

AMERICAN PENTECOSTAL CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE:  
A HERMENEUTIC AND SURVEY ANALYSIS

By

Mark Alan Foster

A dissertation  
submitted to the faculty of  
Mississippi State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology,  
Mississippi State, Mississippi

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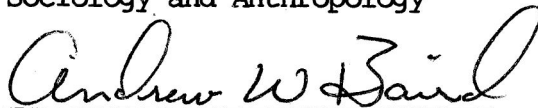
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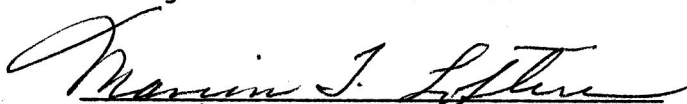
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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas of Devonshire, Bermuda, who, throughout the past thirteen years, has been a continuing source of inspiration for my mind and spirit.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would, first of all, like to thank Dr. Ronald L. Neff, the director of my dissertation committee, who patiently guided this project throughout its course. But, more than that, Ron Neff has, during the past four years, been a trusted friend, supporter, and advocate. He has always been generous with his time. He is one of the most competent and dedicated professionals I have ever known. Ron, you have made my career at Mississippi State University one of the most rewarding experiences of my life. It has always been a privilege to work with you.

I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Carlton R. Sollie, Dr. Mohamed El-Attar, Dr. J. Gipson Wells, and Dr. E. Stanly Godbold for their helpful suggestions.

Special thanks must go to Dr. Stephen D. Shaffer, Mr. K. S. Murty, and Mr. Roy Barnes for their assistance with many of the technical aspects of this dissertation and to Mrs. Nancy Stroud who typed the final draft.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Harold and Corinne Foster, who always tolerated my childhood interest in religious studies.

# ABSTRACT

Mark Alan Foster, Doctor of Philosophy, 1984

Major: Sociology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Title of Dissertation: American Pentecostal Convergence and  
Divergence: A Hermeneutic and Survey  
Analysis

Directed by: Ronald L. Neff, Ph.D.

Pages in Dissertation: 130. Words in Abstract: 350.

## ABSTRACT

This study examined sectarianism in the American Pentecostal movement. A sect is understood as a religious group which, first, is likely to internally diverge, or factionalize, based on issues of doctrinal purity and, second, as a group which is likely to (externally) diverge in basic beliefs and values from the larger society (Bryan Wilson, 1959).

The first problem, which concerned internal divergence, involved testing a four-sect typology of American Pentecostalism developed by Walter J. Hollenweger (1977). In accordance with Wilson's perspective that sectarian factionalization centers around doctrinal issues, three doctrinally-based "criterion variables" were used: theometry (the trinitarian or unitarian nature of God), Christology (the nature of Christ), and sanctification (the holiness of a believer). These criterion variables, each of which contributed to Pentecostal factionalization, emerged out of a study of



the history of Pentecostalism. An examination of Pentecostal historical documents (both primary and secondary), using the three criterion variables, failed to support Hollenweger's four-sect typology. A revised four-sect typology, based on the research findings, was proposed as an alternative. Wilson's prediction of doctrinally-based factionalization was supported.

The second problem, which dealt with external Pentecostal convergence and divergence, involved the testing of Marion Dearman's (1972; 1974) hypothesis that Pentecostal values converge with those of middle-class Americans in general. It was predicted, based on Wilson's analysis of sectarianism, that Dearman's hypothesis would be rejected, i.e. that Pentecostal values diverge, rather than converge, with the values of middle-class non-Pentecostals. An analysis of 1982 survey data (the American National Election Study of the University of Michigan) failed to completely support Wilson's prediction of divergence. Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected for only about half of the value indices measured in this research.

This research indicates that American Pentecostalism is neither wholly sectarian nor wholly institutionalized. Pentecostals probably should be placed somewhere between Dearman's insistence that they converge with dominant (middle-class) values and Wilson's contention that they belong to a divergent group. Pentecostals may be in transition from sectarian to denominational status. While the internal divergence is an evidence of early Pentecostal

sectarianism, the survey analysis indicates some contemporary value convergences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals.

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# AMERICAN PENTECOSTAL CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE:

## A HERMENEUTIC AND SURVEY ANALYSIS

### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

##### Statement of the Problem

The Pentecostal movement, a blend of Biblical literalism and theolepsy (theistic seizure or possession) has attracted the attention of scholars in diverse academic disciplines. This dissertation will focus on two fundamental problems. In the first, a four-sect Pentecostal typology (to be discussed in Chapter II) will be tested through a criterion-variable analysis of primary sources (the writings of the founders of the various Pentecostal groups) and secondary sources (church publications and doctrinal statements). These criterion variables, derived from a study of the history of American Pentecostalism (Chapter II), are based on doctrinal controversies which seem to have accompanied Pentecostal factionalization (divergences). The criterion variables are theometry (literally, the measurement of God, e.g. trinitarianism and unitarianism), Christology (the nature of Christ), and divine sanctification (the holiness of a believer).<sup>1</sup> A second problem to be investigated is whether Pentecostals converge on certain variables with American middle-class values. This problem will be addressed through analysis of a general social survey.

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<sup>1</sup>These criterion variables will be more clearly explained in Chapter II.

### Significance of the Problem

Pentecostalism (also known as the Charismatic movement because of alleged supernatural gifts given by God to believers), while certainly not the originator of religious emotionalism or theopathy, provides the religious researcher with a contemporary example of existential Christianity, i.e. the individual's search for a more meaningful relationship with Christ through deeper emotional and mystical experiences and greater spiritual development. The Pentecostal believer endeavors to transcend the awareness of the non-Pentecostal Christian through an immediate realization of certain theophanies (divine manifestations) or charismata (spiritual gifts). He takes his authority for this experience, usually referred to as the baptism of the Holy Spirit (theolepsy), from certain Biblical passages, especially I Corinthians, chapter 12, and Acts, chapter 2. The former passage enunciates various gifts (charismata) of the Holy Spirit (rendered by the King James Version as Holy Ghost), such as speaking in tongues (languages unknown to the believer) and the healing of physical and mental illness. The latter passage describes experiences of the early Christian apostles on the day of Pentecost when "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with other tongues..." (Acts 2:4). The specific teachings of Pentecostalism will be discussed more fully in Chapters II and IV.

The Pentecostal movement has undergone substantial change since its rather humble beginnings. There are currently two major Pentecostal Christian cable television networks. Pat Robertson is

founder and president of the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), as well as host of the 700 Club, a Pentecostal-oriented talk show. The 700 Club, a ninety-minute broadcast, is aired on CBN Cable and on many non-Christian stations throughout the world (Robertson and Puckingham, 1972:234). The Praise the Lord Network (PTL) is the brainchild of Jim Bakker who got his start in Christian television with CBN (Robertson and Buckingham, 1972:204). The tone of Bakker's talk show, the PTL Club, is, however, different from Robertson's program. The 700 Club consists primarily of theological, political, and economic discussion along with personal "testimonies" of the Christian life by celebrities and 700 Club viewers. The PTL Club features testimonies and musical presentations (often by Bakker's wife "Tammy") but deals little with politics, economics, or theology. Several popular television evangelists, including Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart (cousin of entertainer Jerry Lee Lewis) and Rex Humbard, are also Pentecostals.

In light of the increased visibility of many of these ministries and the spread of Pentecostalism into many traditional Christian denominations, including Roman Catholicism (Hamby, 1980; McGuire, 1982), it seems timely to inquire into the development and present status of the movement. Moreover, modern Pentecostalism is also a genuinely American religious expression, initiated in Los Angeles in 1906 (Barteman, 1980:61). It is also, along with Mormonism and Christian Science, one of the few sizable "American" religious movements (Albanese, 1981:137-160).

### Overview of the Proposed Research

The first problem, testing the four-sect Pentecostal typology developed by Hollenweger (1977), will utilize a hermeneutic (interpretive) methodology in examining primary sources, the writings of the founders of the various Pentecostal groups, and secondary sources, such as church publications and articles of faith. The first step will be to define Pentecostals as any group which accepts Pentecostal theolepsy, e.g. the present-day validity of spiritual gifts or manifestations such as speaking in tongues. The second step will involve the formulation of a theoretical framework (Wilson, 1959:4-6 and 10) to explain factionalization within the Pentecostal movement. The third step will be to hypothesize that the findings will support the four-sect typology. The fourth step will be a hermeneutic study of the primary and secondary sources in order to determine the doctrines of given Pentecostal groups on three criterion variables (theometry, Christology, and sanctification). The fifth and final step will be to draw conclusions about Pentecostal types, i.e. whether the research findings support the four-sect typology. If they do not, appropriate modifications will be made in the typology, or an alternative will be proposed.

The second problem will examine whether Pentecostals converge with, or diverge from, middle-class non-Pentecostals. In order to study this problem, the 1982 American National Election Study will be used. Two multi-item value indices (tentatively called: conservatism-liberalism and political-party preference) will be

formed using zero-order correlation to test for unidimensionality among groups of survey items. Religiosity will be included as a single-item value index. Based on the theoretical framework, it is predicted that Pentecostals, as members of a sect-type group (Wilson, 1959:4-6 and 11), will significantly differ from (especially middle-class) non-Pentecostals on each of the three value indices.

The first t-test and  $\chi^2$  procedures will determine whether the two Pentecostal values in the National Election Study ("Church of God; Holiness" and "Pentecostal; Assembly of God") should be combined or treated individually in the subsequent tests. Subsequent t tests,  $\chi^2$  tests, and ANCOVAs will compare Pentecostals with non-Pentecostals. Additional statistical tests may be necessary if there are ambiguities in the initial results.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE ON AMERICAN PENTECOSTAL CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE:

#### A BRIEF HISTORY AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

##### A Brief History of Pentecostalism<sup>2</sup>

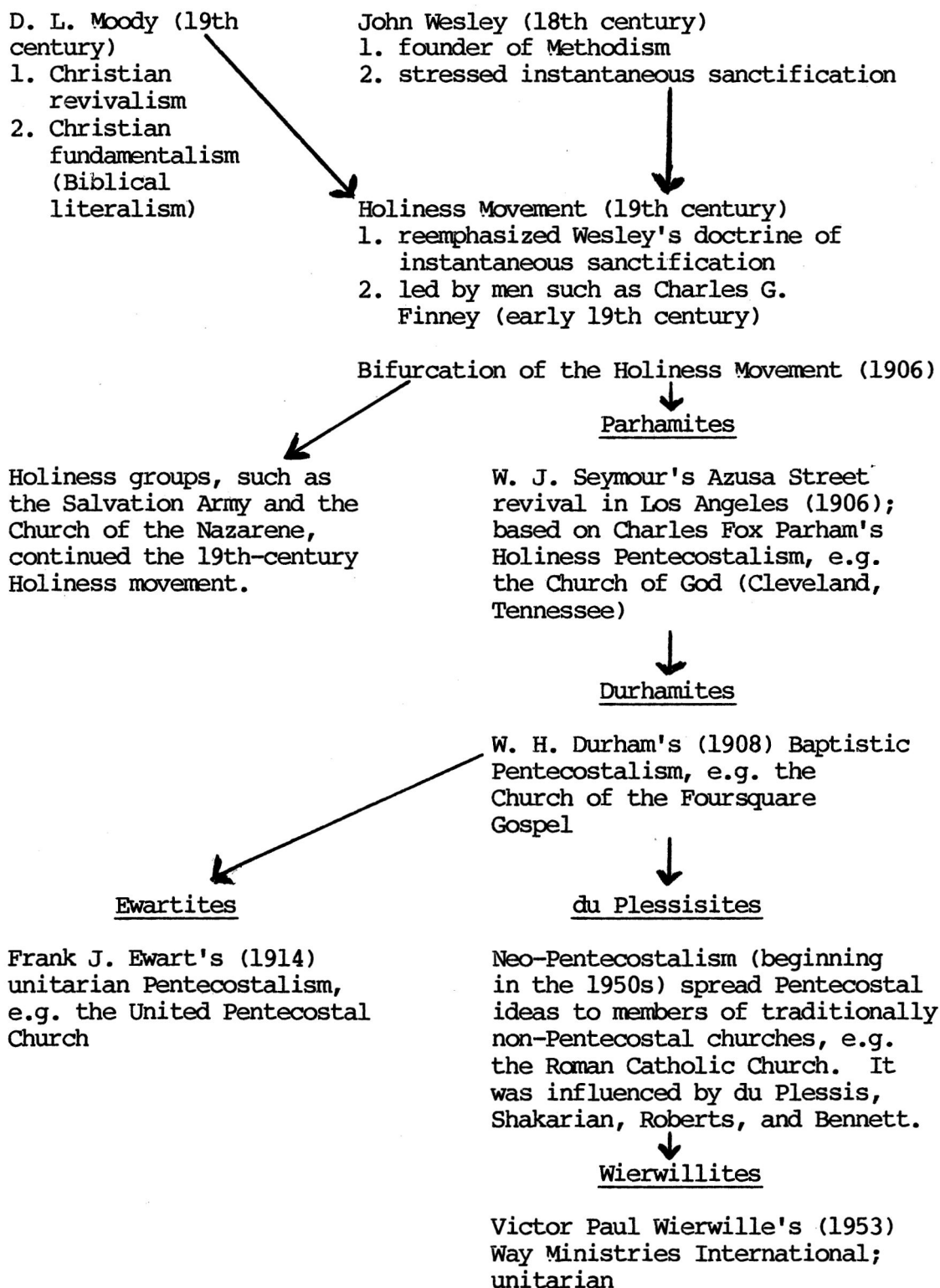
In 1902 Charles Fox Parham, a Methodist minister from Topeka, Kansas, became the father of the modern Pentecostal movement. Parham first singled out glossolalia (speaking in tongues) as the evidence that one had been baptized in the Holy Spirit. Parham also taught that speaking in tongues should be incorporated into regular Christian worship. In 1906 Parham's student, W. J. Seymour, acquired an old abandoned Methodist Church building on Azusa Street in Los Angeles which, that same year, became the center for Pentecostal preaching. The "Azusa Street Revival," as it has come to be called, marked the beginning of the worldwide Pentecostal movement (Marsden, 1982:93; Synan, 1971:99 and 106-107).

In order to understand the background of Pentecostalism, it is necessary to go back to eighteenth-century England and John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Wesley distinguished between the perfected or "sanctified," those who had received the baptism in the Holy Spirit, and ordinary Christians. Sanctification, or purity of heart, occurred, in his view, subsequent to conversion and at a fixed and definite time (Hollenweger, 1977:21 and 25). Sanctification, according to Wesley, was a second crisis experience after conversion (spiritual rebirth or regeneration). With conversion the new believer was

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<sup>2</sup>See Diagram A which structures the history of American Pentecostalism, stressing clear lines of influence.



Diagram A

forgiven of the sins he personally committed (sins of commission). Original sin (or inward sin), the result of Adam's fall, was forgiven at sanctification, giving the believer perfect love toward God and man (Synan, 1971:17-18).

Sanctification did not mean that the believer would henceforth commit no more sins. Rather, it implied a perfection of motives and desires. Complete sinlessness, Wesley taught, would come only after death. Moreover, perfection was usually preceded and followed by Christian spiritual growth (growth in grace). Sanctification occurred instantaneously, through faith in God, and was known through inward conviction (Synan, 1971:18-19 and 21).

The nineteenth-century Holiness movement, one of the legacies of Wesleyan Methodism, was led by men such as Charles G. Finney of Western New York and Connecticut. According to Finney, a person could become perfected or sanctified by an act of free will and by having pure motives (Synan, 1971:26).

The Holiness movement, the background of Pentecostalism (Hudson, 1965:342), represented a protest against what its supporters considered to be the worldliness of the more conventional churches. In the early twentieth century the Holiness movement divided into two wings: the purely "perfectionist" bodies and the Pentecostal "perfectionist" groups, represented by Parham and Seymour, which insisted on the importance of a third blessing, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, following conversion and sanctification. This latter group is the one which rose to prominence after the Azusa Street revival of 1906 (Hollenweger, 1977:24-25; Hudson, 1961:160; Marsden, 1982:93).

The mainline Holiness churches, such as the Church of the Nazarene and the Salvation Army (Hudson, 1965:345), identified the baptism in the Holy Spirit, not with the supernatural charismata of Pentecostalism, but with Christian holiness and purity. In other words, they essentially retained John Wesley's definition of baptism in the Holy Spirit as sanctification or perfection (Hollenweger, 1977:25).

Those branches of the Holiness movement which embraced Pentecostalism, such as the various Churches of God, regarded sanctification as a stage which preceded the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Thus the latter, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, was defined as a third stage (evidenced by speaking in tongues). In short, the Pentecostals (Parhamites) disagreed with other Holiness groups along two lines: the stages in Christian development and the meaning of baptism in the Holy Spirit (Hollenweger, 1977:25).

