

Pentecostalism

Article, Research Centers, Bibliographies and Selected Literature

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Article

1. Definitions and Expansion

So far there is no agreed definition on the worldwide Pentecostal movements. The US Assemblies of God and their international satellites propagate an **exclusive definition**. They see in the baptism of the Spirit, characterized by speaking in tongues the main distinctive feature. However, this definition is not even accepted within the Assemblies of God¹ and is contradicted by the fact that many members of the Assemblies of God and similar churches do not and have never spoken in tongues². The **inclusive definition** sees in Pentecostalism a movement which expects manifestations of the Spirit in the normal worship service. The purpose of these gifts of the Spirit, such as healing, speaking in tongues and prophecy is not to distinguish Pentecostals from other Christians but an ecumenical ministry of reconciliation. This definition goes back to the founder of Pentecostalism, William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922; see below footnote 3.)

This is not simply a question of definition but of theological judgment. The exclusive definition reduces Pentecostalism to an evangelical middle-class church, enriched by speaking in tongues. The inclusive definition sees in the Holy Spirit mainly a reconciling agent between races, classes, churches and nations in a sharply divided Pentecostal community.

Worldwide there were in 1998, 500 million Pentecostals, that is if one accepts the inclusive definition counting amongst Pentecostalism the so-called independent churches (or "non-white indigenous churches", Barrett), the new immigration churches in Europe (Waehrisch-Oblau, Gerloff) and the charismatic groups in the historical churches. All of them have historical roots in classical Pentecostal churches. Taking all these strands together that means that Pentecostals equal

¹ R.P. Spittler, "Glossolalia".

² H. Lederle, "Initial Evidence".

or even out-number all non-Roman churches. Some even project that in a generation Pentecostals will have reached over one billion, 44% of Christians, more than the Roman Catholics³.

This is certainly true for Third World Pentecostalism. Their presentation and analysis is outside the scope of this article. Nevertheless the fact that Christianity grows faster than world population is almost entirely due to Third World Pentecostalism. A growth from zero to over 500 million in less than a century has no parallels in history. It seems to me obvious that such an explosion raises valid and important theological questions. Nevertheless, this type of spirituality seems to become the future of Christianity worldwide.

Western Evangelicals and Pentecostals use these statistics in order to prove their superiority. They ignore the fact that the main-bulk of Pentecostalism is in the Third World which, in general rejects Western missionaries. That is the reason for their growth. In many countries the growth only set in when the missionaries left or had to leave. That is for instance the case in China. These churches have also integrated many of their pre-Christian rites into their pneumatology. In other words, they are syncretistic. But so are all churches including Western mainline churches⁴.

Lack of theological research is partly responsible for a number of stereotypes which dominate public opinion, for instance that these are marginal sectarian groups, that they are apolitical and theologically underdeveloped. A universal history of Pentecostalism has not yet been written and will probably never be written in spite of some sociological (Martin), anthropological (Poewe) and theological (Bloch-Hoell, Shaull, Cox) publications.

In Britain Pentecostalism was introduced by the Anglican priest Alexander A. Boddy (1854-1930), a member of the Royal Geographical Society (UK) and the Imperial Geographical Society (Russia). He exercised a decisive ministry through his Whitsuntide Conventions at Sunderland (1908-1914) and his periodical *Confidence* (1908-1928).

He got into conflict with a younger generation of working class Pentecostal leaders like George Jeffreys (1889-1962), an employee of the cooperative store at Maesteg, his brother Stephen (1876-1942), a miner, Donald Gee (1891-1966), a sign painter and Smith Wigglesworth (1859-1947), a plumber who could hardly read and write⁵.

During World War I the conflict exploded because the working class evangelists opted for conscientious objection. Whilst some of them suffered in prison, Boddy and his friends concluded

³ For statistics see D.B. Barret, *World Christian Encyclopedia* and his regular up-date in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*

⁴ For an in-depth discussion see my chapter "A Plea for a Theologically Responsible Syncretism" in my *Pentecostalism*, 132-141.

⁵ His books were written by others on the basis of short-hand notes of his sermons.

their prayer meetings with “God Save the King”. The conflict grew to a rupture when the young evangelists rejected Anglican ecclesiology and infant baptism and began to organize independent free churches, namely the Elim Pentecostal Churches, the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Churches. Furthermore, the Church of England had no use for these uneducated but highly gifted evangelists. They did not fit “the culture” which was a matter of course for a clergyman in the Established Church.

