

**The Roles of Women in Ministry  
within Three British Pentecostal Denominations (1915-1940)**

**A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements  
of the University of Birmingham, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**by**

**Janet Ridley Hocking**

**School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion,  
College of Arts and Law**

**Date December 2020**

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

**University of Birmingham Research Archive**

**e-theses repository**

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

## **ABSTRACT**

After the methodology chapter and two contextual chapters tracing the background factors, the three central chapters deal with the three earliest Pentecostal denominations in turn. Research on the pioneering efforts of church-based evangelistic activity in early Pentecostalism abounds, whereas scant attention has been paid hitherto to the part played by women in this period. This thesis discovers and recasts the women and their ministry roles. It allows their voices from this early period to be heard and their testimonies to be successfully gathered and preserved before they become lost forever. Written and archival material relating to each denomination during this era is examined for any mention of women and analysed. Quantitative and qualitative data is gathered via the administration of a two-part interview survey questionnaire to elderly Pentecostals (veterans) who either ministered themselves or knew women who had ministered in early Elim (1915-1940), Apostolic (1916-1940) or Assemblies of God (1924-1940) Pentecostalism. Archival material previously not in the public domain and, involving the Elim denomination predominantly, is drawn upon to determine Aimee Semple McPherson's contribution to early British Pentecostalism. Literature by other scholars written to discover women and their voices in other church groups is reviewed and I dialogue with these scholars in the conclusion chapter. This research is undertaken to add to women's studies in Pentecostalism and begins where an earlier study on women in revivals (1907-1914) concludes.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My research journey has been long with serious interruptions due to cancer, major surgery and treatment causing unavoidable delay. To research the women in early British Pentecostalism has been enormously enjoyable and to have met and interviewed so many veteran respondents, mostly now no longer here, has been an amazing privilege.

I give heartfelt thanks for the late Desmond Cartwright. He embraced my research and my incessant questioning. He shared my enthusiasm and willingly gave me access to his considerable archival collections. For all this I am profoundly grateful. I am grateful also to Dr Keith Warrington, Dr Neil Hudson, Alan Hodgson and Dr Timothy Walsh who all helped me in different ways during the early stages of my research journey.

I am indebted to Professor Dr Allan Anderson for his expert supervision and encouragement, appreciated beyond words. I owe heartfelt thanks also to Dr Ben Dandelion of the Quaker Studies Centre and my cousins Dr Ross and Dr Chris Walton for their encouragement. I give a special note of thanks to Joshua Jones for his invaluable computing expertise. I am grateful to my daughter Sarah, my sons Simon, Andrew, Mathew and Benjamin for their love, IT help and unfailing support. Last, but not least, I give thanks for my husband Martin, my best friend, to whom I owe so much.

## Abbreviations

AC	Apostolic Church United Kingdom
AFC	Apostolic Faith Church United Kingdom
AoG	Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland
BSES	Bible School Evangelistic Society
CIM	China Inland Mission
EBC	Elim Bible College
EBP	Early British Pentecostalism
EEB	Elim Evangelistic Band
Elim	Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance
EPTA	European Pentecostal Theological Association
<i>JEPTA</i>	<i>Journal of European Pentecostal Theological Association</i>
MNT	Holy Bible Moffat New Translation
NIV	Holy Bible, New International Version
NSWSS	The National Society for Women Suffrage Societies
PNEUMA	<i>Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies</i>
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland
<i>RT</i>	Redemption Tidings
WI	The Women's Institute
WLA	The Women's Land Army

## **OUTLINE OF CONTENTS**

### **CHAPTER ONE: Introduction**

1.1	Introducing the thesis.....	1
1.2	Pentecostal historians.....	5
1.2.1	Scholarly pentecostal writing.....	6
1.3	Rationale.....	9
1.4	Hypothesis.....	10
1.5	Methodology.....	10
1.5.1	Sociological and Historiographical.....	10
1.5.2	Ethical Considerations.....	15
1.5.3	Research Design.....	17
1.5.4	Research Tools.....	18
1.5.4.1	Interview Survey Questionnaire.....	19
1.5.4.2	Case Studies.....	22
1.5.4.3	Documentary Analysis.....	23
1.6	Sampling Strategy.....	23
1.7	Overview.....	25
1.8	Conclusion.....	27

### **CHAPTER TWO: The Historical and Social Context for British Women in the Early Twentieth Century**

2.1	Introduction.....	28
2.2	Feminism: a brief overview.....	30
2.2.1	First wave feminism.....	31
2.2.2	Organised feminism—Barbara Smith and the “Ladies of Langham Place”.....	32
2.2.3	Further female exploitation.....	33

2.3	“A woman’s place” in society.....	35
2.3.1	Women and social class.....	35
2.3.2	Women and the birth rate/family planning.....	38
2.3.3	Women, philanthropy and work.....	41
2.4.	Women and enfranchisement.....	47
2.4.1	The National Society for Women Suffrage Societies (NSWSS).....	49
2.4.2	The Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU).....	50
2.5	Women and the war effort.....	53
2.5.1	Women demand and win the right to serve.....	53
2.5.2	Women fill men’s roles.....	57
2.5.3	Women’s Institute (WI).....	58
2.5.4	Women’s Land Army (WLA).....	59
2.5.5	War impacted society.....	61
2.5.6	Women’s involvement was crucial.....	62
2.5.7	Women over 30 years win the vote.....	63
2.5.8	Women and the end of war.....	64
2.6	Women’s independence grew in the post-war period.....	65
2.6.1	The “cult of domesticity” .....	65
2.7	Conclusion.....	68

### **CHAPTER THREE: The Church Context for Women in Early Pentecostalism in Britain**

3.1	Introduction.....	69
3.2	The historical and social context in the Church.....	69
3.2.1	Dismissive Treatment of Women.....	69
3.2.2	Literature Review.....	69
3.2.2.1	Contemporary British and American Settings.....	70
3.2.2.2	British Traditional Settings.....	74

3.2.3	Critique of the Hermeneutic Against Woman's Ministry.....	79
3.2.4	The Influence of Evangelical/Holiness/Salvation Army Preachers...	83
3.2.5	The Role of Women in the Welsh Revival 1904/5.....	91
3.2.6	Women fulfilled egalitarian roles in the Pentecostal revival.....	95
3.2.6.1	Agnes Osman (1870-1937).....	95
3.2.6.2	Azusa Street.....	96
3.2.6.3	Catherine Price.....	97
3.2.6.4	Mrs Mary Boddy.....	98
3.2.7	Conclusion.....	100

## **CHAPTER FOUR: The Roles of Women in the Elim Church**

4.1	Introduction.....	101
4.2	A brief history of when and how the Elim Pentecostal Alliance emerged.	102
4.3	Literature Review.....	105
4.4	A woman prophesied at the commencement of Elim.....	107
4.4.1	George Jeffreys (1889-1962).....	109
4.4.2	Women of the Elim Evangelistic Band.....	109
4.4.3	Margaret Streight.....	112
4.4.4	Alice McKinley.....	115
4.5	Women and the Elim Bible College—an Overview.....	120
4.5.1	Percy Corry.....	122
4.5.2	Margaret Barbour.....	124
4.6	Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944).....	126
4.6.1	Introduction.....	126
4.6.2	Macpherson's ministry and impact on early American Pentecostalism.....	127
4.6.3	McPherson effected early British Pentecostalism.....	129
4.6.3.1	McPherson meets Jeffreys.....	130



4.6.3.2 McPherson visits Britain in 1926.....	135
4.6.3.3 McPherson ministers at the Royal Albert Hall, Easter 1926... ..	139
4.6.3.4 McPherson missing, presumed drowned.....	140
4.6.3.5 McPherson ministers again at the Royal Albert Hall and major cities from October 1928.....	146
4.6.3.6 Hull Campaign.....	151
4.6.3.7 Henderson's letter impacted Jeffreys..... ..	152
4.7 Curtailment of women's ministry.....	154
4.8 Dorothy Flower.....	157
4.8.1 Flower applies to the Elim Bible College.....	158
4.8.2 Flower eventually leads an Elim Church.....	162
4.9 Analysis of Quantitative Data.....	163
4.10 Analysis of Qualitative Data.....	164
4.10.1 Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral.....	164
4.10.2 Prayer/Spiritual Gifts.....	166
4.10.3 Visitation.....	167
4.10.4 Open-Air/Evangelism/Church Planting.....	168
4.10.5 Literary/Musical.....	173
4.10.6 Practical.....	175
4.10.7 Refreshments.....	175
4.10.8 General Assistance.....	176
4.11 Conclusion.....	177

## **CHAPTER FIVE: The Roles of Women in the Apostolic Church**

5.1 Introduction.....	180
5.1.1 Apostles and Prophets.....	182
5.2 A brief history of when and how the Apostolic denomination emerged..	183
5.3 Literature Review.....	187

5.4	Women’s ministry in the parent Apostolic Faith Church.....	192
5.5	Women’s subordinate ministry roles.....	193
5.6	Pioneering Women.....	194
5.6.1	Mrs Jones.....	194
5.6.2	Mrs Sheppard.....	195
5.6.3	Mary and Edith Delbridge.....	195
5.6.4	Mrs Nelly (“Nelsie”) Hodges (née Vinters).....	197
5.6.5	Women in Mid-Glamorgan.....	199
5.7	Women ministered in the role of evangelist.....	201
5.8	Apostle Jardine wrote authoritatively about women’s ministry.....	203
5.9	Some women rebelled.....	208
5.10	Apostolic church constitution re-women and their ministry roles.....	209
5.10.1	The Women’s Movement.....	210
5.10.2	Deaconesses.....	211
5.11	Analysis of Quantitative Data.....	213
5.12	Analysis of Qualitative Data.....	213
5.12.1	Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral.....	213
5.12.2	Prayer/Spiritual Gifts and Prophecy.....	216
5.12.3	Visitation.....	217
5.12.4	Open-Air/Evangelism/Church Planting.....	218
5.12.5	Literary/Musical.....	220
5.12.6	Practical.....	221
5.12.7	Refreshments.....	223
5.12.8	General Assistance.....	224
5.13	Conclusion.....	225

## **CHAPTER SIX: The Roles Women in the Assemblies of God**

6.1	Introduction.....	227
6.2	A brief history of when and how the Assemblies of God emerged.....	229
6.3	Literature Review.....	233
6.4	AoG ministering women.....	239
6.5	PMU formation and philosophy.....	240
6.5.1	“Hall”–(Polhill) and “Rectory”–(Boddy).....	241
6.5.2	PMU Women Missionaries.....	242
6.5.3	The cost of missionary work.....	244
6.5.4	The PMU was open to women and their ministry.....	245
6.5.5	Eleanor Crisp trained prospective women missionaries.....	245
6.5.6	Social conditions impacted the PMU in the post-war era.....	249
6.6	Women ministered regularly during the AoG’s incubation period.....	249
6.6.1	Lydia Walshaw.....	249
6.6.2	Margaret Cantel.....	250
6.6.3	Christiana Berulsdén.....	253
6.6.4	Mrs Mildred Serjeant (née Bell).....	249
6.7.	Analysis of Quantitative Data.....	262
6.8	Analysis of Qualitative Data.....	263
6.8.1	Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral.....	263
6.8.2	Prayer/Spiritual Gifts.....	265
6.8.3.	Visitation.....	268
6.8.4	Open-Air/Evangelism/Church Planting.....	268
6.8.5	Literary/Musical.....	272
6.8.6	Practical.....	274
6.8.7	Refreshments.....	276
6.8.8	General Assistance.....	277

6.9 Conclusion.....	279
---------------------	-----

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion, Analysis and Discussion**

7.1 Introduction.....	281
7.2 Research Claim.....	281
7.3 Research Purpose.....	281
7.4 Research Question.....	282
7.5 Significance.....	282
7.6 Summary and Analysis.....	282
7.6.1 Quantitative Data.....	288
7.6.2 Qualitative Data.....	294
7.7 Dialoguing with Other Scholars.....	295
7.8 Limitations.....	296
7.9 Implications.....	297
7.10 Conclusions.....	298
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>344</b>

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1.1	Showing Robson’s Framework for research adopted by the author.....	17
Figure 3.1	Photograph of Evan Roberts and the “Carriers of Fire” .....	91
Figure 4.1	Photograph of Miss Margaret Streight .....	112
Figure 4.2	Photograph of Miss Alice McKinley .....	115
Figure 4.3	Photograph of Miss Margaret Barbour .....	124

Figure 4.4	Photograph of Aimee Semple McPherson .....	127
Figure 4.5	Photograph of Angelus Temple, Los Angeles .....	129
Figure 4.6	Photograph of Elim Bible College Students & McPherson .....	137
Figure 4.7	Photograph of Jeffreys welcoming McPherson .....	138
Figure 4.8	Photograph of Hull City Town Hall .....	151
Figure 4.9	Photograph of Miss Dorothy Flower .....	157
Figure 4.10	Photograph of Flower's Telegram of acceptance .....	162
Figure 5.1	Photograph showing a section of The Sister's Meeting at the Apostolic Church International Convention, Penygroes 9 August 1935 .....	187
Figure 5.2	Photograph of Grave and Headstone of Nora Jones .....	202
Figure 6.1	Photograph taken in the AoG Church, Lakenheath, showing Serjeant baptising a convert .....	261

## **LIST OF QUANTITATIVE CHARTS**

7.1 Appendix Z	Chart 7.5 To show comparison of women's official ministry roles, Elim period 1, 1915-1928 and period 2, 1929-1940 .....	373
7.2 Appendix F	Chart 4.1 To show respondents' recollections of roles of women in Baptism services Elim 1915-1928 Period 1 .....	363
7.3 Appendix J	Chart 4.5 To show respondent's recollections of roles of women in Baptism services Elim 1929-1940 Period 2 .....	365
7.5 Appendix N	Chart 5.1 To show respondent's recollections of roles of women in Water Baptism services AC 1916-1940 .....	367

7.6 Appendix R	Chart 6.1 To show respondents' recollections of roles of women in Water Baptism services AOG 1924-1940 .....	369
----------------	--	-----

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	Overview of the female student intake at the Elim Bible College .....	121
Table 4.2	Percentage of women's participation in official ministry roles in the pre-curtailment period 1, 1915-1928 .....	163
Table 4.3	Percentage of women's participation in official ministry roles in the post-curtailment period 2, 1929-1940 .....	164
Table 5.1	Percentage of women's participation in official ministry Roles .....	213
Table 6.1	Number of Pentecostal Missionary Union Missionaries 1909-1924 .....	243
Table 6.2	Percentage of women's participation in official ministry roles in the AoG .....	262
Table 7.1	Levels of women's official ministry in early British Pentecostalism 1915-1940 .....	288

## CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Methodology

### 1.1 Introducing the thesis

The primary purpose of this inductive study is to discover what women did in the formative years of the three main British Pentecostal denominations, which are the case studies undertaken in this thesis—Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance,<sup>1</sup> Apostolic Church United Kingdom and Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland.<sup>2</sup> It seizes the opportunity provided by a sufficiently stabilised Pentecostal tradition to investigate women's roles for present and future generations. In the present study I argue that women were significantly present in the leadership of the early British Pentecostal denominations and were significantly absent in the historiography of early British pentecostalism. That is my argument “in a nutshell”. My trigger came from the lack of male authors dealing with the place and role of women in the Pentecostal churches. I framed this area of interest as a question to which I was seeking to find answers through my research, “What roles did women in early British Pentecostalism fulfil—what part did the women play?” As a Pentecostal minister's wife for thirty-three years, from my teens until early widowhood, I was thoroughly conversant with the roles women were currently fulfilling but knew nothing about how women functioned in the early years within the British Pentecostal denominations. I was keen to find answers and to explore my particular interest. Although Diana Chapman does acknowledge the importance of women in the emergence of very early British Pentecostalism, this present study differs from her work in that firstly, it is a rigorous analysis of original and extensive empirical research, establishing unequivocally the experiences of women in the denominations as they formed and established their identities.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, Chapman's work on women is in the fissiparous era of pre-denominational Pentecostalism. My study, while connecting with Chapman's work, majors on the three largest Pentecostal denominations. It develops and extends her work exponentially. As the years go by, it becomes more imperative to discover, record and analyse the experiences

<sup>1</sup> This is the legal name of the Elim Pentecostal Church.

<sup>2</sup> The title included “and Ireland” until 22 October 2005 when the Irish Region of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland joined with the Irish Assemblies of God Republic of Ireland to form the Assemblies of God Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> D. Chapman, *The Contribution of Women's Ministry to the Origins and Early Years of Pentecostalism in Britain* (MA thesis: University of Birmingham, 2000).

of those women whose ministries were instrumental in fashioning the infant Pentecostal movement. As David Shibley maintains, “These stories are just too wonderful to die...these people are too great to be forgotten”.<sup>4</sup>

The early twentieth century Christians, who had what came to be called a “Pentecostal” experience of the Holy Spirit, were relatively new arrivals on the religious radar. They found their self-understanding in the Acts narrative that surveyed the birth of the Church in the first century, and then, by reflecting on their self-identity through that prism.<sup>5</sup> The Pentecostal historian, Donald Gee, perceived the activity of the Holy Spirit in the Corinthian Church to be spontaneous, geographically sporadic, simultaneous and not initiated or orchestrated by any single individual. However, as this study illustrates, Gee’s viewpoint has created the tendency to ignore valuable contributions made by individuals and their developing theology, not least those of women.<sup>6</sup>

The concern of this study is not with neo-Pentecostal groups but with the so-called “classical Pentecostal churches.”<sup>7</sup> The name derives from *Pentecost*, the Greek name for the Jewish Feast of Weeks, which falls on the fiftieth day after Passover. On this day, the Holy Spirit descended on the first Christians (Acts 2:2-4) and thus the origin of the term “Pentecostal” is traceable to

<sup>4</sup> D. Shibley, *Heaven’s Heroes* (Green Forest: New Leaf Press, 1994), 319. Shibley was president of Global Advance, a missions ministry helping national church leaders reach their own people. He was committed to honouring the lives and preserving the memories of the missionaries who had heroically pioneered the work.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 2:1-21; 8:5-24; 10:34-48 & 19:1-7 survey the role of the Spirit in the birth of the Church in the 1st century. See D. Petts, “The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Theological Distinctive”, in K. Warrington, (ed.) *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 118. Peter’s reply to the questioning of the glossolalic phenomenon on the Day of Pentecost was to state that it was the fulfilment of Joel 2:28-32. See D. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (London: Hendrickson, 2007), 36-37.

<sup>6</sup> D. Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Nottingham: AOG, 1967), 3. See W. Kay, and M. Robbins, “A Woman’s Place is on her Knees: the Pastor’s View of the Role of Women in the Assemblies of God”, a paper given at the Centre for Theology and Education, Trinity College, Carmarthen, n.d. Copy held at the Donald Gee Research & AoG Archival Centre, Doncaster, hereafter Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers & C Van der Laan, (eds.) *Studying Global Pentecostalism Theories & Methods* (London: University of California Press, 2010), 17.



the apostolic age.<sup>8</sup> The belief that this event, with its dramatic, accompanying signs, signalled the birth of the Church, was recognised and celebrated by all Christians. The birth of “modern-day” Pentecostalism was traditionally regarded as having taken place in Azusa Street, America in 1906. It is important however, to acknowledge recent scholarship which shows that there are also other sources which document the “multiple origins” theory and the vitally significant contributions that have also been made by Asian, African, African-American, Indian and Latino pioneers in the propagation of Pentecostalism throughout the world.<sup>9</sup> I examine events from a predominantly British perspective in order to trace the historical and theological roots of early British Pentecostalism. The introduction of Pentecostalism to Britain followed soon after the Azusa Street revival and spread throughout Britain in the early years of the twentieth century. This resulted in the eventual establishing of approximately twenty Pentecostal organisations, the three largest of which are explored in this study. The global growth of Pentecostalism has been phenomenal, there being in mid-2019, 693,820,000 Pentecostal/Charismatics in a vast network of Churches and denominations straddling the globe.<sup>10</sup> Bernice Martin writes, “One of the fastest growing and most significant religious developments in the contemporary world is the vast expansion of evangelical, mostly Pentecostal Christianity”.<sup>11</sup> Anderson in attempting to cover Pentecostal origins and global growth fairly shares in *Spreading Fires*, “One of the aims of this book is to try and balance and make more visible the non-western nature of Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century”.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For a brief survey of the historical growth of Pentecostalism world-wide, which provides a context in which Elim, Apostolic and Assemblies of God can be better understood, see V. Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville: Nelson, 2001) & W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972) and specific references at the commencement of each of the denomination Chapters—Four, Five and Six.

<sup>9</sup> See A. Anderson, *Spreading Fires The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007) & also C. Van der Laan, “Historical Approaches” in *Studying Global Pentecostalism Theories and Methods*, A. Anderson et al, (eds.), 202-219.

<sup>10</sup> G. Zurlo, T. Johnson & P. Crossing, *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 2019, Vol. 43 (1) 92–102 “Christianity 2019: What’s Missing? A Call for Further Research”. Table 3. Global Christianity by Tradition 1900-2050, 96.

<sup>11</sup> B. Martin, “The Pentecostal Gender Paradox: A Cautionary Tale for the Sociology of Religion” in R. Fenn, (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 52.

<sup>12</sup> Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 13.

He is keen however that this is done in a manner which does not detract from “the international importance of the movement emanating from North America” which he clarifies embraced the North, Central and South Americas and Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

It is helpful to define the term “ministry.” Originating from the Greek “*diakonia*”, ministry can also be rendered “service.” The term “ministry” crosses a number of boundaries depending on the differing theological standpoints held within the various denominations and other characteristics and is thus not self-explanatory.<sup>14</sup> The context in which the term is used therefore needs to be clarified before any particular usage can be fully understood. Within the scope of this thesis, the word “ministry” relates to both “official leadership” and “unofficial-leadership and non-leadership” ministry roles. The definition has been adopted as that outlined by George Jeffreys, Elim’s founder. He gave specific instructions in 1928 to the Elim churches that appeared in his pamphlet “Duties of Ministers.”<sup>15</sup> This reveals he had come to believe that officiating at Baptisms, Weddings, Funerals and Holy Communion constituted “official leadership ministry” and that only men should function in these exclusive roles.<sup>16</sup>

I assert in this study that although considerable research has been undertaken on Pentecostalism there is a paucity of research on women’s roles and ministry. I also assert that the corpus of Pentecostal histories is male-centred, and has either marginalised, silenced or made women invisible. The trigger for what I argue for came from the lack of male authors dealing with the place and role of women in the Pentecostal churches. It is from the contemporary authors of

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 13, see also Chapters 1 & 2. See A. Anderson, & E. Tang, *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: Regum, 2004), Chapter 7.

<sup>14</sup> These include the broad spectrum spanning high-church, low-church, reformed, evangelical, sacramental, quietist and charismatic. See J. Craske, “The Grounds of Dispute: Theologies of Leadership, Ministry and Ordination—and Women’s Ministry” in J. Wotton, (ed.), *This Is Our Story* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2007), 11-29. Stipendiary, non-stipendiary, full-time, part-time, ordained, lay, novitiate, deacon/deaconess, priest, elder, bishop, presbyter, pastor, apostle, teacher and leader. See the helpful discussion by C. Barrett, *Church Ministry and Sacraments in the New Testament* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993), *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> G. Jeffreys, *Duties of Ministers Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance* (London: Elim Publishing Co., 1928), 21. Copy held at Desmond Cartwright Research & Elim Archival Centre, Malvern hereafter Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>16</sup> Whilst this terminology was used only in Elim applying Jeffrey’s terminology to the study of the AC and AoG denominations is in order to structure the data in the thesis.

the pioneers such as Gee, Missen and Dando for example and the lack of current scholarship in the past decade for example Aldred, Lamont and the absence of academic acknowledgement of ministering women by the authors contributing to *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism* which demonstrate the patriarchal bias in writing. This backs up my claims for the key argument of the dissertation. Of notable comparison are the interviews I conducted with ministers such as Belfied, Rees and Whittaker for example, who ministered in the 1960s-1990s. They gave ready commendation of their female colleagues and their ministry.<sup>17</sup> Further introduction and discussion of evidence to support my assertions takes place below.

