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CHAPTER ONE

THE SOUTH LAND OF THE SPIRIT

The thesis, the movement described and an introduction to the historiography

A half-century ago, Herbert Butterfield related how frustrated he and other examiners were with a student who ascribed everything to God's direct intervention and saw no need to consider less supernatural factors. This is not to say that Christian historians must ignore divine providence or pretend it does not exist. But clearly the role of a historian of Christianity is to present it from the human perspective as well as the divine; not only to narrate history — as important as narrative is — but also to interpret it in the light of all the relevant material, both informative and critical.¹ As Keith Sewell has pointed out, writing Christian history is not engaging in uncritical hagiography: as far as humanly possible, the picture presented must be objective and fair.² This is not as easy as it sounds. Sewell notes the impossibility of constructing an accurate and comprehensive historical narrative — it is now seen, he says, to be a 'hopeless task.'³ First, there is the impossibility of gaining all the necessary information to make a definitive judgement. No matter how extensively we research, we will never be in possession of all the facts. In writing this thesis, I have been painfully aware

¹ H.Butterfield, *Christianity and History* London: George Bell and Sons, 1949, pp.20,23.

² Keith Sewell, 'Christian Historiographical Methodology: Some Foundational Considerations' in *Lucas: an Evangelical History Review*, No.15, June 1993, 1ff. Butterfield (1949:134ff) also warns against the dangers of politic-ecclesiastical history, 'especially the kind in which churchmen seem concerned to establish or justify a kingdom of this world.'

³ K.Sewell, 'The Eclipse of History and the Crisis in the Humanities,' unpublished paper,

of this difficulty. In many cases, I seem to have exhausted every line of inquiry, and yet still found frustrating clefts in the range of information. Secondly, there is the problem of human fallibility: even with the best of intentions, complete freedom from bias is unattainable, not so much in the inclinations of which we are aware, but in those more dangerous and subtle bents which lie crocodile-like beneath the surface.⁴ In my case, writing Pentecostal history as a Pentecostal will inevitably blind me to some of the faults and follies of the movement, and will, no doubt, render me less incisive in my exploratory surgery than I should be. I may well be too close to my subject to see it clearly enough in the larger scheme of things. On the other hand, my stance will also offer me insights, subtleties of understanding and sympathies that another observer might lack. Indeed David Clines argues that historians cannot be ‘objective observers’ but that they are ‘interested parties with some personal or institutional ideological investment in the business of reconstructing the past.’⁵

Interpreting history implies presenting critical perspectives that will add to the general understanding.⁶ The history of Pentecostalism, for example, may be validly viewed from a number of vantage points — sociological, psychological, ideological, ecclesiastical and the like. But there is a need also for theological, charismatic and pastoral appraisals.⁷ In this thesis, all these will be evident. The theological emphasis, in particular, will be notably dominant in places, although sociological factors will necessarily be considered.

We can go further and argue, as Piggin does, for the prophetic role of history ‘to discern in all this human business the activity of God and to bring this

1996, p.3.

⁴ See also Stuart Piggin, ‘God in History: Some thoughts on the Recovery of a Useful Christian History’ in *Lucas*, No.1, November 1987, p.10.

⁵ D.Clines, ‘The Postmodern adventure in Biblical Studies,’ in *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* #1 March 1998, p.48. Sewell also notes that it may not be necessary to write a comprehensive history — the Scriptures, for example, are clearly selective because the aim is not to provide a thorough narrative but a divine revelation of the matters which we ought to know. See Sewell, 1996, p.11.

⁶ Compare S.Piggin’s comments in his review of B.Dickey, *Holy Trinity Adelaide, 1836-1988: the History of a City Church* in the *Journal of Religious History*, June 1990, pp.105ff.

⁷ Sewell, 1993:13.

home to our conscience.’⁸ Historiography should not just set down what has happened in the past, but should also present the implications of this for the present and the future. To achieve these goals, there must be a strong interpretive and prophetic element. In a sense, writers of history do not just record it, they also determine it. Anne McLay puts this succinctly when she says, ‘The goal is not so much INformation as TRANSformation.’ She goes on to ask, ‘Could a deeper understanding of the past be a channel of TRANSformation for the people of the present time?’⁹ So while a study of Australian Pentecostalism may be viewed quite specifically as a representation of the perceived acts of God in the life of one part of the Christian Church, it is also an analysis of how those acts are to be seen in context and how people have responded to them, interpreted them and been influenced by them. Furthermore, such a study will have in it a sense of direction for the future. There will be subtle prophetic flavour. A historian is also a seer.

Because little serious research has yet been carried out on the early history of the Australian Pentecostal movement, this thesis will necessarily contain a high and perhaps even disproportionate degree of narrative, with considerable detail about people, places and events. The dates 1870-1939 have been chosen because the former represents the first known Pentecostal meeting in Australia and the latter the commencement of World War II. Further, by 1939, the Apostolic Church had adopted its national constitution — the last Pentecostal body in Australia to be formally constituted in the pre-War period. This is a pioneering inquiry, and hence a kind of narrative cartography is essential. Without the guidance of this mapping, it will not be possible either to explore fully or to appreciate the nature of the movement and the conclusions being drawn. In any case, no matter what we do with it, history is fundamentally *story*. Without the primary narrative, secondary analysis has no meaning.

It is also important that as much of the primary data as possible be made available for further reflection and analysis by others. If future scholars are to

⁸ Piggin, 1987:13.

⁹ A.McLay, ‘Writing Women’s History: One Feminist Approach,’ in M.Hutchinson and E.Campion (eds), *Long Patient Struggle: Studies in the Role of Women in Australian Christianity* Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994, p.20.

have a reliable and comprehensive source on which to draw, there are many important historical incidents which need to be incorporated. A strong structural narrative framework must therefore be established.

With the burgeoning of the Pentecostal movement both in Australia and worldwide, there is already an upsurge in books and articles on the subject. Furthermore, recent years have seen the introduction of a number of volumes on Australian Christianity at large, especially on Evangelicalism.¹⁰ It is clearly necessary that accurate and comprehensive studies on the origins and early development of Australian Pentecostalism should be completed as soon as possible so that researchers and scholars have a rich and reliable lode to mine.

The Thesis

I will be presenting two main arguments. Firstly, that from the beginning Australian Pentecostalism differed from its overseas cousins in several significant ways. For example, it was primarily a middle-class movement, not a movement of the disenfranchised, as has commonly been observed elsewhere. I will argue that whereas the popular understanding of Pentecostalism is that its origins were among the poor, in Australia, its origins were among people of relatively comfortable socio-economic status. A comparative study of occupations, for instance, shows that the percentage of Pentecostals involved in professional occupations in the 1930s was roughly double that of the community while the percentage of labourers was approximately half.¹¹

Further, in contrast to the beginnings in the United States and Great Britain, where Pentecostalism blossomed in the cities, its earliest expressions in this country were rural rather than urban. Twenty-three of the first 34 Pentecostal congregations in this country were in country towns and many of the pioneers were from farming communities.¹²

Thirdly, many of its earliest leaders were women, in distinction from other Western expressions where men generally took the lead. Over half the

¹⁰ For details see below pp.46ff.