By 1910, however, a significant group developed within Pentecostalism which did not have a Methodist tradition. It was headed by W. H. Durham of Chicago, a man who had formerly preached on the need for sanctification as a second blessing, but who later rejected that interpretation (Synan, 1971:147). To these newer Pentecostals (Durhamites), sanctification was regarded as subsequent Christian growth, rather than as a distinct stage. There were only two stages for those who followed Durham's school of thought: conversion (rebirth or regeneration), which occurred when one accepted Christ as one's personal savior, and the baptism in the Holy Spirit, which was understood as taught by Parham and Seymour, i.e. referring

to the divine dispensation of special gifts (the charismata), including speaking in tongues and faith healing (Hollenweger, 1977:25; Marsden, 1982:93-94).

These newer Pentecostal groups, exemplified by Amy Semple McPherson's International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and by the Assemblies of God, and the older Holiness Pentecostal groups, shared many things in common with Christian fundamentalism (Biblical literalism).

According to Marsden, this is due to the common basis of Pentecostalism and fundamentalism in the nineteenth-century revivalism of D. L. Moody (Marsden, 1982:93-94).

Yet another split in Pentecostalism is traced back to Frank J. Ewart, an excommunicated Baptist minister who, in 1914, rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and taught that the terms "Father" and "Holy Spirit" are merely different titles for Jesus Christ. The Trinity concept was an error, he argued, which had been forced upon the Christian believers by the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. (where Arianism, an early form of unitarianism, was rejected as heresy). In Ewart's view, anyone who was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son (Jesus), and the Holy Spirit was not truly baptized. Those who accepted Ewart's unitarian teaching (Ewartites) were rebaptized in the name of Jesus only. This doctrine caused considerable division in the Assemblies of God--the church Ewart broke away from. However, the majority of Pentecostals, including members of the Assemblies of God, remained trinitarian (Synan, 1971:154-158). The United Pentecostal Church is a contemporary church which has retained Ewart's unitarian concept (Hollenweger, 1977:71).

Recently, Pentecostal practices (such as glossolalia) have been incorporated into the worship of many Christians who choose to remain in traditionally non-Pentecostal churches, such as in Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches. This is usually termed either neo-Pentecostalism or the Charismatic Renewal movement (Hamby, 1980:8-9). The founding of this movement is primarily attributable to Assemblies of God minister, David du Plessis, and followers of this movement will hereafter be termed "du Plessisites." Other founders of neo-Pentecostalism included Demos Shakarian (through his Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship), Dennis Bennett, and Oral Roberts (Bradfield, 1979:4-6; Hamby, 1980:6-8; Hollenweger, 1977:4-9; Jorstadt, 1973:16-18; Poloma, 1982:11-14).

Another modern-day church which emphasizes unitarianism is Victor Paul Wierwille's Way International (New Knoxville, Ohio). Beginning in 1953, Wierwille began teaching his own form of Pentecostalism in which he adopted a type of unitarianism which more closely resembled an Arian Christology (denying that Christ is consubstantial with God) than did Ewart's brand of unitarianism (in which "God" becomes a title for Jesus). Victor Paul Wierwille's denial of the deity of Christ is unacceptable to traditional Protestants who have frequently labelled the Way International a cult (Martin 1980:11-78; Wierwille, 1981:5). Nevertheless, according to the Statement of Beliefs of the Way International, Wierwille's followers (Wierwillites) are taught a Pentecostal understanding of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit (Way International, undated:1). Wierwille was apparently influenced, at least partially, by neo-

Pentecostal Oral Roberts in his decision to accept the belief in the Pentecostal baptism in the Holy Spirit and the charismata (Wierwille, 1977:199-200; Hamby, 1980:6).

To one unfamiliar with Pentecostalism, the movement may appear to be a confusing mesh of contradictions. Fortunately, various authors have examined some of the major historical themes in Pentecostalism and have developed classification schemes which place its various sects into approximate categories or types. The next section will consider some of these classification schemes. All the types mentioned, except the Wierwillites (to wit, the Parhamites, Durhamites, Ewartites, and du Plessisites) are dealt with by these authors, perhaps because Wierwille's group is perceived by many Christian fundamentalists (some of whom are also Pentecostals) as a cult. The Wierwillites are outside the "mainstream" of Pentecostalism.

#### Literature on Pentecostalism Classification

While reviewing the literature, it became evident that there is some variation in the manner in which writers have chosen to classify Pentecostal types.<sup>3</sup> This review will consider the literature which is helpful to an understanding of Pentecostal divergencies.

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<sup>3</sup>This review included a search encompassing the past 20 years of the International Index, Social Sciences and Humanities Index, Social Sciences Index, Humanities Index, Review of Religious Research (Religious Research Association), Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion (Society for the Scientific Study of Religion), and Sociological Analysis (Association for the Sociology of Religion).

### Hollenweger's Scheme

Walter Hollenweger (1977:71), by his own admission, did not attempt to formulate precise relations between Pentecostal sects, claiming only to have listed the main types. In preparing his enumeration, Hollenweger wrote that he examined the different Pentecostal groups from the perspective of their doctrines. Only those of Hollenweger's types which are a part of the American Pentecostal movement will be discussed.

Hollenweger's first type consists of "Pentecostals who teach a two-stage way of salvation" (1977:71). In this type he included the Assemblies of God, the largest of those in this category. This church is also the largest predominantly white Pentecostal group in the United States (1977:28). In 1970 the Assemblies of God reported having 595,231 members in 8,510 churches (Mead, 1970:28). Recent (1980) figures show the church reporting 1,283,892 members and 9,291 churches (Mead, 1981:197). This represents a 116 percent increase in membership and a nine percent increase in number of churches in 10 years.

Hollenweger's second type, "Pentecostals who teach a three-stage way of salvation" (1977:71), is represented by the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), the largest church of this sort. In 1970 the Church of God claimed 242,838 members and 4,629 churches (Mead, 1970:72). However, by 1980 the church claimed 382,229 members and 4,837 churches (Mead, 1981:85). This represents a 57 percent increase in membership and a four percent rise in number of churches. The growth of the Assemblies of God and the Church of God, two of the

largest Pentecostal denominations, indicates the tremendous expansion of Pentecostalism in the United States in just a single decade.

Although the largest segment of the American Pentecostal community teaches the two-stage way of salvation (Durhamites), a significant group of organizations, including the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), teach the three-stage approach (Parhamites). The latter doctrine was held by all of Pentecostalism from its inception (in 1906) until 1910 (Hollenweger, 1977:24 and 47).

Hollenweger explained that, along with the disagreement on the issue of sanctification, the most difficult problem facing the American Pentecostal movement is the doctrine of the Trinity (1977:25-26). "The 'Jesus Only' groups," Hollenweger's name for the unitarians who followed in the tradition of Frank J. Ewart (Ewartites), are numerically small, but doctrinally unique. Thus Hollenweger distinguished them as his third type. The United Pentecostal Church, the largest American organization of this type (Hollenweger, 1977:71), was the product of the 1945 union of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ and the Pentecostal Church, Inc. (Mead, 1981:202). In 1970 the United Pentecostal Church reported having 200,000 members and 2,200 churches (Mead, 1970:165). But by 1980 the church claimed 405,000 members and 2,701 churches (Mead, 1981:202). This represents a 103 percent rise in membership and a 23 percent increase in number of churches.

Hollenweger's fourth type, "Pentecostals with a Quaker, Reformed, Lutheran or Roman Catholic doctrine" (1977:71-72), consists of those groups which combine Pentecostal theology with some other



Christian perspective. But Hollenweger did not deal with American examples of this type. He restricted himself to German groups (1977:206-217 and 231-243).

Hamby (1980:6-9), in his doctoral dissertation on Catholic Pentecostalism, wrote that since the 1950s the American Pentecostal movement has spread to Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Methodist, Baptist, and Roman Catholic denominations (the latter in 1967). As noted earlier, because of its recent development in traditionally non-Pentecostal churches, this phenomenon has frequently been termed "neo-Pentecostalism" (Hamby, 1980:9-10). Since neo-Pentecostalism has no central organization, it has not been possible to locate authoritative membership statistics.

#### Kendrick's Scheme

Unlike Hollenweger, Klaude Kendrick (1959:V) designated only two types: Pentecostal Wesleyan Perfectionist groups and Baptistic Pentecostal groups (those who accept Durham's view of sanctification). The former type is interpreted in a similar fashion as Hollenweger's "Pentecostals who teach a three-stage way of salvation" (1977:71). The latter type combines Hollenweger's "Pentecostals who teach a two-stage way of salvation" with his "Jesus Only" groups (1977:71).

Kendrick implied (1959:241) that all Pentecostal bodies could be classed according to their position on the doctrine of sanctification. However, he stopped short of specifying "sanctification" as a criterion variable. He wrote:

Since most early Pentecostal believers had come from Holiness ranks, and were perfectionist, sanctification in

the beginning was believed to be a "second definite work of grace." After 1910, however . . . , the Pentecostal movement was torn by a controversy over the doctrine; those who embraced the "finished work of Christ" or baptistic view held that sanctification was imputed in the experience" of salvation, thus eliminating the "second experience" of the perfectionists (1959:241).

Kendrick did not classify churches based on theometry.

Although he acknowledged that the "United Pentecostal Church differs from most other Pentecostal bodies in that it rejects the doctrine of the Trinity" (1959:288), he apparently did not consider this reason enough to put the Pentecostal unitarians in a class by themselves. Instead, he included them with the Assemblies of God and other similar Baptistic groups (1959:119-294).

Kendrick made the mistake of not specifying that he was dealing solely with American Pentecostalism. All through his work the reader is led to believe that Kendrick is dealing with Pentecostalism in its entirety. As Hollenweger showed (1977), Pentecostal expressions vary greatly from culture to culture.

#### Marsden's Scheme

Like Kendrick, George Marsden (1982:93-94) divided American Pentecostalism into two major types. Although he admitted that the movement later flowered into many varieties, Pentecostalism's first major division, Marsden explained, reflected divergent interpretations of Biblical holiness (sanctification or perfection).

The Baptistic groups, Marsden wrote, conceived of sanctification as a continuing process rather than as a time-specific experience of salvation--at the moment one accepts Christ in prayer (1959:24).

Kendrick, on the other hand, regarded the Baptistic Pentecostals

(Durhamites and Ewartites) as believing that sanctification was imputed at the moment one accepts Christ in prayer and becomes spiritually reborn (1959:24). These two assertions are really not contradictory if it is recognized that sanctification, while believed to be imputed at the time of conversion, continues to engender Christian maturity and holy conduct throughout a believer's lifetime.

#### Warburton's Scheme

T. Rennie Warburton (1969:130) argued that to group Pentecostal (Durhamite) and Holiness (Parhamite) religion together, for purposes of sociological analysis is unjustifiable. He proposed that they be viewed as separate sectarian typologies. In this regard he went beyond both Kendrick (1959) and Marsden (1982). While the latter two writers only proposed that the Durhamites and Parhamites be considered as two distinct types within Pentecostalism, Warburton felt that the differences between the two groups mandated that they be studied separately.

The most outstanding problem with Warburton's suggestion lies in his imprecise definition of Holiness religion. Warburton never distinguished between pure Holiness churches, such as the Salvation Army and the Church of the Nazarene, and the Holiness Pentecostals (Parhamites), such as the Churches of God. It is more problematic to class these two groups together than it is to place the Parhamites and Durhamites under the same heading. The common acceptance by Durhamite and Parhamite Pentecostals of the theoleptic, Pentecostal

interpretation of the baptism in the Holy Spirit is more significant than differences of interpretation of the doctrine of sanctification--a doctrine which all Pentecostals accept in one form or another.

#### Synan's Scheme

Vinson Synan (1971:210-224; 1975) developed a classification scheme utilizing five types. Whereas Hollenweger referred to the Durhamites as two-stage groups (1977:71), Synan termed them "finished-work" Pentecostals (believing that a Christian is sanctified at the moment of conversion, and that from the point of conversion a believer should grow in sanctification or holiness), and he termed the three-stage (Parhamite) groups the "second-work" Pentecostals (believing that a second work of God's grace, subsequent to conversion, is necessary to sanctify a believer). He designated the Jesus-only groups (Ewartites) either as "oneness" groups or as "unitarians" (Synan, 1971:149, 159 and 161).

Finally, Synan divided the neo-Pentecostals (du Plessisites) into two types (the fourth and fifth types in his scheme): "the Protestant 'neo-Pentecostal' movement" and "the 'Catholic charismatic' Pentecostal movement" (1971:210-211; 1975:2-4). However, as will be explained later in this chapter, the leaders of both Protestant and Catholic neo-Pentecostalism are the same, and Synan provided no reason why they should be viewed separately. In any case, perhaps the du Plessisites should not be regarded as a separate type but rather as a subdivision of the Durhamite group. Since David du Plessis was an Assemblies of God minister (a Durhamite sect), the neo-Pentecostals may well be a branch of the

Durhamites (Poloma, 1982:12 and 13). This dissertation will consider whether neo-Pentecostalism makes up a distinct type or whether it can be subsumed under another more inclusive movement. Since neo-Pentecostalism is interdenominational, its leaders remain the same for all churches (Poloma, 1982:11-14).

#### Poloma's Scheme

Margaret Poloma (1982:112-119) has criticized Synan's typology on sociological grounds. Although she admitted that Synan is theologically accurate, she contended that, from a sociological viewpoint, the finished-work (Durhamite) and unitarian (Ewartite) groups could be collapsed into a single category. Making this adjustment would leave two types: the "baptistic-pentecostals" (combining Synan's finished-work and unitarian groups) and the "holiness-Pentecostals" (Poloma, 1982:113). Poloma based this classification scheme on church government (since, without giving any reason for her arrangement, she did not discuss neo-Pentecostalism until later in her book--after she had completed explaining her classification scheme). She explained how the "baptistic-Pentecostals" have a congregational (Baptist-type) government, while the "holiness-Pentecostals" (Parhamites), she claimed, have a centralized (Methodist-type) government. The major issue involved is whether church authority should be localized in individual congregations or concentrated at a central headquarters.

While Poloma's arrangement is creative and original, its appeal is weakened by its difficulties. First, there is a question of the

theoretical value of her scheme. Poloma's only discussion of the explanatory significance of a typology based on organization differences was with regard to greater pastoral control in the centralized form of church government. She never tied her organizational typology to anything else in her book--most of which deals with Pentecostal doctrine and experience.

The second problem is empirical in nature. Though there may be a correlation, these organizational structures do not fit with the allegedly corresponding theologies in the one-to-one fashion that Poloma's typology indicates. There are at least three Durhamite bodies with centralized church governments: Maranatha Campus Ministries International in Gainesville, Florida (1983:2), the Tony and Susan Alamo Christian Foundation, in Alma, Arkansas (Alamo and Alamo, undated:8), and the Foursquare Gospel Church in Los Angeles (Stanton and Bowers, undated:5).

Hollenweger's typology is the most historically and theologically accurate of the various classification schemes discussed. However, using the three aforementioned criterion variables, it remains to be seen whether all the groups to be considered can be placed under one or another of Hollenweger's categories. In a word, the goal of the project is to determine whether Hollenweger's (1977) typology comprehends American Pentecostalism.

#### Theoretical Framework for Researching Pentecostal Types

According to Max Weber (1975:323-324), "ideal types" are constructed schemes which enable the researcher to determine the extent to which a historical phenomenon, in part or in whole,

approximates the theoretical type. The purpose of ideal types is to demonstrate possible areas of conflict between classes of phenomena. Weber explained that the development of ideal types does not negate the possibility that, from one or more perspectives, these areas of divergence might not be resolved in some higher synthesis. Moreover, ideal types, he said, possess a rational consistency which rarely has a phenomenological (or individual) reality. In short, no empirical instance may correspond fully to the ideal type.

Pentecostalism is a complex group of doctrines, and there are many issues other than those selected as criterion variables which have caused division. The purpose of this research is to indicate general types of Pentecostalism based on what seem to be its major historical and present-day doctrinal disputes.

In determining whether an application of the three criterion variables to the American Pentecostal movement supports, or fails to support, the validity of the four-sect typology, a theoretical framework will be applied combining theological hermeneutics with Bryan Wilson's (1959) analysis of sect development.

Theological hermeneutics, as defined here, examines the dialectical operation of the subject-object relationship between various hermeneutic or interpretive stances (subjective aspect) and the Bible (objective aspect). Addressing this theme, Anthony Giddens wrote:

The meaning of a text does not reside in the communicative intent of its creator, but in the mediation that is established between the work and those who "understand" it from the context of a different tradition (1976:62-63).

According to Giddens (1976:63), a literary work is of itself

meaningless. It must be continually re-examined in light of new interpretive traditions. In this sense, he explained, a written text is distinctly different from speech, since the latter communication medium is generally not so permanent. A text, on the other hand, acquires an existence independent of its author.

Those who determine church doctrine (church leaders, theologians, and founders of a given church or type) are invested with hermeneutic or interpretive authority. That is to say, those individuals, influenced by their own denominational backgrounds and theological training, who develop church doctrine are the focuses of attention in this research. In the manner in which the terms intellectual history and social history are used, it could be said that the present study is an exercise in intellectual historical sociology. A social history is generally from the viewpoint of the masses, while an intellectual history is usually from the perspective of the intellectuals or fashioners of official dogma.