The rupture between British Pentecostalism and the Church of England was not total. Edward Jeffreys (brother of Stephen and George), David Gee (son of Donald Gee) and many other Pentecostal pastors became Anglican priests. The transfer of Pentecostals to catholic, orthodox and protestant churches is considerable. One finds nowadays in all protestant churches (not only in Britain) former Pentecostal pastors in leading positions. One of the most prominent examples is Miroslav Volf from ex-Yugoslavia, Dr. theol. of the University of Tübingen (Moltmann), now a US Presbyterian and professor at Yale Divinity School. Ex-Pentecostals would be a fruitful field of research⁶.

The key person for continental Europe was Thomas B. Barratt (1862-1940), a British Methodist who emigrated to Oslo. He studied music with Grieg. Through contacts with Boddy and Seymour he was introduced to Pentecostalism. He left Methodism and founded the Filadelfia Church in Oslo. His periodical *Korsets Seir* was published in German, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Spanish and Russian. All over Europe he - and many others with him - helped to establish Pentecostal churches. Through the former Baptist Lewi Pethrus (1884-1974) from Stockholm, he was won for a congregational ecclesiology and adult baptism. However, more important than these relatively small Pentecostal churches in protestant countries are the still growing Pentecostal churches in countries such as Italy, France, Rumania and even the former Soviet Union⁷.

2. Missiology

Pentecostal missiology has resolutely taken the line of Roland Allan's *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* This can best be documented in the life and work of Melvin Hodges (1909-1988), a leading US Pentecostal missiologist. In 1950 he asked a simple question: Why the

⁶ Some beginnings in the chapter “Ex-Pentecostals Anonymous” in my *Pentecostalism*, 389-397.

⁷ My *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung* (10 vols., 6000 pp., available from Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT) lists all Pentecostal organizations in all countries (insofar as information was available at the time). It records summaries of their history, sociological analysis and – very important – their declarations of faith in the original languages with a German translation. It is now outdated but still not replaced.

weakness of many of the mission churches in the Third World? His answer: Because missionaries have treated people like irresponsible children. They mistook the scaffolding for the building. Missionaries, says Hodges, are not intended to be a permanent factor. They must work themselves out of a job. Too many missionaries have been sent. And in Hodges's opinion all this amounts to a lack of faith.

His statements were meant as a criticism of the mainline mission societies at a time when Pentecostals were poor and could not rival them. In the meantime Pentecostal churches in the West have become rich. Nowadays Pentecostal missionaries are responsible for the expansion of their denominational influence.

However, the original conviction of the independence from foreign theologies, finances and missionary personnel has taken root in most Third World Pentecostal churches. This has led to their separation from their "mother churches". For that reason these new Pentecostal "non-white indigenous churches" (Barrett's terminology) are no longer of interest to Pentecostal missiologists - with a few exceptions (Allan Anderson, Pate). It is understandable that the mainline missionary establishment is also not interested in telling the story of their more successful rivals. As of late these new churches have inaugurated a "mission in reverse" to Europe, the US and other countries with a new type of tent-making ministry (Währer- Oblau, Gerloff). This is not only responsible for their massive growth but it also strengthens the frightening tendency to split up Pentecostalism into scores and hundreds of unrelated bodies. The ecumenical vision is lost. That is why the WCC has taken up a serious dialogue with these churches (van Beek, WCC).

Few European Pentecostal churches cooperate with these immigration churches. Therefore they look for ecumenical friendship with church federations and University institutes which - in Pentecostal language - belong to the liberal wing of Christianity. This is acceptable because these "liberal institutions" seem to overcome white racism. The situation is different in the US where Pentecostals were more or less able to integrate Hispanic immigrants into their church structures which created some interesting theological tensions (Villafañe). A new development was inaugurated with the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership at the University of Birmingham, UK, the first University in Europe that took up this challenge. This is a difficult but promising adventure because it combines rigorous academic research with the lived religion of poor immigrants. It was so successful that the University of Hamburg started a similar program for African pastors in Germany.

3. Historical Roots

A number of historical roots played a significant role in the formation of Pentecostalism. The most important one is the **Afro-American culture and religion**. The key person is William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922), child of former slaves from Centerville, Louisiana, raised in a Roman Catholic family, self-taught, originally greatly influenced by Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929) but refusing in later life Parham's racist and sectarian theology. Seymour was at the center of the revival of Los Angeles, Azusa Street (1907) in which blacks and whites, men and women, Latinos and US Americans, aristocrats and working class people came together to celebrate Pentecost as an atoning even. That happened at a time when practically all Christians in the US were open racists⁸. This Christian testimony against the trend did not last long and Pentecostalism became as segregated as the rest of Christianity in the US. The main black Pentecostal church in the US is the Church of God in Christ.