## 1.2 Pentecostal historians

Robert Tweed in his senior years wrote a *Memoir* about the beginnings of the Elim denomination in Monaghan in 1915 and its importance cannot be overstated.<sup>18</sup> He made a salient comment that the ministering women have virtually been ignored by Pentecostal historians when he wrote, “Little if anything is said by the Historians of the part taken by the Lady Evangelists. There were quite a number of them and they did a great work for the Lord”.<sup>19</sup> The late Desmond Cartwright, an Elim minister for many years, was Elim’s one-time archivist and Pentecostal historian. He highlighted in 1988 that, although many areas of early Pentecostalism had been investigated and documented, women and their important ministry roles still remained to be researched and recorded.<sup>20</sup> A Pentecostal writer chronicling the Pentecostal movement virtually eliminates women from its history. In his charting of the early British Pentecostal pioneers—“The Men, The Movement, The Message and The Miracles”—Keith Malcomson makes sparse reference, even in 2008, to the women.<sup>21</sup> I telephoned

<sup>17</sup> In order to avoid misunderstanding and assure clarity it is important to establish that the women whose ministry is highlighted in this study were not average and it is these women I argue that historiography has neglected.

<sup>18</sup> R. Tweed, *Memoir of Robert Tweed* (n.d, unpublished). Tweed himself was aware of the historical importance of his *Memoir* and the fact that the history books would not contain any of its contents, 58. Copy held at the Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>19</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> D. Cartwright “Your Daughters Shall Prophecy. The Contribution of Women in Early Pentecostalism”. Paper given at the Society for Pentecostal Studies Conference, Gaithersburg, Maryland, 5 November 1985, 4-30.

<sup>21</sup> K. Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered* (Maitland: Xulon Press, 2008).

Malcomson in June 2009 and introduced myself and my research. I explained that in no way was I seeking to minimise the roles the men fulfilled in this time-span. My concern was with re-instating the women and the roles they fulfilled and enquired why, at this late era, he had not done this. He had expressed genuine surprise that the women should warrant being included in his book or its title, which suggests a traditionally dismissive attitude concerning women and the roles they fulfilled in early British Pentecostalism.

### 1.2.1 Scholarly pentecostal writing

Scholars in the academy attest to the fact that a wide spectrum of topics relative to Pentecostalism have been researched and discussed across the globe. Joel Cabrita in her review of Anderson's book, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* refers to "the large number of new and influential studies of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity."<sup>22</sup> Birgit Meyer contributed to *Studying Global Pentecostalism* with her chapter "Pentecostalism and Globalization" where she refers to the relatively recent "new body of research on Pentecostal expansion throughout Africa, Latin America, and, to a lesser extent, Asia and Europe."<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, Elizabeth Brusco in her chapter "Gender and Power" in the same book highlights that it is only comparatively recently that world-wide research and discussion of gender-issues in Pentecostalism has begun to be seen in library collections; much more needs to be done in order "to reveal the often-hidden women."<sup>24</sup>

There is silence in contemporary scholarship where British Pentecostalism and women's ministry is concerned. Simo Frestadius reviewed the book *Pentecostals and Charismatics in*

<sup>22</sup> A. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Second Edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) in *PentecoStudies*, 15.1 (2016), 97-99.

<sup>23</sup> B. Meyer, "Pentecostalism and Globalization" in A. Anderson et al, (eds.), *Studying Global Pentecostalism*, 120, 113-130.

<sup>24</sup> E. Brusco "Gender and Power" in A. Anderson et al, *Studying Global Pentecostalism*, Chapter 4, 75, 74-92. See also Lisa P. Stephenson, *Dismantling the Dualisms for American Pentecostal Women in Ministry: A Feminist-Pneumatological Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Kimberley Alexander & Hollis Gause, *Women in Leadership: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Center for Pentecostal Leadership & Care, 2006); John Christopher Thomas, "Women, Pentecostalism and the Bible: As Experiment in Pentecostal Hermeneutics," in Lee Roy Martin, (ed.), *Pentecostal Hermeneutics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) & Estrela Alexander *Black Fire: One Hundred Years of African Pentecostalism* (Westmont: IVP Academic, 2011).

*Britain* edited by Joe Aldred.<sup>25</sup> He assessed the book's chief strength to be Aldred's achievement of rationally assembling the agglomeration of British Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. Although applauding Aldred's skilful execution in this regard, Frestadius found that the same level of experience had not been applied where women and their significant leadership ministry were dealt with. Consequently Chapter 6, presented by Dionne Lamont, significantly understates the woman's account in British Pentecostalism's historical narrative. Frestadius cited the absence of the expected discussion of women such as Mary Boddy and Margaret Streight who successfully ministered in early British Pentecostalism. Thus, they remained hidden with their one-time effective ministering voices silent. From Frestadius' comments one gathers that, disappointingly, a prime opportunity afforded by this "excellent resource" to showcase and celebrate these ministering women in Pentecostalism's past had been lost.

Cabrita drew attention to the inclusion by Anderson of his survey of Gender and Society. It is in this survey that Anderson, Emeritus Professor of Global Pentecostal Studies at the University of Birmingham, explained that the histories of prominent, gifted ministering women were, and still are, faced with difficulties. The reason he maintained lay in the male-dominated communities in which the women lived. He strengthened his comments by citing Linda Ambrose's observations of these ministering women. Ambrose states that this research "revealed a fascinating set of ambiguities that served to complicate our understanding of women's involvement in theologically and socially conservative religious movements." Anderson succinctly sums up the considerable "conundrum and tensions" involved, stating that the extent of the profile of ministering women was reliant on who was narrating the women's account.

In his review of *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*, Allan Anderson robustly congratulated the academic professionalism and in-depth broad accomplishments achieved by the eminent contributors to this publication.<sup>26</sup> Yet, there is a glaring omission which in the second paragraph of his review Anderson referred to as, "the only one outsider interpreter of

<sup>25</sup> Published on line 28 January 2020. Accessed 05.02.2020.

<sup>26</sup> A. Anderson, "Book Review" of *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism* Cecil Robeck Jr. & Amos Yong, (eds.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014) in *PentecoStudies* Vol.16 No.1, 2017, 144-145.

Pentecostalism.”<sup>27</sup> This was the absence of women authors and the fact that gender issues are completely deficient, “no women authors, nothing on gender issues” which therefore considerably weakened the strength of the otherwise applaudable masterpiece. His thoughts on this crucial omission in the academy conclude with his insightful statement that it was an all too common occurrence where patriarchy dominates Pentecostalism, which was a reiteration of his own and other scholar’s findings and already referred to above.<sup>28</sup>

The introduction of evidence above reflected the necessity for this present research. This was undertaken in order to recast the narrative of the women of early British Pentecostalism, thereby providing a correct account of the substantial roles, official and unofficial, they fulfilled.<sup>29</sup>

There has been a proliferation of studies undertaken throughout the world on Pentecostal history, as the above sources attest to. Some attention has been paid to the part played by women in pre-denominational Pentecostalism, but women in the infant Pentecostal denominations in Britain in this era have been mostly disregarded.<sup>30</sup> Hitherto no one has conducted empirical enquiry about them or the roles they fulfilled.<sup>31</sup> There was an absence also of writing about Pentecostal women in the wider historical narrative. Noteworthy is the remark made by Timothy Walsh on completion of his thesis which focuses on exploring men and

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *Book Review*, 144.

<sup>28</sup> See also the articles by B. Martin “The Pentecostal Gender Paradox”, Chapter 3, 52-66 and Linda Woodhead, “Feminism and the Sociology of Religion: From Gender-Blindness to Gendered Difference”, Chapter 4, 67-84 both in R. Fenn, (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> See also A. Missen, *The Sound of a Going* (Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1973). Only one mention of a woman, Mrs Crisp, the Principal of the women’s training college, is cited, 54, and without reference to her significant work—see Chapter Six 6.5.5—unlike her male counterpart in the men’s training college, Thomas Myerscough. See also Chapter Three 3.2.2 of this study, which provides a literature review of examples of other scholar’s research undertaken to also rediscover women, to hear their voices and establish the roles they fulfilled in church settings.

<sup>30</sup> See D. Chapman, *Searching the Source of The River* (London: PUSH Publishing, 2007).

<sup>31</sup> See E. Alexander, *The Women of Azusa Street* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 2005) & S. Hyatt, “Spirit-Filled Women” in V. Synan, (ed.) *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville: Nelson, 2001), 265-91.

ministry in early Pentecostalism; “There is still a need for research to be undertaken regarding the significant role fulfilled by women in the origins, emergence and development of the Pentecostal movement in England”.<sup>32</sup> Richard Massey called for “a careful study of the place and role of women’s leadership in the British Assemblies of God.”<sup>33</sup> Significantly, this study contributes to meeting that need by researching and presenting its findings with regards the ministry roles women fulfilled from the incubation period of the AoG up to 1940.<sup>34</sup>

The overall result therefore of such widespread dismissive handling of women in denominational Pentecostalism was that very little, generally, is known about them. These comments by academics highlighting the gap in knowledge where Pentecostal women are concerned, and the need to address it, further strengthened my motive for undertaking this study.

### **1.3 Rationale**

The reason for conducting this research is a response to the above lacuna; meeting the need for the women in the early British Pentecostal denominations to be rediscovered and their voices heard. I wanted to explore the official and unofficial ministry roles the women fulfilled. Pentecostal women from this early era would therefore no longer remain hidden and forgotten.<sup>35</sup> The belief is fully endorsed that to disregard their contributions is tantamount to writing bad history.

The significance of what would be discovered via the scope and focus of this study was that new, radical evidence would be produced in the sense that this would add to the understanding

<sup>32</sup> T. Walsh, *To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People, An Exploration of the Origins, Emergence and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in England, 1907-1925*. (PhD dissertation: University of Manchester 2007), 2.

<sup>33</sup> R. Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union; An examination of the Origins of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland during the years 1920-1925*. (PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1987), 88.

<sup>34</sup> See Literature Review, 6.3, Chapter Six, 227 of this study. Weaver’s conclusion to his article, “Leading Ladies—Right or Wrong?”, *Redemption*, March 1987, correlated with the results of the extensive research of this study.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapters Four, Five and Six for the exploration of early British Elim, Apostolic and Assemblies of God Pentecostal women. Hereafter the name of the Apostolic church is abbreviated to AC and name of Assemblies of God abbreviated to AoG.

of the development of early British Pentecostalism. This would change the way Pentecostal women's roles have been regarded previously, especially in the wider historical narrative, and would add significantly to women's studies.

## **1.4 Hypothesis**

Thus, it was necessary to investigate the main research issues:-

**1.4.1** The extent and transformation of the strategic involvement of women in Pentecostal official and unofficial ministry within the following denominations and time periods:

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| i. Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance                  | 1915-1940 |
| ii. Apostolic Church United Kingdom                 | 1916-1940 |
| iii. Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland | 1924-1940 |

and the four related sub-issues:

**1.4.1.1** The degree to which variance in church government between British Pentecostal denominations influenced the types of roles—official and unofficial—women fulfilled within all three denominations.

**1.4.1.2** The extent to which the experience of early British Pentecostal women differed as a result of denominational structures and policies.

**1.4.1.3** To investigate whether roles accorded to women changed over time and

**1.4.1.4** The degree to which wider social and cultural trends impacted upon the freedoms and/or restrictions made on women within early British Pentecostalism.

## **1.5 Methodology**

### **1.5.1 Sociological and Historiographical**

This investigation employed a combination of sociological and historiographical research methodologies in the belief that these discussions can complement one another. On the other



hand, there are some researchers who are not prepared to countenance such a synthesis.<sup>36</sup> However, “the more sociological history becomes and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both.”<sup>37</sup> While “the historian must always accommodate to the unique and the contingent, the social scientist is essentially orientated towards the universal, towards the recurrent pattern.”<sup>38</sup> Bryan Wilson wrote about the sociological features of the Elim Pentecostal Church and combined both the sociological and historiographical approaches successfully, which is required when an account of Pentecostalism is being attempted.<sup>39</sup> I adopted a combination of these two approaches, which are capable of generating quantitative and qualitative data, as the most profitable and suitable methodological options to facilitate the answering of the research question. It allowed taking these specific facts and making a broader more universal statement concerning the rest of the women within the three pentecostal denominations to be made, while at the same time allowing for the recognition of the uniqueness and value of each woman involved.<sup>40</sup> Colin Robson insists that, in any socio-historical enquiry, “A differentiated, rigorous and systematic approach to real life issues” is required in order to ensure systematic, disciplined and logical ways of working, with a commitment to critical standards.<sup>41</sup> Wacker admonishes the early historians who were deficient in writing history hallmarked by critical standards. He maintains that, “Theological assertions

<sup>36</sup> A. Marwick, *The Nature of History* (London: Macmillan, 1970) highlighted the long-established sparring between the two groups as each defend their respective corners. He gave examples of historians accusing social scientists of being unscientific, and of social scientists accusing historians of handling historical data superciliously.

<sup>37</sup> E. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Macmillan, 1961), 61- 66.

<sup>38</sup> See also D. Bebbington’s further discussion in *Patterns in History* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 140 -167.

<sup>39</sup> B. Wilson, *Sects and Society* (London: Heinemann, 1961), 97-118.

<sup>40</sup> W. Kay, *A History of British Assemblies of God* (PhD dissertation: University of Nottingham, 1989), 11.

<sup>41</sup> C. Robson, *Real World Research* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 80-83. See G. Wacker, “Biography and Historiography of Pentecostalism (US)” in S. Burgess, G. McGee, & P. Alexander, (eds.) *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988).

smuggled in as historical “facts” violates the rules by which the game is supposed to be played”.<sup>42</sup>

Following a path, which a number of Church historians have effectively trodden, I trace the roots of British Pentecostalism chronologically. By so doing I ensure clear progression is maintained as each denomination’s narrative about women unfolds.<sup>43</sup>

Inside information was gathered by interviewing veterans who still possessed clear recollections of the early dynamic years of Pentecostalism in Britain.<sup>44</sup> Crucially, these people observed the personalities, policies and practices prevalent in their own denomination—they were there at the time and therefore best placed to relate what took place. The veterans who were asked to recall their reminiscences concerning the early days of Pentecostalism “often have the most rewarding memories for the historian...the main difficulty the historian faces is in trying to prise the facts from the elderly leader before—[their] memory fails or [they go] to [their] grave.”<sup>45</sup>

It was axiomatic to this study that the participating veterans and their verbatim recollections, interpretations and opinions were given due prominence and credence.<sup>46</sup> Locating, interacting with and visiting the cohorts of each denomination involved careful planning and execution involving a period of eighteen months prior to when the writing of this thesis commenced.

<sup>42</sup> G. Wacker, *Heaven Below* (Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2001), 58-59. Wacker highlights the necessity of being aware of the issue of interpreting autobiographical text which he maintains involves the unremitting artificial relating of steps leading to conversion and the relating of conversion itself which requires common sense in recognising the human context.

<sup>43</sup> See J. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England* (London: A. & C. Black, 1953); A. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (London: Collins, 1986); W. Kay, *A History of British Assemblies of God* (PhD dissertation) & D. Allen, *Signs and Wonders* (PhD dissertation: University of London, 1990).

<sup>44</sup> I use the term “veteran” in this thesis to refer to a person who has personal experience of the early years of Pentecostalism and still possesses clear recollections of these early dynamic years.

<sup>45</sup> W. Kay, “Three Generations on: The Methodology of Pentecostal History” in *JEPTA Bulletin* Vol.10 Nos.1 & 2, 1992, 62-3.

<sup>46</sup> This data is presented and analysed in Chapter Four: Elim; Chapter Five: Apostolic & Chapter Six: AoG denominations and further analysis, discussion and conclusion is presented in Chapter Seven.

Visiting continued for approximately a further six months after writing began. From a combination of their contributions, cross-checked with other sources, the significantly important and valuable picture of what women did in early British Pentecostalism was enhanced and enlivened. The process of triangulation, which “enriches the information and enhances the accuracy of the findings” I carried out, involved meticulous cross-checking of the substantial sources which was time-consuming but necessary for validation to take place.<sup>47</sup> I am confident that this has resulted in providing correct accounts of the women who ministered in British pentecostalism in this era.

The number of veterans involved, and the gathering of valuable information from them, presented inherent challenges in that memories of the elderly can sometimes be deceptive and imprecise. The necessity of rigorous cross-checking of information via triangulation was therefore of paramount importance.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, there would be much the elderly would be able to tell me.<sup>49</sup> They would be able to recall detailed impressions and conflicts only vaguely recorded by the documentary evidence. Indeed, “There is a possibility that certain facts are held in the memories of individuals and nowhere else” as John Andrews highlighted.<sup>50</sup> These oral sources provided a valuable supplement to the documentary evidence collected.

The problem arises that as data is drawn from the experiences and observations of people, is the necessity of having to depend upon the inference and logical analysis of the historian involved, referred to as the person’s presuppositions.<sup>51</sup> Thus, bias caused by self-interest and animosity can emerge, adding further bias onto the historian—myself—who has already—and

<sup>47</sup> Kumar, R. *Research Methodology* (London: SAGE, 2019), 31.

<sup>48</sup> See the highlighting of the important process of triangulating sources on p.12 paragraph 2 line 8 – p.13 paragraph 3.

<sup>49</sup> While being fortunate to have interviewed many veterans in their last years, I had, as a practitioner researcher, also begun gathering information from veterans within Pentecostalism, well before that time.

<sup>50</sup> J. Andrews, *The Regions Beyond the History of World Missions within the Assemblies of God* (PhD dissertation: University of Wales, 2003), 5.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Anderson, “Research Methods In Theology And Religion Historiographical Issues & Research Proposals”. © 2013, 1.

necessarily—a bundle of biases. However, “Bias need not make him [her] compromise his [her] integrity nor extinguish a historian’s critical powers” maintains Bebbington.<sup>52</sup>

This study portrays an historical and sociological context against which the women’s accounts are positioned. This was in order that the personalities forming the narrative, could be set within the embeddedness, the social and cultural context, of their own place in time.<sup>53</sup> This study in executing historical/sociological research thus employs historical/sociological methodology in order to determine the part that women played in early British Pentecostalism, as well as looking at the world in which they were living.<sup>54</sup> This approach involved the systematic and objective gathering of facts. Information was gathered from written, artistic and oral sources comprising administrative records, books, church magazines, court records, death certificates, diaries of eye witnesses, financial statements, gramophone and tape recordings, grave stones, handbills, letters, minute books, newspaper cuttings, papers, periodicals, photographs, registers, telegrams, unpublished memoirs (of early British pentecostals) and other memorabilia preserved by Pentecostal churches and relatives and friends of women who ministered. The examining of each denominations’ archival material, especially of the large magazine collections in the various library archives, was necessarily a lengthy process involving two years. Sifting, analysing and evaluating the data gathered from the veterans and the above material via the process of triangulation across all the denominations and evidenced in each denomination’s chapter, was necessary in order to confirm the data about past events and thereby provide a factual account concerning women and the roles they fulfilled.<sup>55</sup> It has not been possible to provide a tabulation diagram defining the variations for example age, geographical locations throughout the era and role during 1914-1940 of the women who ministered. While some ministerial sheets for some of the women do exist no year books are

<sup>52</sup> Bebbington, *Patterns in History*, 7.

<sup>53</sup> Kay, *A History*, while applauding Gee’s notable history of early British Pentecostalism, *Wind and Flame*, decried his omission of the historical context which, he accuses creates only a partial picture for the reader, 15.

<sup>54</sup> This approach was not dissimilar from that employed by Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*. See also O. Kalu, “African Pentecostalism in Diaspora” in *PentecoStudies*, Vol.9 No.1 (2010), 9-34.

<sup>55</sup> L. Cohen, *Research Methods in Education* (London: Routledge/Falmer, 2000). See his definition of historical research, 158.

available for this period. Information about ministering women was gathered from various sources. Desmond Cartwright was a majorly significant and valuable source. He had been a pentecostal minister for decades and keenly committed to gathering pentecostal historical material throughout this time. Subsequently he possessed a wealth of knowledge and artefacts. As I state in my Acknowledgements I am indebted to him for his enthusiastic support of my research and sharing of his comprehensive pentecostal archival collection and knowledge. I am grateful for his rectifying of Ernest Boulton's incorrect and misleading claims in the latter's five pages of photograph cameos (men and women) entitled "Ministers of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance".<sup>56</sup> The total number of veterans I interviewed from the three denominations—75 women and 75 men—were other valuable sources and provided a wealth of information about women who ministered in this era. Every magazine from the collections of each denomination's periodicals was scrutinised for any mention of a woman ministering and the information was recorded. Wider reading on early British pentecostalism was undertaken which included various biographies, autobiographies, numerous anniversary celebratory booklets and digitalised collections of *Confidence*, *Flames of Fire* and *Canty's Chronicles*<sup>57</sup>. Cartwright's extensive personal archival collection has been organised/categorised and resides in the Archival Centre, Malvern which bears his name and the sources can now be accessed there.

### **1.5.2 Ethical Considerations**

Research involving any degree of personal interaction with interviewees required that serious consideration be given to ethical implications.<sup>58</sup>

Mertens provides useful guidance to planning ethically responsible research.<sup>59</sup> This informed the following ethical action:

<sup>56</sup> Boulton, E. *George Jeffreys A Ministry of the Miraculous* (London: Elim Publishing Office, 1928), pages between p.344 and 346 of text. See discussion in footnote 428 p.106.

<sup>57</sup> See the informatory first footnote in each denomination's chapter.

<sup>58</sup> Robson, *Real World Research*, 67.

<sup>59</sup> D. Mertens, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* (London: Sage, 1998), 23.

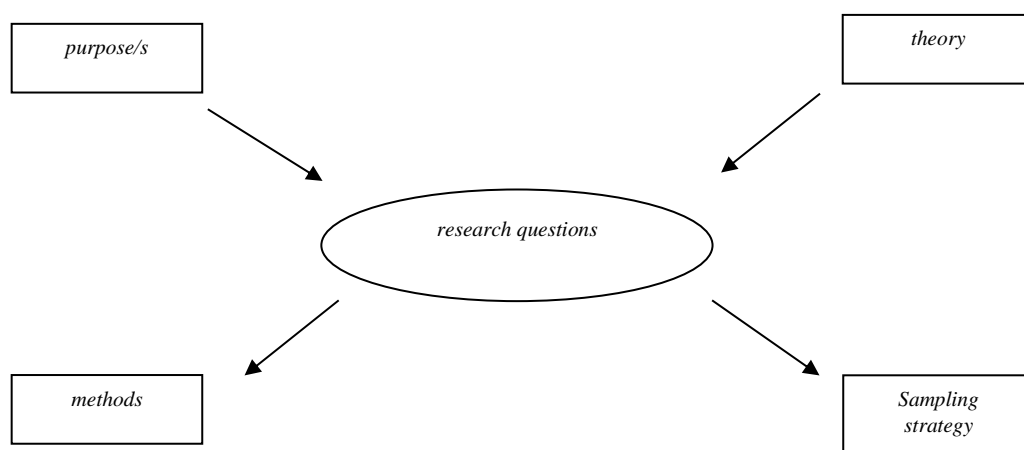
1. I introduced myself and my proposed research to the headquarters of each denomination by telephone and carefully explained the two parts of the questionnaire.<sup>60</sup> The headquarters' staff shared that each minister would be informed of the research via the internal mail with the understanding that contact with any interested veterans would be via their local ministers. This was in order to maintain ethical integrity with these elderly and thus vulnerable people.
2. When the relevant headquarters were able to authorise the research, they released year books in order that current and retired ministers could be contacted directly.
3. I contacted the ministers by telephone. Those ministers who were able to assist the research by providing contacts, were given assurance that the veterans' contact details would never be divulged, and that responses would be confidential.
4. A visit was planned with the help of the minister and invariably also his/her family or friends. I never removed any photographs or memorabilia. To ensure as little upheaval and inconvenience as possible I stipulated that the visit would take no longer than an hour.
5. The interviewees were told that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time. The questionnaire was left with the interviewee to post on to me and they were reimbursed for the postage. I gave a small box of chocolates to the veteran and a thank-you card on receipt of the questionnaire.
6. Consent was always sought from the veteran for the conversation to be taped. A tape recorder was kept by the telephone constantly for the times a veteran telephoned with freshly remembered information.
7. The veterans were treated with kindness, patience and respect. It was ethically important that they were clear about and happy with the aims of the research, and knew how their contributions would be used which would be via the PhD thesis. Allowances were made for difficulties such as hardness of hearing, needing time to remember, and then to talk and share.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The Appendices are labelled in alphabetical order. See Appendix Ai & Aii, pp 346 & 351, "The Roles of Women in Ministry" Interview Survey Questionnaire.