¹¹ See Appendices Six, Seven and Eight.

¹² See Appendix One.

Pentecostal congregations functioning by 1930 were established and led by women.¹³ In the 1910s and 1920s, women travelled from Perth to Cairns preaching the faith in the power of the Spirit, usually in the face of great difficulty, but often with striking results. From 1925, male leadership became more and more common, but in the first twenty years, the ministry of women was highly visible.¹⁴

Fourthly, Pentecostalism was both a cosmopolitan and an indigenous movement. Although it is commonly believed that Australian Pentecostalism was an American import, like Mormonism or the Jehovah's Witness movement, in fact, its roots were primarily European.¹⁵ The one church that could be described as resulting from a direct overseas missionary outreach was the Apostolic Church — and this was based in Wales.

The three major tributaries were Wesleyanism, the Dowie movement and the Evangelical movement. Firstly, Wesleyanism. Most nineteenth century Methodist ministers were English-born and overseas connections were generally maintained with England. It was the Wesleyan emphasis on Christian perfection and baptism in the Holy Spirit which formed a fertile seed bed for Pentecostalism. In the latter part of the nineteenth century prominent Wesleyan leaders such as John Watsford and William Taylor were calling for a return to perfectionism and what they called a 'Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit' among Methodists. Some became Pentecostals through responding to that call.¹⁶

The second tributary was the Dowie movement. Scottish-born John Alexander Dowie spent the first 16 years of his ministry in three States of Australia. When he finally migrated to the US in 1888, he left a committed group of several hundred people who all held strongly to a belief in divine healing. It was this emphasis on divine healing and the gifts of the Holy Spirit that challenged thousands of people to open their hearts and minds to the

¹³ See Appendix One.

¹⁴ See Chapter Twelve.

¹⁵ Several times recently I have asked classes of adult students how many of them thought Pentecostalism had come to Australia from the United States. Without exception, they all said 'yes.'

¹⁶ See Chapter Three.

possibility of further supernatural manifestations of the Spirit in their own lives. Some of the finest Pentecostal pioneers were formerly Dowieites.¹⁷

The third tributary was Evangelicalism.¹⁸ Around the turn of the century, the Evangelical movement provoked thousands of Christians to attend prayer meetings and conventions and to engage in widespread evangelism. The Simultaneous Mission of 1902 and the Chapman-Alexander visit in 1909 were widely-acknowledged public expressions of this. Here, there was more American input, with Torrey, Geil, Chapman and Alexander all speaking to large audiences in many places. But the English-inspired Keswick Conventions and locally-led prayer gatherings also touched many people. It was in some of these conventions and prayer gatherings that Pentecostal manifestations such as glossolalia and falling to the floor occurred. Evangelicalism as a whole rejected these, but those who experienced them usually did not. Here was another seed bed where the new movement could take root.¹⁹

Although there was further American input over the next four decades (Aimee McPherson, A.C.Valdez, Kelso Glover, Mina Brawner), there were also strong and significant contributions from several other countries including England (Smith Wigglesworth, William Booth-Clibborn), India (the Ramabai mission), Scotland (William Cathcart), South Africa (F.B.Van Eyk) and Wales (John Hewitt).

It is also important to note that the earliest Pentecostal leaders were Australian-born. The first assembly (Good News Hall) was founded and led by an Australian (Sarah Jane Lancaster). Of the first 25 congregations established before the beginning of the church planting work of F.B.Van Eyk from South Africa in 1927, 24 were started by people born in Australia.²⁰ The ongoing leadership of the Pentecostal Church of Australia through men such as C.L.Greenwood, Philip Duncan and Charles and Will Enticknap, was

¹⁷ See Chapter Four.

¹⁸ Evangelicalism transcended denominationalism. So while Methodists were, by and large, Evangelical, the Evangelical movement was broader in both its appeal and its scope, and did not, as a movement, necessarily embrace Methodist emphases. It is necessary, therefore to treat Methodism and Evangelicalism separately as antecedents of Pentecostalism.

¹⁹ See Chapter Five.

²⁰ See Appendix One.

Australian. The leaders in each of the capital cities in the 1920s were born in this country — Joy Heath in Adelaide²¹; Sarah Jane Lancaster, Charles Greenwood and Robert Horne in Melbourne; Frederick and Philip Duncan in Sydney; Florrie Mortomore, Harold Martin and W.A.Buchanan in Brisbane; Edie Anstis and Ruby Wiles in Perth. In country areas, people like Will Jeffrey and Will Sloan were Australian-born.

The second major thesis is that Pentecostalism's primary contribution to Australian Christianity has been its understanding that religious experience is vital to authentic faith. 'The person with an experience,' Pentecostals have argued over and over again, 'is never at the mercy of one who has only an argument.' One preacher, prominent in this study, regularly used to declare, 'It's better felt than telt.'²² Of course, the stirring of the affections has often been part of wider Christian expression, but through Pentecostalism's teaching and practice of baptism and gifts of the Holy Spirit, such a personal perception and knowledge of God has been enshrined as an integral and ongoing element of Christian life.

Historically, this emphasis on an experience of God has been the movement's major drawing power. A study of its first few decades clearly demonstrates this. For most people, the perceived attraction of Pentecostal worship has been its focus on an experiential and sensate encounter with God. In this regard, Pentecostalism has filled a gap both in society and the Church. This is likely to be the ongoing contribution of the movement for the future, given that Australians, like all human beings, demonstrate fundamentally religious aspirations, with hearts that, as Augustine would have put it, are restless till they find their rest in God.²³

On the other hand, I will also attempt to show that, ironically, this focus on experientialism also proved to be a hindrance to the movement's growth. The disagreements over doctrine and practice that occurred amongst the various

²¹ Heath may have been born in India where she spent her childhood, but lived most of her life in South Australia.

²² F.B.Van Eyk, 'The Baptism of the Holy Spirit,' GN 17:9 September 1926, p.4.

²³ Augustine, *Confessions* I:i:1. The extraordinary reaction to the death of Princess Diana in 1997 was indicative of people's need for icons. See also Chapter Fourteen for more on the place of religious experience in Australian life.

groups usually resulted from their own spiritual experiences and passionate convictions that they were being led by the Spirit and so could not shift ground. The conflicts between Good News Hall and the Pentecostal Church of Australia and later, between the Apostolic Church and all the other groups, provide ample evidence of this fact.