Allan Anderson records a similar development in South Africa, where Pentecostalism started as an integrated movement but became soon an agent of the South African Apartheid policy up to the publication of *A Relevant Pentecostal Testimony* in the nineties of the last century - a remarkable document of public repentance.

From these black roots Pentecostalism received its music and its oral culture. Today this black culture has been transformed in white Pentecostalism to a kind of post-modernism. It is believed: That which works, is also true. Newer Pentecostal churches look more like a TV studio than like a church. The modern Pentecostal pastor is more a TV moderator than a theologian or a liturgist. That is responsible for Pentecostalism's attraction and its weaknesses. The original reconciling ministry has been relegated to Pentecostal churches for the poor.

Pentecostals consider themselves to be heirs of the reformation. They do not realize that many of their deeply felt convictions belong to **catholic popular religion**. These elements are the doctrine of "free will", the position of the pastor who not only can forgive but also withhold sins, a dualistic world view (supernatural and natural) an *ordo salutis* with clearly distinguishable steps (1. conversion, 2. baptism in the Spirit, see also below 4.). Much of this owes more to Thomas Aquinas than to the Reformation. It is about the contrary of that which the reformers taught.

One sees therefore in Pentecostalism not just the radical wing of protestantism, but also a kind of popular catholicism minus the juridical frame-work of the Vatican which Pentecostals

⁸ C. M. Robeck, "Azusa Street Revival". D. Nelson, *For Such a Time As This*.

replace with their own rules and regulations. These vary from culture to culture (alcohol, smoking, dancing, divorce). There are a number of indicators which strengthen this view, for Pentecostalism is strongest in catholic cultures (Latin America, France, Italy, Rumania, Russia). The Vatican was also the first church authority who engaged in a long and intensive dialogue with Pentecostalism (Sandidge, Karkkainen).

Another root of Pentecostalism is its **evangelical heritage**. However much of the initial revolutionary, pacifist and political drive of early evangelicalism (anti-slavery movement, female pastors, social conscience) was lost in later years. This becomes very obvious when comparing the first editions of the works of the Holiness movement's pioneers with posthumous editions, where all political and social texts have been eliminated, without even mentioning this mutilation! The impression is created that sanctification is a purely religious and personal experience. Although the Holiness and early Pentecostal movement stood at the cradle of pacifist and emancipatory movements⁹. Pentecostals and their antagonists, the evangelicals, are united in forgetting their past. What remains is a polemical rejection of critical theology and of ecumenism and this in spite of early cooperation with the WCC¹⁰. Contrary to this development there is a growing number of **ecumenical and critical theologians** in Pentecostalism (see bibliography). Whilst they do not swallow every insight of critical theology or of the ecumenical agenda they use critical methods in historical and exegetical studies and work as a matter of course in ecumenical cooperation. This has led to a rediscovery of many insights of early Pentecostalism. However, they are faced with growing opposition from some of their church administrators who do not like to be reminded of their past. So these young scholars look for positions in non-Pentecostal institutions. This is an opportunity for the mainline churches but it may also lead to a brain-drain from Pentecostalism to protestant, catholic and orthodox communities.

4. Pentecostal Theology

Many researchers doubt that there is such a thing as a Pentecostal Theology, if by this term, one understands a coherent and logical system. Indeed, the *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (1988) has no entries on "Theology", "Systematic Theology" or "Doctrine". The founding fathers of Pentecostalism believed that the Holy Spirit would create a new unity of the church which was not based on doctrine but on a common experience. So far this hope has not materialized.

⁹ D.W. Dayton "The Higher Christian Life", viii. Idem (ed) *Holiness Tracts. Defending the Ministry of Women*.

¹⁰ C.M. Robeck, "The Assemblies of God and Ecumenical Cooperation: 1920-1965".