<sup>61</sup> For practical guidance concerning ethical considerations see D. Smilde, *Reason to Believe: Cultural Agency in Latin American Evangelicalism* (Berkley: University of California Press,

### 1.5`3 Research Design

I adopted Robson's framework for the research design because of its effectiveness as a prompt to keep in mind all the various aspects when executing this research project.



**Figure 1.1 Framework for research<sup>62</sup>**

Radiating out from the central *research question* of the project, which was discussed in 1.1, are the *purpose/s*, also discussed in 1.1. The purposes of the research were to discover the roles fulfilled by women in early British Pentecostalism and as a result to alter the historical narrative. The *theory* underpinning this research project was the conviction that women in early British Pentecostalism could have had a much more influential role than has been ascribed to them by historians hitherto. This theory was introduced in 1.2 where steps leading from the theory and guiding the research were set out in order that the gathered data would link conceptually to the theory. The *methods*, the specific techniques employed to gather data, were

2007), 229. See also G. Verma, & K. Mallick, *Researching Education: Perspectives and Techniques* (London: Falmer Press, 1999), 146.

<sup>62</sup> Robson, *Real World Research*, 82.

introduced in 1.1 and are discussed below. The *sampling strategy* that centred around the veterans was introduced in 1.4.1 and is discussed below.<sup>63</sup>

#### 1.5.4 Research Tools

Researchers, when attempting to locate answers, have been compared to “detectives making enquiries.”<sup>64</sup> The *interview survey questionnaire* is an ideal tool to use when asking questions, and the *documentary analysis tool* is ideal when looking for “finger prints” in the tracking down of information concerning the official and unofficial ministry roles women fulfilled.

I gave careful thought to the statement by Clough and Nutbrown, “Methodology requires researchers to *justify* their *particular* research decisions, from the outset to the conclusion of their enquiry”.<sup>65</sup> The rationale underpinning my methodological argument for gathering evidence in the past by interview is grounded in the belief that the mixed methods approach employing quantitative and qualitative methods is capable of providing accurate answers to all my research questions concerning the roles women fulfilled in early British Pentecostalism. Also a further belief is that employing more than one method of a paradigm would provide me with a fuller picture of the roles women fulfilled in early British pentecostalism than a single method. The manner in which I formulated each of the two areas I was exploring—the official ministry roles the veterans could recall women in their denomination fulfilling and other roles the veterans could recall women fulfilling—would determine which of the qualitative/quantitative methods would be the most appropriate to use. I subscribe to Ranjit Kumar’s comment that “The mixed methods approach is based upon the belief that, in certain situations, use of methods from both paradigms will certainly enhance the accuracy and reliability”.<sup>66</sup> In my situation data about the women’s ministry roles using the quantitative method would not fully provide answers about the roles women fulfilled in other areas. By

<sup>63</sup> See K. Howell, *The Philosophy of Methodology* (London: SAGE, 2013), especially her discussion of action research which encompasses research with people Chapter Five.

<sup>64</sup> Robson, *Real World Research*, 223.

<sup>65</sup> Clough, P. & C. Brown *A Student’s Guide to Methodology Justifying Enquiry* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2012), 21.

<sup>66</sup> Kumar, R. *Research Methodology* (London: SAGE, 2019), 27.



also employing the qualitative data gathering method a complete picture of the other roles women fulfilled in this early era would be possible. As Creswell and Clark maintain “research problems suited for mixed methods are those in which one data source may be insufficient...a second method is needed to enhance a primary method.”<sup>67</sup> The long-waged quantitative/qualitative debate, with opposing sides uncompromisingly defending their method, is beginning to be seen as unproductive.<sup>68</sup> The test is not which method is preferable to use but whether or not it is feasible to carry out worthwhile studies using quantitative and qualitative approaches side by side. A full evaluation of the data is not achievable by the exclusive use of either methodology.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, it is necessary to select and use the most valuable features of both methods. The problem then becomes one of determining *at which point* either one should be adopted. Appreciative that features from both approaches could serve the needs of the study, I chose to apply a mixed, pragmatic model to gather data, using the interview survey questionnaire with facility for multiple-choice and open-ended questioning and also the case study and document analysis research tools.

#### **1.5.4.1 Interview Survey Questionnaire**

Choosing to use the interview survey questionnaire to extract data efficiently from the veterans who were “there at the time” and could recall the ministry roles women fulfilled in each of the three denominations would, when processed, assist in answering the research question. This was an obvious choice, given its central features, “The systematic collection of data in a standardised form from an identifiable population or representative sample”.<sup>70</sup> The fact that

<sup>67</sup> Creswell, J. & V. Clark *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011), 8.

<sup>68</sup> See A.Tashakkori, & C.Teddlie, *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998), 3-11. See also their illustrated discussion of studies where these two methods have complemented each other in worked examples, 137-70.

<sup>69</sup> See also H. Harden & J. Thomas, “Methodological Issues in Combining Diverse Study Types in Systematic Reviews”, in *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8 83, (2005), 257-271. The subject of method integration is a topic which continues to be debated.

<sup>70</sup> P. Lacey, (ed.), *Distance Education: Practitioner Inquiry in Education* (School of Education, The University of Birmingham, 2002), 13. See also Robson’s discussion of “Sampling in Surveys” and the external validity or generalizability of the findings, *Real World Research*, 260-263.

“questionnaires do not emerge fully-fledged: they need to be created and...developed” involved a certain amount of piloting and trialling in order that problematic areas could be uncovered and corrected.<sup>71</sup> Pre-testing was undertaken with local church groups. Memories about women in early British pentecostalism are fading fast with the passing of each veteran. It was important, therefore, to choose the interview data-gathering tool that would effectively allow for maximum opportunity for the relating of memories recalled by the veterans concerning women they had witnessed ministering in the early era. It was divided into two parts, with the aim of gathering information regarding women’s ministry in official–leadership roles and unofficial–non–leadership roles. The questionnaire was short and simple, using no more than thirty items, starting with factual questions, using multiple-choice questions in part one of the questionnaire, and using open-ended questioning in part two of the questionnaire.<sup>72</sup>

Initially, the tendency was for respondents to read through the questionnaire and latch on to the open-ended question in part two. They spent a disproportionate amount of time and effort reminiscing, to the detriment of the perhaps less attractive, though equally important, multi-choice questions in part one. The decision was made to steer the respondents towards answering the multi-choice questions by removing part two which was given out on the completion of part one. Questions in part one related specifically to Water Baptism, Marriage, Funerals and Holy Communion official leadership ministry roles querying whether women functioned in them and if so to what extent. Tables and a sample from the collection of charts are included in each of the three denominational chapters. “Unofficial leadership and non–leadership ministry” is a broad spectrum and covered all the other ministry roles women played in early British Pentecostalism. Part two consisted of one question which asked veterans to state other activities they could remember women undertaking and related specifically to the non–leadership, unofficial ministry roles.<sup>73</sup> The Standard Scheme model of eight areas which the

<sup>71</sup> A. Oppenheim, *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement* (London: Pinter, 1992), 47.

<sup>72</sup> The questionnaire was based on the work of R. Czaja and J. Blair, *Designing Surveys: A Guide to Decisions and Procedures* (California: Pine Lodge, 1996), 53.

<sup>73</sup> The term non-leadership ministry is used in preference to lay-leadership, lay-ministry or non-ordained ministry as these terms are somewhat anachronistic. In the early days all leadership was non-ordained and therefore was lay-ministry/lay-leadership. Pentecostals regarded all their work done for God official leadership or non-leadership as ministry in its broadest sense.

Apostolic Church promoted as acceptable for Apostolic women to function in, (and currently still do), was adopted for categorizing each denomination's responses to this open-ended question.<sup>74</sup> The respondents' answers together with other primary and secondary resource material, established unequivocally, the ministry role/s women fulfilled and the part they played in this early era.

In part one of the questionnaire respondents were asked if they could remember women taking part in an assisting or leadership role in the four "official" services. They were then asked to record their answers by choosing from four value-laden options: "often"—1, "sometimes"—2, "rarely"—3, or "never"—4; by placing a tick in a box next to the items of ministry connected to that particular service. The responses were fed into a database programme to create block and pie charts. There was no space to develop this collection of quantitative data within the scope of this thesis beyond letting the charts show at a glance, the extent to which women fulfilled leadership roles in each of the four official areas of ministry.<sup>75</sup> Essentially, the charts reflect the different policies stipulated by each of the three denominations concerning women and the ministry roles they were permitted to engage in.<sup>76</sup>

Having completed part one of the questionnaire the second part was administered to provide an open-ended opportunity to gather qualitative data concerning veterans' personal recollections about other activities they could remember women undertaking in early British Pentecostalism. Though disciplined, qualitative data relies less on scales and scores—this "open-ended" method is perfect for gathering this type of data.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> The AC's model was adopted involving eight areas it promotes for their women to minister in. See *The Apostolic Church Standard Scheme For The Women's Movement*, pamphlet (Bradford: The Puritan Press Ltd., 1937), 5.

<sup>75</sup> P. Lacey, Module Code 1107916, PIE Unit 4, Birmingham University, 2002, 14.

<sup>76</sup> See Verma and Mallick, *Researching Education*, who explain that the aim of quantitative research is to gather data that when counted or measured can be compared to other data by the use of statistical procedures, 36.

<sup>77</sup> See Verma and Mallick, *Researching Education* who explain that the aim of qualitative research is to collect the experiences and opinions of people researching an issue or difficulty, 37. It also allows for meaningful explanations of their social activity. See also P. Maykut and R. Morehouse, *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophical and Practical Guide* (London: Falmer Press, 1994), 1-16.

These responses are organised thematically into the following qualitative categories: 1.Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral, 2.Prayer/SpiritualGifts, 3.Visitation, 4.Open-Air/Evangelism/ChurchPlanting, 5.Literary/Musical, 6.Practical, 7.Refreshments and 8.General Assistance.

The interview survey questionnaire was completed in an interview arranged between myself and the veteran's church minister. A questionnaire was left with each interviewee to be posted to myself later. This provided further opportunity for the respondent to withdraw should they wish to and to be given time to make any additions or amendments.

The quantitative and qualitative data is presented and analysed within each denomination's particular chapter and further analysed and discussed in Chapter Seven.

#### **1.5.4.2 Case Studies**

Robert Yin defined the case study research method as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context.”<sup>78</sup> “In case study, the *case* is the situation, individual, group, organisation or whatever it is that we are interested in” as emphasised by Robson.<sup>79</sup> These defining characteristics of this research method made a compelling argument for me to adopt the case study, while aware that not all researchers hold the same positive commitment.<sup>80</sup> Using this research tool practically involves examining the history, governance, policies regarding women and ministry and procedures of the three denominations from which I am then able to compile illustrative vignettes. Thus by using this case study tool several studies of real-life situations, issues and problems relative to women who ministered in leadership roles within Pentecostalism's formative years in this country were carefully planned and crafted. The ability of the case study to become an effective vehicle in

<sup>78</sup> R. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (California: Sage, 1994), 23.

<sup>79</sup> Robson, *Real World Research*, 177. Robson's guidance on how to carry out *rigorous* case studies, 177-185, informed this research. The case study plan on page 184 is particularly incisive and directional.

<sup>80</sup> See “The Case Study as a Research Method, Uses and Users of Information–LIS 391D.1–” <https://www.academia.edu/19516262/m> . Accessed 02.02.2008. Positive and negative views held by researchers concerning the case study is discussed and a synthesis of the work of R. Stake, H. Simons & R. Yin is introduced with a suggested six-stepped proposal of techniques for organising and conducting case research study.

providing understanding of this complex issue within the real-life context make it a particularly attractive research tool to be adopted for this study. Another feature of the case study is its concern with detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and the relationships between them. Using the case study tool, it is possible to find the answer to the question; “*How* did women fulfil their ministry and calling in early British Pentecostalism?” The answer to this then begs the second question; “*Why* did the women fulfil their ministry and calling in this manner in early British Pentecostalism?”

#### **1.5.4.3 Documentary Analysis**

Robson defined content analysis as, “codified common sense, a refinement of ways that might be used by laypersons to describe and explain aspects of the world around them.”<sup>81</sup> Thomas Carney stipulated that content analysis cannot be used in the hope that a “bright idea” will emerge. “Content analysis gets answers to the question to which it is applied”.<sup>82</sup> This involved me examining a variety of primary and secondary sources including; books, diaries, letters, the extensive magazine collections of each of the three denominations of early British Pentecostalism from their first publications up to 1940, magazines, minutes and pamphlets. Other types of records see 1.4 above are also analysed for their content. The vignette study of Miss D. Flower in the Elim chapter is a notable example where I carry out extensive content analysis.<sup>83</sup> This is the method adopted as other collections of documents are approached. Documents studied relating to Aimee Semple McPherson include biographical, autobiographical, newspaper articles and other written and photographic material in the wider domain. An article that was written at the time of McPherson’s visit in 1928 to Britain and hitherto not seen in the public domain, is also studied.

### **1.6 Sampling Strategy.**

In order to balance the need to be selective with the need to collect the data, I made a sampling plan when preparing the survey. I took the decision to halt the size of the sampling cohort from each denominational *population* when reliably completed questionnaires from twenty-five women and twenty-five men had been collected from each of the three Pentecostal

<sup>81</sup> Robson, *Real World Research*, 352.

<sup>82</sup> T. Carney, *Content Analysis* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1973), 284.

<sup>83</sup> See Chapter Four 4.8 of this study.

denominations. Robson's conviction that "a full census is not necessarily superior to a well-thought-out sample survey" convinced me that this strategy would allow a survey to be efficiently executed while ensuring a manageable size.<sup>84</sup>

An important aspect is that I relied necessarily on the pastors/ministers of the denominations—the significant gatekeepers.<sup>85</sup> Some ministers were new to their post and were either unwilling to enlist for the survey because they did not know the veterans well enough or could not accommodate the project. Other ministers did not have any veterans in their churches or if they did, were unwilling to take part in the survey. This incurred a considerable amount of unproductive activity with me contacting far in excess of fifty ministers in each denomination until the agreed cohort number was reached.

An important decision was made to ensure that ten very elderly veterans were enlisted who were able to recall women ministering in the era in Elim prior to when Jeffreys issued his curtailing edict in 1928, to be discussed in Chapter Four. I anticipated that this data when viewed and analysed alongside the data gathered from the remaining forty in Elim's cohort sample would illustrate the effect of this curtailment.

The people involved in the survey are necessarily elderly, some of whom were resident in care and nursing homes or living with their families. Setting the times and venues for the interviews to take place was primarily through the local minister and respondent. No part of the procedure was rushed and it was made very clear that the minister and I were happy for the respondent to withdraw at any time, should they wish to do so. The interviews sometimes were administered with several respondents from either one large church or several in a district, meeting together.<sup>86</sup> The significance for the veterans of what they were contributing to was substantial. By providing valuable data which could not be gathered in any other way, (and it was likely also that no further opportunity for the gathering of this data would present itself), their contributions would be crucial. Information about the roles women fulfilled in the early days of each denomination would be on record for current and future generations.

<sup>84</sup> Robson, "Sampling in Surveys", *Real World Research*, 260.

<sup>85</sup> Other gatekeepers included carers, care home managers, friends and family members.

<sup>86</sup> It was not an uncommon occurrence to have several respondents gathered in a party-like atmosphere, in the church hall for the completing of the questionnaires.

## 1.7 Overview

This chapter has introduced the research that was the result of a quest to discover the roles women fulfilled in early British Pentecostalism and specifically within its three largest denominations before this information becomes lost. The hypothesis of the study was set out highlighting the main areas it was investigating. Ethical considerations explained safeguards which were meticulously observed throughout the data collection process. A mixed, pragmatic model was chosen to draw out and gather data using the interview survey questionnaire (with facility for multiple-choice and open-ended questioning), the case study (with illustrative vignettes) and document analysis tools. The study took account of the women and their respective denomination's common history revealing where their own momentum took them along unique paths. The vignettes from each of the three denomination case studies of women who ministered were warranted in that very little has been written about them. As stated earlier I claim that these women are omitted from the wider historical narrative and that the corpus of pentecostal histories are male centred and have either marginalised or in some cases rendered women invisible. It was also necessary to include vignettes of women who paved the way for early British pentecostal ministering women as they provide reasons why the latter women felt they could and should minister.

The prevailing social, political, economic and cultural aspects of the wider society are discussed in Chapter Two thereby anchoring the study within its historical and social context. Here (and in Chapter Three) is where the theoretical framework forming the basis for what follows in the rest of the study, is introduced and discussed. Adding to the overriding theme of the study subordinate themes drawn from the historical, social, cultural and political context of the era ( and in Chapter Three, in the Church) are identified and discussed. This study could not have been undertaken purely as an historical "objective" study within the confines of early British pentecostalism because "the writing of...historiography has to make use of certain theories and methods to be scholarly", and therefore the accompanying historical context.<sup>87</sup> The fact that feminism was a major trend in the twentieth century, as this chapter demonstrates, warrants the inclusion of this movement for women's rights in the debate. It was during the

<sup>87</sup> Anderson, *Research Methods In Theology*, 1.

first wave of feminism that early British pentecostalism emerged and therefore this “wave” is discussed in this chapter.

The period during which denominational pentecostalism was formed is discussed in Chapter Three. A critique of the hermeneutic against women’s participation in ministry is presented. This chapter also focuses on theological issues taking place in society at that time and crucially on those women whose ministries helped to lay the foundations of early British pentecostalism.

The ministry roles fulfilled by women in the Elim Church in early British pentecostalism is the major focus of Chapter Four. George Jeffreys, the movement he formed and centrally governed, is presented and reveals that, thirteen years after Elim commenced, he recalibrated his viewpoint on women and ministry roles. This resulted in him dictating that women could no longer minister as officially as the men did. Women’s ministry roles were further impacted when women became barred from training at the Elim Bible College. From that time in this era women, with a call to minister, struggled. The inclusion of the vignette of Dorothy Flower effectively illustrates this. In order to establish the part McPherson played in early British pentecostalism and the extent of any significance she wielded on it, various archival sources are examined. My personal collection of papers contains an article, written by an Elim student who was involved in McPherson’s visit to Britain and this is drawn upon.

The ministry roles fulfilled by women in the AC is the focus of Chapter Five. Its AFC parentage and defining Apostolic and Prophetic ministry roles are also discussed. Women ministering as freely as the men had been a feature in the early days of the parent church led by William Hutchinson. Kent White influenced this centrally governed church imposing restrictions on women’s ministry roles which continued with Robert Jardine reasserting these impositions in the break-away church led by Daniel Williams in 1916. Women’s ministry roles became fully subordinated when Williams further restricted women’s prophetic role.

The ministry roles fulfilled by women in the AoG is the focus of Chapter Six. The amalgamation of the Pentecostal Missionary Union with the infant AoG ensured the featuring of a strong missionary ethos in the burgeoning denomination. Britain was thus regarded as any other mission field abroad with women as free to minister officially as the men were. Autonomous, local government in this loosely affiliated denomination, ensured that no one had



authority to impose any curtailing influence on the operating of egalitarian ministry and women ministered uninhibited from the beginning.<sup>88</sup>

In the final Chapter Seven the conclusion, analysis and discussion of the research and hypothesis of the study explaining the reasons and determining factors concerning women and their ministry roles in the three largest early British Pentecostal denominations takes place. This is where the “So What”? question and the implications of this study indicate what this research will achieve for pentecostalism in this country and abroad as well as its contribution to women’s studies.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

Crucially, this introductory chapter presents why this research was undertaken. It provides the outline—the blueprint—as to how it was carried out, the people it involved, where they were located and other details and the timescale involved.

<sup>88</sup> The influence of the emergence of the “cult of domesticity” in the changing social post-war climate in society posed a degree of inhibition which the AoG women were able to navigate successfully, as this chapter illustrates.

## **CHAPTER TWO: The Historical and Social Context for British Women in the Early Twentieth Century**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In the following chapter I deal with the contextual situation in society in the early twentieth century. I illustrate how women were treated in society in this era, what their conditions were and how society saw them. This was the time when women, certainly at the beginning of the period, did not have the vote and that there were all sorts of disadvantages they had to face. In working out a theoretical framework for my study I had to decide from the social and historical aspects taking place in this era and immediately prior to it, what the themes coming out were, such themes as, What were the rights of women that were being demanded? This chapter discusses these various themes to achieve a more nuanced approach. This chapter highlights the centuries-old dismissive handling of women and the muting of their voices by a patriarchal society. Its primary theme is the disadvantages women in this era were experiencing and the effort expended and struggles encountered to address them. The chapter concerns the plight of women in the 19th and early 20th centuries which is discussed in more detail through introducing secondary themes.

The first of these secondary themes discusses the fact that writers of history generally have obscured women from their narratives. Both Sue Bruley and Jane Purvis drew attention to the fact that women in society generally were equally relegated to the periphery, or even obscurity, by the male-centred major historical treatises.<sup>89</sup> Virginia Woolf lamented in 1929:

The history of England is the history of the male line, not of the female. Of our fathers we know always some fact, some distinction. They were soldiers or they were sailors; they filled that office or they made that law. But of our mothers, our grandmothers, our great-grandmothers, what remains? We know nothing of their marriages and the number of children they bore.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> S. Bruley, *Women in Britain since 1900* (New York: Palgrave, 1999) & J. Purvis, *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945* (Abingdon; Routledge, 1995).

<sup>90</sup> V. Woolf, "Women and fiction," in V. Woolf, *Collected Essays*, Vol. 2 (London: Hogarth Press, 1966), 141.

The 19th century professionalization of historiography focuses merely on the lives of “women worthies” and renowned women in politics or religion as the following examples illustrate. This was in the belief that all women could emulate them given the opportunity and education.<sup>91</sup> Clara Balfour, the notable temperance lecturer and writer discusses such women as the astronomer Caroline Herschel, the scientist Mary Somerville, the authoress Amelia Opie, the hymn-writer Charlotte Elliott among other—“worthies”. Referring to Sarah Martin the prison visitor, Balfour petitions that “All workers in the Lord’s vineyard can emulate her self-sacrifice, her diligence, her faith, her love, and thus live blessing and blessed”.<sup>92</sup> William Adams also wrote profusely in the 19th century. His claim is that his collection brings together “a group of Celebrated Women, who might fairly be considered representative of the higher qualities of Womanhood—such qualities as patriotism, religious enthusiasm, fidelity, moral courage, fortitude, devotion and the capacity of governing.”<sup>93</sup>

Gerda Lerner maintains that women’s marginalisation in the process of history-making is responsible for restricting women unnecessarily “from developing a consciousness of their collectivity in sisterhood, not motherhood” and that history records only a minority of “women emerged from obscurity... the mass lived out their anonymous existence, prisoners of a universe that was dominated by man.”<sup>94</sup>

Feminism is a heterogeneous concept and I am cognisant that the treatment of feminism both here and elsewhere in this study is necessarily brief, selective and located predominantly in Britain. The evidence of the impact of the first wave of feminism and the position of women in society upon the denominations’ attitudes toward women’s ministerial roles was clearly identifiable in the recollections of the interviewees. Examples to that effect are offered later in the text.

<sup>91</sup> N. Davis, “Women’s history in Transition: the European case”, in *Feminist Studies*, 1975-1976, Vol. 3 No. 3-4, 83-103.

<sup>92</sup> C. Balfour, *Working women of the last half century* (London: W.& F. Cash, 1854), 100.

<sup>93</sup> W. Adams, *Some historic women, or biographical studies of women who have made history* (London: John Hogg, n.d.). See also W. Adams, *Stories of the lives of noble women* (London: Nelson & Sons, 1882).

<sup>94</sup> G. Lerner, *The creation of feminist consciousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 280-281.

## 2.2 Feminism: a brief overview

As previously stated it was during the first wave of feminism that early pentecostalism emerged in Britain and thus this “wave” features in sections 2.2 and 2.3. In derisive tone, the writer Rebecca West in 1913 declared, “I myself have never been able to find out precisely what feminism is. I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat or a prostitute”.<sup>95</sup> The word “feminism” first appeared in English usage in the 1890s, originating from the French word “feminisme”, in connection with the campaign for equal political and legal rights for women.<sup>96</sup> A feminist advocates women’s rights and parity. In speaking out for themselves and their gender, in a resolve to improve the standing of women, feminists present a challenge to the status quo thereby constituting both an ideology and a reform movement. It is a term encompassing a constellation of ideas, groups and movements across the world denoting a broad social, cultural and political spectrum focusing on gender equalities and equal rights for women. It incorporates the belief that in comparison with men, women are disadvantaged, and their oppression is unlawful and ungrounded.

