Jewish hearts who will hear the Word and also believe like Paul of old. God has not cast away his people Israel. With all that they have done, with all of their unbelief and rebellion

¹²⁷² "The Budding Fig Tree a Sign of Coming Summer," *PE* (12 May 1928): 13. See also, "The Best Love Story," *Christ's Ambassadors Monthly* 3:3 Part 2 (11 March 1928): 2, 4. The AG youth periodical here included a story entitled, "The Best Love Story" about a sick and elderly Russian Jew who entered the hospital and his deathbed with only curses on his lips. But through Christian testimony and the man's Gospel reading, he came to faith just before entering eternity. He had been "plucked out of the fire."

¹²⁷³ Beskin, "The Return of the Jews," *LRE* (1 May 1931): 7.

¹²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁶ Beskin, "The Truth About the Protocols," 21.

against God and the truth, with all of their disobedience, God still loves His Chosen People Israel.¹²⁷⁷

Tan Ditter insisted that there had always been a remnant of Jewish Christians down through the ages, that there were many in 1936, and there could be many more who would believe, “if someone would hear the call and respond...and take this wonderful message of Christ and Calvary to the Jew.”¹²⁷⁸

Jewish scholar, John Gournos, as quoted from the *Atlantic Monthly* in the 1938 *PE*, bemoaned the Jewish rejection of Christ as one of the most “preposterous, even ironic mistakes in history.” Current rabbinical “saying nice things about Christ...is not enough.” Jesus should rather be acknowledged as the most perfect among the Jewish prophets, the Jewish “sons of God.” “He is our Prophet, our greatest prophet, the keystone of our ultimate faith.” Gournos suggested he was not alone among Jesus enthusiasts in the Jewish world as many “intelligent Jews” agreed with his proposal. The *PE* stated, “As the times of the Gentiles draw to their close we may expect serious consideration on the part of the Jews of the question, ‘What think ye of Christ?’”¹²⁷⁹

Alexander Marks, appointed Jewish missionary in Chicago, in the 1940 *PE* strongly commended Pentecostal evangelism of the Jews since, “the Jew...will make a good missionary” as he could easily acclimate himself to new regions and was multilingual. There had never been a better hearing of the Gospel among a Jewish audience than at the present time. The Pentecostalist approach would “capture the hearts and minds of the Jews” as the five million American Jews needed the Pentecostalist message.¹²⁸⁰

The Home Missions Department of the AG sought financial resources in 1941 to further the work of evangelism among the 400,000 Jewish residents and refugees living in the Chicago area. Jewish misconceptions of Christianity had left many Jews to pursue ungodly causes but Pentecostals were encouraged to play a role in helping the many “Jews...hungry to know the Truth, the Life, and the Way.”¹²⁸¹

¹²⁷⁷ Meyer Tan Ditter, “Giving the Gospel to the Jews,” *PE* (15 August 1936): 5.

¹²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁹ Alice E. Luce, “Seed Thoughts,” *PE* (22 October 1938): 15.

¹²⁸⁰ Alexander Marks, “Evangelizing the Jewish People,” *PE* (16 March 1940): 7.

¹²⁸¹ “For the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel,” *PE* (29 November 1941): 9. In a 1942 *PE* an article describing the Pentecostal missionary activity among the German Jewish refugees in Chicago, Alexander Marks and his extensive staff were named. Myer Pearlman had come to speak on May 11 and addressed the Jewish audience of 80. See also, “What of the Jew?” *PE* (17 November 1945): 9. The grandfather of

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE UNIQUE CORRELATION BETWEEN GLOSSOLALIA AND JEWISH PEOPLE

The first-century Pentecostalism was experienced, fully embraced, and commonly utilized first by Jewish people. There had been no Gentiles in the crowded Jerusalem *Shavuot* throng in the Acts 2 account. But that first-century Jewish Pentecostalism had dissipated as increasing numbers of Gentile Christian leaders theologized and led the Church away from its Jewish roots and Pentecostal practices. Primitive restorationism struck a responsive chord among Pentecostals as they reflected that their unique experience of tongue-speaking Spirit-baptism was revisited in the twentieth century to benefit both the Gentile Church and to assist in the restoration of the Jewish people. Therefore, in proportion to their actual numbers, Jews who had been touched by the Pentecostal experience, or had practiced or benefited from the *charismata* or Pentecostal giftings, were highly profiled in Pentecostal literature. The Jewish Pentecostal experience affirmed the sentiments of Pentecostalist primitive restorationism and afforded it significant apologetic support.

D. W. Kerr (1856-1927), pastor and educator, offered a report for the 1921 *LRE* in which an unbelieving Jewish man came into a San Jose Pentecostal healing meeting. Upon witnessing the dramatic healings taking place before his eyes, the Jewish man was seized with conviction that the healings were signs that Jesus was the living Messiah. Upon the man's conversion to Jesus, he indicated that he now saw that salvation in Jesus had been his Jewish inheritance all along but that he had never before recognized Christ. Kerr even stipulated that Jews had a covenant right to Jesus beyond what Gentiles had.¹²⁸²

Stanley H. Frodsham wrote, *With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter Day Pentecostal Revival* in 1926. He offered a series of Pentecostal episodes involving Jewish people impacted by confrontation with "Hebrew tongues" to illustrate the Jewish connection to the Pentecostalist restoration. One example was the story of Lewis Rudner, a 26 year-old Austrian Jew, who had spoken "the Hebrew language" from his Jewish childhood. He had migrated six years earlier to Seattle where he came across a

AG Jewish missions was in Chicago. A description of their thirteen member staff's chief work and multiplied branches among English-needing Jewish immigrants and others was offered in the 1945 *PE*.
¹²⁸² "Council Jottings," *LRE* (1 October 1921): 11.

“Welcome” sign on a mission building. He entered to find a man reciting Isaiah 53 in Hebrew and a woman singing a Rosh HaShanah hymn. A 12 year-old girl was kneeling as she recited Psalm 12 and then Psalm 6 in Hebrew. A “colored” woman began repeating Jeremiah 33 in Hebrew. Then a Scandinavian woman pointed to Rudner and spoke in Hebrew explaining his lost condition and need to turn to God. Soon they corporately gathered around him and were all earnestly praying in Hebrew. When Rudner realized he was not in synagogue and the people had no Hebrew background, he was overcome and began to cry out to God in Hebrew for mercy and became a Christian.¹²⁸³

The beloved and well-known Jewish personality in AG circles, Dr. Frances Murcutt, professed she had been convinced speaking in tongues was of God the moment she came into contact with the Pentecostal movement. She had happened into a Pentecostal meeting in Portland when a man began speaking to her in “purest Parisian French,” a language she knew. This man, who knew not a word of French, perfectly explained the way of salvation to Dr. Murcutt under the Pentecostal anointing. In French he told her of the Latter Rain for the last days and urged her to yield to God. After an hour of the man speaking French by the Spirit, Murcutt fell on her knees and yielded to God.¹²⁸⁴

To his outrage, the wife of Maurice Kullman (a Jew and former Baptist pastor) had become a practicing Pentecostal. One night while they were home together, his wife began to pray in Hebrew perfectly articulating even the guttural sounds. Convinced of the supernatural nature of the Pentecostal experience, Kullman too received Spirit-baptism and spoke in tongues.¹²⁸⁵

Several stories of Mr. Farr, a Pentecostal who claimed he had spoken in Hebrew to Jews in Toronto, were recounted.¹²⁸⁶ An associate had answered the knocking of an immigrant Russian Jewish peddler. As the Pentecostal associate began to speak, a strange language emanated. The startled Russian Jew asked in broken English where

¹²⁸³ Stanley H. Frodsham, *With Signs Following: The Story of the Latter Day Pentecostal Revival* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1926), 208-210. These facts on Rudner had been related to the editor of the *Household of God* in April, 1907, in Oakland, California.

¹²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 211-212.

¹²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 212-213.

¹²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 223.

she had learned that language. When she pled ignorance, he told her God was speaking to him through his own language and slowly walked away.¹²⁸⁷

Zelma Argue wrote in the 1932 *Word and Work* that her father told the story of an eight year-old Jewess in Chicago who had come into a meeting for healing. After lying “under the power of the Spirit” for hours, she asked to be lifted to a chair. With great solemnity the little Jewess recounted her highly descriptive vision of war and concluded with a series of “Woes!” World War I began the next year.¹²⁸⁸

Frodsham reported his own personal experience in Winnipeg when a fellow Pentecostal spoke to Frodsham a message in Hebrew. It happened that a rabbinical student was present who took the Hebrew message as a sign from God. That evening rabbinical student received a vision of Calvary, the resurrection, ascension, and Second Coming. Though the rabbinical student later turned away from Christ, others had recognized the fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophecy (28:11-13) before their eyes. Frodsham called upon Pentecostals to pray that just as God had given miraculous signs and wonders at the beginning of Israel’s historical cycle, so now should Israel experience signs and wonders at the close of the cycle.¹²⁸⁹ A 1938 *PE* cover story indicated that, as the result of the great outpourings of heavenly rain, there would be a great ingathering so all Israel would be saved and a resurrection caliber revival among the Gentiles would occur.¹²⁹⁰

In a 1942 column labeled, “Witnessing to Jews: Speaking Languages They Understand,” a letter was printed from Alma Crosby of Beaumont, Texas. She expressed appreciation for the good articles she read in the *PE* which were, “creating good will for Jewish people...reminding (the readers) that they are God’s Chosen People and that God is interested in their welfare...causing them to rebuild the land God gave them in preparation for Christ’s coming in glory.”¹²⁹¹ Mrs. Crosby then relayed three Pentecostal encounters she had with Jewish people. The first was a frustrated secretary who followed Mrs. Crosby’s advice and accompanied her to an

¹²⁸⁷ Ibid., 223-224.

¹²⁸⁸ Zelma Argue, “Despise Not Propheysings,” *Word and Work* 54:10 (October 1932): 4-5.

¹²⁸⁹ Stanley H. Frodsham, “Editor’s Notebook,” *PE* (April 30, 1932): 4. According to this 1932 *PE*, when the historical cycle of Israel would be completed, Israel would be back in the Land enjoying the reign of her King Jesus in peace and prosperity. Israel in submission to Jesus would luxuriate in blessings far exceeding anything Israel had known in all Jewish history.

¹²⁹⁰ Stanley H. Frodsham, “The Coming Great Ingathering,” *PE* (19 March 1938): 5.

¹²⁹¹ “Witnessing to Jews: Speaking Languages They Understand,” *PE* (16 May 1942): 11.

Assembly of God. Crosby prayed the young Jewish lady through to Spirit-baptism which left the Jewess prostrate and “with Christ’s glory radiating from her face...speaking in a heavenly language.”¹²⁹²

Mrs. Crosby’s second account was of a hospitalized old Rumanian Jewess nearly dead from diabetes. As the doctors had intended to amputate her leg, she asked Crosby for prayer especially since the elderly Jewish lady peddled in the slums “for a living.” Taking pity on the lady, Mrs. Crosby suddenly began speaking in tongues in what sounded like a peculiar language. The startled immigrant Jewess identified the language as Rumanian and interpreted that Crosby had urged her to get forgiveness of sins. The elderly Jewish lady immediately raised her hands, embraced Jesus, and now regularly attended the Assembly of God giving constant testimony “about the wonders of Jesus.”¹²⁹³

The third story involved a divorced Jewish couple. The three happened to be alone at his place of business and the husband appeared stunned by Mrs. Crosby’s insistence the couple should reunite. To Mrs. Crosby’s surprise she began “speaking in a language I could not understand.” The Jewish ex-Misses identified the language as Latin and interpreted the message to say, “What God hath joined together; let not man put asunder.” The message continued in the Latin tongue with the Jewess continuing to interpret for the husband. The story ended with a request for prayer as the Jewish businessman had telephoned Mrs. Crosby and complained that the experience had greatly upset him but that he wanted to meet again so “we three talk things over together.” Crosby began her last paragraph of her letter with, “In these days, God indeed wants to show signs and wonders to the Jews to prove His Messiahship.”¹²⁹⁴

CONCLUSION

With the momentous events surrounding World War I dramatically impacting their outlook on the universe, the newly organizing Pentecostal fellowships across America were forced to contend with new identity issues. Not only had the political landscape of Europe and the Middle East been forever altered with the defeat and dismantling of much of the Ottoman Empire, but the 1917 Balfour Declaration had

¹²⁹² Ibid.

¹²⁹³ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁴ Ibid.

promised British support for a new Jewish homeland in old Palestine. As the American worldview was further modifying to bring it out of its isolationist mode, socially upward-bound Pentecostals grew more in tune with international developments and the American role in world events.

The most influential of the new Pentecostal denominations was the General Council of the Assemblies of God that had initially formed in 1914. Borrowing extensively from the earlier "Latter Rain" ideology that pronounced a dual restoration of both the Church and Israel in the pending *eschaton*, the AG instinctively recognized the legitimacy of Zionism and the rising Jewish aspiration for a Jewish national homeland. Included in its initial constitution in 1927 was the framed tenet that clearly supported the vision for "the salvation of national Israel," which implied both statehood and spiritual regeneration of the whole Jewish people.

Growing out of the European reservoir of classical anti-Jewishness, anti-Semitism had been mobilized by those parties with political agendas such as the emerging Nazi party of Germany. Their propaganda machines had mounting negative impact upon the American disposition towards Jews and directly influenced pockets of Pentecostals. Stanley Frodsham, editor of the *Pentecostal Evangel (PE)*, used his strategic post in the early 1920s to warn Pentecostals against the dangerous Jewish conspiracies such as were displayed in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Though his actions seem to have yielded little impact upon the general AG supportive attitude towards Zionism and Jewish people, Frodsham's strong disclaimers of anti-Semitism and condemnation of the *Protocols* would only come in the 1930s as Jewish persecution intensified in Europe under the strengthened boot of German Nazism. Nevertheless through the 1920s and into the 1940s continued Jewish resistance to the Gospel chilled the hopes of many otherwise passionate Pentecostal Zionists. They often found it inconceivable that a Jewish State could be successfully established prior to the national Jewish embrace of Jesus. Some found comfort in the notion Jewish messianic faith in Christ would only follow national restoration. Meanwhile, missionary efforts among Jews would continue to multiply in anticipation of the culmination of salvation history.

The apparent delay in Israel's spiritual redemption generated some confusion among the "Latter Rain" enthusiasts. If Israel's wholesome restoration was to be delayed, what might that portend for the primitive restorationism of Pentecostalism?

Might not the potential demise of the Zionist enterprise in such a hostile world fully undermine the *raison d'être* or the very rationale for the distinctive existence of Pentecostalism? While scholars like Myer Pearlman forever linked Israel and the Church in the divine economy, others like Frank Boyd, E. S. Williams, and Ralph Riggs, wanting to establish a distinct Pentecostalist identity with the assistance of popularized Evangelical systems of logic, reverted to premillennial dispensationalism to explain how Jewish redemption lie only in the future. Their accommodation of dispensationalism to Pentecostalism was possible as they moved the historical boundaries for the birth of the Church and changed the dispensationalist "Church Age" into the Pentecostalist "Age of the Spirit." The apologetic emphasized for the significance of the Spirit-baptism "tongues" experience would gradually change from boldness for end-times witness to one of personal edification.

The continued repudiation of Pentecostalism by the vast majority of Evangelicals and Fundamentalists during the 1920s and 1930s awakened Pentecostals to their need to open new Bible institutes for the training of their own preachers and missionaries for much longer terms of service than the earlier "Latter Rain" folks had imagined possible. Since few Pentecostals had written textbooks, Pentecostal Bible institutes borrowed heavily from Evangelical and Fundamentalist sources for their training programs. Over time, more Pentecostals were prepared to accept the dispensationalist delay in Zion's spiritual redemption and put off the "salvation of national Israel" to the millennial future. This dramatic shift downward of the more romantic notion of immediate Jewish redemption would allow Pentecostals to increasingly entertain the dispensationalist notion of a future season of divine chastening upon Israel to affect the Jewish embrace of Christ, e.g., "the time of Jacob's Trouble." The 1935 adoption of a resolution condemning any expression of post-tribulationism in the AG, a denominational rejection of the teaching that the Church would function alongside Israel during the seven-year tribulation period, officially demarcated Israel and the Church as having two distinct earthly climaxes in salvation history.

The rising sense of urgency AG Pentecostals felt about becoming relevant to American Christian and secular societies, which had relegated them to disdained insignificance and labeled them as cultic, compelled AG leaders to immediately

entertain the 1941 invitation to join the newly forming National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). The NAE was bent on generating a new corporate voice strong enough to be able to speak to the direction American culture would take in the future in contrast to the muted voice they had suffered in the recent liberalizing decades. The waning Pentecostal movement of the 1930s hereby seized its opportunity for revitalization. But in the AG's enthusiasm for social acceptance, it was prepared to further modify its belief system in favor of the more commonly accepted parameters of dispensationalism, further distancing the AG from its earlier strong bond with Zionism.

Even during the 1920s, the AG had continually condemned expressions of anti-Semitism. The 1930s and 1940s witnessed vehement Pentecostal blasting of the mistreatment of Jewish communities everywhere in the western world. Even AG anti-Semitism was identified and condemned in private and in print. After World War II, as the news of Nazi atrocities against the Jewish people were shocking Americans, the AG adopted a late but official condemnation of anti-Semitism in 1945 that would have a positive effect on AG constituents henceforth.

During these years of shifting romance with Zionism, the AG publications from 1918 to 1945 highly profiled and celebrated Zionist developments in Palestine to both affirm the Pentecostal conviction that the Second Coming was near and that Pentecostalism was playing a significant role in the *eschaton*. Since no other avenue was open to Pentecostals to enhance the Zionist cause, Pentecostals engaged in missionary activities among Jews in Palestine as well as in America. If the Pentecostals would not be privileged to work arm-in-arm with Israel in the Kingdom enterprise any time soon, at least Pentecostals could lay the foundation for a future spiritually revitalized Israel. But the tension between the romantic disappointment stemming from the expected partnership with Israel and the hope for Israel's wholesome restoration in the millennium was keenly felt especially after the war years with the devastation of the Holocaust and the sure signs of pending Jewish Statehood in Zion.

In sum, the Pentecostals had first borrowed their recognition of the future establishment of a Jewish State in Zion from earlier premillennial dispensationalism but found a supplemental ideological usefulness to modern Zionist efforts. Not only

did Zionism portend a pending Second Coming, but Zionism lent dramatic support to Pentecostalism's entire reason for being and rationale for sectarian independence.

The Pentecostal literature exuded passion for Zionism and joyfully celebrated developments on the ground in Palestine. Naturally, Zionism would have formidable enemies, as did their AG partners in restoration. But the "Latter Rain" prophecies found in the Hebrew Bible afforded both fellow travelers assurances of ultimate victory as the Kingdom of God became rooted in the earth's soil. Meanwhile, the AG would need to angrily protest any expression of anti-Semitism and makes its crowning statement in the General Council resolution condemning anti-Semitism in 1945. After all, the Jewish people and nation were to be engaged in the same ultimate exercise of missionizing the nations and calling on mankind to yield to the Creator.

Although Israel's ultimate purpose would surely find divine employ, the Jewish people desperately needed the Pentecostal Gospel to attain to that place of spiritual usefulness to God. Jews universally needed to respond to Christ and the "signs, wonders and miracles" Pentecostals were to be that vital human instrument in God's hands to speedily bring Israel to faith and reconciliation to God.

Chapter Four:
**PENTECOSTALISM'S IDEOLOGY OF
 MESSIANIC ZIONISM, 1946-1972**

During the throes of the Great Depression and the rise to power of German Nazism in the 1930s, American Pentecostalism had witnessed a decline in religious fervor. The religious depression had set upon Pentecostalism as it became increasingly apparent to Pentecostals that the pristine first-century apostolic Christianity the founders had envisioned had generally evaded them. The delay of the grand impetus for Pentecostalism, the Second Coming, caused a new generation to question earlier Latter Rain eschatological assumptions regarding both the full restoration of the Church and the imminence of Zion's biblical destiny. Growing self-doubt regarding the quality of Pentecostal restoration to their first-century apostolic heritage would inevitably bring into question the nature of Israel's national restoration.

Dispensationalism had proven attractive to premillennial Pentecostals since it afforded a systematic logic for biblically literalist American Christianity. Leaders who wanted to consider Pentecostals merely Evangelicals or Fundamentalists "with a plus" ignored that dispensationalism categorically disallowed possibility for contemporary Pentecostal religious experience. Many Pentecostals like Frank M. Boyd, Ernest S. Williams and Ralph M. Riggs simply glossed over dispensationalist roadblocks to Pentecostalism and massaged its ideology to suit Pentecostal aspirations.¹²⁹⁵

Following decades of muffled silence largely imposed by the liberalized wing of Protestantism, biblically conservative denominations were determined to make an imprint on the future development of American society with formation of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942. Upon the NAE's invitation to join the NAE,

¹²⁹⁵ For example, Boyd had simply replaced the dispensationalist "Church Age" with the "Spirit Age" and assigned the birth of the Church to the Acts 2 Day of Pentecost in contrast to dispensationalism's chronologically later Book of Acts birthday of the Church. This moving of the historical markers made it possible to incorporate Pentecostalism into Church history rather than leaving it attached exclusively to the dispensationalist age of the Jewish messianic Kingdom.

Pentecostals proved ready to bring their radical distinctives into closer harmony with contemporary Evangelicalism. Many Pentecostals were anxious to discard their long-term “rejected” label and move away from their marked marginalized position into the social embrace of respectable Christian society. When Evangelicals appealed to Pentecostals to join the NAE to cooperatively proffer prophetic protest against the loss of traditional Christian values and the perceived current direction of American society, the invitation to bond afforded Pentecostals a platform to speak into their American society in a manner superior to anything previously imagined possible.

Pentecostal leadership recognized changes would have to be made within their ideology and life-style for Pentecostals to be socially acceptable to their new Evangelical friends, e.g., older cultural taboos, evidences of any Pentecostalist superiority complex, and anti-intellectualism would all have to be constrained. Significantly too, the Pentecostal conviction of fraternal-twin apostolic restorationism alongside a Zionist-inspired national Israel would also require some accommodation.

The two most recent decades of the especially virulent western anti-Semitism of the 1920s and 1930s had negatively impacted many Christians. The classical anti-Semitic stereotyping of Jews had reworked its way into some Evangelical and Pentecostal minds as observed in chapter three. At the same time the Pentecostals, wearied from their own four decades of social enmity and religious antagonism, found clear identification with the most persecuted people of the twentieth century increasingly uncomplimentary and distasteful. Worse, the revival of national Israel in 1948 did not guarantee Israel’s political survival as enemies were hoarded against the fledgling State. If a disproportionate number of Pentecostal ideological eggs were nestled in Zionism’s national basket, how might Pentecostal credibility fare should the new Jewish State go up in Muslim ashes? Pentecostalism had thus far survived the lack of the materialization of pristine first-century Christianity, but it was not clear at all it could survive the destruction of national Israel. Pragmatism called for placing some distance between Pentecostalism’s ideological self-legitimization and its enthusiasm for a restored Israel. With social acceptance and Assemblies of God (AG) self-identification available apart from ideological direct linkage with Zionist aspirations, the Pentecostals could soften their affinity with Israel at least down to the same level as Evangelical premillennial dispensationalists.

The gradual transition from unswerving Pentecostal conviction in support of the proposition of the Jewish State to frequent Pentecostal caution against overdue confidence in the Jewish nation prior to Israel's messianic faith in Jesus can be observed from the early post-World War II years and into the 1950s. The future of present national Israel could not be guaranteed, according to many Pentecostals, since Israel had not yet embraced Jesus as Messiah. Some even denied divine involvement in the present Zionist aspiration. By 1961 the AG would actually change its *Statement of Fundamental Truths* to push the eschatological salvation of national Israel into the millennial future and more directly correspond with dispensationalism.

The very existence of the Jewish State by 1948 forced Pentecostalism to account for Israel's destiny and purpose in Pentecostal ideology. While the newer Latter Rain, healing and charismatic movements respectively in the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, might virtually ignore Israel without particular consequence to their self-understanding, the AG had no such luxury. Since early century Pentecostalism had so clearly defined itself in "Latter Rain" restorationist terms in ideological fraternal identification with the restoration of Zion, inevitably the establishment of the modern State of Israel would be an ongoing ideological issue. Therefore many of the theological greats of the AG had to devote much of their scholastic energies to the Zionist role in the *eschaton*. In this chapter the intellectual contributions of the period's chief academic ideologues, major popularizers, and prime publications of the AG in light of their ideologies of Zion and the Jewish State are historically analyzed in terms of their content and circles of influence.

Very soon after the establishment of the State of Israel, the AG retreated from their earlier largely unqualified, strongly expressed, and published political support for the Zionist endeavor into a more somber and cautious posture. Since their hope for Israel centered in Jewish national faith in Jesus, their abiding sense of connectedness with Israel's Zionist hope would primarily translate into intensified Jewish evangelistic efforts in Israel and especially in the United States on the missionary or local AG congregational level. But three generations of AG Jewish mission efforts in Israel would meet with an anti-climactic conclusion with the bitter sale of the AG's prime property located in the heart of modern Jerusalem in 1969, just two years after Israel's recapture of Jerusalem in the Six-Day War.

SOCIAL IMPACT UPON AMERICAN PENTECOSTALISM (1946-1972)

PENTECOSTAL UPWARD MOBILITY

The societal change impacting all Americans in the post-War period, especially the 1950s and 1960s, had a dramatic affect upon Pentecostal identity and social practice. On the heels of World War II came new levels of American political influence and international trade with their promises for new American prosperity. Pentecostals were progressively enticed into a mostly new role as members of the American middle class. Increased wealth led to new pursuit of educational opportunities and a Pentecostal challenge to conventional suspicions of higher learning, long perceived to be the traditional death-knell for spirituality. New levels of wealth and education inevitably challenged conservative religious values and life-styles. The phobias of money, success, and social influence quickly dissipated as Pentecostals continued to rise on the socio-economic ladder. The gap continually widened between the earlier perceived biblical ideals and the new Pentecostal reality of financial prosperity as Pentecostals learned to emphasize “intangible qualities rather than visible traits.”¹²⁹⁶

As Americans prospered, more Pentecostal children were sent to college for professional training. Correspondingly, pressures upon the string of AG Bible institutes first established across America in the 1920s and 1930s to become full colleges and pursue academic accreditation were intense by the 1960s. Many did dramatically upgrade their programs and gained regional accreditation.¹²⁹⁷ Earlier Pentecostals had feared an invasion of liberal arts education would chill Pentecostal fires. Yet Evangel College was founded as the first liberal arts college of the AG in 1955 while an AG Theological Seminary was established by 1972—both in Springfield, Missouri. The academic training not only of clerics but also of teachers, nurses, businessmen, mathematicians, and scientists of many varieties, reflected the movement’s desire for integration into the larger American milieu more in keeping with Evangelical social

¹²⁹⁶ Margaret M. Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, 1989), 239-240.

¹²⁹⁷ Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1971), 209.

philosophy. As Edith Blumhofer has noted, the AG movement “by mid-century found itself in considerably less tension with society.”¹²⁹⁸ Plainly, the restorationist dreams of an idealized return to pristine first-century apostolic Christianity, with its near total disregard for nineteen centuries of history, was in steady conflict with an increasingly “culture-bound and socially influenced” AG constituency.¹²⁹⁹ Even when the eruptions of occasional outbreaks of restorationist revivals in like the “New Order of the Latter Rain” or the healing and deliverance movements of the late 1940s and 1950s as seen below would remind Pentecostals of their radical roots, they would still succumb to “the enticements of the times.”¹³⁰⁰ The newer emphasis upon academic scholarship helped eliminate some of the social stigma of anti-intellectualism that had characterized Pentecostal image.

MIDDLE CLASS VALUES

From the early 1960s, the AG mirrored the same cultural bewilderment of most denominations. The American culture was in social foment and general disarray as American youth were increasingly alienated from traditional churches and denominations. Americans became fixated on a new moral pluralism philosophy and society experienced a crisis with the breakdown of core American values. The new money readily available to those Americans in the 1960s prepared to slave over wealth-yielding jobs and readied to sacrifice their homes and families in pursuit of “the almighty dollar” in an illusive quest for security and happiness, evoked a strong reaction from free-thinkers, especially university aged youth, who revolted against a materialistic value system supported by the traditional theme of America as the “land of opportunity.” Tens of thousands of highly profiled, drug-using, free-loving “hippies,” in full protest against conventional moral strictures, the “rat-race,” a life-destroying American work ethic, the threat of nuclear war with Russia and the Vietnam conflict, awakened portions of the American public to their responsibility to analyze their ideologies and codes of behavior. But in fatalistic despair of societal survival, and casting all caution to the wind, an ever-increasing number of Americans engaged in the

¹²⁹⁸ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 6.

¹²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

illicit use of drugs and promiscuous sexual practices. In this cultural morass, American Evangelicalism began to seriously emerge on the social horizon while the AG began mobilizing for massive evangelism.¹³⁰¹

During the 1960s and into the early 1970s, AG membership grew as Christians of other denominations, particularly from the historic churches of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopalian traditions, were drawn to the more vivacious and increasingly middle class AG congregations. The often higher-income suburbanites entering the increasingly socially palatable AG fellowship¹³⁰² did much to bring social maturity to Pentecostalism. However, as historian Margaret Poloma observed, this newer element in Pentecostal ranks eroded “religious participation, commitment to the denomination, and specific Pentecostal tenets,” as well as feed an increased “spiritual narcissism,”¹³⁰³ as more social accommodation would be the AG fate.

The extensive AG cultural borrowing soon manifested as Pentecostals began to be preoccupied with numbers and largesse. Many of the valued signs of Pentecostal humility had been replaced by the American success criterion, i.e., bigger is better. Gaps between Pentecostal ideals and the reality on the ground would foster and hasten the loss of Pentecostal distinctives.¹³⁰⁴ Confusing spiritual power with social power and spiritual prosperity with financial prosperity, as AG historian Gary McGee has demonstrated, the older Pentecostal pursuit of piety was easily overwhelmed by the American lust for success and self-gratification.¹³⁰⁵ Chasing the American dream of material abundance clearly violated the classical Pentecostal sense of NT priorities and proved to be a hazard to the perpetuation of traditional Pentecostal identity, as material success and social position became the marks of status rather than genuine Pentecostal spirituality.

PENTECOSTAL DESIRE FOR SOCIAL RECOGNITION

By the 1940s the third generation of modern Pentecostalism, the grandchildren of the pioneers, had wearied of four decades of Christian and American social contempt and felt the time for change had arrived. Therefore when the newly 1942 established

¹³⁰¹ Ibid., 244

¹³⁰² William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1971): 373.

¹³⁰³ Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*, 153.

¹³⁰⁴ Ibid., 240.

¹³⁰⁵ Gary McGee, “The Quest for Holiness,” *PE* (2 August 1987): 7.

NAE made overtures signifying Evangelical welcoming of Pentecostal participation, the AG was quick to reciprocate as noted above.

In order to first find and then retain a new social status within American Christian society, Pentecostals would need to dramatically alter their current image. Pentecostals often projected a feeling of spiritual superiority to non-tongues speakers and conveyed a preoccupation with a deliberate policy of holiness-styled legalism for purposes of maintaining cultural alienation. In part to satisfy their need for rapprochement, Pentecostalism would sense an obligation to move away from its signal pristine restorationist moorings in favor of a more standard Evangelical dispensationalist worldview. Three immediate evidences of a widespread denominational AG readiness to accommodate Evangelical perspective were the rejection of the “New Order of the Latter Rain,” the unofficial snubbing of the healing revivals of the 1950s in a naked attempt to demonstrate new appreciation for modern medical science, and a significant modification of the movement’s *Statement of Fundamental Truths* as it bore on “the salvation of national Israel.”

THE ALLURE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

For all their self-importance, Pentecostals had been denounced by both Fundamentalist and holiness denominations and all but completely ignored by the balance of Western Christianity for their first four decades. In fact, many of the more fundamentalist groups categorized glossolalia or tongues speaking as a satanic ploy to deceive the simple into needless distraction and to generate further division among Christians. This dreadful assessment was painful for Pentecostals. The beginnings of serious rapprochement with co-religionists came with the invitation from Evangelical, Holiness and Fundamentalist groups for the Pentecostals to enlist in the 1942 creation of the NAE. Whereas most of the hundreds of smaller Pentecostal groups adamantly refused to be identified with what they perceived to be a blatant step toward worldliness for the sake of social acceptability, the AG was quite ready to make whatever possible accommodation necessary to find acceptance among their “non-Pentecostal brethren.”¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰⁶ See William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve*, 177-182; and Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 164-79.

As a conglomerate of cooperative and generally conservative Christian denominations and friends, the NAE intended from the outset to establish a highly visible platform upon which they corporately might accomplish what they could never do as single denominations, that is, successfully advocate and promote conservative Christian causes in the American religious and political arenas. From its inception the NAE tended toward inclusivism and avoided sectarianism in order to create a coalition of denominational and private partners who may unify to more successfully corporately impact American society. The NAE wanted to found a front to represent conservative American congregations before government agencies, function as a "clearing house" for common Christian concerns, and provide a means of demonstrating to the larger society the corporate Christian resolve to oppose the promotion of infidelity and apostasy.

Pentecostal entry into the NAE did not come without sectarian opposition from more Fundamentalist groups in dread of the "tongues" people. In fact, Pentecostal general isolation from the balance of American Christianity would continue until after World War II. For example, in his attempt to prevent Pentecostals from organizationally relating to the American Council of Christian Churches, fundamentalist leader Carl McIntire assailed Pentecostals in his periodical *Christian Beacon* as follows:

"Tongues" is one of the great signs of the apostasy. As true protestant denominations turn from the faith and it gets darker, the Devil comes more into the open, and people who are not fed in the old line denominations go out to the "tongues" movement, for they feel that they have some life.

The dominance of the "tongues" groups in the NAE "denominations" and their compromise in regard to the Federal Council will not, we believe, commend this organization to those who desire to see a standard lifted in behalf of the historic Christian faith.¹³⁰⁷

The NAE ultimately chose to reach out to Pentecostals and refused to merge with the American Council of Christian Churches. The AG gratefully joined the newly formed NAE and attempted to balance its own distinctive positions along lines more acceptable to the NAE constituency to afford them greater potential acceptance among

¹³⁰⁷ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, 207.

their new Evangelical friends.¹³⁰⁸ The Pentecostals were the minority in the NAE in the 1940s and 1950s but soon moved into the majority.¹³⁰⁹

As the AG leadership seized their opportunity for social acceptance after their long experience of rejection, they happily identified the AG with the newer Evangelicalism. They began to classify themselves as “Evangelicals plus” or as “evangelicals energized by a spiritual experience.”¹³¹⁰ From this new platform Pentecostals could lay claim to the richness of evangelical history while simultaneously envisioning a glorious future. Some unhappy AG leaders and adherents quickly protested and reemphasized the more radical Pentecostal distinctives. Yet, even with such voices of protest, the AG denomination found itself happily situated with its new evangelical identity by mid-century. Soon AG constituents were full partners with Evangelicalism in seeking to regain paradise lost, i.e., the former “Christian America.” The AG proved its readiness to move off its restorationist and non-historicist moorings.¹³¹¹

With the rise of the Charismatic (Neo-Pentecostal) Movement in the more classical Protestant churches in the late 1950s and 1960s, the cultural breach between the “disinherited” Pentecostals and American establishment Christianity was being rapidly overcome.¹³¹² These developments bolstered Pentecostal confidence that they were finally receiving the recognition they deserved within Christendom. The lure of social acceptability proved fairly irresistible to the AG leadership.

Robert Mapes Anderson argued that gradual Pentecostal relaxation of the Second Coming theme compelled Pentecostals to pragmatically assign speaking in tongues the role of primary Pentecostal distinctive and justification for religious independence. Making tongues the central tenet of Pentecostalism had afforded new

¹³⁰⁸ Ibid. General Superintendent E. S. Williams, recognizing a growing consensus that Pentecostals were “in the world” though not “of the world,” had supported J. Roswell Flower’s efforts to lead the AG into the very promising NAE.

¹³⁰⁹ By 1987 they represented over 60% of the combined five million NAE membership.

¹³¹⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 196.

¹³¹¹ Ibid., 197. The AG proved to be a quick study as not only had the advantages of cooperation with Evangelicals been discovered but Pentecostals soon began assuming leadership roles in newly created NAE associations.

¹³¹² The formal recognition of the legitimacy of Third World indigenous Charismatic Christian bodies by the World Council of Churches also suggested the legitimacy of Pentecostals generally.

justification vital to the continued perpetuation of the movement.¹³¹³ While Pentecostals consistently proclaimed the imminence of the Second Coming for decades to come, expectancy would periodically peak and wane. This commended the relegation of the Second Coming to a highly profiled doctrinal position rather than the chief motivation for Spirit-baptism. As the tongues distinctive, so vital for Pentecostal *raison d'être*, became less identified with urgent preparation for the Second Coming and more linked to the weekly worship experience,¹³¹⁴ the diminished emphasis upon eschatology suggested the decreasing relevancy of immediate events on the Zionist front. This explains how the shifting Pentecostal romance with Israel could more easily ebb and flow during the mid-century decades than in the more resolute years of early Pentecostalism.

MODIFICATION OF PENTECOSTALISM'S IMAGE

The AG openly demonstrated their religious evolution by tearing down their own rejectionist walls, by condemning radicalized neo-Pentecostalism, by displaying a chilled disposition toward modern faith healing, and by their readiness to shunt the full redemption of Israel off to the millennial future.

Dismantling of the Rejectionist Front

The abandonment of Pentecostalism's radical origins in terms of both orthodoxy and orthopraxy significantly contributed to their substantial numerical growth.¹³¹⁵ The prophetic Latter Rain speculation of the earlier twentieth century seemed to dissipate in favor of dispensationalist apocalyptic conjecture by the post World War II years.¹³¹⁶

As Pentecostals had early on called for Christian unity as one key element to unlocking the door to pristine apostolic restorationism, tongue speakers from all

¹³¹³ Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979), 96. According to Anderson, the *eschaton* emphasis was gradually replaced by ecstasy as the chief focus of Pentecostal worship.

¹³¹⁴ Ernest S. Williams, *Systematic Theology*. Vol. 3 (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1953), 50, 52, 57.

¹³¹⁵ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 228. See also Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*, 239. The long list of traditional taboos incumbent upon one living a Pentecostal sanctified life separated from "the world" became dramatically reduced to a shorter list of proscriptions, i.e., drinking alcohol, smoking, sex outside of marriage, use of illicit drugs, theater attendance, mixed swimming and social dancing. Over time, even many of the remaining taboos were challenged or ignored as Pentecostals more readily adapted themselves to their American cultural milieu.

¹³¹⁶ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 80.

backgrounds and religious persuasions had been embraced. By mid-century however, as Blumhofer pointed up, the AG level of interaction with ecumenists and Charismatics revealed its readiness to share the Evangelical and Fundamentalist reluctance to trust or welcome unity with mainstream Protestant or Catholic Christianity.¹³¹⁷ But even with their shared contempt for historical denominations, Pentecostals were still kept distant by more conservative members of the NAE. This further motivated the AG to make yet more concessions to appease Evangelicals by modifying the classical Pentecostal restorationist self-understanding.

Rejection of the “New Order of the Latter Rain” (1948-49)

Even Pentecostals of the 1920s were coming to terms with the sociological realities associated with the expectation of a return to first-century pristine Christianity. Theological squabbles, political machinations and the utter humanity of Pentecostals ultimately helped cool the fever-pitched expectation for pristine apostolic restorationism. For many it became increasingly apparent that true Church apostolic restoration might only follow the Second Coming due to human frailties. Therefore Pentecostals, like Frank Boyd in 1925 and E. S. Williams and Ralph Riggs in the 1940s, increasingly utilized dispensationalism to affirm the Church would largely apostatize and the world fairly sink into chaos in the end-of-days prior to the redemption actualized at the Second Coming. The delay of the Second Coming had clarified there would be a longer term Christian involvement in the present dispensation than originally anticipated.

The AG experienced minimal growth during the 1930s and into the 1940s even as local Pentecostal-styled worship services modified much of their ecstatic expression.¹³¹⁸ A longing for the earlier days and radical themes of Pentecostalism grew over the years as people craved the religious dynamics of their Pentecostal forbears. One hopeful answer to the growing Pentecostal dilemma came out of a 1947 Pentecostal revival in a remote Bible school in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, Canada, which would soon

¹³¹⁷ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 222.

¹³¹⁸ Many insiders concluded that organizational denominationalism had curtailed the spiritual energy of the Pentecostal Movement even as bureaucratic leadership had inadvertently betrayed the AG constituency.

spread to northern American cities.¹³¹⁹ The new revival was quickly dubbed the “New Order of the Latter Rain,” an obvious reaching back to the Latter Rain emphasis in earlier Pentecostalism. As Richard Riss has pointed up, the Latter Rain Movement of 1948 paralleled the earlier Pentecostal movement in its zeal for the miraculous, its excitement about the imminent Second Coming, its repudiated organized religion, and its enthusiasm for God’s mystical presence. Just prior to the Second Coming the *Shechinah* would be manifested in the Latter Rain outpouring.¹³²⁰ Grant Wacker, history professor at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), has demonstrated that the “New Order” soon developed extreme positions even as it despised organizational bureaucracies as manmade obstructions to spiritual liberties.¹³²¹ Not only were the *charismata* (spiritual manifestations) to be fully restored in practice but also apostolic authority was to be restored as immediate prelude to the Second Coming. Especially chosen “New Order” apostles and prophets began to function with rigid authority and soon patriarchal polities were in place. But the “New Order” smelled of extremism even while the AG was desperately seeking normalized Pentecostal socialization with the Evangelical world. It had to be absolutely clear to the NAE and others that the AG did not endorse the wild antics characteristic of the “New Order.”

The “New Order” expounded that it could legitimately create its own contemporary prophecy and eschatological reality and advocated that the fate of every generation of Christians depended upon its own level of submission to the Spirit of God. In fact, every generation of Christians were to experience their own pristine restoration to NT first-century apostolic Christianity. Since God’s actions were not epochal as much as continuous, God was interested in breaking into the time and space of every generation to “manifest the sons of God” rather than simply working out a historically chronicled scheme.¹³²² The AG was perceived by the “New Order” as just

¹³¹⁹ Myrtle D. Beall, a Detroit woman pastor, traveled to a “Latter Rain” series of meetings in Vancouver and then brought the revival to her own Bethesda Missionary Temple. From Detroit the revival was carried by Ivan Spencer, president of Elim Bible Institute and founder of Elim Fellowship, to upstate New York.

¹³²⁰ Richard M. Riss, *Latter Rain: The Latter Rain Movement of 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelical Awakening* (Mississauga, ON: Honeycomb Visual Productions Ltd., 1987), 11.

¹³²¹ Grant Wacker, “Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism,” in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 213-214.

¹³²² This New Order of the Latter Rain movement then would threaten to restore Pentecostalism to its earlier ahistorical ideology on the one hand while disconnecting the current “Latter Rain” outpouring

another established ecclesiastical system preoccupied with the world and eschatology rather than fully operating under existential divine inspiration.¹³²³

The “New Order” of 1948 was presumed guilty of disrespect for the more established Pentecostalism as exemplified in the AG. Its stinging indictment had improperly discounted the historic and noble efforts of the progeny of the earlier proponents of Latter Rain ideology. In part to successfully brand the “New Order” as extreme, the AG found dispensationalism increasingly useful to its coveted image of stability and respectability.¹³²⁴

At the twenty-third General Council in 1949 official action was taken to formally disapprove the “New Order of the Latter Rain,” for its “overemphasis relative to imparting...gifts by the laying on of hands and prophecy;” its erroneous teaching that “the Church is built on the foundation of present-day apostles and prophets;” its deliverance ministry “which claims prerogatives to human agency which belong only to Christ;” its “impartation of the gifts of languages as special equipment for missionary service;” for the guidance it offered through the “extreme and unscriptural practice of imparting or imposing personal leadings by the means of gifts of utterance;” and other “wrestings and distortions of Scripture interpretations which are in opposition to teachings and practices generally accepted among” the AG, to substantiate its own teachings and practices.¹³²⁵

Once it became clear that the new Pentecostal “Latter Rain” revival would not accept the restrictions of General Council executive guidelines or denominational constraints but follow its own course, it was quickly condemned and fully repudiated. The 1949 AG resolution on the “New Order,”

from that of the previous two generations of Pentecostalism. Rather than becoming eschatologically preoccupied, the New Order of the Latter Rain taught Pentecostals should flow with the Spirit’s inspiration equally in the present and, indeed, in every generation.

¹³²³ Offering the same type of belligerence towards established denominations and extreme radicalism of its earlier Pentecostal forebears, the New Order of the Latter Rain seemed bent on especially negating classical Pentecostalism, its closest relative.

¹³²⁴ Stanley Frodsham, editor of the *PE*, was invited by Pastor Myrtle Beall to visit Bethesda Missionary Temple in Detroit. He was enthralled and convinced that this revival had been spiritually energized by God. Upon reporting his findings to the displeased AG executives in Springfield, he was forced into early retirement in 1949. His resignation was read to the 1949 General Council in session by Superintendent Ernest S. Williams.

¹³²⁵ Minutes of the Twenty-third General Council of the AG (1949): 26-27.

RESOLVED, That we disapprove of those extreme teachings and practices, which, being unfounded Scripturally, serve only to break fellowship of like precious faith and tend to confusion and division among the members of the Body of Christ and be it hereby known that this 23rd General Council disapproves of the so-called "New Order of the Latter Rain."

As more enthusiastic Pentecostals were drawn to the new fires of revivalism, the foundation was being laid for the healing and deliverance revivals of the 1950s and the Charismatic Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. But the AG leadership would fully disallow radicalized Pentecostalism to jeopardize the vastly improving social standing of the denomination.

A most astounding realization is the apparent total "New Order of the Latter Rain" disconnection from Zionism and the establishment of the Jewish State even in 1948! Whereas the earlier Latter Rain ideology of David Wesley Myland and others at the inception of the Pentecostal movement (see chapter two) had clearly connected the rise of Pentecostalism with the Zionist aspirations for a restored Jewish State, the current 1948 Latter Rain movement seemed to derive no ideological significance from Zionist successes. Its focus was entirely upon the restoration of apostolic Christianity without regard to Jews, Judaism, Zion or Israel. This seeming detachment from all things Jewish would equally characterize much of the later healing and deliverance revivalism of the 1950s and the Charismatic Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Although this "Latter Rain" movement was birthed and gained its momentum during Israel's gestation and infancy in the late 1940s and early 1950s, few assigned any correspondence between these two developments. In a similar manner, the largely Pentecostal "Jesus Movement" that erupted on the heels of the Six-Day War in 1967 was not assigned any clear relevance to the corresponding historical events in Zion among "New Order" and most charismatic types. The natural borrowing from the perceived ideological relevance of Zionism in early Pentecostalism was absent in the newer Pentecostalist ideologies in 1948 or 1967. In the "New Order" Israel's rebirth did not even have relevance to the Second Coming as it considered such a connection to be purely Pentecostal borrowing from unacceptable dispensationalism. The earlier profound sense of Latter Rain restorationist ideological fraternity between Pentecostalism and Zionism had largely dissipated by the end of World War II.

The new Latter Rain movement and its Charismatic offspring would feel no inclination or need to embrace dispensationalism. To the measure they were free of dispensationalist ideology, the variant forms of Neo-Pentecostalism tended to regard modern Israel to be a political development fashioned by human efforts and agendas quite in distinction to supernatural action. Certainly the persecuted Jewish people required and deserved a “city of refuge” out of humanitarian and international concerns. But the obedient and Spirit-anointed Church was their perceived actual realm of divine activity in striking similarity to supersessionist amillennialism. In a similar manner, the runaway fascination with faith-healing in the 1950s and 1960s did not sit well with a socially accommodating AG eager to project its growing awareness of modernity and appreciation for science while simultaneously further centralizing their organizational power and reigning in or expelling aberrants. It seemed as though the ahistorical primitivist impulse had exhausted itself soon after mid-century even while Pentecostals were further prepared to live very much like the world around them.

PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGICAL COMPROMISE WITH DISPENSATIONALISM ON ISRAEL

One of the tools of Pentecostal rapprochement to Evangelicalism was a carefully fostered re-indoctrination of the movement into dispensationalism in the 1940s and 1950s as the essence of the “Latter Rain” teaching in the early 1900s had been incompatible with dispensationalism. The restorationist emphasis of early Pentecostalism had called for a return to radically apostolic Christianity and carried a heavy expectation for the speedy and full redemption of Israel. Providence was seen to be at work restoring both the Church and Israel to their radical points of first-century departure. Yet the gradual AG move away from early Latter Rain expectations created both a willingness to redefine the eschatology of the Church and a need to reconsider Israel’s place and experience in the *eschaton*. As AG Pentecostalism sized down its ideological expectations for the Church, it simultaneously reduced the contemporary role of Zionism and national Israel. Both Church and Israel would now find the fulfillment of their earthly destinies only in the millennium.