The Pentecostal Movement

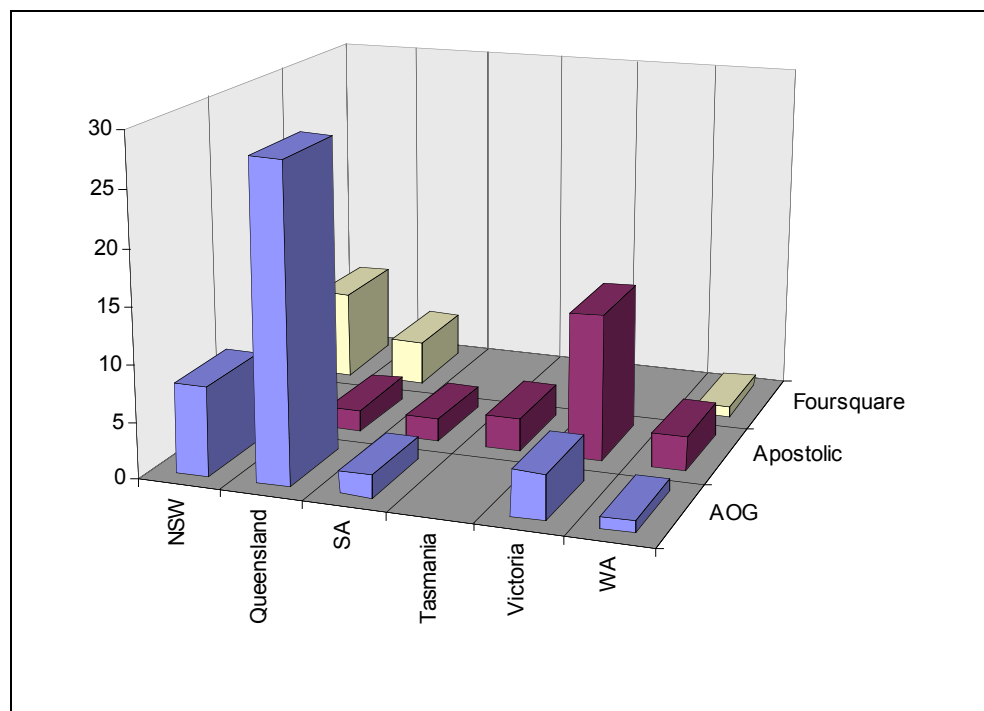
The current growth and influence of the movement justifies research. Internationally, David Barrett has estimated that over 300 million people belong to Pentecostal or charismatic churches.²⁴ This means that one in five Christians is either a Pentecostal, a Charismatic or a ‘Third Wave’ believer.²⁵ Patrick Johnstone argues that Barrett’s figures may be too embracive in that he has included 91 million ‘post-Charismatics (ie people who are no longer actively involved in the Renewal) and suggests a 1993 figure of 93 million Pentecostals and 75 million Charismatics, a total of 168 million — still a very significant number.²⁶ The biggest individual congregations in the world are Pentecostal. These include the gigantic 735,000 member Full Gospel Central Church in Seoul, Korea; the 400,000-member Methodist Pentecostal Church in Santiago,

Table 1.1 Pentecostal congregations in Australia in 1939

²⁴ In 1982, Barrett’s estimated figure was around 100 million; by 1988 it had grown to over 300 million. See D.Barrett (ed), *World Christian Encyclopaedia* Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982, p.838; D.Barrett, ‘Statistics, Global,’ in Burgess et al (eds), 1988, p.811.

²⁵ Barrett, in Burgess et al (eds), 1988, p.810. In oversimplified terms, Pentecostals believe that being baptised in the Spirit is an experience discrete from conversion accompanied by glossolalia; Charismatics also believe in a discrete baptism in the Spirit, but not necessarily with glossolalia; the ‘Third Wave’ movement believes in the gifts of the Spirit but not necessarily a distinct baptism in the Spirit. All three groups have a common commitment to the validity and exercise of charismata in the contemporary church.

²⁶ P.Johnstone, *Operation World* Rydalmere: Crossroad Distributors, 1993, pp.652ff.

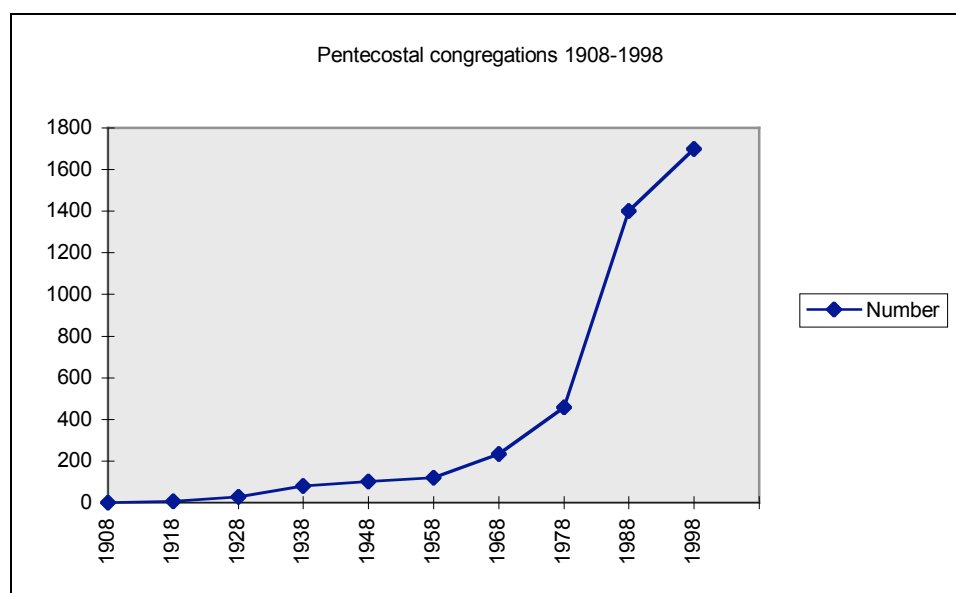


Chile; and the 140,000 member Deeper Life Congregation in Lagos, Nigeria.²⁷ There are hundreds of others with congregations of tens of thousands. These figures are astonishing given that as a movement Pentecostalism commenced only at the turn of the century. The most commonly recognised starting point is the revival at Azusa Street in Los Angeles, under the leadership of the black, poorly educated but determined William Seymour, from April 1906 to 1909.²⁸ From these humble beginnings in a ramshackle building once variously used as a Methodist mission, a livery stable and a hardware store, Pentecostalism has now become a major global Christian movement.

Table 1.2 Increase in numbers of Australian Pentecostal congregations 1908-1998 (Note that figures for 1958 and 1998 are estimated.)

²⁷ These figures are based on my own personal and professional experience and knowledge. See also the relevant articles in Burgess et al (eds), 1988; P.Cho, *The Fourth Dimension* South Plainfield: Bridge, 1979; A.Isaacson, *Deeper Life* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990; 'The 40th Anniversary of the Yoido Full Gospel Church,' *Church Growth* 1998 Summer, Yoido, Korea: Church Growth International, pp.12f.

²⁸ A former Methodist meeting place at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles is renowned in Pentecostal folklore as the birthplace of Pentecostalism. It was there in April 1906, that William Seymour, a poorly educated, partly blind black preacher conducted meetings which continued for three years day and night and became known as the 'Azusa Street Revival.' Glossolalia, healing, exuberant worship and spontaneous preaching were prominent expressions of the presence of the Holy Spirit. People visited Azusa Street from many countries and often began Pentecostal meetings when they returned home. Historically, there were Pentecostal gatherings prior to 1906 both in America and elsewhere, but none captured the imagination in the same way. See Burgess et al (eds), 1988, pp.31ff, 778ff; F. Bartleman, *Azusa Street* Plainfield: Logos, 1980.