The dialectical relationship between a particular hermeneutic stance (an interpretive posture which would, in this case, include acceptance of the Pentecostal charismata) and the Bible leads to the development of a given form of the Pentecostal world view or, in other words, a church theology. Pentecostal religion, defined here as a systematic devotion to the Pentecostal world view, will be examined both on the basis of the shared perspective of its adherents (convergence) and their contradictory perspectives (divergence). The areas of convergence, the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the



charismata, are the criteria for inclusion of a group in this research.

The "ideological culture" of an organized group, Pitirim Sorokin wrote (1947:332-335), consists of that group's credo and its norms, meanings, and values. This culture is partly integrated, partly unintegrated, and partly contradictory. An ideological culture, Sorokin explained, always incorporates, along side the integrated aspects, a small or large number of unintegrated, and even contradictory meanings. This lack of complete integration, he asserted, is due to the incessant changes in the group's culture, introducing new norms, meanings and values, and thereby making some previous elements of the group's culture obsolescent "survivals" (1947:332). Pentecostalism, as a group, contains certain integrative aspects (the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the charismata) and incorporates disintegrative aspects (doctrinal variations) as well.

Theological pluralism has always been inherent in Protestantism. Among the accomplishments of the Reformation was having the precedent established for individual scriptural exegesis (the interpretation of specific Biblical passages)--an obvious challenge to the theological monism of papal authority; or, to put it another way, the legitimacy of Rome was countered by an appeal (from the Protestant reformers) to personal conscience (Wells, 1949:753-754). Unbridled personal exegesis facilitated denominationalism through reinforcing the right to individual doctrinal choice. In that sense, it might be said that the Protestant Reformation has never really ended, as demonstrated by the recent proliferation of obscure Christian sects and theologies.

Moreover, in understanding the reasons for doctrinal pluralism among Pentecostals, it is helpful to view the movement organizationally, as a sect. The differences between a church and a sect were first discussed by Ernst Troeltsch in his church-sect typology (1949:331-343). Troeltsch wrote (1949:331) that the church is conservative and universal. It aspires to dominate the total life of humanity (as did the medieval Roman Catholic Church). A sect, on the other hand, is a comparatively small group whose members strive primarily after inner spiritual development.

A key feature of the sect type (Troeltsch, 1949:339) is its voluntarism. Members join the sect of their own free will. They are not born into it. The continuance of the sect depends largely upon voluntary personal service and cooperation. In the sect, the attainment of the grace of God is contingent upon personal effort as opposed to an objective participation in church sacraments.

Bryan Wilson's (1959:4-5) denomination-sect typology is almost identical to Troeltsch's scheme. Wilson attributes to a denomination conventionality (conservatism), ritualism, and an acceptance of secular organizations and of the prevailing secular culture and morality. A sect, however, is a voluntary association, stressing exclusiveness and membership by proof of personal merit (such as an affirmation of a conversion experience). Sects emphasize that their members possess personal enlightenment.<sup>4</sup> There is a high level of lay participation, including opportunities for members to spon-

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<sup>4</sup>This characteristic is especially evident among the Pentecostals through the individual revelations that members are alleged to receive from God.

taneously express their commitment. Likewise, sects encourage their members to keep apart from the world and its vices.

Wilson, going beyond his bipartite typology, elucidated certain sub-types of the sect. Relevant to this research is Wilson's "conversionist sect" (1959:5-6), which, he said, is typically an orthodox fundamentalist or Pentecostal group. This sub-type of the sect seeks to transform the individual and society at large. Its main focus is on evangelism. The Bible, which is accepted as literally true, is taken as the only guide to individual salvation. Being born again, or converted, through accepting Jesus Christ as one's personal Savior, is the test of admission into the body of believers. Conversionist sects emphasize man's inherent sinfulness and his need to be forgiven of sin by Christ. They are usually hostile toward evolutionism, contemporary culture, and modern art forms. Finally, they dislike those denominations which they believe to have diluted true Christianity.

Wilson wrote (1959:10) that schism is common among sects. Because sects focus heavily on doctrinal purity, they are prone to factionalize. It appears that the major features of the sect, its vitality and lack of cultural conformity, actually encourage fragmentation. The sect certainly does not lend itself well to long-term doctrinal and organizational integration.

If Wilson's theory is correct, it could be expected that Pentecostalism, a form of the "conversionist sect" sub-type (Wilson, 1959:5-6), would be likely to factionalize over doctrinal issues. Accordingly, the three criterion variables adopted for this project

pertain to what have historically been the major doctrinal issues connected with Pentecostal dissidence.

By combining theological hermeneutics with an understanding of the religious sect, a perspective is gained on the role of interpretation by church leaders in fostering doctrinally-based factionalization. The sect can be viewed as a type of religious organization which is likely to cultivate multiple hermeneutic postures.

#### Literature Comparing Pentecostals With Non-Pentecostals

A review of the literature revealed a lack of much research comparing Pentecostals with non-Pentecostals. Most of the research on Pentecostalism deals with its individual varieties (especially Catholic Pentecostalism) and with glossolalia (speaking in tongues). Perhaps a fascination with some of the newer forms of the Pentecostal movement (such as Catholic Pentecostalism) and with the mystical and theoleptic glossolalia has prevented many researchers from venturing into a Pentecostal-non-Pentecostal comparative analysis.

#### Johnson's Comparisons

Benton Johnson (1961:309-316) argued that there is a basic similarity in the value orientations of Holiness sects and the dominant American society. Johnson used a rather loose definition of the Holiness movement, which included the Assemblies of God (a Durhamite sect), the Church of God (a Parhamite sect), and the Pentecostal Holiness Church (another Parhamite sect). He administered intensive interviews to 10 Holiness ministers in which they were required to choose between two general life orientations: 1) a

statement of self-direction and mastery; and 2) a less goal-oriented, more cautious life orientation.

Johnson wrote (1961:316) that only one respondent tended to deny the desirability of occupational goal attainment. The remainder of the ministers had a positive attitude toward the goal-attainment process. Johnson argued that the ministers' decided emphasis on achievement and self-application are principal themes of the Holiness movement which converge directly with dominant American values.

Johnson (1961:312) explained his findings by pointing to the inclination of Holiness adherents to basically accept the larger society as constituted. Although members of Holiness groups are constrained by certain rules of personal conduct, for the most part, he wrote, they are left entirely free to participate in secular life. When Holiness adherents emphasize their separatism (worldly detachment), they usually refer to a rejection of secular norms, Johnson said. Furthermore, some of the respondents exhibited an interest in being respected in their own communities (1961:313).

The outstanding problem with Johnson's research was his failure to study the "dominant American values" (1961:316) he referred to in his paper. Although it may be true that Americans as a whole share the goal-directedness of Johnson's respondents, no evidence of this convergence is provided in his paper. In view of the fact that he gave no empirical support for the values of the implicit comparison group, American society, it was premature for him to generalize as he did.

### Dearman's Comparisons

Marion Dearman wrote both his dissertation (1972) and a summary paper (1974) on the basis of Johnson's research. Dearman wrote that he wanted to "inquire empirically into the validity of [Johnson's hypothesis]" (Dearman, 1974:438). Dearman wished to test Johnson's hypothesis that Holiness sects are socialized in dominant American values.

Dearman used the term Holiness in a general sense, as did Johnson (Dearman, 1972:8-9). Dearman also took issue with Warburton's (1969) suggestion that Holiness (Parhamite) and Pentecostal (Durhamite) groups be treated as separate categories. While admitting that, for purposes of analysis, it may sometimes be useful to distinguish between Pentecostal and Holiness groups, Dearman argued that, in reality, both types teach holiness or sanctification and should, therefore, be collectively referred to as the Holiness movement.

Dearman's nomenclature aside, his methodology presents even more problems than does Johnson's approach. Dearman concluded, based on participant observation and his own interview schedule (1972:49-50), that Holiness sects socialize their members in middle-class (or dominant) American values, e.g. the work ethic, patriotism, and ambition. While Dearman was more precise about his non-Pentecostal comparison group than was Johnson, who chose only to discuss dominant American values, Dearman provided no evidence on the values of the American middle class. Although he was more ambi-

tious than Johnson, he had no data to back up his comparisons. Dearman, like Johnson, only speculated, perhaps based on his personal experience (even though he never claimed to use his own experience as data), on what the values of the American middle class might be (Dearman, 1972:174-180).

Another problem arises from Dearman's claim to have studied the Holiness (Pentecostal) movement. In fact, his research was, by his own admission, restricted to the United Pentecostal Church, a Ewartite (unitarian) group (1972:53-55). Dearman provided no evidence that this particular church is representative of Pentecostalism in its entirety.

Dearman (1972:52-53), apparently in order to justify his choice of the United Pentecostal Church as a research group, wrote that he was reared in one of the unitarian Pentecostal churches which eventually merged to form the United Pentecostal Church. He explained, however, that he was never actually a member of any unitarian Pentecostal church (although he gave no reason for his failure to join). In any event, Dearman's explanation does not justify his generalization from a single church to all of Pentecostalism.

#### Hamby's Comparisons

Warren Hamby (1980:45-46) administered a survey to 419 Catholic Pentecostals and non-Pentecostal Catholics who attended mass, a prayer group, or both at the same Catholic parishes in Atlanta, Georgia, and in West Palm Beach, Florida. There were 198 usable surveys (47 percent of the sample). In addition, he attended

Catholic Pentecostal prayer meetings as a participant observer in order to explore the meaning of the experiences for the participants.

Among Hamby's conclusions (based on the survey data) were that (1980:77-123):

- 1) Catholic Pentecostals were lower than non-Pentecostal Catholics in normlessness.
- 2) Pentecostals were inclined to attend mass more often than non-Pentecostals.
- 3) Among those individuals with at least some college to four years of college, Pentecostals were more likely than non-Pentecostals to have higher levels of church participation.
- 4) In other educational groups (those with no college education and those with graduate school education) being or not being a Pentecostal did not seem to make any difference in terms of church participation.
- 5) Pentecostals were lower in terms of years of education than non-Pentecostals.
- 6) Pentecostals were generally more opposed to abortion than non-Pentecostals.

Hamby's research was methodologically superior to most of the other studies which were examined for this literature review. However, Hamby did not cover as broad a spectrum of Pentecostalism as does the present research. Hamby examined only one form of Pentecostalism in the southeastern United States, while the present research is concerned with an interdenominational sampling of those



who defined themselves as Pentecostal or Holiness in a national survey (the American National Election Study).

#### McGuire's Comparisons

Meredith McGuire (1974:57-65) conducted a comparative study to discover and interpret the differences between Catholic Pentecostal and Catholic underground church members. Her research project included interviewing persons involved in 16 underground groups between 1969 and 1973 and five Pentecostal groups between 1971 and 1973 (both samples in Northern New Jersey).

McGuire found (1974:59-61) that while most Catholic Pentecostals did not consider themselves as Catholic dissidents, most underground church members regarded themselves as dissenting from church tradition. All Pentecostals studied attended mass every Sunday at their parish churches, whereas few underground church members attended their parish churches on Sunday. Underground church members said that while they were interested in the opinions of church officials, they did not feel bound to agree with, or to obey, them. The Pentecostals, on the other hand, did not challenge church authorities and, when ordered, had occasionally altered their Pentecostal activities. Underground church members objected to the authoritarian mode of leadership practiced by bishops and priests and accused the church hierarchy of being unresponsive to the laity.

The age, income, and occupational differences were also marked between the underground and Pentecostal movements (1974:58 and 60). Most underground church members were middle class and college educated. A large number were professionally employed. Almost all the

groups studied had non-white members. On the other hand, most Pentecostal members were older than underground church members. The Pentecostals ranged in age from 40 to 55. Most of them were middle-class businessmen, with only a few professionals (in contrast to the underground church). Unlike the underground church, there were no non-white members in any of the Pentecostal groups.

McGuire found other differences relating to perceptions of church and society (1974:63). The Pentecostals, probably because they see the world situation worsening in anticipation of the return of Christ, said that they believed the condition of the church and society to be worse than before. Underground church members tended to evaluate the state of church and society as bad, but not necessarily worse than before.

McGuire also discovered differences between Pentecostals and underground church members with regard to escapism (1974:63). In the appeal of the Catholic Pentecostal movement, there is a definite element of escapism not found in the underground church. McGuire attributed this escapism primarily to the essential internality of Pentecostal experience. Pentecostals escape from the need to personally confront the social issues of an unmanageable world by turning to a realm of inner spiritual development.

McGuire's study is intriguing, although she provided the reader with little information on her methodology. As was the case with Hamby's research (1980), McGuire's study was concerned with a comparison between two Roman Catholic groups in a small segment of the country.

### Rifkin's Comparisons

According to Jeremy Rifkin, "The evangelical-Charismatic movement is the single most visible and significant response to [the] changes going on in contemporary American life" (1979:198). The changes Rifkin referred to are twofold: an increasing decay and a resulting search for order. Rifkin wrote (1979:199) that the contemporary American world view, which places science and technology on center stage, is breaking down. Capitalism, charged with translating science and technology into the everyday lives of Americans, is demonstrating its vincibility. The "common denominator" (1979:198-199) which characterizes the present-day American mentality is an anxiety manifested in confusion and loneliness, sparked by a loss of faith in the contemporary materialistic world view. The Pentecostal (Charismatic) and evangelical movements have produced different responses to this phenomenon of increasing decay.

The special gifts (charismata) of the Pentecostals, including faith healing and speaking in tongues, represent a direct attack on both the materialistic world view and the scientific age. The Pentecostals' belief in faith healing, for example, indicates a rejection of the supremacy of medical science in matters of health and healing. For the Pentecostal, the proof of election (being "chosen" by God) is the supernatural baptism in the Holy Spirit and its associated gifts. Further, the charismata, unlike scientific

invention, do not depend on individual effort but rather on divine intervention (1979:208-209).

Rifkin wrote (1979:211-212) that the Pentecostal movement is a response to the American economic transformation from an industrial to a postindustrial age. The new service-oriented economy of the postindustrial period is becoming increasingly dependent on information and communication technologies. In turn, these technologies are being monopolized by a corporate elite. The Pentecostal movement, through its emphasis on speaking in tongues, is reacting against communications theory and information monopolization. While communications theory stresses a uniformity of sound, in glossolalia each person utters a unique set of sounds which, allegedly, contain truths revealed by God's Holy Spirit.

Rifkin noted (1979:213-214) that the Pentecostal movement places a non-rational emphasis on subjective experience over objective analysis. The spontaneous, unstructured nature of the movement contradicts the essentially methodical world view of the scientific establishment. In contrast to the information monopoly, the success of the Pentecostal movement is due largely to its emphasis on the participation of all believers.

Rifkin criticized (1979:215-216) the "700 Club" and the "PTL Club" for their centralization and reliance upon dominant authority figures, such as Pat Robertson (The 700 Club) and Jim Bakker (the PTL Club). Rifkin accused these two Pentecostal leaders of "idolatry" (1979:215) because of their obsession with television satellite technology and insisted that their programs often allot

more time to satellites than to God. If the trend continues, the charismata could be destroyed by materialistic culture.

The evangelical movement, on the other hand, which Rifkin equated with traditional and conservative (non-Pentecostal) Protestantism (1979:219-221), is becoming increasingly identified with the worldly power elites. In a manner recalling Weber (1975:321), Rifkin referred to the analytical and rational disposition of the evangelicals (1979:214). He said that many middle-class evangelicals are returning to an old-fashioned "Gospel of Wealth" which equates Biblical doctrine with "rugged individualism, free enterprise, and unlimited material accumulation" (1979:225 and 238). Rifkin then added that this "Gospel of Wealth" contradicts the historic evangelical suspicion of powerful people and institutions. Evangelicals, with their stress on the individual, have traditionally turned away from sources of power (1979:225).

Rifkin's work is perhaps closer to philosophy than it is to social science. His writings contain a great amount of subjectivity. Moreover, he made no attempt to specify any objectively testable propositions or hypotheses.

Rifkin's simplistic assertion that Pentecostals are less rational than evangelicals (1979:213-214) completely ignores recent Pentecostal scholarship and theological thought, especially as exemplified by neo-Pentecostal Pat Robertson on his 700 Club television program. While it is certainly accurate to note the high level of emotionalism in the Pentecostal movement, it was fallacious (either/or) reasoning for Rifkin to infer that theopathy necessarily

negates rationalism, especially when he provided no evidence for his inference.

Rifkin accused many evangelicals of having a non-Biblical lack of concern for the environment. The Old-Testament injunction to subdue the earth and to have dominion over all its creatures (Genesis 1:28) has been used to justify the ruthless exploitation and manipulation of nature (1979:230). The Bible teaches (Rifkin, 1979:231-232) the conservation and replenishment of nature (Exodus 23:10-11; Leviticus 19:9) and explains that the pollution of the earth is a violation of God's everlasting laws and statutes (Isaiah 24:4-6).