Modern Western feminism is described by historians as being divided into three “waves” or time periods differing from each other, as prior progress brought about shifts in aims. Although it is commonplace to describe the three phases in these terms, there is little consensus as to how to characterise this trope for understanding and describing what seem to be breaks in feminist thought. It is important to be aware of continuities and new developments operating between these three highpoints.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> R. West, “Mr Chesterton in Hysterics A Study in Prejudice”, in *The Clarion* 14 November 1913.

<sup>96</sup> T. Honderich, *The Oxford companion to philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 292 & bell hooks, *Feminism is for Everybody; Passionate Politics* (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2000). See also J. Lewis “Definition of Feminism”, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991), 1.

<sup>97</sup> D. Llewellyn, *Reading, Feminism and Spirituality: Troubling the Waves: Breaking Feminist Waves* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

### 2.2.1 First Wave feminism

First wave feminism began to surface in Britain in the mid-19th century as the first concerted movement with the aim of reforming women's social and legal disparities, and concluded with the achievement in 1928 of universal female suffrage.

Mary Wollstonecraft, in the late 18th century, played a seminal role starting the first wave of feminism in Britain although it was not until the 1850s, decades later, and still within this first wave of feminism that an organised feminist movement commenced, led by Barbara Smith.<sup>98</sup> Wollstonecraft had already argued the cause of suffering women, championing the feminist causes of putting an end to injustice and discrimination. Although supporting equality between men and women, where the issue of morality was concerned, she did not specifically state that the sexes are equal as the later, modern feminists would do. Nevertheless, her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Purvis maintains "is usually regarded as the founding text of Anglo-American feminism."<sup>99</sup> Feminists often cite both Wollstonecraft's life and work as important influences, with Emily Sustain, one of her biographers, referring to her book as "perhaps the most original book of Wollstonecraft's century."<sup>100</sup> Olive Banks celebrates Wollstonecraft in bequeathing to feminism the appeal to human reason as opposed to tradition thereby becoming one of feminism's most influential propagators. Despite negative views posited against Wollstonecraft, and persisting for over a century, Millicent Fawcett positively restored her by writing the introduction to Wollstonecraft's centenary edition of *Rights of Woman* thereby decontaminating her memory and establishing her as the forerunner of the suffrage struggle.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> See M. Pugh, *State and Society A Social and Political History of Britain 1870-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27.

<sup>99</sup> M. Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (London: Phoenix, reprinted 1995, (1792) & Purvis, *Women's History*, 9. B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963) spoke of Wollstonecraft in terms of her being the avant-garde of the feminist campaign in England, 64.

<sup>100</sup> E. Sustain, *A Different Face: The Life of Mary Wollstonecraft* (New York: Harper & Row 1975), 3. G. Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006) cited eight quotations by Wollstonecraft, 63, 68, 73, 80, 89, 209, 274, 367. See also R. Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk Towards a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1980), 83.

<sup>101</sup> Wollstonecraft's husband William Godwin unwittingly, when writing about his diseased wife, revealed details about her unorthodox life-style which shocked contemporary readers and consequentially she became a reviled character. See W. Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1798, P. Clément, & G. Walker, (eds.), (Peterborough:

### 2.2.2 Organised feminism—Barbara Smith/Bodicon and “Ladies of Langham Place”

Barbara Smith, (1827-1891) and her assemblage of middle-class women, began to gather in London at 19 Langham Place.<sup>102</sup> It became the administrative offices, with the aim of discussing the uniting of voices deemed necessary to achieve reform. *The English Woman's Journal* founded and funded by Smith, provided a public stage for the dissemination of key feminist writing. The “Ladies of Langham Place,” as they became known, set about dismantling the substantial barrier of prejudice erected against seeking legal reform, in the areas of married women's struggles,<sup>103</sup> women's employment<sup>104</sup> and women's education and

Broadview Press Ltd., 2001), 521. See also S. Ledger, *New Woman Fiction and feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 37.

<sup>102</sup> Smith married Eugene Bodichon in 1857. Included in this group were Bessie Rayner Parkes, Frances Power Cobbe, Emily Davies, Elizabeth Garrett & Anna Jameson. See C. Lacey, (ed.), *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and the Langham Place Group* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987). Bessie Parkes credited the first six years of achievements responsible for making the group “one of the chief social movements of the day,” 215. See also M. Pugh, *Women and The Women's Movement in Britain, 1914-1999* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 1.

<sup>103</sup> Bessie Parkes and Anna Jameson assisted Smith to form a Married Women's Property Committee. The progress in the financial improvements for married women which ensued, was important, though limited at this stage.

<sup>104</sup> Jesse Boucherett with Adelaide Procter established the Association for Promoting the Employment of Women. Their efforts to address poor employment possibilities for women influenced others to become involved. The distinguished writer Harriet Martineau took up the cause and wrote an article, “Female Industry”, which was published in the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol.109, (1859), 294-336. It drew attention to the problems of women's employment and became an urgent issue for the Langham Circle as women, desperately in need of work, began to congregate at its offices.

training.<sup>105</sup> Smith's pamphlet, successfully debated both single and married women's contradictory limitations.<sup>106</sup>

### 2.2.3 Further female exploitation

The notorious double sexual standard was another form of female abuse successfully campaigned against by feminists during this period. In decrying this abomination, which was widely accepted in society at the time, Lucy Bland writes, "Unchastity for men was understandable and even necessary for health, but for women it was unforgiveable".<sup>107</sup> Mere suspicion of being a prostitute could incur police arrest with internal examination and confinement to hospital if signs of venereal disease were found.<sup>108</sup> Extensions to the 1864 Contagious Diseases Act were made in 1866 and 1869.<sup>109</sup> A pioneer pressure group, the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, was formed in 1869 and led by Josephine Butler. She publicised the double sexual standard, and its ruinous effect on men and women alike. Inveighing against men's sexual exploitation of women, she maintained

<sup>105</sup> See Emily Davies, *The Higher Education of Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, reprinted 2011, (1866). Crucial for the achievement of her radical pioneering work advocating that women's education should be equal to men's, was the necessary high standard of decorum to be observed by women students. Although years would have to pass before real equality with men would be reached her educational accomplishments included a women's higher educational college in 1869, which became Girton College, Cambridge and in 1873 another college; Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

<sup>106</sup> See M. Walters, *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 50.

<sup>107</sup> L. Bland, *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality* (New York: New York Press, 1995), 60. See also Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism* (Oxford: Robertson, 1981) especially her discussion of the attack by feminists on the double standard of sexual morality and their demand that men involved should be also treated as guilty, 15.

<sup>108</sup> See J. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian society. Women, class and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

<sup>109</sup> The Contagious Diseases Act made it the law for women suspected of prostitution to submit to an invasive medical examination. The alternative to agreeing to be examined was three months imprisonment, (extended to six months in the 1869 act), or hard labour. The acts did not enforce the examination of men. See Susie Steinbach, *Women in England 1760-1914 A Social History* (London: Phoenix, 2004), 138, 273-6.

that “A large section of female society has to be told off—set aside, so to speak—to minister, to the irregularities of the excusable man”.<sup>110</sup>

Feminist exposure of another form of female abuse in the 1880s was instrumental in 1,400 women taking solidarity strike action, which resulted, eventually, in the formation of the women worker’s own union. The socialist writer, Annie Besant, had brought to the public’s attention the women’s grim working conditions, which she had witnessed at the Bryant and May matchmaking factory. Notably she had also brought it to the attention of the shareholders, many of whom were clergymen. This was the turning point in the history of British feminism in the crucial years 1850-1880s.<sup>111</sup> Hitherto, the “woman question” had never been so widely debated. As a result of the groundbreaking endeavours to abolish political inequalities between the sexes and upgrade the status of women, these years, it has been claimed, have been some of the richest in debate and reform.<sup>112</sup> The developing feminist crusade for the vote during the nineteenth century, still within the first wave of feminism, gained momentum in the early decades of the twentieth. It became a significant feature in the historical, social and political context of this study and has thus been dealt with in-depth in the following two sections.<sup>113</sup> The evidence of such an impact of feminism upon the denominations and their attitudes toward women’s participation in ministry roles was clearly identifiable in the recollections of the interviewees. Examples to that effect are offered later in the text.

<sup>110</sup> J. Butler, *Social purity: an address* (London: Social Purity Alliance, 1879), 8.

<sup>111</sup> See J. Newby, Trade Unionism Among Female Factory Workers in *Women’s Lives Researching Women’s Social History* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2011), 62.

<sup>112</sup> Lacey, *Barbara Bodichon* Introduction, 1.

<sup>113</sup> The French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, arguably the most influential of twentieth century Western feminists, influenced women from numerous countries. Her seminal feminist treatise, *The Second Sex* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949) set out a detailed analysis of women’s oppression; a feminist existentialism, necessitating a moral revolution. Beauvoir asserted that existence precedes essence, therefore one is not born a woman, but becomes one. See M. Evans, “Simone de Beauvoir: Dilemmas of a Feminist Radical” in D. Spender *Feminist Theorists* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 348-365.



## 2.3 “A woman’s place” in society

This theme presents an overview of the place occupied by women in British society in the years immediately preceding early British Pentecostalism, during its emergence and denominational formation and development up to 1940.

This early era of the new century was a period of crucial social change, fuelled by a relentless sense of progress. It was a time when modern Britain was being birthed, and when British Pentecostalism was emerging. “Female England awoke” and the “feminine landscape” changed at an unprecedented rate.<sup>114</sup> This period which saw the emergence of denominational Pentecostalism also witnessed women in Britain beginning to project themselves onto the political scene. Women’s roles were in a state of flux in post-Victorian Britain within the life of the Church (see Chapter Three) and in the political, social, cultural and economic arenas in society.<sup>115</sup> It could be argued that these developments facilitated the transitions needed when, during WW1, women were obliged to take on what were traditionally regarded as “male roles.”<sup>116</sup> However, their work cannot be fully appreciated unless seen within the wider context of the changing place of women in both home and society.<sup>117</sup> Feminist activity became a dominant feature of society, especially in the pre-war years. Issues of social class, birth control, philanthropy and work were relevant to women, and will be discussed beginning at the end of the Victorian age, in order to continue building up a nuanced overall picture of “a woman’s place” in society in this era.

### 2.3.1 Women and social class

This section charts the awakening of “Female England”. Throughout the nineteenth century, the aspiration for many women, of whatever social class, was to be a wife supported by her husband. Ideally their daughters remained at home and were kept by their father until they too

<sup>114</sup> R. Hattersley, *The Edwardians* (London: Little Brown, 2004), 81. See J. Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit A Social History of Britain* (London: Clarendon Press, 1993); J. Gardiner, *Women’s Voices 1880-1918: The New Woman* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993) & K. Beckson, *London in the 1890s: A Cultural History* (New York: W. Norton, 1993).

<sup>115</sup> See Chapter Three of this study.

<sup>116</sup> See Appendix C “A Graphic Narrative”, 353.

<sup>117</sup> See J. Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit* which surveys and debates the social, political, cultural and economic issues raised in this chapter and places them in the wider context.

married. Until well into the twentieth century the class and family circumstances into which a woman was born largely determined her fate.<sup>118</sup> Although the women of early British Pentecostalism were drawn predominantly—but not exclusively—from the working class, nonetheless, the social mores of the upper and middles classes “filtered down” to the working class.

British society during this era was divided along distinct class and gender lines. “Class distinction was not an abstract thing, but present in most houses, standing quietly in the room”.<sup>119</sup> The upper class consisted of a minute number of royals and an aristocratic elite; those people who were inheritors of land, titles and wealth. Steinbach draws attention to the fact that histories of women and gender have until recently devoted serious historical enquiry exclusively to women from the middle and working classes. She upholds the view that histories of the aristocracy have mostly neglected women. The aristocratic Peerage did not record the birth dates of girls, since girls could not affect the succession. Girls were thus viewed as irrelevant to family survival.<sup>120</sup> Inheritance rules dictated that land, titles and money were to

<sup>118</sup> J. Purvis, “Woman’s History in Britain: an Overview”, in *European Journal of Women’s History*, Vol. 2, No.1, 1985, 7-19. See J. Benson, *Affluence and Authority A Social History of 20th Century Britain* (London: Hodder Education, 2005), 193 and following discussion 195-201.

<sup>119</sup> A. Marr, *The Making of Modern Britain* (London: Macmillan, 2009), 3. See F. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: CUP, 1963), 25-26 which shows the level of income regarded as necessary to support an aristocratic lifestyle and participation in the annual London Season from May to July. See Steinbach, *Women in England*, 82.

<sup>120</sup> Historically the peerage formed a tightly knit group of powerful nobles inter-related through blood and marriage over successive generations. A peer could hold one or more titles: duke, marquis, earl, viscount or baron inherited from a direct ancestor or bestowed upon him by the monarch. The names for example of the daughters of Lord Lyttelton, (Hagley Hall, Worcestershire), Meriel, Lucy, Lavinia and May are listed dateless in *Burke’s Peerage (Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* 18th ed. Vol.2). However, the girls were essential to the family’s struggle to recover itself after the disabling impact of their mother’s untimely death. Women of this class in Britain were often managers of the family and household. As such, their work was very important, and could be demanding. For example, Meriel the eldest child of the family, had been seventeen at the time she took charge of Hagley Hall. A letter Meriel wrote to Mrs Talbot, the family friend, (17 September 1857. Talbot Papers 36, Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, Kent), reveal these burdens at times, made her lose heart, and yearn for her mother. See S. Fletcher, *Victorian Girls Lord Lyttelton’s Daughters* (London: Phoenix, 1997), Chapter 4 “Meriel”, 45-94.

be inherited by the closest male relative. The repercussions could render mothers and daughters poverty-stricken after the death of their husband or father. Only a small sum of money earmarked as a woman's marriage dowry was awarded to an unmarried woman on the death of her father.<sup>121</sup> Entry into the middle-class, which embraced a wider spectrum of people than the elite class, was determined not by the amount of money one possessed but rather on how one's money was procured.<sup>122</sup> Characteristically therefore, the roles middle-class women fulfilled varied greatly between families with income and status differing accordingly.

Prevalent ideologies concerning the place of middle-class women elevated them to that of "angels in the house".<sup>123</sup> The middle-class family home in this era had become the emotional and ethical safe haven from the ravages of society's industrialisation. The reality was that often their inheritance provided needed capital, and their genteel, polite demeanour and social interaction were vital to the success of the family business.<sup>124</sup>

The issue of social class has relevance for the early Pentecostals in Britain at this time as an article written by Peter Hocken reveals. He writes that the aristocrat Squire Cecil Polhill, like the Rev. Alexander Boddy, opened his home also for Pentecostal prayer meetings and "brought into his parlour many people who would not otherwise have entered the front door of a gentleman's house. Some like Smith Wigglesworth came as speakers".<sup>125</sup> Wigglesworth who

<sup>121</sup> S. Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Westport: Greenwood, 1996), 107.

<sup>122</sup> Mitchell, *Daily Life*, 20.

<sup>123</sup> See C. Patmore, "Angel in the house" in A. Briggs, *A Social History* (London: Book Club Associates, 1984), 132. Written for the middle-class woman it defined her role and became the stereotype of women being in the home. See also C. Brown, "Angels: Women in Discourse and Narrative 1800-1950" *The Death of Christian Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), Chapter Four.

<sup>124</sup> S. D'Cruze, "Women and the Family-Changing Fertility and Family Limitation" in J. Purvis, *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945* (London: Routledge, 2005) who maintain that middle-class ideologies of domesticity evolved to alleviate the tension between the moral imperatives of strongly evangelical Christianity and the hard-edged rationale of political economy. The dichotomy of being socially and economically dependent on men but in charge of all areas of the domestic sphere, meant women were fulfilling eminent roles as "moral arbiters" of family and home, 53-54.

<sup>125</sup> P. Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill—Pentecostal Layman", in *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (Sps) Vol.10 No.1, Fall 1988, 116-140, 122.

was an unlearned, unrefined plumber from Bradford was most definitely not in the same social class as Polhill and Boddy. That someone from the working class such as Wigglesworth and others like him, should be being welcomed into the home of someone from the upper-class, even aristocracy, was extraordinary and surprising; it was just not happening in British society in the era. This ability Polhill possessed of mixing easily with those members of lower social rank helped win Donald Gee to the Pentecostal cause. Gee described how, as a young man of twenty two he attended an all-night prayer meeting led by Polhill in a North London home and related, “We were short of red-backed *Redemption Songs* and he shared his well-worn copy with the kitchen-maid. I was not used to seeing that kind of thing and it made a deep impression”.<sup>126</sup> He perceived this to be the most reflective of “New Testament Christianity” that he had ever seen where, in that community, all people mixed freely and easily together irrespective of social standing.

### **2.3.2 Women and the birth rate/family planning**

Women’s lives began to be transformed in this era due, in no small measure, to the increased availability of birth control. Historians have attributed the fall in the birth rate, detected from the late nineteenth century, to be *the* crucially important set of events in history that liberated and revolutionised women’s lives.<sup>127</sup> For a large number of women the endurance of pregnancy and its repetition restricted their freedom more than anything else. Their lives could not improve until the size of their family was controlled.

This was the era in which the demographic began to change. The tendency towards smaller family sizes, which began in the 1860s in sections of the middle-class, had become established as the norm virtually throughout society by the time the AoG denomination had formed.<sup>128</sup> The following provides evidence which demonstrates the relevance of this section to the women in early British pentecostalism. I was invited by a retired senior Elim minister, Tom Walker, a

<sup>126</sup> D. Gee, *These Men I Knew* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1980), 74.

<sup>127</sup> See P. Thane, “The Social, Economic and Political Status of Women”, in P. Johnson, (ed.), *20th Century Britain, Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (Harlow: Longman, 1994), 94.

<sup>128</sup> See the discussion of changing fertility and family limitation in D’Cruze, “Women and the Family”, in Purvis, *Women’s History*, 55. See also D. Gittins, *The Fair Sex* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 33 & E. Wrigley & R. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: CUP, 1981), Chapter 7.

one-time General Superintendent of Elim, and his wife Ruth for a weekend visit to their home in Cheltenham to discuss the roles of women in ministry questionnaire.<sup>129</sup> One of the subjects which Ruth Walker was keen to share concerned birth control/family planning and contraception. It reveals how this subject was regarded by women in the infant Elim movement which was set against the backcloth of the feminist ethos which was causing substantial impact across society. Walker explained that in a movement which was so tightly governed by George Jeffreys and the Elim Headquarters explicit guidance on many aspects was given liberally, but sadly not in this area.<sup>130</sup> As the wife of a senior minister she had been approached by many Elim minister's wives who needed and expected to be given guidance and advice on whether they, and women in their congregations, should continue practising natural, traditional birth control or whether use of the much preferred artificial contraception which was becoming available, was permissible. The need for advice is evidence of the feminist ethos emanating across society from people like the feminist Marie Stopes who was a voiciferous and active advocate for women to take charge of their own health and exercise their rights and freedom where childbearing was concerned. Contraception was available from her clinics which growing numbers of women were attending despite the taboo which surrounded the subject of reproduction, and its prevention in society, at that time. Pentecostals were equally welcoming of this new message and developments and were also keen to avail themselves of the family planning advice and aids but were reticent without their church leaders' confirmation to do so. Walker further explained that this was also an important question that she had wanted answering herself. She lobbied the Elim General Conference for the subject to be given allocated time for discussion. Even all these years later Walker angrily declared that, "Time always ran out and no opportunity was thus possible for this subject to be raised, discussed and the hoped-for permission given to the women". She related that there were couples in Elim

<sup>129</sup> See footnote 474, 119 of this study, which refers to the taped interview between Ruth Walker and myself at her home in Cheltenham on 9 June 2005, my personal collection.

<sup>130</sup> See the Conference *Minutes*, 7 September 1936, which reveal the instructions given to Elim pastors regarding the colour scheme when furnishing their manse. The specified colour of the lino floor covering and curtains was to be fawn or brown and ministers and their wives were fully expected to comply with this dictate from Jeffreys which they were happy to do. This reflects that there was the expectation that Elim dictates were expected from the headquarters on relatively private matters such as the colour schemes for minister's houses. Ministers, and more specifically their wives also *expected* and *needed* guidance and to be granted permission to use artificial means of planning their families.

desiring to control the size of their families as other couples in society were doing and that it was unfair that they had been ignored by the Conference leaders. Had they not done so, Walker explained, unnecessary strain on couples could have been avoided. Steinbach suggested that the fact that birth control was being successfully practised at this time in society was because, “Women began controlling their fertility because they wanted to, not because they suddenly could” which certainly was applicable to women in early Pentecostalism.<sup>131</sup>

The completion of the democratic transition took place in interwar Britain, bringing to an end the high rates in its population growth.<sup>132</sup> Contraception, which had always been known about, now clearly was being practised on a massive scale. Whereas probably one married woman in six was using contraception in the nineteenth century, by the Second World War three out of four women were doing so. Dr Marie Stopes wrote profusely on this subject, enjoying enormous popularity and influence during the interwar years.<sup>133</sup> The style she introduced concentrated on extending more fully a woman’s physical and mental satisfaction, relative to marital happiness. Stopes’ work was ground-breaking in that it “did alter the climate.”<sup>134</sup> Her first publication sold 406,000 copies, with a follow-up book, *Wise Parenthood* and film, *Maisie’s Marriage*, which unsurprisingly ran into censorship difficulties.<sup>135</sup> Contraception, though discreetly handled, was a main strand in the story of the film, but was taboo in society at the time. The consensus was that the new wartime frankness created the atmosphere conducive to people needing and wanting to both read Stopes’ books and watch her work via the new innovative “moving (silent) pictures”. As this chapter establishes, in post-war society,

<sup>131</sup> Steinbach, *Women in England*, 128.

<sup>132</sup> See S. Glynn & J. Oxborrow, *Interwar Britain* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), 185 & F. Bedarida, *A Social History of England* (London: Methuen, 1991), 228.

<sup>133</sup> The vast collection of bequeathed correspondence by Stopes, following her death in 1958, to the National Library, which entailed many removal vans, many days to receive and store, bears testimony to this. See M. Pugh, *Women and the Women’s Movement i*, 255.

<sup>134</sup> A. Wilson, *After the Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2005), 266.

<sup>135</sup> M. Stopes, *Married Love—A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties* (London: Hogarth Press, 1918).

where women were being encouraged to develop a “cult of domesticity”, the small family was an essential part of this new vision.<sup>136</sup>

### 2.3.3 Women, philanthropy and work

Working for payment was virtually unacceptable for upper-class and upper-middle-class women. The main alternative was provided by voluntary work—philanthropy—the active championing of “causes”. Evidence abounds to contradict the myth that philanthropy was a superficial, undemanding, patronage of the “Lady Bountiful.”<sup>137</sup> Venturing with an almost professional commitment into disreputable and often hostile inner-city slums demanded courage and stoicism. In her study, Ruth Livesey focused on middle-class women’s involvement in philanthropy and social reform in London from 1870 to 1906.<sup>138</sup> She established how important upper-middle-class women’s philanthropic work was. Although “hidden from history”,<sup>139</sup> “These women were powerful agents of social and political change and makers of modern society”.<sup>140</sup> The philanthropist Helen Bosanquet, for example, established a system of training for social workers. At the time-scale when this study commenced approximately 500,000 women were involved in philanthropic activity.<sup>141</sup> This was significant and far-reaching for the development of the professional social services. Many

<sup>136</sup> See S. Bruley, *Women in Britain*, 70-73.

<sup>137</sup> See J. Gerrard, “Lady Bountiful: Women of the Landed Classes and Rural Philanthropy”, in *Victorian Studies* Vol.30 No.2, 183-210.

<sup>138</sup> R. Livesey, *Women, Class and Social Action in late-Victorian and Edwardian London* (PhD dissertation: University of Warwick, 1999), 2.

<sup>139</sup> This phrase is taken from the title of S. Rowbotham, *Hidden from History* (London: Pluto, 1973).