MOVEMENT AWAY FROM RESTORATIONIST IDEOLOGY AND ISRAEL

By 1961 the AG had made a series of adjustments to alter its image before a watching Christian America including the modification of its *Statement of Fundamental Truths* to more closely reflect the theological position of the NAE. The most notable change for purposes of this dissertation was Article 14's section on the "salvation of national Israel" examined below. The AG forged an image of greater social relevance by assuaging its traditionally expected Pentecostal codes of conduct and life-style thereby orchestrating a new and recognizable commonality with many sharing in the pursuit of an Evangelical redemption of American culture. The AG took three very decisive courses of action to eliminate any new threat to Evangelical acceptance of AG Pentecostalism: the heavy-handed reaction to the 1948 Latter Rain Movement, the prolonged coolness toward the Healing Revival of the 1950s, and the systematic Pentecostal embrace of premillennial dispensationalism.¹³²⁶ The AG was anxious to partner with other conservative Christians and become ever more socially palatable to the larger American society.¹³²⁷ While the denomination organizationally grew increasingly aloof from its earlier firm political ideological commitments to Zionism, grass roots Pentecostal pastors and laymen tended to highly favor Zion and, as Blumhofer noted, firmly supported American foreign policy on Israel.¹³²⁸

The faith-healing movement of the 1950s and newer charismatic ecumenical efforts by men like outstanding charismatic star, David DuPlessis, created new tensions in the AG in the 1960s and early 1970s. Each movement revealed the readiness of solidly grass-rooted religious enthusiasts to reach back beyond current Pentecostal denominational developments over two generations to many of the radical "Latter Rain" foundations in their pursuit of surpassing Pentecostal fervor, spiritual power and

¹³²⁶ In the 1960s AG leaders made crucial and far-reaching pro-active decisions that would impact the denomination's future. In addition to disavowing ecumenism on the left, they deliberately distanced the AG from the Charismatic Renewal, a newer interdenominational "tongues" movement, on the right, as it was entirely uncontrollable socially, theologically and ideologically, since it fell almost completely outside the sphere of AG denominational influence. Ironically, while extremely uncomfortable with the Charismatic Renewal, the AG was growing more comfortable with the present world.

¹³²⁷ The AG joined with Evangelicals in recognizing the cultural alienation that existed between American society at large and the Christian testimony but then increasingly sought to provide alternative Christian social correspondents to secular society. The AG began in the 1960s fostering thousands of local Christian day schools and became more politically active in their opposition to abortion and other family-disruptive social issues.

¹³²⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 243-244.

unity. The Pentecostal Golden Age was not past to these Spirit-baptized enthusiasts but both present and future. But the new thesis often proffered by these movements that every generation was to experience for itself a new pristine restoration to first-century Pentecostalism had two chief effects important to my historical analysis. First, as the AG swelled with Christians pouring out of the historic churches who had not been ideologically conditioned in these churches to think in eschatological terms, the newcomers did not necessarily attach any divine significance to the rise of Zionism and the modern State of Israel. Second, their focus on Christian interaction with the Spirit was without any noted relevance to unbelieving Israel. Israel may stew in its resistance to God on a long-term basis (or even forever), but Spirit-filled believers could experience pristine apostolic restorationist greatness in every generation. Therefore, Zionism and the events associated with the State of Israel had diminishing significance to the rank and file AG constituent especially as massive numbers of newly Spirit-baptized Protestants and Catholics were starting to fill the pews of the AG in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.

The pursuit of greater AG participation in the American cultural redemption sought by the NAE directly challenged the more radical restorationist ideology with its total reliance on divine intervention. Easing the eschatological tensions associated with the impending Second Coming dramatically lessened the immediate significance of Zionism or the State of Israel to Pentecostalist identity since both restorations of the apostolic Church and the salvation of national Israel could now be dispensationally pushed off into the millennium. Subtle theological changes with immense ideological implications useful to further cementing in place the new AG Evangelical status could be done without generating general upset in the AG among the rank and file membership. The significant yet subtle change most relevant to this dissertation was the modification of Article 14 of the *Statement of Fundamental Truths* at the General Council of the AG in session in 1961. Article 14 since 1927 had read:

The revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ from heaven, the *salvation of national Israel* and the millennial reign of Christ on earth are the Scriptural promises and the world's hope. 2 Thess. 1:7; Rev. 19:11-14; Romans 11:26,27; Rev. 20: 1-7, 15. (Italics mine)

In an attempt to more comfortably fit with the NAE, the 1927 constitutionally adopted “The Millennial Reign of Jesus” was brought into greater conformity with the NAE propositions. The new 1961 reading was:

The second coming of Christ includes the rapture of the saints, which is our blessed hope, followed by the visible return of Christ with His saints to reign on the earth for one thousand years (Zech. 14:5; Matt. 24:27, 30; Rev. 1:7; 19:11-14; 20:1-6). *This millennial reign will bring the salvation of national Israel* (Ezek. 37:21-22; Zeph. 3:19-20; Rom. 11:26-27) and the establishment of universal peace (Ps. 72:3-8; Isa. 11:6-9; Mic. 4:3-4). (Italics mine)

The second version composed in 1961 was a more careful embrace of classical premillennial dispensationalism and an important step further away from primitive restorationism. It clearly put off the necessity of the fraternal twin restorationist fulfillment to the millennial future. This was in contrast to the early Pentecostalist conviction that the restorations of both Church and Israel to their radical first-century station in God should anticipate the Second Coming. With this ideological change, Israel was now expected to remain temporarily “in unbelief.” This relieved the ideological pressure on the AG to indeed witness Church restoration to its own pristine Pentecostal fullness. Rather than sustaining the lofty ideal of full spiritual restoration, Pentecostals submitted to the dispensationist tenet of a basically defeated Church which would be raptured out of the fray rather than be restored. This ideological shift provides a clear witness to the growing readiness of the AG to step back from its profound sense of restorationist fraternity with Israel out of its interest for social acceptance and camaraderie with Evangelical bedfellows. The movement towards a greater Pentecostal embrace of full-fledged dispensationalism begun in the 1920s now reached its crescendo in 1961 as the AG officially cemented in place its repudiation of the earlier cherished “Latter Rain” primitive restorationist fraternity with Israel. No longer needing “tongues” for its corporate sense of security, Pentecostalism no longer required the corroborating evidence that Zionism had ideologically afforded the restorationist “tongues” movement. To the same measure “tongues” became less crucial to Pentecostal social recognition, the bond between the AG and Zionism was allowed to ideologically weaken.

Ostensibly to evaluate probable causes for recent slow growth in the AG, thousands met in St. Louis in 1968 to seek remedy.¹³²⁹ This Council of Evangelism dramatically curtailed the original Pentecostal understanding of the “New Testament apostolic pattern.” Absent were many of the vital pristine restorationist emphases that had so strongly motivated Pentecostals two and three generations earlier. By 1968 then, tongues speech alone was sufficient evidence of one’s devotion to the apostolic patterns of first-century Christianity and became the last remaining real vestige of a once intense AG ideology of restorationism.¹³³⁰

The romantic Zionist expectation had been decreased by the 1960s to the lower grade level of Evangelical dispensationalism and tied to the same sole Evangelical ideological reason, i.e., the Second Coming. To expedite the shift away from its restorationist moorings, Pentecostals increasingly emphasized Israel’s grand destiny would be held in abeyance pending Israel’s full repentance and national embrace of Jesus. It offered new disclaimers against indiscriminate endorsement of Israeli policies and proved anxious to not irreparably damage the AG image in the Islamic world, a massive part of the universe still perceived in great need of missionary activity. While AG romantic sentiments toward Israel would continue to peak and wane, “side-bar” qualifiers were stipulated in Pentecostal literature so as to provide a door of escape from potential Pentecostal identification with the new Zionist regime. Just as Pentecostals had been ultimately disappointed with their own eschatological performance to mid-century, they were openly expressing disappointment with the modern Jewish State since it was far less than ideologically promised. The AG no longer wanted its own fate inseparably conjoined with Zionism and the Jewish State as seen below.

¹³²⁹ The conference on evangelism created a succinct three-dimensional “mission statement” designed to redefine the AG to its own constituency, to Evangelicals and to the nation. AG ideological purposes were reduced to three: evangelism, worship, and nurture. The chief divine objective for the movement was stipulated to be the evangelization of the world. Congregations to foster divine worship and personal holiness were primary objectives two and three respectively. In this context, Spirit-baptism based on the apostolic pattern was redefined to have fundamentally the same three primary purposes: evangelism (to be accompanied by supernatural signs), worship (for which Spirit-baptism provided special enablement), and expression of Spirit-issued fruits, giftings, and services according to first-century patterns.

¹³³⁰ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 243.

**A VERY BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY OF
ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH STATE BETWEEN 1946 AND 1972**

The standard framework for dispensationalist eschatology embraced by most AG leaders, writers, and teachers in the era from 1946 to 1972 fairly matched that of the Evangelical world. The following overview lays out the skeletal frame of the *eschaton* as understood by the AG ideologues considered in this chapter. Distinctives, special insights or contributions to AG thought are later highlighted or accented against the common eschatological backdrop below.

The scheme of the *eschaton* at the close of the present “Church” (or “Spirit”) Age began with the “rapture” of the corporate body of regenerate Christians to meet Christ in the heavens. While the Bride of Christ celebrated the “marriage supper of the Lamb” in the heavens for seven years, the chaotic world beneath would be in turmoil as evil would be unleashed in the absence of the evil-restricting presence of the Church and the Spirit. Most noteworthy during this seven-year “Great Tribulation” would be the “Time of Jacob’s Trouble” which would ultimately compel Israel to acknowledge Jesus as King-Messiah. In the process, however, national Israel would make a covenant with the anti-Christ or “Beast” who would present himself to Israel as the anticipated messianic answer to all mankind’s problems. After three and a half years the anti-Christ would break covenant with Israel and meet with keen Jewish resistance upon setting himself up in the Temple as a god. The anti-Christ would mobilize the world’s military against Israel for a showdown at the Battle of Armageddon. A desperate Israel would finally be humbled to call upon God for rescue from total national destruction. In response, God would initiate the Second Coming of Jesus. Upon the deliverance of Israel from the jaws of annihilation, Israel would recognize Jesus as their delivering Messiah and mourn for him as for a lost first-born son. A responsive Jesus then would assume the Davidic throne to launch his global reign from Zion. During his thousand-year reign, Israel would fully inherit all the patriarchal promises and enjoy the prophesied blessings of the messianic age. The millennial reign would culminate in the Great White Throne judgment of nations and individuals to determine the eternal destiny of all.¹³³¹

¹³³¹ For a fuller description of dispensationalist eschatology as it relates to Israel, see chapter one.

THE SHIFTING ROMANCE OF THE
IDEOLOGY OF ZION AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL, 1946-1972

The romantic Pentecostal fascination with Zionism and the restoration of the Jewish State of Israel would continue into the 1970s. Infatuation with the growing Jewish population figures, new collectives and land reclamation projects, the development of public works and the construction of cities, educational advances, Jewish religion and business news, Israeli tenacity in overcoming hardships and the Jewish State's neutralization of mortal threats all held much of the AG Pentecostal readership fairly spellbound. For example, in spite of a lessening dependence upon Zionism for Pentecostal ideological support, more than 50% of the weekly issues of the *PE* in 1950 contained multiple articles or news clips on modern Israel. There were hundreds of entries that exhibited a highly positive and enthusiastic Pentecostal disposition toward Israel. Regrettably, their massive bulk makes their full reporting unwieldy. While the AG modified its official posture on national Israel in 1961 to downplay and disassociate from its "Latter Rain" restorationist heritage to insure its sustained official recognition in the Evangelical world, there can be no doubt of continued Pentecostal affections for Zion and the State of Israel on the popular readership level.

The five chief scholastic influences upon the AG movement between 1946 and 1972 were Myer Pearlman, Frank M. Boyd, Ralph M. Riggs, Ernest S. Williams and Stanley M. Horton. Each had very strong sentiments toward Zionism and the restoration of the State of Israel. With the exception of Stanley Horton, they all favored a general Pentecostal embrace of dispensationalism. Each of these scholars was recognized as an outstanding academician and prolific writer whose texts were regularly consumed in AG Bible institutes and colleges and used in Pentecostal pulpits and congregational educational programs across America. Meanwhile, the popular writings of C. M. Ward, Louis Hauff, and the highly regarded one-time AG evangelist Gordon Lindsay helped maintain a high standard of Pentecostal expectation for providential activity in Zion at the grassroots level. But most educational and youth publications as well as the *PE* all seemed to reflect the official denominational shift toward dispensationalism and move away from Zionism's Israel between 1946 and 1972.

Following his premature death in 1943, Myer Pearlman's influence lingered long into the 1950s and 1960s since his several titles were standardly used in Pentecostal Bible institutes and colleges through the 1950s and into the 1960s.¹³³² Not radically disassociating Israel and the Church, as did Darby, Scofield and other standard dispensationalists, Pearlman had clearly advocated that the restoration of Israel was attributable to providential activity in the present. Such a glorious restoration of Zion was not to be regarded as a distant eschatological event but a reality on the immediate horizon. While generally holding to dispensationalism, for Pearlman Israel and the Church were not two entirely distinguishable peoples without either connection or common purpose. Rather than referencing the Church as the "true," "new," or even "spiritual" Israel, Pearlman maintained a real continuity between Israel and the Church. Instead of ever replacing Israel in God's program even temporarily, the Church was an expansion and extension of the spiritually regenerated remnant of Israel. The day would yet come when "all Israel" would be saved and enjoy the national benefits of divine grace, but redeemed national Israel would equally be a part of the faithful Bride of Christ. To Pearlman, there was very real continuity between Israel and the Church.¹³³³

Prior to the shocking fuller revelations of the Holocaust, Ralph M. Riggs¹³³⁴ (1895-1971) wrote *The Bible's Backbone*, which became an important ideological influence upon the AG for decades. Riggs borrowed extensively from standard premillennial

¹³³² His earlier tendency to ideologically link the Church and Israel in the divine program was challenged by the writings of ideologues Boyd, Riggs and Williams. Only Stanley Horton would provide the level of scholarship required to arrest the complete AG slide into dispensationalism.

¹³³³ Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1937), 348-349.

¹³³⁴ Lewis F. Wilson, "Ralph Meredith Riggs," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Pastor, missionary, educator, author, and administrator, Ralph Riggs had been a teen-ager in attendance at the 1914 organizational meeting of the General Council of the AG in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Upon graduation from Bible school in Rochester, New York, Riggs pastored three years prior to going as a single missionary to South Africa. He returned with his missionary bride and two daughters in 1925 to his former pulpit in Syracuse, New York. He later taught at Bethel Bible Training School in Newark, New Jersey, and relocated with the school to Springfield, Missouri, in 1929. In rapid succession he moved up the ecclesiastical ladder from Bible school teacher, to pastor of the denominational flagship church, Central Assembly of God in Springfield, to Southern Missouri District Superintendent, to Assistant General Superintendent, and finally to General Superintendent by 1953. Always an academic, Riggs did much to improve the quality of education at the denominationally sponsored Central Bible Institute and oversaw the 1955 establishment of the first AG liberal arts school, Evangel College, both in Springfield. His enthusiasm for education in the AG expedited his premature removal from elected office in 1959. He spent his final years as a theology professor at Bethany Bible College in Santa Cruz, California. He authored several books including one used I used as his student at Bethany in the late 1960s entitled *Dispensational Truths*.

dispensationalism but did take Pentecostal liberties at certain points. He was confident that prior to the Kingdom of Israel's messianic establishment, the Jewish people would undergo a severe season of chastening, e.g., the time of Jacob's Trouble, due to their continued rejection of the Gospel message as administered by the Holy Spirit.¹³³⁵ But the commencement of the millennium would also witness a "mighty outpouring of the Spirit" in Pentecostal terms "upon the Jewish people."¹³³⁶

As the fuller revelations of Nazi atrocities against the Jewish people burst onto the pages of American media during the months and years following the war, the AG sensed a responsibility to address the horrors of anti-Semitism. Not only did the 1945 General Council in session pass a resolution condemning anti-Semitism, but also Pentecostal literature became utilized to promote goodwill toward Jews. In a 1946 article expounding the tragic folly of anti-Semitism, the *PE* offered 54 paradoxes to demonstrate the illogic and danger of anti-Jewish sentiment. It pointed up that the nations had yet to learn from history the immense price past anti-Semitic nations had paid. The *PE* warned that the same spirit of anti-Semitism that was presently motivating international resistance to the establishment of a Jewish State would ultimately lead the nations into a futile attempt to destroy national Israel.¹³³⁷ The responsibility for anti-Semitism was to be ultimately laid on those energized by anti-christic powers, which would still cause a "most terrible tribulation" for Israel like the recent war years had.¹³³⁸

As it was becoming apparent in 1947 that the UN would soon be asked to vote to partition of Palestine into two independent states, the Gospel Publishing House (GPH) published that national Israel's salvation could only come at the Second Coming, when national Israel would repent, accept Jesus as Messiah and "occupy the place of

¹³³⁵ Ralph M. Riggs, *The Bible's Backbone* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1945), 106-107.

¹³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

¹³³⁷ Frederick Erdman, "Jewish and Gentile Paradoxes," *PE* (19 October 1946): 12-13. See also, Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988): 77. To illustrate a point in his caution against modern anti-Semitism, non-Pentecostal Robert Wuthnow reported in 1988 on the tone of American anti-Semitism during the worst of the Hitler years. Some 47% of Americans believed Jews had too much power in the United States. 20% felt Jews were a menace to America. 33% would not vote for a Jew, while 43% would be reluctant to hire a Jew, and 57% would definitely not marry a Jew. Wuthnow stated, while "much of this prejudice was rooted in folk beliefs and other implicit assumptions in the popular culture, there was also a distinctly religious component."

¹³³⁸ "Satan's Superman," *Adult Teacher's Quarterly (ATQ)* 20:4 (27 October 1946): 14-15.

importance as citizens of this kingdom; she shall be the head, and no longer the tail.”¹³³⁹ At the end of 1947, the *PE* offered a first report on the UN decision to partition Palestine into two separate national entities. The *PE* concluded that nationalistic, religious and socio-historical causes would presently keep the two peoples at odds but one future day their frustrating relationship would be healed as they gathered together in repentance before the eternal Father.¹³⁴⁰ In the editorial introduction to the article were early signs of growing Pentecostalist sympathies toward the Arab plight supported by cited Torah promises relative to Ishmael.

Unable to imagine an Israel without the Messiah Jesus, the AG suggested since “the Holy Land (has) opened as a home for the homeless Jew,” the Second Coming of the “long-looked-for Messiah of the Jews” would soon come “in power and glory.”¹³⁴¹ By November 1948, the GPH taught that few coming events in Scripture were as identifiable as “the restoration of the Jews.” Biblical prophecies concerning the Land were in the apparent process of fulfillment as Jews were “going back home,” wastes were being rebuilt, the land was being tilled, and the United States had recognized the new nation.¹³⁴²

After a detailed account of the history of the current political crisis in Zion, the 1948 *PE* suggested that while the Zionists were prepared to accept the UN offer, the Arab league had declared a *jihad* upon the UN. Consistent with God’s intentions for Israel, He would bring a “special judgment...upon the outstanding Mohammedan nations.”¹³⁴³ Arab refusal to read the Scriptures would not change God’s reality.¹³⁴⁴

¹³³⁹ “Millennial Blessings,” *ATQ* 21:3 (31 August 1947): 74.

¹³⁴⁰ Newman Watts, “The Problem in Palestine,” *Pentecostal Evangel (PE)* (27 December 1947): 10. Fathering two sons by different women laid the tensions that had manifested between Arab and Jew squarely at the feet of Abraham and the strife he engendered. Like their fathers gathered at Abraham’s graveside, the reconciliation of the seeds of Ishmael and Isaac would occur only at the death of the present Church age.

¹³⁴¹ V. G. Brown, “Time is Running Out,” *Christ’s Ambassadors Herald (CAH)* 21:4 (1 April 1948): 29-30.

¹³⁴² William E. Pickthorn, “Prophetic Bifocals,” *CAH* 21:11 (1 November 1948): 9.

¹³⁴³ “Palestine, the Focal Spot of World Interest,” *PE* (17 January 1948): 4, 12-14. The *PE* described events surrounding the partitioning of Palestine in 1948. Missionary to Jerusalem’s Arab Christians, Vera Swarztrauber, reported the rejoicing emanating from the Jewish Agency building a block away at 2:00 a.m. on November 30, 1947. The Arab Christians handled the news with sobriety and warned the missionaries of pending restrictions from both Zionist and Moslem governments. Jewish terrorists perpetuated their outrages even beyond partition and were now demanding control of Jerusalem. Arab rage against United States support of partition endangered American lives. Swarztrauber resolved to leave her Arab Christian ministry in the hands of faithful Arab believers and depart. Her report was heavily sympathetic to the Arab dilemma. See also, Vera Swarztrauber, “Watchman, What of the Night?” *PE* (21 August 1948): 5, 12-13.

Meanwhile, skeptics were cautioned that God had not cast away his people Israel. The twentieth-century Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit was still linked to the Jewish return from all nations in this AG 1948 publication.¹³⁴⁵

Stanley Frodsham, still editor of the *PE*, wrote in 1948 of the utter vanity of international and historical efforts to destroy the Jewish people, Israel. The Moslems should realize that, according to biblical revelation, to be an enemy of Israel was to be an enemy of God; those antagonistic to Israel touch the “apple” (pupil) of God’s eye. All anti-Semites could expect fates similar to those of Haman and Hitler. Even the Holy Spirit had prayed against Israel’s enemies in the Psalms who were to be made as “stubble before the wind” judged by the “fierce anger of the Lord.” Pentecostals needed to keep in clear focus God’s ultimate vision for Israel.¹³⁴⁶ But the *PE* editorialized as early as July 1948 that the present efforts of Zionism were not guaranteed success since Israel had yet to nationally embrace Christ. Only then would the true redemption of the Land commence. Still, current events represented the beginnings of the final drama.¹³⁴⁷

The 1948 *PE* repudiated any lingering Christian notion that the Church had eternally replaced Israel in God’s program for the ages. Rather, Israel’s dry bones were being reassembled and would ultimately nationally live infused by God’s own breath. The presently brewing worst storm in Jewish history, Jacob’s Trouble, would be followed by the Messiah’s coming to reign over a restored Kingdom constituted by national Israel. Yet the *PE* maintained a very healthy role for the Church as it witnessed divine construction, completion, and “filling up the number of His elect,” a revealing dispensationalist term. Concerned by the widespread lowered expectations for the Church, the *PE* blustered that the restoration of Israel would neither eclipse, precede, nor decommission the Church; the Church would fulfill its Pentecostal first-century apostolic mission even as the renewed twentieth-century Spirit-baptism had indicated. Plainly, AG thinkers in 1948 remained torn between primitive restorationist sentiments and dispensationalist eschatology and were mottled on the interim steps toward the

¹³⁴⁴ “The Beginning of a Nation,” *ATQ* 22:3 (22 August 1948): 58

¹³⁴⁵ “Palestine, the Focal Spot of World Interest,” *PE* (17 January 1948): 4, 12-14.

¹³⁴⁶ Stanley H. Frodsham, “Man’s Vain Attempts to Destroy Israel,” *PE* (17 July 1948): 4-5. Frodsham documented too that persecution against Jews typically corresponded with persecution of sincere Christians whether in the Moslem world, in Asia or in Christendom.

¹³⁴⁷ A. G. Fegert, “God’s Revealed Plan for Palestine,” *PE* (3 July 1948): 7.

Jewish destiny. The *PE* could, nevertheless, state with all Pentecostal confidence that ultimately every surviving Jew would have his eyes spiritually opened, be filled with the Spirit, and be chosen afresh as a godly vessel.¹³⁴⁸

It was reported in the 1948 *Adult Teacher's Quarterly (ATQ)* that Israel would occupy the fullness of the Promised Land to accommodate the future massive Jewish return in the *eschaton*.¹³⁴⁹ But astonishingly, with only three exceptions noted below, in the balance of AG educational material circulated for weekly Sunday School use across the United States from 1946 to 1972, every reference to Israel in the *ATQ* pointed only to ancient biblical Zion, seven-year "Great Tribulation" Israel, or to millennial kingdom Israel. Any discussion of modern Israel or Zionism was limited to three lessons in years 1952, 1955, and 1971 with two of these associated with Ezekiel's vision of dry bones as analyzed in chronological order below.

While faulting the administration of the UN partition plan for Arab suffering, the *PE* reported in 1948 *PE* that God was putting an irresistible drive in the Jewish corporate bosom to return to Zion even in a state of unbelief. All the turmoil, terrorism, and triumphalism pointed to the soon Second Coming even as old Jews stood shouting down King George Street, "It is time for the Messiah to come." Surely Messiah would soon appear to sit on the kingly throne in Zion.¹³⁵⁰

Frank M. Boyd¹³⁵¹ (1883-1984) wrote in his *Introduction to Prophecy* that the teaching of supersessionism of the Church over Israel was the result of misguided biblical interpretation, which had errantly applied Israel's promises of restoration to the "church as spiritual Israel."¹³⁵² Boyd's only departure from rather straightforward

¹³⁴⁸ "The Budding Fig Tree," *PE* (12 June 1948): 4. Customary of Pentecostal tendencies to applying christological significance to the biblical holy days, a linkage of Chanukah to Christ as the Light of the world was made in the 1948 *PE*. A brief explanation of Chanukah was accompanied with a description of the occasion Jesus celebrated the holiday in John 10. See Ruth Specter, "What Jews Celebrate at Christmas Time," *PE* (18 December 1948): 8.

¹³⁴⁹ "The Destruction of Sodom," *ATQ* 22:3 (12 September 1948): 58

¹³⁵⁰ George H. Carmichael, "What's Happening in Palestine," *PE* (28 August 1948): 3, 7.

¹³⁵¹ Boyd, prolific author and multi-generational educator, served as principal of Bethel Bible Training School in Newark, New Jersey, and Central Bible Institute in Springfield. He later functioned as dean of Bethany Bible College in Santa Cruz, California, and as faculty member at Southern California College in Pasadena before returning to the faculty at Central Bible College (1947-63). He authored several titles including *Ages and Dispensations* (1955) in which he adapted Scofield's dispensationalism to Pentecostal experience by simply redefining the Church Age as the Spirit Age.

¹³⁵² Frank M. Boyd, *Introduction to Prophecy* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1948), 94-99. Entirely consistent with dispensationalism ideology, Boyd indicated the biblical use of "Israel" had application to only Jacob, the son of Isaac, or the northern Kingdom consisting of the ten tribes, or to the united nation that would ultimately "inherit the promises of final restoration and regathering to the land of Palestine." Paul's

dispensationalist eschatology is found in his Pentecostal emphasis that following Israel's messianic deliverance, Israel would experience its own Pentecostal outpouring in the millennium as there "will be a wonderful outpouring of the Spirit upon renewed Israel"¹³⁵³ and the *Shechinah* will overshadow Jerusalem.¹³⁵⁴ Even as Boyd dispensationally distinguished Israel and the Church, he could not avoid linking Pentecostalist experience and national Israel.

In the case of national Israel, God had sovereignly intervened in space and time. The rebirth of Israel was heralded as a divine miracle in the 1949. After six months of intensive warfare, the little Jewish State had not only warded off the attacks forces of 24 million Moslems but actually gained territory. The biblical prophecies of the *eschaton* were "just beginning their fulfillment."¹³⁵⁵ God had seen the "cruel crushing of Israel at Dachau and Buchenwald" and had punished the offending nation. The flying of the Star of David over "national Israel in its own land," made it clear "that God is in history."¹³⁵⁶

All the celebration at Zionism's grand progress, however, raised the question of the place of Jewish repentance and faith in Jesus as prerequisite for the final restoration.¹³⁵⁷ According to the 1949 *PE*, the promises concerning the Land were as

reference to "the Israel of God" (Galatians 6:15,16) had clear application to natural Israel. Israel's scattering and oppression would continue for a limited time as a temporary result of unfaithfulness, i.e., "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" while God's covenant promises to the patriarchs and kings were eternal. A repentant and purified Israel would be restored to divine blessing and prosperity while Gentile nations tried to evade the stigma of past anti-Semitism. Israel shall yet attain to the promised purity hitherto missed in Jewish history and Messiah, David's greater son and righteous Branch, would reign over regathered Israel. The resurrected Messiah would shepherd Israel in their eternally reoccupied land when Israel would recognize Jesus and enter the New Covenant. But God would only send Israel's Messianic Deliverer when a repentant Israel would call on God for divine intervention in the face of the international onslaught of Israel.

¹³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 124-125.

¹³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹³⁵⁵ "The Miracle of Israel," *PE* (9 April 1949): 15.

¹³⁵⁶ Cordas C. Burnett, "God Was There," *CAH* 22:8 (1 August 1949): 5-6, 19. See also, Otto J. Klink, "Whither?" *CAH* 22:3 (1 March 1949): 5-6. The prophecy of Hosea 6:1-2 had foretold that after two thousand years Israel would be resurrected. This had happened as the "whole world was electrified, when on May 14, 1948, it was proclaimed from Tel Aviv that a new nation Israel had been formed...." In divine retribution for its assistance of Egypt against Israel and its calloused disregard for the Balfour Declaration, the British Empire was currently being broken up.

¹³⁵⁷ George T. B. Davis, "Regathering Israel: A Modern Miracle," *PE* (20 August 1949): 3, 13-14. The 1949 *PE* offered several reasons to step away from strongly held positions of leading Pentecostals in by-gone years. First, God's everlasting lovingkindness had activated His current performance of the patriarchal covenant promises made four thousand years prior. Secondly, God was restoring national Israel at present not due to Israel's righteousness but for the sake of His own Name and honor. Thirdly, national restoration was foundational to the imminent Second Coming and Israel's ultimate evangelistic function among the universe of nations. These realities should foster Christian prayer for full religious liberty in

reliable as all other biblical testimony. For one to doubt the continuing validity of God's promises of real estate to the patriarchs, one would also have to doubt the biblical basis of salvation, the Second Coming, the virgin birth, in short, all things for which believers embrace the inerrancy of Scripture. Indeed, the promises had never been repealed, and Israel would yet enjoy the fullness of promised blessing. Yet it had to be acknowledged that sin and divine dispersal had still prevented Israel from possessing the fullness of the Promised Land.

In answer to criticism of Israel, the *PE* clarified that Herzl's instigation of the Zionist movement had been followed by Jewish land purchases in Palestine at exorbitant prices. In fact, European anti-Semitism had provided additional motivation for a new exodus and had benefited Arabs financially, educationally and scientifically. While Palestine and the Jews were made for one another, no earthly harmony could exist while the divine program was discounted, i.e., Israel needed to receive Jesus. Therefore, Pentecostals needed to be aggressive both in their intercessory prayer for the Jewish people and in their evangelistic efforts to bring a speedy spiritual redemption to Israel.¹³⁵⁸

Ernest S. Williams¹³⁵⁹ (1885-1981) boldly embraced the premillennial dispensationalist position in 1950. Surely now that Jerusalem was the capital of Israel, the restoration of the sacrificial system and the Second Coming were near at hand. But as long as Israel's King Jesus was rejected, Jerusalem would be "trodden down of the

the Jewish State, that the Evangel could be proclaimed to all Israel and result in their national rebirth into the Kingdom of God. The 1949 *PE* also revealed that the miraculous developments within one generation in Zion were regarded as the result of divine resolve to fulfill His very precise promises. In the previous 30 years some 800,000 Jews had returned to their ancient homeland. Not only rebuilding the nation but ably defending against invading enemies, Jewish accomplishments were incredible. Some American pride was sounded at having been the first nation to officially recognize the new Jewish State.

¹³⁵⁸ Hyman Appelman, "God Over Palestine," *PE* (14 May 1949): 6-7. World governments viewed the modern Middle East as the "powder keg of the world." Reasons were legion suggested Appelman. Palestine was a stockpile of natural resources. It was the geographic center of the universe and the land-bridge between three continents. It was the historical center of the cosmos and the religious center of the earth, the birth-place of three world religions.

¹³⁵⁹ Williams was a pastor, dean, author, administrator, and General Superintendent of the AG from 1929 to 1949. A young E. S. Williams received Spirit-baptism at the Azusa Street revival in 1906. He served as pastor in many congregations coast-to-coast including Bethel Pentecostal Assembly in Newark, New Jersey, and Highway Tabernacle in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was Williams who led the AG into association with the NAE in 1943. Upon leaving his twenty-year office as General Superintendent, Williams assumed seven years of teaching duties at Central Bible Institute in Springfield. He was the first Pentecostal to write a three-volumed systematic theology.

Gentiles.”¹³⁶⁰ Since 1918 Pentecostal literature had been adamant that Allenby’s retaking of Jerusalem had been the point at which Jerusalem was no longer “trodden down” by the nations. But 1948 forced the moving of the prophetic marker. After Israel’s national independence devoid of faith in Jesus, it was still “trodden down” as long as Arabs governed Jerusalem and so would it remain until Jewish faith in Christ generated the national salvation of Israel. The 1950 *PE* reported that David Ben Gurion had expressed his confidence that the coming of Messiah was at hand which further compelled Jews to regather in Zion as soon as possible¹³⁶¹ even in spite of rare Jewish opposition.¹³⁶²

In answer to those insisting that modern Israel was definitely *not* the fulfillment of the biblical prophecy since the Jewish people had yet to embrace Jesus, the 1950 *PE* pointed up that the Scriptures had indeed prophesied Israel would return in unbelief. More time was needed, it was argued, for the full achievement of messianic era victories to be fully witnessed. Of course, Israel would finally be obliged to claim Jesus as Messiah-King because the ultimate summation of all fulfillment so required it. But what had already been accomplished was a foretaste of what was on the prophetic horizon. Surely the present Israeli government would be the very one to make

¹³⁶⁰ E. S. Williams, “Sunday School Lesson,” *PE* (8 July 1950): 8.

¹³⁶¹ “The Days of the Messiah,” *PE* (15 October 1950): 12.

¹³⁶² “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (4 February 1950): 9. Apart from a single 1950 reference to an Israeli assault on Zionism which pointed up that among the 25 political parties of Israel, Agudat Israel alone insisted a Messiah-less Jewish State should not have been birthed, the *PE* (4 February 1950, p. 9) reported on the belligerent Arab and Muslim opposition to the Jewish State. The *PE* (11 February 1950, p. 9) noted that Israel had offered to repatriate 100,000 Arab refugees to Israel as a humanitarian gesture but no Arab governments replied. Three Muslim nations had recently made peaceful overtures toward the new Jewish State including Turkey and Indonesia while Iran gave de facto recognition of Israel (24 June 1950, p. 7). Jeremiah Ben-Jacob was quoted in the *PE* (6 May 1950, p. 11) as recognizing a coalition of international forces had conspired against a Jewish Jerusalem. Multitudes in that “valley of decision” would one day be locked in battle against Israel.

See also, “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (13 May 1950): 8. It seemed perfectly clear to Pentecostals that there was no promise of security or national salvation for Israel apart from Jewish national faith in Jesus. The 1950 *PE* also reported that Soviet Russia was sealing its own doom with its anti-Semitic resolve to annihilate Jews behind an iron curtain.

See also, “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (23 September 1950): 7. The current anti-Semitic discrimination endorsed by the Russian authorities boycotting the Jews to deprive them of their livelihoods, would evoke divine wrath upon Russia. But the *PE* (15 October 1950, p. 7) did not hesitate to report perceived Jewish abuse of Christians. A Christian kibbutz was to be constructed to serve the needs of Israeli believers who often faced hostilities in Israeli society. An incident was also reported [“Jewish Pupils and Isaiah 53,” *PE* (5 November 1950): 11] of New York Jewish students and parents upset when a Christian student had publicly read Isaiah 53 as part of a Bible reading class. Angry that the story of Jesus had been enunciated in youthful Jewish ears, the Jewish public protested until it was pointed out by school authorities that story read was from the Hebrew Bible.

covenant with the anti-Christ prior to the Second Coming.¹³⁶³ The line of argumentation this answer afforded was borrowed directly from premillennial dispensationalism.

The 1950 *PE* demonstrated great expectation for the national conversion of Israel by its offer of several very hopeful signs. For example, reminiscent of biblical times, President Chaim Weizmann had invited two rabbis to function as court prophets to religiously criticize government policies as needed.¹³⁶⁴ Rabbi Henry Berkowitz had publicly expressed words of affection for Jesus as “the very flowering of Judaism” and the “gentlest and noblest Rabbi of them all.” Einstein had confessed to being “enthralled by the luminous figure of the Nazarene” whose historical existence was being otherwise questioned.¹³⁶⁵ Rabbi Stephen Wise was quoted as protesting against Jewish ignorance of the meaning of Christ. Pentecostals fully concurred.¹³⁶⁶ Significant numbers of Israelis were clamoring for complete Christian Bibles in Hebrew, which were in short supply.¹³⁶⁷ The *Christ’s Ambassadors Herald* (*CAH*) insisted three indicators proved that indeed the last days had arrived: the modern attempts to form a world government, the development of the atom bomb, and the 1948 establishment of the State of Israel after 1,800 years in dispersion.¹³⁶⁸

Nevertheless by 1951, as the multiplied millions of the Arab world vowed the destruction of national Israel and threatened to drive the Jews into the sea, the *PE* felt compelled to address a Pentecostal challenge to the identification of the re-established Jewish State with the fulfillment of prophecy. Reportedly some continued to protest that since Israel was returning in unbelief, their land reclamation was being accomplished through the efforts of liberalized Judaism, and that “Jewish terrorists” had seized control and only by armed might had dispossessed Arabs of their properties. Such activities could not be God’s doing it was argued. But more compelling yet, the *PE* offered, was the continued Jewish rejection of Christ. The *PE* did offer a defense of the infant nation but still insisted the Israelis needed Jesus. What had been witnessed was perhaps not the *final* restoration, but it had certainly set the stage for the climax of the age. The Jews prophetically still needed a period of purging to come to repentance

¹³⁶³ L. Sale-Harrison, “Has Israel Come to Stay?” *PE* (4 March 1950): 3, 14-15.

¹³⁶⁴ “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (7 January 1950): 9.

¹³⁶⁵ “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (11 February 1950): 9.

¹³⁶⁶ “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (13 May 1950): 8.

¹³⁶⁷ “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (11 March 1950): 10.

¹³⁶⁸ Ernest Kalapathy, “Signs of Our Times,” *CAH* 23:6 (1 June 1950): 5-6.

and faith, e.g., the Great Tribulation, but without doubt the Second Coming was at hand.¹³⁶⁹ This system of thought afforded the AG adequate room to back-pedal on its confident eschatological expressions on modern Israel. Should the nation sooner or later succumb to marauding Arab hordes, Pentecostals could simply point to Israel's lack of faith in Christ as their apologetic.

Was this continual protest against a spiritually dissatisfying restoration of Israel a last gasp protest of restorationist ideologues unwilling to fully despair of Jewish national faith in Jesus in the pre-millennial era? The *PE* offered AG insight quite apart from restorationist hopes for Israel and in keeping with dispensationalism. Both restorationist and dispensationalist camps were in agreement that an unbelieving Israel could not fully inherit the patriarchal blessings or find security in a messianic era apart from national faith in Jesus. Restorationists sensed a Christian missionary obligation to encourage Israel's national spiritual awakening and active faith in the Messiah while dispensationalists, despairing of Israel's national salvation in the present age, were prepared to accept Jews one by one into the Church since nothing massive or epochal could possibly occur in terms of national Jewish faith in Jesus until after the rapture.

The 1951 *PE* continued the discussion that Israel's destiny, as accompanied by overwhelming blessing, was clearly laid out in Scripture as a central feature in the divine plan. Although no date had been affixed, Paul had written of the day when, "All Israel shall be saved."¹³⁷⁰ But while the present events were setting the stage for the *eschaton*, only faith in Jesus would affect Israel's ultimate destiny.¹³⁷¹

As Arab threats against Israel lingered, the *PE* put out a still stronger disclaimer in 1952 against placing too much stock in current events in the unrepentant Jewish State. In spite of the absorption of Jewish multitudes, national rebirth filled with life and vitality, the draining of swamps, water in the deserts, the fertilization of barren

¹³⁶⁹ R. C. Cunningham, ed. "Israel's Future," *PE* (6 May 1951): 2.

¹³⁷⁰ "Israel Shall Be Saved," *PE* (28 October 1951): 4.

¹³⁷¹ W. E. Vine, "The Future of Israel," *PE* (20 May 1951): 4-6. Vine, an evangelical scholar, claimed on good rabbinical authority that Jewish theologians were currently convinced the messianic age was about to commence. Certainly the events and developments in modern Israel were setting the preliminary stage for the fulfillment of prophecy as any Bible student could attest. But Israel's ultimate redemption would not be the result of natural prosperity. In fact, current unbelief could lead to an idolatrous Israeli dependence on national and material circumstance rather than God. As biblical history had demonstrated, such idolatries would result in a season of harsh chastening to effect a redemption of repentant Israel. Prophecy suggested a satanic ploy to destroy all Israel by inspiring an evil agent, the anti-Christ, to mesmerize and deceive the Jewish nation. When the destruction of Israel neared success, the Messiah would return to ransom Israel from its deadly fate.

lands, construction of factories, sanitation and educational advances, and democratic elections, a strong word of caution was offered. The biblically promised deliverance, regathering and restoration of Israel had been based on the condition of Jewish repentance which Israel had to date still evaded. The biblical "order is plain: after acknowledgment of the iniquity...comes regathering. No such national acknowledgment has yet been made....but...the time of 'Jacob's trouble'...shall be sufficiently severe to bring her to repentance."¹³⁷² While the dispersion was nearing its end in 1952, Jerusalem was plainly still trodden down of the Gentiles. The current partial regathering then was not the prophesied ultimate messianic Zionist ingathering.

Israel's new national and political life would soon be followed by spiritual life in Christ, as God would never be content with national life alone.¹³⁷³ God would not be satisfied with "mere physical and material restoration." God's great purpose was to restore Israel to himself and circumcise their hearts to love him. When Israel was spiritually restored, the Jews would give God the glory for their restoration to the Land, and God would put his Spirit within them. The spiritual restoration of Israel would be the work of the Holy Spirit on NT terms, and Israel would have her own Pentecostal experience. All Jews would personally accept Jesus as Savior while the nation would embrace him as the national Leader-Messiah.¹³⁷⁴ Astonishingly, the sole repeat of this particular Holy Spirit theme surrounding Zionism and the State of Israel between 1946

¹³⁷² Milton B. Lindberg, "Regathering Israel," *PE* (13 January 1952): 9.

¹³⁷³ "Sunday's Lesson: Ezekiel, and the Vision of the Dry Bones," *PE* (16 November 1952): 10. The *PE* rehearsed the spiritual implications of Ezekiel's vision of dry bones. This prophetic vision had reportedly only partially found fulfillment in the modern rise of the Jewish State since Israel had not yet experienced a spiritual awakening nor was she presently fully returned to Zion. Yet Jewish victories were immense in the face of brutal enemies and a discouraging recent Jewish past. Major cities had been constructed in Israel and the land had been reclaimed from its deteriorated condition. Even while Israel did remain spiritually deadened to God, the dry bones had returned to their land. Surely the Gentile day of spiritual opportunity was drawing to a close while the time of Israel's redemption is at hand.

¹³⁷⁴ "Ezekiel, and the Vision of Dry Bones" *ATQ* 26:4 (23 November 1952): 59-60. While most of the millions of Jewish returnees had returned in unbelief and with mixed motives, this return to Zion had made possible a greater restoration later. Still, "after so many centuries of persecution, the founding of the state of Israel and the return of the Jews is nothing less than a miracle!" Providence was given credit for overcoming the opposition to fulfill prophecy. Surely all this was "the sign of the budding of the 'fig tree' coming to pass." In answer to critics who accused such an ideology of rebuilding the walls of partition between Jews and Gentiles, the writer insisted the opposite was true. A spiritually and nationally restored Israel would dine at the same spiritual table as the balance of Jesus' people. Jewish spiritual transformation by the power of the Holy Spirit did not preclude national restoration and the fulfillment of their New Covenant promise.

and 1972 in GPH Sunday School material was found in one 1971 lesson entitled the “Resurrection of Israel.”¹³⁷⁵

Boyd offered in the 1952 *PE* the idea that only the Great Tribulation would finally bring Israel to national repentance and the embrace of Jesus as Messiah. Israel must “do the will of God.” He believed that the biblical promises of Israel’s “deliverance, enlargement, and restoration for the nation” would find fulfillment only in the messianic kingdom.¹³⁷⁶ The dispensationalism Boyd had advocated for four decades persuaded many Pentecostals to expect that an era of grief and pain even greater than the Holocaust was on the Jewish horizon since only greater suffering would effect national faith in Christ.

The theme denying modern Israel’s identification with eschatological Israel was continued in the 1953 *PE*. The land was being restored but without any Jewish looking for the Messiah; God was no partner with the Jews in this new effort at national revitalization. As long as satanic Arab ploys occupied biblical Jerusalem, the times of the Gentiles were very much in vogue. The Jews could not be faulted for their indomitable human spirit, but their amazing achievements should not be thought the product of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, the present course of national rebirth signaled the pledge of the ultimate fulfillment of prophetic promise when upon the capture of all Jerusalem the times of the Gentiles would be fulfilled. But it would be errant to confuse the amazing accomplishment of the present State of Israel with the glorious destiny of the nation as promised in biblical writ.¹³⁷⁷

Affording little credit to unbelieving Jews, the 1953 *PE* offered that Zionism had been something of an overarching Sovereign orchestration of human circumstances.

¹³⁷⁵ “Resurrection of Israel,” *ATQ* 51:2 (25 April 1971): 28-29. See also, Leland R. Keys, “A Pilgrim Visits the Holy Land,” *PE* (2 November 1952): 15. Keys, a San Francisco pastor, wrote for the 1952 *PE* that skeptics ready to assign no significance to the restoration of Israel because Israel had returned in unbelief were missing the point; Israel had returned to her prophesied habitat to witness the Second Coming. It would be unwarranted to suggest modern Zionism had already accomplished the fulfillment of biblical prophecy but successes to date provided a foretaste of ultimate accomplishments. The promises of God to the patriarchs and prophets would be honored to the minutest detail as guaranteed by the cross of Christ.

¹³⁷⁶ Frank M. Boyd, “Israel’s Glorious Future,” *PE* (18 May 1952): 6-7, 12-13. The fruit of the *eschaton* would include dramatically improved Jewish-Christian relations since, “Jewish bigotry and exclusiveness” would come to be passé while anti-Semitism would be replaced by joint Jewish and Christian participation in the worship of God.

¹³⁷⁷ Elmer H. Nicholas, “The Fig Tree is Budding,” *PE* (22 March 1953): 3-4. The *PE* indicated the present vast mineral wealth preserved in the south of Israel was being used by people of immense will to forge into existence a new nation against the backdrop of the catastrophes of World War II.

There could be no doubt but that the existence of the new Jewish State was internationally significant,¹³⁷⁸ but the return of Israel to Zion had been motivated by “anything but spiritual” causes. Oppositely, Israel was materialistic and largely atheistic. Total reliance on human mechanisms had substituted for faith in God. With all that stated, however, the Second Coming was still considered near. The Bible predicted a crisis for Israel, which presently witnessed its lengthening shadow. The entire Middle East was a cauldron ready to erupt. Palestine would remain a coveted possession for any world power due to its strategic position, oil, mineral wealth and religious significance as the cradle of monotheistic religion. What present Israel did not recognize was that the actual reason God had allowed their return to Zion was to set the stage for the Second Coming. A panicked Israel would finally cry out to God in desperation against the anti-Christ to receive God’s Answer to Israel’s need: the Messiah Jesus.¹³⁷⁹

With direct implications for Zionism, Ernest S. Williams offered substantial modifications of the earlier accepted Pentecostal meaning of Spirit-baptism experience. Williams offered, “But let none think that the speaking in tongues is for world evangelism.”¹³⁸⁰ It had “been in times of intense spirituality that the speaking in tongues has been most evident in the Church.”¹³⁸¹ The Pentecostal *charismata* were “spiritual enablements for the purpose of building up the Church of God” and only secondarily were they “given as signs for the confirmation of the Truth to the world” (Mark 16:17,20).¹³⁸² Plainly, Williams wanted his AG spiritual charge to think of tongues as primarily and customarily for private Pentecostal use and benefit in prayer and public worship. When one was sufficiently “filled,” it could be expected that one might overflow to the benefit of others. But to use tongues for supernatural display, exhibition of power, or manipulation of the unwary was a misuse of tongues. Plainly, dispensationalist Williams was significantly abridging the traditional relationship

¹³⁷⁸ After all, Israel had been recognized by all NATO nations and itself had become a member of the UN by 1949.