But Rifkin is hopeful. He wrote (1979:254-255) that contemporary evangelical scholars argue that the Biblical concept of dominion refers to a stewardship, not ownership and to conservation, not exploitation. This belief opposes the Calvinistic ethic of productivity and the exploitation of nature as well as the materialistic world view. The Calvinistic individual is being replaced by an individual (both evangelical and Pentecostal) who seeks salvation through conserving and protecting God's creation. "The Protestant 'work' ethic is being replaced by the Protestant 'conservation' ethic," bringing about "a second Protestant reformation" (Rifkin, 1979:255).

To the author, Rifkin's liberal-mindedness is a good example of micawberism or unrealistic optimism. While he might like to see the evangelical and Pentecostal communities adopt the values he outlined

in his book, he gave little or no evidence of its occurrence. Quite to the contrary, Rifkin's statements about the obsession of Pentecostal leaders with satellites and materialism (1979:215) and the similarity between evangelicalism and a right-wing pro-capitalist fascism (1979:226) seem to belie his enthusiasm.

#### Theoretical Framework for Pentecostal-Non-Pentecostal Comparisons

In this project, the problem of comparing American Pentecostals as a whole with middle-class non-Pentecostals has been selected based on the gaps in the literature in this area. As pointed out earlier, neither Benton Johnson (1961) nor Marion Dearman (1972:1974) claimed to have done any research into the implicit comparison group, the non-Pentecostal middle class. Their shared conclusion, that Pentecostals were socialized in dominant American values, was more allied to a leap of faith than to scientific analysis.

As discussed earlier, Bryan Wilson (1959:4-6) distinguished between the denomination and the sect. The denomination, he said, accepted the prevailing culture and morality. The sect, on the other hand, the category in which Wilson placed Pentecostalism, encourages its members to distinguish themselves from secular culture and to keep apart from the world and its vices.

In the project, denominations will be viewed as convergent religious groups because of their acceptance of the dominant culture, whereas sects will be seen as divergent religious groups because of their rejection of the dominant culture. If Wilson is correct, Pentecostals, members of a sub-type of the sect (1959:5-6

and 11) can be expected to diverge from the dominant culture. Moreover, if there is significant divergence between Pentecostals and middle-class non-Pentecostals for any of the three variables tested in this project (explained in Chapter III), then the null hypothesis, Dearman's general statement that Pentecostals have dominant (middle-class) values (1972:49-50), will be rejected for that variable.



## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

#### Testing Hollenweger's Four-Sect Pentecostal Typology

According to Robert Towler, the sociology of religion is essentially hermeneutic; that is to say, it seeks to interpret the lives of religionists in terms of their own experiences. When the hermeneutist studies a given religious group, he inquires into the meanings of various social situations as these are grounded in the generalized mental set of its adherents (Towler, 1974:1-2).

Much of hermeneutics focuses on verbal or literary interpretation. William Dilthey explained that the researcher can understand a given object by studying the words and expressions used. He argued that experience becomes objectified in expression. Through a study of these words and expressions, the researcher can grasp something of the unexpressed, original purpose (Dilthey, 1956:5; Kendrick, 1983:8). Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology takes a comparable hermeneutic approach. Garfinkel counseled the sociologist to study verbal expression as an index of some unstated meaning (1967:11). Likewise, Karl Mannheim wrote that the documentary method of interpretation demands that the researcher see beyond a work to its creator. The meaning of a document, demonstrated in how the subject matter is selected, represented, and shaped, may be ascertained by considering only a fragment of the complete work, Mannheim explained (1952:55-56).

The first problem, the testing of a four-sect typology of the Pentecostal movement, will make use of a documentary and historical

hermeneutic methodology. Primary sources, including the writings of the founders of Pentecostalism, e.g. Parham, Durham, Ewart, and Wierwille,<sup>5</sup> as well as secondary sources, such as official church publications, periodicals, and books written by Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals, will be consulted. Then, as Towler advised (1974:3), based on a hermeneutic consideration of this movement in its various types, Pentecostalism will be placed within a theoretical framework. When religion is approached theoretically, Towler wrote (1974:3), a comparative method can be used. In this research, it will be a comparison between types. Towler further explained:

It is the contexts alone which make individual elements meaningful, and direct comparisons violate the hermeneutical method. The theoretical framework, however, consists of propositions about the relationship between abstractions which have been made from hermeneutical interpretations of religion; it does not consist simply of propositions about concrete religious phenomena.... General relationships involving aspects of religious systems are proposed at a theoretical level, and the viability of these proposals is examined by returning to a hermeneutic study of actual religions (1974:3-4).

Several steps are involved in this hermeneutic study:

- 1) The first step was to define Pentecostalism based on the criterion of the group's acceptance of the present-day validity of the theoleptic baptism in the Holy Spirit and its associated gifts (charismata), as discussed in Chapter II.
- 2) The second step was the development of a theoretical framework (the framework developed was discussed in Chapter II). The

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<sup>5</sup>The historical contexts of these founders of Pentecostalism were discussed in Chapter II.

general prediction was made that Pentecostalism, as an example of a sect, was likely to have factionalized over doctrinal issues (Wilson, 1959).

- 3) The third step is hypothesis development. It is hypothesized that Pentecostalism will conform to the four-sect typology (Parhamite, Durhamite, Ewartite, and du Plessisite) enumerated by Hollenweger (1977).
- 4) The fourth step is an examination of Pentecostal literature, primarily the writings of the founders of the different Pentecostal groups discussed in Chapter II, to see if the hypothesis can be supported. The criterion variables which will be examined in this project, based on a study of the major points of divergence in Pentecostal history, are: Christology (whether Christ in His nature is the Deity or Godhead Himself or whether He is divine, godly, but not God); theometry (a belief in unitarianism, that God is one in essence and not divided, versus a belief in trinitarianism, that God consists of God as the Father, God as Jesus Christ the Son of God, and God as the Holy Spirit); and sanctification (whether a Christian is made holy at a single moment in time or whether sanctification is a gradual process after becoming a Christian). In order to measure these criterion variables, the hermeneutic methodology will be applied: an analysis of the terms and expressions used by the various Pentecostal sects. This follows the aforementioned style of hermeneutic inquiry

advocated by Dilthey (1956); Kendrick, (1983), Garfinkel (1967), and Mannheim (1952).

- 5) The fifth step is to draw conclusions about the typification process, i.e., whether it conforms to the four-sect typology, and, if not, to modify the typology or propose an alternative.

#### Comparing Pentecostals With Middle-Class Non-Pentecostals

The second problem will examine whether the Pentecostals converge with (that is, demonstrate church-like characteristics, or diverge from (that is, demonstrate sect-like characteristics), middle-class non-Pentecostals on certain specific variables. An analysis will be performed using the University of Michigan's 1982 American National Election Study (henceforth designated as NES). The sample consisted of 1,960 resident American citizens (1,418 completed interviews) who were 18 years old or older as of Election Day, 1982. (Those 18 years old or older constituted, according to the 1980 Census, 72 percent of the U.S. population.) Respondents were interviewed individually for an average of 72.1 minutes. The interviews were conducted between November 5, 1982 and January 31, 1983 (Center for Political Studies, 1983:1 and 3).

The NES items to be analyzed are:

- Var. 36: Which political party do you support?
- Var. 38: Which party do you feel closer to?
- Var. 93: Rating of Ronald Reagan
- Var. 124: Rating of liberals
- Var. 125: Rating of conservatives
- Var. 329: In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling inflation?
- Var. 331: In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling unemployment?
- Var. 336: In the long run do you feel the nation's economic situation will be better or worse because of Ronald

- Reagan's economic policies?
- Var. 379: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling national defense?
- Var. 396: Conservatism-liberalism self-ranking
- Var. 459: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling nuclear arms control?
- Var. 464: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Over the years, the government in Washington has gotten involved in handling and deciding issues which are not the federal government's business.
- Var. 467: There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? (By law, abortion should never be permitted; The law should permit abortion only in the case of rape, incest or when the mother's life is in danger; The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established; By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.)
- Var. 711: Did you vote mostly Republican, mostly Democrat, or about half and half?
- Var. 740: Summary of respondent's education (ranging from eight grades of schooling or less to a post-graduate-level degree).
- Var. 875: Summary of respondent's 1981 gross family income (ranging from less than \$5,000 to \$50,000 and over).
- Var. 888: Respondent's self-identified social class (middle, working, lower, and upper classes).
- Var. 892: Respondent's religious preferences.
- Var. 894: Would you say you go to church/synagogue every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

Two multi-item value indices will be tapped:

- 1) Conservatism-liberalism (vars. 93, 124, 125, 329, 331, 336, 379, 396, 459, 464, and 467).
- 2) Political-party preference (vars. 36, 38, and 711).

In addition, periodicity of church attendance (var. 894) will be included as a single-item value index.

In order to develop the multi-item indices, zero-order correlation will be used to test for unidimensionality among groups of the survey items. Items which are not highly correlated with the com-

bined value index (less than .70) will be dropped. This process will be repeated until acceptable value indices are formulated. It is anticipated that, given the large number of items included in the conservatism-liberalism index and their variety, the final index for this variable may include considerably fewer items and deal with a narrower range of topics.

After the three value indices have been formulated, Pentecostalism will be operationalized. Three null hypotheses (of no difference on the value indices) will be tested (using the  $t$  tests in the case of the Ronald Reagan and periodicity-of-church-attendance indices, and  $\chi^2$ , in the case of the nominal-level political-party value index) to compare the two Pentecostal values identified under NES variable 892 in the codebook: "Church of God; Holiness" and "Pentecostal; Assembly of God." Unfortunately, the Pentecostal literature is not consistent. While Dearman (1972:8-9) considered all Pentecostals as "Holiness," Synan (1971:122) distinguished between Pentecostal and Holiness sects. It is difficult, therefore, to be able to predict how each Pentecostal would interpret the two Pentecostal values identified in the NES survey. In the event that none of the three null hypotheses are rejected, indicating no significant differences between Pentecostals and Holiness, the two groups will be collapsed into a single Pentecostal category. But if any of the three null hypotheses is rejected, the corresponding hypotheses below (comparing Pentecostals with non-Pentecostals) will be altered to compare each Pentecostal group separately with non-Pentecostals.

Several hypotheses will be tested on each of the three value indices, comparing Pentecostals (two NES values) with non-Pentecostals (45 NES values). It is predicted that Pentecostals, as an example of a divergent (sect-type) religious group, will significantly differ from middle-class non-Pentecostals with regard to the value indices discussed above (as explained in Chapter II). If this prediction is correct, Dearman's general hypothesis that Pentecostals have dominant (middle-class) values (1972:49-50) will not be supported for one or more of the value indices. The t test will be used for the Ronald-Reagan and periodicity-of-church attendance value indices, while  $\chi^2$  will be used for the political-party value index.

Since Dearman considered American middle-class values as dominant (1972:164-172), the first set of Pentecostal-non-Pentecostal hypotheses will compare all Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals using the t test and  $\chi^2$ . Middle class will be defined as consisting of those individuals who had part of a year to four years of college (NES variable 740) and a gross family income ranging between \$25,000 and \$49,000 (NES variable 875). In order to examine Dearman's assertion of similarity between Pentecostals and middle-class Americans, null hypotheses of no difference will be tested for each of the three value indices (comparing Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals).

The second set of hypotheses will again compare Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals using the t test and  $\chi^2$ .

However, this time the analysis will make use of the subjective measure of class (NES variable 888).

The third set of hypotheses will compare all Pentecostals with all non-Pentecostals (regardless of class, income, or education) on each value index (using the t test and  $X^2$ ). Here again the null hypotheses will be of no difference between the two groups.

The fourth set of hypotheses will compare Pentecostals with non-Pentecostals while controlling, first on education (NES variable 740), then on income (NES variable 875), and finally on the subjective measure of class (NES variable 888). Analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) will be used on the Ronald Reagan and periodicity-of-church-attendance value indices.  $X^2$  will be used on the political-party value index. These procedures involve a total of nine additional hypotheses. The null hypotheses will be of no difference between the two groups once the effects of each control variable (education, income, and social class) are removed. By controlling on these variables, alternative explanations for any differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals will be eliminated. In addition, for each ANCOVA test, a two-way ANOVA test will be performed, testing for the effects of class, education, and income (the covariates in the previous ANCOVAs) and religion (Pentecostal versus non-Pentecostal) on each of the three value indices. The purpose of these additional tests is to check for interaction between class, education, and income, on the one hand, and religion on the other.



In the event of significant interaction, additional statistical analysis may be necessary.

In regard to selecting a significance level, Sanford Labovitz, in his article on that subject (1968:220-222), wrote that a small level of significance should be chosen when testing a well reasoned and well developed hypothesis or when a substantial difference is expected. On the other hand, a larger error rate should be selected in an exploratory study, e.g. for the purpose of developing hypotheses to be tested in a later project. Since the present research is based on Dearman's somewhat unsubstantiated conclusions, yet is not entirely exploratory, a moderate .05 significance level will be used for all the hypotheses.

The 1982 NES study was conducted by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The NES Board of Overseers, drawn from the national community of social scientists, played an active role in planning the design and content of the 1982 study. However, the items used in this study are substantially the same as those used in previous years. The final selection of survey items was based partly on preferences voiced by the user community in response to a 1979 memorandum which was sent out to the approximately 900 persons on the NES mailing list (Center for Political Studies, 1983:1-2). As of the present time, there have been no reliability or validity studies conducted on the NES items.

## CHAPTER IV

### HOLLENWEGER'S FOUR-SECT PENTECOSTAL TYPOLOGY:

#### RESEARCH FINDINGS

##### Doctrinal Convergence in Pentecostalism

Before examining the hermeneutical divergences between the founders of each of the five branches of Pentecostalism discussed in Chapter II,<sup>6</sup> i.e. Parhamites, Durhamites, Ewartites, Wierwillites (the Way International),<sup>7</sup> and du Plessisites (neo-Pentecostals), consideration will be given to Pentecostal theolopsy (the baptism in the Holy Spirit and its associated gifts or manifestations) in order to ascertain the essential convergence of all the Pentecostal groups on this doctrine. The theologies of each group on Holy Spirit baptism will be briefly examined in turn. Any group which does not accept the theoleptic interpretation of the baptism in the Holy Spirit will be dropped from the analysis.

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<sup>6</sup>There is also a Southern Pentecostal group called "snake handlers" which, like the Wierwillites, was not referred to as a Pentecostal type or group by any of the authors surveyed in the literature review. However, snake handling, unlike the Wierwillites, is an amorphous movement without much doctrinal uniformity among its represented congregations. There are, apparently, both Parhamite and Ewartite snake-handling factions (La Barre, 1962:12 and 49). This group will not be included in the analysis.

<sup>7</sup>The Wierwillites were not a part of the four-sect typology discussed in Chapter II. This project will assess whether the Wierwillites are, based on the three criterion variables used in this analysis, a distinct type or a part of some more inclusive type.

### Parhamite Views on Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Charles Fox Parham wrote that "the Baptism of the Holy Spirit" is accompanied by "the evidence of speaking in other tongues and the coordinate gifts of healing the sick and casting out devils [exorcism] in Jesus' name" (Parham, undated:4). He explained that some Christians, after having received this baptism, experience "shouting, leaping, and falling in trances, while others put stress upon inspiration...and [personal] divine revelation" (Parham, undated:27-28). The baptism in the Holy Spirit, Parham said, was a "personal work" of God distinct from, and subsequent to, the moment of sanctification (Parham, undated:30).

Parham referred to the baptism in the Holy Spirit as "the sealing," the confirmation that the work of the Holy Spirit is complete in the individual (undated:32). John Wesley, the founder of Methodism and originator of the doctrine of instantaneous sanctification, did not, Parham believed, have this baptism. Although Wesley "enjoyed a mighty anointing" from God (in other words, he was sanctified) and was inspired in his words and actions by the Holy Spirit, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in tongues, is a separate divine blessing which Wesley did not receive (Parham, undated:32).

The baptism in the Holy Spirit places a Christian in the body of Christ (the church) where the gifts of healing and speaking in tongues can be put to use (Parham, undated:35). In addition to speaking in tongues and healing, i.e. the healing of the physically ill by Christ through the intercessory prayers of Spirit baptized

Christians, the gifts (or manifestations) of the Holy Spirit (following one's baptism in the Holy Spirit) include prophecy (giving spiritual education and comfort to the church) and the interpretation of tongues (to be able to interpret the divinely inspired languages) (Parham, undated:38).

A. J. Tomlinson, an early Parhamite and founder of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), wrote that "when one is sanctified is the best time for him to press right on through to the heights of the baptism of the Holy Ghost [Spirit] ... (1962:26). Tomlinson, therefore, agreed with Parham that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is subsequent to conversion and sanctification (Parham, undated:30).

Tomlinson explained that, while he preached, large numbers of people would receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit. There was much "shaking," praising of God, and speaking in tongues, he wrote (1949:48-49). Tomlinson related these experiences to those of the Apostles of Christ on the Biblical day of Pentecost when they all spoke in tongues (1949:29).