<sup>140</sup> Livesey, *Women, Class*, 2 & Livesey, *Women, Class*, 3 and the Biographical Index in the Appendix, 254-261. See also the list of dates of the foundation of twenty-four major philanthropic and charitable organisations in C. Cook, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century 1815-1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 174. See J. Lewis, *Women and Social Action*, for further late nineteenth and early twentieth century philanthropic activity and detailed accounts of those undertaking it.

<sup>141</sup> F. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 10. See Steinbach, *Women in England*, 147.

women combined evangelism with their philanthropy in an endeavour to save the beneficiaries' souls also.

Philanthropic work was unpaid, but from the mid-19th century major changes began to take place as opportunities and attitudes began to alter significantly.<sup>142</sup> The momentum of philanthropy continued up to WW1 and beyond, with remuneration being paid for some philanthropic work from that time. The Prudential Assurance Company was one of the first large firms to employ women, mainly from the middle-class. The low pay made the work appear ladylike because it was insufficient to support dependents. The firm made the women's work place comfortable by restricting their interaction with lower-class people, and providing a library, concerts and a piano for them.<sup>143</sup>

The discussion of philanthropy is relevant to early British Pentecostalism. Incidents are included relating how crucially philanthropy was viewed and administered, for example, by the Apostolic Pentecostals. In 1912 William Hutchinson, the leader of the AFC in Bournemouth, declared that, as a direct result of prophecy, members were to bring a tithe—a tenth—of their income into the church to be allotted to those ministering in the assembly.<sup>144</sup> Daniel Williams disagreed, maintaining that those with a priority claim from the tithe should be the poor and suffering with church officers to be responsible for deciding who should be given aid and then for its distribution. An example of philanthropy operating from this time in 1912 was recalled twenty five years later in 1937 by Williams at the Penygroes International Convention. He reminded how the serious economic difficulties at the time, were inflicting substantial hardship and poverty throughout Wales. Prophecy had guided Williams to forgo conducting open-air gospel meetings. In obedience to a prophetic command, "Bring your bills to the table. Owe no man anything" he invited local believers who were in debt to do so. He reported that, "Out of the storehouse the debts were paid. All was clear and now we were commanded into the open-air to witness for Him seeing we had now dealt honourably with our

<sup>142</sup> Steinbach, *Women*, 63.

<sup>143</sup> E. Jordan, "The Lady Clerks at the Prudential: The Beginnings of Vertical Segregation by Sex in Clerical Work in Nineteenth Century Britain", in *Gender and History* Vol.8 No.1 (April 1996), 66.

<sup>144</sup> See K. White, *The Word of God Coming Again* (Bournemouth: Apostolic Faith Church, 1919), 49-62.



neighbours”.<sup>145</sup> Williams recalled how one of his church members as she paid her creditor her debt, had joyfully announced; “Now I can shout Hallelujah on your doorstep and I am not ashamed to go to the open-air”.<sup>146</sup>

The failed coal miners’ national strike in Wales in 1921 resulted in economic depression across the country with widespread accompanying hardship and misery.<sup>147</sup> The fact that by 1934 eighty per cent of children in Monmouthshire were exhibiting physical deprivation indicates how appalling the conditions and suffering were.<sup>148</sup> Philanthropy shown by evangelical churches throughout Wales was a “spiritual reaction” to the economic upheavals in society in the 1920s.<sup>149</sup> The AC in Wales neither was “living in a vacuum” but was also fully aware of the enormity of the destitution around them. Williams directed that the Poor Fund he had established in the AC at Penygroes, was to also become established in ACs throughout the denomination. This act of philanthropy utilised 1% of the tithes received into each AC church and was used to help alleviate suffering in its locality.<sup>150</sup>

The effect of middle-class women’s professional roles was to challenge and reinforce gender roles. The whole ethos of respectability somehow being compatible with the better off middle-class woman required a huge readjustment. This was aided by the fact that their paid work and earlier philanthropic work closely matched. As Steinbach observes, “The work was thus

<sup>145</sup> *Riches of Grace*, Penygroes Convention Report, September 1937, Vol.13 No.1, 2.

<sup>146</sup> *Riches*, Convention Report, September 1937, 2.

<sup>147</sup> See K. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980) who relates that two hundred and forty-one mines were closed in 1921 plunging Wales further into an economic abyss, 262.

<sup>148</sup> Morgan, *British Politics 1868-1922*, 261.

<sup>149</sup> J. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain* (Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), 212.

<sup>150</sup> *Riches of Grace*, “Concerning the Deduction from the Tithe of a Portion for the Poor”, Vol.4 No.1-5, 1928-1929. In issue No.3, January 1929, Williams is reminding his readers of the word God has spoken, through prophecy, on this subject of tithing and philanthropy exhorting them to rejoice, because they had played a part in helping the poor. In issue No.4, March 1929, Williams was addressing some people’s misgivings concerning helping the wife of a husband wasting his wages. His commitment to the poor is clear when he reasons by asking whether he has ever been seen allowing someone to go hungry because of someone else. He claims that God had told him to encourage his congregation to become involved in this plan for the needy.

feminine, moral, domestically oriented and often religiously inspired; it involved caring for and superintending women, children and the sick and overseeing the lives of the poor...without erasing class and racial boundaries".<sup>151</sup> To many philanthropists, such as Louisa Twining, this was merely the outworking of the essence of women's work and roles. Importantly this working arrangement was successful both for the employer and employed, as both men and women comfortably accepted it. Steinbach regarded this as having had nothing to do with "logic", because had it been it would have occurred long ago. The key agents of change were the campaigning feminists.<sup>152</sup> By highlighting public awareness of the fact that women could do a wide variety of different types of work, they opened up the opportunities for women to prove themselves.

The upper working class comprised people in skilled employment often requiring decision-making abilities. Women in this class were employed in professions such as teaching and bookkeeping, and held posts of responsibility in shops. Within this group were women who once occupied the upper class, but poverty, possibly through the death of a father, had caused their demise. Now they had to earn their own keep, and many found their only options were to become either a dressmaker, governess or a missionary.<sup>153</sup> Phillip Allingham's deploring that governesses were often everyone's scapegoat, from the master of the house to the house maid, illustrates the fact that the life of the governess could be far from easy, especially for those women needing to support themselves for the first time.<sup>154</sup> The lower working class comprised

<sup>151</sup> Steinbach, *Women in England*, 64. See T. Deane, "Late Nineteenth-Century Philanthropy: The Case of Louisa Twining" in A. Digby, & J. Stewart, (eds.), *Gender, Health and Welfare* (London: Routledge, 1996), 122-42.

<sup>152</sup> See E. Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment* (London: Routledge, 1999) for details of the efforts and achievements by the feminists of the Langham Place circle and its affiliated Society for the Promotion of the Employment of Women (SPEW) whose efforts were successful in persuading some employers to hire women, 168. See also section 2.2.2, Organised feminism, 30 above.

<sup>153</sup> See A. Anderson, *Spreading Fires* (London: SCM Press, 2007) for examples of British missionaries to China; Ethel Cook and Fanny Jenner, 127-128.

<sup>154</sup> Dorothy Wright was taught by governesses and claimed that she had had many presumably having given them a tough time being more interested in having a life of leisure and amusement than lessons, in P. Allingham "The Figure of the Governess", based on R. Pearsall's *Night's Black Angels. The Victorian Web.* <http://massae490.weebly.com/victorian-criticism-continued.html> Accessed on 08.09.2012.

desperately poor single women of the era. After being deemed able-bodied under the *New Poor Act*, their lot had been relegated to working with lower-working-class men in employment, which demanded taxing physical labour such as factory jobs and domestic service.<sup>155</sup> Of these two categories, domestic service, though not without its hardships, was the least demanding of energy. Domestic service was less sociable than factory work and hours were longer, albeit the work was less demoralising and monotonous. Hannah Cullwick's "maid-of-all-work" endured an unrelenting and physically demanding day, which often lasted from early morning till eleven at night.<sup>156</sup> Purvis relates that the model of servants and tenants as dependents of a landed upper-class estate transferred into the familial model of authority and subordination in the middle-classes. By the late nineteenth century domestic service had become the largest single occupation for women. Employing a servant was a mark of middle-class status, thus the majority of servants in late nineteenth century were employed by the burgeoning middle-class.<sup>157</sup> Hannah Mitchell's autobiography describes the last quarter of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries through the lens of a lower-working-class woman.<sup>158</sup> She experienced desperate poverty for many years of her life. The value of this document, for any women's studies, is that it retrieves women's working class experiences, which "have been submerged almost as effectively as (Mitchell's) own village which now lies under a lake in the Derwent valley."<sup>159</sup>

The women who were employed in this era belonged to the middle and working classes. The 1901 Census reveals that this involved 77% of women aged between 15 and 34 while only 13% of women aged 35-47 did some sort of paid work. It also reveals that 32% of women over ten years of age, (the then statutory school-leaving age), worked in full employment and involved women predominantly from the working-class. To arrive at any precise statistics of the number

<sup>155</sup> M. Levine-Clark, "Engineering Relief: Women, Ablebodiness and the New Poor Law in Victorian England," in *Journal of Women's History* Vol. 11 i . No.4, 1991, 107.

<sup>156</sup> See L. Stanley, (ed.), *The Diaries of Hannah Cullwick, Victorian Maidservant* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1984), 114.

<sup>157</sup> Steinbach, *Women in England*, 19.

<sup>158</sup> G. Mitchell, (ed.) *The Hard Way Up: The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell Suffragette and Rebel* (London: Faber, 1968).

<sup>159</sup> See the Introduction in Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up*, written by her grandson Geoffrey Mitchell, 13-33.

of women in paid employment is not easy as some working-class women took advantage of working from home in jobs that lay beyond the range of the census. These included accommodating lodgers, child minding, taking in washing and selling items of food and drink. This latter would sometimes develop into a shop in a woman's own front room.<sup>160</sup> Significantly, women's wages could be disguised in the reported income of the husband.<sup>161</sup> Thus, by focusing on men, census takers defined the family not the individual, and could render women's work, whether paid or not, invisible. Crucially the majority of working-class families could not survive, let alone prosper on a single male wage.<sup>162</sup> The women's casual labour would so often mean that "some definite part of family expenditure, such as children's clothes and boots" could be met.<sup>163</sup> Working-class women were earning money to help support their young children in the early years of marriage. Only when the children were old enough to earn could the women withdraw from paid employment. The largest paid female occupation in 1911 was domestic service employing 11.1% of the entire female population of England and Wales. Female labour was cheap and often women felt treated no better than slaves. Hannah Mitchell felt she had more than earned her meagre wages. When handing in her notice she sarcastically complained that, in addition to cooking, washing, baking and mending, "I marvel you haven't expected me to teach in school as well for a whole four shillings a week".<sup>164</sup>

<sup>160</sup> M. Pugh, *State and Society*, 67.

<sup>161</sup> See Steinbach, *Women in England*, 11.

<sup>162</sup> B. Rowntree's ground-breaking social survey of poverty in York—*Poverty, a Study in Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901) demolished the assumption made by C. Booth's historic survey—*Life and Labour of the People of London* (London: Macmillan, 1902) that endemic poverty was restricted to the overcrowded capital.

<sup>163</sup> I. Gazeley, *Poverty in Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 10. See also studies on the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods which now began to also highlight the social anthropological aspects of working-class women such as their domestic roles of housework, managing the household income, maternity and childrearing: F. Bell (Lady), *At the works: a study of a manufacturing town* (London: Virago, reprinted 1984 (1907)); M. Pember-Reeves, *Round about a pound a week* (London: Bell, 1913); M. Spring-Rice, *Working-class wives: their health and conditions* (London: Virago, reprinted 1981 (1939)); R. Roberts, *The classic slum: Salford, life in the first quarter of the century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971) & E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

<sup>164</sup> Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up*, 70. See also J. Newby, *Women's Lives*, 7-29.

By 1911, large numbers of both upper-working-class women, having the benefit of secondary education, and middle-class women, whose parents had paid for their education but were not prepared to support them, were rushing to enter the expanding “white-blouse” public and service occupations. They were to become teachers, nurses, retail assistants and privately or state employed clerks. Collectively white-collar workers, who were mostly women, made up over 14% of the employed population.<sup>165</sup> Female clerks numbered 149,215—20% of Britain’s clerical workforce. Technological advancement transformed the Dickensian counting house into the modern office, incorporating the telephone, telegraphy, the typewriter, dictating and adding-machines, new methods of systematic storing and retrieving data. This provided a new range of skilled, if subordinate, jobs for women. The largest employer of middle-class women in Britain by 1914 was the Post Office, which accounted for 90% of women employed by the central government.<sup>166</sup> Women, not confined by parents to domesticity, were able to access wider horizons via the route of university education. However, these opportunities were not as widely available as those offered to men at this time. Unsurprisingly therefore, in sharp contrast with the above trend, by 1911 those women occupying jobs in the higher professions comprised only 6%, despite more women in the social order acquiring higher education.<sup>167</sup> Important as education and employment opportunities for women were in this period, what was regarded as the “major gender inequality” by women, was enfranchisement, as the following discussion reveals.

## 2.4 Women and enfranchisement

The social and political arenas of the “feminine landscape” in this era were to change irrevocably with the escalation of the conflict between women and enfranchisement. The majority of people at this time could not vote, but this inequity was to be dramatically challenged, primarily where women were concerned. There were two broad strands of female suffrage; the majority suffragists, who were moderates committed to using argument and non-

<sup>165</sup> These issues are fully discussed in D. Copelman, *London’s Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism 1870-1930* (London: Routledge, 1996), & G. Anderson, (ed.) *The White-Blouse Revolution: Female Office Workers since 1870* (Manchester: MUP, 1988).

<sup>166</sup> See T. May, *An Economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1970* (Harlow: Longman, 1987), 273.

<sup>167</sup> See Thane, “Status of Women” Table 6.3 “Female occupations according to the census of 1901”, in Johnson, (ed.) *20th Century Britain*, 100.

militant means to achieve their goals, and a smaller group of suffragettes who advocated using militant demonstrations and force to achieve theirs. The suffragettes would create a crisis for the Edwardian government as the Pankhursts and followers rose up in revolt, demanding “Votes for Women.”<sup>168</sup>

British society in 1900 was divided sharply along class and gender lines, with women being unambiguously second-class citizens whose opportunities for social mobility were strictly circumscribed. The campaign for women’s suffrage, which had begun in Queen Victoria’s reign, was to impact this status quo during Edward’s reign, rearranging it on egalitarian lines. The Great Reform Bill of 1867 had provided the stimulus to the idea and possibility of women being included in the extended franchise. Women proved they could successfully win election to school boards and Poor Law boards possibly because they were viewed as a natural extension of women’s domestic functions. However, their role extended to occupying seats on municipal councils, rural district, urban district and parish councils, with the barrier to the one remaining local government body, the county councils, being lifted in 1907.<sup>169</sup> As female representatives, this qualified them to look into matters and make unique contributions that Martin Pugh asserted, the male politicians chose to remain ignorant of.<sup>170</sup> Pugh claimed that it was their participation in local government that eventually made women’s exclusion from national elections so untenable. The suffragettes were a group of people who began to project themselves and their cause more vociferously and resolutely on early Edwardian Britain seeking votes for women.<sup>171</sup> The crucially important constitutional issue for women that the Liberal government failed to resolve was the demand for women to be allowed to vote in parliamentary elections. The political crusade to rectify this anomalous situation began, as most such crusades do, in an erratic and muddled manner.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>168</sup> See C. Cook, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century*, 123-125.

<sup>169</sup> R. Johnson, *British History 1870-1918 The Birth of Modern Britain* (Somerset: Studymates, 2003), 103.

<sup>170</sup> Pugh, *State and Society*, 57 & 109. See also P. Catterall, (ed.) *Britain 1867-1918* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1994).

<sup>171</sup> Cook, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century*, 123-125.

<sup>172</sup> See the discussion of the origins of women’s suffrage by P. Bartley, *Votes for Women* (Abingdon: Hodder & Stoughton, 1998), 30.

#### 2.4.1 The National Union of Women Suffrage Societies (NUWSS)

The amalgamation of the diverse women's suffrage groups which sprang up randomly in 1867-1868, became known as the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), their function being to campaign nationally for women to be granted their right to vote. Its organisation was grounded in democratic principles under its elected president, Millicent Fawcett. It became the largest of all the suffrage groups.<sup>173</sup> It is important to recognise that although the suffrage movement became divided over the means to achieve the vote, it was nevertheless "ideologically homogenous."<sup>174</sup> The feminist voices which established the intellectual argument for providing votes for women in previous times would be added to, and strengthened, in late Victorian and especially early Edwardian Britain.<sup>175</sup> The myth that the suffrage movement consisted totally of members of the middle-class was eradicated when Hannah Mitchell's memoir was discovered on her death in 1956.<sup>176</sup> It is significant in that Mitchell's account covers suffragette and socialist endeavours embedded in the working class in which she lived. Hitherto, suffragette accounts in these areas were restricted to life in the upper echelons of society.<sup>177</sup> Mitchell relates that the working-class suffragettes in this era were as resolute as the movement's better-off leaders. She shares that, during the 1906 election campaign, she was the anonymous heckling female who was invited by Churchill to state her case at a meeting in the Manchester Free Trade Hall. The impact of feminist suffragette activity was mentioned several times by the interviewees. Ken Baker in his history of the incipient

<sup>173</sup> L. Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women's Suffrage Movement 1900-1918* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1984), 11. See also L. Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-1914* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987).

<sup>174</sup> S. Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), 28; M. Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*; W. Thompson, *Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men to Retain Them and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery* (London: Brown & Green, 1825) & H. Taylor, & J. Mill, *The Subordination of Women* (Dover: Thrift Editions, reprinted 1997 (1869)).

<sup>175</sup> See Thompson, *Appeal of One Half of the Human Race*.

<sup>176</sup> Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up* (1968).

<sup>177</sup> See Marr, *The Making of Modern Britain*, 59-60 & also J. Liddington & J. Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind us: the Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Virago, 1978).

stage of Elim in Ireland writes about the diaries and interviews he had with Kathleen Bewley (née Kelly) (1899-1992) a young Pentecostal who was born and lived near Monaghan the birthplace of the then new Elim movement.<sup>178</sup> Bewley shares how her teacher, a Miss Latimer, who was English and importantly a Suffragette, shared with herself and the other girls information about associated activities taking place in the wider world. Bewley's comment "She put a seed of something in my young head, about 'going further'...Miss Latimer gave me a new boundary" is evidence of the sizeable impact this teacher and her feminist beliefs had made on the young Bewley and presumably on other classmates also.<sup>179</sup> Bewley was to leave Ireland and after attending the Pentecostal Missionary Union under the character-forming tutelage of Miss Crisp ministered in the AC and Elim churches assisting both William Hutchinson and George Jeffreys and as she later testified her life was hallmarked by the crossing of many boundaries as she followed God's leadings to fulfill her call to ministry.<sup>180</sup>

#### **2.4.2 The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU)**

Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) favoured the militant approach and, assisted by her daughter Christabel, (1880-1958) founded this The Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. With their supporters, they continually harassed and unsettled the Liberal government until the outbreak of WW1. They were determined to secure immediate voting equality with men, as a result of which, full democracy could then be campaigned for.

At a Liberal Party Rally in Manchester in 1905, Sir Edward Grey, a moderate Liberal supporter of female emancipation, was the first speaker, and Winston Churchill was the supporting speaker. Christabel Pankhurst, Annie Kenney and Hannah Mitchell were not satisfied with the brush-off to Pankhurst's question regarding the new government's policy on votes for women. They unfurled a banner that dramatically advertised this political issue to the large assembly. For this, they were removed and the affray continued in the street, where Kenney assaulted a police officer.<sup>181</sup> Mary Turner observed, "The new methods were certainly attracting publicity

<sup>178</sup> Baker, *Through Fire and Water: The Birth of Elim* (Roscrea: Elim Ministries Publishing, 2015).

<sup>179</sup> Baker, *Through Fire and Water*, 15.

<sup>180</sup> Baker, *Through Fire and Water*. 85.

<sup>181</sup> See Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up* which gave a working illustration of the carefully planned strategy of interrupting politicians as they were attempting to deliver speeches, 142-



as revealed by the newspaper coverage the following day”.<sup>182</sup> This resulted in the women being charged, and when they refused to pay the fine, being imprisoned, becoming the first women to be incarcerated for the cause. Mitchell elucidated,

As our movement grew stronger, so did the opposition, and as the law turned a blind eye on the hooligans who attacked us, we had a pretty rough time. Any stick was good enough to beat the suffrage dog with, and the fact that non-militant meetings were also savagely attacked and broken up, showed the deep sex prejudice still existing in the male mind.<sup>183</sup>

Another clash between police and suffragettes occurred in February 1907. A peaceful procession of several hundred women was prevented, by a wall of mounted policemen, from lodging a petition to Parliament—something they had every right to do. *The Times* records, “The mounted policemen backed their horses onto the Pavement...The women had split into groups shrieking and affrighted at the intervention of the mounted police”.<sup>184</sup> *The Tribune* charged the police with having failed in their duty.<sup>185</sup> Keith Smith’s claim, “What made this movement so strong, and from a police point of view so serious, was the women’s total conviction of the righteousness of their cause” highlighted the grave difficulty that the suffragette militancy posed.<sup>186</sup> The most serious police violence against the suffragettes took place in November 1910, recalled as “Black Friday.” Well-documented evidence reveals that the police beat, insulted and sexually assaulted the women, believing it was their duty to

143. See also J. Marcus, (ed.) *Suffrage and the Pankhursts* (London: Routledge, 1987). Importantly this tactic not only challenged male authority but wrested a political mouthpiece for women who traditionally were supposed to remain passively silent. Marcus claimed by using this strategy, which had been used effectively in support of the Irish cause, the suffragettes were hopeful it could likewise help their cause, 3.

<sup>182</sup> M. Turner, *The Woman’s Century* (Surrey: National Archives, 2003), 19.

<sup>183</sup> Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up*, 142.

<sup>184</sup> *The Times*, “The Woman’s Suffrage Movement Riot and Arrests”, 14 February 1907, 10.

<sup>185</sup> *The Tribune*, “Wild Scenes at Westminster”, 14 February 1907, Issue 340,7-9.

<sup>186</sup> K. Smith, *The Militant Suffragettes as a Police Problem: London 1906-1914* (PhD dissertation: Ohio State University, 1974), 18.

prevent the women reaching the House of Commons.<sup>187</sup> When the women refused to disperse, they were charged and committed to prison. Those who refused to eat were subjected to force-feeding by “methods of barbarism.”<sup>188</sup> Purvis describes this “instrumental invasion of the body, accompanied by overpowering physical force, great suffering and humiliation” to be akin to oral rape.<sup>189</sup>

Suffragette militancy became fiercely aggressive, with 1913 marking a watershed following the partial destruction of Lloyd George’s Surrey home in that year. A frustrated Mrs Pankhurst explained, “We have tried blowing him up to wake his conscience”.<sup>190</sup> Fire alarms were set off, stones thrown through government buildings, works of art were vandalised, telegraph wires were cut and messages were burnt with acid into golf courses saying, “No Votes, No Golf”. Letters filled with pepper were sent to politicians to highlight the women’s irritation and displeasure with their slow progress with women’s enfranchisement.

It was the emergence of war in 1914, which abruptly brought the end to the intractable imbroglio with suffragettes channelling all their energies into fighting the enemy in Europe and the government granting a royal amnesty to those guilty of suffrage militancy.<sup>191</sup> War was to impact society and not least the women in it.

<sup>187</sup> See National Archives *file* (MEPO 3/203). Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up* informs that for ringing the Prime Minister’s doorbell and for refusing to leave Downing Street the women were taken into custody, 146.

<sup>188</sup> See M. Pugh, *The Pankhursts* (London: Penguin, 2002), 174-204.

<sup>189</sup> J. Purvis, “The Prison Experiences of the Suffragettes in Edwardian Britain”, in *Journal of Women’s History*, Vol.4 No.1, 1995, 106. Marcus, *Suffrage*, describes the force-feeding of women through the nostril, mouth and even rectum and vagina and claimed that insult was added to injury when it became known that the tubes used to carry out these acts were not sterile, 9. See I. Noble, *Emmeline and her Daughters: The Pankhurst Suffragettes* (Folkestone: Bailey Brothers & Swinfen Ltd., 1974), 146-150 & Turner, *Woman’s Century*, 29.