¹³⁷⁹ H. Palliser, “The Jew and the Coming Crisis,” *PE* (23 August 1953): 3-4, 11. The activities of the “Fishers” and “Hunters” had been supplemented by the recent “Law of Return” adopted by the Knesset. Little Israel had become a military power even while reconstructing and restoring its nationhood as its war record and infrastructural accomplishments testified.

¹³⁸⁰ Ernest S. Williams, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 3, 50. Williams’ three volume *Systematic Theology* is useful for exploring the questions of Zionism and Israel and the Pentecostal relationship to Evangelicalism.

¹³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹³⁸² *Ibid.*, 67.

between glossolalia and the *eschaton*. In the process, perhaps unwittingly, Williams further reduced the eschatological connection between Pentecostalism and Zionism. Such redefinition of the proper delimitation of tongues speaking compelled a reexamination of restorationism. Such a rider of restorationism would equally call modern Israel's providential role into question.

Riggs offered counter-balance to Williams when, as General Superintendent he assigned the purpose for Spirit-baptism as "primarily enduement with power for witnessing" as so to be most effectively utilized by God. Riggs offered that Jewish national restoration in a "parted-land" proved the present day *eschaton*.¹³⁸³ He seemed to be reaching back to restorationist beginnings and thereby demonstrated the ongoing struggle with ambiguity Pentecostals would face in transitioning from "Latter Rain" restorationism to a fabricated Pentecostal dispensationalism.

Stanley Horton (b. 1916) was the rare multi-graduate-degreed academic Pentecostal in the 1950s in a movement highly suspicious of secular university or graduate education.¹³⁸⁴ But Horton's *Into All Truth* is significant to our observation of the "shifting romance" of the AG with Zionism and the State of Israel. Horton rejected dispensationalism while retaining a premillennial Second Coming teaching. This is significant inasmuch as it departed from the general AG academic trend toward dispensationalism in spite of its inherent rejection of Pentecostalism, its low ecclesiology, and its placing providential accomplishment in Zion off into the millennial future. Horton moved away from a bleak or dismal destiny for Israel centering on severe judgments and more Jewish pain. While he recognized divine chastening possibly could be required to bring Israel to a place of necessary genuine repentance, the real change for Israel would come with encounter with the Spirit of God in characteristic Pentecostal fashion. Horton's text made clear a very natural affinity

¹³⁸³ Ralph M. Riggs, *We Believe: A Comprehensive Statement of Christian Faith* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1954), 114.

¹³⁸⁴ Horton had earned degrees from the University of California at Berkeley, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Harvard University and Central Baptist Theological Seminary prior to completing post-doctoral studies at the presently named New York Theological Seminary. His teaching career began at Metropolitan Bible Institute in North Bergen, New Jersey (1945-48). He taught for 30 years at Central Bible College in Springfield, Missouri (1948-78). He went on to teach at the AG Theological Seminary from 1978 until his retirement from active teaching in 1991. He also served from 1979 to 1980 as president of the Society for Pentecostal Studies. Upon leaving AGTS, he became the official coordinator of the Pentecostal Textbooks Project and general editor of Logion Press until his final retirement at age 84 in November 2000.

between Pentecostalism and Israel's rebirth as he accented the importance of the Holy Spirit to the revival of Israel. In fact, there would be no climactic spiritual experience for Israel apart from that accomplished by the Spirit of God. In this view, the Pentecostal role could readily correspond to that of the Hebrew prophets as Pentecostal prophets could function in the spirit of Elijah and engage in the preparation of the nation of Israel to receive God's best.

Horton wrote "through the Spirit would come the future blessings of Israel and the fulfillment of God's plan for them."¹³⁸⁵ Through God's prophets the "activity of Spirit-directed men...made it possible for God to rid Israel of idolatry and prepare the way for Christ."¹³⁸⁶ It was the Spirit of God alone that could change Israel, as the outpouring of God's Spirit upon Israel would transform them into the people God truly wanted Israel to be. The Spirit and Word of God would then, "find a real and permanent place in God's people."¹³⁸⁷ God's promise to Israel of a salvific New Covenant would bring Israel home, provide Israel a new heart and spirit, and make the people of Israel the dwelling place of God's Spirit. Israel's return to Zion was but "the first step toward putting His Spirit in them."¹³⁸⁸ Israel's recognition of Jesus and the accompanying repentance of his past rejection would coincide with Israel's Spirit-filling as the whole of Israel would be relieved of their spiritual dryness and experience the promised Latter Rain.¹³⁸⁹

Israel continued to enjoy that "special place in God's plan" as Israel would yet pass the promised blessing on to a world in need. God's plan for mankind "is always related to God's dealings with Israel."¹³⁹⁰ God's purpose in chastening had always been to bring Israel to a place of proper relationship with God. Such reconciliation with God would be accompanied by Israel's national salvation. The unfortunate but temporary sidelining of an unbelieving national Israel for God's Kingdom purposes would

¹³⁸⁵ Stanley M. Horton, *Into All Truth* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1955), 86.

¹³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

¹³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 87, 111.

¹³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 108.

immediately end upon Israel's faith.¹³⁹¹ Faith in Jesus would bring Israel purity from all sinful pollution.¹³⁹²

Even as the Assyrians and Babylonians before them, all nations that abused Israel would experience divine judgment upon the Second Coming and would meet their dismal fate in Palestine where God would pour out his wrath upon them.¹³⁹³ Yet Israel's own cleansing and restoration would inspire Gentile faith in God's power and result in many turning to him.¹³⁹⁴ In full rejection of replacement theology or supersessionism, Horton taught that Christian teachers with unworthy agendas in the first three centuries had sought to theologically eliminate Israel from God's program,¹³⁹⁵ but the "restoration of Israel will be as literal as anything connected with the first coming of Christ."¹³⁹⁶ The *Shechinah* would be restored to Israel although modern Israel should be even presently enjoying God's glorious presence.¹³⁹⁷

Horton's ideology of Israel more closely resembled that of early restorationism inasmuch as he did not require another time of severe Jewish persecution or chastening comparable to the Holocaust. But oppositely, the purging ministry of the Holy Spirit was sufficient to fully purify Israel through her glowing Pentecostal encounter with the sanctifying Spirit of God.¹³⁹⁸

One of the most outstanding voices in the mid-twentieth century Pentecostal movement was that of "Revivaltime" radio broadcaster Charles Morse (C. M.) Ward

¹³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹³⁹² *Ibid.*, 114. See also "Jews Challenged to Rebuild Temple," *PE* (28 August 1955): 14. With some distress, the *PE* reported on strong Jewish appeals for the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem and expressed bewilderment since the Temple site was still in Arab hands. Meanwhile, the chief rabbis had called for construction of an eight story Religious Center not to be confused with the Temple.

¹³⁹³ But see "Jesus Talks of Future Events," *ATQ* 29:2 (20 March 1955): 83. Arab control of portions of Jerusalem remained a serious issue for Pentecostals. The *ATQ* indicated that since A.D. 70 Jerusalem had remained "downtrodden by the Gentiles." Although "the modern state of Israel" was a reality, much of Jerusalem had remained under Gentile Arab hands.

¹³⁹⁴ Horton, *Into All Truth*, 114-115. The entire earth would benefit in terms of agricultural fertility as Israel enjoyed restoration in peace and prosperity in submission to her King. Israel would finally be the people blessed with the peace, prosperity and real property that God had promised Israel through the patriarchs and prophets. In profound appreciation for Israel's preaching the Gospel to them, Gentiles would bring strength and wealth to Israel as they too would be joined to the Lord. An earlier *PE* 1952 cartoon ["Boomerang," *PE* (3 August 1952): 10] had depicted a man hurling a boomerang dubbed "Jew Hatred" at a Jewish man. The boomerang effect however returned to clobber the original hurler with the words "God's Judgment." The Genesis 12:3 mention of blessing and curse was attached.

¹³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

¹³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹³⁹⁸ In fact, twentieth-century Pentecostalism attracted more Jews to the Gospel message than all modern Jewish suffering combined.

(1909-1996). His immense popularity and widely circulated and prolific writings impacted American Pentecostal understanding of Israel and the Jewish people.¹³⁹⁹ In response to the increasing criticism of Israel for the Palestinian refugee problem, in 1955 Ward came to the strong defense of Israel by insisting Palestinian Arabs had abandoned their homes without any Israeli compulsion and, in fact, over vehement Israeli protest. Jewish authorities had besought the Arabs to remain and help rebuild the land and assured the Arab population of every benefit of continuing in their homes and livelihoods. However, nothing Israel did could induce the Arabs to stay. The Arabs had become refugees as they had “succumbed to (Arab) propaganda.”¹⁴⁰⁰

In expression of his profound affection for the Jewish people, Ward indicated that the Jewish spirit had been built on monotheism and had provided the very “breath...of western civilization.” Palestine had been the cradle of every godly blessing. Whereas Rome had contributed much to western law and order and Athens much of western culture, “It was Israel that provided the ‘soul’...the conscience and heart-beat of this world.”¹⁴⁰¹ Ward made it clear that freedom of religion, as understood by Americans, was a virtual impossibility in Islamic states since devotion to Islam was integral to nationalism. Religious conversion to anything non-Islamic was considered an act of treason.¹⁴⁰² The Land of Israel itself functioned as an abiding prophet to Jewish returnees as it pointed to the revelation of God’s activities.¹⁴⁰³ Although Israel had

¹³⁹⁹ B. Maurice Stout, “Charles Morse Ward,” *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. In addition to functioning as a highly popular traveling evangelist and later as president of Bethany Bible College, C. M. Ward served as the chief media voice of the AG for a quarter century as speaker for “Revivaltime,” a weekly radio broadcast on the ABC radio network.

¹⁴⁰⁰ C. M. Ward, *Ishmael and Isaac: Two Brothers’ Destiny* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1955), 6.

¹⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 11-12.

¹⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 14-19. Ward also confronted accusations of Israeli communism with “The new state of Israel is God’s economic, social and political answer to the devil’s lie of Communism.” Israel was seen as a model of civil rights inasmuch as it afforded equal liberties and social standing to Israelis of every color. While maintaining the profit system and fostering initiative, Israel had functioned as “an object in cooperative enterprise.” Israel was “harnessing hydro energy...encouraging land division and settlement... reforesting its watersheds...building its harbors... (and was) busy with irrigation.” The regathered Israelis were “the people of our Lord...the ‘apple of His eye’...a nation that God shall discipline, and then take away her blindness.” While Communism had dreadfully reduced man’s dignity, Israel had taken beleaguered souls and created a “new manhood to re-establish the image of God...a nobler human being.” Modern civilization’s devotion to materialism was being challenged by Israel’s “internal riches” and “ideal of service.” Israelis, more concerned about “being” than “having”, shared possessions as others share increased knowledge since they were “in reality gardeners of the spirit of man.” See also Ruth Kark, “Planning, Housing and Land Policy 1948–1952: The Formation of Concepts and Governmental Frameworks” in *Israel, The First Decade of Independence*, eds. I. Troen and N. Lucas (New York: SUNY, 1995), 461–94.

tragically rebelled against her divine messianic mission, God would have the last word. God had chosen Israel to be “a repository of redemptive truth” and would again make Israel “a great missionary nation.”¹⁴⁰⁴

In the heat of the 1956 controversy in the United States as Israel joined a French and British war coalition against Nasser’s Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, Ward wrote that the “Jewish race will never be annihilated -- never!” Jewish history had baffled the infidels and enemies of God. Ward had adopted dispensationalist eschatology, but while accepting the outpouring of wrath upon Israel during the Great Tribulation, he distinguished it as Satan’s wrath, not God’s.¹⁴⁰⁵ The Jews forever remained God’s prophetic time clock whose hands moved only “when Israel is actually a nation.” Modern Israel was the miracle sign of God and the Jews his “chosen race, his own nation.” The integrity of God’s Word demanded the perpetuity of Israel.¹⁴⁰⁶ Ward further celebrated the fact that the United States had reiterated it stood ready to protect Israel.¹⁴⁰⁷

The 1956 *PE* indicated that the current Suez Crisis was a very real danger. Jewish history had been determined when the mob cried to Pilate, “Let his blood be upon us and our children.” While centuries of tragedy had filled Jewish history, “the indestructible Jew has survived” and had now created a veritable “Garden of Eden.” The present troubles for national Israel would yield to a brighter future but only at the

¹⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 19, 22. In 1955 the old city of Jerusalem was “still in non-Jewish hands. This can only last -- ‘until...’” The enemy of both Christ and God’s “baby nation” Israel was Satan and his commitment to thwart God’s designs for Israel and mankind. But “God’s time clock is the city of Jerusalem.” Soon the “until” would expire and Jerusalem would be reclaimed by Israel. Israel’s missionary destiny would follow and the great nation would bless all the families of the earth.

¹⁴⁰⁵ C. M. Ward, “Will Israel Survive?” *PE* (14 October 1956): 6-7, 25. Since the Church would have been raptured, Satan, smelling his pending defeat, would take his rage to the Jews.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. The devil, Ward registered, cannot destroy the Jew any more than he can destroy the Word of God. Satan raged against the Jews as a part of his efforts to thwart the Second Coming and make God appear the liar which would theoretically result in increased infidelity to the Bible and the loss of salvation for mankind.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. See also Louis Hauff, “A Sign of the Times,” *PE* (5 February 1956): 6-7, 31. Hauff, a California pastor intrigued with the restoration of Israel, acknowledged in 1956 that some Pentecostals had been sufficiently distressed by Israel’s lack of religious awakening as to suggest the return to Zion had been motivated solely by a mortal hope for security and safety. Hauff insisted the chronology of the eschaton indicated Israel’s “spiritual awakening will come later....(when) the Lord returns.” But a crushing of the young nation may be required before Israel would cry out for God’s appointed Messiah. Hauff helped then to reinforce the dispensationalist position. He professed his conviction that Israel was to play a strategic role in end-time events. Meanwhile he offered impressive statistics affirming Israel’s national life. 1.5 million Jews had regathered in Zion from 74 language groups. 300 agricultural settlements were producing 40 varieties of citrus on 55,000 acres to export 8.5 million boxes of oranges in 1955. Six million new trees had been planted in 1955 to bring to a total 41 million planted in afforestation projects.

Second Coming.¹⁴⁰⁸ Here the *PE* not only assigned the long history of Jewish grief to the crucifixion but allowed for the cessation of future Jewish agonies only with the climax of salvation history.

Directly on the heels of the 1956 Suez Crisis, the *PE* acknowledged the Israel-Arab conflict had “become a major world problem” as Arabs seemed to maintain a “perpetual hatred” toward the Jews. But the promises of God would only find ultimate fulfillment when Israel nationally repented and received salvation in Christ. Peace would be the portion of a spiritually rebirthed Israel, which Pentecostals needed to work toward in the present.¹⁴⁰⁹ National life could only slightly improve without Israel’s successful evangelization.

Only Israel’s humble calling out to God in messianic faith could avert the looming crises associated with Russia’s lust for oil. The 1956 *PE* predicted Russia would invade Israel in pursuit of Haifa’s oil pipeline from Iran or the recently found Israeli oil. While western Anglo nations would rally to Israel’s defense, God himself would affect Russia’s defeat by hailstones, fire and brimstone, all possible allusions to nuclear warfare.¹⁴¹⁰

The 1957 *PE* complained of recent face-saving UN abuses of Israel in obvious favoritism toward the Arab nations and Russia. Even the United States, reportedly Israel’s best friend, had played the “blame Israel” game. The closer Arab-Russian liaison thusly forged by UN antics could be prelude to coordinated attacks upon Israel in coming years. Surely it was high time for Israel to humbly pray for God’s

¹⁴⁰⁸ Charles W. H. Scott, “World Crisis and Coming Events,” *PE* (2 December 1956): 3, 21-23. Scott, Michigan District Superintendent and the later National Director of the Home Missions Department, addressed the present world crises in summary as an age of peril, an eclipse of civilization, the potential destruction of humanity, as confirmed by world statesmen, scientists, economists, etc.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Robert C. Cunningham, ed., “God’s Plan for Palestine,” (2 December 1956): 2. He indicated that international statesmen wondered whether 40 million Arabs would eventually destroy the 1.5 million-strong Jewish State. To Cunningham, the title deed issued to Abraham four thousand years earlier had preference to modern Arab claims. Even the Gaza and the Negev biblically belonged to Israel.

¹⁴¹⁰ L. B. Lewis, “When God Defeats Communistic Russia,” *PE* (2 December 1956): 4-5, 22. That invasion might be sooner if use of the Suez Canal became lost to Russian shipping for whatever reason. The military nightmare for Jews returning to Zion out of motives for safety from totalitarian abuses could compel Israelis to abandon atheistic unbelief and drop to their knees in seeking God’s protection. See also, “This Present World,” *PE* (29 April 1956): 10. The *PE* reported that a Shlov Dov London, Jewish Kabbalist, had predicted the coming of the Messiah for 1968 after a decade of protracted warfare. He based his conclusions on the mystical mathematical calculations of Kabbalistic Judaism. The *PE* pointed out the general unreliability of date-setting for the Second Coming but urged Pentecostals to be ready in any event.

intervention and protection. But Israel without Jesus was Israel's worst predicament of all.¹⁴¹¹

Ward insisted in 1957 that history demonstrated "Satan hates the Jew" as part of his desperate bid to defeat the fulfillment of Scripture regarding Israel's destiny in "the latter days" and thereby destroy God's credibility.¹⁴¹² Satan had singled out Israel for such venom precisely because of her strategic importance to God's purposes.¹⁴¹³ The modern day rebirth of national Israel was a miracle of God that had directly challenged demonic attempts at genocide and the humiliation of God. But Israel would live while genocidal governments and evil civilizations would be destroyed.¹⁴¹⁴ For even stronger emphasis, Ward indicated the very legitimacy of the Christian's salvation belief system depended upon the perpetuation of the Jewish people. Should Israel be annihilated, no Christian could trust in the enduring power of Christ's atonement on Calvary.¹⁴¹⁵

After Israel's 1956 victory over Egypt, the 1957 *PE* experienced a new appreciation for Israel. Now confident of Israel's sustained military prowess, it protested that many Pentecostals had been unaware of the impressive message Israel had offered the Church over the past nine years. Pentecostals needed to better understand Israel's current significance by comparing biblical prophecy with newspaper headlines of international events. Israel was the only nation in history to "experience a miraculous restoration of its autonomy." With renewed hope for Israel's durability, the *PE* could suggest that in spite of Arab or international antagonism, the State of Israel would never be uprooted or scattered again. Periods of chastening may come, but the effect would only be added strength and security for Israel. Ezekiel's vision of dry bones had two vital stages: (1) the regathering of the lifeless form and (2) the infusion of spiritual life into the deadened body. Israel was yet in stage one. That Israel had not yet reached stage two did not lessen the significance of stage one. In fact, the spiritual life infusion would come near the end of the Tribulation period. But the current reality of Israel's restoration plainly indexed the Second Coming. In fact, new confidence in Israel's national survival emboldened the *PE* to register that the present occupation of parts of Jerusalem by Gentiles in 1957 did not scripturally defer the

¹⁴¹¹ Robert C. Cunningham, ed., "Israel's Predicament," *PE* (3 March 1957): 2.

¹⁴¹² C. M. Ward, *When the Archangel Michael Stands Up To Fight For Israel* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1957), 9.

¹⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

¹⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

Second Coming.¹⁴¹⁶ But while all Israelis wanted a peaceful life, they understood they could expect only more Fedayeen suicide raids instead.¹⁴¹⁷

Yet the *PE* was ready to return to the pre-Suez Crisis skepticism of Israel's current utopian experiment as early as 1958. Caution was issued that the present Zionist accomplishments were not the complete fulfillment of biblical prophecy but only a first step leading to the ultimate regathering of Israel at the Second Coming.¹⁴¹⁸ Again, Israel's ultimate remedy was pushed into the dispensationalist future millennium.

The 1958 *PE* editorialized about the tenth anniversary of Israel's national restoration that the nation had cause to celebrate its constant triumph over every fiery test it had faced. Christian skeptics might criticize Pentecostal enthusiasm for the Zionist victories suggesting Israel was nothing more than "a political scheme concocted by materialistic Jews" devoid of divine activity or even acknowledgment. But, the *PE* argued, one would read in the Book of Esther of God's salvation of Israel without even one specific reference to God. In fact, God usually worked where he was not seen. Pentecostals needed to look beyond the current passions in the Middle East to witness Israel's restoration as part of the divine plan signaling the Second Coming.¹⁴¹⁹

The *PE* declared in 1959 that Israel was unique among the nations as it could claim its land on the promise of God. God chose both the Jewish people and the Land of Canaan for his own possessions and he alone could set the boundaries. It was also indisputably true that treatment of Jews had been the measure of a nation's prosperity

¹⁴¹⁶ Albert L. Hoy, "Israel's Message to the Church," *PE* (20 January 1957): 18-19.

¹⁴¹⁷ Sidney Correll, "The Evacuation of Gaza," *PE* (5 May 1957): 9. The *PE* printed this report of an eyewitness to the swift Israeli victory in 1956 over the Egyptians in the Gaza who recounted the Jewish military capability but also Israeli sorrow at the necessity of war at all. The writer, however, remained upbeat since God would fight in defense of the Promised Land.

¹⁴¹⁸ "Signs of the Times," *PE* (12 January 1958): 4-5. In a cartoon entitled, "The Passing and the Permanent," [*PE* (10 August 1958): 20] the skyline of a modern Israeli city was inlaid with a drawing of a Magen David crowned Jesus. The cartoon read in contrast, "Israel Rebuilt Today--A Democracy: A Temporary Government. Israel Under King Jesus--A Theocracy: A Permanent Government." Another cartoon entitled, "A Prophecy Fulfilled," [*PE* (14 September 1958): 20] depicted an Israeli skyline alongside an industrial zone and orchard with inserts illustrating industrial, commercial and agricultural progress. See also, Louis H. Hauff, "Israel's 10th Anniversary," *PE* (9 November 1958): 4-5, 29. Yet the *PE*, in an article that really added nothing new to Pentecostal perspective on Zionism or the State of Israel, that same year especially honored Israel's tenth anniversary. However, it stated it was difficult to understand why 40 million Arabs could not resettle a million Arab refugees in the interest of relieving Middle Eastern tensions. It was also reiterated that the current state of Jewish unbelief in God's Messiah would be a temporary problem overcome by the Second Coming.

¹⁴¹⁹ "The Miracle of Israel," *PE* (9 November 1958): 2.

in keeping with Genesis 12:3. So strategic was Israel to God's program that whatever the fate of the Jew might be, it affected the course of the entire world. Jews were divinely gifted with easily awakened spiritual natures. To encourage AG Jewish evangelism, the *PE* insisted that proclamation of the Gospel truth could fan their spark into a flame of national regeneration and divine instrumentality.¹⁴²⁰

Louis Hauff wrote a three-issue series in the July 1960 *PE* on "Israel -- The Budding of the Fig Tree." The bulk of the nine-page product was devoted to highly effusive romantic portrayal of the revival of the nation, the return of the people, and the renewing of the Land.¹⁴²¹

New outbreaks of anti-Semitism in 1960 in Moldovia, the Ukraine, Russia and even the United States reportedly dismayed the editor of the 1960 *PE*. Synagogue and cemetery desecration, painted swastikas and other destruction upon Jewish worship centers were labeled "vicious, wicked, and intolerable." These continued satanic attacks upon the indestructible Jews were demonic attempts to destroy God's plan for the future in which the Chosen People played such a vital role. But God's intentions for a gloriously redeemed national Israel did not necessarily translate into salvation for all Jews. Jews, like all Gentiles, would only find salvation in Jesus which was the reason offered for AG Jewish missionary activities. Paul, so hated for his faith yet so filled with

¹⁴²⁰ Peggy Bolam, "Jacob's Homeward Journey," *PE* (8 March 1959): 16-17.

¹⁴²¹ Louis H. Hauff, "Israel -- The Budding of the Fig Tree," Part one, *PE* (10 July 1960): 4-6. But lofty accolades and historical drama aside, Hauff did afford new and interesting facts that would heighten the Pentecostal romance with Israel. For example, when Hauff visited Israel for its twelfth anniversary in 1960, Mt. Zion proffered twelve flags honoring the twelve tribes of Israel. The government issued twelve postal stamps likewise in honor of the twelve tribes. To Hauff this signified official opinion that all the twelve tribes had returned.

See also, Hauff, "Israel -- The Budding of the Fig Tree," Part two, *PE* (17 July 1960): 8-9, 28. Here Hauff wrote that in dispersion Israel had continually encountered anti-Semitism as the unhappy divine punishment for the national rejection of Christ yet existed now "in the very will of God." Most had returned to Zion in unbelief and often in ungodliness but such shackles would be broken when a spiritually awakened Israel welcomed her Messiah.

See also, Hauff, "Israel -- The Budding of the Fig Tree," Part three, *PE* (24 July 1960): 6-7, 22. Hauff indicated that while the nation awaited spiritual redemption, Israel was flourishing enroute to her ultimate restoration and glory.

Louis Hauff's *magnus corpus* was his *Israel in Bible Prophecy* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1961). Hauff broke no new ground in his text filled with an 80 page effusive dramatic portrayal of Israel's hardships in the *Galut* alongside a highly enthusiastic retelling of the accomplishments of Theodor Herzl, Zionism and the very youthful State of Israel. His well publicized and broadly distributed GPH text satisfied Pentecostals eager to have relevant facts on Zion. While Hauff's text was filled with the Pentecostal romance with Israel, his ideology of Israel was consistently dispensationalist. Examining prophecies regarding the *aliyah* from "the four corners of the earth" for the "second time," Hauff compared the ancient and the modern returns, suggesting that only "the present return of Jews is from the four corners of the earth" and therefore the real fulfillment of Scripture (p. 26).

compassion for Israel and fully devoted to the salvation of his Jewish people, should be the Pentecostal's model.¹⁴²²

In 1961 Ward insisted that Israel's national revival was a divine miracle comparable to the opening of the Red Sea at the Exodus when in 1947 the Soviets and others had backed the UN plan of partition. Yet Israel would be mistaken to trust the UN rather than God and his Word. God's signature and covenant were to be valued above all others.¹⁴²³ The only solution to Israel's trade, security, and crushing political problems was God himself. The human tendency to trust man rather than God would only lead to Israel's covenant with the anti-christic "strong man" with his empty promises.¹⁴²⁴

Ralph Riggs made an absolutely clear dispensationalist distinction between Israel and the Church when he wrote in 1962,

Individual Jews from the Day of Pentecost until the Rapture (and the 144,000 thereafter) will be caught up and incorporated in the international bride of the Lamb. The Jewish nation as such, however, continues on in the exalted relationship to Christ throughout the one thousand years. All glory to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who will also be our God, even unto death.¹⁴²⁵

Ward wrote in 1962 with wonderfully romantic flare of Israel's destiny on the heels of the internationally observed Eichmann drama in Israel. In tracking the lost tribes, Ward pointed to the Black Jews of Cochin, India, the Chinese Jews of K'aifeng, the capital city of the Honan province, the "Bani-Israil" Jewish Afghans, the Jews of

¹⁴²² Robert C. Cunningham, ed., "My Prayer for Israel," *PE* (21 February 1960): 2. Cunningham reported that a Moldavian court had found two rabbis and two assistants guilty of "infecting" youth with "religious poison" when encouraging student discretion in the public display of their religious faith. The court sentenced them to "public ridicule, contempt, and scorn."

The *PE* ["Present World," (3 January 1960), pp. 10-11] likewise reported in 1960 on renewed anti-Semitism in Russia and the Ukraine as synagogues were vandalized and worshippers beat up. Published slogans like, "Kill the Jews and Save Russia" were circulated along with the appearance of a series of anti-Semitic articles in the Russian press.

¹⁴²³ C. M. Ward, "Israel--Torn Between Two Covenants," *Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number 5* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1961), 199-200.

¹⁴²⁴ C. M. Ward, "Israel--Torn Between Two Covenants," 201. See also, Ralph M. Riggs, "The Jew in God's Plan," *PE* (12 November 1961): 8-9, 29. The former General Superintendent Riggs here rehearsed the customary AG ideology of eschatological Israel. The eternity of Jewish ownership of the Land on the basis of God's own promise was the strongest possible claim Israel could make to land ownership. Jewish expulsion from the Land was a temporary punishment as the Bible had clearly reiterated. The Jews were assured of ultimate triumph over all enemies and permanent security in the Land but a season of purging "experiences and difficulties" lie ahead.

¹⁴²⁵ Ralph M. Riggs, *God's Calendar of Coming Events* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1962), 50.

Surinam, etc., to make his point that God would gather all the Jewish scattered.¹⁴²⁶ Ward insisted that both “the first and second comings of Jesus Christ are intertwined with Israel’s destiny” and God was determined “that He shall reign.”¹⁴²⁷ Jesus and Jerusalem were eternally joined. The Messiah who wept over the destruction of the city was presently anticipating his return to modern Jerusalem even as her people maintained their spirit of expectancy.¹⁴²⁸

In an article celebrating Israel’s modern accomplishments and outstanding national achievements, a 1963 *PE* noted that Egypt’s “belligerent” President Nasser was promising a *jihād* to liberate Palestine. Meanwhile, the writer confidently stated, “Israel will continue to blossom as the rose.”¹⁴²⁹ After years of not specifically accenting the prophetic fulfillment dimension of the restoration of national Israel *per se*, the 1963 *PE* offered the kind of previously standardized article on the prophetic fulfillment which focused on Israel’s regathering in Zion, the celebration of infrastructural developments, archaeological and mineral finds, all as confirmation and prelude to the Second Coming.¹⁴³⁰ Most of the hundreds of articles and news pieces written on Zionism and the Jewish State for publication in AG periodicals tended to redundancy. But periodic attempts were made to keep the romanticism with Zionism alive.¹⁴³¹ It should be noted,

¹⁴²⁶ C. M. Ward, “The Hunted and the Hunter or Eichmann in Bible Prophecy.” *Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number 6*. (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1962), 104-105. Ward allegorized the facts by suggesting the modern miraculous regathering of Israel was a sign to the Church of the pending rapture when “spiritual Israel” would be evacuated to the heavenly Christ. Even as God regathered the astoundingly diversified Jewish people to Zion, God would gather His ethnically, culturally, and nationally varied Christians to glory.

¹⁴²⁷ C. M. Ward, “A.D. 70 and Armageddon.” *Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number 6* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1962), 305. Even as Jewish rejection of Jesus led to the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of its people, Jerusalem would experience “a supernatural salvation and preservation of the city” as it will be “miraculously delivered” at the Second Coming.

¹⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 309. Jerusalem would become the ultimate biblical testimony to the veracity of God’s providence over human history.

¹⁴²⁹ Cyril G. Botley, “Israel Today,” *PE* (4 August 1963): 28-29.

¹⁴³⁰ Ruth Toczek, “The King is Coming,” *PE* (20 January 1963): 6-7. An allegorical messianic interpretation of the Chuppah was published in the 1963 *PE* [Ruth Specter Lascelle, “A Lesson from the Chuppah,” (10 March 1963), p. 7] which likened the Jewish canopy to the New Jerusalem coming out from heaven, the Jews returning from the four corners of the earth, and the wedding of the heavenly bridegroom (Christ) with his bride (the Church). The Jewish New Year was also written up in the 1963 *PE* [Ruth Lyon, “Happy New Year in September,” (8 September 1963), p. 25] with fascinating details of the Rosh Hashanah customs of sounding the shofar, the focus on repentance, the special eating of honey and apples, Rosh Hashanah traditional greetings and the *tashlich* ceremony, the kingly coronation of God and the *akedah* story which were all used to focus on the Second Coming. Meanwhile, the *PE* advocated, dedicated workers bringing the Gospel to Jews needed to be prayerfully undergirded in their efforts.

¹⁴³¹ Louis H. Hauff, “Israel in Isaiah,” *PE* (9 February 1964): 8-9. After rehashing of the familiar themes associated Israel’s restoration to Palestine, Louis Hauff managed to include a few new tidbits into his *PE* article of 1964. One that would dramatically enhance the Pentecostal romance with Israel was the story of

however, that my painstakingly thorough search of the AG GPH adult educational materials from 1951 through 1958 astonishingly revealed mention of the past Jewish State of the first century and of the future millennial Jewish State, but contained only two references to the modern State of Israel or contemporary Zionism.

Against the backdrop of the internationally highly publicized creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964 and its "National Covenant," Israel's annual celebration of Independence Day was highlighted in keeping with the *PE*'s annual custom. The *PE* romantically rehearsed David Ben Gurion's words: "Were I asked to sum-up the age-long trend of Jewish history, I should answer in three words: quality against quantity....All the years...we have been the few withstanding the many. ...Small but in ethics and intellect, Israel walks with the greatest among the nations."¹⁴³² The *PE* indicated the Soviets were currently oppressing the Jews, but the Jews would ultimately bury the Soviets. While periods of decimation would not lead to Israel's destruction, all Israelis and Jews everywhere still needed Jesus to effect personal salvation. The Pentecostal hope and prayer was presented that soon every Jew would believe in Jesus and receive everlasting life.¹⁴³³ The consistent theme of the Jewish need for Christ was held in constant tension against the expectation of Israel's national continuity.

By 1965, the Pentecostalist presses of the AG appeared to sense pending war for Israel. The renewed and sustained threats of their Arab nation neighbors, especially in light of the new terrorist threats of the PLO, yet once again seemed to call into question the perpetuity of the existent State of Israel without national conversion to Christ.¹⁴³⁴ With all their Jewish ingenuity and perseverance, the Jews had returned in faithlessness toward the Messiah Jesus, which would only be remedied by another agonizing season of suffering. Political battles with surrounding Arab nations and their allies could well

Hebrew University Professor Eleazar Sukenik's success at bringing the leathery Dead Sea scrolls by hand to his Jerusalem home the very day the UN voted to partition Palestine in the interest of a Jewish State. Secondly, he told how William Blackstone, American Christian Zionist and missionary author of *Jesus is Coming*, had rebuked Theodor Herzl's attempt at acquiring land in Uganda by sending him a Bible marked to demonstrate that "the Jewish homeland *must* be in Palestine." Blackstone's marked Bible had been dramatically placed on display at Herzl's tomb in Jerusalem.

¹⁴³² Robert C. Cunningham, ed., "Israel's Independence Day," *PE* (3 May 1964): 4.

¹⁴³³ *Ibid.* Israel's present miraculous national fortunes were witness to the Living God whose promises were true.

¹⁴³⁴ The *PE* happily reported that the modern agricultural miracles of Israel were in stark contrast to the desert-type condition of the Land in bygone generations and centuries.

lead to war's devastating effects on the Jewish State.¹⁴³⁵ Arab "perpetual hatred" of the Jews only fostered the Arab threats to destroy Israel. Ultimately, Israel's perpetuity was guaranteed by the promise of divine protection. Even if exiled temporarily, Israel would be fully restored to the Land by God's gracious response to their genuine repentance. Israel needed to focus on the Scriptures, the condition of their hearts and faith, and repent far more than they needed to irrigate, build factories and schools, defend their borders, etc.¹⁴³⁶

Israel's political ground among the nations was reported to be stronger with every passing year in the 1965 *PE*'s honoring of "Israel's 17th Birthday." Israel's accomplishments in all fields, but especially agriculture, were accented as the formerly barren land now blossomed as the rose. At the same time hope was expressed that her political astuteness may lead to improved relations with her "hostile Arab neighbors." But Pentecostals needed to continue praying for the salvation of the Jews.¹⁴³⁷

C. M. Ward wrote in 1966 that the Jewish people, Land and nation were God's repository and fountain of all redemptive blessing. Calvary, the Bible, the Church, even Jesus himself were all traced back to the Jewish Jerusalem fount. Though renounced as an impostor, Jesus had instructed his apostles to preach the Gospel to the Jews first, and thousands of Jews did believe (Acts 21:20).¹⁴³⁸ Israel was still "a nation under contract with God." The Arab nations who surrounded Israel stoked the "uneasy state of ferment (and were) a prime breeding ground for mischief-sowing and strife (as the)

¹⁴³⁵ Maude C. Johnson, "Israel: Nation with a Great Past...And a Greater Future!" *PE* (9 May 1965): 16-18. The Land had once been a rich agricultural and forested Land in Bible days. It had only been when Israel was nationally uprooted and overrun by Gentiles that the Land dramatically declined in production. Conversely, with the return of divine blessing, the Land was now being refortified for a high level of agricultural productivity. Newer Asian and African nations had even now solicited farm counsel of Israelis. But battles over water privileges would soon devolve into military battles as Arab nations sought to prevent the agricultural development and repopulation of the Jewish Negev.

¹⁴³⁶ Robert C. Cunningham, ed., "God's Plan for Palestine," *PE* (17 October 1965): 4. The *PE* contended that if both Israelis and Arabs were spiritually regenerated, i.e., came to faith in Jesus, soon they would be able to obtain and maintain peaceful relations.

¹⁴³⁷ Robert C. Cunningham, ed., "Israel's 17th Birthday," *PE* (22 August 1965): 4. This same article was reprinted in the fourth quarter of the 1965 *Hebrew Evangel*. Cunningham here repeated his 1958 refutation of the argument that Israel was just a political scheme hatched by materialistic Jews by referencing the Book of Esther to illustrate the biblical precedent for God engaged in divinely orchestrated action without being highly profiled by participants.

¹⁴³⁸ C. M. Ward, "The Fountain." *Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number 10* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1966), 164-165.

conflict becomes more imminent.”¹⁴³⁹ Plainly Ward assigned blame for pending war on the Islamic world.

In honor of Israel’s 19th anniversary of independence and on the eve of the 1967 Six-Day War, the *PE* romantically recounted Ben Gurion’s 1948 announcement of Israel’s statehood. It insisted too that greater miracles than those witnessed in the Pentecostal Book of Acts awaited Jerusalem with the arrival of the King of Kings.¹⁴⁴⁰ In an article written June 3, 1967, just one day before the Six-Day War but not published until the July 30 issue, the *PE* quipped that it might be correct to call it “the Muddle East.” The rankled Arab world still strafed at the existence of the Arab refugee camps that remained a virtual caldron of friction, hopelessness, poverty and impermanence. President Nasser’s Arab aspirations for empire included his resolve to destroy Israel. Jordan’s King Hussein had just signed on with Nasser in that quest. To date, Jerusalem remained a divided city in spite of Israel’s repeated opportunities to capture it. Prepared to accept Christian responsibility for the delay in Israel’s ultimate divine blessing, perhaps the thwarting of the Jewish taking of Jerusalem had been a sign that the Church had not fulfilled its mission to the Gentiles and that Providence wished to afford Christian missions a window of opportunity to complete the task. If war were to break out, it could well be that Jordan could finally lose Jerusalem. But in any event it was clear the stage for the *eschaton* had been set. The Second Coming would follow the rapture, the tribulation and the anti-Christ.¹⁴⁴¹ To this article, the retrospective editor added that the Temple site was now under Jewish control after 1900 years. The burning question to all dispensationalists now was had God’s prophetic clock resumed its ticking with the Israeli capture of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴²

¹⁴³⁹ Advertisement for “Israel Illustrated Tabloid,” *PE* (24 April 1966): 18.

¹⁴⁴⁰ James F. Kimbrel, “Two Cities of Israel,” *PE* (14 May 1967): 6-7. Also mentioned were the rapid migration to Israel of 2.5 million Jews, and a radical five-year national turn around from 80% dominance of foreign to the 80% Hebrew spoken language from 1948 to 1953. According to the *PE*, Jerusalem remained the chosen city destined to be the capital of the world, to which every international road would lead, and from where Jesus would govern the universe.

See also, Frank M. Boyd, “Will Russia Attack Israel?” *PE* (3 September 1967): 2-4. A long retired Frank M. Boyd was interviewed for the 1967 article, “Will Russia Attack Israel?” In summary, Boyd responded to questions by indicating prophecy pointed to a Russian-allied invasion of Israel. But an Anglo alliance would stand in political opposition to Russian designs on Israel. The stage was now set for the dramatic final act of God’s program, the Second Coming.

¹⁴⁴¹ George H. Carmichael, “The Strategic Middle East,” *PE* (30 July 1967): 2-3.

¹⁴⁴² “What’s Next?” *PE* (30 July 1967): 3.

Yaakov Ariel has pointed out that the ramifications of the Six-Day War were far more dramatic in their impact upon Evangelical Christianity than the 1948 establishment of the State of Israel. The capture of Jerusalem and enormous procurement of new sections of the Promised Land had equal effect upon American Pentecostals as it further confirmed the pending Second Coming.¹⁴⁴³ In completely revitalized and euphoric confidence in the present *eschaton* and perpetuity of national Israel, in its first piece subsequent to the Six-Day War in June 1967, the *PE* editorial read:

Last month the world was reminded again of the indestructibility of Israel. Enemies rose up, like others before them, vowing they would destroy the Jews, only to meet with the same disastrous defeat that has befallen every nation that ever oppressed the Jews. ...It was the story of David and Goliath all over again.¹⁴⁴⁴

Denying charges that the Americans and British had aided Israel in her route over Arab enemies, Israeli representative to the UN, Gideon Rafael, was reported as stating that the angel of the Lord had been with the Israeli forces. While secular atheists and liberal clergymen had scoffed at the biblical notion of Israel's international return to Zion, the miraculous return of Israel had proved the biblical truth and indicated both Israel and the Church were in the *eschaton*.¹⁴⁴⁵ Emotional throngs of praying Jews at the Wailing War suggested a lifting of the blindness with the close of the "times of the Gentiles." Perhaps now Levitical worship would be restored to a newly constructed Third Temple. Pentecostals were confident that the first move of God's Spirit had reassembled the dry bones of Ezekiel's vision without the breath of life, but the pending second move was near when God would breathe his Spirit into national Israel to effect spiritual revival.¹⁴⁴⁶

Immediately following the 1967 Six-Day War former General Superintendent Riggs added that God had made a seven-fold covenant in Torah that Palestine would belong to the Jews forever. Twelve national sons of Ishmael had made war on Israel in June 1967, but Israeli victory against 20 to 1 odds confirmed God's giving of Palestine to

¹⁴⁴³ Yaakov Ariel, "American Fundamentalists and the Emergence of a Jewish State," *New Dimensions in American Religious History*, eds. Jay P. Dolan and James P. Wind (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 303-304.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Robert C. Cunningham, ed., "The Miracle of Israel," *PE* (9 July 1967): 4.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴⁶ Louis H. Hauff, "Dry Bones of Israel Come to Life," *PE* (20 August 1967): 6-7.

the Jews.¹⁴⁴⁷ AG missionaries in Jerusalem sent letters to the 1967 *PE*, which were edited to form a most dramatic description of events from within Jerusalem during the Six-Day War. Yvette Kofsmann's electrifying portrayal of the days of war ultimately leading to the nationally awestruck reunification of Jerusalem was probably the most excitingly stimulating piece the *PE* had ever published. The Pentecostal romance with Israel was heightened yet again, but it all pointed to the immediacy of the Second Coming.¹⁴⁴⁸

Riggs insisted that once the Jews embraced Jesus, they would be in Zion forever.¹⁴⁴⁹ He wrote that the Pentecostal outpouring of the first half of the twentieth century was proof of the pending *eschaton*. The trans-denominational, international, and contemporary 1960s Charismatic renewal was likewise proof of the nearness of the Second Coming. But the outcome of the Six-Day War was "an extension and an emphasis that these are truly 'the last days.'"¹⁴⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴⁷ Ralph M. Riggs, "Who is the Rightful Owner of Palestine?" *PE* (30 July 1967): 7. Seasons of chastening might remove Israel temporarily but God would always restore His people to the Promised Land. Even the chastening stemming from the rejection of Israel's Messiah in the first-century had been reversed in the modern regathering of Israel.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Mrs. W. Z. Kofsmann, "Joy in Jerusalem," *PE* (27 August 1967): 2-3, 21. The article gave the address of the Messianic Assembly as 2 Gershon Agron Street, where the Kofsmanns were described as ceaselessly preaching the Gospel in Hebrew to their fellow Israelis in Pentecostal power. See also, Albert L. Hoy, "Israel's Answer to the Critics," *PE* (30 July 1967): 8-9, 23. The *PE* declared in 1967 that national Israel was witness to the divine presence and outworking of the divine purpose. There could be no doubt that Israel remained God's chosen national people and that any effort to dislodge them would fail. Israel was in Zion to stay. All that has transpired in recent years in Zion was an exact fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Christians everywhere would be keen to watch the outcome of Israel's territorial claims since full retention of Jerusalem would further establish the veracity of the Bible. The victory of the Six-Day War offered Pentecostals new hope and inspiration that the Second Coming was imminent.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Ralph Riggs, *The Story of the Future* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1968), 121.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 49. Also *Ibid.*, 17. Riggs painted a highly romantic picture of the reestablishment of Israel in 1948, the victory over Egypt in 1956 and the Israeli victory over the folly of undisciplined Arabs in 1967. See also Frank M. Boyd, "Israel's Glorious Future," *PE* (7 January 1968): 2-3. Boyd wrote here of a personal attack he received from a Christian man in reaction to Boyd's previous writings in favor of Zion. Suggesting even that Boyd was not a genuine Christian, the antagonist faulted Israel as "apostate, anti-Christian, and under God's curse" and insisted the Hebrew biblical covenants all found fulfillment in Christ's atonement. Indeed, Boyd wrote, some Bible expositors had embraced a supersessionist position that suggested the Church had replaced Israel in God's program and had taught the Jews had been repudiated as the Chosen people and canceled their mission to mankind. Boyd knew all these traditional Christian arguments but suggested the Bible offered an entirely opposite position since "the gifts and callings of God are without repentance." National Israel was to be restored in the providence of God and reinvigorated for divine purposes. Until 1948 these prophecies had not yet occurred but twentieth-century Zionism and the events of 1948 and 1967 in particular represented the beginning of their prophetic fulfillment.

The highly influential C. M. Ward wrote in 1968 that God's divine goal had been to use Israel to bless all the families of the earth.¹⁴⁵¹ The modern rise of Israel is a fulfillment of Scripture that all the forces of hell could not prevent.¹⁴⁵² It was apparent the recent Israeli victories were but prelude to their national salvation in Christ and their ultimate acceptance of their own apostolic mission to the nations.

Ward proclaimed the newly liberated 26,000 square miles now under the control of Israel as a result of the "Six-Day War" had been authorized by Scripture to be annexed into a "Greater Israel."¹⁴⁵³ Adversaries to this fulfillment of Scripture were working in opposition to God's truth. God's Word involving Israel was at stake and was now put to the supreme test. The supreme authority of God's Word must prevail.¹⁴⁵⁴ So persuaded of the biblical promises to Israel, Ward advocated that when theocracy would be restored to Israel, even the deadness of the Dead Sea would be obliterated and Israel's desert transformed into an Eden.¹⁴⁵⁵

The most epochal year in the AG disposition toward Israel, however, was marked in 1969. Unknown to the larger AG movement, there had been strife occurring on the AG mission field in Israel. Needing ready cash to purchase a building in Belgium, the Department of Foreign Missions (DFM) arbitrarily decided to sell their only significant AG real estate holding in the Holy City within two years of the Six-Day War recapture of the balance of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁵⁶ This very quiet sale of an irretrievable property belied a missions headquarters' wholesale despair of establishing any significant Jewish mission in Jerusalem. But fearing strong reaction among the AG constituency, the sale was never reported in the *PE*, and all denominational official

¹⁴⁵¹ C. M. Ward, *The River Shall Be Wasted* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1968), 8-9. Paul's rhetorical questions in Romans reiterated the theme suggesting Israel's ultimate faith in Jesus would result in international resurrection from the dead, i.e., in global redemption and mankind's reconciliation to God.

¹⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 33, 35, 36-37, 39. Ward argues his case by deliberately comparing the Eternal's devotion to Israel with Jesus' words, "I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Ward held that nothing could alter or destroy Israel's contract with God because God is as good as His eternal Word. Though the patriarchs and Jewish saints sleep in the dust, "the contract between them and God has remained in force." He stated, "No one on earth or in hell can change that." Diabolic forces and evil men had tried to destroy the Jewish people but it could not be done.