According to the "Declaration of Faith" of the Church of God, the baptism in the Holy Spirit is attainable only after one has acquired a clean heart through sanctification. Speaking in tongues is described as the initial evidence of one's baptism in the Holy Spirit, and belief in divine (supernatural) healing is mentioned as an article of faith (Forty-second General Assembly of the Church of God, 1983:30). Many gifts (charismata) are explained to be correlated with the baptism in the Holy Spirit, e.g. healing, speaking in

tongues, the interpretation of tongues, and prophecying (receiving divine revelations) (Hughes, 1983:46-48).

#### Durhamite Views on Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Aimee Semple McPherson, an early Durhamite Pentecostal preacher and founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, argued that it was "abnormal" for a Christian not to have received the baptism in the Holy Spirit (1951:33). It is God's desire, she claimed, for every Christian to receive the benefit of having the Holy Spirit baptize and dwell within him, e.g. speaking in tongues. McPherson remarked that it was wonderful when, on the day of Pentecost, all the apostles of Christ spoke in tongues--languages they had never learned nor studied. Speaking in tongues, she wrote, is still, at the present time, the Biblical evidence of receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit (1951:33).

McPherson recounted her own experience being baptized in the Holy Spirit. She recalled how she prayed to God to fill her with the Holy Spirit in order to make her an acceptable servant of God. That same day, she said, the Lord answered her prayer and filled her with the Spirit "to overflowing" and empowered her to speak in tongues (1951:42-43).

"With lightening rapidity," McPherson wrote, "the pentecostal revival has encircled the world ..." (1923:749-750). Thousands of Christians have been filled with the Holy Spirit, she claimed (1923:750). As the Pentecostal revival continues, and Christians continue to be baptized in the Holy Spirit, sinners will be saved (converted to Christianity), the sick will be healed, and the

churches will become too small to contain everyone (McPherson, 1923:681). The "crying need" of the Christian church today, McPherson explained, is a real baptism in the Holy Spirit (1923:678).

McPherson wrote that there have been hundreds of cases of instantaneous healings for practically every conceivable ailment. These healings, she claimed, were corroborated by doctors' certificates and X-rays, showing the condition of the individuals both before and after being healed. One lady, she said, who was born with a crippling double curvature of the spine, stood up erect before an assemblage of thousands after being commanded (apparently by McPherson) to receive a divine healing (McPherson, 1927:243-244).

The "Declaration of Faith" of the International Church of the Four-Square Gospel affirms the church's acceptance of the Pentecostal interpretation of the baptism in the Holy Spirit (McPherson, undated:16-17). The Declaration of Faith also states that the gifts of the Holy Spirit include healing, prophecy, speaking in tongues, and the interpretation of tongues (McPherson, undated:19).

Similarly, the "Declaration of Faith" of the Assemblies of God, another Durhamite group, asserts that all believers (following their conversion) are entitled to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit after having been born again (converted). Christians should also expect to receive this baptism and should earnestly seek it. It was the normal course of events in the early Christian church for a

Christian to be Spirit baptized. The Declaration also claims that speaking in tongues is the initial sign of baptism in the Holy Spirit and discusses the present-day reality of divine healing in the church (Assemblies of God, 1977:515).

#### Ewartite Views on Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Frank J. Ewart, the founder of a group which splintered off from the Durhamites because of Ewart's rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity (which states that God consists of three persons in one: the Father, the Son--Jesus, and the Holy Spirit), wrote that when God baptizes a Christian in the Holy Spirit a spark is ignited within him (Ewart, 1979:24). The effect of this spark from God is to eliminate fear and doubt in the newly Spirit baptized Christian and to bring him into the spiritual body of believers (the church). The church, Ewart said, is a spiritual organism, and the baptism in the Holy Spirit creates an organic unity between the Christian believers (1979:31). Without the Pentecostal baptism in the Holy Spirit, Christianity becomes a spiritually dead "churchianity" (Ewart, 1979:46).

Ewart voiced an acceptance of the Pentecostal teaching that speaking in tongues (glossolalia) is the initial sign of being baptized in the Holy Spirit (1979:47). Speaking in tongues was a cause of harmony among the early disciples of Christ; although they were speaking in diverse languages, they were unified since all the tongues being spoken "testified of a risen Savior" (1979:33).

Ewart wrote that the various gifts (charismata) of the Holy Spirit are much in evidence among many Christians today. As was the case in the first-century Christian church, it is becoming commonplace for a twentieth-century believer to have the gifts of prophecy (revelation), speaking in tongues, the interpretation of tongues, and the working of miracles (such as miraculous healings). These charismata are a source of amazement to many people (Ewart, 1979:46).

According to the "Articles of Faith" of the United Pentecostal Church (a Ewartite group), "It is scriptural to expect all who receive the...baptism of the Holy Spirit to receive the...initial sign of speaking with other tongues" (United Pentecostal Church, undated:6). Furthermore, divine healing is intended for all believers (United Pentecostal Church, undated:8).

A point of departure for the Ewartites from Durhamite Pentecostalism is on the issue of the timing of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. As discussed earlier, the Durhamites, like the Parhamites, believe that this baptism occurs subsequent to one's conversion (Assemblies of God, 1977:515; Parham, undated:30). The Ewartites, however, disagree with the Parhamite and Durhamite teaching that one can still be a Christian even if one has not been baptized in the Holy Spirit. The Ewartites teach that conversion is synonymous with being baptized in the Holy Spirit. That is to say, when one becomes a Christian through a personal acceptance of Jesus Christ, one is simultaneously baptized in the Holy Spirit. As an extension of this tenet, the Ewartites contend that unless one



speaks in tongues immediately after having been converted, one has not, in fact, received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and has not become a Christian (Hanby, undated:7; Tenney, 1978:188-192).

#### Wierwillite Views on Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Victor Paul Wierwille, the founder of the Way International (New Knoxville, Ohio), wrote that when a person is converted (born again), through a personal acceptance of Jesus Christ as Savior, he is entitled, as a Christian, to be baptized in the holy spirit<sup>8</sup> (Wierwille, 1973:103 and 131). The baptism in the holy spirit which, like the Parhamites and Durhamites, Wierwille regarded as an experience subsequent to conversion, is "the filling of the new birth" (Wierwille, 1973:131). Since the Biblical day of Pentecost, when all the disciples of Christ were baptized in the holy spirit, this baptism has been accessible to all Christians (Wierwille, 1976:57). Therefore, when one becomes a Christian, one is not automatically baptized in the holy spirit. Unlike the Ewartites, the Wierwillites do consider it possible for a person to be a Christian without having been baptized in the holy spirit (1976:15).

At conversion, a new believer receives the gift of the holy spirit from God. The baptism in the holy spirit is the bringing forth of this gift into manifestation with the accompanying evidence of speaking in tongues (Wierwille, 1976:16 and 17). Wierwille instructed his followers to receive the baptism in the holy spirit by,

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<sup>8</sup>Wierwille does not capitalize the term "holy spirit," the gift of God to man, in order to distinguish it from the "Holy Spirit," which he regards as one of the titles of God (Wierwille, 1976:4-5).

first, being quiet and relaxed, and second, by resting their heads back and inhaling deeply (1976:60-61).

Wierwille is adamant in his conviction that the Greek term charismata (gifts) is a misnomer for the various spiritual experiences of a Spirit baptized believer (such as prophecy, speaking in tongues, and the interpretation of tongues). Instead, he prefers the Greek word phanerosis (manifestations). The gift of God, Wierwille argued, is the holy spirit itself. Prophecy and speaking in tongues are examples of the various manifestations of that gift available to a believer. Being baptized in the holy spirit implies an ability to exercise these various manifestations (Wierwille, 1976:5 and 175).

#### du Plessisite Views on Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Although the sources consulted for this project named David du Plessis, Demos Shakarian, Dennis Bennett, and Oral Roberts as originators of the American neo-Pentecostal movement, du Plessis, a South African Assemblies of God minister who came as a missionary to the United States, did more than any other individual to make contact with the leaders of the established non-Pentecostal denominations (Bradfield, 1979:4-6; Hamby, 1980:6-8; Hollenweger, 1977:4-9; Jorstadt, 1973:16-18; Poloma, 1982:11-14). While the writings of all the founders of neo-Pentecostalism (referred to above) will be utilized in this research, neo-Pentecostals will continue to be called "du Plessisites."

According to du Plessis, baptism in the Holy Spirit is an experience subsequent to conversion. In this teaching he agreed with

the Parhamites, Durhamites, and Wierwillites. "Jesus baptizes--immerses--a believer into the Spirit," du Plessis wrote, "handing him over to the Spirit and leaving the believer with the Holy Spirit in him..." (du Plessis, 1977:27 and 30). Furthermore, after Jesus baptizes a believer in the Holy Spirit, "he leaves [him] ... there [in the Spirit]" (du Plessis, 1977:107). Dennis Bennett, and his wife Rita, wrote that the Pentecostal experience was not confined to the early days of the Christian church (as some non-Pentecostal groups claim), but it is intended for all believers today. It is vital that Christians not only be given the Holy Spirit, which occurs at conversion (being spiritually reborn), but that they receive the power which is available through being baptized in the Holy Spirit. The baptism in the Holy Spirit is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit from its dwelling place (the individual believer) accompanied by speaking in tongues. This baptism is received by asking God for it in prayer (Bennett and Bennett, 1973:7 and 29).

When an individual is baptized in the Holy Spirit, he is entitled to access the gifts (charismata) of that Spirit. All believers should expect to manifest these gifts (such as speaking in tongues, the interpretation of tongues, healing, and prophecy) through having faith in God (Bennett and Bennett, 1973:31). Demos Shakarian also affirmed his belief in the baptism in the Holy Spirit and in healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues (1975:15, 57, 83, 107, 133, and 139). Oral Roberts, recounting his own ini-

tial experience speaking in tongues wrote that, when he spoke in tongues, although he could hear the words, they were not of his "own creation and understanding" (Roberts, 1977:97 and 99). It is the Holy Spirit, Roberts asserted, which gives a Christian this new linguistic ability called speaking in tongues (Roberts, 1977:103). With regard to healing, Dennis Bennett insisted that God wants to heal all Christians and to give them strong and healthy bodies (1983b:56 and 61).

### Summary

As shown above, all the Pentecostal groups mentioned have an almost identical view of theolepsy. The major differences between these groups lie in semantics (such as whether the term "gifts" or "manifestations" should be used) and in the timing of the baptism in the Holy Spirit (simultaneous with, or subsequent to, conversion). Since an acceptance of these basic theoleptic doctrines was made the criterion for inclusion of a group in Pentecostalism, the Parhamites, Durhamites, Ewartites, Wierwillites, and du Plessisites can all be regarded as Pentecostal.

### Doctrinal Divergence in Pentecostalism

Having briefly examined some of the features of Pentecostal convergence, this dissertation will now inquire into the positions of each group on the three criterion variables: theometry, Christology, and sanctification. From a study of the history of American Pentecostalism, it appears that Pentecostalism has fragmented with regard to these criterion variables. In returning

to the primary sources--the writings of the founders of American Pentecostalism--and to some secondary accounts of Pentecostal doctrine and sect theology, the four-sect Pentecostal typology (Parhamites, Durhamites, Ewartites, and du Plessisites), developed by Hollenweger (1977), will be examined. If the typology is inclusive of all the groups to be considered, the Wierwillites will have to be subsumed under another type.

### The Parhamites

The Parhamites, the first American Pentecostal group (Marsden, 1982:93), teach a trinitarian theometry, i.e. that God is made up of three persons--God the Father, God the Son (Jesus), and God the Holy Spirit--in one. Charles Parham referred to the work of the Holy Spirit in the individual Christian as the Holy Spirit's "personal work as the third person in the trinity ..." (Parham, undated:30). He wrote that "the Father, Son and Holy Ghost Spirit ... are one..." (undated:24). Moreover, the "Declaration of Faith" of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), a Parhamite body, affirms, "We believe:... In one God eternally existing in three persons; namely, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost" (Hughes, 1983:29).

James L. Slay, a member of the Church of God, who, in attempting to refute what he regarded as the radical single-mindedness of the Ewartites (Jesus-only people) in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, wrote:

We do not believe in three Gods, which is the contention of the "Jesus Only" group. What we do believe is set forth in the Athanasian Creed [a fourth-century document, supposed to have been written by Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, as a protest against Arian unitarianism]; "The

Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God; and yet these are not three Lords but one Lord..." (Slay, 1963:27-28).

An examination of the Parhamite position on trinitarian theometry also provides an insight into Parhamite Christology. Parhamites believe in the Deity of Christ; to wit, that Christ is God. Parham asserted that Christ was both his "Savior" and his "God" (undated:15).

Parhamite theology also teaches the doctrine of "entire sanctification" (Parham, undated:4). As Parham used the term, it refers to sanctification (or holiness) as a specific post-conversion experience for the individual Christian. A. J. Tomlinson, the founder of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), wrote that "sanctification is an experience obtained and lived, and not a gradual experience that never ends" (1962:71-73). Furthermore, Tomlinson explained that "sanctification is not the new birth [conversion] as some would try to believe and teach" (1962:73-74). Tomlinson was, apparently, condemning the Durhamite teaching (discussed in the next section) that sanctification is given to a believer at conversion, and that the Christian continues to become more sanctified over time (Hollenweger, 1977:25; Marsden, 1982:93-94).

It is following a Christian's sanctification, Tomlinson said, that he should "press right on through to the heights of the baptism of the Holy Ghost ..." (1962:26). According to the "Declaration of Faith" of the Church of God, "We believe:... In sanctification subsequent to the new birth ... and in the baptism of the Holy Ghost subsequent to a clean [sanctified] heart" (Hughes, 1983:29-30).

These statements support Hollenweger's designation of the Parhamites as "Pentecostals who teach a three-stage way of salvation" (1977:71). First comes conversion (or rebirth), followed by sanctification, and, finally, by baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Sanctification, in the Church of God theology, is an inner spiritual state wherein man partakes of the nature of Christ. This internal holiness is expressed in external behavior as well. The sanctified Christian will have renounced the things of the non-Christian world, such as dishonesty, superfluity, anger, and malice. Moreover, a sanctified Christian cannot use tobacco and liquor (Hughes, 1983:122-133).

#### The Durhamites

The Durhamites, like the Parhamites, appear to accept a trinitarian theometry and to believe in the deity of Christ (an incarnational Christology). Aimee Semple McPherson, the founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, wrote of "the Triune God" and explained, "Read...from left to right--Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Son, Father. Now, read it from right to left--it is the same" (1923:643). McPherson was apparently telling her readers that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are actually the same because, as she viewed it, they are all persons of the Godhead. McPherson wrote, in the "Declaration of Faith" of the Foursquare Gospel Church, that "in the unity of the Godhead there are three ... : the Father ... [and] the Son ... [and] the Holy Spirit ..." (undated:8-9). The "Holy Spirit," she taught, is the "third person of the Trinity" (1923:640). Likewise, the "Declaration of Faith" of

the Assemblies of God (U.S.A.), another Durhamite group, states that God consists of the "Father, Son and Holy Ghost" (Assemblies of God, 1977:514). Jimmy Swaggart, an Assemblies of God minister and television evangelist, teaches that "there is one God, eternally existent in three persons: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost" (Jimmy Swaggart Ministries, 1983:3).

Although the Durhamites seem to concur with the Parhamites on theometric and Christological doctrine, the doctrine of sanctification is interpreted differently in the two groups. W. H. Durham wrote about his disillusionment with the Parhamite doctrine of instantaneous (post-conversion) sanctification:

I began to write against the doctrine that it takes two works of grace [conversion followed by sanctification] to save and cleanse a man. I denied and still deny that God does not deal with the nature of sin at conversion. I deny that a man who is converted or born again is outwardly washed and cleansed but that his heart is left unclean [unsanctified] ... This would not be salvation. Salvation is an inward work. It means a change of heart. It means a change of nature... (Durham, 1977:24).

In the same vein as Durham, McPherson wrote that God is seeking after those Christians who have been baptized in the Holy Spirit to "go all the way to the standard of... God's perfection [sanctification]" (1923:774). McPherson viewed only two specific phases of development in the life of the Christian: "the first phase--Salvation" and "the second phase--the Baptism of the Holy Spirit" (1951:180). She regarded sanctification as a process of spiritual development rather than as a separate phase (1923:773-774). According to the Foursquare Gospel Church's "Declaration of Faith," the transformation in individual character



does not have to wait until some point after conversion called "sanctification," but a man is changed, at the moment of spiritual rebirth (conversion), into a renewed individual with "new desires, new aspirations, new interests, and a new perspective of life..." (McPherson, undated 13). Likewise, in the "Declaration of Faith" of the Assemblies of God, a life of holiness (sanctification) is said to be an "outward evidence" that one has been converted (Assemblies of God, 1977:514); and Jimmy Swaggart Ministries teaches that "the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit" enables a Christian "to live a holy life" (1983:3).

In summary, the Durhamite view of sanctification appears to emphasize two essential aspects. The first of these aspects is the sanctification imparted to a believer at the time of conversion or regeneration (rebirth). At this time the new Christian is set apart (or, in other words, sanctified) from the non-Christian world of sinfulness. The second aspect of sanctification is the leading of a holy life as a visible demonstration of one's conversion. Here, sanctification refers to a process of spiritual development.