<sup>190</sup> See Marr, *The Making of Modern Britain*, 56 & M. Byrne, *Britain 1895-1918* (London: Hodder Murray, 2005), 76-77. See also *The Suffragette* 26 December, 1913, showing an extensive catalogue of serious vandalism of property throughout 1913, 254 & A. Raeburn, *Militant Suffragettes* (Kent: New English Library, 1973), 206.

<sup>191</sup> The vote was granted at the end of the War won largely as a result of women’s sterling contributions. See Archives House of Commons Debates, 7 August 1914.

## 2.5 Women and the war effort

The granting of a royal amnesty on 7 August 1914 put an end to the imprisonment of the militant suffragettes and an announcement, from what must have been a relieved Mrs Pankhurst, effectively suspended WSPU action. Equally the cessation of suffragette militancy, on the outbreak of war, must have come as an immense relief to the all-male Parliament which, with its “obfuscations and delays...and its resort...to brutal militant suppression of the rebels, had backfired badly.”<sup>192</sup>

The autocratically run (WSPU) of Pankhurst and her followers, joined with the democratically run (NUWSS) of Fawcett. Writing in the movement’s suffrage magazine, the latter passionately pleaded with her supporters, “Let us show ourselves worthy of citizenship, whether our claim to it be recognised or not”.<sup>193</sup> Pankhurst pledged an all-out effort of herself and her party to do their part to win the war in Europe in a speech given in Plymouth.<sup>194</sup> In appealing to women to forego their engagement in suffragette civil war activity and become totally engaged in this new fight she was thereby “dropping her recent past through the trapdoor of history.”<sup>195</sup> Pankhurst could see “no point in having the vote without a country to vote in.”<sup>196</sup> The WSPU journal *Suffragette* was replaced in April 1915 by *Britannia*, becoming a platform for lobbying for military conscription.

### 2.5.1 Women demand and win the right to serve

In the early months of the war Mrs Pankhurst and followers played a valuable role in giving needed encouragement to reticent women to avail themselves of the many new forms of

<sup>192</sup> A. Marwick, *Women at War 1914-1918* (Glasgow: Collins, 1977), 7. See also A. Marwick, *The Deluge British Society and the First World War* (London:Macmillan Press, 1965), 95-105.

<sup>193</sup> *The Common Cause*, “To the Members of the National Union” 7 August 1914, Vol.6 No.278, 377.

<sup>194</sup> See discussion by Marwick, *Women At War 1914*, of the *volte face* speech made by Pankhurst at the Guildhall, Plymouth on 17 November, 1914, 31-32.

<sup>195</sup> Pugh, *Women’s Movement*, 9.

<sup>196</sup> J. Purvis, “Pankhurst, Emmeline (1858-1928)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; (online edn, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35376> Accessed 20.6.2009.

employment on offer.<sup>197</sup> To create a confident, willing workforce of women was one thing, but to find a brick wall barring them from taking up the work was quite another, and quite unacceptable to the Pankhurst lobby. On further discovering that some trade unions were barring women contributing to the war effort by preventing them from filling vacated men's jobs, Pankhurst, with customary vigour, swung into rallying action with a rousing campaign demanding women's "right to serve."<sup>198</sup> Her impassioned speech, made on 24 June 1915 at the London Polytechnic, insisting that women must be allowed to work in the war effort, was reported by the press and read by King George V.<sup>199</sup> Clearly impressed, he saw the possibility of harnessing the Pankhurst campaign to good effect, and shared his ideas with the newly appointed Munitions Minister Lloyd George. He had already established a working relationship with Pankhurst. Success was secured for both parties. Women were granted their right to serve the country by working, and a workforce was provided to enable the Government's new Munitions initiative to succeed. With the encouragement of Lloyd George and his £2,000 Ministry of Munitions' grant, Pankhurst organised a demonstration of women 30,000 strong. They marched pageant style, with bands and banners from London Westminster to Blackfriars on 17 July 1915.<sup>200</sup> Lloyd George addressed the demonstration and in a spirit of solidarity with Pankhurst, famously declared, "Without women victory will tarry, and the victory which tarries means a victory whose footprints are footprints of blood".<sup>201</sup>

Although 40,000 women registered with the Board of Trade showing their willingness to do either agricultural, industrial or clerical jobs, little work was forthcoming. Clearly Herbert Asquith's Liberal Government was lacking where war needs were concerned, and was to be replaced by the National Coalition Government in May 1915 and its Ministry of Munitions. The whole venture needed further drive that came as a result of the passing of the National Register Bill requiring all people between ages 15 and 65 to register. Pankhurst jubilantly

<sup>197</sup> Marwick, *Women At War*, 151.

<sup>198</sup> Turner, *The Woman's Century, 1900-2000*, 35.

<sup>199</sup> *The Times*, "Mr Lloyd George's Speech" 19 July 1915, 9.

<sup>200</sup> See Appendix C "A Graphic Narrative" photographs one and two, which show women demanding "The Right to Serve" by being allowed to do war work.

<sup>201</sup> Cited in *Wanganui Chronicle* 19 July 1915 in an article entitled, "Women Demand Work", a report on the March in London 17 July 1915. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast> Accessed at 03.02.2015.

announced, “The inclusion of women in the National Registration Bill is the first Government recognition of the fact that women can render effective aid to their country in wartime”.<sup>202</sup>

Pankhurst and followers, with Fawcett and the much larger NUWSS, continued to encourage the female population to serve their country. They did so by successfully filling the numerous vacancies left by the men leaving for the front, as well as the huge number of new jobs created by the Munitions Industry. Women eagerly volunteered for war work in order to “do their bit”, but as this section reveals, their ardour was dampened by the Government until necessity caused a change of heart.

Once it became apparent that the war was not going to be a short-lived affair—“over by Christmas”—and that many more men and munitions were needed to replenish the dreadful carnage and supply the serious shortage of shells and bullets, the Government changed its mind.<sup>203</sup> Its remedy was to introduce conscription for men and a Ministry of Munitions. It had no alternative but to employ women in vast numbers, to fill the huge gap in the workforce.<sup>204</sup> One newly formed group of women workers were the Munitionettes.<sup>205</sup> Pankhurst was enlisted, in what was a unique turnaround by the Government, to help in resolving this pressing problem. Women were under no delusions that their employment, which the Government was at pains to make clear, would only be for the duration of the war. Women happily acquiesced regarding this as “the patriotic thing to do.”

Increasing intervention by the Government became a feature of the war. Civilian life became increasingly controlled through the 1914 Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). Women benefitted in many ways. They were better off and became more independent as a direct result of war work, as the following sections reveal. Sue Bruley described this as an irony to find that women’s health and living standards had improved by the end of the war.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>202</sup> A. Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood”, in *History Workshop Journal* Vol.5 No.1 March 1978, 9-66. See also Marwick, *The Deluge*, 89-90.

<sup>203</sup> S. Halifax, “Over by Christmas: British popular opinion and the short war of 1914”, in *Journal First World War Studies* Vol.1 No.2, 2010, 103-121.

<sup>204</sup> Bruley, *Women in Britain*, 55.

<sup>205</sup> See Appendix C “A Graphic Narrative”.

<sup>206</sup> Bruley, *Women in Britain*, 55.

The Government had, since the 1890s, been promoting improvements in child welfare. As a result of the successful campaigning of the Women's Co-operative Guild, under the leadership of Margaret Llewellyn Davies, it had, by the start of the war, also begun raising the image of the mother in society. Health Visitors and infant welfare services were introduced by the Government as a commitment to ensuring better care for babies and mothers, maintaining it was a mother's duty to ensure she remained healthy in order that she could produce sons to defend the Empire.<sup>207</sup>

With the onset of hostilities, a number of upper and middle class women had surged towards the War Office with proposals, fuelled with patriotic desires and funding, to contribute more than merely knitting garments for the men in the trenches; but they and their offers were rejected. Their experiences were epitomised by Edinburgh surgeon, Elsie Inglis. With previous experience founding the all-female Scottish Women's Hospitals, she had confidently approached the War Office offering her services. Patronisingly, she was told, "My good lady, go home and sit still—no petticoats here".<sup>208</sup> Undaunted by Whitehall's rejection these women defiantly went on to contribute outstanding deeds and successfully challenged male bigotry.<sup>209</sup>

Many women were trained by the British Red Cross and St John Ambulance societies and joined the established Voluntary Aid Detachments nurses (VADs). The First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) was another upper-class voluntary organisation.<sup>210</sup> Women in this

<sup>207</sup> See Pugh, *Women's Movement*, 15-18.

<sup>208</sup> N. Storey & M. Housego, *Women in the First World War* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010). The War Office granted Elsie Inglis a meeting at Whitehall in 1914 and after outlining her proposal she received this patronising rebuke from an unnamed War Office official, 7.

<sup>209</sup> See Storey & Housego, *Women*, 7-14. Decima Moore & Hon. Evelina Haverfield inaugurated the Women's Emergency Corps which provided feeding centres for combatants and refugees. This was followed by the raising of the Women's Volunteer Reserve by Marchioness of Londonberry, Marchioness of Titchfield & the Countess of Pembroke & Montgomery. Mrs Dawson Scott sponsored the Women's Defence Relief Corps and Dr Flora Murray together with Louisa Anderson inaugurated the Women's Hospital Corps in September 1914.

<sup>210</sup> See V. Brittain, *Testament of Youth* (London: Virago Press, 1978). She was an educated member of a wealthy upper-middle-class family and became a VAD. Her autobiography describes life growing up in Britain during 1900-1925. She struggled with frustration at the limiting life of ease she was expected to lead, much preferring the life of greater freedom her brother was able to enjoy. Her diaries portray the patriotic mood sweeping the country as war

organisation, on mounts they had supplied themselves, rode out bravely to the battlefield.<sup>211</sup> Two women from a flying ambulance corps; Elsie Knocker, later Baroness T'Serclaes, from England, and Mairi Chisholm from Scotland, established a first aid post close to the front in Pervyse in 1914. Their brave exploits were reported in the press, and they became simply known as the "Women of Pervyse."<sup>212</sup> There were 3,000 trained military nurses with the Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS) and the Territorial Force Nursing Services (TFNS) at the start of the war though the greatest number of uniformed nurses were volunteers. The heroic endeavours of Edith Appleton, a QAIMNS nurse, as she worked in close proximity to the battlegrounds of Ypres and the Somme are graphically recorded in the diaries she kept. A diary entry reads, "The surgeons are amputating limbs and boring through skulls at the rate of 30 a day. We all get up early and work late...which gives us the satisfaction...that...we are giving our full strength to the war".<sup>213</sup> The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), the Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS) and the Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF) comprised 80,000 women who were employed to support the military by performing clerical and domestic duties. The message that permeated the discrete literature about these women's groups was a vital sense of duty, with each individual team member's efforts contributing to getting the war work done. Vera Mathews attributed the name of her history of the WRNS to "The combination of each thread [individual woman's efforts] woven [working] in team to achieve the desired good result".<sup>214</sup>

### **2.5.2 Women fill men's roles**

As the introduction of military service for men began to absorb large numbers of men away from their employment throughout Britain, their work was carried out by women. As the women war-workers began fulfilling roles which hitherto the men had done, (and often incurring considerable opposition as they did so), they caused no small stir as they determined

broke out. She wrote that, though incompetent she even attempted, for a short while, to knit for the soldiers,<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> A. Marwick, *Women At War*, 21.

<sup>212</sup> Storey, & Housego, *Women in the First World War*, 9-11.

<sup>213</sup> See E. Appleton, *A Nurse at the Front: The First World War Diaries of Sister Edith Appleton* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2012), entry for 8 July 1917.

<sup>214</sup> V. Mathews, *Blue Tapestry* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1948), 10.

to “do their bit.” Women fulfilling roles previously undertaken by men was revolutionary sending shock waves across society.<sup>215</sup> To emphasise the immensity of this hitherto unseen phenomenon that traumatised society I have related the narrative in a news-reel type presentation supported by archival photographs in Appendix C.

### **2.5.3 Women’s Institute (WI)**

Rationing, economising and preservation of food became serious wartime preoccupations. The need to extend the rural labour force to work gardens and smallholdings became imperative in order to increase vegetable and animal/bee production to feed a hungry nation. Meeting this grave wartime need fell largely to the indispensable work of the Women’s Institute. Their long-term aim of bringing fresh impetus and breathing new life into Britain’s stagnant agricultural communities fitted perfectly with meeting the nation’s nutritional needs. The WI began when women did not have the vote. The men had their jobs, clubs and pubs; the women had nowhere similar to meet, talk or help each other. Mrs Madge Watts had emigrated from England to Canada where she had witnessed the needs of the women being met by the Women’s Institute Movement which Miss Adelaide Hoodless had set up. Keen to replicate this movement in Britain to meet the needs of the women here, Watts returned to Britain and with the encouragement and support of Nugent Harris, a politician with access to government funding, she inaugurated the first WI at Llanfairpwll, Anglesey, Wales on 16 September in 1897.<sup>216</sup> The growth of the WI was to become widespread across Britain creating an extraordinary feature of social life for women.<sup>217</sup> Membership grew during this era to almost half a million, and this achievement is referred to in glowing terms as a “social revolution.”<sup>218</sup> Noteworthy, it was born

<sup>215</sup> C. Harris, *Women At War 1914-1918* (Stroud: Pitkin, 2014), 12.

<sup>216</sup> L. Ambrose, *A Great Rural Sisterhood Madge Robertson Watt & The ACWW The Associated Country Women of the World* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 97.

<sup>217</sup> C. McCall, *Women’s Institutes* (London: Collins, 1943), summary inside cover.

<sup>218</sup> S. Goodenough, *Jam and Jerusalem: A pictorial history of Britain’s greatest woman’s movement* (Glasgow: Collins, 1977), 6. Goodenough explained that importantly the WI was to become an influential and authoritative voice across society raising a multitude of issues with the government and demanding it be listened to, 10. See also C. McCall, (ed.) *Our Villages A Survey of amenities and public services in rural areas by the National Federation of Women’s Institutes* (London: National Federation of Women’s Institutes, 1956) which informs that in excess of 8,000 WIs existed...in Britain by 1956, 3.



without the pangs of industrial or exaggerated women's liberation action.<sup>219</sup> The appeal and response to women in the countryside at this time was so widespread as to outspan any single union.<sup>220</sup> Here was a movement specifically for women where they were given the opportunity to speak out freely and "to express themselves, free from the fear of being ridiculed by the men."<sup>221</sup>

The suggestion given to WI members as to how they could best help the war effort was, "To produce good food, to eat good food, to conserve good food and to market good food".<sup>222</sup> Commitments prevented them taking up other work thus their skills of growing food, keeping pigs and fowl in their gardens and smallholdings, preserving and cooking as well as doing the ubiquitous knitting of clothing for the military were harnessed. The reason why the Ministry sponsored the WI was because food was scarce, and its members were not only well placed geographically, they also had the ability potentially to contribute to alleviate the problem.<sup>223</sup>

#### **2.5.4 Women's Land Army (WLA)**

Women were recruited into the agricultural labour force during 1915 in order that the harvests could be brought in and farms kept going, as a result of intensive propaganda by a network of county committees to boost home food supplies. In 1916 women began to be trained by the voluntary Women's Land Services Corps, and in the following year this was taken over by the Women's Land Army. The WLA attracted only very few participants, while its parallel Women's Institute organisation was more swiftly and heartily responded to.<sup>224</sup> The crucial

<sup>219</sup> P. Kitchen, *For Home and Country, War, Peace and Rural Life as Seen Through the Pages of the WI Magazine 1919-1959* (London: Ebury Press, 1990), Introduction.

<sup>220</sup> Goodenough, *Jam and Jerusalem*, 6.

<sup>221</sup> S. King, *Women Rule the Plot The Story of the 100 year fight to establish women's place in farm and garden* (London: Duckworth, 1999), 60.

<sup>222</sup> See Goodenough, *Jam and Jerusalem* for a discussion of further activities undertaken by the WI members which were of immense national importance, 63. See also I. Jenkins, *The History of the Women's Institute Movement of England and Wales* (Oxford: Batey, 1953), 105-118.

<sup>223</sup> See C. McCall, *Women's Institutes*, 30.

<sup>224</sup> Pugh, *Women's Movement*, 14 and related discussion, 23-24.

contributions made in WW1 by the WLA was to be repeated when they reformed towards the end of the era of this study, in 1939, in readiness for the onset of impending WW2.<sup>225</sup>

Dame Meriel Talbot was an obvious choice to set up the national WLA organisation. A pioneer of the WI, and passionate and articulate champion of all matters rural she was a ready-made networker, and a confident member of the upper class, with independent means and “connections.” The WLA was a one rank force where strenuous physical labour was the order of the day, with the girls drawn mainly from the hardworking barmaid, factory, mill, hairdressing, waitressing and baking occupations.<sup>226</sup> For the majority of the WLA recruits, life on the farm was to prove hard and for some, a rude awakening. So often reality consisted of girls, with very little training being expected “to walk down pitch-dark lanes to fetch and milk recalcitrant cows, harness towering Shire horses, drive a pony and trap delivering milk, learn the facts of life in of a hurry (and often in front of a sniggering crowd of onlookers) by taking the cow to the bull”.<sup>227</sup> Appearing in the conservative climate, which so characterised country life at this time, WLA girls “caused shock waves of seismic proportions.” The wearing of trousers by women as part of their uniform was a novel sight indeed at that time.<sup>228</sup> Olive Hocken wrote about her experiences as a Land Army girl in WW1. In her preface she outlined that despite the immense fatigue, she was able, like so many of the WLA women, to face the pressured pace and long hours incumbent on her. This she did by encouraging herself to stoically and cheerfully “do her bit” as the men folk, who were facing the immeasurably uncomfortable and dangerous life in the trenches.<sup>229</sup>

<sup>225</sup> See S. Ward, *War in the Countryside* (London: Cameron books, 1988), 10.

<sup>226</sup> N. Tyrer, *They Fought in the Fields, The Women's Land Army Movement* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996), 25.

<sup>227</sup> Tyrer, *They Fought*. Some girls had unrealistic notions fancying themselves in uniform and imagining themselves as the smiling, glamorous girl in the idyllic posters carrying sheaves of corn in the freedom of the great outdoors. Mistake understandably were made by those girls who did not know hay from straw, 34.

<sup>228</sup> Tyrer, *They Fought*, 21 informs that they were only issued with one pair of trousers, 21. If the women were going out they would have to rake the dirt off them which caused people to give them a wide berth at the cinema, for example, 53.

<sup>229</sup> O. Hocken, *Two girls on the Land, war-time on a Dartmoor farm* (London: E. Arnold, 1918), Preface iii. See also C. Scott, *Holding the Home Front The Women's Land Army in the*

Stephen King relates how initial hostility shown towards the women workers by the farmers gradually dispersed as the increasing numbers of women who, working conscientiously with undeniable growing expertise, brought about a positive change in their attitude.<sup>230</sup> Between March 1917 and October 1919 Land Army girls working on farms numbered 23,000. Angus Stovold remembered his grandfather informing him about Land Army girls who worked on the family farm in Shackleford, Surrey. With obvious respect and gratitude for the Land Army girls and their impressive achievement, Stovold's grandfather had stated, "The reality is, without the women, Britain would have starved".<sup>231</sup>

### 2.5.5 War impacted society

As this section portrays and Gertrude Atherton's writing in July 1915 vividly attests to, war having had a stirring, epoch-making effect on British society and this included the impact it had on women of all classes.<sup>232</sup> Speaking as a member of the upper echelons of society Atherton relates the way war had shattered upper middle class boredom for many women. The title of her writing is, "The Living Present". The war had impacted her upper class society; where, hitherto, so many women led boring, predictable and limiting lives. It had brought their lives alive in an exciting way as she observes that; "Never, prior to the Great War, was such an enormous body of women awake after the lethargic submission of centuries".<sup>233</sup> Writing in the same vein Ethel Bilborough's diary writing maintains, "Terrible as it all is, I think I would

*First World War* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword History, 2027) & C. Twinch, *Women on the Land* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1990).

<sup>230</sup> King, *Women Rule The Plot*, 97.

<sup>231</sup> L. Stearman, *Report for the NFU Women's Land Army* (Stoneleigh: NFU, Centenary First World War, 2014), 3. See also the NFU video at [www.nfuonline.com/wla](http://www.nfuonline.com/wla) which highlights how precarious Britain's food supply was at that time and the crucial role the women fulfilled to keep the country fed. See also *The Landswoman September 1918 "Montage showing varieties of work at Great Bidlake Farm, Devon"*, Vol.1 No.9. A veteran who attended the Radcliffe Tabernacle AoG had in her youth worked as a Land Army girl on a farm near Preston and shared this same sentiment to me about the vital job women like herself achieved for the country. When the weather was bitterly cold and she was bone weary the awareness of the gravity of the job she was doing had kept her going.

<sup>233</sup> G. Atherton, "The Living Present" in J. Marlow, (ed.) *The Virago Book of Women and The Great War* (London: Little Brown Book Group), 356.

rather be living now, than, say in Victorian days! Now everyone is living and no mistake about it. Life is real and life is earnest and I doubt it will ever be the same again as before the Great War”.<sup>234</sup> When writing her autobiography, *A Testament of Youth*, Vera Brittain reiterated how liberating the impact of wartime experiences had been for upper-class women like herself, declaring, “I had always known, and my parents had always tolerantly taken for granted, that...my return to a position of subservient dependence at home would be tolerable neither for them nor for me”.<sup>235</sup>

### **2.5.6 Women’s involvement was crucial**

It is important to make the statement that as Kay also robustly asserts “the pentecostal movement did not develop in a vacuum.”<sup>236</sup> It was against a background of widespread activity that the infant pentecostal denominations were forming. The feminist ethos was impacting pentecostal women with a ministry call as verified by the examples later in the thesis. War was also affecting pentecostals who were living, and being majorly effected as the majority of people living in Britain at this time were, either by war coming, living through the presence of war, war going and being threatened by war yet again at the end of this era. The impact of war was life-changing for many women in society in this era. Joyce Marlow comments on this unprecedented women’s activity in the Introduction of her book.<sup>237</sup> She writes about two statements that were made in 1916. The first was made by Count Johann von Bernstorff to Mabel Daggett who recalled that the German ambassador had said slowly with emphasis, “In the final analysis...it is the nation with the best women that’s going to win this war”.<sup>238</sup> The second statement Marlow comments on is the addressing of the Reichstag in 1916 by Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, who had remonstrated that Germany was failing to utilise its female workforce as effectively as Britain.<sup>239</sup> When reporting these statements, Marlow adds,

<sup>234</sup> E. Bilborough’s diary writing in July 1915 in Marlow, (ed.) *The Virago Book*, 4.

<sup>235</sup> Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, 49.

<sup>236</sup> Kay, W. *A History of British Assemblies of God* (PhD dissertaion: University of Nottingham, 1989), 1.

<sup>237</sup> Marlow, *Women and the Great War*, 1-10.

<sup>238</sup> M. Daggett, *Women Wanted: The Story Of The Blood Red Letters Of The Great World War* (New York: George Doran, 1918) in Marlow, *Women and the Great War*, 6.

<sup>239</sup> Marlow, *Women and the Great War*, 6-7.

“It may surprise some to learn that the only country that officially engaged women on large-scale active service was Britain”.<sup>240</sup> Given the significance of these two statements British women’s wartime contribution was a strategic and determining factor in Britain’s victorious outcome of the war. One wonders whether the result might have been different if firstly, British women had not engaged in wartime employment to the extent they did and if secondly, Germany had heeded the above two statements and employed women as extensively as Britain. The subject of using women labour in war time had been previously aired and debated.<sup>241</sup> For Germany to have ignored the engaging of vast numbers of women to serve on a country-at-war’s “Home Front” was done so at their peril. Marlow provides an insightful quotation by Olive Schreiner, “If our European nations should continue in their present semi-civilised condition, which makes war possible,...women will play a very leading part; and that the nation which is the first to employ its women may be placed at a vast advantage over its fellows in time of war”.<sup>242</sup>

### **2.5.7 Women over 30 years win the vote**

When the Representation of the People Act in February 1918, which granted women over thirty years of age the voting rights for women, was finally ratified, victory was achieved without any of the pre-war acrimonious turmoil.<sup>243</sup> Boundaries of constituencies were revived. Importantly the right to vote after six month’s residence as a constituent was given to all men over twenty-one years of age. That is except peers, lunatics and felons in prison, and also the conscientious objectors who were disenfranchised for a five-year period after the war. Women fared less fairly. An age limitation was set and most women’s rights were tied to their husband’s.