In Australia, by 1924 there were 18 known Pentecostal congregations, most of them small. By 1939, there were around 80 (see Table 1.1). In 1994, there were 1506, some of them numbering many hundreds of members.²⁹ The 1996 Census recorded a total of 174 720 members who represented just under one per cent of the population (see Table 1.2).³⁰ The growth rate from 1976-1996 was dramatically higher than that of any other church group, at one point nearly ten times that of the next highest (see Table 1.3.)

In addition, there may be another one per cent in established churches who espouse Pentecostal teaching and practice.³¹ For the last two decades, Pentecostalism has been Australia's fastest growing Christian movement.³²

²⁹ Minutes of the Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee, 28 February 1995; *Minister's[sic] Bulletin* Mitcham, Vic: Assemblies of God in Australia, National Conference, July 1995, pp.4ff; *National Church Planting Department: Report to the 31st Biennial Conference of the Assemblies of God in Australia* Chester Hill, NSW: Assemblies of God in Australia, 1997; Annual Report of the Christian Revival Crusade in Australia, June 1994, pp.53ff; *Full Gospel Messenger* Caboolture, Qld: the Full Gospel Churches of Australia, March 1995, p.20.

³⁰ The actual percentage is 0.98%. See also P.Hughes, *The Pentecostals in Australia* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996, p.85; P.Hughes, *Religion in Australia: Facts and Figures* Kew, Vic: Christian Research Association, 1997 and P.Bentley and P.Hughes, *Australian Life and the Christian Faith: Facts and Figures* Kew, Vic: Christian Research Association, 1997, pp.10f.

³¹ No reliable figures are available for this constituency, but indications from sources such as the National Church Life Survey (1991) are that the number of people involved is of this order. See P.Kaldor, J.Belamy, R.Powell, M.Correy and K.Castle, *Winds of Change* Homebush, NSW: Anzea, 1994, p.77.

³² Census figures show a growth rate of 88% from 1976-1981; 48% from 1981-1986; 40% from 1986-1991 and 16% from 1991-1996. According to the 1996 Census, Pentecostalism and Seventh Day Adventism were the only orthodox Christian denominations to exceed population

Philip Hughes claims that in terms of regular church attendance, Pentecostals may now rate second only to Catholics.³³

Table 1.3 Denominations as a percentage of the Australian population

Name	1954	1986	1991	1996	% change 1991-1996
Anglican	37.9	23.9	23.8	20.66	-2.87
Baptist	1.4	1.3	1.7	1.65	5.4
Brethren	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.12	-3.35
Catholic	22.9	26.1	27.3	26.82	4.17
Churches of Christ	0.9	0.6	0.45	0.42	-1.52
Jehovah's Witnesses	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.47	11.51
Lutheran	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.4	-0.36
Orthodox	0.8	2.7	2.8	2.78	5.02
Pentecostal	N/A	0.7	0.9	0.98	16.00
Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.78	-7.72
Salvation Army	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.41	2.42
Seventh Day	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.29	8.92
Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian	21.3	11.8	12.5	N/A	N/A
Uniting Church	N/A	N/A	8.2	7.46	-3.80
Islam	N/A	0.7	0.9	1.12	36.19
Buddhist	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.12	42.93
Population					6.18

Based on figures supplied by Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996 Census

The movement is also becoming more visible because of both the large Pentecostal congregations emerging in all capital cities with attendances of up

growth. Between 1992 and 1995, the Assemblies of God founded 93 new congregations. See *Minister's Bulletin*, July 1995.

³³ Hughes, 1996, p.84.

³⁷ For example, the Assemblies of God churches in Paradise, SA, Waterloo, NSW, Baulkham Hills, NSW and Mount Gravatt, Queensland; the Christian City Church at Oxford Falls, NSW; the Christian Outreach Centre at Mansfield, Queensland; the Rhema Church in Perth, WA; ministries such as Teen Challenge, Youth With a Mission and Youth Alive.

to 5,000 people on a given Sunday and a number of high profile ministries of evangelism, outreach and mission.³⁷ Some of the largest conferences and evangelistic gatherings in the country today have been Pentecostal. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s crowds of up to 15,000 attended single gatherings and aggregate attendances of 50,000 were not uncommon at charismatic conferences.³⁸

Table 1.4 Comparative percentage increase of selected denominations, 1976-1996

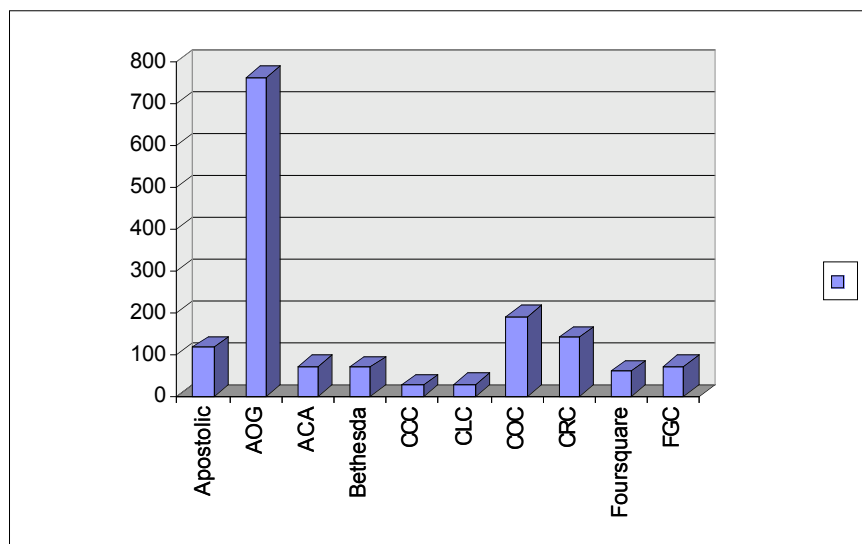
	1976-1981	1981-1986	1986-1991	1991-1996
Australian Population	7.5	7.0	8.0	6.18
Pentecostal	87.9	48.0	40.7	16.0
Anglican	1.6	-2.3	7.9	-2.87
Baptist	9.3	3.4	42.2	5.4
Catholic	8.7	7.3	13.3	4.17
Uniting	-3.7	-5.3	17.37	-3.8

Secondly, Pentecostal manners and styles of worship are widespread in most Protestant churches, even where the central doctrines and practices are not observed. This is particularly true in the area of music and hymnody. From their earliest days, Pentecostals have used innovative music styles. They were quick to deviate from the standard practice of using a church organ only in worship services. In fact, in most pre-war Pentecostal churches, the piano was the standard instrument, although some of the larger groups, such as Richmond

Table 1.5 Australian Pentecostal congregations 1995³⁹

³⁸ For example, the Vision Jesus '79 conference in Sydney in 1979; the Tabor United Charismatic Convention in Adelaide in 1986; the 1997 Hillsong conference in Sydney; rallies conducted by international evangelists such as Kenneth Copeland and Benny Hinn, 1990-1999..

³⁹ Minutes of the Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee, 28 February 1995; *Minister's Bulletin*, July 1995, pp.4ff; *National Church Planting Department: Report to the 31st Biennial Conference of the Assemblies of God in Australia 1997*; Annual Report of the Christian Revival Crusade in Australia, June 1994, pp.53ff; *Full Gospel Messenger*, March 1995, p.20.