#### The Ewartites

The Ewartites split off from the Durhamites on the issue of unitarianism. The former group objected to the latter's practice of water baptizing new converts in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (the three persons of the Trinity). The Ewartites insisted that a Christian should be baptized in the name of Jesus only (Ewart, 1979:68 and 105-106). "God had dealt with me for some

time...about the Oneness of the Godhead," Ewart wrote (1979:109-110). He argued that the terms "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" were titles of Jesus Christ, and, therefore, he rejected the doctrine of the Trinity which taught the existence of a three-person Godhead (Ewart, 1979:118-119).

While the Parhamites and Durhamites believe that Christ, as one of the persons of the Deity, incarnated Himself in bodily form, the Ewartites teach that an undivided God incarnated Himself in bodily form. The Ewartites believe in the Wholistic unity of God. It is appropriate to refer to the Ewartes as "Sabellianists," since the followers of Sabellius (third-century A.D.) accepted a form of unitarianism (denying the doctrine of the Trinity) in which the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not separate persons of the Godhead but rather are modes through which God manifests His nature. The term "Father" indicates God's creative powers; the "Son" refers to God's redemptive powers; and the "Holy Spirit" points to God's regenerative powers (Douglas, 1978:870-871; Kauffman, 1981:378-379). The Ewartites, as modern-day Sabellianists, believe that Jesus Christ was God in human form. Apart from the God which appeared in Jesus there was none other (Magee, undated:4). God reveals himself to man in various forms, the Ewartites believe. He manifests Himself to man as the Son (Jesus) and as the Holy Spirit. But these manifestations of God do not mean that God is divided up into different persons, but that God chooses different ways of expressing Himself to man (Tenney, 1978:139). In summation, the Ewartites teach a Sabellianist-unitarian

theometry and a Christological view of Christ as the incarnation of God (Magee, undated:4; Reeves, undated:29; Vouga, undated:17-18).

Understandably, since the Ewartites splintered off from the Durhamites (Synan, 1971:154-158), the former group rejects the Parhamite view of instantaneous sanctification at a point after conversion (Ewart, 1979:100). At the time of one's spiritual rebirth (conversion), Ewart explained, "God... ignites a tiny spark within each of us which begins to burn up our innate selfishness, pomp, and vain glory" (1979:24). Ewart wrote:

When Brother Durham preached his famous message of "The Finished Word [sic, 'Work' (Synan, 1971:148)] of Calvary" ...many left the ranks of those that continued to cling to the belief that there was a definite second work of sanctification. Today there are still many who cling tenaciously to this belief in the second work of grace. However, Scripture has no example of any work of the Spirit other than repentance, water baptism in Jesus' Name, and the receiving of the Holy Ghost as evidenced by speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives the utterance (1979:68).

Ewart agreed with Durham that "sanctification...was a gradual advancement that one made" after conversion and "a growth in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ" (Ewart, 1979:100). Ewart referred to the Parhamite interpretation of sanctification as a "second, ...instantaneous work of grace" as a fictitious experience (1979:101-102). He said that "real scriptural sanctification" was a "process" which commenced with conversion, "the adoption of the truth," and continued as one began to submit oneself to the will of God "throughout the longest life lived in the [Holy] Spirit" (Ewart, 1979:102).

According to the "Articles of Faith" of the United Pentecostal Church, a Ewartite group, "Godly living should characterize the life of every child of the Lord ..." (United Pentecostal Church, undated:9). Some of the specific prohibitions of the church, encouraging the leading of a sanctified life, are explained in the Articles of Faith:

We wholeheartedly disapprove of our people indulging in any activities which are not conducive to good Christianity and Godly living, such as theatres, dances, mixed bathing, women cutting their hair, make-up, any apparel that immodestly exposes the body, all worldly sports and amusements and unwholesome radio programs and music. Furthermore, because of the display of all of these evils on television, we disapprove of any of our people having television sets in their homes (United Pentecostal Church, undated:10).

The United Pentecostal Church teaches that, beginning at conversion, a Christian must lead a spiritual life and shun fleshly desires. "This is the only true evidence that we are the children of God," according to a church publication (Vouga, undated:10).

#### The Wierwillites

Victor Paul Wierwille's perspective is an example of classical Arianism. Wierwille, moreover, spoke favorably of Arianism (1981:23-27). As opposed to trinitarianism, Arianism, another unitarian theometry, taught that Christ was distinct from God, and that the Son was not one of the persons constituting the Godhead. Arius (of fourth-century Alexandria), the originator of Arianism, asserted that Christ was not equal to God. However, in the fourth century, support was increasing among leaders of the Western church for the doctrine of trinitarianism. Arius was moving against the tide. He

was officially excommunicated from the church in 321 A.D. (Ferm, 1945:38; Wells, 1949:545).

Wierwille explained his classical Arian-unitarian position as follows:

Because God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, holds an exclusive, unparalleled position, it is imperative that our worship of him be directed to that position.

God is before everything (1981:125).

And further:

The scriptures which say that Jesus Christ and his Father are one do not indicate that Jesus Christ was God, but rather that Jesus Christ and God had unity of purpose, they worked in a united effort.

"One" is the Greek word hen, neuter, meaning one in purpose...

The scriptures...boldly declare that God is superior to Jesus Christ (Wierwille, 1981:51-53).

Wierwillite theology, therefore, takes a strong Arian position in attempting to refute the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Deity of Christ. Wierwille wrote that the false doctrine of trinitarianism came out of pagan sources, and he asserted that "the truth of God's Word is that Jesus Christ was...not... 'God Himself'" (1981:11-16). Wierwille regarded Christ not as God but as "the Son of God" (1981:41). The term "Son of God" indicated to Wierwille that God made Jesus His earthly representative (Wierwille, 1981:55 and 77-78).

As pointed out earlier, Wierwille distinguished between two uses of the term "Holy Spirit": the "Holy Spirit," a title of God, and the "holy spirit," a gift from God to man. The former usage of the term is a reference to God Himself--an undivided God. The Holy Spirit is not, in Wierwillite theology, a separate person of the

Godhead (as believed by trinitarians). On the other hand, the latter usage of "holy spirit" (as a divine gift) is employed in the expression "baptism of the holy spirit," evidenced by speaking in tongues (Wierwille, 1981:129-130).

The "Statement of Beliefs" of the Way International (Wierwillites) affirms, "We believe it is available to receive all that God promises us in His Word according to our believing faith" (The Way International, undated:1). Among these promises are certain "legal rights" which, Wierwille explained, all Christians have from the time of their conversion (1973:63). As Jesus was the Son of God, each person who converts to Christianity becomes a "son of God" with "a legal right and opportunity to receive what God has made available" (Wierwille, 1973:29). However, Wierwille cautions, "When we believe too little, we manifest less than that which legally and rightfully belongs to us as sons of God" (1982:6).

One of the legal rights that all Christians have as sons of God is sanctification, i.e. to be "set apart by God from this evil world..." (the Way of Pennsylvania, undated:1). Wierwille wrote, "You have been ...sanctified...in His [Jesus'] name; but you must receive it before you will manifest it" (1973:53). Wierwille's concept of sanctification is similar to that of the Durhamites and Ewartites. A Christian is sanctified at conversion. However, he manifests sanctification in his life through believing in his legal right to receive it (Wierwille, 1973:53-54).

### The du Plessisites

Like the Parhamites and Durhamites, the du Plessisites (neo-Pentecostals) believe in the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Deity of Christ. David du Plessis wrote of "the unity of the trinity--Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. They were one, but they were individual at the same time" (1977: 243). Dennis Bennett, another of the founders of the Pentecostalism, and his wife Rita, said that God is "a Triune God ..." (Bennett and Bennett, 1979:42). Dennis Bennett wrote that God was "in Christ" (1983b:42). Similarly, Oral Roberts, another of the originators of du-Plessisite Pentecostalism, explained:

You see, God is one God... When we call Him Father, Son, and Holy Spirit--the Holy Trinity--we are not saying He is three Gods. He is simply God...as the Father..., as the Son..., and as the Holy Spirit... (1977:54-55).

The du Plessisites, like the Durhamites, Ewartites, and Wierwillites, disagree with Parhamite theology in their approach to sanctification. The du Plessisites view it as a process. Dennis and Rita Bennett wrote that after one's conversion (spiritual rebirth), the "soul is being sanctified" (1973:92). Sanctification, they wrote, "is the work of God... to make us more like Jesus" (1973:91). In order for a Christian to lead an increasingly more sanctified life, he must stop conforming himself to carnal (fleshly) desires. God, in the person of the Holy Spirit, must rule the life of the Christian--not "physical drives" which have been "made evil and twisted by wrong attitudes" (Bennett and Bennett, 1973:91-92).

## Analysis of the Findings

Examining each of the five groups (Parhamites, Durhamites, Ewartites, Wierwillites, and du Plessisites) on the three criterion variables (theometry, Christology, and sanctification) has resulted in the following findings:

### 1. Parhamites

- a. trinitarian theometry: God is made of three persons--Father, Son, and Holy Spirit--in one.
- b. incarnational Christology: Christ is God in human form.
- c. instantaneous sanctification: A Christian is sanctified (made holy) in a second work of God's grace after conversion.

### 2. Durhamites

- a. trinitarian theometry
- b. incarnational Christology
- c. gradual sanctification: Sanctification is given to a believer at his conversion by God, and a believer may lead an increasingly more sanctified life.

### 3. Ewartites

- a. Sabellianist-unitarian theometry: This is a position which holds that an undivided (non-trinitarian) God manifests Himself to man in various forms, e.g. as Christ and as the Holy Spirit.
- b. incarnational Christology
- c. gradual sanctification



4. Wierwillites

- a. Arian theometry: This is another unitarian position which believes in an undivided God with various titles, e.g. the Holy Spirit.
- b. representational Christology: Christ, the Son of God, was God's earthly representative--but not God himself.
- c. gradual sanctification.

5. du Plessisites

- a. trinitarian theometry
- b. incarnational Christology
- c. gradual sanctification

It will be seen from the above that the Durhamites and du Plessisites have shared doctrinal positions on the three criterion variables. This is understandable in light of the discussion in Chapter II, i.e. that David du Plessis, the most important figure in the founding of neo-Pentecostalism, was an Assemblies of God (Durhamite) minister (Poloma, 1982:12-13). Therefore, du Plessisite Pentecostalism seems to be an expression of the Durhamites group (based on this research) in the traditionally non-Pentecostal churches.

The distinct types which have emerged from this project are the Parhamites (e.g. the Church of God), the Durhamites (e.g. the Assemblies of God, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, and the du Plessisites), the Ewartites (e.g. the United Pentecostal Church), and the Wierwillites (the Way International). These findings do not completely support Hollenweger's (1977) four-

sect typology. While the Parhamites, Durhamites, and Ewartites do appear to be distinct empirical types, based on the three criterion variables, the existence of the du Plessisites as a separate type was not supported. Furthermore, the Wierwillites did emerge as a distinct type. This Pentecostal group was not examined by any of the authors surveyed in the literature review. Therefore, a four-sect typology did emerge from this research, but it was not the same four-sect typology hypothesized in Chapter III, i.e. the Parhamites, Durhamites, Ewartites, and du Plessisites. Hollenweger's four-sect typology was rejected. Bryan Wilson's (1959:5-6 and 10) prediction that Pentecostalism, which he defined as a sect-type movement, would be prone to factionalize on doctrinal issues was confirmed by the present research. This factionalization is indicated by a revised four-sect typology which emerged based on a criterion-variable measurement of the hermeneutical positions of the founders of the various historical forms of Pentecostalism.

## CHAPTER V

### DEARMAN'S CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS: RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### Preliminaries

Before Dearman's statement that American Pentecostals share the (dominant) values of middle-class Americans (1972:172-180) was examined through the testing of several null hypotheses, zero-order correlation was used to test for unidimensionality among the NES survey items dealing with conservatism-liberalism (11 items). Only three out of the 11 items in the first group were found to be highly correlated (.7000 was the minimum acceptable correlation). Those items with a high correlation (symbolized as "r") were (see Table 1):

Var. 329 (Reagan's handling of inflation;  $r = .8067$ ),  
Var. 331 (Reagan's handling of unemployment;  $r = .7385$ ), and  
Var. 336 (Reagan's economic policies;  $r = .7488$ ).

These correlations (each with the sum of the three) were significant (.05 was used throughout). Because of the content of the index, it was called "Ronald Reagan" in the analysis. No other acceptable correlations were found. However, three additional items dealing with conservatism-liberalism were included as single-item measures:

Var. 396 (conservatism-liberalism self-ranking),  
Var. 464 (federal intervention), and  
Var. 467 (attitudes toward abortion).

Two out of the three items in the second group (political-party preference) were found to be associated: variable 36 (political-party support) and variable 38 (political-party

closeness). These two items were complementary, rather than correlated. Those respondents who did not indicate support for a political party were asked which party they felt closest to. This index was called "political party" in the analysis.

As discussed in Chapter III, variable 894 (periodicity of church attendance) was used as a single-item value index in the subsequent tests.

Table 2 gives the results of a Fisher's probability test<sup>9</sup> (for the political-party value index) and two-tailed t tests (for the remaining value indices) comparing the two Pentecostal categories (in variable 892): "Church of God; Holiness" and "Pentecostal; Assembly of God." The tests of no difference between the two groups could not be rejected. Since the F value for each t test was insignificant, the pooled variance estimates were used. The two differences-of-means t values were also insignificant. Therefore, the two groups were combined into a single Pentecostal category (43 cases) in the analysis.

#### Pentecostal-Non-Pentecostal Comparisons

##### The Political-Party Value Index

The first  $X^2$  test (see Table 3) compared Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals on political party identification (a categorical variable). The corrected  $X^2$  (1.73957 with one degree of freedom) was insignificant ( $P = .1872$ ). However, because the number of cases in the Pentecostal category was 43 compared to 1,237 non-Pentecostal cases (for the entire NES survey), it is difficult to obtain a significant  $X^2$ . Looking at percentages, 75.9 percent of

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<sup>9</sup>Because one cell value was less than five, the two-tailed Fisher's test, rather than  $x^2$ , was used for this, and two subsequent, problems.

Pentecostals identified with the Democratic Party. Among non-Pentecostals, 62.0 percent identified with the Democratic Party. The remaining cases in each category identified with the Republican Party. The data suggests that Pentecostals may be more likely than non-Pentecostals to identify with the Democratic Party.

Controls were then introduced to the analysis (income, education, and the subjective class measure). However, only a few of these  $\chi^2$  tests had a significant number of cases to have any utility. Notably, there were no Pentecostals who identified themselves as either lower or upper class on this value index. (Differences in income levels between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals will be examined later in this chapter.)

When Pentecostals were compared with non-Pentecostals controlling on gross family income level of less than \$25,000 per year, the corrected  $\chi^2$  (.06212 with one degree of freedom) was again insignificant ( $P = .8032$ ). Introducing this control lessened the differences between the percentages of the Pentecostal (73.9) and non-Pentecostal (69.2) Democrats on the political-party value index.

The Fisher's probability test comparing middle-class Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (subjective measure) was insignificant ( $P = .28568$ ). The differences between the percentages of those who identified with the Democratic Party increased: 72.7 percent of Pentecostals as compared with 51.2 percent of non-Pentecostals.

When working-class Pentecostals were compared with working-class non-Pentecostals on this value index, Fisher's test

was again insignificant ( $P = .28568$ ). This time differences of percentages decreased: 75 percent of Pentecostals identified with the Democratic Party compared to 73.3 percent of non-Pentecostals. It appears that, overall, there may be a positive relationship between social and economic status and differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals in Democratic-Party identification.

#### The Ronald-Reagan Value Index

Table 4 gives the results of a t test comparing Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan. "Middle class" was operationally defined to consist of those non-Pentecostals who had part of a year to four years of college and a gross family income ranging between \$25,000 and \$49,999 (objective class measure). Since the F value (homogeneity-of-variances test) was insignificant, the pooled variance estimate was used (two-tailed test). Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected for the Ronald Reagan value index ( $P = .002$ ). Middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 11.0803$ ) were more likely than Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 14.0930$ ) to have favorable attitudes toward Reagan's economic policies, i.e. a high score indicates a less favorable attitude. Since all Pentecostals are being compared with middle-class non-Pentecostals, this finding may be explained by examining the two-tailed t test ( $P = .000$ ) in Table 24 which indicates that Pentecostals have lower income levels ( $\bar{X} = 3.3171$ ) than non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.7953$ ). If the lower-income Pentecostals

believe that Reagan's economic policies have hurt them, they would, perhaps, be more inclined to express their disapproval than those individuals included in a sample of middle-income persons.<sup>10</sup>

The second test was identical to the first except that it made use of the subjective measure of middle class (variable 888) for the non-Pentecostals (see Table 5). The pooled variance estimate (two-tailed t test), used because of an insignificant F value, was significant. Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 14.0930$ ) were again shown to have less favorable attitudes toward Reagan than non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 10.3932$ ).