<sup>240</sup> Marlow, *Women and the Great War*, 7.

<sup>241</sup> Three years prior to the outbreak of WW1 the South African author O. Schreiner wrote *Women and Labour* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1911) in which she debated these issues, Chapter Three “Women and War”, 55 in Marlow, *Women and the Great War*, 6.

<sup>242</sup> O. Schreiner, *Women and Labour*, Chapter IV “Women and War” (Created in the USA by Astounding Stories and printed in Great Britain by Amazon n.d).

<sup>243</sup> H. Smith, *British Women’s Suffrage Campaign 1866-1928* (Harlow: Longman, 1998). This was largely due to the suffragettes being too worn out and distracted in their patriotic devotion to the war effort to be aware that the tide was turning decisively in their favour, 89.

It would take another decade before women aged twenty-one, without qualification, could enjoy the same parliamentary voting rights as men. A total of five million voters would be added to the national registers in 1928. The Equal Franchise Bill was passed within weeks of the death of Emmeline Pankhurst on 14 June 1928, and in a symbolic gesture it was on the day of her funeral that the royal assent to the Bill was given; her leadership inspired generations of women to follow suit.<sup>244</sup>

### **2.5.8 Women and the end of war**

Men returning from the war after demobilisation needed to re-establish self-respect as workers and breadwinners for their families; they needed to re-claim their pre-war jobs.<sup>245</sup> Women were actively encouraged to vacate employment and return to their traditional domestic roles. “Dilution”—where men were replacing women workers—effectively put a halt to women’s prospects. Mary Macarthur, whose trade union solidarity with male workers was faultless, felt moved to acknowledge and give vent to the depth of feeling being expressed in the country at that time, and declared, “Women are going to come out of this inferno with broken hearts and bleeding feet; but they are coming out of it with a strange, new and terrible wisdom”.<sup>246</sup> Even though many women were barred from remaining in their jobs, in order to accommodate demobilisation, their wartime work experiences had been an empowering catalyst for all classes. Women could never be the same again. They had had to stand on their own feet, make decisions, take charge and manage people, organisations and finances. They had blown away the previously held myth that, as women, they did not possess capabilities to do so. Women had stepped up to challenges presented by wartime necessity and successfully met them despite the considerable cost to their appearance, health and mortality which so many of them encountered in keeping the war offensive operable.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>244</sup> A. Young, *Deeds, not Words: The Story of Emmeline Pankhurst*, Winner of the Essay Prize, Fall 2009 ID 282: British Studies. Harlaxton College, USA.

<sup>245</sup> See Pugh, *Women’s Movement*, 80 and R. Davies, *Women and Work* (London: Arrow Books, 1975), 85.

<sup>246</sup> *The Times* “Women Worker’s Future Miss Mary Macarthur’s Forecast”, 23 January 1917, 5.

<sup>247</sup> See R. Prior & T. Wilson, *The First World War* (London: Cassell & Co., 2001) and their discussion of how many and how vital to winning the war were the shells manufactured by the Munitionettes, 115. See Marwick, *Women At War*, and his discussion of how, though short-

## 2.6 Women's independence grew in the post-war period

A popular image of some young women portrayed in the 20s was that of the “flapper” and was mostly used in a derogatory sense to denote what was essentially only true of a small percentage of wealthy, unenfranchised women. Their fashions drew attention to themselves from a shocked older generation and from young men dazzled by their daringly short skirts, and backless dresses. They dispensed with corsets, flattened their breasts, and cut their hair short in a “bobbed” style and an even shorter “Eton crop.” In independent style they lived in flats, owned cars they drove themselves and some, like Amy Johnson, craved the sensation of speed and dared to learn to fly.<sup>248</sup> An example of the growing female independence in society was revealed in an article, “What Women Think”; “Well it seems we’re being called upon to use our votes once again”.<sup>249</sup> Women and their relatively new independent status and influence, were being appealed to, with the desired effect.

### 2.6.1 The “cult of domesticity”

As the “cult of domesticity” increased, women’s visibility decreased. The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 had ambitiously been put in place by the National Union of Societies For Equal Citizenship (NUSEC) in order that the professions and the civil services could be opened to women. This Act was flouted as pressure by the civil service and local government was put on women to return to the home by the creation of a “marriage bar”, effectively barring married women from employment.<sup>250</sup>

lived, the war significantly opened up job possibilities for women, 162. See J. Paxman, *Great Britain's Great War* (London: Viking, 2013) and his discussion about the risks trinitrotoluene fumes posed for the Munitionettes turning their skin yellow, creating hair loss and in 1916 causing the death of fifty women from jaundice, 144. See also Turner, *The Women's Century*, and the crucial role/s women played during the war years entitled, “On her their lives depend”, 34-49.

<sup>248</sup> See M. Gillies, *Amy Johnson Queen of the Air* (London: Phoenix, 1988). Johnson’s adventures inspired a world struggling with the devastating effects of the Depression; she was the first modern woman in a technological age to be seen as an international symbol of adventure and heroism, 359.

<sup>249</sup> *The Ilford Election News* “Using Your Vote Again”, Conservative party campaign paper 29 October 1924.

<sup>250</sup> Although in theory the Sex Discrimination (Removal) Act of 1919 was created to help women acquire and remain in employment as Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in*

The post-war positive approach to women was the renewed importance being given to women's traditional role as managers of their household. All women across the social scale became increasingly regarded at this time as professional housekeepers. Housekeeping was regarded positively as a profession, irrespective of any remuneration.<sup>251</sup> Judy Giles' argument, appreciated that for the women involved, "They found a cultural ideal and a social space in the figure and practices of the housewife and adopted the discourse of housewifery in order to develop their own forms of identity and self-definition".<sup>252</sup>

Bruley's message for historians was that it was crucial that they grasp the reasons for and understand why this "cult of domesticity" became so much a part of women's identity.<sup>253</sup> Society in the post-war era was changing. With "the new anti-heroic, less romantic and more inward-looking Britain of the 20s" there was a shift in women's roles as well as men's roles. This was cultivated predominantly by women's magazines, and was reflected in the spate of magazines that emerged.<sup>254</sup> Martin Pugh regards these sources as valuable in that they provide insight into the cultural and commercial pressures prevailing within the contemporary society of the 30s which their substantial female readership were experiencing on a daily basis. He maintains that the women's magazine "constitutes an important but rather neglected source for

*Britain* explains its head of steam swiftly dispersed when confronted with the marriage bar, 92. Turner, *The Women's Century* shares that this was created predominantly by civil service and local government employers, 54. The idea soon became entrenched that a woman should be at home to care for husband and family with married women being refused employment and on marrying being forced to resign. Cartwright in interview with myself in November 2009 at Regent's Theological College, shared that he had been a nurse in this era and knew of several women colleagues who, because of having to observe the "marriage bar" had no choice but to relinquish their employment when they married.

<sup>251</sup> The finding and retaining of servants by middle-class women did not abate during this era which is reflected in books such as E. Delafield, *Diary of a Provincial Lady* (London: Virago, 1930).

<sup>252</sup> J. Giles, *Women, Identity and Private Life* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973), 159.

<sup>253</sup> See Pugh, *Women's Movemen*, for his development of the cult of domesticity in this era, 209-30.

<sup>254</sup> Pugh informs that the new wave of younger readers benefitting from the rise in living standards desiring and able to afford the advertised cheap consumer goods, was reflected by the new, more attractive weekly magazines for example; *Woman's Own* (1932); *Woman's Illustrated* (1936) & *Woman* (1937), 209.



the ordinary British woman of the inter-war period.”<sup>255</sup> The magazines had a propensity to propagate an ideology of domesticity. This was reflected by the numerous advertisements they contained geared to “be of interest to Home admirers” and to make the home increasingly pleasing and comfortable.<sup>256</sup> However feminists were rebelling against this ideology being proffered by the magazines, as comments by Margaret Lane, the editor of *Woman* indicates. The debut manifesto presented by Lane was a carefully composed argument in defence of women’s traditional role in the home, which she advocated could easily combine with the new citizen role. In an attempt to canvass support for the ideals of the cult of domesticity, Lane began by reminding her readers of the progress feminism had made, and of how the need to adopt a necessarily balanced stance could prove difficult:

In the last ten years there has been a movement, a tendency, which the suffragist generation calls backward, retrogressive. That is neither entirely true nor entirely fair. We are trying to do something that is as difficult, in its way, as the things which they achieved. We are trying to blend our old with our new. Trying to be citizens and women at the same time, wage earners and sweethearts, less aggressive feminists than independently feminine. It is a difficult balance to strike.<sup>257</sup>

The women of the 1920s and 1930s wanted magazines that reflected their predominantly domestic concerns; their interests in careers or feminism were merely marginal during this time.<sup>258</sup> The opportunity to return to paid employment—albeit with a deal not as good as in wartime—was nevertheless a real option to the housewife and mother in the 1930s. Yet, as the cult of domesticity reveals, she was more likely to concentrate on improving the quality of life for her family in and around the home, which “did tend to create an air of optimism and improvement for many.”<sup>259</sup> Moving into “a home of their own” was the experience of many

<sup>255</sup> Pugh, *Women’s Movement*, 209.

<sup>256</sup> F. Klickman, (ed.), *Woman’s Magazine* (London: The Religious Tract Company, August 1930), 6.

<sup>257</sup> M. Lane, (ed.), *Woman*, cited in Pugh, *Women’s Movement*, 210.

<sup>258</sup> M. Grieve, *Millions Made My Story* (London: Gollancz, 1964), 80-81.

<sup>259</sup> Pugh, *Women’s Movement*, 219.

working class people at this time, and inextricably bound with this was the marked improvement in the standards for them.<sup>260</sup> As these standards rose, notwithstanding the enigma of high unemployment, so did the accompanying notions of privacy.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

As the era progressed, and the cult of domesticity increased, so did the lowering of the profile of women. By the end of this era women's profile had diminished so much as to cause Turner to consider they had, with only few exceptions, all but disappeared, "eclipsed by economic problems in the first case and hidden behind net curtains in the second."<sup>261</sup> As the discussion introduced in the following historical and social context in the Church reveals, the cult of domesticity markedly impacted the women ministering in British Pentecostal churches in this era.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Not everyone was able to benefit from improved accommodation and there must be a safeguard not to attribute elevated living standards on the basis of this alone, despite its considerable impact.

<sup>261</sup> Turner, *Women's Century*, 66.

<sup>262</sup> See Chapters Four and Six.

## **CHAPTER THREE: The Church Context for Women in Early Pentecostalism in Britain**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the situation in the Church. I attempt to illustrate here how women, especially those with ministry aspirations were treated in the Church in the early twentieth century. I investigate what their conditions were and how others in the Church, especially the men, saw them. This was the time, certainly at the beginning of the period in the traditional denominations of the Church in Britain, when women were prohibited from being ordained and were thus seriously disadvantaged. This chapter charts the progress made in these church groupings as Pentecostalism began to emerge and establish into the three largest denominations in this era. In working out a theoretical framework for my study I had to decide from the social and historical aspects taking place in the Church in this era and immediately prior to it, what the emerging themes were. This involved asking, What were the conditions of women in the Church at this time? What were the rights of aspiring women that were being demanded? A discussion of these themes now follows.

### **3.2 The historical and social context in the Church**

#### **3.2.1 Dismissive Treatment of Women**

This chapter highlights the centuries-old dismissive handling of women and the muting of their voices by a patriarchal hierarchy in the Church. It traces the disadvantages women in this era experienced and the effort expended and struggles encountered to address them.

The theme of the anonymity of women was introduced in Chapter One and was further discussed by other scholars also keen to discover ministering women and with whom I had been interacting. Women occupied a long established place of subordination; they were neglected and well hidden.

#### **3.2.2 Literature Review**

Including a review of other scholars' research is germane and in this section the scholars I have been dialoguing with are introduced. The review illustrates what the conditions women were, and in some instances still are, experiencing. It also illustrates the rights they were demanding in contemporary and traditional congregations and in the case of Nicola Slee's research the

involvement of a group of thirty women belonging to, or on the edges of tradition.<sup>263</sup> I was keen to seek out other scholars who were having similar conversations as myself; scholars who were in a quest to discover what roles women were fulfilling in congregational settings and to hear what they were saying. I was especially keen to connect with scholars who were interested in finding out what the experiences were of women ministers and women aspiring to minister. Included were the experiences of women's journeys into ordained ministry in contemporary British and American church settings. It is necessary to include research of fundamentalist congregations in America to be able to dialogue with scholars whose church groupings subscribed to a similar hermeneutic concerning women's ministry roles as the pentecostal fundamentalist denominations I am researching, (see 3.2.3 below). As the denominational chapters show, there are similarities and differences between the women's roles fulfilled in the fundamentalist American churches and the women's roles fulfilled in the largest early pentecostal groups in Britain.

### **3.2.2.1 Contemporary British and American Settings**

*Dancing at the Edge of the World* is a 1989 non-fiction collection by Ursula Le Guin. She is writing "lest silence collude with injustice."<sup>264</sup> Eloquently she declares, "Now this is what I want...I am sick of the silence of women. I want to hear you speaking all the languages, offering your experiences as your truth, as human truth".<sup>265</sup> This pertinently sets the scene for the research by scholars I have been dialoguing with.

Nicola Slee's research was motivated by questions that queried:

How is it possible to research with integrity and sensitivity the hidden spaces of women's faith lives, which until recently, have been largely absent from public accounts of religion? How does one approach the gaps, the fissures in the standard accounts of faith, the absences and omissions? How may women's truths be "heard into speech"? How may women's

<sup>263</sup> N. Slee, *Women's Faith Development: Patterns and Processes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), 1.

<sup>264</sup> U. Le Guin, *Dancing at the Edge of the World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), Introductory Note.

<sup>265</sup> Guin, *Dancing at the Edge of the World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 159.

“unstories” be heard and narrated?<sup>266</sup> What sort of methodologies are appropriate for bringing into visibility women’s faith lives, women’s concerns, women’s meanings?<sup>267</sup>

It is Slee’s consideration of these questions that motivated her to anchor her research in women’s experience, giving eminence to women’s faith narratives. Open-ended interviews were used to explore the faith lives of thirty women. She argues that this is because the position of social science investigation has traditionally been positioned exclusively in the male perception of the world, despite its claims to be impartial. Slee therefore deliberately chose her research to be a woman-only study in preference to being a comparative one, given that, “The faith experiences and needs...of women have been largely neglected for centuries and require study in their own right”.<sup>268</sup> Slee’s analysis of the data establishes that women use processes to provide faith with shape. She identifies significant “generative themes” from which patterns in the development of women’s faith are discernible which to Slee confirms that women’s spirituality is grounded in their everyday experiences.<sup>269</sup>

While acknowledging that congregations are a worldwide and important phenomenon Nancy Ammerman maintains that one needs to pay attention to the voices of its members in order to understand what is taking place in them.<sup>270</sup> She advocates the “gender frame”, an effective method for researching the ordered roles and relationships constituting congregational life, which also provide opportunity for the raising of questions about power and inclusion.<sup>271</sup> She shares how this had been illustrated by two studies undertaken by feminist theorists, which put

<sup>266</sup> R. Bons-Storms, *The Incredible Woman: Listening to Women’s Silences in Pastoral Care and Counselling* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996).

<sup>267</sup> Slee, *Women’s Faith Development*, 43.

<sup>268</sup> Slee, *Women’s Faith Development*, 46.

<sup>269</sup> See also N. Slee “Some Patterns and Processes of Women’s Faith Development”, in *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, Vol.21 No.1, 2000, for summary and discussion of the findings of this research study into the patterns and processes of women’s faith lives, 5-16.

<sup>270</sup> N. Ammerman, J. Carroll, C. Dudley & W. McKinney, (eds.) *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998).

<sup>271</sup> Ammerman et al, *Studying Congregations* 13-14.

gender at the centre of their research and employed interview survey questionnaire and observation methodology tools.

Sally Purvis' research seizes a moment in an era of tremendous social change in the late twentieth century in America and focuses on the leadership roles of two women ministers; Cameron Clark of Bethany Episcopal Church and Suzanne Jefferson of St Matthew Presbyterian Church.<sup>272</sup> Both studies reveal that these female ministers cope well with the differing complexities of power and authority within their respective denominations. Clark's gender only poses the occasional target of sexist attitude with; "battles won in one place tending to be reconvened elsewhere."<sup>273</sup> The research reveals to Purvis that leadership at Bethany is authoritative and power is mostly shared. St Matthew's "Maverick" stance against fundamentalism and conventional Christianity is more accepting of Jefferson and her authority and that the church is accepting the power bases of its female minister as well as those of its laity. Purvis regards that the women she researched; "have the status of conversation partners in the ongoing development of American research, gender studies and Christian feminist ethics."<sup>274</sup>

An earlier study by Ammerman focuses on the fundamentalist congregation; Southside Gospel Church in America, which by the 1940s had severed from evangelicals in a quest to oppose all forms of modernity and refer to themselves as "true Bible believers."<sup>275</sup> In a church which promotes literal biblical injunctions such as 1Corinthians 14:35 against women "speaking", the women at Southside know their long-established subordinate place in the order of its congregation. They have no authority; this remains firmly in the province of the men in the congregation. "Women are so thoroughly outside the official power structure that an all-male committee can be described as a 'cross-section of the congregation'".<sup>276</sup> By listening to both the women, and the men, Ammerman is able to gain understanding of how they exist as

<sup>272</sup> S. Purvis, *The Stained Glass Ceiling: Churches and Their Women Pastors* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995).

<sup>273</sup> Purvis, *The Stained Glass Ceiling*, 91.

<sup>274</sup> Purvis, *The Stained Glass Ceiling*, 99.

<sup>275</sup> N. Ammerman, *Bible Believers: Fundamentalists in the Modern World* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

<sup>276</sup> Ammerman, *Bible Believers*, 125.

protectors and upholders of historic ideologies and tenets of faith, which assist fundamentalism in the creation of order for its adherents in the modern world of chaos. This also enables the introduction of their lived reality to be incorporated in the discussion describing the social realities of everyday religious life in American society.<sup>277</sup>

Joanna Gillespie's research results from the rumpus in the 1970s caused by the genesis of the ordination of women in America.<sup>278</sup> Her research focuses on ordinary women churchgoers in four mainline Episcopal American congregations. The context is the local congregation and the interviewees questioned and listened to are the women; "there, in the pew who no one ever asked before."<sup>279</sup> The areas participants are asked to respond to include "something transcendent"—that is a conscious turning to God at pivotal times during life; symbolic "holy ground" memories; narrating one's journey as a member of the congregation and a significant spiritual experience the interviewees would wish to see preserved and replicated. Gillespie creates a "portrait" of each congregation's own "witness" and maintains the same "reflective awe", as Robert Coles experienced when listening to his "witnesses."<sup>280</sup> This was also the experience of people as they listened to the ordinary women's voices of the congregations of her research.<sup>281</sup> The study seizes women's voices, describing their religious experiences and thereby, according to Ann Swidler, the American sociologist, "captures the intimate religious experiences of ordinary believers as previous studies have failed to do."<sup>282</sup>

Brenda Brasher's research, undertaken a decade after Ammerman's *Bible Believers*, is another study researching fundamentalist congregations, but its focus is specifically on the influence

<sup>277</sup> N. Ammerman, (ed.) *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

<sup>278</sup> J. Gillespie, *Women Speak: Of God, Congregations and Change* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1995).

<sup>279</sup> Gillespie, *Women Speak*, 5.

<sup>280</sup> See R. Coles, *A Witness to Idealism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993). The term "witness" was coined by Coles in respect of the methodology tool of oral history which had facilitated him in gathering people's life stories.

<sup>281</sup> I also similarly experienced "reflective awe" when listening to the voices of the respondents, men as well as women, talking about women and the ministry roles they fulfilled in early British Pentecostalism.

<sup>282</sup> A. Swidler, *Foreword* in Gillespie, *Women Speak*, vii.

and authority women wield in the church.<sup>283</sup> Differing markedly from Ammerman's study that depicts fundamentalist women in an ancillary role to the men, Brasher maintains that this is not the full story.<sup>284</sup> She is fascinated by the seeming irony that fundamentalist women can also be "powerful people in a religious cosmos generally conceded to be organised around their disempowerment."<sup>285</sup> Inspired to explore and analyse this paradoxical situation, Brasher became a participatory researcher in two fundamentalist congregations; Mount Olive and Bay Chapel in America.<sup>286</sup> Brasher maintains that her study offers a novel experience in that fundamentalist congregations provide an ideal environment for women's ministries to flourish. The women who live under the same "sacred canopy" as the men are not encouraged to challenge unyielding male supremacy, rather they are emboldened to confidently create a female sector comparable to that of the men's. Separated by "a sacred gender wall", women also function fully in their own world of ministries. According to Brasher these are much larger than the men's and have been in existence much longer. Yet astonishingly women's ministries; "have remained invisible to the public eye" but not any longer. In addressing this inequity and creating a forum for the voices of fundamentalist women, Brasher's study has recast the women's narrative.

### 3.2.2.2 British Traditional Settings

Mervyn Shaw's salutary remark, "It is important to recognise the struggles that women have had, and are still having, in order to be part of the official status quo within the Christian Church" highlights the ongoing feature dominating the research findings of myself and researchers committed to rediscovering the lives and voices of ministering women.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>283</sup> B. Brasher, *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

<sup>284</sup> The four fundamentalist congregations Brasher studied belonged to the Calvary Chapel denomination in America.

<sup>285</sup> Brasher, *Godly Women*, 3.

<sup>286</sup> This was similar to my experience; I have been a participatory researcher in British Pentecostalism for several decades.

<sup>287</sup> M. Shaw, *The Role Of A Methodist Minister* (PhD dissertation: University of the West of England in collaboration with the UK Methodist Church", 1996),1.



Dorothy Graham's research concentrates on searching out the women travelling preachers of Primitive Methodism exploring their lives and work, their value and influence within the context of the movement itself and in relation to the strata of society to which it chiefly appealed.<sup>288</sup> Little was known about the itinerant women who ministered in Primitive Methodism. Graham shares that they were so well hidden and their voices muted that Methodists were surprised to learn that, as a result of her research "women in ministry" is not a twentieth century phenomenon. "The Primitive Methodists had the flexibility and foresight to make valuable use of female preaching talents".<sup>289</sup> Graham's research establishes that though the ministering women endured struggle and even persecution, they successfully fulfilled ministry roles that were strategic.<sup>290</sup> However, this situation was not to last and the roles of ministering women became seriously curtailed. Graham attributes this to the routinisation of the centrally controlled Primitive Methodist movement and explains:

As Primitive Methodism moved from enthusiastic evangelism towards consolidation so its emphasis shifted and its attitudes developed and changed. The female travelling preachers played a vital, though often little acknowledged role in the Connexional evolution and it is this role that I have tried to explore and evaluate.<sup>291</sup>

Kirsten Thorpe's research informs that the ordination of the first woman minister, Constance Coltman, within a mainstream Trinitarian denomination in Britain, in September 1917, and other women ministers who followed her, encountered major struggles in getting their qualified position accepted.<sup>292</sup> They experienced demeaning marginalisation of themselves and their

<sup>288</sup> D. Graham, *Chosen By God: the Female Itinerants of Early Primitive Methodism* (PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1986).

<sup>289</sup> Graham, *Chosen By God*, Synopsis, 1.

<sup>290</sup> See D. Graham, *Chosen By God A list of the Female Travelling Preachers of Early Primitive Methodism* (Bunbury: Bankhead Press, a Wesley Historical Society Publishing Office, 1989). Common to all the entries, which are described in detail, is the high level of persecution they faced. Included are; Elizabeth Allen, Suzannah Barber, Elizabeth Johnson, Elizabeth Smith & S. Wheeler. Nothing much is known about Wheeler except that she was pledged by the Sheffield circuit and was pelted with rotten eggs at Barton Stacey on 13 October 1833.

<sup>291</sup> Graham, *Chosen By God*, Synopsis, 1.