More important than the very few attempts at a *Systematic Theology* (Riggs, Williams) are the officially published "Declarations of Faith" of several denominations, in particular the one of the Assemblies of God in several countries. However, they say probably more about the cultural context in which they were written than about Pentecostal Theology. So, the US Assemblies of God-Declaration shows the massive influence of imported evangelical theology. The Polish declaration of faith (which is translated from the Russian) shows considerable orthodox influence and the Portuguese translation of the Brazilian Assemblies of God shows catholic and perhaps some African influence. If we add to this the theological statements of Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist and Catholic Charismatics it becomes obvious that all of them want to prove that they are nothing else but faithful followers of their respective tradition. That becomes glaringly visible in the Catholic Charismatic Movement with its emphasis on Mariology, the doctrine of the sacraments and the Petrine ministry. To take into consideration in this article the interesting and original **non-Aristotelian, oral theologies of Third World Pentecostals** would overstep the narrow confines of this entry although this is probably the most creative part of Pentecostal theologizing. It is also very biblical because it operates with the categories of early Christianity as revealed by form criticism. These categories are :

not the book, but the parable,
 not the thesis, but the testimony,
 not the dissertation, but the dance,
 not concepts, but banquets,
 not a system of thinking, but stories and songs,
 not definitions, but descriptions,
 not arguments, but transformed lives.

This looks like a frontal attack on Western Cartesian theology. If we take it seriously it also represents hope for our Western theological institutions that is if we are able to theologize on the highest academic level in these categories.

As to Western Pentecostal theologies they all stand in the tradition of **John Wesley's doctrine on perfection**, particularly in the interpretation by his Swiss assistant **John William Fletcher** (1729-1785). Wesley had learned his doctrine of perfection from a number of catholic authors which he not only read, but also translated for his lay preachers¹¹. It was Fletcher a former

¹¹ Names and publications in my *Handbuch*, 05.28.801, 05.28.002, 05.28.003, 05.28.004 and abridged in my *Pentecostalism*, 144-149.

Calvinist, who introduced the term “Baptism with the Holy Spirit” for his experience of “entire sanctification”. This close connection between a crisis experience with the Holy Spirit and sanctification is criticized by Methodist theologians as a distortion of Wesley’s original doctrine, but Laurence W. Wood makes absolutely clear that Fletcher’s Wesley interpretation is not a distortion. It was vindicated by Wesley himself. He welcomed Fletcher’s terminology and used it himself in his writings.

Fletcher’s discovery of “entire sanctification” caused a minor scandal at the time. Up to now this is rejected as heretical by almost all protestant theologians, at least on the European continent (Fleisch, Bloch-Hoell). For them this “discovery” is nothing else but a return to pre-reformation Catholicism. Even if that be true it seems clear to me that Scripture does not only contain the protestant version of the Gospel. It is an ecumenical book, as James Dunn, Ernst Käsemann, Paul Avis and others have demonstrated.

Today most Western Pentecostals accept Fletcher's terminology (baptism with the Holy Spirit) but the majority of them changes its content. For this majority baptism with the Holy Spirit is a kind of empowerment for service and therefore mainly connected to the **gifts** of the Spirit and not so much to holiness.

One of the most distinguished Pentecostal scholars who followed Fletcher was the founder of German Pentecostalism, **Jonathan Paul** (1853-1931). He wrote his dissertation on the Holy Spirit in Latin at the University of Greifswald. He explicitly bases himself on Wesley although as a Lutheran he was taught that this was a grave heresy. He publicly witnessed to several baptisms with the Holy Spirit, one of them when baptizing an infant. These experiences have deeply marked his theology. He stated that the doctrine of "verbal inspiration" was an unchristian doctrine. He rejected the "initial sign" (i.e. the belief that speaking in tongues is the first mark of Spirit baptism). He practiced and defended infant baptism all his life¹².

Another problem of Pentecostal theology is the **bewildering pluralism**. As Pentecostals have no common hermeneutical basis except their experience and since these experiences are heavily colored by cultural contexts I do not see how Pentecostalism will ever discover a sort of unifying theology. It is also not their first priority.

¹² Documentation in my *Pentecostalism*, 185-189.

Even on the heart piece of Pentecostalism, the baptism with the Spirit, there are vastly differing definitions¹³. In the realm of personal and social ethics the divergences are even greater, not to speak of cultural pressures by the "non-white indigenous churches". Their statements often flatly contradict that which Western Pentecostals believe, for instance in the case of monogamy, rites of healing and libations, position of the ancestors, integration of shamanistic or traditional healing practices into their pneumatological framework, relation to Marxism or ecumenicity.