The third t test (see Table 6) compared Pentecostals with all non-Pentecostals (no middle-class specification) on the Ronald Reagan value index. Overall, specifying middle class did not influence the findings. Since the F test for homogeneity of variances was insignificant, the pooled t test was used. Again, the null hypothesis of no difference between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals was rejected because of a significant t value ( $P = .010$ ). Pentecostals had a less favorable attitude toward Reagan than non-Pentecostals.

The first ANCOVA test in this category (see Table 7) analyzed the effects of religion on attitudes toward Reagan, while controlling on education (variable 740). The amount of variance

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<sup>10</sup> A two-tailed t test comparing the two Pentecostal categories ("Church of God; Holiness" and "Pentecostal; Assembly of God") on income was insignificant ( $P = .292$ ). The two categories were, therefore, combined into a single Pentecostal category (see Table 25).

explained by religion was small ( $E^2 = .0108$ ),<sup>11</sup> but the effect of religion, while controlling on education, was significant ( $P = .012$ ). Interaction effects between religion and education could not be determined because of insufficient data. The null hypothesis of no difference between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals (controlling on education) was, therefore, rejected for this value index. Non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 11.64$ ) had more favorable attitudes toward Reagan than Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 14.09$ ).

The second ANCOVA test in this category (see Table 8) analyzed the effects of religion on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan, while controlling on income (variable 875). The amount of explained variation was again small ( $E^2 = .0607$ ). The variance in attitudes toward Reagan explained by religion ( $P = .059$ ) was just shy of significant. No significant interaction ( $P = .396$ ) was indicated by the two-way ANOVA test of religion and income on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan. The null hypothesis of no difference between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals (with the control) could not, therefore, be rejected with confidence. Bear in mind, however, that the sample of Pentecostals is small ( $N = 41$ ) and thus a difference must be quite large in order to reach to .05 level of significance. Clearly, a strong suggestion of a differences remains even with income controlled.

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<sup>11</sup>Although Ezekiel and Fox have pointed out that the correlation ratio (eta) should only be used when the independent variable is qualitative and the dependent variable is quantitative and a curvilinear relationship is involved (1967:378 and 380), Blalock has used  $\eta^2$  ( $E^2$ ) as a measure of association for analysis of variance in general (1979:372-374).



The final ANCOVA test in this category (see Table 9) analyzed the effects of religion on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan, while controlling on the subjective measure of class (variable 888). The amount of variance explained by religion was small ( $E^2 = .0047$ ). The variance in attitudes toward Reagan explained by religion, while controlling on class ( $P = .015$ ), was significant. Again, non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 11.51$ ) had a more favorable attitude toward Reagan than Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 14.17$ ). Significant interaction, however, was detected ( $P = .028$ ) by the two-way ANOVA of religion and class on attitudes towards Ronald Reagan (see Table 15). This means that the effect of religion varies depending upon a person's class. Although this null hypothesis of no difference between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals was rejected for this value index, a qualification needs to be added.

Four ANOVAs were performed, analyzing the effect of religion on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan. Each time a different class category was specified for both Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals, i.e. middle-class, working class, lower class (or poor), and upper class.<sup>12</sup> In middle-class category (see Table 10), the ANOVA test was significant ( $P = .000$ ;  $E^2 = .0212$ ). On the other hand, in the working-class category (see Table 11), the ANOVA test was insignificant ( $P = .422$ ;  $E^2 = .0009$ ). This indicated a significant difference between middle-class Pentecostals and middle-class non-Pentecostals and no significant difference between working-

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<sup>12</sup>The lower-class (or poor) and upper-class categories had to be discarded. The former category had only one Pentecostal and one non-Pentecostal case, while the latter category had no Pentecostal cases.

class Pentecostals and working-class non-Pentecostals on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan. Middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 10.39$ ) had a more favorable attitude toward Reagan than did middle-class Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 16.07$ ).

Perhaps this middle-class divergence could be explained by considering that Pentecostals, who belong for a doctrinally unconventional movement, may have added feelings of deprivation which would tend to make them less favorably oriented toward Ronald Reagan, even though they might share the same class identification with non-Pentecostals.

#### The Periodicity-of-Church-Attendance Value Index

The first Pentecostal-non-Pentecostal test (see Table 4), compared Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (objective class measure) on the periodicity-of-church-attendance value index. Since the F value (homogeneity-of-variances test) was insignificant, the pooled variance estimate was used (two-tailed test). Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected with respect to periodicity of church attendance, since the t value was significant ( $P = .011$ ). Significant differences were found between Pentecostals and middle-class non-Pentecostals concerning periodicity of church attendance. Not surprisingly, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.2558$ ) reported that they attended church more often than did middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.8246$ ). (Lower scores indicate more frequent attendance.)

The second Pentecostal non-Pentecostal tests made use of the subjective measure of middle class (variable 888) for the non-Pentecostals. As shown in Table 5, the findings were the same

as when the objective middle-class measure was used. The F value (homogeneity of variances) was insignificant, and, therefore, the pooled variance estimate was used (two-tailed test). Because of significant t values, Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected for periodicity of church attendance ( $P = .038$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.2558$ ) were, again, likely to report more frequent church attendance than were middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.7289$ ).

The third test compared Pentecostals with all non-Pentecostals (no middle-class specification). The analysis indicated that the results are the same whether Pentecostals are compared with middle-class non-Pentecostals or with non-Pentecostals in general. Overall, specifying middle class had no effect on the findings. The F value, for the homogeneity-of-variances test, was insignificant. The null hypothesis of no difference between Pentecostals and (all) non-Pentecostals with regard to church attendance was rejected because of a significant pooled t value ( $P = .012$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.2558$ ) reported attending church more often than did non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.8426$ ).

The first periodicity-of-church-attendance ANCOVA test (see Table 12) analyzed the effects of religion on how often one attends church, while controlling on education (variable 740). The amount of variance explained by religion was small ( $E^2 = .0050$ ). The variance in periodicity of church attendance explained by religion, after controlling on education, was significant ( $P = .012$ ). Interaction effects between religion and education could not be determined because of insufficient data. The null hypothesis of no

difference between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals (with education as a control variable) was rejected for this value index.

Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.26$ ) were, again, more likely to report frequent church attendance than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.82$ ).

The effects of religion on periodicity of church attendance, while controlling on income (variable 875), were analyzed by the second ANCOVA test in this category (see Table 13). Again, the amount of explained variance was small ( $E^2 = .00459$ ). The effect of religion, after controlling on income, was significant ( $P = .023$ ). Interaction between religion and income was also found to be insignificant ( $P = .905$ ) from a two-way ANOVA of religion and income on periodicity of church attendance. Because the total explained variance between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals, while controlling on income, was significant, the null hypothesis was rejected for this value index. Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.32$ ) attended church more often than did non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.84$ ).

The final ANCOVA test in this category (see Table 14) analyzed the effects of religion on periodicity of church attendance, while controlling on the subjective measure of class (variable 888). The amount of variance explained was once again small ( $E^2 = .0065$ ). The variance explained by religion, after controlling on class, was significant ( $P = .005$ ). A two-way ANOVA test of religion and class on periodicity of church attendance indicated no significant interaction ( $P = .930$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.24$ ) reported attending church more frequently than did non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.84$ ).

### The Conservatism-Liberalism-Self-Ranking Value Index

The first t test in this category (see Table 4) compared Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (objective class measure) on conservatism-liberalism self-ranking. The F value (homogeneity-of-variances test) was insignificant. Therefore, the pooled t test was used. Because of an insignificant two-tailed t value ( $P = .251$ ), Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected. Moreover, even based on the means, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.7500$ ) within the sample were only slightly more conservative than middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.0595$ ). This finding may suggest a tendency toward institutionalization or secularization in the general area of conservative-liberal self-rankings.

The t test findings using the subjective measure of class (middle-class non-Pentecostals) were similar (see Table 5). Because the F value for homogeneity of variances was insignificant, the pooled t test was used. Since the t value was also insignificant ( $P = .251$ ), Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected. Based on the means, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.7500$ ) in the sample were again found to be only slightly more conservative than middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.3073$ ).

The final t test in this category (see Table 6) compared Pentecostals with all non-Pentecostals on the conservatism-liberalism-self-ranking value index. Since the t value was insignificant ( $P = .247$ ), Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected for this value index. Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.7500$ ) were, at most, only slightly more conservative than non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.2992$ ).

An ANCOVA of religion on the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking, controlling on education, found no significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .238$ ). As shown in Table 15, the amount of variance explained by religion was small ( $E^2 = .0030$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.62$ ) were, based on the means, only slightly more conservative than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.25$ ). Interaction between religion and education could not be determined due to insufficient data.

Table 16 gives the results of an ANCOVA of religion on the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking, controlling on income. The amount of variance explained by religion was low ( $E^2 = .0139$ ), and no significant interaction was detected by a two-way ANOVA test of religion and income on conservatism-liberalism ( $P = .998$ ). Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected because of significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .014$ ). Based on the means, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.00$ ) were more conservative than non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.31$ ). This finding suggests that differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals in conservatism-liberalism are not significant unless the effects of income are removed.

In an ANCOVA of religion on the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking, controlling on class (subjective measure), the amount of variance explained by religion (see Table 17) was low ( $E^2 = .0030$ ). No significant interaction was discerned from a two-way ANOVA of religion and class on the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking ( $P = .288$ ). Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected because

of insignificant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .245$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.62$ ) were, again, found to be only slightly more conservative than non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 2.22$ ) from an examination of the means.

#### The Federal-Intervention Value Index

The first t test in this category (see Table 4) compared Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (objective class measure) on their attitudes toward intervention by the federal government. In this case, the F value (homogeneity-of-variances test) was significant. Therefore, the separate variance t test was used. Because the two-tailed t test was not significant ( $P = .082$ ), Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected. Based on the means, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.7500$ ) were only slightly more in favor of federal intervention than were middle-class-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.3626$ ). This non-significant difference of means might be attributed to the lower income levels of Pentecostals (see Table 24) and a fear of being deprived of federal economic assistance such as food stamps.

The t-test findings comparing Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (subjective class measure) were similar (see Table 5). Because the F value for homogeneity of variances was insignificant, the pooled t value was used. The t value was also insignificant ( $P = .195$ ). Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not, therefore, be rejected. Again, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.7500$ ) appeared to be only slightly more favorable toward federal intervention than were middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.1429$ ).

The third t test in this category compared Pentecostals with all non-Pentecostals on attitudes toward federal intervention (see Table 6). Results were substantially the same. Because of an insignificant F value for homogeneity of variances, the pooled t test was used. Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected because of an insignificant t value ( $P = .101$ ). Within the sample, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.7500$ ) were only slightly more favorable toward federal intervention than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.2197$ ).

An ANCOVA of religion on attitudes toward federal intervention, controlling on education, found insignificant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .160$ ). As shown in Table 18, religion explained only a small amount of the variance ( $E^2 = .0042$ ). Based on the means, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.77$ ) were more in favor of federal intervention than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.34$ ). Interaction between religion and education could not be determined due to insufficient data.

A second ANCOVA of religion on attitudes toward federal intervention, this time using income as a control variable, found insignificant differences (see Table 19) between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .900$ ). Again, religion explained little of the variance ( $E^2 = .00004$ ). Within the sample, Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.27$ ) showed only a negligibly more favorable attitude toward federal intervention than did non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.31$ ). A two-way ANOVA of religion and income on attitudes toward federal intervention showed insignificant interaction between religion and income ( $P = .880$ ).



Finally, an ANCOVA of religion on attitudes toward federal intervention, controlling on class (subjective measure), found insignificant differences (see Table 20) between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .160$ ). The amount of variance explained by religion was low ( $E^2 = .004367$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.77$ ) were only slightly more in favor of federal intervention than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 4.36$ ). A two-way ANOVA of religion and class on attitudes toward federal intervention showed no significant interaction between religion and class ( $P = .203$ ).

#### The Abortion Value Index

The first t test in this category compared Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (objective class measure). Since the F value (homogeneity-of-variances test) was insignificant, the pooled t test was used (see Table 4). The t value was significant ( $P = .000$ ), and Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected. Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.7805$ ) were more opposed to abortion than were middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.2075$ ). This is not surprising given the prominence of such anti-abortion groups as Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority which has a large fundamentalist Christian base.

The second t test in this category compared Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals using the subjective class measure. Because of an insignificant F value for homogeneity of variances, the pooled t test was used (see Table 5). The t value was significant, and Dearman's convergence hypothesis was again rejected.

Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.7805$ ) were more opposed to abortion than were middle-class non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.0533$ ).

The last t test in this category compared Pentecostals with all non-Pentecostals on attitudes toward abortion. The pooled t test was used because of an insignificant F test for homogeneity of variances. As shown in Table 6, the t value was significant ( $P = .000$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.7805$ ) were more opposed to abortion than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.1983$ ).

An ANCOVA of religion on attitudes toward abortion, controlling on education (see Table 21), found significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .000$ ). Religion, however, explained little of the variance ( $E^2 = .0276$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.31$ ) were more opposed to abortion than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.33$ ). Interaction between religion and education could not be determined due to insufficient data.

The second ANCOVA examined the effect of religion on attitudes toward abortion, controlling on income (see Table 22). Significant differences were found between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .002$ ). Religion, however, explained only a small amount of the variance ( $E^2 = .0216$ ). Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.36$ ) were more opposed to abortion than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.32$ ). Interaction between religion and income was insignificant ( $P = .788$ ).

The final ANCOVA in this category examined the effect of religion on attitudes toward abortion, controlling on class (subjective measure). As shown in Table 23, significant differences were found between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .000$ ). Again, reli-

gion did not explain much of the variance ( $E^2 = .0281$ ).

Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 1.31$ ) were more opposed to abortion than were non-Pentecostals ( $\bar{X} = 3.33$ ). Interaction between religion and class was insignificant ( $P = .257$ ).

#### Analysis of the Findings

The findings, overall, only partially supported Marion Dearman's convergence hypothesis. Among the 10 t tests comparing Pentecostals with middle-class non-Pentecostals (using, first, the objective and, second, the subjective class measure), Dearman's convergence hypothesis was rejected for six of them (the hypotheses dealing with Ronald Reagan, periodicity of church attendance, and abortion). Dearman's convergence hypothesis could not be rejected for either of the two t tests comparing Pentecostals and middle-class non-Pentecostals on the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking and on attitudes toward federal intervention. Isomorphically, when Pentecostals were compared with all non-Pentecostals, using the t test, the null hypothesis of no difference between the two groups was, likewise, rejected for the Ronald Reagan, periodicity-of-church-attendance, and abortion value indices but could not be rejected for the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking and attitudes toward federal intervention. The middle-class specification for non-Pentecostals did not alter the findings.

The ANCOVA findings were similar. Pentecostals were compared with non-Pentecostals on attitudes toward Ronald Reagan, periodicity of church attendance, the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking, attitudes toward federal intervention, and attitudes toward abor-

tion. With the exception of the Ronald-Reagan and conservatism-liberalism-self-ranking value indices, these controls did not alter the earlier t-test findings. Significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals were found for the periodicity-of-church-attendance and abortion value indices. With regard to the Ronald-Reagan value index, significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals were found when controlling on education and the subjective measure of class, but when controlling on income, the ANOVA was just shy of significant ( $P = .059$ ). Income differences between the two groups (see Table 24) apparently influence their attitudes toward Ronald Reagan. Based on the means, the generally lower income Pentecostals had a less favorable attitude toward Reagan than did the generally higher income non-Pentecostals. With respect to the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking, controlling on income resulted in significant differences between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals ( $P = .014$ ). Pentecostals were more conservative than non-Pentecostals when the effects of income were removed. Therefore, income played a significant role in these two value indices.

The political-party value index (nominal level) was examined by  $\chi^2$  and Fisher's test. Because of insufficient data, only four of the tests were meaningful, and even some of these tests had minimal Pentecostal cases. However, when Pentecostals were compared with non-Pentecostals on this value index, differences were insignificant. When controlling on gross family income of less than \$25,000 per year, on those who identified themselves as middle class, and as

Pentecostal movement was its conformity with this definition. All of the types referred to by Hollenweger (1977) met this criterion.

A hermeneutic (interpretive) methodology was used. It involved an examination of primary, and some secondary, Pentecostal sources. The doctrinal positions of each group on three criterion variables were measured: theometry (trinitarian and unitarian views of God), Christology (the nature of Christ), and sanctification (holiness). It was found that, although Pentecostalism did factionalize into four types, these types were not identical with the ones formulated by Hollenweger (1977). Therefore, the hypothesis that Pentecostalism would conform to Hollenweger's four-sect typology was rejected.