Temple, quickly established orchestras.⁴⁰ In recent years, electronic instruments have become the norm, with contemporary music styles dominating. Today, congregations of all denominations regularly sing charismatic songs. They use guitars, drums, electronic keyboards and tambourines. They clap to the rhythm and in some cases even lift their hands during worship songs. Not all of these practices are uniquely Pentecostal, but they are representative of a Pentecostal ethos and they do reflect their initiatives in this area. Overhead transparencies used for congregational singing, for instance, are almost universally from Pentecostal publishers.⁴¹ In fact, musically and liturgically, Pentecostalism has had an influence quite disproportionate to its size. The Pentecostal movement, then, small as it is, warrants extensive research and examination. By focusing on the background and origins of the movement, this thesis will fill a hitherto large cavity in historical knowledge.

Table 1.6 Australian Pentecostal churches and ministers, February 1995

Denomination	Number of churches	Registered ministers	Other ministers	Members
Apostolic Church	115	132	21	12000
Assemblies of God	762	615	519	108247

⁴⁰ *Richmond Temple Souvenir*, Richmond, 1939, p.11, photo. Instruments included violins, trumpets, saxophone, tuba, clarinet and piano.

⁴¹ Eg Resource Christian Music, Dingley, Vic; Scripture in Song, Greenlane, Auckland, New Zealand; Hillsongs, Baulkham Hills, NSW; Seam of Gold, Dee Why, NSW; Integrity Music, Toowoomba, Qld.

Associated Christian Assemblies	70	25	25	4500
Bethesda	67	54	3	5000
Christian City Churches	25	34	10	6000
Christian Life Centres	27	53	6	5661
Christian Outreach Centres	190	250	250	28000
Christian Revival Crusade	140	144	55	15000
Foursquare Gospel	60	38	9	7000
Full Gospel Churches	70	30	13	2600
Rhema	11	30	13	3200
Waverly Christian Centre	3	3	5	1100
Totals	1578	15550	955	192400

Notes:

1. These statistics are largely based on estimates provided by pastors and leaders of the various groups and may not be totally reliable. Nevertheless, they are probably reasonable accurate. Note that the total is higher than that given by the 1996 Census (174 720). A significant number of attenders at Pentecostal churches still regard themselves as members of a traditional denomination.

2. Christian City Church and Christian Life Centre statistics are for 31 July 1991

3. Ministers' statistics are mostly for 1991

Sources: Minutes of Australian Pentecostal Ministers' Fellowship Steering Committee; Assemblies of God *Minister's Bulletin; Annual Report*, Christian Revival Crusade.

Historiography

It is over twenty years since the first attempt at an historical overview of Australian Pentecostalism was produced, which was my own volume *Heart of Fire* (1973). Apart from a revision of this book in 1984, and a couple of loyal denominational chronicles,⁴² nothing else substantial has been published. One looks in vain for credible histories of the Australian movement. However, glimmers of light are to be seen in the work of Mark Hutchinson, Director of Sydney's Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, who is also researching aspects of Australian Pentecostal history⁴³; and some recent publications on Australian Christian history do include chapters or segments on Pentecostalism. In 1982, D. Harris, D. Hynd, D. Millikan were among the

⁴² Eg D.Cooper, *Flames of Revival* Endeavour Hills, Vic: Christian Revival Crusade, 1995; D and G.Smith, *A River is Flowing* St Agnes, SA: Assemblies of God, 1987.

⁴³ Eg M.Hutchinson, E.Campion and S.Piggin, *Reviving Australia, Essays on the History and Experience of Revival and Revivalism in Australian Christianity* Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994

first to do so in *The Shape of Belief*.⁴⁴ Tabernee and Gribben included chapters on Pentecostal practice in their series on Australian Churches (1984-1987)⁴⁵ as did Ian Gillman in his bi-centennial *Many Faiths — One Nation*.⁴⁶

In his *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Australian historian and evangelical scholar Stuart Piggin makes frequent references to the Pentecostal movement and to its first-born heir, the charismatic renewal.⁴⁷ Ian Breward⁴⁸ and Hilary Carey both give serious consideration to it.⁴⁹ The Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity has included chapters by or about Pentecostalism in some recent publications.⁵⁰ Humphreys and Ward also include valuable information on Pentecostal churches in their *Religious Bodies in Australia*.⁵¹ Philip Hughes's recent volume *Pentecostals in Australia* is a valuable, comprehensive survey of the contemporary movement.⁵²

The work of Australian sociologist Alan Black offers valuable insights which suggest lines of inquiry for the early movement.⁵³ The Christian Research Association, established in Melbourne in 1985, has provided a wealth of statistical and sociological data on many aspects of Australian Christian life, both in their published books and the regular newsletter *Pointers*. Among other works, the annual *A Yearbook of Australian Religious Organisations*, with its useful directories on all churches, including Pentecostal, has become a standard reference.⁵⁴ Similarly, the findings of the National Church Life Survey

⁴⁴ D.Harris, D.Hynd, D.Millikan (eds) *The Shape of Belief* Homebush: Lancer, 1982.

⁴⁵ W. Tabbernee (ed) *Initiation in Australian Churches* Council of Churches, 1984; R. Gribben (ed) *Communion in Australian Churches* Melbourne: J.B.C.E., 1985; W. Tabbernee (ed) *Ministry in Australian Churches* Melbourne: J.B.C.E., 1987.

⁴⁶ I.Gillman, (ed) *Many Faiths — One Nation* Sydney: William Collins, 1988.

⁴⁷ S.Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity: Spirit, word and world* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996.

⁴⁸ I.Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1993.

⁴⁹ H.Carey *Believing in Australia* St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1996.

⁵⁰ eg Hutchinson et al , 1994.

⁵¹ R.Humphreys and R Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia* Melbourne: published by the authors, 1986.

⁵² Hughes, 1996.

⁵³ For example, A.Black (ed), *Religion in Australia* Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991.

⁵⁴ P.Bentley, T.Blombery and P.Hughes, *A Yearbook of Australian Religious Organisations 1996* Kew: Christian Research Association, 1995. Earlier volumes (1992-1996) were entitled *A Yearbook for Australian Churches*.

have provided a contextual framework for a study of Pentecostalism in the 1990s.⁵⁵

Overseas movements have been better documented. Some of the early histories were basically just chronicles of people and events, with little attempt to evaluate their doctrines or practice or to relate them to the wider church. These include titles like Stanley Frodsham's *With Signs Following*⁵⁶, Gordon Atter's *The Third Force*⁵⁷, Donald Gee's *Upon All Flesh*⁵⁸ and Klaude Kendrick's *The Promise Fulfilled*⁵⁹. Although serving a genuine need, in that they record information that might otherwise have been irretrievably lost, generally, these are patchy and uneven in content. Australia, in particular, is given scant and inadequate attention.