¹⁴⁵³ C. M. Ward, *Tomorrow's Temple* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1969), 37.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

¹⁴⁵⁵ C. M. Ward, "Israel's Temple Will Be Rebuilt," *Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number 13* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1969), 289-290.

¹⁴⁵⁶ The former AG structure is presently owned by the Conservative Judaism movement and is located at the five-cornered intersection at Agron, King George, Aza, HaYesod, and Rambam Streets near the Rehavia neighborhood of Jerusalem and within one block of the Great Synagogue.

documentation has reportedly been lost.¹⁴⁵⁷ While it is worth noting that the annual *PE* celebratory announcement of Israel's most recent "birthday" was discontinued after the Six-Day War, the tone of Pentecostal enthusiasm for the Jewish State would significantly modify after 1969. By that year the *PE* declared the Middle East was like a vast chess tournament as Israel and Arab leaders sought to checkmate one another. Yet the eternal relationship between God and Israel could not be ignored as God and Israel were still inseparably bound together.¹⁴⁵⁸

Pouring accolades upon Israel for her modern achievements, the editor of the AG Church School Literature, Ralph W. Harris, still recognized the precarious position of the Holy City. He indicated Palestinian guerrillas had asserted their resolve to never desist until Jews were driven out of the Middle East and would fully disallow their governments to make peace with Israel. However, inequities and political problems notwithstanding, the ultimate destiny of Jerusalem was predetermined. Struggle and strife would end with the Second Coming, when Jesus would "rule with justice and righteousness."¹⁴⁵⁹

The 1970 *PE* proclaimed the Jewish rejection of Jesus had meant the loss of Jerusalem to Israel until the Six-Day War of June 1967 at which time the Jews had regained full control of Israel's ancient capital. This signified the cessation of the "times of the Gentiles" and Israel had, in the words of Moshe Dayan, "returned...never to depart again." But the God who was not finished with Jerusalem would yet make her a "praise in the earth." The present Jewish apostasy would soon end, and Israel would retake her divine mission to bless the nations with the knowledge of Jesus. The Second Coming would soon materialize.¹⁴⁶⁰

Surprisingly, at the climax of Boyd's life he appeared ready to move back in the direction of the Latter Rain primitive restorationist positions of his forebears. According to a very elderly Frank Boyd in 1970, while Spirit-baptism was given to the

¹⁴⁵⁷ An investigative search done in the 1990s by then executive director of the Division of Foreign Missions, Loren Triplett, reportedly found nothing in the DFM archives. All documentation was presumed discarded.

¹⁴⁵⁸ C. M. Ward, "And World Leaders Tremble," *PE* (18 May 1969): 14-15. Russia was not ignorant of Israel's pending nuclear capacity and may seek to beef-up its Mediterranean presence or even strike at Israel. But Russia would find itself on the ash heap with other duped nations of the past who were cursed of God because they had cursed Israel. God had made Israel testimony to His timing of prophetic events. All men should awaken!

¹⁴⁵⁹ Ralph W. Harris, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict," *PE* (18 October 1970): 6-9.

¹⁴⁶⁰ R. É. Orchard, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem," *PE* (22 February 1970): 16-17.

Jewish people in Acts 2 to equip them to carry the Gospel to all Gentile nations so as to bring them also into covenant relationship with God,¹⁴⁶¹ the former and latter rains in biblical Israel made clear there were to be specific seasons for divine outpourings upon Israel.¹⁴⁶²

Gordon Lindsay¹⁴⁶³ (1906-1973), former ordained AG minister with a continued major influence upon AG Pentecostals, had an immense sense of conviction about providential activity in Israel. This is especially interesting since he had left the AG to enjoy the liberties associated with independent faith-healing ministries who often disregarded Israel. He penned several widely distributed and popular books and pamphlets on Israel and even managed to endorse his own daughter's conversion to Judaism and permanent move to Israel while retaining her faith in Jesus. In Lindsay's *The Miracle of Israel* he ridiculed Christian enthusiasts for Israel who took no public stand on Israel's behalf. He claimed his 1948-founded monthly magazine had consistently called upon America to stand for the Jewish right to Palestine. Britain's empire had disintegrated after going back on her earlier promises to Israel. But even if America followed a similar course, God would raise another champion for Israel. Little Israel had offered a noble fight thus far, but ultimately she would still require the Messiah's intervention.¹⁴⁶⁴

According to Lindsay, the Gentile fullness had been nearly reached as Jerusalem was "no longer trodden down" since Israel had returned to Zion. The critical doubters

¹⁴⁶¹ Frank M. Boyd, *The Spirit Works Today* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1970), 71, 78-80. Boyd insisted that the outpouring of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost had launched a new dispensation he had dubbed "The Spirit Age." Whereas the rushing wind and tongues of fire of Acts 2 had been one-time happenings at the launching of the new dispensation, glossolalia had become standard Christian experience and the special sign for future reference to verify one's reception of Spirit-baptism. The outpouring of the Spirit in Acts 10 signified that Gentiles too had been given entry by faith into the New Covenant as attested by the Jerusalem believers.

¹⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁴⁶³ David D. Bundy, "Gordon Lindsay," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Lindsay, the son of members of John Alexander Dowie's communal experiment in Zion, Illinois, was converted under the preaching of Charles Parham in Portland, Oregon. He later accompanied famed faith healers John G. Lake and William Branham on healing campaigns in the American west. Lindsay began publication of his important *Voice of Healing* magazine in 1948 to promote healing ministries, discuss the theological nuances of faith-healing efforts and generate cooperation between faith-healers and churches. Lindsay wrote some 250 books and pamphlets legitimizing and documenting healing ministry before founding the Christ for the Nations Institute (CFNI) in Dallas, Texas, in 1970 to train Pentecostal and Charismatic pastors and missionaries.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Gordon Lindsay, *The Miracle of Israel* (Dallas: CFNI, 1970), 3-4.

of Jewish nationhood had been silenced with the restoration of Israel in 1948.¹⁴⁶⁵ The season of Israel's chastening had ended.¹⁴⁶⁶ But in spite of all the political machinations of the Arabs, Britain and the UN, the State of Israel had come into its prophesied existence on May 15, 1948.¹⁴⁶⁷ The prophetic faithful indeed had proclaimed Israel would survive the onslaught that followed.¹⁴⁶⁸ Any current rumblings or belligerence against Israel was in rebellion against the divine decree of the Word of God.¹⁴⁶⁹ Christian supersessionism or other forms of anti-Semitism simply refused to take God at his Word.¹⁴⁷⁰ Yet there could be no doubt that Israel needed Jesus for her ultimate redemption, and the time was ripe.¹⁴⁷¹

Lindsay generally embraced the standard eschatological scheme of dispensationalism but carefully pointed to sign 15 as "God will pour out His Spirit upon Israel in the last days," and sign 16 as "Israel as a nation will accept Jesus as her true Messiah."¹⁴⁷² Lindsay actually became quite politically exercised in favor of Israel and in his disgust with infidel Arabs.¹⁴⁷³ Should America fail to stand by Israel, Zion may succumb to the messianic claims of a covenant making anti-Christ.¹⁴⁷⁴ Lindsay plainly recognized an Israeli-Arab war was looming and called upon Pentecostals and politicians to stand with Israel.

Since Israel was yet to be "spiritually reborn," now was still the time to be sowing Gospel seed into Israel.¹⁴⁷⁵ The promise of the Spirit's outpouring upon Israel

¹⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 13.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 46-47. Curiously, publications regularly alternated between May 14 and May 15, 1948, as the day of Israel's declaration of independence.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 49. See also pages 50-51. The Jewish population in Israel had grown to 2.5 million by 1970 and was filled with immigrants who had often been stripped of everything before coming. Fortunately these impoverished Jewish refugees were able to inhabit the homes Palestinians had voluntarily abandoned in response to Arab propaganda. See page 51. Infant Israel had made Jerusalem its eternal capital on December 4, 1948. See pages 60-62. Lindsay was confident the prophesied Russian invasion of Israel would occur later in the twentieth-century. A future Russian invasion would evoke Jewish praying in the name of Jesus and result in divine intervention.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 67.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 69.

¹⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 71.

¹⁴⁷² Gordon Lindsay, *21 Signs Fulfilled in Israel Since the Six Day War* (Dallas: CFNI, 1971), 2, 5. Lindsay did not profess to have mastered every prophetic detail but wrote, "Any way we figure it, it is apparent that a tremendous showdown is nearing in the Middle East,...and 'all Israel shall be saved.'"

¹⁴⁷³ Ibid., 6.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 20.

assured that God would yet “give Israel a new heart, a new spirit, a heart of flesh.”¹⁴⁷⁶ Even as Jerusalem had been the site of the original Pentecostal Latter Rain outpouring in Acts 2, Jerusalem would again be the location for the same “in greatly increased measure” in these final hours of the *eschaton*. Soon there would “fall on Israel an irresistible flood of glory and grace that will bring her swiftly into the mainstream of God's millennial blessings.”¹⁴⁷⁷ Israel's return to God through Jesus would be concurrent with the outpouring of God's Spirit upon them.¹⁴⁷⁸

Gordon Lindsay co-authored with daughter, Shira, *The Key to Israel's Future: The Forgotten Covenant* the year prior to Lindsay's untimely death. That hostile neighbors presently surrounded Israel was simply the fulfillment of prophecy,¹⁴⁷⁹ but those who sought Israel's destruction would themselves be destroyed.¹⁴⁸⁰ Israel's entry into New Covenant relationship with God would be quickly implemented once Israel was awakened from her spiritual lethargy.¹⁴⁸¹

Lindsay's confidence that the salvation of national Israel was at the door as the Gospel was about to be administered by the manifestations and workings of the Holy Spirit generated greater Pentecostal enthusiasm for missionary activities among the Jewish people in Israel and in America. Pentecostals felt especially equipped to do exploits for the salvation of Israel as God had reportedly resolved to sweep Israel into the Kingdom of God now in the *eschaton*. Yet it remained clear to Pentecostal thinkers that without Jesus, Israel could never become the people God wanted her to be.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF ASSEMBLIES OF GOD JEWISH MISSIONS

Throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century the AG experienced ideological conflict between its historic sense of identity with the restored Zionist State of Israel and its need to establish an identity distinct from its own restorationist mythological moorings. In its desire to gain acceptance with the Evangelical world, the AG was prepared to ideologically abandon its original restorationism in favor of the

¹⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 21-22.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 22.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 22.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Gordon Lindsay and Shira Lindsay, *The Key to Israel's Future: The Forgotten Covenant* (Dallas: CFNI, 1972), 18.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 20.

¹⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 42.

more systematized dispensationalism but at the expense of much of its romantic restorationist fraternity with Israel.

Holding to a heightened belief in an imminent fully restored Israel while simultaneously adopting dispensationalism's low expectation for a declining or even apostatized Church was ideologically incongruous with primitivist restorationism. Despairing of a fully apostolic restoration to pristine first-century Christianity, Pentecostals came to point up a corresponding failure of Zionism to create a Jewish State that fulfilled its own divine mandate. Pentecostals increasingly emphasized that Israel could never become what God wanted apart from first coming to faith in Jesus. Embracing dispensationalism afforded disillusioned Pentecostals the luxury of putting off Israel's final victory to the millennium along with their own. With Pentecostalism's fraternal twin coming to full revitalization only after the Second Coming, AG ideology was relieved of the perfectionist pressures earlier inflicted upon Pentecostals in their pursuit of radically unsullied Christianity. Combined with dispensationalism, the Pentecostal ideal could now likewise await full implementation in the future alongside a fully restored Israel.

While AG national executive and educational leaders such as E. S. Williams, Ralph Riggs, and Frank Boyd stepped away from restorationism and attempted to fully immerse the denomination in dispensationalism, many thinkers recognized the inherent contradiction of a dispensationalist Pentecostalism. Although Boyd had remained personally enthused about Zionism, he had been strongly attracted to dispensationalism and had tried as early as 1925 to make Pentecostalist and dispensationalist thought compatible as seen in chapter three.

The Pentecostal modification of their ideology so as to distance Pentecostalism from a direct relationship to Jewish performance and Zionist aspiration was partly compensated for by the highly favorable articles and teachings on Jews, Judaism, Zionism and later on the State of Israel in the *PE*, the *ATQ*, the *CAH*, and most GPH publications touching upon Israel. Moreover, the uncomfortable disconnect from an only partially restored Israel was massaged by a high level of AG commitment to Jewish evangelism. Conservative Christians of every stripe believed that Israel could never become what God destined for her apart from Jewish national faith in Jesus. Therefore the one remaining link between Pentecostalism and international Jewry was

the continuing corporate Jewish need for Jesus. Especially “called” missionaries to the Jews were financed in every decade to engage in Jewish evangelism efforts in *Eretz Israel*, but Jewish missions enterprise intensified especially in the United States after World War II. Jewish missions afforded continued Pentecostal linkage with Israel on an ideological level but now in a fashion more fully compatible with Evangelical cataclysmic ideology and missionary practice. Pentecostals became satisfied that by proselytizing Jews they were preparing Israel for survival beyond the Great Tribulation in anticipation of the national salvation of Israel at the Second Coming.

Even prior to the end of World War II, Riggs insisted it was his privilege to “further the work among the Jews everywhere” but insisted the current Jewish persecution was “nothing to be compared to what they will receive in the time of Jacob’s trouble.” Riggs called for extensive missionary work among the Jews in order to assure the preparation of 144,000 sealed Jewish witnesses after the rapture. Since Jews represented 3% of the American population, a full 3% of AG ministers should be preaching to Jews, and 3% of the AG churches should consist of Jewish believers.¹⁴⁸²

The following section highlights some of the more significant AG Jewish mission efforts between World War II and 1972. It affords an examination of the romantic appeal made to Pentecostals to endorse, support, and even participate in Jewish evangelism. In fact, Pentecostals had special obligations toward Jewish evangelism since they were Spirit-filled and led.

THE ROMANCE WITH ISRAEL IN AG JEWISH MISSIONS

By late summer 1946 the *PE* was calling for renewed efforts at Jewish evangelism especially in light of the recent ravaging of the Jewish people. It reported the synagogue had lost its power to satisfy the Jewish soul. A new epoch of life was ready to be birthed as Israel would be first delivered and secondly used to “save the nations.” Surely the last days were connected with “God’s earthly people.” The modern transformation of Palestine into a “veritable Garden of Eden” should stir Christian

¹⁴⁸² Ralph M. Riggs, “Attitudes Toward Jews,” *Hebrew Evangel* 3:4 (July-August 1944): 3-4. The *Hebrew Evangel* was a missions periodical issued by the AG Hebrew Mission in Chicago. Riggs believed that both Gentiles and Jews needed to take on new identities upon coming to Christian faith. An angry and jealous God would slaughter those who abused the Jews but proclaimers of the Gospel to the Jews could be confident of the Lord’s gratefulness.

hearts for the Jews. The Christian proclamation of the Word of God to Israel would defeat Satan and help Jews to develop a sound understanding of sin, a prerequisite to redemption. Israel, like a winter coat in summer, had been temporarily set aside but not discarded. Suffering Israel would be divinely reclaimed without reliance upon human organizations or governments and fully restored in repossessed Zion in answer to Christian prayer and evangelism.¹⁴⁸³

The horrific magnitude of the *Shoah's* devastation resulting from Nazi atrocities did not receive full coverage in the *PE* until 1948 when the *PE* responded to those challenging the legitimacy of Jewish evangelism since plainly God had “washed His hands of Israel.” The *PE* argued that while the Jew was presently without country, security, protection, and even without God, Jewish evangelism remained legitimate due to the eternal “the position of the Jew.” The desperate, internationally despised, and disallowed immigrant Jew greatly needed the comforting message of the Gospel. Alienated from all else, Israel could at least become reconciled to God in Christ. The healing could begin, as they would be touched by Christian compassion and love.¹⁴⁸⁴ The *CAH* also encouraged an informed readership to engage in reaching Jewish people with the Gospel in America especially at the religiously aware seasons of the Day of Atonement and Passover.¹⁴⁸⁵

To Pentecostals who disputed or resented the biblical emphasis on “the Jew first,” the 1948 *PE* offered an apologetic justifying God’s choice. The Scriptures made clear the Jew was first as the object of God’s choice, as the guardian of God’s Word, as proof of God’s faithfulness, as channel of God’s gift, as recipient of God’s salvation, as the clue to God’s plans, and as fulfillment of God’s purposes. Pentecostals needed to join with Paul in preaching the Gospel “to the Jew first.”¹⁴⁸⁶ The proper Christian attitude toward the Jews was one of love as exercised by the ministry of

¹⁴⁸³ Mark Kagan, “Israel’s Coming Deliverance,” *PE* (14 September 1946): 6-7. See also, Fred Vogler, “Our Home Frontiers,” *CAH* 19:9 (1 September 1946): 20-21. Vogler, Home Missions secretary for the AG, supported Jewish evangelism since Jesus was Jewish and the Jews had given Christians the Scriptures. He suggested it would be wonderful to report at the Second Coming that the task of Jewish evangelism had been completed.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Hyman J. Appelman, “The Position of the Jew,” *PE* (26 June 1948): 7.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Dorothy C. Haskin, “Yom Kippur,” *CAH* 21:10 (1 October 1948): 17-18.

¹⁴⁸⁶ C. K. Mowll, “The Jew First,” *PE* (25 September 1948): 3.

reconciliation.¹⁴⁸⁷ The Chicago Hebrew Mission of the AG was accented in the 1952 *PE* with several testimonies of recent Jewish converts (with appeals for funds and workers)¹⁴⁸⁸ while stories were told in AG publications illustrating to Pentecostals means of persuasively communicating the Gospel to Jews.¹⁴⁸⁹

The 1958 *PE* published yet another article justifying and promoting intensified Jewish evangelism. The tragic history of Jewish-Christian relations and Jewish orthopractices notwithstanding, Christians were biblically obliged to preach Christ to Jews. It was claimed that the real cause for some avoidance of Jewish evangelistic activity was a “subconscious dislike for” Jews. That 225,000 largely sophisticated and educated European Jews had entered the Church in the nineteenth century challenged the traditional complaint of lack of Jewish responsiveness to the Gospel. There really was no excuse, it was claimed, for not presently seizing the unprecedented opportunities for Jewish evangelism.¹⁴⁹⁰

The 1966 *PE* offered a look at the “spiritual condition” of the severed Jewish “natural branches” as depicted in Romans 11. Religion in Israel was a force in politics more than a pursuit of God. The one source of light in Israel was the Messianic Assembly in Jerusalem, which held services in Hebrew as opposed to the majority of English-speaking tourist churches. The writer concluded that Jesus was the only hope for Israel’s salvation.¹⁴⁹¹

¹⁴⁸⁷ Myer Pearlman, “Those Strange People, the Jews!” *PE* (20 August 1949): 2, 15. The *PE* reprinted Myer Pearlman’s 1942 article in spite of an editorial disclaimer to duplication. Pearlman celebrated Jewish distinctives as useful to both God and mankind.

¹⁴⁸⁸ “Missions at Home,” *PE* (24 February 1952): 12.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Paul Obinger, “Witnessing to a Jewish Rabbi,” *PE* (30 May 1954): 5, 9-10. This extensive exchange between a Christian commuter and a New York rabbi reported examined arguments used to substantiate Jesus’ messiahship from the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Jacob Gartenhaus, “Evangelizing the Jews,” *PE* (21 September 1958): 6-7 26.

¹⁴⁹¹ William G. MacDonald, “Israel Today,” *PE* (21 August 1966): 8-10. To a question on modern Israel’s relevance to biblical prophecy, the unnamed “chief rabbi of all Israel” had explained “Israel is an experiment only.” Humanism and self-confidence was much more evident than hunger for God in Israel. While Israel boasted of “freedom of religion,” anyone converting someone before his convert’s 18th birthday could be sentenced to prison. The religious opinion was cited by an Israeli lecturer, “No Jew can be a good Jew if he lives by the Bible alone. He must live by the rabbinical interpretations of the Bible.” A bright hope in all this was that the Israeli public school system taught the Hebrew Bible apart from rabbinical or Talmudic impositions on the text.

PENTECOSTAL REPORTS ON JEWISH MISSIONS IN ERETZ ISRAEL

In the early post-World War II years the *PE* accented Bible distribution efforts especially to youth and members of *kibbutzim*.¹⁴⁹² The commendation of religious liberties by the chief rabbis while they concomitantly insisted a Jewish believer was disallowed membership in the Jewish community was deemed duplicitous.¹⁴⁹³ Testimonies of youthful Israelis coming to messianic faith frequented the *PE*, the *Hebrew Witness* and the later *Jewish Witness* to foster Pentecostal hope for successful Jewish evangelism.¹⁴⁹⁴

The testimony of Rabbi Daniel Solomon Zion, former chief rabbi of Bulgaria, was shared in the 1951 *PE*. Rabbi Zion migrated with most of his congregation to Israel in 1948. In spite of severe persecution and national notoriety, Rabbi Zion proclaimed his faith that Israel needed the Messiah Jesus or would face continued hardships in the Land. He reported his attempt to legally charter a “Messianic Church for Christian Israelis” where they might pray, meditate and open the Scriptures.¹⁴⁹⁵ The 1954 *PE* reported that a group of “Messianic Jews” comparable to the Galatian Judaizers had appeared in Israel. They accepted Jesus and the NT while keeping the Sabbath, the holy days, and otherwise practicing Judaism. One Messianic Jewish lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem insisted Messianic Jews had maintained a presence since apostolic days.¹⁴⁹⁶ The present work in the State of Israel was reportedly growing in

¹⁴⁹² George T. B. Davis, “Giving New Testaments to Jewish People in Palestine,” *PE* (19 January 1946): 1,12-14. As in 1939, the 1946 *PE* offered a cover story of George T. B. Davis’ efforts to distribute NTs in multiple languages in *Eretz-Israel* and in America to Jewish people promising to read them. Davis’ article accented the work of Assemblies of God missionary Mrs. B. D. Rohold and her co-workers as they distributed copies of the NT to youth and others on *kibbutzim*. See also, Laura Radford, “Hebrew Hunger,” *PE* (1 February 1947): 9. Radford, AG missionary to Jerusalem, wrote that Jewish youths, both religious and secular, were requesting the Hebrew NT. When many had gone off to service in the British military, their Jewish mothers had come to the mission asking for prayers for protection for their sons. Recently most had returned and some expressed their thanks.

¹⁴⁹³ “Christian Converts in Palestine,” *PE* (6 December 1947): 10. The *Alliance Weekly* was quoted in the 1947 *PE* to report that the chief rabbis, appearing before a UN Committee, had disallowed that a Jew could convert to Christianity and remain a part of the Jewish community. Such religious discrimination while commending complete religious liberty in a proposed Jewish State was deemed a double standard.

¹⁴⁹⁴ See “A Palestine Jewess Saved,” *PE* (8 January 1949): 8. The testimony was here published of an Israeli Jewess, Sara, who was sixth generation Israeli and received Jesus after missionary witness and a long bout with illness. When her well-established Jewish family could not dissuade her of her new faith, they sent her to university in Switzerland to avoid humiliation. Sara’s testimony at a French youth conference led to an entire Jewish family accepting Christ in Cannes.

¹⁴⁹⁵ “Israel’s Christian Rabbi,” *PE* (2 September 1951): 11.

¹⁴⁹⁶ “The Passing and the Permanent,” *PE* (21 March 1954): 2.

large measure due to the increasing number of 48,000 Jewish and Gentile Christians in 1949. Religious liberties had reportedly improved since statehood.¹⁴⁹⁷

The 1955 *PE* reported a healing revival in Jerusalem with E. P. Kopp¹⁴⁹⁸ that had drawn the attention of many Jews as people were healed of hip dislocation, deafness, sinus conditions, and assorted aches and pains. The participants hoped the healing revival was but a beginning to a Pentecostal outpouring in Jerusalem and Israel. Meanwhile some 240 Jewish replies had been received in response to an Israeli Christian youth sponsored newspaper advertisement offering a free NT.¹⁴⁹⁹

The sole AG acquisition of Jerusalem property came during the tenure of A. Elizabeth Brown in the 1920s.¹⁵⁰⁰ After 1948, the property officially reverted to Israel's domain and housed the AG Jewish ministries of Messianic Assembly and a bookstore. AG missionaries Victorine Cheek and Dorothy Whitner supervised the work from 1952 to 1955 as did Reverend and Mrs. Herman Pencovic from 1955 to 1960. More recently French Jews, Zvi and Yvette Kofsmann had been appointed as AG representatives in Israel. The Kofsmanns had served in the French colonial service in Upper Volta prior to coming to Israel in 1948. They were reported to be asking for prayers for another Pentecostal outpouring in Jerusalem as seen in NT days.¹⁵⁰¹ About one hundred attended their meetings. From these headquarters the Kofsmanns traveled the length and width of the nation preaching the Gospel.¹⁵⁰²

The 1971 "Tensions in Jerusalem" pointed to the nearness of the Second Coming. Terrorists were reportedly behaving as in a drunken stupor as Arab nations clamored their threats against the State of Israel. But any force terrorizing Israel would be "cut in pieces" by divine action. The spiritual faithlessness of modern Israel should only compel Pentecostals to intensify their mission activities "to the Jew first." Whereas

¹⁴⁹⁷ F. Wildon Colbaugh, "Winning the War-Torn World," *CAH* 23:8 (1 August 1950): 5-6.

¹⁴⁹⁸ E. Paul Kopp is the father of Charles Kopp, current president of the United Christian Council in Israel and pastor of the Baptist House in Jerusalem.

¹⁴⁹⁹ "The Passing and the Permanent," *PE* (13 November 1955): 7. Although officially Israel had freedom of religion, believers reportedly did undergo severe persecution including threats upon lives, business boycotts, and physical abuses such as spitting and slapping.

¹⁵⁰⁰ This building was located at King George and Mamillah Road (now Agron Street) and later reverted to the Conservative Judaism movement.

¹⁵⁰¹ Christine Carmichael, "Israel," *PE* (30 April 1961): 25-26.

¹⁵⁰² V. G. Greisen, "Witness in Jerusalem," *PE* (3 February 1963): 13. The bookstore sold materials in 25 languages while the Messianic Assembly conducted worship services on Saturdays, Sundays, and Wednesdays in Hebrew, German, French and English.

Jewish investigation into faith in Jesus was increasing in western nations, persecution in the forms of animosity and antagonism for messianic faith was expected in Israel.¹⁵⁰³

The *PE* reported in 1972 that the recent popularizing of the Rock opera, “Jesus Christ Superstar” was but one means of observing the growing interest in Jesus in Israel. Although still spoken of largely in hushed tones among the common Jews, scholars were more vocal and ready to address the real Jesus, the *Sabra*. After all, Israelis realized it was the Gospel of Jesus that made the Holy Land “holy” and had popularized the Hebrew Scriptures worldwide. It was the weighty efforts of Christian Zionists that had contributed largely to the political decisions of western governments and the issuance of economic resources that followed. Perhaps some had dared ask if the first-century decision to reject Jesus had been the correct one. Those who imagined that a Jewish embrace of Christ would cause the demise of Jewish peoplehood had sadly misread (or not read) the Scriptures. For the Messiah would be the great strength of Israel and the Leader into her destiny. The *PE* concluded that the Jewish movement toward Jesus in apostolic days was only the result of a genuine “move of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal fullness. Only this can do it again.”¹⁵⁰⁴

NEW INTENSITY IN AMERICAN JEWISH MISSIONS

All international attempts to destroy God’s Chosen People had failed as a determined God was presently restoring his Chosen to their Promised Land according to the 1947 *PE*. The chief Jewish problem was not a natural enemy, however, but a spiritual one. Like Paul, genuine Christians loved the Jewish people and dreaded the pending “time of Jacob’s Trouble.” Now was the moment for Jews and Gentiles to turn to Jesus, the only source of genuine peace.¹⁵⁰⁵

An appeal for funding for AG Jewish evangelism was made in the 1950 *PE* since missionary personnel were ready to preach “to the Jew first.”¹⁵⁰⁶ The AG announced the appointment of Jewish believers Charles and Jeannette Apton in the 1952 *PE* as “Jewish

¹⁵⁰³ L. V. D. Tiller, “Tensions in Israel,” *PE* (7 March 1971): 6-7.

¹⁵⁰⁴ L. V. D. Tiller, “Jesus, the Jew from Nazareth,” *PE* (5 March 1972): 2-3, 13.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Lee Krupnick, “To My Jewish People,” *PE* (12 July 1947): 10-12. Jewish believer Krupnick here published his open letter “To My Jewish People.” After offering a battery of enigmatic features of the Jewish people and culture and describing contributions various civilizations had made to humanity, Krupnick pointed up that Israel had revealed the worship of the One Creator God.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Fred Vogler, “Our Home Frontiers,” *PE* (8 April 1950): 13.

Field Representatives" to travel among AG churches to encourage Jewish evangelism in local communities. An appeal was also made to support the Jewish evangelistic efforts of missionaries Meyer and Alice Tan-Ditter on the west coast, home to a reported half million Jews in 1952. Their work was largely going door-to-door to thousands of Jewish homes.¹⁵⁰⁷

The AG "Chicago Hebrew Mission" offered a battery of evangelistic testimonies of visits to Jewish people, even a rabbi, in their homes as reported in 1953. Typically the Jewish person was quite "convicted" that Jesus was Messiah on the basis of messianic prophecy, especially Isaiah 53.¹⁵⁰⁸ The pastor of Highway Tabernacle, Wallace S. Bragg, wrote of his congregation's desire to reach the 250,000 Jews of Philadelphia in the 1954 *PE*. Recently Monty Garfield, an ordained AG Jewish believer, had moved to Philadelphia from San Diego to join the local church effort. Street meetings and other forms of contact had led to many Jewish people hearing and favorably responding to the Gospel. It was noted that the AG had ten appointed missionaries working among nearly 5.2 million American Jews representing half the world's Jewish population.¹⁵⁰⁹ Upbeat reporting encouraged Christians to believe for the salvation of Israel.¹⁵¹⁰ The 1955 *PE* reported that 100,000 Hebrew Christians lived in North America with sixty times as many still Gospel resistant. Nearly half of the world's twelve million Jews lived in North America.¹⁵¹¹

The *PE* published articles in 1956 to encourage Pentecostal personal evangelization of Jewish people including one listing qualifications vital to Christian evangelistic success.¹⁵¹² While Jewish tenacity to survive against all historical odds was a sign of God's devotion to his promises, the natural Jewish numerical increase in the post-War years signaled God's continued favor upon them.¹⁵¹³

¹⁵⁰⁷ "Missions at Home," *PE* (21 September 1952): 10.

¹⁵⁰⁸ "Missions at Home," *PE* (27 December 1953): 11.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Wallace S. Bragg, "Witnessing to the Jews in Philadelphia," *PE* (1 August 1954): 10-11.

¹⁵¹⁰ Monty Garfield, "Seeking the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel," *PE* (28 August 1955): 10-11. Garfield here offered a number of stories of sharing the Christian faith with Jews, several of whom had become believers.

¹⁵¹¹ "The Passing and the Permanent," *PE* (20 March 1955): 2.

¹⁵¹² Herbert Bruhn, "How to Win Jews to Christianity," *PE* (12 August 1956): 14-15. The Pentecostal should enthusiastically love Jesus, be a faithful Bible student, love the Jews, have patience, be sensitive to Jewish needs and feelings, etc.

¹⁵¹³ Herbert Bruhn, "God Still Loves Them," *PE* (12 August 1956): 15.

Ruth Specter complained in the 1957 *PE* that Pentecostals too often considered Israel and Jewish people merely as “subjects of prophecy” rather than people needing Christ. Just as the early Jewish believers had carried the Evangel to Gentiles, the Gentiles should now energetically and sacrificially reciprocate. Like Paul, the Pentecostals should not cease proclaiming the Gospel to the Jews when one community resists; just move on to the next. Any suggestions that Jews were beyond redemptive faith were from extra-biblical sources. Not God but Christians had too easily forgotten the Jews. But evangelizing the Gentile world without evangelizing the Jews was like a bird trying to fly with one wing. Jewish believers had a history of becoming among the most outstanding of evangelists once they had heard the Gospel. At the close of the Church dispensation, it was time for Pentecostals to preach to the Jews.¹⁵¹⁴ The 1957 *PE* insisted “the evangelization of the Jew” was no divine after-thought or mere incidental but of prime importance to the divine economy. Hence, the biblical mandate to preach the Gospel “to the Jew first.” Even Paul, apostle to the Gentiles, made Jewish evangelism his first priority. Christians may have changed their priorities, but God had not changed his plan. The nations awaited the Gospel Israel was still to bring. It remained the Pentecostal obligation to evangelize the Jewish people that they might fulfill their divine purpose and ministry.¹⁵¹⁵ Pentecostals should not selfishly hoard the Gospel or deny hungry Jewish souls the spiritual bread of Jesus.¹⁵¹⁶

Monty Garfield, director of the AG Jewish mission in Philadelphia, appealed for Pentecostal involvement in Jewish evangelism in the 1958 *PE*. He reminded his readers that all those Spirit-baptized on the Day of Pentecost had been Jews. Since coming to Philadelphia three years earlier, some nine of Garfield’s fifteen Jewish converts had spoken in tongues and many were attending an AG congregation.¹⁵¹⁷

Appointed missionaries working in the Los Angeles area, Jewish believers Meyer and Alice Tan-Ditter, reported in the 1959 *PE* that Jewish people were confessing trust in Jesus but in secret out of fear of family, living environment and business

¹⁵¹⁴ Ruth Rachel Specter, “Are We Doing Our Duty?” *PE* (28 July 1957): 3, 21.

¹⁵¹⁵ Herbert Bruhn, “Why Evangelize the Jew?” *PE* (27 January 1957): 14-15.

¹⁵¹⁶ Earl L. Walpole, “Are We Doing Our Utmost to Evangelize Jews?” *PE* (28 July 1957): 14-15.

¹⁵¹⁷ Monty Garfield, “Why Missions to the Jews?” *PE* (6 April 1958): 20-21. Garfield indicated that the Jews were very much still the beloved people of God according to the NT.

considerations. When the time was ripe, Los Angeles would witness a “great stir” of Jewish people moving out for Christ.¹⁵¹⁸

In keeping with an AG 1959 emphasis on Jewish evangelism, Monty Garfield registered that if Israel was to be regrafted onto its own olive tree, there was no alternative to Christians developing new strategies to win Jews to Christ. The balance of his two-page article was devoted to Jewish testimonies.¹⁵¹⁹ Ruth Specter expressed God’s continued readiness to extend mercy to a repentant Israel. The bondage of sin was crueler than the Egyptian bondage that had necessitated the Passover. Christians needed a baptism in love to scale the walls blocking Israel’s spiritual freedom. It was the Pentecostal duty to introduce the saving Jewish Messiah to his Jewish people.¹⁵²⁰

The 1960 *PE* printed an interview with Dayton, Ohio, Jewish businessman, Nate Scharff, who insisted that Christian Gentiles were responsible to bring Jewish people to faith in Jesus. He declared that 97% of the Jewish believers, including Scharff himself, had been brought to messianic faith by Gentile Christians.¹⁵²¹ The Tan-Ditters of Los Angeles tried to characterize a typical Jewish person so as to encourage a bolder Pentecostal evangelization of American Jews. They indicated the “Jew still is God’s beloved and his choice: and one day he will be the salvation, hope, and peace of the world.” In fact, the world would never be fully evangelized until the Second Coming and when Israel ultimately accomplished the task.¹⁵²² Pentecostals may fail to recognize the Jewish need for eternal salvation because the Jew tends to enjoy worldly success, but the five million American Jews knew little of neither the Bible they had bequeathed Christians nor the Jewish hope they had bestowed. It would be appropriate for Pentecostals to reintroduce the Jewish community to their own Bible and eternal hope.¹⁵²³

Spokane Jewish missionary, James W. Pulver, offered a list of prerequisites for effective Christian witness to Jews in the 1961 *PE* that included knowledge of the Bible,

¹⁵¹⁸ Meyer and Alice Tan-Ditter, “Sowing Gospel Seed Among the Jews,” *PE* (19 May 1959): 13.

¹⁵¹⁹ Monty Garfield, “Jews Find the True Messiah,” *PE* (5 July 1959): 18-19.

¹⁵²⁰ Ruth Specter, “Let My People Go!” *PE* (6 September 1959): 14-15. See also, Ernest C. Sumrall, “Paying our Debt,” *PE* (3 May 1959): 24-25. Sumrall doubled as pastor of Stone Church and as director of the AG Hebrew mission in Chicago. He here advocated that Paul’s immense passion for Jewish faith in Jesus should inspire Pentecostal engagement in Jewish evangelism. He protested the financial neglect of the Hebrew mission, which he was sure displeased God.

¹⁵²¹ Nate Scharff, “Jews Don’t Know Who Christ Is,” *PE* (20 March 1960): 20-21.

¹⁵²² Meyer and Alice Tan-Ditter, “The Jew in God’s Plan,” *PE* (4 September 1960): 21.

¹⁵²³ Meyer and Alice Tan-Ditter, “Remember the Jew,” *PE* (20 November 1960): 18-19.

Jewish history, religious culture and prejudices so as to avoid antagonizing Jewish listeners. Terms to avoid with their incendiary meaning to Jews were listed.¹⁵²⁴ Frieda Neuhaus, Jewish missionary in Los Angeles, offered that the key to effective witnessing to Jews was “genuine Christian love” as manifested by patience. Neuhaus provided several examples of positive Jewish responses to the Gospel to substantiate her thesis. Again the *PE* objective was to inspire Pentecostal mission activity among five million American Jews.¹⁵²⁵

Still in 1961, missionary staff member of the Hebrew Mission in Chicago, Ruth Witt Toczek, encouraged Pentecostals to believe for “an avalanche” of Jewish conversions before the Second Coming.¹⁵²⁶ The *PE* reported that never had there been a greater opportunity to reach Jewish people with the Gospel than the present. Pentecostals needed to “cry for the infilling of the Holy Spirit and for an outpouring of his blessing upon our efforts.” To have success in Jewish evangelism, Pentecostals needed to deliver themselves over continually to the Holy Spirit.¹⁵²⁷ A stark summary of the present Jewish spiritually blinded condition was offered in the 1962 *PE*.¹⁵²⁸ The *PE* plainly hoped too that the 1963 publication of a tract by Richard Bishop, a localized AG pastor, would help train Pentecostal minds for greater effectiveness in proclaiming the Gospel to Jews.¹⁵²⁹

Newly appointed Jewish missionary to Chicago, Ernest Kalapathy, wrote in the 1965 *PE* that the great hope for Israel must be her spiritual healing. All of the other standardly mentioned hopes were contingent upon Israel experiencing national

¹⁵²⁴ James W. Pulver, “Witnessing to American Jews,” *PE* (12 February 1961): 16-17.

¹⁵²⁵ Frieda Neuhaus, “Key for Witnessing,” *PE* (5 March 1961): 9.

¹⁵²⁶ Ruth Witt Toczek, “The Jewish Nation -- Yesterday and Today,” *PE* (24 September 1961): 5.

¹⁵²⁷ Hyman J. Appleman, “The Jews and Jesus,” *PE* (2 July 1961): 20-21.

¹⁵²⁸ Meyer and Alice Tan-Ditter, “The Jew Today,” *PE* (29 July 1962): 12. The “indestructible, unexplainable, indigestible, waterproof and fireproof” Jew was still alive due to God’s unchangeable Word and promises. The Jew was God’s choice for the channeling of His truth to all mankind yet today’s Jew had been blinded by religious tradition and materialism. Without any means to blood atonement, the Jew needed to return to God in Christ, the only means to salvation.

¹⁵²⁹ Richard W. Bishop, “How a True Christian Regards the Jews,” *PE* (29 December 1963): 12. This tract written by a Chicago pastor was published in its entirety. Its objective was to persuade Jewish readers of true Christian kindred spirit with the Jewish people as opposed to what many would conclude on the basis of tragic religious history. All true Christians were motivated to do the will of God, not engage in violence against God’s chosen. Christians had a sense of gratitude to the Jews for their Bible and a sense of kinship with the Jews due to their common messianic expectations. Christians had a profound sense of deep concern for the salvation of Israel, as personal salvation was available to every Jewish individual.

regeneration and faith in Jesus. The backslidden nation needed to genuinely repent and be spiritually transformed into the people that God desired Israel to be.¹⁵³⁰

In 1967 Curtis Ringness, national secretary for Home Missions, wrote that on the heels of the Six-Day War, Jews were responding to an apparent type of homing instinct to return to Zion. While looking forward, not backward, to the Jewish Golden Age, Israelis were asserting that God had fought for Israel in the June 1967 war. But Jews needed to realize that the God who fought for Israel was also the Father of Jesus, their long-awaited Messiah. Pentecostals needed to redouble their efforts to win Jews who, upon conversion, had proven to be overwhelmed by the reality in Christ. Not only Jewish missionaries but also all Pentecostals needed to “bless” Israel by bringing Jews to Jesus.¹⁵³¹

Kalapathy offered in the *PE* in 1968 that new circles within Judaism were keen to enlighten ethics-depleted Gentiles with Jewish insight. How much greater should be the dreadful sense of Pentecostal duty toward the Jewish people who could only come to true knowledge of God in Christ. Woe to Christians who fail to preach Jesus!¹⁵³²

The 1969 *PE* iterated that Jewish evangelism was a divinely issued calling which obligated *all* Pentecostals to preach Jesus to the Jewish people. But rather than preaching “to the Jew first,” many churches made Jews last which had resulted in the AG losing much of God’s blessing. Pentecostals needed to know and understand Jewish people, history, what the Bible taught about Jews, the Gospel itself, and the Pentecostal duty to evangelize Jewish people.¹⁵³³

The 1971 *PE* reported on a recent “Jewish Evangelism Seminar” held in Springfield, Missouri, at which most appointed missions personnel were in attendance. Preparations of new workers, development of evangelistic materials, Jewish evangelism seminars in local Assemblies and training of Bible college students for Jewish ministry were all part of the discussions. Pentecostal interest in Jewish missions was reportedly on the rise in this traditionally neglected field.¹⁵³⁴ Even more thrilling than the modern

¹⁵³⁰ Ernest Kalapathy, “Israel’s Hope,” *PE* (25 July 1965): 22-23.

¹⁵³¹ Curtis W. Ringness, “A Jewish Dream,” *PE* (27 August 1967): 19.

¹⁵³² Ernest Kalapathy, “Why Jews Need the Gospel,” *PE* (31 March 1968): 21.

¹⁵³³ Curtis W. Ringness, “The Jew, the Bible and You,” *PE* (18 May 1969): 24-25. Replicating a ten-pointed suggestion list for Jewish evangelism, the article ended with, “Jewish evangelism is an important ministry in which all local churches and individual believers should become involved.”

¹⁵³⁴ “Interest High in Second Jewish Evangelism Seminar,” *PE* (25 April 1971): 22-23.

miracle of the State of Israel was the new opening to the Gospel Jewish people were exhibiting. Guidelines concerning AG support for full-time ministers to the Jews were offered along with encouragement for lay participation in Jewish evangelism, Jewish membership in local assemblies, and evangelistic involvement of districts with large Jewish populations.¹⁵³⁵ The 1972 *PE* reported important changes were taking place in Jewish missions. Traditional Jewish opposition was lessening while more Jewish people were coming to Christ. This trend would only intensify as the Second Coming drew nearer.¹⁵³⁶

SUMMARY OF THE SHIFTING ROMANCE OF A MESSIANIC IDEOLOGY OF ISRAEL, 1946-1972

Pentecostals from the earliest years of their twentieth-century movement were predisposed toward premillennialism, e.g., they believed the Second Coming would precede the physical reign of Christ on earth. Darby's dispensationalism as promulgated by *Scofield's Reference Bible* greatly appealed to Pentecostals because of its futuristic eschatology. Their early statements of faith had committed the AG to premillennialism but not necessarily to dispensationalism, an ideology that God dealt differently with mankind in seven distinct dispensations of time. But the complex organization of dispensationalist theology greatly appealed to Pentecostals desperately trying to systematize a biblically based theology. Dispensationalism had been, after all, largely embraced by professing Christians most closely related to Pentecostals in ideology and social experience.

Yet the Pentecostalist embrace of dispensationalism was awkward since the Scofieldian system relegated the more sensational Spirit-gifts like tongues to the apostolic period of first-century Christianity. Pentecostals desiring the organizing aspects of dispensationalism managed to gloss over the many points of dispensationalist logic that precluded the exercise of spiritual gifts beyond the apostolic age. Classical dispensationalists held that the more sensational gifts had been temporary in nature and were no longer divinely bestowed. Pentecostalism denied any

¹⁵³⁵ Curtis W. Ringness, "The Jew -- Fulfillment of God's Word," *PE* (28 February 1971): 23.

¹⁵³⁶ "Pentecostal News Digest: 'Jews for Jesus' Leader Cites Reasons Why Jewish Youth Turn to Christ," *PE* (19 March 1972): 25. This report was included on Moische Rosen and his Jews for Jesus organization in which Rosen offered eight reasons young Jews were embracing Jesus. The very inclusion of such a discussion was designed to focus Pentecostal attention on Jewish evangelism and encourage participation

divine discontinuation of the gifts and insisted a very early backslidden church had caused the Spirit-gifts to lapse into disuse. Nevertheless both dispensationalist ecclesiology and eschatology profoundly impacted Pentecostalism. Dispensationalists made no vital connection between biblical Israel and the NT Church since the two peoples participated in two entirely different dispensationalist economies.

At the conclusion of World War II, the AG found itself embraced by much of the Evangelical world as represented in the NAE. Pentecostalism was on the brink of new religious awakenings stemming from the "New Order of the Latter Rain" of 1948-49 and the healing movement largely of the 1950s and 1960s. But the greatest cause for religious expectation since the Balfour Declaration was the promise of the fulfillment of the Zionist dream with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

The AG was ideologically conflicted between its fascination and intrigue with dispensationalism, its restorationist moorings and its sense of biblical relationship with the Jewish people and State. Although social pragmatism demanded an official full-scale adoption of dispensationalism to fully forge a stronger and systematic ideological bond with Evangelicals, the high level of classical Pentecostal restorationist expectation for Israel's pending spiritual revitalization kept Pentecostals more romantically inclined toward Zion and the Jewish people.

Because of the AG's fairly high tolerance for theological latitude among their ordained clergy, AG academics, denominational bureaucrats, ordained college professors and pastors held a moderately wide range of beliefs apart from a very small mandated core of standardized "Fundamental Truths." Therefore leading scholars, writers, and administrators published books, articles, and educational manuals were often at ideological variance and were frequently impacted by current political events. Nowhere was this better witnessed than in their Pentecostalist ideologies of Israel during this era.

The AG exhibited little tolerance toward the "New Order" as it was considered extremist in spite of the fact its "Latter Rain" ecclesiology closely paralleled that of early twentieth-century Pentecostalism. The AG had despaired of its earlier restorationism to which the "New Order" uncomfortably beckoned it. Rather than fully re-embracing restorationism, the AG found it more expedient to utterly condemn the "New Order" at its 1949 General Council. Similarly, the healing movement of the 1950s and 1960s

hearkened back to an earlier era in Pentecostalism when extremist positions often negating the medical professions were adopted. In an era when the AG was finding new levels of social acceptance in both the Evangelical and secular worlds, religious extremism would not be permitted to cause a watching world to blacklist the AG as heretical, unscientific or ignorant.

As AG Bible institutes moved to accredited college level, it became increasingly imperative to staff faculties with terminally degreed professors. Most seminary-trained Pentecostals had attended dispensationalist-orientated institutions and carried their established dispensationalist ideologies with them to their AG teaching posts. New generations of Pentecostal pastors and laymen became conditioned in AG theology courses to think in dispensationalist terms, which fostered a greater distinction between Israel and the Church than earlier Pentecostalism had espoused. The higher level of Pentecostal ideological identification with national Israel was reduced to the approximate level most Evangelical dispensationalists enjoyed. When Pentecostals were invited to join ranks with Evangelicals and Fundamentalists in the NAE and other cooperative fellowships, Pentecostals were prepared to come alongside such dispensationalists even at the expense of their previously greater sense of identity with Zionism and what would soon be a newly restored national Israel.¹⁵³⁷

A Pentecostal sense of obligation to modify ideological statements to more readily accommodate Evangelical friends existed. The most dramatic of these modifications for my research was the rewriting of Article 14 of the *AG Statement of Fundamental Truths* in 1961 which pushed the “salvation of national Israel” off into the millennium in contrast to the more imminently expectant and restorationist AG constitutional document of 1927.