The four types which emerged from the research were:

Parhamites (trinitarian theometry, i.e. God is made up of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; incarnational Christology, i.e. Christ is God in human form; and instantaneous sanctification, i.e. subsequent to conversion); Durhamites (trinitarian theometry; incarnational Christology; and gradual sanctification, i.e. a process of increasing holiness beginning at conversion), Ewartites (Sabellianist-unitarian theometry, i.e. an undivided God manifests Himself in various forms; incarnational Christology; and gradual sanctification), and Wierwillites (Arian theometry, i.e. an undivided God has various titles, such as the Holy Spirit; representational Christology, i.e. Christ is viewed as God's earthly representative but not as God Himself; and gradual sanctification). The du Plessisites (neo-Pentecostals) were found to have positions which

were identical to those of the Durhamites on the three criterion variables. Du Plessisites were, therefore, regarded as a form of Durhamite Pentecostalism diffused into traditionally non-Pentecostal churches. This supports Wilson's prediction (1959:4-6 and 10) that Pentecostalism, as an example of a sect, is likely to factionalize.

#### Dearman's Convergence Hypothesis<sup>14</sup>

In order to examine Wilson's prediction (1959:4-6 and 11) that members of sects (such as Pentecostalism) are likely to diverge from the prevailing culture, Marion Dearman's convergence hypothesis (1972:174-180) was tested using the 1982 American National Election Study. Dearman, based on a methodology which was criticized earlier (see Chapter II), found that American Pentecostals share the values of middle-class Americans. The findings, however, did not support either Dearman's convergence hypothesis or Wilson's perspective which emphasized the divergence of Pentecostalism from the larger society.

Generally, Pentecostals significantly differed from non-Pentecostals as a whole, as well as from middle-class non-Pentecostals, in only about half of the value indices measured. Overall, Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals appeared to differ from one another in attitudes toward Ronald Reagan (with non-Pentecostals more favorable toward him), periodicity of church attendance (with Pentecostals reporting more frequent church attendance than non-Pentecostals), and attitudes toward abortion (with Pentecostals

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<sup>14</sup>See Chapter V for more detailed information on these findings.

more opposed to abortion than non-Pentecostals). No significant differences were found with regard to political party, the conservatism-liberalism self-ranking, and attitudes toward federal intervention. Finally, when ANCOVA tests were performed, the small  $\eta^2$ s indicated that religion did not explain much of the variance in the value indices.

In Chapter II, the term divergent religious groups was suggested for sects, with convergent religious groups having been suggested for churches. When the findings from the testing of Hollenweger's (1977) typology are combined with the survey findings, it seems plausible to infer that Pentecostalism began as a sectarian movement (demonstrated by its internal divergence), but that its "sects" are now in the process of becoming institutionalized denominations.

#### Prospects for Future Research

The testing of Hollenweger's (1977) four-sect typology concentrated on three specific doctrinal controversies (the criterion variables) which were found to have influenced the development of the American Pentecostal movement (theometry, Christology, and sanctification). One point that was not dealt with in this research is the divergence of fundamentalism from evangelicalism within Durhamite Pentecostalism. Based on their respective approaches to Durhamite Pentecostalism, it appears that television minister Jimmy Swaggart is a fundamentalist, while Pat Robertson, host of television's "The 700 Club," is an evangelical.

Although evangelicals are, for the most part, in doctrinal agreement with fundamentalists (with both groups accepting Biblical literalism, the inherent sinfulness of man, and the need of Christ's atoning sacrifice for man's sin), the evangelicals object to what they regard as the excesses of fundamentalism. Fundamentalists tend to eschew ecumenical cooperation; evangelicals tend to seek after such cooperation. Fundamentalists have long been suspicious of secular culture and the universities; evangelicals want to use intellectuality and the arts in service to their faith. Although evangelicalism arose as a protest to fundamentalism from within the fundamentalist camp (Marty, 1975:170-187), the former group may be manifesting more church-like, than sect-like, characteristics. Perhaps the rise of evangelical Pentecostalism is a further indication of increasing institutionalization in the Pentecostal movement. A longitudinal survey of Pentecostals might be used to examine this question.

As explained earlier, the small  $\eta^2$ 's indicate that religion did not explain much of the variance in the value indices between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals. Perhaps a better measure of Pentecostalism (one listing specific sects, e.g. the Assemblies of God, Church of God, United Pentecostal Church, etc.) would result in greater differences. Unfortunately, the present research was restricted to the items chosen for inclusion in the National Election Study.



## APPENDIX

TABLE 1

The "Ronald-Reagan" Value Index:  
Zero-Order Correlations (r) With the Sum of the Three Items

Reagan's handling of inflation	r = .8067 n = 1227 P = .000
Reagan's handling of employment	r = .7385 n = 1199 P = .000
Effect of Reaganomics on national economy	r = .7488 n = 1143 P = .000

TABLE 2

T and Fisher's Probability Tests Comparing the Two NES  
Pentecostal Categories on Each Value Index

	t values	Degrees of Freedom	2-Tail Prob.
Ronald Reagan	.17	41	.800
Periodicity of Church Attendance	- .14	41	.800
Conservatism- Liberalism Self-Ranking	-1.08	14	.298
Federal Interference	.81	30	.426
Attitudes Toward Abortion	-1.04	39	.304

	Republican	Democrat	
Church of God; Holiness	2 18.2 28.6 6.9	9 81.8 40.9 31.0	Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent
Pentecostal; Assembly of God	5 27.8 71.4 17.2	13 72.2 59.1 44.8	

Fisher's P = .15096

TABLE 3

$\chi^2$  and Fisher's Probability Tests Comparing Pentecostals and  
Non-Pentecostals on the Political-Party Value Index

$\chi^2$  Test Without Controls

Count  
Row Percent  
Column Percent  
Total Percent

	Republican	Democrat
Pentecostals	7 24.1 2.1 .8	22 75.9 3.0 2.4
Non-Pentecostals	330 38.0 97.9 36.7	539 62.0 96.1 60.0

Corrected  $\chi^2 = 1.73957$   
(one degree of freedom)

P = .1872

$\chi^2$  Test (Less than \$25,000 Family Income)

Count  
Row Percent  
Column Percent  
Total Percent

	Republican	Democrat
Pentecostals	6 26.1 3.9 1.2	17 73.9 4.9 3.4
Non-Pentecostals	147 30.8 96.1 29.4	330 69.2 95.1 66.0

Corrected  $\chi^2 = .06212$   
(one degree of freedom)

P = .8032

TABLE 3  
(Continued)

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Middle Class				Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent
	Republican	Democrat		
Pentecostals	3 27.3 1.4 .7	8 72.7 3.6 1.8		
Non-Pentecostals	206 48.8 98.6 49.9	216 51.2 96.4 49.9	Fisher's P = .06355	

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Working Class				Count Row Percent Column Percent Total Percent
	Republican	Democrat		
Pentecostals	4 25.0 3.5 .9	12 75.0 3.8 2.8		
Non-Pentecostals	111 26.7 96.5 25.7	305 73.3 96.2 70.6	Fisher's P = .28568	

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TABLE 4

T Tests Comparing Pentecostals and Middle-Class  
Non-Pentecostals (Objective Class Measure)

	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	2-Tail Prob.
Ronald Reagan	3.14 (Pooled)	477	.002
Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 14.0930$ ; n = 43			
Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 11.0803$ ; n = 436			
Periodicity of Church Attendance	-2.55 (Pooled)	474	.011
Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 2.2558$ ; n = 43			
Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 2.8476$ ; n = 433			
Conservatism- Liberalism Self-Ranking	-1.15 (Pooled)	219	.251
Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 1.7500$ ; n = 16			
Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 2.0595$ ; n = 185			
Federal Intervention	-1.79 (Separate)	34.38	.082
Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 1.7805$ ; n = 41			
Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 4.3626$ ; n = 364			
Attitudes Towards Abortion	-4.45 (Pooled)	463	.000
Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 1.7805$ ; n = 41			
Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{X} = 3.2075$ ; n = 424			

TABLE 6

## T Tests Comparing Pentecostals and Non-Pentecostals

	Pooled t Value	Degrees of Freedom	2-Tail Prob.
Ronald Reagan	2.57	1278	.010
Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 14.0930$ ; $n = 43$ non-Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 11.6548$ ; $n = 1237$			
Periodicity of Church Attendance	-2.53	1267	.012
Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 2.2558$ ; $n = 43$ non-Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 2.8246$ ; $n = 1226$			
Conservatism- Liberalism, Self- Ranking	-1.16	522	.247
Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 1.7500$ ; $n = 16$ Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 2.2992$ ; $n = 508$			
Federal Intervention	-1.64	1045	.101
Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 3.7500$ ; $n = 32$ Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 4.2197$ ; $n = 1015$			
Attitudes Towards Abortion	-4.51	1229	.000
Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 1.7805$ ; $n = 41$ Non-Pentecostals: $\bar{x} = 3.1983$ ; $n = 1190$			

TABLE 7

ANCOVA of Religion on Attitudes Toward Ronald Reagan  
Controlling on Education

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Education**	278.128	1	278.128	7.483	.006
Religion*	237.120	1	237.120	6.379	.012

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0050

$E^2$  (religion\* and education\*\*) = .0108

Pentecostals :  $\bar{X}$  = 14.09; n = 43

non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X}$  = 11.64; n = 1226

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Education controlled.



TABLE 8

ANCOVA of Religion on Attitudes Toward Ronald Reagan,  
Controlling on Income

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Income*	2357.694	1	2357.694	69.572	.000
Religion**	121.023	1	121.023	3.571	.059

$E^2$  (religion\*\*) = .0030  
 $E^2$  (religion\*\* plus income\*) = .0607

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 13.90$ ;  $n = 41$   
 Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 11.35$ ;  $n = 1094$

Interaction between religion and income:  $F = 1.042$ ;  $P = .396$

\*With Religion controlled.  
 \*\*With Income controlled.

TABLE 9

ANCOVA of Religion on Attitudes Toward Ronald Reagan,  
Controlling on Class (Subjective Measure)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Class**	1139.633	1	1139.633	31.971	.000
Religion*	212.472	1	212.472	5.961	.015

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0047  
 $E^2$  (religion\* plus class\*\*) = .0302

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X}$  = 14.17; n = 42  
 non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X}$  = 11.51; n = 1160

Interaction between religion and class: F = 3.588; P = .028

\*With Religion controlled.  
 \*\*With Class controlled.

TABLE 10

ANOVA of Religion  
 (Middle-Class Pentecostals and Non-Pentecostals Only)  
 On Attitudes Toward Ronald Reagan

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Religion	440.414	1	440.414	12.410	.000

$E^2 = .0212$

Middle-Class Pentecostals:  $\bar{x} = 16.07$ ;  $n = 14$

Middle-Class Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{x} = 10.39$ ;  $n = 562$

TABLE 11

ANOVA of Religion  
 (Working-Class Pentecostals and Non-Pentecostals Only)  
 On Attitudes Toward Ronald Reagan

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Religion	21.060	1	21.060	.592	.442

$E^2 = .0009$

Working-Class Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 13.44$ ;  $n = 27$   
 Working-Class Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 12.54$ ;  $n = 625$

TABLE 12

ANCOVA of Religion on Periodicity of Church Attendance,  
Controlling on Education

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Education**	.033	1	.033	.016	.900
Religion*	13.485	1	13.485	6.396	.012

$$E^2_2(\text{religion*}) = .0050$$

$$E^2_2(\text{religion* plus education**}) = .0108$$

Pentecostals:  $\bar{x} = 2.26$ ;  $n = 43$

non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{x} = 2.82$ ;  $n = 1226$

\*With Religion controlled

\*\*With Education controlled.

TABLE 13

ANCOVA of Religion on Periodicity of Church Attendance,  
With Income Controlled

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Income**	.084	1	.084	.041	.840
Religion*	10.803	1	10.803	5.220	.023

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .00459

$E^2$  (Religion\* plus income\*\*) = .00463

Pentecostals:  $\bar{x}$  = 2.32; n = 41

non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{x}$  = 2.84; n = 1094

Interaction between religion and income: F = .359; P = .905

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Income controlled.

TABLE 14

ANCOVA of Religion on Periodicity of Church Attendance,  
Controlling on Class (Subjective Measure)

Sum of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Class**	14.798	1	14.798	7.124	.008
Religion*	16.719	1	16.719	8.049	.005

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0065  
 $E^2$  (religion\* plus class\*\*) = .0123

Pentecostals:  $\bar{x}$  = 2.24; n = 42  
 non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{x}$  = 2.84; n = 1180

Interaction between religion and class: F = .072; P = .930

\*With Religion controlled.  
 \*\*With Class controlled.

TABLE 15

## ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON CONSERVATISM-LIBERALISM

## SELF-RANKING, CONTROLLING ON EDUCATION

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Education**	10.802	1	10.802	3.180	.075
Religion*	4.742	1	4.742	1.396	.238

$E^2$  (Religion\*) = .0030

$E^2$  (Religion\* plus education\*\*) = .0097

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 1.62$ ;  $n = 13$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 2.25$ ;  $n = 455$

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Education controlled.



TABLE 16

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON CONSERVATISM-LIBERALISM SELF-RANKING,  
CONTROLLING ON INCOME

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Income**	18.927	1	18.927	5.602	.018
Religion*	20.709	1	20.709	6.129	.014

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0139

$E^2$  (religion\* plus income\*\*) = .0266

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 1.00$ ;  $n = 11$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 4.31$ ;  $n = 422$

Interaction between income and religion:  $F = .054$ ;  $P = .998$

\*With Religion Controlled.

\*\*With Income Controlled.

TABLE 17

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON CONSERVATISM-LIBERALISM SELF-RANKING,  
CONTROLLING ON CLASS (SUBJECTIVE MEASURE)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Class**	.646	1	.646	.191	.662
Religion*	4.573	1	4.573	1.354	.245

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0030

$E^2$  (religion\* plus income\*\*) = .0034

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 1.62$ ;  $n = 13$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 2.22$ ;  $n = 442$

Interaction between class and religion:  $F = 1.129$ ;  $P = .288$

\*With Religion Controlled.

\*\*With Class Controlled.

TABLE 18

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL INTERVENTION,  
CONTROLLING ON EDUCATION

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Education**	9.986	1	9.986	4.481	.035
Religion*	4.420	1	4.420	1.983	.160

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0042

$E^2$  (religion\* plus education\*\*) = .0137

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 3.77$ ;  $n = 13$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 4.34$ ;  $n = 455$

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Education controlled.

TABLE 19

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL INTERVENTION,  
CONTROLLING ON INCOME

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Income**	17.296	1	17.296	7.629	.006
Religion*	.036	1	.036	.016	.900

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .00004

$E^2$  (religion\* plus education\*\*) = .1747

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 4.27$ ;  $n = 11$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 4.31$ ;  $n = 422$

Interaction between income and religion:  $F = .354$ ;  $P = .880$

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Income controlled.

TABLE 20

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL INTERVENTION,  
CONTROLLING ON CLASS (SUBJECTIVE MEASURE)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Class**	.004	1	.004	.002	.966
Religion*	4.377	1	4.377	1.983	.160

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .004367

$E^2$  (religion\* plus class\*\*) = .004371

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 3.77$ ;  $n = 13$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 4.36$ ;  $n = 442$

Interactin between class and religion:  $F = 1.625$ ;  $P = .203$

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Class controlled.

TABLE 21

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION,  
CONTROLLING ON EDUCATION

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Means Square	F	P
Education**	12.359	1	12.359	3.239	.073
Religion*	50.579	1	50.579	13.257	.000

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0276

$E^2$  (religion\* plus income\*\*) = .0343

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 1.31$ ;  $n = 13$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 3.33$ ;  $n = 455$

\*With Religion controlled.  
\*\*With Education controlled.

TABLE 22

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION,  
CONTROLLING ON INCOME

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Income**	24.984	1	24.984	6.558	.001
Religion*	36.771	1	36.774	9.653	.002

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0216

$E^2$  (religion\* plus income\*\*) = .0363

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 1.36$ ;  $n = 11$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 3.32$ ;  $n = 422$

Interaction between income and religion:  $X = .485$ ;  $P = .788$

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Income controlled.

TABLE 23

ANCOVA OF RELIGION ON ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION,  
CONTROLLING ON CLASS (SUBJECTIVE MEASURE)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	P
Class**	33.654	1	33.654	8.941	.003
Religion*	50.196	1	50.196	13.337	.000

$E^2$  (religion\*) = .0281

$E^2$  (religion\* plus class\*\*) = .0470

Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 1.31$ ;  $n = 13$

Non-Pentecostals:  $\bar{X} = 3.33$ ;  $n = 442$

Interaction between class and religion:  $F = 1.290$ ;  $P = .257$

\*With Religion controlled.

\*\*With Class controlled.



TABLE 24

T TEST COMPARING PENTECOSTALS AND NON-PENTECOSTALS ON INCOME

	Pooled t value	Degrees of Freedom	2-Tail Prob.
Income	-3.53	1143	.000
Pentecostals:	$\bar{X} = 3.3171; n = 41$		
Non-Pentecostals:	$\bar{X} = 4.7953; n = 1104$		

TABLE 25

T TEST COMPARING THE TWO NES PENTECOSTAL  
CATEGORIES ON INCOME

		Pooled t Value	Degrees of Freedom	2-Tail Prob.
Income		-1.02	39	.292
Pentecostals:	$\bar{X} = 2.8889; n = 18$			
Non-Pentecostals:	$\bar{X} = 3.6522; n = 23$			

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