In more recent years, other general histories have been published which are more comprehensive. British charismatic leader Michael Harper's *As at the Beginning* (1966) is brief but thorough.⁶⁰ J.T.Nicholl's *The Pentecostals*, originally presented as a thesis, and published in America in 1970, showed more discipline than the earlier works.⁶¹ *The Pentecostal Movement*, a revision of an earlier work in Norwegian (1956), by Nils Bloch-Hoell, theologian and one-time lecturer at the University of Oslo, and the first history written by a non-Pentecostal, was published in English in 1964.⁶² It was also the first history presented from a more critical perspective. 'To Pentecostal readers unused at the time ... to objective and critical scrutiny, the sociological and phenomenological analysis of their institutions, beliefs and worship was at first unsettling'.⁶³

Since then, others outside the movement have also documented it. Best-known

⁵⁵ See P.Kaldor et al, 1994, p.77.

⁵⁶ S.Frodsham, *With Signs Following* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1946

⁵⁷ G.Atter, *The Third Force* College Press, 1962

⁵⁸ D.Gee, *Upon All Flesh* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1947.

⁵⁹ Klaude Kendrick *The Promise Fulfilled* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1961.

⁶⁰ M.Harper *As at the Beginning* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966.

⁶¹ J.T.Nichol, *The Pentecostals* Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1971

⁶² Nils Bloch-Hoell *The Pentecostal Movement*, Oslo, 1964.

⁶³ C.E.Jones in Burgess et al, 1988, p.90.

and, in spite of its lecture-note style, most authoritative is Walter Hollenweger's *The Pentecostals*.⁶⁴ First published in Switzerland in 1969, the book appeared in English in 1972, with several revisions since then. Hollenweger, a former Pentecostal pastor, writes from the perspective of one who has been both within and without the movement. However, there is little about Australia in the book and its value lies in its international perspective.⁶⁵ The same can be said of David Harrell's work on American Pentecostal evangelists.⁶⁶ Although restricted to North America, it is thoroughly documented and carefully presented. Harrell is himself not a Pentecostal, but his dispassionate approach is neither cynical nor sceptical.

American Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan's *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (1971) and *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* (1975)⁶⁷ are valuable and reasonably objective works. So, too, is Donald Dayton's *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (1987)⁶⁸. The 1988 *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*⁶⁹ has been an invaluable addition to the available literature, providing as it does for the first time, a readily accessible source for quick reference for people, places and events in American and European Pentecostalism.⁷⁰ Again, Australia is omitted.⁷¹

A number of denominational histories are also now appearing, the best of which is probably Edith Blumhofer's two volume history of the American

⁶⁴ W.Hollenweger *The Pentecostals* Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1988.

⁶⁵ There is a chapter on Australia in W. Hollenweger (Ed) *Die Pfingstkirchen Die Kirchen der Welt*, Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1971, which I was asked to write. This is essentially a distillation of material from my *Heart of Fire* Unley Park: Tabor, 1984.

⁶⁶ D.Harrell, *All Things Are Possible* Indiana University Press, 1975

⁶⁷ V.Synan (ed), *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975; V.Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, (1971), 1989; see also V.Synan, *In the Latter Days* Ann Arbor: Servant Books, 1984.

⁶⁸ D.Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press and ATLA, 1987

⁶⁹ Burgess et al (eds), 1988.

⁷⁰ In some ways, the very existence of such a volume is a reflection on the growing sophistication and significance of the Pentecostal movement.

⁷¹ A new edition is currently being prepared which will include some material on Australia being contributed by Mark Hutchinson, myself and others.

Assemblies of God.⁷² This is a well-researched and thorough publication which, although written by a member of the Assemblies of God, retains a fair level of objectivity. There are many other such publications documenting the development of various overseas movements. Generally, although offering a rich lode of biographical and narrative sources, they tend to be propagandist in nature.⁷³

Sociologists such as Bryan Wilson (1970), Malcolm Calley (1959, 1970) and Robert Anderson (1979) have attempted to explain the rise of Pentecostalism in socio-economic terms.⁷⁴ A more recent, and highly readable, assessment is Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven* (1994).⁷⁵ A 1997 collection of essays on Brazilian Pentecostalism offers interesting historical and sociological insights and theories which can be applied to Australia.⁷⁶ These works provide essential resource material and carefully documented analyses of the movement.⁷⁷ Here again, with the exception of Calley's study of the Bandjalong Aboriginal people, the research generally makes little reference to Australia.

Since the inception of the Pentecostal movement, there has been a plethora of Pentecostal journals, usually denominational papers or magazines promoting a particular ministry or organisation. Typically, they have followed the party line and been seen as evangelistic or public relations tools. It has been unusual in such periodicals for there to be critical reflection or discussion of controversial issues.

⁷² E. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: a Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism* Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1988.

⁷³ Eg Abeysekera, F., *The History of the Assemblies of God of Singapore* Singapore: Assemblies of God, 1992; L. Larson, *The Spirit in Paradise: the History of the Assemblies of God of Fiji* St Louis: Plus Communications, 1997; T. Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought: a Short History of the Apostolic Church* Bradford, England: Puritan, 1959; J. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain* Wellington, NZ: Julian Literature Trust, 1991.

⁷⁴ R. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* New York: Oxford, 1979; M. Calley, *Bandjalong Social Organisation*, unpublished thesis, University of Sydney, 1959; M. Calley, *God's People: West Indian Pentecostal Sects in England* Oxford: Oxford, 1965; Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 1970.

⁷⁵ H. Cox, *Fire From Heaven* Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1994.

⁷⁶ B.F. Gutierrez and D. Smith (eds) *In the Power of the Spirit* Drexel Hill: AIPRAL and CELEP with Skipjack Press, 1996, pp.135ff.

⁷⁷ Some of the theories offered in these writings are, in my opinion, arguable and will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Over the last quarter of a century, however, several scholarly journals have emerged. In the autumn of 1967, the Assemblies of God in the United States launched *Paraclete*, a journal dedicated to ‘the person and work of the Holy Spirit, covering such areas as Bible exposition, theology and history’ and later, ‘contemporary Pentecostal issues.’⁷⁸ The result is both a scholarly and a pragmatic approach. A decade later, in the Spring of 1979, the US-based Society for Pentecostal Studies (SPS) introduced *Pneuma*. As SPS is a non-denominational organisation, including members from mainline denominations as well as Pentecostals, *Pneuma* demonstrates greater breadth than *Paraclete*, dealing with a wide-ranging field of issues.⁷⁹ Again, there is virtually no reference to Australia in *Pneuma*, but many of the biblical and theological questions dealt with are relevant. The occasional historical piece offers useful comparison with the Australian setting.⁸⁰

*The Journal of Pentecostal Theology*⁸¹ is a relative newcomer on the scene, appearing for the first time in late 1992. It is published by the Church of God School of Theology in Cleveland, Tennessee, and its editorial advisory board includes many international scholars. Its stated purpose is ‘to facilitate constructive theological research from a Pentecostal perspective on an international scholarly level.’ As its title suggests, the *Journal* contains little historical material, but its reflections on current Pentecostal movements provide useful stimuli for historical investigation.

As overseas, journals in Australia have tended to be mainly house magazines. Although there have been several attempts to publish a non-denominational journal,⁸² most have languished, the latest of which was *New Day*, published by Tabor College. Originally formed in 1980 by a merger of Tabor College’s *Impact* and Vision Ministries’ *Vision*, *New Day* was committed to ‘unity and

⁷⁸ *Paraclete* 26:4, Fall 1992, inside cover; 28:3 Summer 1994 p.33.