In spite of such actions, however, the AG could not entirely escape its restorationist leanings. The tensions inherent in embracing both Evangelical dispensationalism and Pentecostal restorationism created uncertainty with regard to a

¹⁵³⁷ Pentecostals, no longer viewed as mere sectarians, had gained national visibility and respectability in the Evangelical world as a result of their participation in the NAE. Yet identification with the NAE had also contributed to the loss of some Pentecostal distinctives. For example, it fostered redefinition of the denominational mandated military pacifism many Pentecostal groups had embraced so as to permit individual choice. This allowed Pentecostals to more readily identify with Evangelicals who had long accepted military duty. Pentecostals moved increasingly away from the ordination of women for the ministry, a long established Pentecostal distinctive, to the more Evangelical position with its lesser enthusiasm for women in ministry.

proper ideology of Israel. This doublespeak became more apparent during seasons of political upset surrounding events in the Middle East. Frank Boyd had done his best as early as 1925 but repeatedly after 1945 to strengthen the early appeal of dispensationalism in the AG by massaging its historical markers.¹⁵³⁸ Boyd thereby reinforced the distinction between Israel and the Church in the divine economy. This enabled Pentecostals to increasingly gravitate toward dispensationalism's apologetic while ignoring its fundamental disallowance of Pentecostal Spirit-giftings. Hereby, Pentecostals found a way to be on the same theological page as most Evangelicals without utterly denying the essence of Pentecostalism.

Myer Pearlman was a continuing influence in support of the classical Pentecostal sense of Latter Rain connection with Israel well into the 1960s. He had rejected the harsh dichotomy between Israel and the Church dispensationalism demanded in favor of an ideology making the Church an extension or expansion of faithful Israel and still very much joined with national Israel in the purposes of God. The people of Israel were backslidden brethren needing both physical and spiritual restoration. The complete restoration of Israel was on the immediate horizon and would transpire as soon as Israel acknowledged their God-given Leader as Jesus. Surely both the Church and Israel would be fully restored to the points of their first-century departure and be rejoined in active service to God. Ralph Riggs had fully embraced dispensationalism and indicated Israel would undergo severe chastening since they remained Gospel resistant. But even Riggs could not resist the Pentecostal connection with Israel as he taught national Israel would be Pentecostal from the commencement of the millennium.

The impact of the Holocaust upon Pentecostals was profound. The AG immediately passed a resolution condemning all forms of anti-Semitism in the fall of 1945. This was followed up by a host of articles, books and teachings warning people and nations with anti-Semitic inclinations of the dire judgments from God that awaited them should they engage in anti-Semitic abuse. At the same time, for many it was a shockingly opposite development in terms of what had been the expected ideological restorationist destiny of the corporate Jewish people.

¹⁵³⁸ The birth of the "Spirit Age" versus the "Church Age" was reassigned to the Day of Pentecost thereby chronologically removing the Pentecostal experience from Israel's "Kingdom Age" to relevance for the modern Church.

As political Middle Eastern tensions intensified after 1945, the AG reflected a growing sense of political awareness. The 1948 analyses of the political realities and circumstances generally put the returning Jews and Zionism in a favorable light and the Arab Muslims as apparent resisters to God's purposes. Although Arabs too needed to come to grips with the Word of God, there were signs of sympathy for forlorn Arabs fearful for their futures. Yet certain judgment awaited Islamic nations bent on Zion's destruction. Both Jews and Arabs coming to faith in Jesus was the considered Pentecostal solution since he was regarded as the real hope for peace in Zion.

Israel's political and military precariousness compelled some AG writers to attempt to tone down the Pentecostal enthusiasm for the Zionist victory as early as July 1948. Cautioning against overconfidence, writers reminded Pentecostals that Israel had not yet come to national faith in Jesus and had not therefore moved beyond the place of vulnerability. Rather than only celebrating Israel's national re-establishment, Pentecostals needed to pray for the speedy spiritual redemption of Israel. Meanwhile, the Church would not be eclipsed by Israel in God's program but continue in her divine mission. Arguments for and against supersessionism were brought forward in 1948 publications but the AG consistently resisted any notion that the Church had replaced Israel in the divine economy. An eternally chosen Israel would yet come to faith and perform her divine mission.

Israel's victory in the 1948-49 War of Independence was considered yet another divine miracle performed by Israel's faithful God. This grand triumph against impossible odds represented the beginning of even greater accomplishments ahead for Israel. Any nation that resisted the divinely chosen Israel would meet a dire fate. Even though Israel had not yet accepted Jesus, God's great love and purposes for Israel would proceed on divine schedule. The biblical promises concerning Israel's boundaries remained as firm as when God first issued them.

The matter of Israel's lack of faith in Jesus haunted conflicted Pentecostals during the late 1940s and 1950s. The victories that Israel had currently experienced in fulfillment of Scripture indicated that indeed the *eschaton* had started. But were the

fullness of promised blessings to be Israel's portion apart from faith in Christ?¹⁵³⁹ Indeed, God had returned Israel to Zion in preparation for the Second Coming, but as long as Christ was rejected, Jerusalem would remain "trodden down of the Gentiles."

All this pointed up the urgency of Jewish missionary activity in Israel and throughout the Jewish world. All the indicators seemed to reflect a new Jewish openness to the Gospel even among outstanding and recognized Jewish leaders. Yes, Israel had returned in unbelief, but infidelity would be a temporary problem. Pentecostals needed to engage in Jewish missions in light of the pending spiritual redemption of Israel so indispensable to her national redemption. Soon Ezekiel's dry bones would be effused with the living breath of God's Spirit.

Criticism of Israel's infidelity led to some doubt of God's own activities in Israel's national restoration by 1953. Misguided atheistic materialists had accomplished the amazing reestablishment of the highly significant Jewish State. Idolatrous Jewish faith in man needed to be replaced with legitimate faith in God. An unrepentant and politically unstable Israel would only too readily covenant with the anti-christic man to her own hurt. Perhaps only then would Israel awaken to her responsibility to Christ and fully inherit God's ultimate.

As Williams in 1953 and others redefined the purposes for tongues speaking as primarily for Pentecostal edification, the vital restorationist connection between Pentecostalism and Israel appeared less significant to Pentecostal self-understanding. Movement on the theological front paved the way for questioning the proper Pentecostal understanding of national Israel and for ideological modification. Agents for the ideological disconnection from Israel were heard including strong proponents of dispensationalism. However, General Superintendent Ralph Riggs in 1954 challenged recently past General Superintendent E. S. Williams' assessment of the purpose of tongues speaking suggesting instead the purpose to be primarily evangelistic. Riggs connected his emphasis with the *eschaton* and the Jewish national restoration. These two General Superintendents reflected the ideological tensions that surrounded the meaning of the Pentecostal experience in the AG as it bore upon eschatological Zion.

¹⁵³⁹ Pentecostal emphasis was laid upon the pending covenant that a deceived Israel would contract with the anti-Christ that would ultimately lead to an apocalyptically endangered Israel calling upon God and receiving him in Jesus.

By the politically uncertain year of 1955, cautions against placing too much faith in modern Israel were published in educational and periodical publications. After all, Jerusalem was still downtrodden of the Gentiles, there was talk of rebuilding the Temple and sacrilegiously re-instituting the blood sacrifices, and Israel had not yet come to faith in Jesus. Onto this increasingly critical stage stepped Stanley Horton. The highly educated Horton rejected dispensationalism and suggested that what Israel really needed was rich encounter with the transforming Holy Spirit in Pentecostal power. There was a natural affinity between Pentecostals and Israel that centered on Pentecostal spiritual emphases. The highly prolific and academically respected Horton helped to ideologically reconnect Israel and Pentecostalism in an extremely critical period.

Also in 1955 and 1956, even as tensions were growing over the Suez Crisis and apocalyptic talk was rife, C. M. Ward came to the public defense of Israel in response to mounting criticism over the Palestinian refugee problem. He published that Israel had done everything humanly possible to retain the fleeing Arabs but to no avail. Ward went on to sing the praises of world Jewry and the Land of Israel and suggested that Jerusalem's being "downtrodden of the Gentiles" was a very temporary problem. On the heels of Jewish reclamation of all Jerusalem, Israel would finally execute her God-given destiny, as Israel's survival and inheritance of the promises were crucial to God's own integrity.

A threatened and seemingly precarious Israel would customarily foster Pentecostal doubt and negative speculation. In Israel's apparent vulnerable periods, writers tended to focus on the pending Great Tribulation or the Time of Jacob's Trouble. But a victorious Jewish-David over a Muslim-Goliath experience always reaped accolades of Pentecostal praise for Israel. Following the 1956 Suez Crisis Israel was highly appreciated in Pentecostal circles for its tenacity, vigor, national accomplishments and military prowess. Victory was an indication of providential activity on Israel's behalf and, of course, Pentecostals wanted to favor what God favored. Israel's natural accomplishments were signposts to the spiritual life Israel would soon receive. The Pentecostal enthusiastic optimism concerning Zion would continue until the next danger period would surface.

Consistent with the negativism of dispensationalism and the political mood of the time, Pentecostal writers urged looking beyond the immediate deterioration of circumstances in Israel and the world. The “signs of the times” appeared bleak indeed, but readers should keep in focus the promised climax of history. The 1960 *PE* condemned renewed episodes of anti-Semitism in the world and warned of divine consequences. No matter the international criticism, God stood by his people Israel. Although Israel had returned in unbelief, the nation existed in the very will of God. Yet Pentecostals should not content themselves to simply enjoy the fact of Israel’s existence but rather passionately engage in Jewish evangelism.

By 1961 the AG had largely surrendered any spiritual restorationist hope for Israel prior to the Second Coming and proceeded to modify Article 14 of the *Statement of Fundamental Truths* to shunt Israel’s redemption off to the millennial future. That Israel would be expected to undergo great hardship in the interim period prepared dispensationalist Pentecostals to endure news of future Jewish suffering as “fulfillment of prophecy.”

In the years leading up to the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel received excellent press in AG publications concerning her achievements and support in the midst of her delicate political position in Middle Eastern affairs. But two themes were continually cited: (1) the problem of Israel’s unbelief in Jesus which would only be remedied by the seven-year purging of the Great Tribulation, and (2) the need for Pentecostal involvement in Jewish evangelism to help effect the spiritual redemption of Israel. In a very real sense these two themes were diametrically opposed. The shunting off of Israel’s faith to the Great Tribulation period or beyond was the product of despondent dispensationalism’s influence upon Pentecostalism, while the call to the expectant redemption of the Jewish people in response to faith in the Gospel rang of the optimism characteristic of restorationism. Here then is another example of the conflicting issues in the Pentecostal ideology of Israel.

The monumental victory of the 1967 Six-Day War stirred the whole world and certainly Pentecostals. At last Jerusalem was finally “no longer trodden-down of the Gentiles.” Surely now the Second Coming was at hand. The dispensationalist stage had been fully set for the rapture of the Church and the beginning of the seven-year “time of Jacob’s Trouble.” Ecstatic Pentecostals did not think negatively about Israel or

Jerusalem in the second half of 1967. There was no immediate discussion of Tribulation. The victory in Jerusalem and the Promised Land reinvigorated restorationist sentiment rather than sinking the AG into dispensationalist negativism. There was indeed hope for Israel, and that hope was inseparably tied to Jesus. Therefore, the Six-Day War reinvigorated the AG commitment to Jewish evangelism. Surely the Second Coming was at the door, and Jewish favor toward the Gospel was to be expected. Rather than slinking into a cave to await the rapture, the AG continued a strong endorsement of Israel and the need for intensified Jewish evangelistic activities in Israel and especially in the United States through the end of 1972.

Chapter Five:

**PENTECOSTALISM'S ROMANTIC BREAKUP WITH ISRAEL:
TRIAL SEPARATION OR DIVORCE?**

“There can be little dispute that the pentecostal insurgence mushroomed into one of the most powerful religious upheavals of the twentieth century,” declared Grant Wacker, historian at the Duke Divinity School. In fact, a 1979 Gallup poll discovered that 29 million Americans, 19% of all adults, considered themselves to be Pentecostal or Charismatic Christians.¹⁵⁴⁰

Over the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the Assemblies of God (AG) leaders were concerned about new theologies at the Pentecostal grassroots level forming as a natural result of ideological borrowing and cross-referencing among their growing ranks. Some new schemes would have direct bearing on local Pentecostal perspectives on Zionism and the State of Israel. In a series of “position papers,” the AG reaffirmed its commitment to its teachings on miraculous healing, the rapture, eternal punishment, tongues-speaking Spirit-baptism and, significantly, the divine covenant with Israel. By the late 1970s the widening diversity of opinion among the rank and file constituents had led to the denominational leadership’s conviction that AG college faculties should fully subscribe to conventional AG positions including the traditional understanding of premillennial eschatology, i.e., the salvation of national Israel. The General Presbytery created a “Committee on Loopholes” in 1979 to track the sources of theological deviation and discovered that broad diversity existed within AG ranks. In addition to questions on the rapture and the inerrancy of Scripture, many questioned tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism and, importantly, the role of Israel in the divine program. A second report solicited by the General Presbytery in 1981 urged the more than 50 local AG districts to more thoroughly examine those seeking ministerial

¹⁵⁴⁰ Grant Wacker, “Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish: Primitivism, Pragmatism, and the Pentecostal Character,” *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 140.

credentials especially on matters crucial to AG identity and self-understanding. Newly designed annual credential renewal forms required, among other issues, the recommitment of clergy to the Spirit-baptism tongues-evidence distinctive and premillennialism. By 1984, faculties would be urged to use texts published by the Gospel Publishing House (GPH), the primary AG publishing arm, to assure continued student acceptance of the classical Pentecostalism positions. Pentecostal identity eventually narrowed to center around the “Pentecostal issue” of tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit-baptism. But the early century Latter Rain ideology had attributed both the Pentecostal tongues practice and the Jewish national restoration in Zion to Providence’s judicious coordination. Both the Church and Israel were seen to be in process of “Latter Rain” restoration to their first-century points of biblical departure, e.g., the Church to her apostolic nature and Israel to her staging platform in Zion for the execution of her international Jewish mission.

The context of Pentecostalism was changing through the final three decades of the twentieth century while elevated grassroots middle-class expectations, including that of higher education, became increasingly important within the movement. The number of college graduates had tripled in the AG between 1960 and 1970.¹⁵⁴¹ Conservative political causes in America surrounding moral values, creationism, school prayer, military spending, and the national support for Israel were strong among Pentecostals even while stress on the *eschaton* diminished. An increasingly socially stabilized American Pentecostalism fostered personal religious comfort rather than eschatological tension. Pentecostals became more focused on immediate as opposed to future gratification.¹⁵⁴² A new social casualness and religious informality exemplified the nonchalant move away from “their millenarian restorationist past.” But the movement away from Latter Rain restorationist emphases gradually translated into the lessening of Zionist sympathies. While local congregations were more self-determining, outspokenly pro-Zionistic AG clergy were aware of the pressure to hold to new social standards of theological conformity and organizational accountability.¹⁵⁴³

¹⁵⁴¹ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 253-254.

¹⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 257.

¹⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 259.

Even as the AG grew numerically and financially prospered while it culturally adapted in the 1980s and 1990s, acculturation took its toll on its group dynamic and stand against the social order. The influx of new Charismatics into both the local AG congregations and the ranks of ordained AG clergy from the historically amillennial or postmillennial denominations impacted Pentecostal teaching on a variety of topics including the significance of Israel and her biblical destiny. The new tongues-speaking Charismatics had often been conditioned within their old denominations to dismiss the contemporary relevance of Israel in the divine program. Upon their arrival into the AG, they further diluted the corporate traditional Pentecostal emotional and ideological support for Zionism and the State of Israel. AG assimilation into the larger American society further confused Pentecostal identity as many practices and social trends once condemned by AG constituents became socially palatable. Whereas in previous decades the AG had grown in large measure from its successful appeal to fellow Americans sharing the AG dread and defiance of modern social trends, now its astonishing numerical growth fed on its easy appeal to those deliberately seeking every fashionable creature comfort available in modern American culture. In the process, the AG “became the world’s largest Pentecostal denomination.”¹⁵⁴⁴

The October 1973 Yom Kippur “wake-up call” sobered Pentecostal laymen and clergy alike to realize that Israel was not invincible but rather had important areas of military susceptibility. The astonished grass-roots Pentecostal disappointment at Israel’s stunning military vulnerability, so much the shocking opposite of the recent eschatologically stimulating Six-Day War experience, was reflected in the *PE*. AG powerbrokers retrained AG periodicals and teaching materials to now allow for Israel’s military setbacks and even national dysfunction. Ideological room was made for Israeli vulnerability and potential defeat.

By 1982, the AG determined to fully discontinue its political advocacy of Israel. The invasion of Lebanon with its extensively negative media portrayal of Israel’s policies and performance, combined with the expansion of AG mission interest in the Islamic world and the increasing influence of supersessionist trends within the Charismatic Movement, produced a virtual shutdown of pro-Israel sentiment in official

¹⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 260.

AG media. Support for Zionism was entirely lacking in official AG publications during the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The ongoing influence of supersessionist replacement theology, as advocated by high profile Charismatics in the mid-1980s, resulted in new Christian assault upon the very legitimacy of the Jewish nation's role in the divine economy. Nationally recognized independent Charismatic personalities like Bishop Earl Paulk of Atlanta and David Chilton of Texas or the highly profiled "Reconstructionist" leaders like Rick Godwin and Gary North, openly castigated Christian Zionism as hopelessly misguided and dangerous. AG voices felt compelled to strongly react to such anti-Israelism particularly in Pentecostal academic forums and in very unofficial popular writings. AG thinkers and ideologues had increasingly come to the realization that dispensationalism militated against Pentecostal restorationism. Now they also realized Charismatic supersessionist replacement theology fully denied the very right of national Israel to exist as a continuing part of the divine program. In reality, both dispensationalism and Charismatic replacement theory were direct assaults on Pentecostal ideology and Israel's national legitimacy. To deny the corresponding contemporary legitimacy of either classical Pentecostalism or Jewish nationalism actually invalidated the Latter Rain motif of the hand of Providence upon both. In a very real sense, dispensationalism and supersessionism were both threatening dangers to the survival of both divinely restored "Latter Rain" Pentecostal and Zionist camps. The link between early Christian cessationism (elimination of spiritual giftings after the apostolic period) and Christian supersessionism (eliminating Israel in the divine program by replacing Israel with the Church) was beginning to be conspicuous in twin evidences as recurring at the end of the twentieth century to again thwart the divine objective.

Astute Pentecostal theologians and ideologues pointed up the need for classical Pentecostals to step back from both the constraints of cessationist dispensationalism and the boasts of supersessionist replacement theology. The low ecclesiology of the first and anti-Israelism of the second should not be allowed to destroy the essence of Pentecostal ideology. In order to preserve the very integrity of AG ideological identity, the AG theologians would bring new clarity to AG ideology to safeguard both the AG's

own right to exist as a Pentecostal movement and Israel's right to national existence in keeping with the divine plan.

The attempt to separate the AG from its ideological connection with the State of Israel, fostered in earnest by those seeking "political correctness" in the anti-Israel world of the mid-1970s and 1980s, would ultimately fail by the 1990s as Pentecostals found fresh motivations to renew their ideological bond.

YOM KIPPUR AND THE NEW ISRAELI REALITY FROM 1973 TO 1981

The lightening strikes of the Yom Kippur War of 1973 came as a complete shock to most Americans just as it had to Israel. With the rank-and-file still basking in the afterglow of the monumental victories of the 1967 Six-Day War, Pentecostals were stunned at the apparent proverbial chink in the Israeli armor the 1973 war revealed. The euphoria among Pentecostals had been especially acute since the feats of the Six-Day War seemed to parallel the deeds of biblical Israel. Even the American media reported the modern touch of Providence upon the Chosen People which had afforded them inspired victories in battle accompanied by angelic intervention on Israel's behalf. The prowess, strength, and ingenuity of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) were the envy of the nations. For an unprepared Israel to now absorb such a significant military setback staggered the faithful. The fact that Israel ultimately made a respectable showing in the Yom Kippur War did not lessen the Pentecostal shock at Israel's vulnerability. The contrast and incongruity of the two recent wars overwhelmed many AG constituents though they still wanted to believe the biblical promise regarding Israel's pending millennial future.

Those who had feared for Israel's survival apart from her national faith in Jesus in the 1950s and 1960s, as analyzed in chapter four, seemed to have had verified by the Yom Kippur War the real potential of their worst fears for national Israel. The repentance required of Israel to fully enjoy God's provision of protection had yet evaded her; Israel had stood defiant in the face of God's truth. The biblical record had historically illustrated the precedent that God could call for Israel's national demise for unfaithfulness. Perhaps Israel now would be in for a protracted battle against her

Islamic enemies in part as divine chastening from a loving Father God who was resolute in his determination for Israel to embrace his Son and Messiah.

As demonstrated in chapter four, AG Sunday schools, pastors and Bible college teachers of eschatology had largely followed the leads of Frank Boyd, E. S. Williams and Ralph Riggs in long advocating the dispensationalist position that Israel would yet undergo a seven year "Great Tribulation" or the "time of Jacob's trouble." Those motivated to strongly reinforce dispensationalism's grip on the AG constituency subsequent to the Yom Kippur War seized upon Israel's misfortune to buttress Great Tribulation theories of massive Jewish suffering at the hands of anti-Christ and his armies. Such pain would be required to bring Israel to a place of repentance and ultimate faith in Jesus. This would be a constant theme in the eschatological writings consumed by Pentecostals from 1973 to 1999 as seen below.

Repentance and Great Tribulation theories aside, however, subsequent to the Yom Kippur War the AG clearly otherwise marked its blatant retreat away from its traditional overt political support for national Israel. Because Israel's near-term fate still seemed unknown, the AG moved further away from its ideological identification with Israel and Zionism. In articles concerning national Israel in the years following the Yom Kippur War, AG support for political Israel was absent from the *PE* or *GPH* publications. The AG was henceforth content to focus on Israel's perceived need for repentance and faith in Jesus, to predict a time of suffering for national Israel and world Jewry, and to offer the hopeful consolation of an eventual Israel national exaltation at the Second Coming in fulfillment of prophecy. It wanted to bear no responsibility for supporting Israel's political agendas among American constituents or to be held accountable for pro-Zionist tendencies especially in the Islamic Middle East.

Meanwhile, Jewish evangelistic activities were fully endorsed and supported in pursuit of bringing Israel to messianic faith since Israel's ultimate national salvation was inseparably bound to Jewish faith in Jesus. November 1973 marked further a turning point for AG Jewish missions as the concept of a Spirit-baptized messianic synagogue was endorsed for mission experimentation and an AG National Jewish Committee was established. Long supportive of ethnically diverse cultural expression within the denomination, the AG made room for the formation of congregations of Jewish believers in Jesus where their new sense of faith could be fully immersed in a

Jewish cultural frame. Curiously, the unofficial AG stepping back from identification with national Israel and its policies coincided with the denominational embrace of messianic synagogues where Jews could practice their Pentecostal faith in a Jewish cultural framework. Political discomfort leading to unofficial backing away from the strong identification with the Jewish State was outwardly compensated for in the AG pathos for the ultimate redemption of Israel in Jesus.

Yaakov Ariel suggests that the Six-Day War had a more profound impact on American fundamentalist attitudes toward Israel “than did the birth of Israel in 1948.” The immense Israeli victory and sudden vast land acquisition seemed to confirm the premillennial conviction that Israel was to play a key role in the *eschaton*.¹⁵⁴⁵ But in important ways the impact of the Yom Kippur War dramatically tempered downward the Pentecostalist euphoria.

In a surprisingly changed tone, the *PE* seemed to fault both sides in the Middle East conflict. Even C. M. Ward wrote, “When Israel learns of an impending enemy attack, she seizes the initiative and attacks first. This policy of preemptive strikes makes her a threat to all nations. ...Israel must be feared as a menace in order to ward off her enemies. ...Yet world pressure against preemptive strikes is rising.” The *PE* declared that Israel’s growing isolation in the international community and perceived culpability would be further aggravated, as she would be blamed while “Arab leaders use the refugees as political pawns.” Islamic powerbrokers were faulted for fostering regional governmental instability and spawning “unrest at Israel’s doorstep.”¹⁵⁴⁶

In an attempt at political balance, the *PE* offered, the “first president of Israel, Chaim Weizmann, saw the Mideast conflict as a clash between total justice and total justice. Each side has legitimate claims.” The *PE* insisted it was not in Israel’s national interest to distort the legitimate claims of the Palestinian Arabs. To rely upon violence and armament would only “tip the planet toward the chasm of nuclear holocaust.”¹⁵⁴⁷ Yet the *PE* noted the UN prejudice against Israel, “(Yosef) Tekoah faces great

¹⁵⁴⁵ Yaakov Ariel, “American Fundamentalists and the Emergence of a Jewish State,” *New Dimensions in American Religious History*, Eds. Jay P. Dolan and James P. Wind (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 303-304.

¹⁵⁴⁶ C. M. Ward, “Israel’s Preemptive Strike Policy,” *PE* (26 June 1973): 6.

¹⁵⁴⁷ C. M. Ward, “Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem,” *PE* (26 January 1975): 8.

disadvantage. The United Nations audience is weighted prejudicially against him. This is nothing new for an Israeli."¹⁵⁴⁸

Against the highly publicized political backdrop of President Gerald Ford's 1974 attempted linkage of Soviet treatment of Jews with superpower arms reductions, the *PE* acknowledged the political agitation of the Palestinians. "The West Bank is fomenting trouble. Professional agitators are busy stirring political unrest among Israel's Arab residents. Palestinian groups are endeavoring to close ranks to render common cause."¹⁵⁴⁹ In response to unrest, "Israel has purchased 25 F-15 Eagle warplanes,...Each plane is costing \$26,000,000....[but the] attempt to destroy Israel is Hell's folly."¹⁵⁵⁰

C. M. Ward offered warning to the AG in the 1977 *PE* that the Carter administration's "human rights" campaign was "putting Israel on trial before a world forum" and had invited the Palestinians to "pass judgment." He was sure a "Middle-East Munich" was in the offing since the American nation was "caught between energy needs and ethics." He warned that OPEC nations could finance a prolonged war of attrition against Israel. Ward rallied to support Menachem Begin's refusal to withdraw from the West Bank on the basis of strategic military necessity. Syrian proclamations in the UN against Zionism and Arafat's obduracy were equally condemned in the *PE*.¹⁵⁵¹

The *PE* asked upon the occasion of Anwar Sadat's stunning 1977 visit to Jerusalem, "Isn't it about time the Arab leaders put their money where their mouth is in behalf of dispossessed Arabs? Couldn't some of those petrodollars alleviate the suffering of their 'needy brethren' in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and elsewhere? Wouldn't such action be welcome in our time?"¹⁵⁵²

Paul Boyer has demonstrated that most Evangelical popularizers of eschatology saw no reason for Israeli compromise since God was on Israel's side. They fatalistically taught that the Arab-Israeli conflict would only cease in the millennium. Until then, the children of Ishmael and Isaac were destined to "perpetual hatred."¹⁵⁵³ More liberal and

¹⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴⁹ C. M. Ward, "The 'Eagle' Flies for Israel," *PE* (20 June 1976): 10.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵¹ C. M. Ward, "A Burdensome Stone for All People," *PE* (13 November 1977), 20-21.

¹⁵⁵² E. S. Caldwell, "Ambassadors Will Come From Egypt," *PE* (29 January 1978): 21.

¹⁵⁵³ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 203.

pacifist groups angrily disputed the notion that “Israel’s territorial expansion is foreordained.” But neither Evangelicals nor Pentecostals put much stock in Jimmy Carter’s sponsored 1978 Camp David Accords. Jerry Falwell, national head of the new politically active Christian organization dubbed the Moral Majority, spoke for Pentecostals too when he stated, “There’s not going to be any real peace in the Middle East until the Lord Jesus sits down upon the throne of David in Jerusalem.”¹⁵⁵⁴ In fact, Henry Kissinger’s efforts at “shuttle diplomacy” during the Nixon years had earned him the epithet “anti-Christ” in many dispensationalist circles as he was often considered an end-time counterfeit peacemaker.¹⁵⁵⁵

Pentecostals borrowed from other dispensationalists in viewing the Islamic world as anti-christic and a certain menace to God’s program for Israel. Anti-Arab sentiment characterized much of premillennial teaching in the 1970s as Arab oil was seen as a weapon against Israel and the West in the arsenal of the anti-Christ. Arabs were either to be ignored or otherwise dispensed with and regarded as a “sinister demonic force” used to plague God’s Chosen.¹⁵⁵⁶

Yet for all the bravado in dispensationalist Pentecostalism, the AG was increasingly cautious in its political identification with the Zionist enterprise. Israel’s vulnerability provided Pentecostal leadership a “reality check.” In the event of Israel’s demise, Pentecostalism’s own prestige would suffer and perhaps beyond remedy if the AG fully identified with a lost Zionist cause. Israel’s vulnerability could conceivably make Pentecostalism’s credibility equally vulnerable. In order for the AG to avoid the fate of a false prophet, appropriate action was needed to discreetly inform the constituency of the need to distance Pentecostalism from Israel’s potentially disastrous fate. The *PE* declared that every Christian should want to know “what God is doing in Israel” for “your future and that of your children will be affected by what happens” in Israel. The “uneasy peace” prevailing since the Yom Kippur War had generated controversy over the military reversals. Conspicuously absent from current border

¹⁵⁵⁴ Danny Collum, “Armageddon Theology as a Threat to Peace,” *Faith and Mission* (Fall 1986): 60; quoted in Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 208.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Raymond L. Cox, “Will the Real Antichrist Please Stand Up!,” *Eternity* (May 1974): 15; quoted in Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 207-208.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Dwight J. Wilson, *Armageddon Now! The Premillennial Response to Russia and Israel Since 1917* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977), 172.

disputes was any consideration of God's Word. The country was "a seething cauldron of political and religious intrigue and emotion."¹⁵⁵⁷

Israel was perceived to have been caught unprepared on the Golan Heights line of defense at the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War and would have lost the Golan entirely had not the Syrians made serious strategic blunders.¹⁵⁵⁸ Expressing fear for Israel's readiness for protracted warfare, the *PE* printed, "Israel has most to lose if a fifth Mideast war erupts. The next round will make all the previous rounds look like humanitarian exercises."¹⁵⁵⁹ Arab terrorism was recognized to be a threat to democracy that led Pentecostals to openly worry about Israeli troop demoralization as a persistent danger and potential tragedy. The demoralization of Israel's citizen army was "the great threat" as time and numbers were thought to not be on Israel's side.¹⁵⁶⁰ The *AG* literature likewise condemned Israeli "collective punishment," as defined by the dynamiting of houses, administrative arrests without charge, and Arab deportations. The literature bitingly stated that such collective punishment would "not work any better for the Jews than they worked for the British or the Germans."

Pentecostals were issued a word of caution against running too fast in support of eschatological notions:

God is working in Israel, and prophecy is being fulfilled; but we must be careful not to get ahead of Him in our enthusiasm. We must take things at His speed. This prevents inaccurate guesses which have in some measure caused confusion in assessing the situation as a sign of the times pointing to the nearness of our Lord's return.¹⁵⁶¹

The clearest indictment of Israel's present unworthiness of overmuch Pentecostal enthusiasm, however, was the continued infidelity of the nation. With less than 200 Messianic Jewish believers among Israel's three million Jews, it was clear Israel was returning in continued unbelief. Developing into the people God wanted Israel to be may take another full generation to accomplish.¹⁵⁶²

¹⁵⁵⁷ L. V. D. Tiller, "What is God Doing in Israel?" *PE* (10 February 1975): 8-9.

¹⁵⁵⁸ C. M. Ward, "Miracle in Golan Heights," *PE* (13 January 1974): 18-19.

¹⁵⁵⁹ C. M. Ward, "Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem," *PE* (26 January 1975): 9.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

ISRAEL'S SUFFERING AND THE CONVENIENCE OF THE "GREAT TRIBULATION"

By the World War II era the AG had largely embraced the dispensationalist apologetic for the Great Tribulation, a time of severe anti-christic persecution of Israel, as the key to Israel's national repentance and messianic redemption. The AG Bible colleges had been utilizing Evangelical and Fundamentalist dispensationalist texts to teach "dispensational truths" for decades which called for a "Great Tribulation" at the end of the Church Age when a suffering Israel would reach efficacious faith in Christ. Such a Great Tribulation, immediately preceded by the rapture of the Church into heaven, was the vital bridge dispensationalism mandated to make its "kingdom-delayed" theological system work. While AG teachers and writers supported dispensational eschatology, most of the widely read and influential popular dispensational writers were non-Pentecostal. Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* reflected the dispensationalism of John Walvoord, Lewis Sperry Chafer, and others at Dallas Theological Seminary where Lindsey had studied.¹⁵⁶³ Lindsey's paperback bestseller took America by storm selling 13 million copies in the 1970s alone¹⁵⁶⁴ and had sold over 20 million by 1995.¹⁵⁶⁵

Lindsey fully revived the historicist school in American Protestant culture. He utilized Darby's dispensationalist system to link Scripture with current affairs. Of all the signs pointing to the soon Second Coming, Israel's restoration in 1948 was foremost. Surely Christ would come within the Lindsey-conceived 40-year generational lifespan as predicted (Matthew 23:36).¹⁵⁶⁶ The Second Coming then should occur around 1988 since the general timing of the advent had been assured with the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. At last all the pieces of the eschatological puzzle were coming together with Israel as the catalytic key.¹⁵⁶⁷ Lindsey was soon meeting with military planners in the American War College and the Pentagon to explain how Israel

¹⁵⁶³ Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971).

¹⁵⁶⁴ William H. Shepher, Jr., "Revelation and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism," *Anglican Theological Review* 71 (Summer 1989), 286.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Franklin H. Littell, "The Power of the Restoration Vision and Its Decline in Modern America" in *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, ed. Richard T. Hughes, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 68-69.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Shepher, "Revelation and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism," 285.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Timothy P. Weber, "Happily at the Edge of the Abyss: Popular Premillennialism in America," *Ex Auditu* 6 (1990): 91.

would be central to World War III. He offered an exaggerated report that his book had been translated into Hebrew and had “caught on like wildfire” in Israel among military and government officials.¹⁵⁶⁸ Israel’s future opponents would include Russia, the Arabs, China and the revived Roman Empire.¹⁵⁶⁹ Grassroots Pentecostals equally consumed Lindsey’s book and with it dispensationalism’s logic and Great Tribulation theory. Lindsey had reinforced traditional dispensationalism’s theory of events surrounding the seven years of Great Tribulation that focused on Israel and the Jewish people. The *PE* emphasized the Great Tribulation theory and further strengthened the divide between Israel and the Church.

If the Assemblies of God had ever recognized any man to be a prophet, it was David Wilkerson. Wilkerson wrote in 1974,

Israel is invincible because it is flowing in the tide of divine prophecy. There is no nation on earth powerful enough to destroy Israel, and only in God’s appointed time will an enemy trample through the streets of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁷⁰

Thus even Wilkerson made room for the Great Tribulation. In spite of Wilkerson’s strong prophetic sense of Israel’s upbeat destiny, the *PE* ideologically persisted in teaching that Israel would survive only because she had a prophetic appointment with the anti-Christ and,

must receive a just retribution for her sins. No nation’s sins are as cumulative or repetitive. It’s a long, long bill of transgression--a frightening account that awaits settlement. She has broken God’s laws with impunity. She has slain the greatest preachers in history which God sent to her.¹⁵⁷¹

Israel would survive, therefore, because she was prophetically still to receive Jesus and consequently could not be annihilated.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Shepherd, “Revelation and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism,” 289.

¹⁵⁷⁰ David R. Wilkerson, *The Vision* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1974), 98-99.

¹⁵⁷¹ C.M. Ward, “Israel Will Survive,” *PE* (8 June 1975), 22.

OPPOSING VIEWS OF ISRAEL'S ROLE IN THE ESCHATON

ESCHATOLOGICAL ISRAEL IN DISPENSATIONALISM

William Blackstone's book, *Jesus is Coming*,¹⁵⁷² had been first published in 1889. Over the next three decades about 700,000 copies were printed as it was translated into 31 languages. His book awakened many conservative Protestants in America to keen interest in Zion and would find stimulated readers among Pentecostals in the next several decades. Blackstone held that hundreds of biblical prophecies proved that Israel would be restored to Zion in Palestine and wrote: "The title deed to Palestine is recorded...in hundreds of millions of Bibles now extant in more than three hundred languages of the earth."¹⁵⁷³

Blackstone fought what would later be termed "replacement theology," i.e., the amillennial position that Israel had been forever replaced by the Church in God's program.¹⁵⁷⁴ He insisted that God had not obliterated all distinctives between Israel and the Church and that the Bible contained divine promises that were uniquely the heritage of the natural progeny of Israel. Blackstone, as other leading spokesmen, proclaimed that the Jewish people would return to Zion and would yet receive their spiritual and temporal inheritance.

Other prophecy writers disagreed. Reformed theologians such as George Ladd of Fuller Theological Seminary went so far as to say in 1978 that the NT had shed no light on Israel as God's "clock of prophecy."¹⁵⁷⁵ Catholic and Reformed theologians continued to allegorize prophetic passages and insisted the biblical promises to "Israel" as "my people" had modern significance only for Christian believers. The latter day founding of the State of Israel had no historical significance in eschatological terms to these categorical supersessionists, those eternally eliminating any continued relevance

¹⁵⁷² W.E.B. [William E. Blackstone], *Jesus is Coming*, 2nd ed.; reprint. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908.

¹⁵⁷³ W.E.B., *Jesus is Coming*, 235.

¹⁵⁷⁴ C. G. Thorne, Jr., "Gaebelein, Arno C(lemens)," *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

¹⁵⁷⁵ George Eldon Ladd, *The Last Things: Eschatology for Laymen* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978): 27; quoted in Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 191.

of national Israel in the divine economy. To them the New Testament (NT) Church was the fulfillment of Old Testament (OT) Israel. With Augustine they believed God had no future for corporate Israel apart from Jewish destiny in the Church. Yet premillennialists stubbornly held to a literal interpretation of prophecy that called for a Jewish return to Zion and the establishment of national Israel.¹⁵⁷⁶ Evangelicals kept Israel central in their popularized understanding of prophecy. Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority insisted that the most significant date since the ascension of Christ was May 14, 1948, as national Israel existed in the will of God and functioned as the grandest witness to the pending Second Coming.¹⁵⁷⁷

One feature from early dispensationalist eschatology that continued on down through Blackstone, Scofield, and Lindsey, was the readiness to assign the role of anti-Christ to a Jew. Justin Martyr had first suggested in the Second Century a Jewish anti-Christ from the tribe of Dan on the basis of the omission of Dan from the tribes of Israel listed in Revelation 7. According to Paul Boyer, the popular Christian conception of a Jewish anti-Christ had also contributed to outbreaks of European anti-Semitism.¹⁵⁷⁸ Interestingly, the arguments offered to substantiate a Jewish anti-Christ were entirely circumstantial and without solid biblical basis.

ESCHATOLOGICAL ISRAEL IN AG IDEOLOGY

Alarmed by recent slippage in Christian support for modern Israel, long-term radio speaker for the syndicated weekly "Revivaltime" broadcast and, since 1973, president of Bethany Bible College in Santa Cruz, California, C. M. Ward took to the printed page. He published in *What You Should Know About Prophecy* that God's purposes for scattering Israel had been to purify the Jews not destroy them.¹⁵⁷⁹ Israel's spiritual rebirth would now follow her political rebirth, which explained why God had first reestablished and then sustained such an anti-christic nation.¹⁵⁸⁰ But the 144,000 "Spirit-filled and Spirit-led residue of the most hated people of human record" would perform Israel's divine assignment during the Great Tribulation. The remnant of Israel

¹⁵⁷⁶ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 189.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Jerry Falwell, "The Twenty-First Century and the End of the World," *Fundamentalist Journal* (May 1988): 10; quoted in Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 189.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 273.

¹⁵⁷⁹ C. M. Ward, *What You Should Know About Prophecy* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1975), 59.

¹⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

would be Pentecostal, as “God will do for the residue of Israel what He has done for the *ecclesia* among the nations.”¹⁵⁸¹ The hovering of the *Shechinah* over Israel would signify God’s presence among a temperamentally changed Jewish people.¹⁵⁸²

Ward preached and published in 1976 that “the devil and the UN” did not appreciate God’s everlasting promise to Israel. But if one eliminated Israel’s restoration, the Hebrew Bible was gone. Yet Israel’s restoration must include repentance and moral renewal, not only political miracle and economic revitalization. But the God so faithful to Abraham was neither arbitrary nor capricious and still loved Israel. “He has never stopped loving. He loved Israel then. He loves Israel now. He will always love Israel.” God’s gifts to Israel had been granted without merit and could not be revoked due to demerit. God had regathered Israel in modern times to at last recognize her king, the one who affected her permanency on her deeded property. Ward repudiated any Pentecostal notion of replacement theology when he pointed up, “Well-meaning folk like to feel that the failure of Israel has resulted in the blessings being transferred to us. The mistake is obvious. ...this contract is to be made with the physical descendants of Abraham and not with his spiritual seed.” However, Ward accepted the low ecclesiology of dispensationalism when he wrote, “Israel, of course, is late. Had the nation received Jesus instead of rejecting Him, there had been no need for the Church. All the provisions of this final contract would have been operative—in force. The Church is God's emergency provision.” God had always intended that Israel be one of the beneficiaries of Jesus’ accomplishments.¹⁵⁸³

Yona Malachy’s analysis in 1978 of the Pentecostals underestimated the significance of eschatology in Pentecostalism though he correctly understood that the Pentecostal “tongues issue” revolved around ecclesiological matters. Yet he was correct to suggest, “It is not difficult for the Pentecostals to remain silent on (eschatology)...when the situation warrants.” The ability to linger on the sidelines at

¹⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁵⁸³ C. M. Ward, “All Israel Shall Be Saved,” in *Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book 20* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1976), 232-237.

corporate will was “responsible for the movement’s failure to support Zionism and the State of Israel politically and practically.”¹⁵⁸⁴

GROWING PENTECOSTAL AWARENESS OF THE INCOMPATIBILITIES BETWEEN DISPENSATIONALISM AND LATTER RAIN RESTORATIONISM

The fuller identification of Pentecostalism with Evangelicalism since the 1940s had further diminished the Pentecostal ideological commitment to restorationism. The millennial emphasis in dispensational eschatology, with its futuristic aspiration for grand Kingdom victories only beyond the Second Coming, warred against the early Pentecostal motif of a genuine restoration of the larger Church to its first-century apostolic order. The dispensationalist focus on elaborate systems of eschatological dogma and carefully crafted prophecy schemes militated against the simpler restorationist expectation of a fully renewed and victorious Church prior to the Second Coming.¹⁵⁸⁵ This had the dramatic effect of lessening Pentecostalism’s hopeful prospects for national Israel for the near term. Israel’s messianic redemption was not possible in dispensationalism without the departure of the Church at the rapture and a seven-year tribulation period to bring Israel to repentance. Hopes for both Israel and the Church were thereby ratcheted down in Pentecostal ideology. Just as dispensationalism had a low ecclesiology, it had low expectations for impacting Israel for Kingdom good in the near future.

Gerald Sheppard recognized in 1978 that early on AG doctrinal statements increasingly reflected current Evangelical theological positions. To avoid severe attack by the more radically conservative Evangelicals or Fundamentalists and gain greater social acceptance, Pentecostals had wanted to demonstrate their Evangelical orthodoxy.¹⁵⁸⁶ Rejection from even participating in fundamentalist Bible institutes had forced the AG to create their own ministerial training Bible schools across the nation.¹⁵⁸⁷ *Scofield’s Study Bible* had broadly popularized dispensationalist eschatology to the effect that restorationist Pentecostals widely appeared to be foolishly arrogating to

¹⁵⁸⁴ Yona Malachy, *American Fundamentalism and Israel: The Relation of Fundamentalist Churches of Zionism and the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1978): 113.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Littell, “The Power of the Restoration Vision and Its Decline in Modern America,” 68.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Gerald T. Sheppard, “Scripture in the Pentecostal Tradition,” *Agora* 1:4 (April 1978): 4-5.

¹⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

themselves a share in that “Kingdom” specifically designated for Jews in fulfillment of Joel’s prophecy during the dispensationalist millennium. The Latter Rain’s corresponding twin restorations providentially linking Pentecostals with the Jewish nation was inconsistent with the complete divorce of Israel and the Church in dispensationalism. Upon acceptance as members of the NAE, which afforded Pentecostals an acceptable voice and a cooperative role, the AG was heartened to be rid of charges of heresy and its image of being uncouth “holy-rollers.” The AG would henceforth choose to articulate Pentecostal doctrine as much as possible from an Evangelical dispensationalist vantage point.¹⁵⁸⁸ Conformity to acceptable theological standards translated into a further distancing of Pentecostalist ideology from their early hope for Israel’s speedy redemption. But the readiness of the AG to live largely within the ideological parameters of Evangelical theology had not suited the 1948 Latter Rain adherents nor their counterparts in the Charismatic Renewal movement of the 1970s.

THE CHARISMATIC RENEWAL: A FOUNDATION FOR ANTI-ISRAELISM

Vinson Synan, Pentecostal historian and academic dean at Regent University in Virginia Beach, wrote of nineteenth-century British pastor and theologian, Edward Irving, that he “became the first modern leader to challenge successfully the hold of ‘cessationism’ that had seeped into the churches since the time of St. Augustine.”¹⁵⁸⁹ Synan indicated in 1993 that with the 1967 beginning of the Catholic renewal, “a clear line of demarcation was drawn between the new Catholic ‘Pentecostals’ and the earlier Protestant Pentecostals.”¹⁵⁹⁰ The Catholic Charismatic Movement traced its origin to John Paul XXIII’s prayer that Vatican II (1962-1965) should be a “New Pentecost.” By 1967 Pentecostal-styled “outpourings” were occurring on Duquesne and Notre Dame Universities and soon spread to Michigan State, Iowa State and other Mid-western universities. Within months a vital “charismatic” movement was functional among priests, nuns, university professors and students, and many lay Catholics. This movement, which became a permanent feature in many corners of American Roman

¹⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 19-20.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Vinson Synan, “The Role of Tongues as Initial Evidence,” paper presented to the twenty-third annual meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies at Guadalajara, Mexico, 11-13 November 1993, 5.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 12.

Catholicism, soon had two chief differences with classical Pentecostalism; the Catholic Charismatics not only insisted that glossolalia was only one gift of several that may evidence Spirit-baptism but maintained much of Augustinian supersessionism or replacement theology. Wanting to apologetically cling to the power of Roman Church sacraments and maintain a strong Catholic identity, many Catholic Charismatics avoided the classical Pentecostal teaching of the life-changing “crisis” nature of the Spirit-baptism experience by preferring a “release of the Spirit” emphasis. This allowed them the claim that their new capacity to speak in tongues had been experienced only subsequent to their previous spiritual qualification received through the normally administered Roman rites of initiation.¹⁵⁹¹ Synan held that the mainline Charismatic rejection of “initial evidence” teaching was primarily based on their motivation to more freely “accommodate the pentecostal experience to non-Pentecostal theological cultures” by avoiding the conventional “cultural baggage” of classic Pentecostalism.¹⁵⁹²

The Charismatic Renewal Movement (CRM) emerged in the 1960s primarily in the American West as a result of Baptists, Lutherans, Mennonites, Methodists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians all receiving the Pentecostal experience. The Catholic Charismatics joined the movement after 1967.¹⁵⁹³ The growing sense of new charismatic liberties to enjoy mutual bonds with those of other denominations eventuated in fluctuating memberships as many Catholic and mainline Protestant Charismatics joined AG churches, attended the AG colleges and seminary, and became ordained AG ministers. In time the new AG credential holders would agree to the initial evidence teaching but often continue to cling to their supersessionist leanings. In an effort at overcoming criticism of spiritual elitism and factionalism, the AG chose to quietly accommodate replacement advocates rather than make Israel an in-house ideological bone of contention.

Luther P. Gerlach’s useful study on Pentecostalism demonstrated that Pentecostals were not seeking a spiritual city of refuge out of their confusion, disorganization, or frustration with economic deprivation as others like Robert Anderson had suggested. Gerlach recognized rather they had used Pentecostalism to

¹⁵⁹¹ Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁵⁹² Ibid., 14.