In spite of attempts at streamlining Pentecostal theology the numerical strength is to be found in the "more sectarian" Pentecostal groups and in those Pentecostal organizations which reject cooperation with other churches, Pentecostal or not. This practice of non-cooperation is the other side of the coin of Pentecostal missiology, namely the ideology of strict independence of each group, sometimes even of each congregation. That becomes obvious in the World Pentecostal Conference (since 1947; renamed Pentecostal World Fellowship, since 2001). This fellowship represents only about 10% of worldwide Pentecostalism.

5. Ecumenical, political and feminist aspects

Most Pentecostal churches started as **ecumenical renewal movements**. This is true for Pentecostalism in the US, in Europe and in Africa. The dialogue with the WCC is difficult but not without success. More than twelve Pentecostal churches, some of them very important ones are members of the WCC. There are dialogues going on with the Vatican, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and with the Orthodox churches. In France half a dozen Pentecostal churches (including the Assemblies of God) are seeking membership in the Federation of French Protestantism, which - if materialized - would almost double the membership of this Federation (Pfister). In most Third World countries Pentecostals are members of National Councils, although the US Assemblies of God try to stop this development. The pioneers of this development were the British Pentecostals Donald Gee (1891-1966) and Alexander A. Boddy (1854-1930), the Germans Jonathan Paul (1853-1931) and Christian Krust (the first and only Pentecostal ever to address a WCC Full Assembly), the French Louis Dallièrè (1887-1936), the Dutch Gerrit Roelof Polman (1868-1937), the US Pentecostals David J. du Plessis (1905-1987) and Jerry Sandidge (1939-1992)

¹³ H. Lederle, *Treasures*.

and at the present time the Dutch brothers van der Laan and the US Assemblies of God pastor Cecil M. Robeck.

Politically most observers consider Pentecostalism to be a conservative or even reactionary force. That is probably true, especially for the US. Globally, however, US Pentecostals are a small minority within the Pentecostal community. Since the US dominate global TV and communication networks their view is unjustifiably taken for granted for the whole world. It is certainly not true for a number of Latin American Pentecostals (Cuba, Brazil, Nicaragua). In South Africa, where 50% of the black population belong to Pentecostal or Pentecostal-like churches and only 20% to so-called mainline churches, it was the black Pentecostals who voted N. Mandela and his African National Congress into power, and this in spite of the pressure by white Pentecostals who unashamedly qualified the ANC to be a subversive communist agency. Some intelligent political analysis have been provided by ex-Yugoslavian Pentecostals Miroslav Volf, Peter Kuzmic and by E. Villafañe, M.A. Dempster, B.D. Klaus and D. Peterson.

Early Pentecostals were pacifists (Beaman). Mention must be made in particular of Arthur Booth-Clibborn, an influential British Pentecostal leader at the beginning of 20th Century. His book *Blood Against Blood* was highly praised by US Pentecostal periodicals. Booth-Clibborn states: "The Scripture shows us that organized sin (today we would speak of structural injustice) is much worse in the sight of God than are sins of the individuals" The church, to its shame has compromised itself at times by legitimizing "the organized slaying of millions in the wars" through an "unholy alliance" with emperors and governments. The reason for wars is not the fight for justice or democracy but greed and the will to dominate markets. The result is that "the rich man's dog gets more meat than the poor man's family."

The capitalists view war as a commercial enterprise in order to make a profit. The profits, however, come from exploiting the misfortune of others. The irony is that politicians who have enough power to "commandeer a nation" into war do nothing about this "handful of exploiters"¹⁴. This early Pentecostal position is today forgotten.

Most Pentecostals accept the biblical view that **man is the head of the family**. Consequently they have very few woman pastors, although at the beginning most churches were founded by women. By now the patriarchy has taken over even in those denominations which were founded by a woman, such as the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel or the Apostolic Faith,

¹⁴ Sources in *Pentecostalism*, 185-189.

Portland, OR. David Martin and Harvey Cox show however that a new feminism emerges in Latin Pentecostalism. Latin Pentecostal women do not strive for a theoretical equality with man. They want husbands who give up their macho posturing, do not court other women, do not drink and waste their wages but take care of their families. They accept that men are called “head of the family” as long as the real power is with women. They decide who becomes pastor, what he has to preach (and what not), what happens to money, where and how the church premises are built, what social and educational programs are established. The "honorary positions" belong to men, real power belongs to women. They are the real shakers and movers in the church through prophecy, singing, healing, liturgical and financial cooperation or lack of cooperation. The ecumenical movement and Western feminism has yet to discover that the real power - at least in Latin Pentecostalism – is not with the official pastors' conferences, but with the female caucus. If that caucus is afraid of ecumenical contacts, nothing will move. No pastor can go against the women. Otherwise he risks his position! Therefore ecumenical agencies might want to seek contact with the real centers of power and convince women that it is in their interest to network with women in other churches. If that happens pastors will automatically follow.