⁷⁹ For example, see *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 18:1 Spring 1996. It is interesting that for several years the secretary of the Society was Fr Peter Hocken, a Catholic priest. See *Pneuma* 15:2 Fall 1993.

⁸⁰ For example, A. Cerillo, ‘The Origins of American Pentecostalism,’ *Pneuma* 15:1 Spring 1993

⁸¹ *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, #1 October 1992.

⁸² For example, *Charismatic Contact*, published by Faith Ministries, 1972—1979?; *Renewing Australia*, published by Dan Armstrong, 1986—91.

revival.’ Hence, it still tended to avoid controversial issues and to steer a middle path, in terms of Pentecostal/charismatic thought and tradition although from time to time, it launched into self-critical waters, boldly questioning common Pentecostal practices.⁸³

In January 1993, the first issue of *Barsabbas* was published by the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity. Describing itself as ‘a newsletter for Pentecostal thought’ it was fearless in its questioning of accepted theology and culture.⁸⁴ However, its life span proved to be very short and by 1994 it had failed. Later in 1993, *Renewal Journal* appeared for the first time. A half-yearly periodical, it declared its aim to be ‘a resource in renewal ministries for the whole church,’ and the editor’s clear intent was to promote and encourage revival and church growth. Thus subsequent issues have shown little indication of a willingness to engage in rigorous scholarly debate or to question popular attitudes.⁸⁵

In 1997 the first issue appeared of *PCBC Journal*, published by the Association of Pentecostal and Charismatic Bible Colleges of Australasia. While modest in its beginnings (only eight A4 pages) this journal hoped to offer a forum for a wide range of academic issues, including history.⁸⁶ In 1998, the first editions of both *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* and *The Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* appeared. Both contained at least one article of a historical nature.⁸⁷

For Australian scholars, in the area of secondary sources, there is little joy. In terms of general religious history, of course there is a great deal written — and being written — in this country. All the major denominations are well covered with substantial histories. This is also evidenced by the number of conferences on Christianity in Australia and the growing number of journals dealing with

⁸³ See for example, *New Day* #145 March 1995; ND #151 October 1995, p.5. Note that prior to 1979, *Impact* was published by the Christian Revival Crusade.

⁸⁴ See *Barsabbas*, #1 January 1993.

⁸⁵ *Renewal Journal* 1:1 (93.1) Summer 1993, p.3.

⁸⁶ *PCBC Journal*, 1:1, October 1997.

⁸⁷ *Australasian Pentecostal Studies*, Chester Hill, NSW, 1998—; *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, Baguio City, Philippines: the Faculty of the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, 1998—

Christian history such as *The Journal of Religious History* (1960—) and *Lucas*. The latter, published by the Evangelical History Association, carries occasional articles on Pentecostal and charismatic issues and in some of the former, articles are now beginning to appear about Pentecostalism. Overall, however, historical study of the Pentecostal movement necessitates heavy reliance on primary sources and oral history.⁸⁸

The Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, based at Robert Menzies College, has provided a valuable service through conferences and publications. In particular, the series *Studies in Australian Christianity* has created a forum for many Australian historians, including those with an interest in things Pentecostal.⁸⁹ Naturally, the standard histories of other denominations offer valuable insights into the history of Christianity in this country, and provide the necessary background and setting for the study of Pentecostalism.⁹⁰

Given the nature and topic of this thesis, many of the resources mentioned so far are useful primarily as background materials. It will be obvious from the following pages that the bulk of my research has been carried out with primary sources. There are simply no other resources available for gathering the foundational information required. To my knowledge, apart from my earlier book, this thesis contains the first serious attempt to narrate, document and appraise the beginnings of Australian Pentecostalism. In the following list, I have not attempted to detail all the primary sources: they will nearly all be noted at some stage in the body of the dissertation. What follows here is simply an overview.

⁸⁸ *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review* Macquarie Centre: Evangelical History Association; *Journal of Religious History*, Association for the Journal of Religious History, Oxford: Blackwell, 1960—

⁸⁹ See for example Hutchinson et al (eds), 1994. Other titles in this series are listed in the bibliography.

⁹⁰ For example, E.Campion, *Australian Catholics* Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1988; A.Hunt, *This Side of Heaven* Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985; S.Judd and K.Cable, *Sydney Anglicans* Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1987; M.Newton, *Southern Cross Saints* Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991; P.O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community* Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press, 1985; J.Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939* Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1986; H.Taylor, *The History of the Churches of Christ in South Australia 1846-1959*

Interviews

In researching both for my earlier book and for this thesis, I have conducted over 80 interviews. I did not know, 35 years ago, when I first became interested in the origins of Australian Pentecostalism, anything about the debate between written and oral history, or the fact that in recent years, oral history would hold its head much higher than it was once wont to do. It was simply a matter of locating information wherever I could. I was initially encouraged by hearing talks given by some Pentecostal pioneers. I found their narratives so fascinating, I began to interview other older people whom I knew about, and recording their responses. At that time, I did not always ask the right questions, but I still learned a great deal from those discussions for which I am now grateful and on which I have continued to draw.⁹¹

Most of the people I interviewed were personally involved in Pentecostalism. In many cases, their parents or grandparents had also been active. Often they were able to provide biographical or genealogical information. On occasion, information gained through interviews proved to be wrong, but this has been surprisingly uncommon. When attempting to verify data either through other interviews, or from reference to the available written sources, I have been gratified at the high level of reliability of the original information.

Transcripts of most of these interviews are in my possession, although some were either totally lost or partially destroyed in a fire which gutted my office in 1987.⁹² These documents form a valuable source of biographical and personal information. I have learned a great deal about the people themselves — how they reacted to each other, how they viewed what happened in their meetings and in their fellowship, how they felt about their experience with God, how they saw the world and other churches and so on.⁹³ It is possible to gain the feel of things through oral history in a way that written history cannot provide. Examples of this will be obvious throughout the thesis. Sometimes in

⁹¹ I cannot help feeling wistful about this: there are so many questions I would like to ask now, but it is too late. Also, I did not always properly document my sources at the beginning, and as a result some references to interviews are undated or in other ways incomplete.

⁹² This is another reason why references to some interviews are undated or incomplete.

⁹³ Sometimes, people told me things in confidence that they asked me not to repeat. To the best of my ability, I have honoured these requests.

association with an interview and always where distance has made interviews impossible, I have used questionnaires of various kinds. In the main, it has been necessary to design individual sheets.⁹⁴

Journals and magazines

I have been able to compile a comprehensive set of Pentecostal journals and magazines, the earliest one dating from 1910. The titles are all listed in the bibliography. These have proven to be an invaluable source, especially for hard evidence, and I have derived much of my foundational material from them, in particular *Good News*, the first Pentecostal journal to be published in Australia.⁹⁵ Without access to these magazines, this thesis could never have been written.⁹⁶ Unhappily, many of my copies were completely or partially destroyed in the 1987 fire. However, I had already examined them in gathering data and I have photocopies which are about 90% readable.⁹⁷ In the last decade, I have been able to expand this collection to some extent, and occasionally, I still come across individual copies of such early publications, but they are now few and far between.