¹⁵⁹³ Peter D. Hocken, “Charismatic Movement,” *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*.

launch into the lower middle or middle class. Pentecostals were by now multi-generational and had wide ranging personality profiles.¹⁵⁹⁴

Gerlach indicated that the trans-denominational CRM of the 1970s (or Neo-Pentecostalism) was a continuation of movements from the late 1950s. Pentecostalism had by 1975 reached deep into the major Protestant historic churches as well as into the very heart of Roman Catholic circles in America. He noted the movement had attracted middle and upper-middle class well-situated people rather than the stereotypical economically, socially or politically deprived. Most notable were the high numbers of American youth coming into Pentecostalism.¹⁵⁹⁵ The burgeoning CRM largely consisted of new tongues-speakers who had either had no previous religious affiliation or were simply asked to leave the traditional churches after encouraging other parishioners to seek Spirit-baptism in a manner reminiscent of the earliest days of the Pentecostal movement.¹⁵⁹⁶

Gerlach suggested these Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics largely consisted of semi-autonomous cells that naturally divided and multiplied. They were decentralized and many-headed so that appointed leaders could be easily replaced. The movement encouraged innovation, entrepreneurship, experimentation and problem solving. The Charismatic Movement's wide range of styles enabled seekers to find a group most comfortable to them and allowed for a high number of leaders to exercise their giftings in friendly competition.¹⁵⁹⁷

These features clearly went against the trend in the growingly centralized and structured AG. Neo-Pentecostal spontaneity and mystical calls to action reminded the AG leadership of less mature days in American Pentecostalism and were a bit too reminiscent of the 1948 "New Order of the Latter Rain." They therefore took positions usually on the local church level to curtail "free-wheeling" Charismatics who may unreservedly gush forth in personal prophecy to all comers or offer far in excess of the standardly accepted three manifestations of the charismata in AG public worship services. Only those Neo-Pentecostals prepared to yield to the more structured AG

¹⁵⁹⁴ Luther P. Gerlach, "Pentecostalism: Revolution or Counter-Revolution?" in *Religious Movements in Contemporary America.*, eds. Irving I. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 675-676.

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 677.

¹⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 677-678.

¹⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 679.

church existence were able to join and remain in AG congregations. But those who did stay brought much of their conventional “teachings of contempt” or Christian anti-Semitism with them from the historic churches. Some AG conventions, such as the tongues as “initial evidence” of Spirit-baptism could never be sacrificed, at any cost, without jeopardizing the *raison d’être* of the AG. But an anti-Israel position could be tolerated in the name of Christian unity since the “main focus of Pentecostal efforts (was) to transform persons, not to change the social order.”¹⁵⁹⁸

Traditional Pentecostal premillennialists would tenaciously cling to the bedrock notion of a covenant-keeping God who would never go back on his promises to the patriarchs. Timothy Weber pointed up the “ironic ambivalence” of those strongly holding to a perpetual Chosen Peoplehood of Israel while simultaneously projecting a terrible fate for the Jews culminating in the Great Tribulation.¹⁵⁹⁹ Pentecostal dispensationalism left the AG in just such a double-minded vice. Early century Latter Rain restorationism had anticipated a glorious crescendo of divine activity in Israel that would quickly lead to culmination in the messianic kingdom of Israel. But the adopted dispensationalism required more Jewish suffering for its ideological system to logically function. The ambiguity and tension between these two teachings caused a certain psychosis or schizophrenia in Pentecostal ideology and would force an eventual total shutdown of discussion of Israel as a political topic in AG periodicals.

AG minister and historian, Dwight Wilson, correctly observed in 1977 that dispensationalists fully supporting the concept of the existence of the Jewish State as crucial to the pending Second Coming while simultaneously anticipating a “time of Jacob’s trouble” were ideologically predisposed to tolerate future Jewish misfortune. Accusers of Jewish collective deicide, though not otherwise overtly anti-Semitic, fully anticipated continued outbreaks of Jewish victimization as a divinely orchestrated consequence for Jewish culpability.¹⁶⁰⁰ Dispensationalist protests against overt government sponsored anti-Semitism in the West in recent decades had amounted to little “more than a whimper.”¹⁶⁰¹ Even while denouncing the Holocaust, some held that the Holocaust had proven to be a “part of Israel’s sacred history” since it had led to the

¹⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 684-685.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Grand Rapids: Academic Books, 1983): 154.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Wilson, *Armageddon Now!*, 215.

¹⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 217.

creation of the State of Israel and thereby established the continued legitimacy of the Abrahamic covenant.¹⁶⁰² Derek Prince, a British Charismatic much-in-demand speaker throughout the United States and a permanent resident of Jerusalem, stated of Israel's sufferings, "God permits those He loves to pass through suffering, because the end result is of infinite value in his sight; and it cannot be achieved in any other way."¹⁶⁰³

Chuck Smith, Pentecostal pastor of Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California, considered himself helpful to the Jewish people when he stated, "God is calling His people, the nation of the Jews, to come out of this commercial (Wall Street) system."¹⁶⁰⁴ Evangelical Bible expositor and professor at Dallas Theological Seminary, Merrill Unger revealed his own dispensationalist duality when he stated, "the Jewish people will be transformed from their unbelieving, scheming Jacob role to their regenerated character as Israel, a prince with God."¹⁶⁰⁵

Yet continuing American support for the Jewish State after the 1973 Yom Kippur War was of paramount importance to several leading Pentecostal and Evangelical writers. Immediately following the war the *PE* wistfully speculated that Israel had found new reason to appreciate Christianity as a result of American friendship. C. M. Ward penned in 1974,

And, amazing as it may seem, many Jews are also discovering the role of Jesus Christ is playing in their present crisis. Israeli eyes see America a *Christian* nation. America alone came to her aid in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Previously Israel had some skepticism about the value of that Christianity. But no more. That war changed the attitude of many Israelis. They knew the United States had nothing to gain and much to lose by supporting the Jewish cause. They interpreted our support as a practical demonstration of Christian faith. ... And slowly, steadily, skeptical Jewish minds are coming to realize: 'The Man who motivates them is one of ours—Jesus Christ. The Jewish nation is not yet ready to accept Jesus as Messiah. But they are taking a fresh look at Him.'¹⁶⁰⁶

In a spirit with which AG classical Pentecostals would fully identify, Jerry Falwell indicated in 1985 that the United States would lose its importance to God

¹⁶⁰² David A. Rausch, *Zionism Within Early American Fundamentalism, 1878-1918* (New York: Mellen, 1978): 3.

¹⁶⁰³ Derek Prince, *Last Word on the Middle East* (1982): 64; quoted in Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 214-215.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Chuck Smith, *What the World Is Coming To* (Costa Mesa, CA: Word for Today, 1977): 164-165.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Merrill Unger, *Beyond the Crystal Ball* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1973), 108.

¹⁶⁰⁶ C. M. Ward, "Miracle in Golan Heights," *PE* (13 January 1974): 18-19.

should it fail to protect Israel and every Christian had an obligation to Jesus to support Israel.¹⁶⁰⁷ Hal Lindsey wrote in 1980, "I believe that if the U.S. ever turns its back on Israel, we will no longer exist as a nation."¹⁶⁰⁸ Tim LaHaye insisted in 1984 that Jews should realize that "Bible-believing, premillennialist Christians are Israel's best friends."¹⁶⁰⁹

THE "HOLY SPIRIT" AND ISRAEL

Pentecostals continued to value reports of Pentecostal activities among the Jewish people as further confirmations of the Latter Rain restorationist connection with Zion. As late as 1972 a medical doctor, W. Douglas Fowler, Jr. of Jacksonville, Florida, wrote the editor of *New Wine* magazine to report a miraculous speaking in tongues in Hebrew to an American Jewess while driving from Jacksonville to Mobile, Alabama. His message, totally unintelligible to him, was translatable and understood by the Jewess to be a message for her from God.¹⁶¹⁰

Pentecostal Holiness faith-healing preacher turned Methodist, Oral Roberts, had been one leading Pentecostal personality the Israeli government chose to court. After his all-paid trip to Israel subsequent to the Six-Day War of 1967 and meetings with high government officials, he wrote,

There is something going on in Israel. It is of eternal consequence, and the spiritual significance of that something leaps in my blood like a flame. God's ancient people are carving out an empire...That's what the Bible told us they would do. The meaning of this in terms of a coming great world revival and the Second Coming of Jesus has thrilled me to the very fiber and core of my being.¹⁶¹¹

Classical Pentecostals would never entirely escape that restorationist bond of the Spirit they enjoyed with Israel even in the face of overwhelming dispensationalist teachings. In the highest Pentecostal academic arena, the Society for Pentecostal

¹⁶⁰⁷ Peter Stiglin, "Apocalyptic Theology and the Right," *Witness* (October 1986): 9.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Hal Lindsey, *The 1980's: Countdown to Armageddon* (King of Prussia, PA: Westgate, 1980): 176.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Tim LaHaye, *The Coming Peace in the Middle East* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984): 63.

¹⁶¹⁰ Don Basham, *The Miracle of Tongues* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1973), 19-20.

¹⁶¹¹ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 206. See also Dwight J. Wilson, "Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*.

Studies,¹⁶¹² or in the exchange forum of *Paraclete* magazine, leading AG theologians like Stanley Horton and academics like Amos D. Millard in the later 1970s celebrated the eternal Pentecostal bond with the ultimately Spirit-filled nation of Israel.

Stanley Horton, by now the leading AG theologian and enroute to his appointment as full professor at the newly established Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, wrote for *Paraclete*, a pneumatological journal of the AG. Horton made the direct Pentecostal connection with Israel in 1977 by emphasizing that the same work of the Spirit Pentecostals presently enjoyed would likewise come to benefit Israel.

It is also very true that the Jews in modern Israel are largely lacking in the kind of repentance, faith, and spiritual walk with God that the prophets called for. ...God did warn Israel that if they became disobedient,...He would use other nations to punish them and scatter them (Deuteronomy 28:36, 37, 64.65). *But God did not mean to retract His promise to Abraham concerning the land.*¹⁶¹³

Many are still scattered. Thus the final restoration...implies no more judgment on Israel because of *the outpouring of God's Spirit upon them.*¹⁶¹⁴....It is evident therefore that Revelation 20 does give us a place where the *restoration of Israel to the land* will be brought to its climax *by the outpouring of God's Spirit* on restored and repentant people. *He will yet put His Spirit within them.*¹⁶¹⁵

Amos D. Millard, of Northwest College of the Assemblies of God, wrote in 1978 for *Paraclete*, of the mutual reliance Pentecostals and Israel had on the passage, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord" which appeared both on the cover of the *PE* and beneath the Menorah at the Knesset. He proclaimed that the answer to Israel's dilemmas was the "*supernatural power and direct intervention of the Holy Spirit.*"¹⁶¹⁶ When the Messiah would come, "*all in Israel...would be recipients of the poured-out Spirit.... (And) the Holy Spirit is instrumental in the regathering and restoration of Israel to the land,*" as well as fellowship with God and anointing for world service....¹⁶¹⁷ after

¹⁶¹² Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 237. Blumhofer explained, "to meet the need for a forum where Pentecostals and charismatics of all persuasions could reflect on the movement's development and meaning, several scholars created the Society for Pentecostal Studies (SPS) in 1971. An independent scholarly society, the SPS has promoted annual conferences in which scholars working in the Pentecostal and charismatic traditions bring their various perspectives to focus on issues of mutual concern."

¹⁶¹³ Stanley M. Horton, "I Will Put My Spirit Within You," *Paraclete* 11:2 (Spring 1977): 9.

¹⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁶¹⁶ Amos D. Millard, "The Holy Spirit and the Restoration of Israel," *Paraclete* 12:2 (Spring 1978): 6.

¹⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

her “*endowment with the outpoured Spirit.*”¹⁶¹⁸ “In summary, the *ruah* or *Spirit of God* is *dynamically and vitally involved in the restoration movements* which see Israel regathered from the ‘four corners of the earth’ (Isaiah 11:12; Ezekiel 37:11-14).”¹⁶¹⁹ (Italics mine)

These scholars proclaimed afresh what classical Latter Rain Pentecostals had believed from their inception as a movement. A restored Israel and a restored Church were to be equally dependent upon and energized by the same Holy Spirit. The Spirit was restoring both camps to their former glory and usefulness to the King of kings.

RENEWED STRATEGIES FOR AG JEWISH MISSIONS

The AG had directly or by proxy supported missionary efforts in Israel and among the Jews in major American cities like Chicago since their earliest years. But a combination of new realities in 1973 compelled the AG to rethink its mission strategy among the Jews especially in the United States. Whereas the Department of Home Missions had officially appointed Jewish missionaries to American cities since 1945, a new aggressiveness was birthed subsequent to the Yom Kippur War.

The CRM and the related Jesus Movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s had caused thousands of Jewish people to surface in Pentecostal and Charismatic circles as reported in *Time*, *Newsweek* and leading American Jewish periodicals such as New York’s *The Jewish Press*.¹⁶²⁰ One Pentecostal Foursquare church, The Church on the Way in Van Nuys, California, counted over 500 Jewish congregants among its regular 10,000 Sunday participants. The AG had always made much of their leading Jewish personalities such as Myer Pearlman, Monty Garfield, Ruth Specter, Abraham Schneider and a host of others. It had long been recognized too that hundreds of AG congregations had multiple Jewish members. It was increasingly evident to the AG that Pentecostals or Charismatics could reach and serve Jewish people.

¹⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶²⁰ Upon occasion, however, the periodicals could exaggerate. One New York Jewish orthodox weekly, for example, did not hesitate to falsely report in Spring 1986 that the AG provided the Jews for Jesus organization \$100 million in annual support of their non-Pentecostalist Jewish mission efforts on the basis of a report received by a well-known and uninvited anti-missionary who attended the AG national *Ruach* conference April 9-11, 1986, in Tonowanda, near Buffalo, New York.

The Department of Foreign Missions had sold the only AG property in Jerusalem in 1969 due to a cash flow problem for new ventures in Brussels.¹⁶²¹ The sale had been done without the knowledge of the AG constituency since it was feared that if it “hit the fan” it would create massive denominational political problems for the Department of Foreign Missions and embarrass the General Council. Accusations of shortsightedness and bureaucratic anti-Jewish sentiment awaited the movement’s leadership from within the constituency. The General Council was ready to look for ways to demonstrate goodwill toward Jewish ministry and effectively redeem itself.

The Jesus Movement of the very late 1960s and early 1970s had swept not over only the whole of California but over vast numbers of the American nation’s youth. Although Yaakov Ariel simply classifies the “Jesus People” alongside the followers of Meher Baba, Sun Myung Moon’s “Moonies,” the Hare Krishnas, and practitioners of Zen and transcendental meditation,¹⁶²² as but one of several repositories of spiritual-experience-seeking American Jewish youth in the early 1970s, thousands of Jews were among those identified as the Jesus people. The ex-hippie nature of the Jesus Movement did not predispose it to census taking *per se*, but fellow travelers along that road were persuaded of the active participation of multiplied thousands of Spirit-baptized Jewish youth fully committed to Jesus and the Pentecostal experience. Efforts were made to incorporate Jewish youth into AG circles.

The Yom Kippur War of 1973 had also generated anguish in the Jewish community and a growing sense of Israel’s vulnerability. Pentecostal reassuring comfort and goodwill toward Israel proved to be an effective vehicle for impacting more Jewish people for Jesus on both personal and congregational bases. Long before, the AG had largely embraced the dispensationalist theory that Israel could never enjoy the peace of a secure state until coming to national faith in Jesus. Therefore, missionary work among American Jews who may then migrate to Israel could be an important means to plant and water the seeds of redemption in Israel’s field of dry bones. Pentecostal agents of God’s Spirit could administer the Spirit of life into Israel’s new national frame.

¹⁶²¹ It was immediately recognized to be a colossal blunder by most AG leaders but the damage had been done. The \$250,000 sale price had been quickly used and the AG had nothing to show for decades of Jewish ministry in Israel within two short years of the 1967 Six-Day War.

¹⁶²² Yaakov Ariel, *Evangelizing the Chosen People* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 202.

The AG was not unaware of the accounts of new successes of groups like “Jews for Jesus” and the growth of revitalized organizations like the Hebrew-Christian Alliance of America. But the single largest reason for AG willingness to explore new avenues of Jewish missions and experiment with new techniques was the clearly growing effectiveness of AG Jewish missions themselves. The burgeoning hundreds of new Jewish believers among the missionary efforts in Los Angeles, St. Louis, Fort Lauderdale and elsewhere were so impressive it seemed the ultimate Jewish spiritual awakening could be at hand. The Pentecostals, the people who worked in “signs, wonders, and miracles,” were considered the very people God might use to most greatly impact American Jewry.

At the national AG seminar on Jewish evangelism in November 1973, the representatives adopted the following recommendations:

- (1) coordination on the national level to help give Jewish ministry a national image; (2) continuation of Jewish ministry through Jewish centers; (3) appointment of an advisory committee of Jewish workers to review materials for possible publication through Evangelism Literature for America and to consider the best approaches to Jewish evangelism; (4) initiation of training on Jewish evangelism for Bible schools; and (5) increased promotion of Jewish ministry in Assemblies of God publications.¹⁶²³

The most significant outcome of the new openness to Jewish ministry in the AG coming from that seminar was the license proffered to establish Pentecostal messianic synagogues. Prior policies of “no Jewish churches” were shelved by executive decree. The missionaries were told to find “what works” and the AG would use “whatever works” to redefine Jewish ministry policy. Unknown to the AG personnel at the time, two other messianic synagogues had just come into existence in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Gaithersburg, Maryland. Also unknown was the fact that New York City had hosted seven messianic synagogues early in the twentieth century. The Pentecostal missionaries of the AG in 1973 naively believed they were to pioneer the first messianic synagogues since the Book of Acts. For them, the marriage of Pentecostalism and the Jewish universe would be locally consummated in the restorationist Pentecostal messianic synagogue.

¹⁶²³ Ruth Lyon, “A New Look at Jewish Ministry,” *PE* (30 December 1973): 21.

Ernest Kalapathy, Jewish missionary in Chicago, had just written in the 1973 *PE*, “the conditions that prevailed in the first century are beginning to be the case again today, in what could be the last century before Christ’s coming.” He admitted the continued dominant Jewish rejection of Christ but believed the Jewish believing minority was growing and soon could not be ignored. This was a time to be encouraged in the mission since “there is an open door into many Jewish hearts unprecedented since the first century.” At the same time he indicated a local Jewish news magazine, *The Sentinel*, had blasted Kalapathy’s Shalom Center as “run by the fanatical Assemblies of God denomination.”¹⁶²⁴

Mike Evans, an AG appointed missionary to the Jews and a Kalapathy trainee, sponsored *Shechinah '74*, a Messiah Jewish summer gathering at Columbia University. Evans offered the *PE* that “of the hundreds of Jewish believers there, almost all of them have come to Jesus since the Six-Day War in 1967. ...The Holy Spirit is bringing back the land and the people of the land at the same time.” One elderly AG pastor was “watching as God’s Spirit was poured out on the Jewish congregation. With tears streaming down his face, he said, ‘I’ve preached it and believed it, and now the day is here. Surely Jesus is coming soon.’”¹⁶²⁵ The *PE* reported that the “1974 Jewish Leadership Seminar was filled with optimism,” and continued, “God is using new ways to attract people. ...We must be aware of Jewish traditions and expectations, and of how Jesus fulfills the highest traditions of the Jewish home.” At the same seminar, Phillip Goble’s initial draft of his new book, *Everything You Need to Grow a Messianic Synagogue*, was introduced as a manual for establishing indigenous Jewish congregations.¹⁶²⁶

In Yaakov Ariel’s important new book, *Evangelizing the Chosen People*, he has demonstrated that Jewish evangelism was considered by dispensationalists to be fully consistent with Israel’s future millennial glory.¹⁶²⁷ The *PE* forthrightly harmonized, “God is in covenant relationship with the Jewish people and...includes some binding promises with regard to real estate....It is a privilege of the church to enter into God’s work in accomplishing the salvation of the Jews...because He has chosen to be in

¹⁶²⁴ Ernest Kalapathy, “The Jews and Jesus,” *PE* (16 September 1973): 21.

¹⁶²⁵ “Shechinah ’74,” *PE* (20 October 1974): 12-13.

¹⁶²⁶ “Optimism in Jewish Missions,” *PE* (29 December 1974): 22-23.

¹⁶²⁷ Ariel, *Evangelizing the Chosen People*, 13-15.

covenant relationship with this people.”¹⁶²⁸ Yet the AG resented what it considered religious persecution from the Jewish community and stated that while many nations and ethnic groups have proven to be anti-Christian, it was “only the Jews who are dominantly anti-Christ.” Since militant orthodox Jews had set Christian bookstores in Israel on fire, most evangelical missions there had reportedly turned to Arab work.¹⁶²⁹

There were philosophical changes taking place in AG Jewish missions:

Jewish people are responding today as never before to the claims of the Jewish Messiah Jesus. We know this is the result of the moving of God’s Spirit upon all flesh in these last days. But there is another important reason for openness among the Chosen People. God’s Spirit is speaking firmly to leaders...exhorting them to challenge...the axiomatic traditions held by churches and ministers to the Jewish people...(1) Having honest appreciation and respect for Jewishness and Jewish traditions; (2) daring to be Pentecostal in our outreach efforts; and (3) being open-minded to the idea of a Messianic synagogue.¹⁶³⁰

Disavowing cultural imperialism, the *PE* called for new approach to Jewish ministry.

We do not attempt to snatch Jewish people away from their culture-community or impose Gentile cultural patterns upon them. Christ is helping these Messianic Jewish believers to be better Jewish people and vibrant witnesses within the Jewish community....we are on the brink of a worldwide spiritual revival among Jewish people that will far exceed anything the Jewish world has ever experienced. This universal shaking of Jewish communities by the Spirit of God will find Spirit-filled Messianic Jews being used of God to exalt the name of Jesus.¹⁶³¹

At the sixth annual Jewish Seminar organized by the AG’s National Jewish Committee in 1975, the following four projects were proposed: “(1) Prepare a correspondence course to train Gentiles to reach Jewish people. (2) Develop a family life concept or program in the centers and prepare new literature especially for Jewish children....(3) Adapt Jewish tracts and the study course for Jewish deaf people, and Braille literature for Jewish blind. (4) Prepare films and slide presentations for promotions, education, and evangelism (the next major project).”¹⁶³²

¹⁶²⁸ Charles Harris, “A Priority in Evangelism,” *PE* (12 January 1975): 20-22.

¹⁶²⁹ C. M. Ward, “Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem,” *PE* (26 January 1975): 9.

¹⁶³⁰ “Pentecost is Jewish,” *PE* (18 May 1975): 19.

¹⁶³¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶³² Ruth Lyon, “Baruch Ha-Shem! It’s Happening!” *PE* (11 January 1976): 19.

In the ongoing evolution of AG policy on Jewish missions, the *PE* called for disciplining Jewish people “without forfeiting their own Jewishness. ...(but cautioning them that all) practices adopted from Judaism must be brought into conformity with the New Testament faith.”¹⁶³³ By 1977 the synagogue approach was proving workable to denominational satisfaction and was recommended for replication since, with “several million Jewish people in the United States, we could have many Pentecostal synagogues.”¹⁶³⁴ The apostle Paul was viewed as favorably disposed toward Jewish cultural practices for believing Jews including the rite of circumcision.¹⁶³⁵

Reports were offered in the 1978 *PE* that many scores of new Jewish believers had accepted the messianic faith and been immersed in water as seen at Temple Beth Emanuel (later Ahavat Zion) in Los Angeles. Hebrew language and bar mitzvah classes as well as Jewish weddings were being conducted in newly established messianic synagogues.¹⁶³⁶ The annual AG Jewish Conference of July 1979 called for wider denominational participation in Jewish evangelism and the proper equipping of all involved.¹⁶³⁷

Yona Malachy, fellow at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, wrote of American Pentecostalism in 1978 that apocalyptic considerations were mostly used to promote missionary activity. He allowed that the AG had “invested considerable effort in work among the Jews.” But Malachy mistakenly conceived that the AG’s sole interest in the *eschaton* was as a means to convert the “Jewish people so that they would accept faith in Jesus Christ as the sole path to salvation.”¹⁶³⁸ Malachy had noted that official Pentecostal statements on Middle East politics had been avoided in May and June 1967 though interest had dramatically intensified subsequent to Israel’s impressive victories.¹⁶³⁹ As far as he was concerned, Pentecostalism offered a curious understanding of Israel as fulfilled prophecy tempered by the traditional “teachings of contempt.”¹⁶⁴⁰

¹⁶³³ T. E. Gannon, “Dimensions of Jewish Ministry,” *PE* (9 January 1977): 18.

¹⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶³⁵ Phillip Goble, “Jewish Reaction to the Guilt Question,” *PE* (17 April 1977): 12-14.

¹⁶³⁶ Melanie Burg, “He Is Among Us,” *PE* (26 March 1978): 14.

¹⁶³⁷ “Jewish Conference Calls for Wider Fellowship Participation,” *PE* (9 September 1979): 10-11.

¹⁶³⁸ Malachy, *American Fundamentalism and Israel*, 99.

¹⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

Ariel addressed the identification many of the messianic synagogues had made with the Charismatic and Pentecostal movements: “Many of the leading Messianic congregations have chosen to become charismatic....Some Pentecostal and charismatic groups, such as the Assemblies of God, have increased their efforts and were expending more personnel and resources on that task.”¹⁶⁴¹

Theodore E. Gannon, national director of the Division of Home Missions, wrote that, “Historically the Assemblies of God has taken a strong position regarding ministry to the Jewish race....We have had a measure of success.”¹⁶⁴² The *PE* boasted that the AG had been active in Jewish evangelism “since its inception” and had never lost “sight of the fact God has chosen to be in covenant relationship with this people.”¹⁶⁴³ A new intensive training program had been implemented as early as 1974 in preparation for broader Jewish evangelistic ministry, as suddenly “Jewish people are understanding faith in Jesus does not equal anti-Semitism and that they do not have to abandon their people, culture, and heritage to make Jesus their Lord. The results have been gratifying, with the scores turning to their Messiah.”¹⁶⁴⁴ The *PE* noted the “great sensitivity to the spiritual needs of American Jewish people” among the AG Bible college students as “Scores have been called to the Jewish harvest field. But they need thorough equipping.” The new Jewish studies program under development for this very purpose at Valley Forge Christian College in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, was highlighted in 1983.¹⁶⁴⁵

Ten Central Bible College students traveled to New York in 1981 and met with the director of Inter-Faith Relations of the Anti-Defamation League, Rabbi Solomon Bernards. He encouraged them to, “Rather than confront the Jewish community with purely theological arguments, be a witness. Show what you stand for by how you live.” He reportedly urged the AG students to help stop the growing threat of anti-

¹⁶⁴¹ Ariel, *Evangelizing the Chosen People*, 284.

¹⁶⁴² Ruth A. Lyon, “Assemblies of God Accelerating Jewish Ministry,” *PE* (14 September 1980): 17. See also, “Assemblies of God Jewish Ministries,” *PE* (21 December 1980): 17. The *PE* declared here that, “Currently our outreach to Jewish people has accelerated,” and further asserted that some “twelve ministers have Home Missions appointment, and a number of other workers are assisting or are working with Jewish people under the supervision of their districts.”

¹⁶⁴³ “Fellowship Maintains Active Interest in Jewish People,” *PE* (12 July 1981): 21.

¹⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴⁵ “We are Reaching American Jewish People,” *PE* (31 July 1983): 18-19.

Semitism by publicly condemning such actions and advised them to “not let anti-Semitic statements pass. Refute them.”¹⁶⁴⁶

A subsequent meeting I personally had with Rabbi Bernards some months later was enlightening. He told me of his encounter at a national function with Thomas F. Zimmerman, General Superintendent of the AG from 1959 to 1985. The international community had, by this time, become acutely aware of the horrific Soviet abuse of Jews in the USSR. Less known at the time was the ongoing and severe Soviet persecution of Pentecostals. But Rabbi Bernards recognized that a joint effort by the Anti-Defamation League and the Assemblies of God could prove mutually useful in condemning religious persecution in the Soviet Union. Much to Rabbi Bernards’ shock and disappointment, Zimmerman was reportedly stunned, virtuously speechless at the suggestion and merely shrugged it off. The classical Pentecostal aversion to socially awkward involvement in worldly political affairs was enough for Zimmerman, one-time president of the NAE, to readily pass on an opportunity to work jointly with the Jewish community for such a noble common cause.

All the while, the AG made much of its distribution of the NT in Israel¹⁶⁴⁷ although it later noted that the Israeli government was taking steps to prevent the free distribution of Bibles in the Israeli school system that included the NT.¹⁶⁴⁸ There was extensive reporting on Jewish mission activity in the United States especially in the larger cities like Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. The *PE* later extolled an AG messianic synagogue, Temple Aron Kodesh, in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, which claimed dedication to evangelizing 900,000 Jewish Floridians.¹⁶⁴⁹

One Israeli government authority had assured AG officials touring in Israel that the new “anti-missionary” law passed by the Knesset had not targeted Christian missionary work.¹⁶⁵⁰ The *PE* then remained confident that Israelis believed the Messiah would come soon in light of current predicaments.¹⁶⁵¹ Surely the ongoing energy crisis would make international confrontation with “burdensome” Jerusalem inevitable.¹⁶⁵²

¹⁶⁴⁶ Carole J. Nelson, “Light Unto the Nations,” *PE* (26 July 1981): 15.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Mary Newman, “The Little Russian Bible,” *Mountain Movers* 22:12 (1 December 1980): 12-13.

¹⁶⁴⁸ “Israel Curtails Distribution of New Testament in Schools,” *PE* (8 May 1988): 28.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Harvey B. Koelner, “Third Largest Messianic Synagogue in the World,” *PE* (20 December 1981): 11.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Richard Champion, “Israel—A Visit to the Future,” *PE* (24 February 1980): 7.

¹⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 7-8.

NEW CHALLENGES FOR PENTECOSTALISM FROM 1982-1989

With the 1982 establishment of the Center for Muslim Ministry (CMM) by David Irwin, revered missions professor at the AG Theological Seminary, the Division of Foreign Missions embraced a challenge to create Pentecostal awareness of one billion unevangelized Muslims.¹⁶⁵³ With the new AG focus on Muslims, taken on with much public fanfare and enthusiasm, the normal level of focus on Jewish evangelism dramatically lessened. Between 1982 and 1989 there were only 13 articles relative to AG Jewish missions in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, a national weekly, with about half of those simply promoting participation in conferences.¹⁶⁵⁴ The extremely high profile given by the AG to the CMM from 1982 onward was due in part to the high level of consciousness forced on Americans in direct relation to events and decisions taken in the Islamic world. American sympathies were growing for the perceived victims of human rights abuses often quietly suffered by Muslim masses at the hands of egregious Islamic regimes even while the American media had, for many years by now, played into the hands of those seeking to drive a wedge between Americans and their historically favorable Zionist leanings.

The 1982 Israel invasion of Lebanon in hot pursuit of Yasser Arafat and his Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorist organization had enjoyed initial American sympathies. But the slaughter of hundreds of Palestinians in two refugee camps, reportedly under the supervision of army commander Ariel Sharon, horrified Americans. AG apologists for Israel included David Lewis and Grant Jeffrey. David Lewis, ordained AG evangelist and founding member of the interdenominational National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, argued that Israel had delayed

¹⁶⁵³ Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, Volume 2 (Springfield, Missouri: GPH, 1989): 148.

¹⁶⁵⁴ See Daniel Gruber, "Jewish Ministry is for Everyone," *PE* (9 May 1982): 21. Gruber suggested that "Jewish ministry is for Gentile Christians because salvation came to the Gentiles to make unbelieving Israel jealous." See also Raleigh J. Ferrell, "Breakthrough in Jewish Ministries," *PE* (18 March 1984): 11. Ferrell extolled the beauty of the Jewish heritage as exemplified in AG messianic congregations that had led to both the "realization that following Christ does not mean betraying one's cultural roots (and to) real breakthroughs in Jewish ministry." See also, "Jews for Jesus Given OK from Supreme Court to Evangelize in Airports," *PE* (16 August 1987): 24. This third piece was not related to the AG but noted the Jews for Jesus organization had won their Supreme Court First Amendment freedom of speech case authorizing evangelization in public places like the Los Angeles International Airport.

Russia's invasion of the Middle East by her police action in Lebanon.¹⁶⁵⁵ He led others in a pro-Israel demonstration near the White House and ran an advertisement defending Israel's action in the *New York Times*.¹⁶⁵⁶ Prophecy buff, Grant Jeffrey, wrote that Israel's defensive action taken in Lebanon in 1982 against the PLO had uncovered stockpiles of Russian arms including "tanks, anti-tank missiles, and thousands of shells,...hundreds of thousands of uniforms, AK-47 assault rifles and millions of rounds of ammunition," as personally verified by Colonel Yehuda Levi, IDF media spokesman. Jeffrey insisted that the "K" (food) rations found had a shelf life of only six months indicating that "the massive attack on Israel was planned for the fall of 1982."¹⁶⁵⁷ Israel's defensive action in Lebanon, therefore, had been more than justified.

Such published reports convinced the "true believers" in Israel but many were uncertain. On the heels of the invasion came the bombing of the American military base in Beirut in October 1983 that caused the deaths of 241 Americans. This dastardly deed combined with other events to cause many Americans to question the wisdom of American policy toward Israel and Israel military conduct. The changing political sentiment impacted directly on evangelistic sympathies. Nothing could have been better for the image of the need for the CMM or worse for AG Jewish evangelism.

The apparent unending quagmire in the Middle East and the dangerous military predicament it fostered only seemed to further substantiate dispensationalist conviction that remedy for Israel must await the Second Coming. The political morass that the Arab-Israeli conflict represented blunted Pentecostal expectation for Israel's pending redemption and discouraged the instigation of new Jewish mission work in Israel or the United States. New works initiated by dedicated enthusiasts were often allowed to quietly die since they were considered ill conceived or badly timed.

The restorationist vision of Latter Rain Pentecostalism seemed more unlikely with every new political dilemma, economic setback, or military crisis. The growing conviction among most Pentecostals that dispensationalism offered the most comprehensible scheme for understanding biblical prophecy impacted other dimensions of Pentecostal ideology. As the restorationist vision further receded and an

¹⁶⁵⁵ David Lewis, *Magog, 1982 Cancelled : Did Israel Prevent the Third World War?* (Harrison, AR: New Leaf Press, Inc., 1983), 44.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 206-207.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Grant R. Jeffrey, *Armageddon: Appointment with Destiny* (New York: Bantam, 1990), 105-106.

anemic dispensationalist ecclesiology spawned and reinforced the lowered expectation for good, new and strong optimistic voices of protest were being sounded in Charismatic circles both within and without the AG.

CHALLENGES TO PENTECOSTAL EVANGELICALISM

David B. Barrett, Ph.D. from Cambridge University and research consultant for both the Southern Baptist Convention and the Vatican, estimated in his statistical tables in 1988 there were 360 million Pentecostals and Charismatics representing 21% of the world's Christians. He projected some 560 million by year 2000.¹⁶⁵⁸ John Naisitt likewise published in 1988, "The worldwide charismatic movement has tripled in the last decade to nearly 300 million, including millions of Roman Catholics."¹⁶⁵⁹ In comparing Pentecostal growth with other distinctive groups, Naisitt noted, "Many conservative denominations have doubled since 1965. Jehovah's Witnesses rose from 330,000 to 752,000, and Seventh-day Adventists from 365,000 to 666,000. But Assemblies of God have quadrupled from 572,000 to 2.1 million."¹⁶⁶⁰

Thomas F. Zimmerman, General Superintendent of the AG from 1959 to 1985, and past Pentecostal president of the NAE, offered a defense of Pentecostalism in 1981 to the Evangelical readership of *Christianity Today*. He wrote that, "Pentecostalism is in the mainstream of theological orthodoxy. ...The baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues has been a distinctive message of Pentecostals, but it has not been the main message."¹⁶⁶¹ He went on to assure Evangelicals associated with the NAE and others that the cooperative Pentecostals were supportive of Evangelical objectives and wanted "to maximize their effectiveness."¹⁶⁶²

Margaret M. Poloma, historian and professor of sociology at the University of Akron, has noted, "The more successful this denomination becomes, the more it tends to emulate evangelicalism, abandoning its own Pentecostal roots."¹⁶⁶³ She found that

¹⁶⁵⁸ *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, s.v. "Statistics, Global," by David B. Barrett.

¹⁶⁵⁹ John Naisitt and Patricia Aburdene, *Megatrends 2000* (New York: William Morrow, 1988), 270.

¹⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 278-279.

¹⁶⁶¹ Thomas F. Zimmerman, "Priorities and Beliefs of Pentecostals," *Christianity Today* 24 (4 September 1981): 36.

¹⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁶⁶³ Margaret M. Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas*, Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, 1989), 208-209.

AG ideology was “paradoxically ambiguous” as it embraced non-rational forms of spirituality but was governed by worldly pragmatism. As such, the AG tenaciously held to a highly useful four-fold mechanism of dogmatism, the supernatural, the ideal, and ambiguity as the key to its ongoing organizational success.¹⁶⁶⁴ Its programmed structural flexibility allowed for charisma but “worldly models of growth and success have subtly made inroads in this denomination that once sought to be separate from the world.”¹⁶⁶⁵ The AG future, Poloma predicted, would continue the same pattern of giving verbal support to the charisma while aligning more and more with Evangelical denominations which would ultimately further curtail charismatic expression.¹⁶⁶⁶ These realities have immense implications for the Pentecostal ideology of Israel. As the movement would blend further with a biblically uninformed American society and seek greater acceptance among dispensationalist Evangelicals, the AG would naturally seek to distance itself yet further from its earlier pro-Israel position. AG readiness to sacrifice its traditional Zionist sympathies and deliberately distance itself from political Israel effectively hardened its resolve to abandon its pro-Zionist Latter Rain origins.

The marriage of Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism had other image benefits as well. The influx of the middle-class of the 1970s and 1980s immediately improved the AG public image within local communities with the upgrading of congregational edifices.¹⁶⁶⁷ Robert E. Cooley was elected president of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary while Russell Spittler served as administrator, faculty member and later provost at Fuller Theological Seminary. Thomas F. Zimmerman and Donald Argue would serve as presidents of the NAE. The AG took tremendous pride in all these appointments of the AG finest and savored the Evangelical acceptance of such capable AG leadership.¹⁶⁶⁸

In the 1980s premillennialists were more resolved to speak to social issues as religious concerns turned to political protest “to give the devil as much trouble as

¹⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 240-241.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 209.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 241.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Margaret M. Poloma, “Charisma and Institution: The Assemblies of God,” *The Christian Century* 107 (17 October 1990): 933. Poloma discovered that only 30% of current AG members were products of the denomination. Nearly 60% had laterally moved from mainline or Evangelical non-Pentecostal congregations causing both a rise to middle- and upper-middle-class status and numerical growth from 646,000 in 1970 to over a million by 1980. The extravagant life-styles of AG personalities Jimmy Swaggart and Jim Bakker displayed how far the AG had removed itself from its restorationist moorings.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*, 241-242.

possible.”¹⁶⁶⁹ There had always been an AG aversion to political involvements as somehow out of character with apocalyptic ideology. Over time it was pragmatically sensed that if Pentecostalism should have any hope of becoming a global religion, political entanglements should be avoided.¹⁶⁷⁰ This provides a partial answer as to why the AG moved away from both its earlier politically supportive position for Israel and its outspoken criticism of Islamic terrorism. But even as the AG was adopting a more active evangelism program, some leaders became active in right-wing political causes such as the Moral Majority or the Christian Coalition ostensibly for the purpose of promoting public morality. Pentecostal enthusiasts for the Zionist cause could take comfort in right-wing endorsements of the State of Israel even if their own denomination had yielded to political pragmatism. But finding a new level of acceptance in the political realm further attracted Pentecostals to other involvements in secular society.¹⁶⁷¹ But the drifting social focus of Pentecostalism generated greater borrowing of secular systems for organizational purposes. Dissipating was the historical AG mindset of maintaining or seeking “the mind of Christ” rather than relying on learned “worldly” business practices and “expedient bureaucratic action.”¹⁶⁷² The growing centrifugal force of the AG angered many classical Pentecostals and seemed unspiritual to many Charismatics. It was believed by most concerned members that the denominational leadership had come to depend on pragmatic human methodologies rather than supernatural guidance. Here seemed further witness to the steady erosion of Pentecostal ideology. It should be noted, however, that AG denominational leadership did not flock to right-wing causes but rather tended to avoid public issues including international affairs.¹⁶⁷³ Yet the AG was moving away from the founders’ political passivity. By 1989 the General Council in national session took the bold step of acknowledging racism as sin against Jews, Arabs, and Africans in particular.¹⁶⁷⁴

Avoidance of political issues in AG publications did not prevent protest against anti-Semitism as the *PE* reported a doubling of anti-Semitism in the United States

¹⁶⁶⁹ Weber, “Happily at the Edge of the Abyss,” 94.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*, 160.

¹⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 209-210.

¹⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, 211.

¹⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 156-157.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 250.

between 1979 and 1980, one-third of which was in New York.¹⁶⁷⁵ In many Evangelical camps, unacceptable modern anti-Semitism had been replaced with acceptable anti-Zionism. Evangelical Harold Lindsell offered in 1984 that biblical adherence to the ultimate Jewish destiny should not prevent Christian witness of "the plight of the Arabs who have been forcibly removed from homes and villages they have occupied for hundreds of years."¹⁶⁷⁶ Mark Hanna, Evangelical professor at Talbot Theological Seminary, callously published,

We are not told in the New Testament to pray for the peace of Jerusalem....end-time prophecies pertaining to Israel are misconstrued when biblical teaching about "the remnant" is ignored....Israel today is not the people of God,...Perhaps no nation in the world today is more opposed to the Christian faith and its missionaries. A Christian Hebrew is such an anomaly in the eyes of the State of Israel that he or she is not recognized as a bona fide Jew....We must not forget either the many thousands of Arab Christians who are part of the body of Christ and so related to us by a spiritual bond that can never be matched by the historical ties of Israel to the West and the church.¹⁶⁷⁷

But this type of anti-Zionist, anti-Israel vociferous attack would not characterize AG publications at all in spite of AG tendency to identify with Evangelical trends.

EVANGELICAL GREAT TRIBULATIONISM

Gershon Greenberg warned of Evangelical commitment to Zionism on the basis of the expected Second Coming. He feared a potential eruption of Christian anti-Zionism when the Second Coming did not materialize in time and that disappointment would eventuate in Evangelical backlash against unbelieving Israel as somehow responsible.¹⁶⁷⁸ But dispensationalist dogma had a built-in mechanism simultaneously allowing for both ongoing pro-Zionism and disappointment with Israel's continued rejection of Jesus. The concept of the Great Tribulation offered ideological guarantee that modern Israel, as prelude to the Second Coming and only subsequent to the Church's rapturous departure to heaven, would undergo severe chastening for seven

¹⁶⁷⁵ "Outbreak of anti-Semitism Reported in U.S." *PE* (14 June 1981): 24.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Harold Lindsell, *The Armageddon Spectre* (Westchester: Crossways, 1984): 44; quoted in Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 202.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Mark M. Hanna, "Israel Today: What Place in Prophecy?" *Christianity Today* 26 (22 January 1982): 15-17.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Gershon Greenberg, "Fundamentalists, Israel and Theological Openness," *Christian Jewish Relations* 19:3 (Spring 1986): 27-33.

years that would only subsequently eventuate in Israel's national faith in Christ. Therefore, prior to the dispensationalist rapture, Israel could only be expected to remain gospel resistant. The preordained eschatological scheme dispensationalists deciphered from Scripture would not be violated no matter how enthusiastic Jewish missionaries might be. But, as Weber pointed up in 1983, rather than generating despair or Evangelical anger toward Israel, since "the entire redemptive plan of God hinged on the restoration of the Jews....premillennialists were able to stress the evangelization of the Jews while at the same time they supported Jewish nationalistic aspirations."¹⁶⁷⁹

Evangelicals not engaged in Jewish missions *per se*, however, tended to emphasize the Great Tribulation with some facility. Pentecostals regularly heard the voice of Jack Van Impe, author and television broadcaster, who was a known prophecy specialist. He seemed ready to accept that a "wave of anti-Semitism will sweep the earth" as part of *Israel's Final Holocaust*. Although he still loved the Jew and would side with "His ancient people," according to Van Impe, God would "permit Satan one last attempt to murder every Jew upon the face of the earth."¹⁶⁸⁰

In 1986 Van Impe offered that events "which have occurred since the six-day war in 1967 prove that Israel's present possession of Jerusalem is temporary." He suggested that Jerusalem might change hands back and forth until Armageddon when control would finally rest with the Jews "forevermore."¹⁶⁸¹ This served to undermine the strategic significance of recent Israeli accomplishments and relevance to the *eschaton*. Paul Boyer believed premillennialists viewed another Holocaust as inevitable.¹⁶⁸²

As an example of the Pentecostalist reckless tendency to deliberately peak eschatological enthusiasm, Dwight Wilson, a historian with deep AG roots, offered the dramatic piling-on effect of the eruption of the Cold War, the Berlin Blockade, the overthrow of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the State of Israel all in 1948.¹⁶⁸³ Wilson protested that Pentecostals had considered the 1956 Israeli attack on Egypt by to

¹⁶⁷⁹ Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, 131, 141.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Jack Van Impe, *Israel's Final Holocaust* (Troy, MI: Jack Van Impe Ministries, 1979): 77, 145; quoted in Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 223.

¹⁶⁸¹ Jack Van Impe, *Everything You Always to Know About Prophecy But Didn't Know Who to Ask?* (Royal Oak, MI: Jack Van Impe Ministries, 1986), 41, 49. Van Impe also contended that there would be a 75-day transition period between the Second Coming and the commencement of the millennium. During this interim period, Jesus would regather "all Israel" from the four corners of the earth.

¹⁶⁸² Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 215-216.

¹⁶⁸³ Dwight J. Wilson, "Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*.

be part of the divine plan since it would likely lead to the Russian invasion of Israel and Armageddon. Wilson also accused Pentecostals of a “cavalier treatment” toward Muslim interests that revealed an “underlying aggressiveness.” He remonstrated that most Pentecostal reports on the Dome of the Rock and the surrounding mosque suggested that, “if the Jews do not tear them down, then God will do so with an earthquake.” Throughout their numerous conflicts, “the Pentecostals consistently sided with the Jews.” The Pentecostals had justified the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon since Arabs had been trespassing on “the Jews’ God-given land.” The dispensationalist eschatological system had fully disallowed success of all peace overtures or disarmament schemes in Pentecostal ideology since it mandated an eventual Russian attack upon Israel. Wilson further objected to Pentecostal participation in Christian lobbies on Israel’s behalf and the sending of Pentecostal “money to Israel to support Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank.”¹⁶⁸⁴

PENTECOSTALS “ON BEHALF OF ISRAEL” IN THE 1980S

Nathan Perlmutter, director of the Anti-Defamation League, Irving Kristol, contributor to Jewish American magazine *Commentary*, Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League and Israel’s outlawed Kach party, and even Menachem Begin had all defended Israel’s courting of Evangelicals on pragmatic grounds.¹⁶⁸⁵ Israel’s prime ministers from David Ben Gurion to Ehud Barak had all appreciated Evangelical Christian support of Israel.

There was a growing sense in Pentecostal circles that Israel really did need America as seen in C. M. Ward’s 1974 *PE* article above. The editor of the *PE* warned in 1980 that Israel’s friendship with America might be tenuous. “Over and over we were told that Israel has just one friend among the nations of the world—the United States. And I sensed that some Israelis were beginning to wonder just how long that friendship would endure.”¹⁶⁸⁶ In 1980 Stephen D. Swihart, doctoral graduate of Ashland Theological Seminary, wrote in his strangely named book, *Armageddon 198?*, that “the Bible was Israel-centered.” Only if America continued to be Israel’s friend

¹⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 205-206.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Richard Champion, “Israel—A Visit to the Future,” *PE* (24 February 1980): 8.

could Americans hope for God's blessings but that thus far America had stood by Israel.¹⁶⁸⁷

The *PE* twice reported its concern in 1981 that increasing Israeli emigration to the West was endangering the welfare of the State of Israel. It cited warnings of economists and sociologists that the 130% rate of inflation and the "deteriorating social climate are driving Israelis abroad in growing numbers."¹⁶⁸⁸ The concerned government of Israel was making "attempts to slow down the movement." Helen Wolfer of the *Jerusalem Post* was quoted to say:

Evidently the younger generation in Israel has lost sight of the romanticized ideal...The emigrants are not willing to make the sacrifices the early Zionists made....with tremendous hardships and constant danger from renegade guerilla groups in a rough and barren land.¹⁶⁸⁹

Less official but very powerful AG voices sounded strongly in Israel's favor and warned of America's need to stand by Israel. David Wilkerson expressed less faith in America and more faith in Providence's commitment to Israel when he prophetically wrote that judgment awaited America in spite of her defense of Israel.