6. The Contribution of Pentecostalism to the Church Universal

An undeniable contribution of Pentecostals is their emphasis on **experienced religion**. The main focus of early Pentecostal critique was not diluted theology but withered piety. The problem lay not in wrong thinking so much as in collapsed feeling. Not the decline of orthodoxy but the decay of devotion lay at the root of the problem. It was not that the church was liberal but that it was lifeless. What was needed was not new arguments for heads but new experiences for hearts. Fundamentalists and neo-orthodox theologians mounted arguments, Pentecostals gave testimony. One can therefore not range Pentecostalism simply amongst the fundamentalists even more so since fundamentalists have been and are the most bitter opponents of Pentecostalism. They were even declared by a leading fundamentalist to be the "last vomit of Satan"¹⁵.

Another contribution is their **healing ministry**, sometimes in cooperation with the medical profession. The dangers of some Pentecostal healing virtuosi are explicitly discussed in Pentecostal publications. Their critique of a thoughtless theology which says "if you truly believe, you are

¹⁵ B.P. Spittler, „How Are Pentecostalism and Fundamentalism Related?“

healed" goes much beyond that which non-Pentecostal theologians and medics publish (MacDonald). Stephen Parsons describes the financial and sexual exploitation which is

sometimes connected with this ministry. It is remarkable that these deviations happen mostly in Neo-Pentecostal churches (which are in general directed by university trained leaders) and not in the old classical Pentecostal churches. The reason for this is that the leaders of Neo-Pentecostal churches reject their critical education since they believe having experienced something much better, namely the direct inspiration by the Spirit of God.

Another contribution is the experience of **speaking in tongues** as a form of prayer without articulating understandable words. It is a kind of atmospheric prayer and allows contact with the unconscious layers of our being. It helps to overcome hate and resignation. The one who speaks in tongues, betters **himself**, says the apostle Paul (1 Cor. 14:4). That's why Paul spoke more in tongues than the Corinthians! (1 Cor 14.18). However, **in public** (as against his private prayer life) Paul prefers to speak in understandable language. This message has so far not been understood by the historic churches. If they had not ridiculed speaking in tongues they would not be so helpless when confronted with the onslaught of esoteric spiritualities.

The greatest contribution of Pentecostals is undoubtedly the fact that they are - at least in some countries - **not churches for the poor but churches of the poor**. They develop a type of oral liturgy and ministry in which poor people take actively part and thus find a new human dignity. The financial strength, the vitality and the relevance of these churches and in particular the role of poor and despised women astonished and shook one of the leading "theologians of revolution", Richard Shaull. He had to discover the plight of his own "theology of revolution" and discovered instead a "revolution of the Holy Spirit".

In the US and in Europe Pentecostalism started too as a working class church, sometimes led by upper-class aristocrats. In the meantime the aristocracy has disappeared but also the working class. The latter is confined to the immigration churches. The older Pentecostal churches become more and more evangelical middle-class churches.

Perhaps Dutch Pentecostals who have moved their "Azusa Theological Highschool" to the campus of the Free University of 'Amsterdam and whose director became professor at this university may rekindle the original ecumenical vision of Pentecostalism. The question remains open: What means "Unity in Diversity" for Pentecostals? The question is no longer totally ignored by Pentecostals. The beginning of self-critical analysis in organizations such as the "Society for Pentecostal Studies USA" and the "European Pentecostal Theological Association" gives room for

modest hope, namely that ecumenical cooperation will be recognized as belonging to the very essence of the experience with and the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

Research Centers

Because the majority of Pentecostal primary sources are not written in English the archival and research situation is complicated. Of great help are the collections and specialized staff in the following research centers (for original texts see above, note 7):

Hollenweger Center for the Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Study of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (Free University of Amsterdam, containing my international library and archive); **Centre for Pentecostal Studies** (University of Birmingham, UK, containing the Harold W. Turner collection on “non-white indigenous churches”, the best worldwide); **Flower Research Center** (Springfield, MO., much archival material); **Donald Gee Centre** (Mattersey, UK, containing much handwritten material.)

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