The data are usually reliable, and often quite detailed. On the other hand, there is also an annoying anonymity. On many occasions, especially in the early copies, articles and reports are either unsigned or acknowledged only with initials. Similarly, people mentioned in reports are often referred to only as 'Brother' or 'Sister'. It has sometimes been possible to deduce the names, but

⁹⁴ See Appendix Nine for samples of interview forms.

⁹⁵ *Good News* North Melbourne: Good News Hall, 1910—. I have around 90% of all *Good News* magazines ever published.

⁹⁶ I still lack a few of the very earliest copies. One wonders what crucial information might be in them! For instance, I only have three issues from 1910 to 1923. As the frequency of the magazine was irregular, I don't know how many are missing. Also, volume one covered at least 1910-1913. As the February 1923 edition is volume 9, number 1, it appears that from 1914 to 1922, a new volume was added annually. At this point, there was an attempt to regularise the numbering to bring it into line with the years of publication, and all 1924 editions are numbered Volume 15. Subsequent issues follow this pattern. The Mitchell Library, the Latrobe Library and the Mortlock Library in South Australia also have some of these publications, but they do not have the early editions

⁹⁷ The majority of these journals are in my possession. Dr Mark Hutchinson and I are considering ways in which a Pentecostal archive might be set up to enable wider use of these resources. On occasion, in quotations in this thesis, words are supplied where they have been obscured in the originals. I am confident that my suggested replacements are reliable.

not always. In quoting stories and anecdotes, I have generally taken them at face value and reproduced them as they were given, even where there might be grounds for explaining them in some other way.

Private papers

Private papers are not easy to locate. It has been an ongoing frustration that documents which are priceless to a historian are often valueless to others and hence discarded. Of particular sadness was the loss of several cartons of letters, papers, documents and notes belonging to W.A.Buchanan, the son-in-law of Australia's first Pentecostal pastor, Sarah Jane Lancaster, which were all burned by his widow just a short time before I learned of them.

However, such papers do turn up from time to time, and I have been able to collect a useful number. These included exciting 'finds' such as an original letter written by Sarah Jane Lancaster; a complete set of sermon notes from the pen of W.J.Enticknap; ordination certificates for a couple of ministers; a letter from F.B.Van Eyk's widow to a close friend; and so on. I have been particularly fortunate with photographs, of which I have many. It seems that early Pentecostals were given to some sense of history, and did like to retain pictorial records of events.⁹⁸

Institutional records

Institutional records appear to be almost non-existent. I have only been able to discover one membership list from one small church in the 1930s. I have copies of the marriage register from one congregation and minute books from four others. That is all. Were Pentecostalism a more centralised movement, institutional sources would be easier to locate. In its early, formative stages, however, churches were established as the result of personal initiative rather than centralised strategies, and leaders were basically either self-appointed or elected by local congregations. Furthermore, very few of the oldest churches had their own buildings; they commonly met in private homes or hired venues. It is more than likely that minutes and record books were simply mislaid or not

⁹⁸ In this regard, they were reflecting the general popularity of photography, the result of the development of smaller, more readily available cameras and simpler processing. The papers

passed on when there was a change of office holder.⁹⁹

Given this fragmentary development, especially in the first two decades, there are virtually no statistical records. Hence, data such as lists of pastors and even of churches generally do not exist. They have to be compiled from other sources. This lack is partly compensated for by the magazines which do tend at least to name pastors and leaders and to include reports of conferences, annual meetings, pastoral appointments, property purchases and the like.

Biographies

Over the last two decades, there has been a spate of biographies and autobiographies by Pentecostal people. Many of these are amateurishly written and usually self-published. Often they omit crucial data such as dates and places of birth and full given names. Nevertheless, like the interviews, they offer intriguing first-hand glimpses of what the movement was like over half a century ago. Philip Duncan's handful of books has been helpful in this regard. His original volume, *Pentecost in Australia* is of particular value, as it is basically a compilation of articles published in the *Australian Evangel* documenting his visit to some 43 different Assemblies of God churches in 1946.¹⁰⁰ One of the best biographies is Lloyd Averill's *Go North Young Man*¹⁰¹ which is thoughtful, personal and comprehensive. Several others are listed in the bibliography.

Newspapers, secular and denominational journals

Country and provincial newspapers often carried reports of early Pentecostal activities, given that church news was more likely to be reported half a century ago than it is today and given that in the country, any local news was of

and documents mentioned here are in my personal collection.

⁹⁹ It is tantalising to wonder how many cardboard cartons or packages of minutes and financial records might still be hidden in people's wardrobes or linen presses, or how many have long since been turned to ashes or now lie rotting in rubbish dumps.

¹⁰⁰ See P.Duncan, *Pentecost in Australia*, n.d. but c.1947; *The Charismatic Tide*, published by the author, 1978. Duncan was one of the first pastors in the Pentecostal Church of Australia. See Chapter Ten.

¹⁰¹ L.Averill, *Go North Young Man* Springwood, Qld: published by the author, 1992. Averill was a pioneer pastor in the Assemblies of God.

interest. Much of the data about the ministry of the controversial Frederick Van Eyk, for example, can be gathered from advertisements, letters and church news columns in the rural press. Similarly, obituaries and social news are sometimes helpful.

In the city press, however, apart from the churches' own advertisements, there is little helpful information. Occasionally, a charismatic personality such as John Alexander Dowie or F.B. Van Eyk or Aimee Semple McPherson attracted media attention, but these were rare events. Usually, one searches the pages of the secular media in vain for anything of significance. 'Why do the newspapers practically ignore evangelistic meetings?' asked the editor of *Good News*?¹⁰² Well might a frustrated historian put the same question.

Denominational journals provide a rich source of background material for the origins of Pentecostalism. Methodist publications, in particular, have a mine of information on nineteenth century evangelism and revival. Similarly, Dowie's periodical *Leaves of Healing* provides an abundant source of pre-Pentecostal materials. After the turn of the century, however, denominational papers seem to have given little attention to specific groups such as Pentecostals. They normally focused only on their own interests, or, at best, on those where there was some perceived common ground between their denominational affairs and those of others. Usually, Pentecostalism did not fall into that category. Hence, articles or reports about Pentecostal activities are rare.

Australian Pentecostals have sometimes made much of the name 'Southland of the Holy Spirit,' alleging it to be prophetic of a great nation-wide revival. Given that this nomenclature was entrusted to de Quiros in 1605 in the hope that the new southern continent would become a bastion of Catholicism, this is a questionable thesis, to say the least.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, Pentecostal revival has found a congenial home in this country and has developed its own distinctive personality.

¹⁰² GN 18:7 July 1927, p.8. 'It seems next to impossible to get reports of real Gospel services into the papers any more, much less entire sermons,' lamented the editor, to whom it was a sign of the beginning of the end.

¹⁰³ C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia* Volume One, Brunswick, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1985, pp. 14ff.

Although sources vary greatly in both quantity and quality, it is nevertheless possible to set down a useful and comprehensive record of pre-war Australian Pentecostalism which will, I hope, offer valuable insights into the origins, distinctive qualities and significant contribution of this movement to contemporary Christian life and society.