Americans inwardly believe this is God's chosen nation. And He will never judge us, because we have defended the Jewish nation of Israel. God did promise to bless those nations that blessed the Jews. And He has kept that promise to America. But that does not make us immune from judgment. The same God who judged the sins of the Jews will judge the sins of gentiles.¹⁶⁹⁰

Wilkerson warned that "America will never fight against Israel, nor will we protect her. God will protect Israel and send fire on us!"¹⁶⁹¹ But the lack of American protection of Israel was to be a part of the divine strategy; "Russia invades Israel because the American eagle is no longer there to defend her. The defense of Israel will not be our battle but the Lord's—so that Israel will give all glory to God."¹⁶⁹²

¹⁶⁸⁷ Stephen D. Swihart, *Armageddon 198?* (Plainfield, NJ: Haven Books, 1980), 124-125.

¹⁶⁸⁸ "More Jews Leaving Israel Than Entering, Figures Show," *PE* (1 February 1981): 12.

¹⁶⁸⁹ "Emigration Concerns Israeli Government," *PE* (20 December 1981): 23.

¹⁶⁹⁰ David R. Wilkerson, *Racing Toward Judgment* (New York: Jove Publications, 1982), 89.

¹⁶⁹¹ David R. Wilkerson, *Set the Trumpet to Thy Mouth* (Lindale, TX: World Challenge, Inc., 1985), 11.

¹⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 14. David Wilkerson, now pastor of Times Square Church in New York, more recently made this point: "It doesn't matter what our politics may be, or what we may think of Israel. God will judge any people who touch that nation or its borders. If any country dares to, it does so at the cost of its own future," as quoted in a Zola Levitt newsletter, January 2002.

Dan Betzer, Florida pastor and national speaker for the AG sponsored *Revivaltime* weekly broadcast, wrote several books for distribution to his AG and national radio audience. In all of them he complied with standard premillennial dispensationalism. His importance in relationship to Israel was his strong advocacy of Israel's right to exist and place in history among the rank-and-file membership of the AG who often listened to his stirring radio sermons and avidly read his books. One of Betzer's chief concerns was the combating of supersessionist "replacement theology." From his perspective this prime Christian heresy and grave falsehood suggested the Church had replaced Israel as the Chosen People. But Betzer stated, "God's ultimate plan for the redemption of man will still come through the nation Israel!"¹⁶⁹³ He warned that, "Palestinians who remained in the West Bank have resisted Israeli military and civilian occupation and are nearly unanimous in their determination to gain self-rule." Anti-Americanism ran strong on the West Bank as the "Carter administration's recent flip-flop voting in the United Nations on condemnation of Israel for building settlements in the West Bank has infuriated them."¹⁶⁹⁴

As a pastor, Betzer sponsored Freda Keet, a non-religious Israeli and Zionistic journalist, for speaking tours in AG churches in the hope of fostering continued faith in the Abrahamic covenant at the height of an intense international campaign of severe anti-Zionist propaganda sponsored by the OPEC nations in the late 1970s and 1980s. The AG churches enthusiastically embraced the Israeli spokeswoman who declared herself to be deeply moved by the experience. She insisted that exposure to Pentecostal supporters of the State of Israel was an unforgettably positive highlight in her career.¹⁶⁹⁵

The *PE* highlighted the 1981 catalytic efforts of AG evangelist Mike Evans to spearhead a special observance for Israel's thirty-third birthday at the Alabama governor's mansion. Governor Fob James hosted the event as AG district executives

¹⁶⁹³ Dan Betzer, *Lightning from Israel* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1984), 33, 39. According to Betzer, those who would exalt themselves over God's revealed will in all ages had viciously attacked or negated the Jewish people. Even Christian theologians had sought to eradicate Israel's place in God's eschatological program of global redemption. But elimination of the Jewish people would render God's promise to Abraham null and void and make a mockery of God's Word to the nations. The Word of God was clear that Jesus would return as the world's Savior to lead Israel and all humanity into their biblically promised destiny as He would return to the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Dan Betzer, "The West Bank—Israel's Tension Point," *PE* (13 July 1980): 12-13.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Dan Betzer, *The Most Dangerous Man in the World* (Springfield, MO: GPH, 1981), 21. Betzer included in his book an extensive interview with Freda Keet by which he was able to publish a strong statement of the legitimacy of Zionism and some of the dangers it faced. Like so many of the *Revivaltime* publications, they were consumed by a large Pentecostal readership across North America.

participated along with Harry Hurwitz who spoke on behalf of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Alabama was the first state to issue such a “Proclamation of Blessing to mark the 33rd anniversary of Israel’s independence.”¹⁶⁹⁶ Evans wrote in 1983, *Israel—America’s Key to Survival*, in which he revealed his own intense involvements in both Israeli and American political arenas for their mutual benefit. His quote of Jimmy Swaggart preceded Swaggart’s well-known moral failures and fall from public favor. But at the time Swaggart still maintained ordination with the AG and was a tremendous influence upon Pentecostals through his extensive media ministries. Swaggart was quoted to say:

America is tied by a spiritual umbilical cord to Israel. The ties go back long before the founding of the United States....

The only true friend that the United States has in the volatile oil rich Middle East is Israel. Sometimes I think the United States is the only friend that Israel has as well....America and Israel are inseparable....I firmly believe that as Israel stands, the United States will stand. I believe that our country must stand behind this little tiny nation with all of our resources, with all of our strength. God help us not to fail....I think of all the great problems that face the United States, if we fail in supporting Israel, we fail in all.

God still says He will bless those who bless Israel and curse those who curse Israel. I thank God that the United States still stands supreme. I believe firmly that it’s because we’ve stood behind Israel. I pray to God we will always stand behind Israel.¹⁶⁹⁷

NEW DANGERS TO THE PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY OF ISRAEL

Many Pentecostals struggled with understanding why genuine Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics would have any interest in continuing in the historical and more tradition-bound and worship-stifling denominations. The AG realized by the 1980s that the Charismatic numbers were too vast to ignore. Coveting their church membership, many determined to dramatically increase local AG membership rosters by developing an inviting open-arm policy toward Charismatics. Much of the spontaneity, excessive

¹⁶⁹⁶ “A/G Evangelist Shares in Historic Gathering,” *PE* (5 July 1981): 13.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Quoted in Mike Evans, *Israel—America’s Key to Survival* (Bedford, TX: Bedford Books, 1983), 120. See also Mike Evans, *The Return* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1986), 179-181. Evans wrote *The Return* in 1986 in which he was still romancing the May 1948 Declaration of Independence, Eliezer Ben Yehuda’s revival of spoken Hebrew, and the Yemenite Operation Magic Carpet airlift when 54,000 Jews were flown to Israel in the 1950s. He boasted of Israel’s military powers and technology ready for use in warfare.

informality, and normal Charismatic participation in “worldly” habits and events initially bothered classical Pentecostals but the amazing multiplication of Charismatic congregations to between 40,000 and 60,000 by 1989 demonstrated the corporate folly of rigid religion.¹⁶⁹⁸ A second AG membership concern had been the Charismatic groups like Maranatha Fellowships, the Word-Faith Churches, the Vineyard Ministries, and a host of other newly created and flourishing Charismatic denominations who were siphoning off excessive numbers of classical Pentecostals.

The Evangelical priorities were entrenched in the AG congregations in the 1980s while some Charismatic groups reached back to earlier select aspects of the Latter Rain philosophy. Many Charismatics moved beyond the original Pentecostal aspirations of recovering pristine NT first-century apostolic Christianity. In like fashion as the 1948 “New Order of the Latter Rain,” they were calling for the reestablishment of NT offices of apostle and prophet in addition to the more familiar evangelist and pastor-teacher. The early Pentecostal virtues of humility, gentleness, love, etc., were replaced with Charismatic boasts of dominion and authority. The Charismatic image of God was often viewed in a mirror more reflecting the American materialistic way of life.¹⁶⁹⁹ Responsibility for the common good was abandoned for the selfish pursuit of personal interest as was so customary in the individualistic American way of life.¹⁷⁰⁰ As Pentecostals and Charismatics moved frequently in flux between their two Spirit-baptized camps, the AG was increasingly impacted by the attitudes of secularized America. For example, over time glossolalia was individualistically viewed as “my prayer language” instead of retaining its earlier pristine Pentecostal focus on empowerment for evangelistic witness. Narcissism was replacing holiness.

The change in tongues ideology, officially modified by E. S. Williams in the early 1950s, focused the tongues phenomenon upon immediate personal gratification and moved it entirely away from any eschatological significance. Rather than being a restored gift from heaven for use in the *eschaton*, tongues were viewed as the privilege of all Christians for private religious experience. Therefore, any significance of tongues in relation to eschatological Restorationism had been lost. The vital connection the early Latter Rain ideology had made between the Pentecostal experience and Zionism

¹⁶⁹⁸ Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*, 242-243.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 3.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Poloma, *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*, 152.

had long since been lost. Zionism and the State of Israel only had ever diminishing significance in AG circles through the agencies of Charismatic influences.

KINGDOM NOW AND DOMINION ANTI-ZIONIST IDEOLOGY

A sizeable outgrowth of the larger CRM was the “Kingdom Now” or “Dominion” phenomenon. These large and influential pockets of Charismatics extensively borrowed ideologically from both the 1948 “New Order of the Latter Rain” and Reformed-based “Reconstructionism.”¹⁷⁰¹ They embraced both an actualized functioning of the Kingdom of God on earth in Spirit-filled power and the supersession of the Church over Israel. Kingdom Now doctrine had been primarily the product of Atlanta pastor, Earl Paulk, bishop of a large independent Charismatic church in Atlanta and preacher for a nationally televised broadcast who embraced his own innovative form of replacement theology. To fully eliminate any eschatological significance to biblical passages, Paulk allegorized the meanings of texts to offer a mystical significance only.¹⁷⁰² J. Wayne House and Thomas Ice declared in their 1988 exposé of “Dominion” or “Kingdom Now” Charismatic theologies, “Reconstructionists advocate the replacement of Old Testament Israel with the church, often called the ‘New Israel.’ They believe that Israel does not have a future different from any other nation.”¹⁷⁰³ House and Ice cautioned that while Reconstructionist Dominionism could not yet be fully branded as anti-Semitic, it “should be watched in the days ahead to see if Reconstructionists do develop anti-Semitic tendencies and if their replacement theology encourages others to adopt this attitude.”¹⁷⁰⁴

David Rausch complained these ultra-Reformed “Christian Reconstructionists’ purport to have definite answers and definite solutions (that) are dangerous to both Christians and Jews.” Many now believed that,

¹⁷⁰¹ Gordon Anderson, “Kingdom Now Theology,” *Paraclete* 24:3 (Summer 1990): 1-2. Reconstructionism, along with Restorationism, had provided Kingdom Now theology some of its underpinnings but postmillennial Reconstructionism was not charismatic while Kingdom Now was.

¹⁷⁰² Earl Paulk, *Ultimate Kingdom: Lessons for Today’s Christian from the Book of Revelation*. Revised Edition. (Atlanta, GA: Dimension Publishers, 1986): 85, 145. For example, “‘Armageddon’ simply means ‘battle’ or ‘warfare’...the same way the term ‘Waterloo’ is used.” And again, “Armageddon simply means that Christ will be victorious in every battle.”

¹⁷⁰³ H. Wayne House and Thomas Ice, *Dominion Theology: Blessing or Curse?* (Portland, OR: Multnomah, 1988): 397.

¹⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 400.

such movements, coupled with anti-Israel bias in evangelical academic circles, will change the grassroots support of the Jewish State within decades.

Nowhere is the change becoming more evident than in charismatic and Pentecostal circles. A contingent of Christian Reconstructionists and Reformed amillennialists have become part of Pat Robertson's CBN University, where a debate now ensues. In Pentecostalism's fastest-growing denomination, the Assemblies of God, the premillennialist interpretation required of all ordained pastors, as well as the churches' historic support for Israel, is being eroded.¹⁷⁰⁵

Stated one anonymous Reconstructionist leader: "We must be honest that Christianity has superseded Judaism, and the church is now God's covenant community; the Jews are no longer the covenant people of God, and Judaism has no more validity than Islam."¹⁷⁰⁶

Rick Godwin, Reconstructionist pastor, preached:

But didn't he say if you bless them? So we've got to bless the Jew. We've got to bless Israel. Yes, and you hear Jerry Falwell and everybody else say the reason America's great is because America's blessed Israel. They sure have. Which Israel? The Israel—the Church. ...That was the Israel of God. Not that garlic one over on the Mediterranean Sea. You've got nothing but wasted money over there. And we've got the Arabs hating us because they think Jesus is racial now. And Jesus isn't racial. There's neither Jew nor Gentile in Christ Jesus. He is not a respecter of nations and He is not respecter of persons. He is a respecter of one Israel and Jew and it's you: Jew and Gentile in Christ.¹⁷⁰⁷

David Chilton, leading proponent of Dominionism, wrote in 1985: "Although Israel will someday be restored to the true faith, the Bible does not tell of any future plan for Israel as a special nation."¹⁷⁰⁸ Chilton penned:

The god of Judaism is the devil.... Christ himself will force them [the Jews] to come and bow down at the Christian's feet.... Modern apostate Jews have absolutely no theological, and therefore no historical and legal right to the land of Palestine.

Christian Zionism is blasphemy. It is a heresy.... Christians have no theological stake whatsoever in the modern State of Israel. It is an anti-

¹⁷⁰⁵ David A. Rausch, "Chosen People: Christian Views of Judaism are Changing," *Christianity Today* 32 (7 October 1988): 58-59.

¹⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Rick Godwin, tape recorded message delivered at Metro Church, Edmond, Oklahoma, 11 April 1988.

¹⁷⁰⁸ David Chilton, *Paradise Restored* (Tyler, TX: Reconstruction Press, 1985): 224. This closely corresponded with Augustine's amillennialism, which allowed for the eventual salvation of the Jewish people as they would enter the Holy Church but that Jews would never again experience nationhood.

God and anti-Christ nation...to support the enemies of the Gospel is not the mark of a Gospel minister, but of an anti-Christ."¹⁷⁰⁹

Another Reconstructionist leader, Gary North, wrote that he had a book awaiting publication for when "Israel gets pushed into the sea, or converted to Christ."¹⁷¹⁰ Yet another pronounced judgment upon Israel as a "sinful, apostate, Christ-rejecting, blasphemous, Middle East nation."¹⁷¹¹

ASSEMBLIES OF GOD DEFENSE OF ISRAEL AND IDEOLOGICAL RESURGENCE

In answer to some of the perceived dangerous teachings of the "Kingdom Now" doctrine and its potential harm to the AG and the Jewish world, the 1987 General Presbytery of the Assemblies of God adopted a white paper entitled, "A Summary of Some Kingdom Now Doctrines which Differ from the Teaching of the Assemblies of God." Among the noted grievances was one relative to Israel. It read:

Rather than accepting the plain sense of Scripture, Kingdom Now advocates symbolize, allegorize, or spiritualize Scripture to support their theories. For instance, Earl Paulk, in *Ultimate Kingdom* (p. 102) wrote: "What was termed 'Israel' in Scripture is now the people of God, the Church. The promises of God are not fulfilled in national Israel. God's concern for material Israel is no greater than His concern for any other nation." He further wrote: "Who is Israel today? Israel—the 144,000—is the complete and perfect Church of the living God."¹⁷¹²

In a section marked "Israel," the Summary continued:

The General Council of the Assemblies of God has stated its position concerning Israel in the Statement of Fundamental Truths (14) as follows: "This millennial reign will bring the salvation of national Israel."...The Bible certifies in both the Old and New Testaments that God is still concerned about Israel.

The Kingdom Now position concerning Israel is stated by Paulk in *Ultimate Kingdom* (p. 255): "A covenant with one particular nation no longer exists, it simply doesn't. I say that with spiritual authority and

¹⁷⁰⁹ David Chilton, *Days of Vengeance* (Fort Worth, TX: Dominion Press, 1987), 127-128, 618-619; quoted in David Allen Lewis, *Can Israel Survive in a Hostile World?* (Green Forest, AR: New Leaf Press, 1993): 158-159.

¹⁷¹⁰ Personal letter from Gary North to Peter Lalonde, 30 April 1987.

¹⁷¹¹ Personal letter from John A. Gilley, Presbyterian pastor in Oklahoma City, to Thomas Ice, 9 November 1987.

¹⁷¹² *A Summary of Some Kingdom Now Doctrines which Differ from the Teaching of the Assemblies of God*, by H. W. Steinberg, Chairman (Springfield, MO: Commission on Doctrinal Purity, 1987), 2.

discernment. Anyone who will open himself to the Spirit of God will understand that there is no longer a covenant with old national Israel."...

This position that God's covenant with Israel has been abrogated reoccurs in various places in the writings of Kingdom Now advocates. Scripture concerning Israel is automatically transferred to the Church.¹⁷¹³

In a real sense the AG was soon compelled to recognize its need to recall its earlier Latter Rain roots to reestablish its essential Pentecostal identity and *raison d'être* in the face of extremist Charismatic contempt such as was represented in the Kingdom Now ideology. The vibrant and young primitivist Latter Rain vision at the turn of the century had legitimated Pentecostalism by its emphasis on restored apostolic authority, power and mission. Pentecostals had earlier recognized their movement to be the divinely re-established apostolic Christianity at the climax of salvation history "to manifest the glory of the Latter Rain."¹⁷¹⁴ Over the course of time the gradual muting of apocalyptic vision had made the holiness "separation from the world" appear quaint and pointless to newer members. They had forgotten to what extent their early beliefs had provided them their group sense of eternal value.¹⁷¹⁵ The early display of God's power in Acts 2 with its accompanying wind, fire, and speaking in tongues, had corresponded with Israel's Mount Sinai experience of receiving the covenant with the natural phenomena of clouds, fire, smoke, glory, and the personal manifestation of the *Shechinah*.¹⁷¹⁶ Pentecostal advocates ventured there was no reason, after all, to play down the full Pentecostal apostolic inheritance that Evangelicals and Charismatics should come to fully appreciate. Calls were heard for new Pentecostal theologies in the areas of pneumatology, ecclesiology, and eschatology. Pentecostals were not eschatological escapists in the end but recognized their need to walk in the fullness of the Latter Rain heritage in the "here and now."¹⁷¹⁷

¹⁷¹³ Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁷¹⁴ Grant Wacker, "Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism," in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 215.

¹⁷¹⁵ Edith L. Blumhofer, "'Pentecost in My Soul': Probing the Early Pentecostal Ethos," *A/G Heritage* (Spring 1989): 14.

¹⁷¹⁶ D. William Faupel, "The Function of 'Models' in the Interpretation of Pentecostal Thought," *Pneuma* 2:1 (Spring 1980): 59.

¹⁷¹⁷ W. Winston Elliot, "Continuity/Discontinuity Between Protestantism and Pentecostalism," *Old and New Issues in Pentecostalism* (Fresno, CA: Society for Pentecostal Studies Nineteenth Annual Meeting, 1989): 13.

In keeping with the new awakening to the Latter Rain realities, Amos Millard offered the Society for Pentecostal Studies a strong Pentecostal ideology of Israel in the 1983 annual meeting:

God...has declared His purpose to restore both natural and spiritual Israel. In essence, *this is what the Pentecostal movement is all about!* It is not a coincidence that in the same era that *Israel is being restored* and regathered to nationhood, the *Church is being restored to the spiritual power* and resources it once knew in its apostolic history.

There will be a gathering of the nations at Jerusalem for a judgment from the Lord, specifically having to do with their treatment of the Jewish people and for their involvement in “parting” (dividing) the land of Israel which God calls “my land” (3:2)...The outpouring of God’s Spirit (2:28, 29) is inseparably connected with God’s purpose to restore His people—both natural Israel and spiritual Israel.¹⁷¹⁸ (Italics mine)

The tremendously bad American press given to Israel with the beginning of the *Intifada* in 1987 could not help but generate widespread negativity toward Israel in the larger American society. Even Jewish American Hollywood notables like Woody Allen and Richard Dreyfuss led nationally published Jewish attacks on Israel’s treatment of Palestinians. Less informed Pentecostal Christians would watch the daily violence on American television and hear the reports of international and even Jewish contempt for Israel’s handling of her problems with the Arab uprising that would continue for several highly dramatic and negative years. The AG had chosen to stay out of the political fray as to avoid appearances of political favoritism and therefore did not address the issues.

PENTECOSTALIST RE-EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL FROM 1990 TO 1999

By 1991, the AG claimed 2 million American adherents and another 22 million in international AG bodies abroad. In 1993, David Barrett, the leading statistician of world Christianity, projected the Pentecostal movement to embrace 430 million Christians globally, the largest single stream of Christianity apart from Roman Catholicism. Barrett not only anticipated 560 million Pentecostal or Charismatic adherents by year 2000 but a billion by the year 2025. These numbers have been confirmed by other

¹⁷¹⁸ Amos D. Millard, “The Prophecy of Joel,” *Paraclete* 17:2 (Spring 1983): 12.

studies as well to demonstrate that those claiming the Pentecostal experience make up a major portion of world Christendom.¹⁷¹⁹

The sheer weight of Pentecostal/Charismatic numbers in the United States and throughout the world in the present and projected future highlight their importance to the twenty-first century. The Pentecostal movement will increasingly impact global Christianity as it forcefully penetrates every corner of Christendom. Its influence will only intensify with the passing decades of the present century. It is imperative to understand the issues Pentecostals and Charismatics face as they consider that *one* person in the universe they can never avoid: the Jew. Biblically intense Pentecostals confront the Jewish reality every day even in their private spiritual pursuits. Their ideology of the Chosen People, as it bears upon their perceptions of Zionism and the State of Israel, will determine their attitudes and behaviors toward the Jewish world. Dangerous trends need to be identified to prevent needless Jewish suffering. Noble perspectives useful for a happier circumstance for Israel and the Jewish people in the Diaspora need to be strengthened. It is crucial to examine the ebb and flow of the shifting Pentecostal romance with Zionism and the State of Israel. But there can be no doubt, that whatever their varieties or views, Pentecostals are and will be a powerful force in world opinion throughout the twenty-first century. The last decade of the twentieth century offered brighter prospects for Pentecostal ideology as the tide began to suggest a turning again to Pentecostalism's romantic bond with Israel as seen below.

AG ACADEMIC DISASSOCIATION FROM DISPENSATIONALISM

Timothy Weber has pointed out that dispensationalism's strong appeal was based on the concrete nature of its literalist interpretation of Scripture in contrast to the more allegorically abstractionist interpretation characteristic of much of historic Christianity. To Americans of the 1990s, "happiness (was) knowing that even chaos (was) under God's control."¹⁷²⁰ Yet dispensationalism had been losing much of its appeal in 1989 and 1990 as the rapid transformation of Eastern Europe was inconsistent with the strongly marketed popularized versions of dispensationalism that had

¹⁷¹⁹ Wacker, "Searching for Eden," 140.

¹⁷²⁰ Weber, "Happily at the Edge of the Abyss," 96-97.

pictured a very different outcome. But Saddam Hussein's Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 suddenly reopened the ravenous appetites of prophecy buffs. Immediately Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* shot up in sales 83% and plans were implemented to reissue John Walvoord's 1974 *Armageddon, Oil and the Middle East Crisis*.¹⁷²¹ The sharp edge of the romantic drama that so appealed to American readership was the very eschatological peril Israel now faced as the nations gathered for war within striking distance of Jerusalem. Surely the end was at hand as the world readied itself for battle at Megiddo.¹⁷²²

Weber noted in 1990 that even dispensationalists out of Dallas Theological Seminary, an institution considered rigidly conservative in most Evangelical circles, had earlier begun modifying elements of the dispensationalist scheme. These revisions included the two crucial dimensions most related to national Israel, the "Kingdom-delayed" or postponement theory, and its correlative, the absolute divorce of Israel and the Church.¹⁷²³ Within five years, Stanley Horton, never an AG dispensationalist anyway, wrote: "Clearly, God will be faithful to His promises to national Israel without splitting Israel and the Church into two peoples and two plans. To accept this, many dispensationalists today have modified the classic dispensational view."¹⁷²⁴

A growing discomfort with classical dispensationalism was becoming more evident in academically elevated Pentecostal circles in that dispensationalism was ultimately quite incompatible with the Pentecostal distinctives. Grant McClung of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), wrote in 1990: "The theological story of mainline North American pentecostalism still has too much of an evangelical accent and needs to be rediscovered in a fresh pentecostal/charismatic hermeneutic."¹⁷²⁵ Edith Blumhofer, history professor and director of the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals at Wheaton College, expressed fear in 1993 for the survival of the Pentecostal distinctives of "initial evidential tongues and futurist premillennialism" as increasing percentages of AG seminarians were preparing for ministry while being

¹⁷²¹ John Walvoord, *Armageddon, Oil and the Middle East Crisis*, Revised edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1991).

¹⁷²² *Ibid.*, 94-95.

¹⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁷²⁴ Stanley M. Horton, *Our Destiny* (Springfield, MO: Logion Press Books, 1996), 177.

¹⁷²⁵ Grant McClung, "Mission in the 1990s: Three Views," *International Bulletin of Missiological Research* 14:4 (1 October 1990): 153.

indoctrinated at Evangelical institutions.¹⁷²⁶ James K. A. Smith of Villanova University wrote in 1997 that, in light of Evangelicalism's adopted method of hermeneutic which forthrightly precluded the Pentecostal experience, "If our theology is to be Pentecostal, I think it is crucial that we give up trying to be evangelical, or at least evangelical theologians."¹⁷²⁷ Glen Menzies and Gordon L. Anderson, academics at North Central Bible College (AG) jointly noted in 1993, "a dramatic decrease in emphasis on the second coming of Christ in Assemblies of God preaching...[as] there is a growing deviation from the position of our founders in matters of eschatology." They recognized the wide range of eschatological belief tolerated in the AG but noted the narrowing "in perspective from the Fellowship's beginning through the 1950s." Pentecostals had the false impression from the writings of important AG leaders (e.g., Boyd, Williams and Riggs) that the AG had officially embraced dispensationalism. But, they insisted, "the Statement of Fundamental Truths is not a dispensationalist document."¹⁷²⁸ Consistent with the original Pentecostalist restorationism, Anderson wrote in 1994:

Pentecostals see God acting continuously throughout the Church Age in the same way as He did in the Book of Acts....This is the view that there is a continuity of the ways in which God works in the world from the time of the Resurrection to the Second Coming....Pentecostals believe in a baptism of the Holy Spirit that empowers people for service, as in the Early church. Along with this they believe that God does miracles today and that the Holy Spirit as the Baptizer is the agent in the life of the believer by which these miracles occur. In this respect Pentecostals are nondispensational....Formal dispensationalism teaches that the kingdom of God was offered to the Jews. When they rejected it, Jesus took it back to heaven with the plan of revealing it after the Second Coming at the end of the Church Age. This results in a Church Age without...the Kingdom present.

Pentecostals reject this. They see the Kingdom as very much present, with the evidence of power and miracles, but not yet complete.¹⁷²⁹

Accordingly, Pentecostal perspective needed to retain Israel as an integral part of the divine program in the present. Israel might be religiously backslidden but be no

¹⁷²⁶ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture*, 270-271.

¹⁷²⁷ James K. A. Smith, "The Closing of the Book: Pentecostals, Evangelicals, and the Sacred Writings," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 11 (1997): 70-71.

¹⁷²⁸ Glen Menzies and Gordon L. Anderson, "D. W. Kerr and Eschatological Diversity in the Assemblies of God," *Paraclete* 27:1 (Winter 1993): 12.

¹⁷²⁹ Gordon L. Anderson, "Pentecostal Hermeneutics," Part II, *Paraclete* 28:2 (Spring 1994), 17.

less important and no less central to God's ongoing revelation. This ideology, however, only placed a greater onus on Pentecostals to engage in Jewish evangelism to expedite Jewish conformity with the will of God. Therefore, the chief theologian for the AG, Stanley Horton, could write in 1996:

Jesus looked ahead to a spiritual restoration of the people of Israel.¹⁷³⁰ ...It is true that both the Old and New Testaments show that Gentile believers will share with Israel in the future glories of the Messiah's reign. But this does not mean the Church replaces Israel.¹⁷³¹ ...The Bible again and again declares that God will reveal himself in connection with His dealings with the nation of Israel.¹⁷³² ...The promise of their restoration is unconditional. It is based on God's promise and covenant given to Abraham....We do not know how long it will be after the restoration in unbelief that the spiritual restoration will come, but come it will. God's whole being is behind His promise....The many Old Testament prophecies that concern Israel and the Promised Land have in no way been fulfilled in the Church, as some claim they have. God still has a place for Israel in His plan. He will make Israel a blessing to us all during the Millennium.¹⁷³³

Horton looked forward to Israel's blessing during the earthly reign of the Messiah but did not support abandonment of Jewish evangelism in the present. He wrote:

The future miraculous salvation of Israel, however, does not mean that we should neglect seeking the salvation of Jews today.¹⁷³⁴ ...Therefore, even though some Jews rejected Jesus, Jesus did not reject Israel as a nation.¹⁷³⁵ ...His faithfulness would also be seen in giving them a new heart and a new spirit and in putting His Spirit within them (Ezek. 36:26-27; 37:14).

PENTECOSTAL IDEOLOGY OF ISRAEL AT THE CONSUMER LEVEL

The battle for the minds of Pentecostals was not to be fought only at higher academic levels but on the grassroots level as well. Pentecostal bookstores, like the AG denominationally sponsored Radiant Bookstore in Springfield, Missouri, continued to sell highly dramatized prophecy paperbacks featuring their entire prophetic schemes on the dispensationalist foundation. While the AG would publicly condemn anti-Semitism, replacement theology, and dual covenant theology (a notion suggesting God

¹⁷³⁰ Horton, *Our Destiny*, 191.

¹⁷³¹ Ibid.

¹⁷³² Ibid., 191-192.

¹⁷³³ Ibid., 193-194.

¹⁷³⁴ Ibid., 196.

¹⁷³⁵ Ibid., 197.

had a different program for Israel for which Jesus was not required), the move away from dispensationalism would be slowed by the continuing utilization of dispensationalist materials as composed and published by Israel-friendly sources.

The *PE* reported in 1990 that, "Anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. in 1989 rose to their highest level in 11 years" and included "arsons, bombings, and cemetery desecrations," and that Neo-Nazi "skinheads" were responsible for 116 incidents over 24 states.¹⁷³⁶ The *PE* also addressed the equally sinister problem of "replacement theology" or supersessionism as "it is still the theology of many today....[but] God has declared that He will not revoke the gifts and calling which He has entrusted to Israel (Romans 11:29)."¹⁷³⁷ Especially considered dangerous were infidel Christians who taught that Jews really did not need Jesus but had an eternally Christ-less relationship with God. The *PE* protested that,

In the guise of friendship, the promoters of the dual covenant theology withhold the gospel from the Jewish people. They deny the desire of the King of the Jews for His own people. They ignore the catalytic role the Jewish people must play in God's plan of redemption for the world.¹⁷³⁸

In spite of Pentecostal confidence in the unrelenting work of God among Israel, many writers within and without the AG continued their gloom and doom dispensationalist emphasis upon dark and terrible days awaiting Israel in a Great Tribulation. William T. James, recognized prolific lay authority on biblical prophecy, wrote in 1994 that Jesus had indicated the reestablishment of the Jewish State was the key sign of the Second Coming and the end of the present world system. The recent migrations of Russian and Ethiopian Jews to Israel were witness to the fulfilled promise.¹⁷³⁹ Yet, James, in his embrace of dispensationalist eschatology, regarded another Holocaust to be inevitable. Hitler, Stalin and Mao would pale in comparison to the tyranny Israel would yet experience.¹⁷⁴⁰ Saddam Hussein's real 1991 target was Israel as the entire anti-Israel Arab conglomerate wished to end the perpetual Israeli thorn in the Arab side. The Palestinian political issue had merely provided the Arab nations cannon fodder as their own treatment of Palestinians revealed. Their hatred for

¹⁷³⁶ "Anti-Semitic Violence Increases in U.S. During 1989," *PE* (11 March 1990): 27.

¹⁷³⁷ Daniel Gruber, "Do Jews Need to Believe in Jesus?" *PE* (17 June 1990): 20.

¹⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁷³⁹ William T. James, "Israel: The Clear Signal", in *Storming Toward Armageddon*, ed. William T. James, (Green Forest, AR: New Leaf Press, 1994), 163-164.

¹⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 167-168.

the Chosen People only grew “more intense and more manifest by the hour.”¹⁷⁴¹ Soon the anti-christic and final Fuehrer would enter the world stage. Modern pressures upon Israel to submit to a peace process to eventuate in a Palestinian homeland were “the clear signal that the end has already begun.”¹⁷⁴²

David Breese, prolific Evangelical prophecy buff read in AG circles, insisted in 1995 that peace would evade Israel until the Second Coming. Somewhat apologetic for his apparent presumption, he nevertheless suggested the Church needed to offer spiritual advice to national Israel. His counsel was for Israel to turn to God in repentance and faith in Jesus, to allow Christian evangelism in Israel, and to remember Israel’s best friends were American Evangelical Christians.¹⁷⁴³ Breese contended that all of Israel’s two millennia of persecution could have been entirely avoided had Israel embraced Jesus in the first century. But Israel would yet come to faith and accept Jesus as the Messiah of Israel to fulfill Israel’s messianic destiny.¹⁷⁴⁴

The tired dispensationalist theme of a tribulational anti-Christ still colored popular level eschatology. John Wesley White, a Billy Graham associate and holder of the Ph.D. from Oxford, put forward the notion that the Israelis, so exhausted from a “war syndrome,” would be pleased to consider a strong man of peace. He quoted Knesset member, Yossi Sarid, as suggesting dictatorship had its advantages, like the more efficient handling of inflation and trade unions. Sarid asked, “Why not try it?” White contended Israel needed the Messiah and reported that faithful Jews prayed for his coming each morning. Israel’s chief worry was security, which had opened the Israeli population to mistaken political judgment and would lead to Israel’s signing of the anti-Christ’s peace pact sometime after the rapture of the Church.¹⁷⁴⁵ White indicated, as evidence the *eschaton* was at hand, that among the one million Russian Jewish immigrants to Israel over the 1990s, a significant percentage were Jewish

¹⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 169.

¹⁷⁴² Ibid., 172.

¹⁷⁴³ Dave Breese, “Israel: Earth’s Only Superpower,” *Earth’s Final Days*, ed. William T. James (Green Forest, AR: New Leaf Press, 1995), 82, 84, 87-88. The peace of mankind depends upon the peace of Jerusalem but, “Peace will only come when Jesus Christ reigns from the Holy City and imposes His righteous will upon the world.” Breese was adamant that Israel owned the Land since God himself had established the borders in Holy Writ.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 93-94.

¹⁷⁴⁵ John Wesley White, “Israel and the Coming Millennium: A Time to Rejoice,” in *The Triumphant Return of Christ: Essays in Apocalypse II*, Ed. William T. James (Green Forest, AR: New Leaf Press, 1995), 317-318.

believers who were outspoken about their faith in Jesus. He expressed confidence their numbers would continue to grow.¹⁷⁴⁶ The messianic judgment of the nations at the Second Coming would be based on how the nations behaved toward Israel, the Messianic Jews, and those effectively disciplined by the 144,000 during the seven years of Tribulation.¹⁷⁴⁷

A STRONG POLITICAL STAND FOR ISRAEL

The political support for Israel, so characteristic of earlier Pentecostal periods and modern AG popular prophecy writers, was entirely absent from the *PE* or GPH materials during the 1980s and 1990s as the AG had carefully decided to not lend overt support to Israeli governmental policies or demonstrate enthusiasm for Zionist advances. Fear of harming their missions interests or causing the deaths of missions personnel in Islamic countries, the AG no longer wanted to be publicly identified with the Zionist agendas or perceived as corroborating with Zionist causes. The best the *PE* could muster was a citation of Jewish accomplishments and contributions to the betterment of mankind, with the adage, "The Jewish people are not perfect, but they deserve a place of honor in the annals of human history."¹⁷⁴⁸

¹⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 320.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 323.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Ralph W. Harris, "Thank God for the Jews," *PE* (25 December 1994): 22. See also, Jack Michael Utterback, "Keeping Israel in Perspective," *Evangel* 80:11 (1 July 1990): 30. Utterback served as the Director for the Church of God Ministry to Israel. For contrast with the *PE*'s reluctance to take a political stand in favor of Israel during the past two decades, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), a smaller but significant Pentecostal group in 1990 published:

In recent months there has been an overwhelming amount of media coverage of the nation of Israel. The average American is fed a steady diet of Palestinian-Israeli conflict, problems in the West Bank disturbances in the Gaza Strip, and so on.

Even Israel-loving Christians are questioning the things they hear and see on the news. Are these things true? Is Israel becoming the bully of the Middle East?

A recent study of world media coverage of Israel noted that "the main damage to Israel's image has been attributed to the impact of the American media and specifically, to American TV ("Israel in Medialand," by Eliyahu Tal).

Though there have been atrocities and inhumane events in the land of Israel which should be condemned, many of the things that have been reported have been fabricated, blown out of proportion and distorted in order to sensationalize the news. Film coverage that portrays the whole country in conflict is, for the most part, filmed in small communities where the PLO has infiltrated and incited rioting for the purpose of catching the eye of the camera.

...Satan is using natural forces such as political entities and power of influence (newspapers, television networks) to sway world opinion and bring about a global condemnation of the Jewish nation.

Yet most Pentecostals believed that America's own welfare was dependent upon her treatment of Israel. After citing the history of Christian Zionism from the Reformation era onward, especially in its British and Puritan expressions, J. R. Church, respected prophecy advocate, prolific pastor and television host, articulated his trepidation and growing anxiety in 1995 at the mounting American political reluctance to unreservedly support Israel.

America, Israel's only ally, has been wavering in recent years. Our politicians in Washington have attempted to placate the Arabs while restraining the Israeli government. Arab oil has been used to blackmail the United States over the past decade.¹⁷⁴⁹

J. R. Church appealed to international self-interest as Christians and nations stood to greatly benefit from Israel's fulfilled destiny. But more than that, he seemed to advocate the hopeful tenet that Israel's mission to the nations need not await fulfillment in the eschatological hereafter; e.g., if Israel could presently enter her full inheritance, all nations could benefit.

We cannot afford to stand aside and say that Israel's fate does not concern us. We cannot take a neutral stand on the issue because the well-being of every nation is at stake. Until Israel enters into its full inheritance, the other nations of the world can never enjoy the blessings that God has in store for them.¹⁷⁵⁰

John W. White, an Israel-friendly dispensationalist, added that America's material blessing was the direct result of American support for Israel. God had promised to "bless those who bless" Israel. Jesus had promised to reward those who had properly cared for his Jewish brethren. It stood to reason that divine favor would be poured upon those nations and peoples aiding and abetting national Israel.

America's general peace and prosperity are likewise the blessing of the God of Israel in response to America's happy hosting of the Jewish people over recent centuries and the generous manner in which the United States administrations have offered financial and political support to the Jewish State.¹⁷⁵¹

...as believers in Jesus Christ, we can and must stretch forth hand of love to the Jews. We must always take the biblical position, praying for the peace of Jerusalem (Psalm 122:6) and comforting the people of God (Isaiah 40:1).

¹⁷⁴⁹ J. R. Church, "The Nation of Israel: At Center Stage for God's Finale", in *The Triumphant Return of Christ: Essays in Apocalypse II*, William T. James (Green Forest, AR: New Leaf Press, 1995), 263.

¹⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 278-279.

¹⁷⁵¹ White, "Israel and the Coming Millennium," 315.

Dwight Wilson, professor of history at Bethany College and critic of past Pentecostal *carte blanche* support of Israel, pointed up in 1988 that the Pentecostal view of “the outpouring of the Spirit as itself a fulfillment of end-time prophecy” had become the sole distinction between Pentecostal and fundamentalist eschatologies.¹⁷⁵² The futurist Pentecostals expected the imminent fulfillment of the major biblical prophecies but dispensationalism had impacted Pentecostalist ideology after World War I. Focusing on the Pentecostal romantic bond with Israel, Wilson wrote that, “the Pentecostals associated the development of modern Zionism with the era of the outpouring of the Spirit, thus producing a sense of kindredness.”¹⁷⁵³ In other words, the early Pentecostals had felt a family connection with the Zionists and a certain partnership in restorationism.

Meanwhile, Yaakov Ariel wrote in 1993 that the Israeli government “did not grasp the roots and motivations of ‘Christian Zionists.’ They were certainly unaware of the details of the dispensationalist eschatological hopes and had never heard of such terms as ‘the Great Tribulation’ and ‘the time of Jacob’s trouble.’”¹⁷⁵⁴ The Israeli government likewise did not believe Christian missionaries could be a threat to Jewish religion or Israel’s international image even while published missionary opinions were impacting American Christian readership.¹⁷⁵⁵ Ariel suggested that when the Begin coalition passed rather pointless legislation that had plainly misread missionary strategy, the government had no awareness that their legislation had been directed against the very Christian camps Begin had sought to politically befriend.¹⁷⁵⁶

THREE PROLIFIC POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON THE PENTECOSTAL FOLK IDEOLOGY OF ISRAEL

Many leaders in the government of Israel recognized the political wisdom of courting American Evangelicals and Pentecostals. Though obviously not accepting dispensationalist thought, Israel’s leaders were pleased for the friendship of the Christian political right. Yaakov Ariel pointed up that an awkward moment occurred

¹⁷⁵²Dwight J. Wilson, “Pentecostal Perspectives on Eschatology,” *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*.

¹⁷⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Ariel, “American Fundamentalists and the Emergence of a Jewish State,” 302.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 308.

in 1961 when David Ben Gurion welcomed the 1961 Pentecostal World Conference to Jerusalem. As he addressed that Pentecostal crowd and spoke of the newly established state as the climactic fulfillment of biblical prophecy, the silent response of the Pentecostal audience confused Israeli officials who did not fully understand the importance of the Pentecostal tenet of the centrality of Christ in Israel's ultimate destiny.¹⁷⁵⁷ But every prime minister since Ben Gurion had repeatedly met with officials of American Evangelical organizations and leading Christian personalities to foster improved relations and political goodwill. AG evangelists David Lewis, Mike Evans, and Canadian-born Grant Jeffrey all had extensive political involvements with Israeli governmental leaders and used those regular contacts to promote pro-Israel causes in the Pentecostal world.

DAVID ALLEN LEWIS

David Lewis, AG evangelist and political advocate for Israel, had enjoyed a regular history of interaction with prime-ministers and other high officials over three decades. Lewis widely disseminated supportive pro-Israel information through the publication of his *Prophecy Watch International* newsletter and his newspaper, the *Jerusalem Courier*. Based in Springfield, Missouri, Lewis served as something of the "in-house" conscience of the AG executive concerning Israel.¹⁷⁵⁸ Lewis enjoyed very broad based support among AG pastors and laymen alike as he traveled among churches conducting revivalistic "Prophecy Seminars" from the 1950's well into the 1990's in which God's favor upon Zion and the Jewish people was the constant theme. Never engaging in evangelism among the Jewish community, Lewis carefully preserved his coveted credentials among leading Jewish community leaders and later among distinguished Israeli government officials.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., 302. See also Yaakov Ariel's important articles, "Protestant Attitudes to Jews and Judaism During the Last Fifty Years," in *Terms of Survival: The Jewish World Since 1945*, edited by Robert S. Wistrich (London: Routledge, 1995): 332-348; and "A Christian Fundamentalist Vision of the Middle East: Jan Willem van der Hoeven and the International Christian Embassy," in *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*, edited by R. Scott Appelby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 363-397.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Typical of the headlines in his publications were the captions, "Biblical Zionists," "Pentecostals, Evangelicals and Israel," "The Holiness of the Return," "Return of the Russian Jews: Exodus 2000," "God is in the Real Estate Business," and even, "Christian Anti-Semitism."

Lewis wrote prolifically on biblical prophecy. He highlighted Christian responsibility to maintain a gracious and faithful attitude toward Israel and the Jewish people. His most succinct statement on what he regarded to be the proper Pentecostal Christian disposition toward Israel and the Jewish people was found in his *New 95 Theses*¹⁷⁵⁹ which he initially distributed as a programmed speaker at the 1995 Feast of Tabernacles celebration sponsored by the Christian Embassy in Jerusalem.

Lewis indicated that, "The Jewish people own the Land of Israel."¹⁷⁶⁰ Counseling the imperative of Christian full identification with biblical Zionism, he declared that every Christian who embraced biblical Zionism expressed his faith in God and God's Word.¹⁷⁶¹ Christians should do all that is possible to protect God's Zion.¹⁷⁶² Lewis posited that Christians had the duty to love Israel unconditionally, i.e., without any evangelistic agenda.¹⁷⁶³ The Pentecostal's duty was to bring comfort to the Jewish people and to Zion.¹⁷⁶⁴ Those wanting to live biblical life-styles needed to support Christian Zionism since Israel had come into existence by a miracle of God.¹⁷⁶⁵ Since anti-Semitism was a satanic spiritual force, the Pentecostal should determine to protect any of God's chosen Jewish people from anti-Semitic men or governments.¹⁷⁶⁶ Any theology proffering the notion of the replacement of Israel by the Church in God's program was theological anti-Semitism¹⁷⁶⁷ and was without any biblical support in either testament but could be traced to the extreme allegorizing of the Church father Origen.¹⁷⁶⁸ The actual treatment of Israel would determine God's action to bless or curse the Christian, his church, or society.¹⁷⁶⁹ Involvement in God's Zionist plan should

¹⁷⁵⁹ This was a take-off on Martin Luther's historic 95 theses nailed to the Wittenberg door.

¹⁷⁶⁰ David Allen Lewis, *New 95 Theses: Christian and Jewish Relations* (Springfield, MO: Menorah Press), 1995: 5.

¹⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

¹⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 14. He continued to make clear he had no involvement in Jewish evangelism, an important statement in light of his ongoing political connections in Israel and the Jewish community in the United States. He understood that the Jewish community would not befriend nor associate with any Christian espousing the Jewish need to embrace the uniqueness of Jesus or Christianity. However, he stopped short of condemning Christian evangelism among the Jewish people as this would be seen by the Pentecostal world as a betrayal of the New Testament and Christ himself.

¹⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

compel Pentecostals to write Church and government officials in the interest of Israel's political and military "security and well being."¹⁷⁷⁰

In the spirit of the 1945 Assemblies of God resolution against anti-Semitism, Lewis called for a bold stand against anti-Semitism from Pentecostal pulpits and Christian groups in general. He contended that the fate of both Israel and all Evangelical churches was at stake since Satan desired the destruction of both.¹⁷⁷¹ In his attack upon Christian anti-Semitism covering the 1900s, he joined with the AG Committee on Doctrinal Purity to take particular aim at the Kingdom Now, Dominion, Reconstructionist and other expressions of supersessionist theologies that were extensively plaguing many quarters of the Charismatic Movement in America.

MIKE EVANS

Michael D. Evans, an evangelist ordained as an AG minister who briefly held AG Jewish missionary appointment himself, became a political advocate for Israel in the American Evangelical and Pentecostal world. Evans had regular audiences with every prime minister since Menachem Begin. He published many manuscripts detailing his encounters with Israeli national figures, arguing for Israel's right to secure borders, reporting on Israel's state of military preparedness, advocating removal of the American embassy to Jerusalem, protesting UN abuse of Israel, and sharing the human interest stories of modern Jewish refugees returning to Israel. Evans sponsored a number of national conferences and produced several nationally viewed prime-time television specials to promote Christian support for Israel. He functioned as a Pentecostal political activist at the cost of millions of dollars that he personally raised. He has been honored in numerous ways by Israeli government officialdom for his tireless efforts on Israel's behalf.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., 18.

¹⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 29-30. Lewis highlighted the AG denomination and their 1927 Statement of Fundamental Truths to which they had added an item concerning "the salvation of national Israel." He expressed hope that other denominations would follow the lead of the AG, the only Christian denomination with a statement in its fundamental creed acknowledging God's plans for a (then) future national Israel. The rising tide of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism should compel Christians to offer Israel assurances that Bible-believing Christians stood with her.

GRANT JEFFREY

Grant Jeffrey was ordained with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, a sister denomination to the American AG. His many books on prophecy had fostered much goodwill toward Israel in America as well as Canada. Prophecies of anti-Semitism in the final generation had already begun “in desecrations of Jewish synagogues and cemeteries around the world.”¹⁷⁷² Jeffrey denounced modern resuscitation of the *Protocols* and international business cooperation with the Arab boycott of Israel.

Jeffrey inveighed too against the revival of Christian anti-Semitism found in Charismatic circles that went under the rubrics of “Replacement Theology, Restoration Theology, Kingdom Now, or Dominion Theology.”¹⁷⁷³ Jeffrey protested the hatred for Israel manifested in the “widespread unbalanced media reporting on the Middle East” and the UN treatment of Israel.¹⁷⁷⁴ The Arab governments were cynically using Palestinians in their war on Israel while abusing Palestinians within their own borders. Much more heinous crimes of torture and murders of thousands of citizens in Islamic nations went forever uncensored while Israel was “warned” 7 times and “condemned” 49 times.¹⁷⁷⁵ Jeffrey protested that some American administrations had deliberately chosen to distance themselves from Israel.¹⁷⁷⁶

Jeffrey erred on two important counts, however. He presumed anti-Christ had to be Jewish¹⁷⁷⁷ and mistook Chabad Lubavitcher signs in Jerusalem reading, “We Want Messiah Now!” as reflecting the general Israeli disposition.¹⁷⁷⁸ Both issues would mislead his extensive AG readership.

¹⁷⁷² Grant R. Jeffrey, *Prince of Darkness: Antichrist and the New World Order* (Toronto, ON: Frontier Research Publications, 1994), 126-127. He offered that Satan was the chief source of anti-Semitism since his intention was to defeat God’s purposes for the hated Chosen People.

¹⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*, 126-127.

¹⁷⁷⁴ The UN, the American and Canadian governments constantly condemned Israel for expelling Arab terrorists but had been completely silent when the Kuwaitis had simultaneously expelled 350,000 Palestinians for the crime of being Palestinians.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Jeffrey, *Prince of Darkness*, 139-140. The United Nations had approved the infamous “Zionism is racism” resolution 3379 in 1975. After years of combating this resolution, saner minds prevailed as 111 nations voted to repeal the resolution many recognized to be a mockery of justice. However, on that very day, the UN voted to call for its members states to withdraw their respective embassies from Jerusalem, Israel’s chosen capital. Only Israel had voted against the resolution.

¹⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Grant R. Jeffrey, *Apocalypse: The Coming Judgment of the Nations* (Toronto: Frontier Research Publications, 1992), 109.

RESTORATIONIST REVIVAL AND NEW HOPE FOR ISRAEL

The growing distrust of dispensationalism in Pentecostal academic circles, as we have observed in the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, encouraged a reexamination of the restorationist ideology of early twentieth-century Latter Rain Pentecostalism. A favorable disposition toward a renewed Latter Rain ideology should optimistically impact Pentecostal outlook for Israel's near term destiny. Rather than the pessimism and fatalistic despair dispensationalism maintained for Israel prior to the rapture and Second Coming, a reinvigorated spirit of restorationism could envision grander victories for Israel in lesser time. This would have direct bearing on Pentecostal optimism for Israel and provide new motivation to assist the Zionist causes as the Pentecostal contribution to the stability and welfare of the Jewish State would be more easily considered a sound investment of time, energy, and resources not soon destroyed by devastating armies.

The early Pentecostals had no interest in promoting denominationalism in light of the perceived nearness of the Second Coming. Such human political machinations had only disrupted God's contact with denominationally idolatrous Christians in the past. It was crucial for Pentecostals to be free of such encumbrances to freely operate in the realm of the Spirit. Theirs was to be rather a "brief, intense, divinely inspired movement whose life would culminate in Christ's imminent return."¹⁷⁷⁹ Rather than maintaining a "dead denomination," the Pentecostals sought to foster a dynamic people movement. But over time the organizational needs of progressive people mandated the formation of the AG in 1914. Within a few short years, dispensationalism's "precise dogmas and charts about the coming stages of history"¹⁷⁸⁰ gradually diminished the grander expectations of the restitution of all things the restorationist vision had afforded them. Dispensationalism likewise prepared Pentecostals to accept the reports of Jewish misery between the world wars and locate a rationalizing niche in the dispensationalist mythology to compartmentalize the Holocaust.

D. William Faupel, non-Pentecostal professor of theological research at Asbury Theological Seminary and author of *The Everlasting Gospel*, a study of Pentecostal thought, noted in 1990 the "restorationist-counter-cultural identity" of the early AG but

¹⁷⁷⁹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture*, 269-270.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Littell, "The Power of the Restoration Vision and Its Decline in Modern America," 53.

indicated that from the outset the denomination was forced to stifle restorationism's "creative but potentially destructive force."¹⁷⁸¹ The natural power struggle between organizational leadership and grassroots Pentecostalist spontaneity motivated denominational powerbrokers to eliminate outbreaks of uncontrolled revivalism by the imposition of organizational and theological structures. Not having had a satisfactory Pentecostal theological system, temptation yielded to borrowing the systematic theology of dispensationalism. This set up a century long tension between the ideologies of restorationism and dispensationalism within the AG ranks and directly impacted the ebb and flow of Pentecostalism's romance with Israel.

A new look at restorationism in the 1990s challenged afresh the classical Protestant tenet that the "charismata" had ceased with the apostolic first century.¹⁷⁸² The "charismata" had been mistakenly written off by Christian powerbrokers in the second and third centuries in part to effectively control outbreaks of religious enthusiasm. The same crushing mindset had sought to destroy the possibility of Hebraic influences upon the Aristotelian structured system of Christian thought by theologically rendering Israel utterly useless to God beyond a first-century date. The two-headed error of early Christianity needed twin remedy in the twentieth century. Both pristine first-century apostolic Christianity and Jewish nationhood needed twin revitalization and restoration in modern times for God's plan for the ages to properly culminate. The romantic bond between Pentecostalism and Israel was further reinforced.

In the face then of the dire formulas for Israel offered by dispensationalism and the postmillennial dismissal of Israel in Kingdom Now teachings plaguing corners of the American Pentecostal world, the AG Pentecostal Textbook Project published *Bible Doctrines*. Under a section entitled, "God's Promises to National Israel," Menzies and Horton wrote:

The land was also an integral part of the promise to Abraham and to Israel. ...He will live up to His Name; He will be the kind of faithful God

¹⁷⁸¹ D. William Faupel, "The Restoration Vision in Pentecostalism," *Christian Century* 107 (17 October 1990): 940-941. Faupel was also a past president of the Society for Pentecostal Studies. The full title of his importance book is *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*.

¹⁷⁸² Donald W. Dayton, "The Limits of Evangelicalism: The Pentecostal Tradition," *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, eds. Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991): 44.

He says He is. God is going to restore Israel both materially and spiritually even though they have profaned His holy Name. He will do it to honor His holy Name, that is, to demonstrate His holy nature and character.¹⁷⁸³

(Romans 11:1) makes it clear that God has not thrown aside His people! The context shows the Bible is talking about literal, national Israel and shows that God has not changed His mind about His promises.¹⁷⁸⁴

After describing errors in postmillennialist Kingdom Now thinking, Horton wrote:

They also believe that “ethnic Israel was excommunicated for its apostasy” and “Christ transferred the blessings of the kingdom from Israel to a new people, the church.” They ignore the many Scripture passages that show God still has a purpose for national Israel in His plan.¹⁷⁸⁵

Israel, restored, cleansed, filled with God's Holy Spirit, will undoubtedly occupy all the land promised to Abraham (Gen. 15:18).¹⁷⁸⁶ In the Millennium...Israel and the church are in fact one people of God ...one by faith in Christ and common partaking of the Spirit, and yet distinct insofar as God will yet restore Israel as a nation to its land.... [under] One new covenant.¹⁷⁸⁷

Horton was confident of the work of the Holy Spirit upon Israel both in the present and future. Without denying the ultimate victory of Israel in the Millennium, he wrote:

The people of the restored Israel will also be filled with the Spirit...Joel 2:28-32 shows a continuing outpouring, not just on the Day of Pentecost, not just on Israel, but on “all flesh” (Heb. *kol basar*)

Because of the multitude of Israel....who are transformed, the Holy Spirit's work in the Millennium will be more powerful and more wonderful than ever....We have a first installment of this now, but then we shall enjoy a greater fullness in connection with the Lord's return and the restoration of Israel in the land.¹⁷⁸⁸

Plainly, Horton believed Israel needed to embrace Christ and was confident this would be the ultimate reality. Israel would receive Christ and be filled with the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal fashion. But Horton's national Israel is not the rag-tag group of

¹⁷⁸³ William W. Menzies and Stanley M. Morton, *Bible Doctrines* (Springfield, MO: Logion Press Books, 1994), 236.

¹⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 238.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Stanley Horton, ed. *Systematic Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective*. (Springfield, MO: Logion Press, 1994), 621-622.

¹⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 630.

¹⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸⁸ Horton, *Our Destiny*, 210.

Jewish survivors who manage to live to tell the tale of all the horrors of dispensationalism's Great Tribulation, a "second Holocaust." His national Israel gladly embraced Jesus and immediately entered into the full measure of God's promises on all counts. The onus, from Horton's point of view, would be upon Pentecostals to not idly wait in fateful anticipation of more Jewish tragedy enroute to the culmination of salvation history, but rather to actively encourage Jewish faith in the Pentecostal present with the loving Christian hope all future Jewish tragedy could be entirely averted. Christian success at provoking national Israel to spiritual jealousy, with the resultant positive Jewish faith response, would immediately evoke the Second Coming and the implementation of all the biblical promises for national Israel.

THE SECOND MILLENNIUM CLIMAX OF AG JEWISH EVANGELISM

The thirteen articles from 1990 to 1999 about Israel or Jewish ministries fairly matched the twelve in the *PE* from 1983 to 1989 on AG sponsored Jewish evangelism in Israel and in the United States.¹⁷⁸⁹ These numbers did not include casual references to Israel tours or archaeological digs, or to Jewish ministries not directly involving AG mission personnel. But it should be noted that my painstakingly thorough search of the AG GPH adult educational materials from 1973 through 1985 astonishingly revealed only two mentions of the modern Jewish nation, the State of Israel.¹⁷⁹⁰ One read,

For a thousand years before the return of Jews to Israel in this century, such a return did seem impossible. Since May 14, 1948, the dream has become a reality. Most Jews are returning in unbelief, as God showed Ezekiel they would. But God is doing His work. Resistance to Christ is still strong in the land, but there is a nucleus of believers. We must recognize, however, that *God is not in a hurry*. Before full spiritual restoration can come, the people of Israel must go through a time of "Jacob's trouble" (Jeremiah 30:7). *The sufferings of the Jews are not over yet*, but God will be faithful. As Christians we can take courage, for we see these things as signs of Christ's soon return. (Italics mine)

The scarcity of reference to Israel suggested the thought of the national salvation of Israel had become entirely irrelevant to biblical studies or the Pentecostal faith system. Even the two mentions here were fully governed by an imposing

¹⁷⁸⁹ In comparison, there were 20 articles on the Center for Muslim Ministry and Muslim evangelism in the same period.

¹⁷⁹⁰ These were the 3 July 1977 and 7 January 1979 lessons published in the *ATQ*.

dispensationalism that mandated yet more Jewish suffering. The restoration of Israel, the one that really counted, was pushed off into the dispensationalist millennium. All told, the period of 1973 to 1999 was not comparable to the keen interest and frequent optimism exhibited by Pentecostal literature in the previous six decades.

Pentecostal interest in missionary activity in Israel and the growth of the Israeli Messianic Jewish movement primarily suffered disappointment due to unfavorable reports on developments. The *PE* described the Christmas Day, 1989, Israeli Supreme Court decision to deny Messianic Jews automatic citizenship under the 1950 “Law of Return” as the “court concluded that since Messianic Jews believe that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, they are Christians, not Jews.” In what was completely incomprehensible to Pentecostal NT readership, the “100 page decision...held that belief in Jesus makes a person a member of another faith, and therefore ineligible for automatic Israeli citizenship.”¹⁷⁹¹

In a happier tone the *PE* reported on the high drama associated with the massive and secretive airlift known as Operation Solomon in May 1991. All Israel had been charged with profound emotion as, “Some 14,087 Ethiopian Jews were airlifted in less than 36 hours last May from Ethiopia to Israel.”¹⁷⁹² It was also noted in 1992 that the Bible Society in Israel had stated, “We estimate that as many as 20 percent of Israeli homes actually have a New Testament.”¹⁷⁹³

The attempt was made to follow the ongoing struggle of Messianic Jews for rights in Israel in the *PE*. It reported in 1992 that a “controversy has developed between leading Israeli rabbis regarding the status of Messianic Jews—Jews who believe in Jesus Christ as the Messiah....The dispute arose as more and more Messianic Jews arrive in Israel from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.” That Messianic Jews had found a champion among the rabbinical ranks was one piece of encouraging news. Rabbi Yitzhak Ralbag, chairman of the Jerusalem Religious Council, had insisted that Messianic Jews were Jews indeed although they had “sinned in foolishness.” He had petitioned for civil rights for Israel’s 3,000 Messianic Jews but

¹⁷⁹¹ “Messianic Jews Not Entitled to Receive Automatic Israeli Citizenship, Israel’s Supreme Court Rules,” *PE* (11 March 1990): 28.

¹⁷⁹² “Operation Solomon Brings 14,087 Ethiopian Jews to Israel,” *PE* (21 July 1991): 24.

¹⁷⁹³ “Bible Society in Israel Prints Pocket-sized New Testament,” *PE* (23 February 1992): 24.

again the 1989 Israeli Supreme Court decision in support of traditional prejudice had discouraged hope.¹⁷⁹⁴

In another article on Israeli Messianic Jews, on the basis of a *National and International Religion Report* newsletter, the *PE* reported in 1993 that the “number of Messianic Jews in Israel has increased from 2,000 in 1980 to 5,000 in 1993.” In spite of massive immigration from Russia, Ethiopia, and Europe, Israel had denied residency to Messianic Jewish families. But “believers from several different messianic congregations across the country demonstrated in front of the Israeli prime minister’s office, showing ‘that they stand with three Jewish immigrant families who have been denied residency in Israel because of their faith in Yeshua (Jesus).’”¹⁷⁹⁵

By 1998 the theme returned to Israel’s perceived religious persecution of Messianic Jews. The *PE* reported the AG opposition to proposed Israeli legislation that would target Messianic Jews and deny them basic human rights. “The Assemblies of God has joined a chorus of dissenting voices over proposed Israeli legislation that would curtail religious freedom in Israel....According to a press release from the Messianic Action Committee (MAC), the Israeli governing body ‘is now asked to push Israel back into the darkest of the Middle Ages.’”¹⁷⁹⁶ The AG had actually sent thousands of dollars in support of MAC resistance to ultra-orthodox efforts at heavy-handed religious persecution.

Notwithstanding, the *PE* still stood by its earlier declaration that, “God has promised blessing to the church and to all the world through the salvation of the Jewish people....We believe the Jewish people are God’s key to unlock the nations of the earth, God’s explosive catalyst to set the world ablaze for Him.”¹⁷⁹⁷ However, such energetic statements showed no evidence of helping to mobilize AG commitment to Jewish evangelism. Besides one “how to” article on personal Jewish evangelism¹⁷⁹⁸ and a few announcements of conferences and seminars on Jewish evangelism,¹⁷⁹⁹ there was no

¹⁷⁹⁴ “Controversy Stirs Between Rabbis in Israel Over Rights of Messianic Jews,” *PE* (19 April 1992): 14-15.

¹⁷⁹⁵ “Messianic Jews in Israel Show Significant Increase,” *PE* (5 September 1993): 15.

¹⁷⁹⁶ “A/G Denounces Proposed Antimissionary Legislation,” *PE* (26 April 1998): 23.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Daniel Gruber, “Speaking the Truth in Love,” *PE* (18 November 1990): 21.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Steven M. Greenhut, “Sharing the Gospel with our Jewish Neighbors,” *PE* (21 August 1994): 18-19.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Two functions were especially highlighted in, “A/G Intercultural Ministries Department Hosts Jewish Seminar,” *PE* (28 August 1994): 28; and “The First Step to Effective Jewish Ministry,” *PE* (27 April 1997): 28.

published indication of aggressive AG Jewish evangelism being done anywhere in America in the 1990s.

CONCLUSION:

PENTECOSTALISM'S FAILED SEPARATION FROM ISRAEL

The early AG Latter Rain enthusiasm for the Zionist cause and the ultimate restoration of national Israel had been carefully given high preeminence in the foundational doctrinal position of the first constitution of the AG in 1927. The Nazi horrors of World War II and the shocking realization that anti-Semitism existed even in American Pentecostalism compelled the AG in national session to pass its resolution condemning anti-Semitism in all its forms in 1945.

The coveted social acceptance of the Evangelical world predisposed many Pentecostals to be willing to modify the Latter Rain primitive restorationist motif that had forged Pentecostalism into existence. The twin restorations of the Church to its apostolic origins and Israel to its biblically promised home in Zion would be reconsidered in light of Evangelicalism's proclivity toward dispensationalism. Periods of Israel's national vulnerability prompted Pentecostal apologists to reexamine the ideological bond Pentecostals felt with Zionism and the dream of the Jewish State.

The temporary revival of overwhelming Pentecostal enthusiasm for the immediate fulfillment of Israel's destiny, as a result of the euphoria associated with the 1967 Six-Day War, was powerfully dampened with the new reality of Israel's precariousness as evidenced in the October 1973 Yom Kippur War. Its once strong endorsement of Israel and her national Zionist policies now proved to be a discomfiture to many Pentecostal leaders as reflected in the near total absence of Israel in national periodicals or educational materials in the decades that followed the Yom Kippur War. Not wanting to be identified with a political nightmare in the Middle East or guilty of aiding and abetting short term false hope, the AG stepped back from its faltering image of support for Israel and the Zionist principle.

With the AG movement already immersed in dispensationalism, Israel's apparent desperate condition encouraged dispensationalist advocates to reemphasize the coming "time of Jacob's trouble," the "Great Tribulation." The Jewish cup of

suffering had not filled up with the Holocaust; another intense period of ethnic agony awaited a Jewish nation still at odds with the biblical revelation of Christ. Having already distanced the AG from the possibility of greater missionary accomplishments in Israel by the sale of the only AG property in Jerusalem for a cash expediency, the movement was increasingly declaring its despair at the near term redemption of national Israel. Israel could not escape the ultimate fulfillment of biblical prophecy that afforded national Israel great patriarchal promise but likewise foretold future sufferings of the Jewish people. Modern endeavors in Zion may well culminate in mere ruin unless and until Israel came to faith in Jesus. But that conceptualization appeared rather remote as Israel's faith would come only after a prolonged season of more Jewish suffering ostensibly to lead national Israel to the embrace of Jesus as Messiah.

The ever-missions minded AG seized upon the descriptions of new openness of the American Jewish community to the Gospel. Not only were para-Church organizations like Jews for Jesus encountering phenomenal successes but also the CRM was greatly appealing to many thousands of American Jews across the nation yearning for spiritual experience. Not only were hundreds of new Jewish believers showing up in AG congregations and attending AG colleges throughout the country, but even appointed missionaries were discovering new successes that were leading to the establishment of messianic synagogues in Los Angeles, St. Louis, Fort Lauderdale and New York, and with prospects for many more. The AG congregational-planting philosophy of ministry made room for such overt Messianic Jewish cultural expression among new believers in harmony with the AG ethnic pluralism philosophy and missions strategy. Such openness to Jewish cultural expression also projected a philo-Semitic image at a time when the denomination was still reeling from the revelation of the sale of the Jerusalem property.

As the Charismatic Renewal Movement (CRM) of the 1970s and 1980s continued to bring multiplied thousands of new tongues-speakers into the AG from the more traditional churches of the Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and even Roman Catholics, the Neo-Pentecostals brought with them their conventional understandings of the place of Israel in the divine economy. Many were deeply entrenched in supersessionism or replacement theology suggesting that national Israel had no further role in salvation history. More focused on the ecstasy of their own

spiritual experience that on the larger purposes of God, they sensed no need to be preoccupied with eschatological concerns considered much the fantasy of Bible-thumping dispensationalists. The thrill of denominational Christians entering into the Pentecostal Spirit-baptism experience in AG congregations overshadowed any Pentecostal disquiet about a worrying sense of infidelity to Israel or even any last vestiges of primitivist restorationism.

Pentecostal leaders were suspect of much of the Charismatic agenda in the earlier years of the 1960s and 1970s and preferred to keep many Charismatics at bay. Yet, when tens of thousands of new Charismatic churches came into existence and new Charismatic denominations were formed to accommodate the wildly growing CRM, pragmatic thinkers in the AG sought for ways to draw into the AG corporate body the new numerical wealth and resources these hundreds of thousands represented. Always the missions-minded organization, the AG quickly understood the potential for international growth that may come with the multiplied thousands of new charitable people.

The narcissistic bent of the CRM with its emphasis upon one's own spiritual sensation was not inconsistent with the emphases E. S. Williams had made in the early 1950s to disassociate glossolalia from the *eschaton*. Many traditional Pentecostals fell into that spiritual experience oriented agenda at the cost of a focus on the Second Coming. As the AG grew larger, wealthier, and better educated, its constituency nestled in for the long term into a society given to self-gratification. As a consequence of lessening eschatological tensions, the high drama of the Pentecostal association with Zion was also diminished.

The CRM, basking in spiritual euphoria and frequent "health and wealth" doctrines, saw no place of importance for national Israel, either in the present or future, except as a legitimate refuge for persecuted Jews. Generously applying amillennial or postmillennial doctrines of former ages to a new and contemporary tongues-speaking reality, many Charismatic leaders developed hostility to eschatological notions involving national Israel. Such classical Pentecostal fixation on an anti-christic nation in rebellion against God was an idolatrous borrowing from anti-Pentecostal dispensationalism as far as many Charismatic "reconstructionists" were concerned. Charismatic attack was directly launched against Pentecostal fascination with modern

Israel. To the extent the AG was Israel-focused, the AG was considered misguided. The Church was thought to be God's only program from here to eternity, and national Israel had no ongoing biblical relevance or promise.

Classical Pentecostals, like Stanley Horton, recognized the strange ideological position the AG now found itself in. Still held in suspicion by many in the Evangelical and Fundamentalist worlds after so much ideological compromise, the very *raison d'être* of early Pentecostalism (and its AG progeny) was now in doubt among a growing number of Charismatics and the myriads of American humanity they were influencing. The AG would need to reestablish its ideological integrity or face rapid decline. Its step back from dispensationalism and towards an earlier ideology compelled it to rehearse the eternal value and promise of national Israel in the divine economy. For Israel to carry no end-time significance, or have no divine restorationist relevance, would strike directly at the legitimacy of classical Pentecostalism. Pro-Israel personalities like Stanley Horton, Amos Millard, and others would come forward to reinforce Israel's abiding significance to God and, certainly, to Pentecostalism.

Not only in Pentecostal academic forums or brief and incidental political displays, but on the grassroots level of folk Pentecostalism, AG voices sounded louder and longer for American and Pentecostalist support for national Israel and renewed hope for Israel's multi-faceted restoration. Theological statements were needed to continually reflect the solid biblical promises to Israel since God's own integrity had been brought into question by the allegorical machinations of replacement theology. The Pentecostal liaison with Israel through the agency of their projected common experience with the Holy Spirit was reemphasized. Gentle reminders of long neglected AG Jewish missions were offered to encourage a revival of evangelistic activity in anticipation of the pending redemption of Israel.

Following the Yom Kippur War and the three decades that followed, the AG remained officially aloof from any direct connection with political Israel. While eschatological hope for millennial Israel remained the constant theme among Pentecostal advocates of dispensationalism for denominational consumption, the AG consistently distanced itself organizationally from Zionism and any taint of political endorsement of Israel's policies. But it was becoming increasingly understood that such a "hands-off" policy of Israel was a betrayal of Pentecostal restorationism and,

ultimately, of Pentecostal identity itself as witnessed in the prolific challenges to the AG drift away from God's Chosen People in the 1990s.

The AG was seen to be obligated to arrest its own backsliding away from its identification with Israel and from its open acknowledgement of Providence's twin restorationist efforts over the last century or risk losing its own distinct *raison d'être*. The carefully plotted and executed strategy of separation and divorce from Israel over the last three decades of the twentieth century would ultimately fail. AG Pentecostalism desperately needed the successes of a fully redeemed Israel and a complete identification with a restored Israel to maintain its own ideological integrity and continued meaning.

EPILOGUE:
THE EVERLASTING BOND BETWEEN
CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM AND THE JEWISH STATE

The American religious conviction that a nationally renewed and spiritually revitalized Jewish Kingdom state would ultimately resume its God-given global destiny has been a four-centuries-long strand of intellectual heritage woven directly into the fabric of American myth and motif. The link between the progeny of biblical Israel and the American New Israel ran deep in the streams of Puritan thought and was rehearsed in New World literature, polity, and social structure. With the Hebrew Bible serving as the divinely issued communal model for social existence, the Jewish people of fact or fiction would have a niche deeply carved into the corporate American psyche.

As a new era of spiritual vitality dawned across the American horizon through the agencies of New Lights like Jonathan Edwards, spiritual experience became linked millennial expectations. The Great Awakening postured Edwards and others to advocate a postmillennialism that promoted the Second Coming as only following a thousand years of Christian renewal efforts in a presently darkened human universe so as to present to the returning Christ a fully enlightened and redeemed mankind. Two dimensions of postmillennial thought are key to my dissertation. First, world redemption would follow upon dynamic spiritual revitalization of the church, particularly in America, from where the global revival would emulate. Second, at the climax of salvation history, national Israel would again function in Zion and perform Israel's providentially assigned task of reflecting the glory of God to all nations. American Church spiritual renewal, the restoration of national Israel, and global redemption were linked in the postmillennial ideology that so dramatically impacted the minds and hearts of masses of American religious enthusiasts. Such a redemptive role for the American religious national destiny was deliberately linked with both biblical and eschatological Israel and strongly supported the revolutionary themes that ultimately led to American political independence.

In the aftermath of the Civil War and beyond, despair mounted over unattained fulfillment of millennial goals even through the best efforts of noble men. Increasing numbers of American Christians were prepared to consider an ideological review of their eschatological perspective. Perhaps the only remedy for mankind's sick world was divine intervention. John Nelson Darby's nineteenth-century dispensationalist scheme, distinguishing seven essentially distinct periods of time in which God dealt with mankind in diverse manners but always as a means to the ultimate accomplishment His divine objectives, called for the ultimate collapse of every dispensation which then compelled divine intervention to launch the next. God would break into time and space to inaugurate yet another new dispensation, even as the old passed away, as part of the divine plan to effect the final execution of salvation history. According to Darby's dispensationalism, national Israel's Kingdom dispensation would yet play a key role in the millennial future. The Kingdom had been offered to Israel by God's appointed Messiah but was rejected. Christ and his Kingdom offer would have to await from heaven the commencement of Israel's repentant attitude and second Kingdom opportunity. The Kingdom could be restored to Israel only with Jesus as King/Messiah when Israel was nationally prepared to embrace him. Meanwhile, the Church served parenthetically as a stopgap interim measure to assure continued administration of divine grace to all God's human creation. But even as Israel's rejection of Christ had frozen in divine time the Kingdom of Israel possibilities, at the pitiful conclusion of the Church Age when the remnant of Christian faithful were mysteriously raptured into heaven, and only subsequent to a seven-year period of Jewish suffering at the hands of the Gentile nations under the influence of an anti-Christ, the Kingdom would be again offered to an eager national Israel as Christ broke through the clouds in his triumphant Second Coming. Millions of American Evangelicals were prepared to accept Darby's defeatist image of the Church, at least on the short-term basis, since ultimate millennial victory was promised in his scheme. A defeated Church made sense to an oft-despairing Christian society so disillusioned with world events and social circumstances. A rapture to heaven and Providence's own dealing with all the world's problems made great sense to those depressed by their own inability to make grander differences in their world. They would gladly entrust all the burden of earthly repairs into the hands of God.

There were other voices, however, not quite as prepared to abandon hope in the present or to ideologically place the needed divine intervention off to the future Second Coming. Holiness groups had suggested the real cause for the current Church inept powerlessness was the lack of holy living. From their perspective, what was urgently needed was a new visitation of the Holy Spirit who would sanctify their Christian lives and empower them for effective missions. God had intended, they were sure, to revisit NT Christianity upon his sincere devotees so that miracles like physical healings would witness to the veracity of the Gospel and make a grand difference among American and international multitudes. Rather than accepting a defeatist disposition, holiness camps desperately sought empowerment for greater victories.

To effect the restoration of the NT Church in the late nineteenth century, it was increasingly accepted that a new baptism of the Spirit was in order. The issue of how the reception of Spirit-baptism would be clearly evidenced was an unresolved issue. But very few had suggested such a Spirit-baptism would be accompanied by tongues speaking as on the original Day of Pentecost. With Charles Parham's student body in Topeka, Kansas, receiving a tongues-speaking experience in the early hours of January 1, 1901, Parham began teaching that, in fact, speaking in tongues was that important evidence of having received "the baptism of the Holy Ghost." Parham's conviction soon became the mantra of those claiming a new Day of Pentecost had come replete with glossolalia much to the consternation of Evangelicals and especially holiness circles. The biblical apologetic offered by Parham and his supporters failed to convince the vast majority of conservative American Christians who openly disputed and ridiculed what they felt was the new Pentecostalist hysteria. While many were prepared to assign it a less than admirable source, Pentecostals sought for additional supportive evidence to legitimate their distinct experience.

As the Pentecostal movement grew in harmony with the 1906 Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles, Pentecostals dramatically caught the attention of significant portions of the American public. The new enthusiastic demeanor of worship services so broadly publicized through the media and often scoffed at by both conservative Christians and the general public alike, compelled Pentecostal apologetic justification to assure the movement's longevity.

Not lost on Americans generally was the very public rise of Zionism in the very late nineteenth century. Talk of reestablishing a Jewish State in Zion struck a responsive chord in a great many American hearts. The entire American myth had been connected with an eventually restored national Israel. Parham himself was among the first Pentecostals to seize upon Zionism as witness to the current divine “restoration of all things.” To stress the Pentecostalist-Zionist connection, Parham and often his entire evangelistic ministry teams would wear Palestinian garb on Church platforms. Soon a strong bank of new teachings on the “Latter Rain” had developed to further signify that the divinely paired restorationist works of the apostolic Church and national Israel were presently underway in a world soon to experience its long-needed redemption.

The rise of Zionism afforded all dispensationalists and most restorationists hope for the pending *eschaton* as they uniformly welcomed the prospect of the Second Coming. But Latter Rain Pentecostals saw in Zionism a marvelous argument in favor of their concept that the long anticipated apostolic restoration of the Church had begun in earnest with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking with other tongues. God was restoring his Jewish people to a national home in Zion even as he was restoring the Church to its first-century apostolic heritage. Pentecostalism and Zionism were fraternal twin projects of divine undertaking as God was presently summing up salvation history with the climax of the ages.

The steady Pentecostal reports of new levels of annual rainfall in Palestine, Jewish migration figures, infrastructural developments, etc., captured the imagination of Pentecostals and others who sensed the *eschaton* had surely arrived. The reestablishment of national Israel was at hand. Unquestionably God’s restoration of the Church to her pristine apostolic character was likewise underway. But a restoration of the Church to its first-century radical essence without the widespread use of glossolalia or speaking in tongues made no more sense than a restoration of national Israel in Uganda. Even as Israel went with Zion, tongues went with apostolic restoration. Both Israel and the Church were to be restored to their first-century Jerusalem heritage and points of backslidden departure. God had brought the circle of history full cycle. The people of God, Israel and the Church were being providentially refortified to resume their common mission in the authority lost after those early first-century generations.

While dispensationalists could hold Pentecostals in contempt for ascribing to themselves the “Kingdom” involvement dispensationalism reserved only for national Israel in the millennial future, Pentecostals actually saw themselves not only as partners with Israel in twentieth-century providential activity, but as spiritually equipped agents to bring Israel to speedy repentance and faith in Jesus. Pentecostals could never imagine God’s best for Israel being manifestly received apart from Jewish national faith in Christ. But Jewish unbelief was obviously a temporary problem. Pentecostals needed to engage in Jewish missionary activity to a people undoubtedly prepared to positively respond to the Gospel. The same God presently pouring out his Spirit in Pentecostal fullness upon the faithful Christian remnant was now also prepared to breathe his *Ruach* into the reassembling Israeli national bones of Ezekiel’s vision. For the *eschaton* to fully manifest the climax of salvation history God needed both the Church and Israel to walk in obedience, as they would be both spiritually energized by the Pentecostal experience. Israel would do more than accept Jesus as King/Messiah; Israel would be touched by the Holy Spirit and speak in tongues. Pentecostalism and Zionism went together like hand and glove.

By the time a small host of Pentecostal congregations first formed as the General Council of the Assemblies of God (AG) in 1914, the “Latter Rain” message had long saturated Pentecostal periodicals and sermons. At the 1916 national meeting, two Jewish believers stood to address the General Council in session. Their challenge for the AG to broadly engage in Jewish evangelism was respectfully received and noted. Keenly focused upon Zion, the AG soon began supporting Pentecostal missionary activity in Jerusalem and environs. Many of the missionaries turned to easier tasks out of their frustrations but others engaged in the massive distribution of Hebrew copies of the New Testament and other evangelistic materials with some success and receptivity.

The events surrounding World War I generated immense enthusiasm among Pentecostals for the reestablishment of the Jewish State. Pentecostal periodicals were filled with descriptions of Zionist efforts of land purchase and redemption, city construction, and agricultural triumphs. The Jewish people were highly honored for their courage in the face of horrendous odds and for their ingenuity and hard work. Zion was heralded as the site of God’s ultimate success at refashioning his people Israel

into that marvelous people chosen to be his agents for divine exploits among the nations. A fully redeemed national Israel would walk in the power of the Holy Spirit.

With the British liberation of Palestine from the Sultan's grip during World War I, his Majesty's government was able to issue the Balfour Declaration in 1917. This was soon followed by the miraculously painless surrender of Jerusalem to General Allenby in December the same year. The nationally electrified Pentecostals could not miss such a grand scenario for pending eschatological fulfillment. As opposition to a potential Jewish State developed among the Arabs, in segments of the British government, and in the international community, Pentecostals issued clarion calls for repentance among the opposing parties lest God bring their civilizations to utter ruin. Having come this far in the divine program, God would not settle now for Jewish defeat but himself crush all anti-Zionist forces under his feet. On the heels of the Balfour Declaration, Zionist defeat was as unimaginable as a Pentecostal abandonment of glossolalia. Neither Satan nor his hellish demonic hordes would stop the twin restorationist works of God.

The waves of European anti-Semitism that swept across the Continent in the 1920s and 1930s managed to scale the Atlantic and find refuge in America. Stanley Frodsham, editor the *Pentecostal Evangel*, published warnings against the Jews on the basis of the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It would take Frodsham most of a decade to publicly recant his regretful behavior. But by the early 1930s, he became an outspoken voice in favor of the Zionist cause and Jewish people generally. There had been a minimum of expressions of AG anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, but they did happen. On the heels of World War II, in 1945 General Council session the AG adopted a strong condemnation of all forms of anti-Semitism.

In the absence of soundly crafted Pentecostal theologies, AG educators and national leaders extensively borrowed from dispensationalism to afford Pentecostals some structure for understanding eschatological developments. Rather than delaying clear-cut definitions until Pentecostals could themselves create theologies more consistent with their own self-understanding and group needs, it was decided by people like Frank Boyd as early as 1925, to wholly borrow dispensationalism and make slight modifications to artificially accommodate the existence of Pentecostalism within the framework of a dispensationalist system fully hostile to pristinely apostolic restorationist ideology. But it would take a generation of persistent effort for

dispensationalism to largely overwhelm AG restorationism as mixed restorationist-dispensationalist messages were continually offered to the Pentecostal masses.

As western anti-Semitism was rising in concert with the Nazi propaganda of the 1930s, the Jewish future appeared more uncertain to many. While Pentecostal enthusiasm for the new Zionist reality remained very high and every new development in Palestine seemed to merit special focus and celebration in Pentecostal literature, doubts of the immediate Jewish future began to surface. After all, many complained, the Jewish people were yet to receive Christ. It was unimaginable that the full portion of patriarchal promise could be realized in such an unbelieving environment. As the AG slowly gravitated toward dispensationalism, others questioned the wisdom of placing too many Pentecostal ideological eggs in the secularized Zionist political basket. What if a severe season of Jewish suffering should come even as dispensationalism had called for? What if the establishment of a national home in Palestine was divinely delayed for lack of Jewish faith in Christ? What would this portend for the image and integrity of restorationist Pentecostalism? Might the entire Pentecostal "Latter Rain" ideology crumble like a house of cards if the Zionist hopes were shattered? Maybe it had been unwise to coordinate Pentecostal restorationism with Jewish nationalistic restorationism. Could the two movements really be partnered together if they were not agreed on Christ?

While developments in Palestine continued to receive high marks in Pentecostal educational materials and weekly publications, some seeds of doubt were deliberately planted to hedge Pentecostal bets. The best way to demonstrate continued good will toward the Jewish people at a time of unacceptable anti-Semitic campaigns, to express Pentecostal favor upon Zion at a time of Islamic and international protest against Zionist aspirations for Jewish Statehood, and to yet find ideological cover should Zionism utterly fail, was to constantly reemphasize the need for Jewish evangelism. If all should become lost for the Jewish people in light of runaway German anti-Semitism and international condemnation of potential Jewish Statehood, it could be simply blamed on continued Jewish resistance to the Gospel. Dispensationalism now had increased added attraction as it afforded the AG the option of accepting the possibility of immediate and even catastrophic Jewish defeat without the ideological forfeiture of the ultimate hope for a Messiah-restored Zion. Nevertheless, even the delay of a

restored Zion would bring into question the veracity and authenticity of the supposed apostolic restoration of the Church.

With all their ideological shifting and theological ambiguities, Pentecostals continued to cling to the understanding that Pentecostalist evangelism among the Jews would ultimately be related to the final redemption of Israel, whenever that might happen. Therefore many stories were published in Pentecostalist literature of contemporary miraculous Jewish encounters with Pentecostalism to both demonstrate the legitimacy of Pentecostal tongues speaking and maintain the vital Pentecostal connection to the redemption of Israel.

After four decades of questionable legitimacy in American Christian society, upwardly mobile third generation Pentecostals craved social acceptance and recognition. When in 1942 the newly forming National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) offered the AG the opportunity to lock arms with the Evangelical world in pursuit of a common and effectual national voice on social issues, the AG seized the opportunity. The long coveted partnership with a formerly hostile Christian society prepared Pentecostals to make accommodating changes they perceived would enhance their chances of long-term relationships with their respectable fellows. There was not only movement away from telltale signs of Pentecostal fantasies of spiritual superiority, but gradual modification of life-style to appear more culturally relevant to the larger American society. As much of the Evangelical world and vast portions of conservative American Christianity had embraced dispensationalism, the self-imposition of dispensationalism was intensified upon the AG masses in print, in the Bible college classroom, and in the pulpit.

The spiritual depression of the 1930s that had preceded the economic depression and impacted much of American Christianity throughout the nation had also generated lament among many Pentecostals. The move toward the centralization of bureaucratic powers and ministerial conformity was deemed responsible for much of the Pentecostal spiritual drought. As Pentecostals prayed and fasted to overcome this clouded season, revival came with new levels of power in 1948 with the rise of the "New Order of the Latter Rain." The perceived excesses of the "New Order" not only embarrassed the AG, but also threatened the newly acquired AG image before a watching Evangelical world. Certainly to minimize strife in the local assemblies but also to engage in damage control

in preservation of their new Evangelical image, the AG in 1949 national session fully condemned the “New Order” thereby further disassociating the AG from its own Pentecostalist heritage in the interest of social palatability.

Actually the “New Order” did not need the endorsement of the AG and continued with great fervor. Astonishingly, the “New Order of the Latter Rain” made no ideological connection with national Israel, as had original “Latter Rain” teaching. The “New Order” restorationist ideology suggested that every generation was equally responsible to pursue its own apostolic restoration to best engage in Kingdom of God-related enterprise. This ambience diffused the significance of not only turn-of-the-century Pentecostalism but of the restoration of Zion even in the midst of the State of Israel’s 1948 declaration of independence. The seeming irrelevance of Zionism or national Israel to the Pentecostal experience was passed from the “New Order” to the healing movement of the 1950s and on to the Charismatic Renewal Movement (CRM) from the 1960s and into the 1990s.

Happy for the increased Christian embrace of Spirit-baptism and its related tongues speaking in seemingly every corner of Christendom, the AG was not in a mood to fight over Pentecostal attitudes regarding Zionism and the State of Israel. Concomitant to the ever-expanding CRM readiness to think in terms of supersessionist replacement theology, thereby relegating national Israel to virtual insignificance, the AG became more fully entrenched in dispensationalism through the efforts of national leaders like E. S. Williams and Ralph Riggs. In what would seem a curious, if inadvertent, accommodation toward both the spirit of the “New Order” and NAE dispensationalists, E. S. Williams disassociated glossolalia from eschatological events, making tongues speaking essentially a personal means to spiritual edification and fully unrelated to dramatic Kingdom expansionism. This had the further effect then of disassociating modern Pentecostal experience from eschatological Israel and reducing the Pentecostal tensions surrounding the Zionist eventuality.

During the drama filled moments of grand Israeli military victory, Pentecostals were seemingly quite prepared to temporarily lay aside theological scruples toward Israel whether in regard to Jewish faith in Christ or in any expectation of a “time of Jacob’s trouble.” The conquering Israel in the 1948-49 War of Independence, the Israeli defeat of Egypt during the Suez Crisis of 1956, and most especially, the Israeli retaking

of old Jerusalem and tremendous land acquisition during the 1967 Six-Day War, all conjured up any and all latent Pentecostal sentiments for a divinely re-instituted Jewish State that was suddenly expected to be momentarily redeemed by faith at the Second Coming. Conversely, a threatened Jewish State as it found itself under Arab siege in 1948-49, or as endangered by the Islamic nations even as Russia clamored against Israel during the pre-Suez Crisis years, or again as jeopardized by desert-filled enemy hordes during the years leading up to the 1967 Six-Day War, awakened official fears and generated new reservations of Pentecostal ideological commitment to restored national Israel. Never would the Pentecostal literature express any doubt regarding the biblically promised ultimate accomplishments of a Messianic Zionism, when all Israel would be trusting in Christ and be filled with the Holy Spirit. But a currently unbelieving Israel could still undergo a drastic season of chastening that could at least seriously jeopardize the survival of the Jewish State. In such moments of uncertainty, the AG deferred to the dispensationalist scheme which called for a "time of Jacob's trouble" or "Great Tribulation" suggesting that only more Jewish suffering, even in the post-Holocaust years, could properly engender Jewish national faith in Christ.

Yet it was precisely in these years between World War II and 1972 that the AG most vociferously launched a series of new Jewish missionary efforts across America. It seemed that the greater the jeopardy Pentecostals supposed the Jewish State to be suffering, the greater became the Pentecostal commitment to Jewish evangelism. The greater the perceived immediate need of national Israel for Christ, the more intensified would be AG missionary efforts to salvage Israel. The shifting of the Pentecostal romance with Israel manifested not only with the apparent fluctuations between the stability and instability of the Jewish State, but also with the related intensification of the assumed need for Jewish evangelism.

The aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War impacted AG official attitude toward Israel, the Jewish people, and Jewish evangelism as intensely as anything before or since. The period from 1973 to 1999 is a staggering exhibition of the shifting Pentecostal romance with Israel. The setbacks Israel encountered at the hands of her neighboring countries, both physical and psychological, unexpectedly demonstrated a new level of vulnerability especially coming just six short years after the electrifying victories of the Six-Day War. Subsequent to the 1973 war, the AG afforded only the exceptionally rare

positive statement regarding the State of Israel in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, Gospel House Publishing educational materials, or other official AG publications. Israel's growing unpopularity in light of the Arab Oil Boycott, which many Americans had laid squarely at Israel's feet, combined with the intensifying denominational embrace of dispensationalism's seven-year period of "Jacob's trouble" and the shifting of political sympathies toward the Palestinian cause, to motivate the rather complete disassociation of Israel and the Assemblies of God. The discreetly quiet sale of the only AG property in central Jerusalem in 1969 had earlier punctuated the decline of the Pentecostal AG denomination's public favoring of Zion.

Curiously, as the AG moved further away from identification with national Israel or its policies, it embraced the new 1970s messianic synagogue movement and welcomed Messianic Jewish congregations into full membership within the AG denomination. At least one of these, Temple Aron Kodesh in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, claimed a Jewish membership of 400. The Jewish cultural practices and even glad expression of Jewish peoplehood were denominationally welcomed within these AG messianic synagogues.

As the CRM continued to gain momentum throughout all corners of American Christian society, it tended to utilize and amplify the supersessionism largely borrowed from the historic churches. With an emphasis upon personal spiritual experience as opposed to the classical Pentecostal commitment to cataclysmic eschatological outcome, national Israel was of little meaning to most tongues-speakers party to the CRM. The most outrageous expression of supersessionist replacement theology came with Earl Paulk's "Kingdom Now" and other "reconstructionist" teachings that ideologically viewed Israel's importance as limited to that of any other nation and as useful only to Jews. AG voices, like that of Stanley Horton and Amos Millard, began to protest the slighting of Israel in the divine economy in Pentecostal academic forums. The unacceptability of a supersessionist Charismatic ideology, which fully negated the significance of Israel, combined with the rigidly hostile dispensationalist posture toward end-times apostolic renewal to persuade noted AG thinkers by the final two decades of the century that a new Pentecostal theology needed to be crafted. To serve AG ideology and Pentecostal *raison d'être* well, however, all such theology must freely

embrace national Israel as fellow restorationist partner in the *eschaton* with the apostolically restored Pentecostalist Church.

At the AG grassroots level people tended to more intuitively sense their restorationist brotherhood with national Israel even while they were being taught dispensationalism. Popular writers and evangelistic speakers continued to make the case for the necessity of Pentecostal endorsement and ongoing support for Israel. But often to the chagrin of such AG Israel advocates, the AG continued its widespread support of Jewish evangelism, never losing its conviction that Israel and the Jewish people would forever be incomplete without Israel's corporate leader, Jesus.

In the final analysis, in spite of the immense and long-term political, theological, and sociological pressures to disassociate from national Israel, in addition to the two decades long confrontation with Muslim missionary issues, the AG has not been able to adopt a total hands-off policy toward Israel. An ideological step in the direction of either Charismatic supersessionism or cessationist dispensationalism, would equally undermine Pentecostalism's given reason for being. Attempts have been made to redefine what is the proper use for speaking in tongues, the classical Pentecostalist strongest distinctive, and to disconnect Pentecostal restorationism from Zion's restoration. But these efforts have only further undermined the AG *raison d'être*. But no matter what position the AG has tended toward at different moments in the twentieth century, it has never felt a liberty to disavow Jewish evangelism. Since the AG could not ignore the literalist interpretation of Scripture, they felt obliged to take at face value the promises of Israel's ultimate national restoration and salvation. This ultimate salvation of national Israel cannot be envisioned in AG ideology as in any way divorced from Jewish national faith in Christ.

Earlier historians recognized the Protestant Reformation's departure from Roman Catholicism's Augustinian ideology of the role of Israel relative to the *eschaton* that ultimately afforded Protestants a new significance for the Jewish people in space and time. This shift in Protestant ideology that now conceived of Israel as a redemptive catalyst in the *eschaton* ignited greater Evangelical enthusiasm with the rise of modern premillennial dispensationalism. Yet until now no scholars have historically demonstrated the uniquely significant identification that early American Pentecostals

made with the Jewish people, Zionism, and later with the State of Israel, as a correlative to the distinctive emphases made in twentieth-century Pentecostal ideology.

With the continued phenomenal numerical growth of Pentecostalism in North America and around the world, better understanding of Pentecostal history and ideology is of ever-increasing significance to professional historians, academics, religious thinkers, and political leaders, religious or secular.

This historical research ultimately poses crucial academic questions worthy of future research: Since the Pentecostals had such a highly vested ideological interest in Zionism but even they found their ideological commitment to Zionism and Israel dramatically waning in the closing decades of the twentieth century, what might this portend for the larger American Evangelical community in the twenty-first century? What might be the potential implications or ramifications in light of this study for other American Christian Charismatic or Third World Pentecostalist religious or political relations with Israel? And, would a greatly weakened ideological Christian commitment to Zionism witness a corresponding decrease in philo-Semitism or, worse, herald an upswing in American or international anti-Semitism?

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