<sup>292</sup> K. Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry. The experience of early women Congregational ministers* (PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2005). I found no evidence that

ordained status. Between 1917 and 1939 twenty other women followed Coltman as ordained Congregational clergy, accompanied by what Thorpe described as “a convincing public rhetoric of gender equality, according to which male and female ministers were regarded as total equals and treated accordingly.”<sup>293</sup> No hint of the struggles which took place ever surfaced in the popular and attractive version of events, that is until Thorpe researched and challenged this erroneous version and reconstructed a new, accurate account of women’s inauguration into Congregational ordained ministry. Thorpe cites the reference made by the Congregational minister and writer Revd. Dr Janet Wooton to the “rich history of this struggle” which triggered the need to re-air the correct account.<sup>294</sup> Thorpe’s study researches the true course of events that unfolded prior, and subsequent to, the denomination’s first ordained female minister. This innovative incident occurred as the result of a fortuitous conjunction of events taken advantage of by those advocating women’s climb to the same level in the pulpit as the men. Despite recommendations to members of the Congregational Council to open ordained ministerial training to qualifying women, it was never believed that this could be realised:

How much safer, if one did not want to create division, to leave a door ajar to something new and controversial while remaining fairly confident that nobody would have the power necessary to push the door open further.<sup>295</sup>

Thorpe shares that Coltman’s ordination, though unpredicted, could not then be disallowed as she had ably fulfilled the necessary criteria.

pentecostal women were aware of the Congregational position on women in ordained ministry. As Thorpe’s study revealed this was the position of Congregational members also until she advertised the fact through her research. Ordination did not become something pentecostal ministers sought after as the very word was negated anyway. It was only at the end of the era when war was looming once again that ordination to avoid a repetition of unordained ministers, who were conscious objectors, being imprisoned became an issue. It was a very short and simple affair See the comments made by Belfield regarding the issue in Chapter Six p.231.

<sup>293</sup> Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry*, 5.

<sup>294</sup> J. Wooton, “The Ministry of Women in the Free Churches”, in *Feminist Theology*, 8 (1995), 55-74, in Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry*, 12.

<sup>295</sup> Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry*, 216.

Anthony Barker's research found that women encountered substantial struggle. This was as a result of the reluctance on the part of Baptists to recognise women's call to ordained ministry.<sup>296</sup> He establishes that ordained women are not immune from limitation being imposed on their ministry role; marginalisation could occur even when ministerial status was secure. Barker verifies his claim by referring to Dr Nancy Clarke's telephone interview research undertaken in 1982/3. This was to ascertain the views held by Anglican, Baptist and Methodist ministers and minister's wives, concerning the women's roles in the Church.<sup>297</sup> The participants who display the most conservative attitudes towards women and their ministry roles are Baptists. The research reveals that 42% of Baptist ministers were at odds with the Baptist Union's decision taken in 1922 "to recognise women ministers." Just over a quarter of participating male Baptist ministers said they would not wish to have a woman pastor or woman assistant pastor. The female minister the Baptist ministers most prefer is the single, middle-aged woman and an assistant position to a male minister in the church is the role they consider to be the most appropriate for a woman to fulfil. Barker interprets the findings of this research as indicative that the struggle imposed on women and their ministry in the Baptist Church is enormous and inexcusable. It causes him, in defence of the women ministers, to critically declare:

Such practice by Baptists who claim to be people of the Bible is in sharp contrast to the testimony of Scripture. In spite of the exclusive male authorship and filtering, the New Testament contains more accounts of the role of women that inspired Baptists in previous centuries.<sup>298</sup>

In further explaining the official Baptist line on women and their ministry role, Barker introduces and discusses remedies. He begins by referring to a report entitled "Women in the Service of the Denomination", a commission by the Baptist Union Council to attempt to address issues relating to women and their ministry roles. In his expounding of the recommendations, Barker is hopeful that before too long major struggles will reduce and lasting change will be achieved to benefit the Union as a whole, and ministering women in particular.

<sup>296</sup> A. Barker, *Women's Roles in the Baptist Churches* (PhD dissertation: University of Oxford, 1996).

<sup>297</sup> 550 representative ministers and their spouses took part.

<sup>298</sup> Barker, *Women's Roles*, 3.

Helen Thorne judiciously and slowly sets the scene in the introduction to her research,<sup>299</sup> of the protracted struggle that women in Anglican ministry have endured.<sup>300</sup> Continuing with a sense of drama Thorne writes her first paragraph, capturing this momentous occasion for women in the history of the Church of England:

On the 11<sup>th</sup> November 1992...the General Synod of the Church of England voted by the two-thirds majority to approve legislation to ordain women as priests...The long journey towards women's priesthood, which had taken over 100 years and had been marked by pain and joy, disappointment and hope, alienation and support, was finally over.<sup>301</sup>

It was in Spring 1994, that the centuries of an all-male priesthood and the struggle for women to take up their rightful place within it, came to an end, when the first woman was ordained in Bristol Cathedral in an historic and joyful service. The ordaining of 1,500 women priests over the following year increased the number of members of the Anglican priesthood by a sizeable 10%. Thorne's study focuses on this first group of pioneer women, which is hallmarked throughout by contentious battling and marginalisation. Although officially the celebration of victory on 2 March 1994 was supposed to conclude this acrimony, Thorne's research reveals that the new women priests were to a marked degree still confronted by bigotry and chauvinism, though the women, placed in a new position of strength, were better placed to take their stand against it.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>299</sup> H. Thorne, *Journey to priesthood: an in-depth study of the first women priests in the Church of England* (PhD dissertation: University of Bristol, 1999).

<sup>300</sup> "A cold coming we had of it, slow Just the worst time of year For a journey, and such a long journey: The ways deep and the weather sharp, The very dead of winter". T.S. Eliot, *The Journey of the Magi*, T. S. Eliot *Collected Poems 1909-62 The Centenary Edition* (London: Faber, 1963).

<sup>301</sup> Thorne, *Journey into Priesthood*, 3.

<sup>302</sup> It was with a sense of shock as I rode by on a bus in Hull in the early 1970s that I encountered the alienating, fight and fanfare exhibited by those opposing the ordination of women to the Anglican priesthood. Large hoardings outside opposing Anglican churches, loudly declared their commitment; No To Women Priests. This Church is Determined To Keep Women Out.

The above samples of research were undertaken to rediscover women's experiences and capture their voices in traditional churches in Britain as well as current congregations in America. The necessity of needing to be able to appreciate the life stories of the women in these gatherings and to be able to hear them voicing their version of events has at last been met to a considerable extent in these studies.

As a result of this research of American fundamentalist and British traditional sections of the Church, the gaps in knowledge concerning women and the roles they fulfilled in these church groups, have been filled. Knowledge concerning what roles early British pentecostal women fulfilled that I provide can be added to the knowledge resulting from research carried out by other scholars. Pentecostal women's voices can now also be heard along with the voices of the women other scholars have similarly rediscovered. The lacuna which has hitherto existed in the early British pentecostal denominations concerning women and the roles they fulfilled has, as a result of this present research, been filled. That is the purpose of my study.

### **3.2.3 Critique of the Hermeneutic against Women's Ministry**

The last section revealed that the majority of the women in the traditional and contemporary churches experienced struggle and difficulty in following their call and this included even the Congregational church which supposedly welcomed women with a call into leadership ministry. It is important and I argue this is the right place to present a critique of the fundamentalist hermeneutic concerning women and the robustly defended debate about what was, and in many quarters still is, perceived as their permitted reduced ministry roles in the church before the issue of why aspiring pentecostal women felt they had permission to minister, which is introduced below. Basically the fundamentalist attitudes that some pentecostals inherited from Holiness and Salvation Army members was linked to the pentecostals' literal reading of the Bible and why I critiqued the fundamentalist hermeneutic which had relevance to this study of pentecostalism. The egalitarian prototype endorsed by Jesus was confirmed by the Holy Spirit when women became equal recipients of the pentecostal outpouring on the Day of Pentecost.<sup>303</sup> Characteristically equality was seen as an essential feature of the church with women and men being empowered equally to preach the Gospel and extend the Church worldwide. Peter explicated to the wondering crowd in Acts 2 that what they were witnessing

<sup>303</sup> Acts 2:1-4, 17-18. NIV.

was the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy “I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophecy...even on my servants, both men and women I will pour out my Spirit in those days”.<sup>304</sup> Gender equality was unmistakably evident in the church in Acts with women experiencing redemption, Spirit-baptism, sharing the good news of the Gospel, persecution and imprisonment.<sup>305</sup> However three problematic statements in the epistles of Paul present a serious dichotomy for women called and gifted to fulfil official ministry.<sup>306</sup> On the surface these verses appear to be at variance with the above practices and that Paul is contradicting the equality he had been earlier promoting causing scholars such as David Hamilton to query “Is the Bible contradicting itself?”<sup>307</sup> This presents a difficulty needing explanation that has been undertaken by numerous discussions and disputes. Richard France in his 1995 Didsbury Lecture, for example, establishes that Paul was a strong advocate of women’s ministry and in his letter to the church at Corinth explicitly discussed women’s prophesying role in the assembly.<sup>308</sup> France asked the pertinent question “What was going on in the Ephesian church which led Paul to lay down stringent rules to which there is no parallel to the rest of the New Testament?”<sup>309</sup> In the first problematic text (1Corinthians 11:1-3) Paul appears to be assigning restrictions upon women by making recourse to the principle of subordination apparently established at creation (Genesis 1-3). The crux of the “headship debate” concerns the words “head” *kephale* (Greek) and “helper” *ezer* (Hebrew) originating from Paul’s metaphorical statement “The head of the woman is man” (1Corinthians 11) and establishing a Christological hierarchy to sustain male headship by engaging with “the

<sup>304</sup> Joel 2:28-29. NIV.

<sup>305</sup> Acts 5:14; 8:3-4; 9:1-2; 12; 22:4. See also K. Torjesen, *When Women Were Priests: Women’s Leadership in the Early Church and the Scandal of Their Subordination in the Rise of Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1993).

<sup>306</sup> 1st. 1Corinthians 11:3 “The head of the woman is man”; 2nd. 1 Corinthians 14:34 “Women should remain silent in the churches” and 3rd. 1Timothy 2:12 “I do not permit a woman to teach”.

<sup>307</sup> L. Cunningham, D. Hamilton & J. Rogers, (eds.) *Why Not Women? A fresh look at Scripture on Women in Missions, Ministry and Leadership* (Seattle: YWAM Publishers, 2000), 40.

<sup>308</sup> R. France, *Women in The Church’s Ministry A Test-Case for Biblical Hermeneutics* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1995). See also R. & C. Kroeger, *I suffer not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in the Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992).

<sup>309</sup> France, *Women in The Church’s Ministry*, 57.

creational patterns” (Genesis 1-3) and (1 Timothy 2:13). There is a greater possibility that when he uses *kephale* Paul is referring to the common usage found frequently in ancient literature “source” or “origin” meaning source of the river, the *headwaters*.<sup>310</sup> The “helper debate” operates within a framework of subordination; woman being created after Adam relegated her to being his “helper.” Possibly when Paul uses *kephale* he is indicating that man should “lead” or “rule” woman, but this is an exceptional use of the word. A *mutualist* view is proffered by Lucy Peppiatt as a way of reading this text with a positive outcome for women with men and women “in the Lord” being viewed as interdependent (vv. 11-12).<sup>311</sup>

The second and third problematic texts “Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak but must be in submission” (1 Corinthians 14:34) and “I do not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man; she must be silent” (1 Timothy 2:12) appear also to impede women ministering. It must be acknowledged that these three texts “can hardly be absolute, unequivocal prohibitions of the ministry of women. Instead, they seem to be

<sup>310</sup> See D. Hamilton’s detailed debate “The Question of Headship” in *Why Not Women?*, 159-175. See also D. Scholer, “The Evangelical Debate over Biblical Headship” in C. Kroeger & J. Beck, (eds.), *Woman, Abuse and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996); R. France, *Women in the Church’s Ministry* 29-96; M. Evans, *Women in the Bible* (Carlisle: Paternoster: Paternoster Press 1998), 14-15; G. Fee, *The International Commentary on the New Testament, 1 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 504; E. Brusco “Gender and Power” in *Studying Global Pentecostalism* A. Anderson et al, 74-92 & K. Hagin, *The Woman Question* (Tulsa: Faith Library Publications, 1979). See J. Piper & W. Grudem, (eds.), *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1991) especially Chapter 2, 60-92. See also J. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1981) especially Chapters 7 and 8 for similar traditional views, 162-195. See also contemporary sources such as Estrela Alexander, *Black Fire: One Hundred Years of African Pentecostalism* (Westmont: IVP Academic, 2011); Leah Payne, *Gender and Pentecostal Revivalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Lisa P. Stephenson, *Dismantling the Dualisms for American Pentecostal Women in Ministry: A Feminist-Pneumatological Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Kimberley Alexander and Hollis Gause, *Women in Leadership: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Center for Pentecostal Leadership & Care, 2006) and John Christopher Thomas, “Women, Pentecostalism and the Bible: An Experiment in Pentecostal Hermeneutics,” in Lee Roy Martin, (ed.), *Pentecostal Hermeneutics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>311</sup> L. Peppiatt, *Rediscovering Scripture’s Vision for Women Fresh Perspectives on Disputed Texts* (London: Intervarsity Publishers, 2019), 62-64.

teachings dealing with specific, local problems that need correction”.<sup>312</sup> Establishing that the next part of verse 34; “they are commanded to be under obedience as the law says” cannot be attributed to any law in the Bible. Quincy Adams states; “In the Old Testament nothing of this precept exists. The prohibition against women speaking in the Synagogue is a Rabbinical tradition”.<sup>313</sup> Given that Paul contends against these traditions he would not be attributing the final authority to them on the woman issue. Ben Witherington acknowledges interpretations proffered in the academy of these verses.<sup>314</sup> He concludes maintaining that they are representing a specific local difficulty and not advocating a universal dictate.<sup>315</sup> However as Susan Hyatt highlights, the following fact remains that in Christian circles:

Fuelled by a belief in male dominance and female subjugation, the demoralizing and marginalization of women is...ever-present...the prevailing theology that men are to exercise authoritative headship while women are to submit graciously is problematic, unbiblical and destructive.<sup>316</sup>

<sup>312</sup> See *Lecture Notes* following discussion on the woman question between Julian Ward, Theology tutor at Regents Theology College, Nantwich, and myself, June 2008. Ward asserted that the social context was important for a correct view of these verses. He considers that Paul was opposing an independent teaching authority that was not subject to the teaching of the apostles and therefore the ban on woman teaching is to be seen in this light and that this in no way forbids women from teaching, preaching, prophesying and evangelising then or now.

<sup>313</sup> Q. Adams, *Neither Male Nor Female A Study of the Scriptures* (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, 1977), 205 cited J. Schleusner, *The Tyro's Greek Lexicon*, compiled by J. Jones (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green), 1825, 865. See also the comprehensive debates in S. Hyatt, *In the Spirit We're Equal* (Dallas: Hyatt International Ministeries, Inc., 1998), Chapters 15, 16 & 17. See K. Bushnell, “*God's Word to Women*” 101 *Questions Answered* (Printers Southport, Lowes Ltd. 1928).

<sup>314</sup> B. Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988). Under the section entitled, Silence in all the churches? Witherington introduces authors and their arguments such as W. Grudem; E. Ellis & S. Aalen, among others whose contributions centre around debating the interpolation theories of 1 Corinthians 14: 33b-36, 90-95.

<sup>315</sup> B. Witherington, 104. See also K. Bailey “Women in the New Testament: A Middle Eastern Cultural View”, in *Journal Theology Matters* Vol.6 No.11 January-February 2000, 1-11; A. Francis on Katherine Bushnell *God's Word to Women* (London: Crowning Educational, 2016) especially Lessons 89 and 90, 292-297 & J. Penn-Lewis on Katherine Bushnell, *The Magna Charta Of Women*, (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship 1975), especially 19-35.

<sup>316</sup> Hyatt, *In the Spirit We're Equal* 9.



### 3.2.4 The Influence of Evangelical/Holiness/Salvation Army Preachers

Pious women of the nineteenth century were expected to remain within the sphere of “hearth and home” and women who sought to challenge the status quo faced an uphill struggle.<sup>317</sup> Consequently, it is important, before embarking on an examination of the women who ministered in the early years of British pentecostalism, to consider why they felt they were able to minister. This was due to the significant influence of evangelical “Holiness women.”<sup>318</sup> These were the women who provided role models for the pentecostal women who similarly knew God’s calling on their lives, which they too longed to fulfil.<sup>319</sup>

#### Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874)

Raised a Methodist, it was after Holiness experience<sup>320</sup> and teaching that Palmer, supported by her husband Dr Walter Palmer, went on to become an influential Bible teacher, writer and editor evangelising extensively across America and Canada. Palmer successfully preached to large congregations on an extended ministry tour in Britain (1859-1863).<sup>321</sup> Palmer’s reformulation of Holiness teaching took place during this time, promoting her “altar theology” that entire sanctification, not necessarily accompanied by emotion, could be claimed by faith. Further, her teaching from this time, began to establish that “Holiness is Power”, replacing Wesleyan terminology with Pentecostal language. Palmer began referring to “sanctification” as “the Baptism of the Holy Ghost” describing “cleansing from sin” to be “an enduement of power for service.”<sup>322</sup>

<sup>317</sup> As discussed in section 2.6.1 above, the expectation, encouraged by the Government, was that women after the war ended would remain at home once again.

<sup>318</sup> See Hyatt, “Spirit-filled Women”, in Synan, *The Century*, 238-241, for an understanding of the Holiness movement and “Holiness women” in particular.

<sup>319</sup> P. Palmer, *The Promise of the Father; or a Neglected Speciality of the Last Days*.

<sup>320</sup> This was the experience introduced by the Methodists in an attempt to recapture the spiritual vigour of first-generation Methodism, see Hyatt, “Spirit-filled Women”, in Synan, *The Century*, 238.

<sup>321</sup> P. Palmer, *Four Years in the Old World*.

<sup>322</sup> D. Dayton, *Theological Roots Of Pentecostalism* (London: Hendrickson, 1996), 93-94 and see E. Hyatt, *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity* (Dallas: Hyatt Press, 1996), 136.

Although her ministry was successful, this did not stop her being attacked by the diatribes from opponents of women's ministry.<sup>323</sup> Undeterred by scathing remarks and ridicule, Palmer confidently continued ministering while countering her critics, and making an impressive and valiant attempt at disarming them. She declared:

There is a wrong, a serious wrong, affectingly cruel in its influences, which has long been depressing the hearts of the most pious women. And this wrong is inflicted by pious men, many of whom, we presume, imagine that they are doing God a service in putting a seal upon lips which God has commanded to speak.<sup>324</sup>

Hyatt comments on Palmer's philosophy that, despite centuries of prohibition where women and ministry were concerned, women are now able to minister once again, and are a speciality of the last days.<sup>325</sup> Palmer, she claims by using this "Latter Rain" argument, was appealing to Joel 2: 28-32 and Acts 2:17-21, asserting an equal right for women, as the men, to preach.<sup>326</sup> Hyatt concludes "It is the intention of God that women, whom he has equipped to minister in his church, be given the right to express their spiritual gifting...to pray, to prophesy and to preach".<sup>327</sup> This "early defence of women's right to preach the gospel" "became the fountain

<sup>323</sup> Criticism of Palmer's public ministry was sufficiently serious as to warrant her writing a book stridently defending a woman's right to preach. Palmer's *The Promise of the Father* validates woman's right and responsibility to respond to a call to ministry and was published in 1859, the year Palmer, and her husband, arrived in Britain. Here she continued to endure criticism. In December 1859 Arthur Rees, Independent church minister from Sunderland, denounced Palmer and all her works. His initial attack was delivered from his pulpit, followed by a repeated assault at a second meeting causing Catherine Booth, who attended the meeting, to assemble her own counterblast. See F. de L. Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth, the Mother of the Salvation Army* (London: Simpkin and Co, 1892), Vol.1, 343-349.

<sup>324</sup> Palmer, *The Promise*, 13.

<sup>325</sup> Palmer argues that though women have not been allowed to preach since the New Testament era they are now being restored to this role believing that Jesus will return to the earth again. In these last days before this eschatological event, women, as the men, are being called upon to preach in an allout effort to convert as many people as possible and are to be thus "a speciality of the last days." See Palmer, *The Promise*, 9-27.

<sup>326</sup> Hyatt, in Synan, *The Century*, credits Charles Parham as having coined the term "Latter Rain" to describe modern pentecostalism, 44-45.

<sup>327</sup> Hyatt, *In the Spirit We're Equal*, 162.

head of innumerable...arguments.”<sup>328</sup> This was remarkable given the timing of its appearance in both antebellum America and Britain.<sup>329</sup> To those who insisted that the Bible opposes the ministry of women, Palmer, balances one scripture with another scripture, maintaining this is necessary if the situation of serious errors in faith and practice are to be avoided.<sup>330</sup> In particular, she applies her understanding of the prophetic call to ministry to guide her interpretation of those passages of biblical text, which seemingly restrict the ministries of women.<sup>331</sup> Powers maintains that the powerful influence Palmer had on generations of Pentecostal women in ministry, is attributable to the enormously successful application of this, her fundamental theology, which equates the baptism of the Holy Spirit with empowerment for those seeking it.<sup>332</sup>

### **Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911)**

The contribution of the teaching of another evangelical Holiness American, Hannah Whitall Smith, was to impact audiences, notably at the Keswick conventions. These conferences began in 1875, and became Britain’s annual hub for Holiness/Higher Life teachings, which along with the Welsh Revival in 1904, led to the Pentecostal Revival. These gatherings were predominantly attended by Conservative Evangelicals where Holiness spirituality and teaching were developed. Notably, “Keswick was seen as a landmark in the emancipation of women, at least in the religious sphere”.<sup>333</sup> The impact of Whitall Smith’s writing was also significant.<sup>334</sup> Her theology was responsible for a redirection of classic Holiness teaching, from a gradual “eradicating” of inward sin, to being given power by the Spirit over it. This Holiness teaching

<sup>328</sup> R. Ruether, & R. Keller, (eds.), *Women and Religion in America: The Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 206.

<sup>329</sup> See D. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 96.

<sup>330</sup> See J. Powers & R. Baird “Phoebe Palmer and her Pentecostal Protegees”. Presented at the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Pasadena, CA 2006, for Palmer’s understanding of biblical texts concerning women’s ministry.

<sup>331</sup> See for example 1 Corinthians. 14:33-35 and 1 Tim. 2:11-14.

<sup>332</sup> Powers & Baird “Phoebe Palmer”, 269.

<sup>333</sup> D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 174.

<sup>334</sup> H. Whitall Smith, *The Christian’s Secret of a Happy Life* (London: Nesbet, 1870). See D. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 141. See Hyatt, in Synan, *The Century*, 29.

emanating from the Keswick Convention caused the Holiness Movement to become “a significant breeding ground for proto-Pentecostals.”<sup>335</sup> Whitall Smith, who came from a Quaker background, was committed to promoting gender equality in ministry. She taught that the Christian experience could be much more than nominal Christianity, and urged her readers to place their lives in the hands of “the Divine Potter” who could “transform them into vessels of honour with power to witness.”<sup>336</sup>

### **Catherine Booth (1829-1890)**

Catherine Booth was a nineteenth century preacher, whose husband was a staunch supporter of women’s ministry. Delighted with the news that female ministry was coming to the North-East of Britain, Booth, on 16 September 1859, wrote to her parents:

The celebrated Mrs. Palmer of America, authoress of *The Way of Holiness, Entire Consecration* and *Economy of Salvation* is now in Newcastle speaking every night at the Wesley Chapel and getting 30-40 of a night up to the communion rail. I intend to hear her when I return.<sup>337</sup>

Incensed at the thought of a woman coming to minister in his parish, Rev. Arthur Rees had written a pamphlet in which he condemned such “outrageous” behaviour. As a scriptural literalist, he had insisted that a woman preaching was “diametrically opposed to an inspired apostle’s precept.”<sup>338</sup> He was referring to Paul’s ruling that “women keep silent in the churches.”<sup>339</sup> Writing about this to her mother, Booth explained:

It was delivered in the form of an address to his congregation, would you believe that a congregation half composed of ladies would sit and hear such

<sup>335</sup> <http://www.salfordelimchurch.org/heritage.php>. Accessed on 18.12.2008. See S. Hyatt, *In the Spirit*, 99. The Quakers, like the Pentecostals, place significant emphasis on the leading of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>336</sup> Whitall Smith, *The Christian’s Secret*, 6-12 is a discussion of surrender and trust.

<sup>337</sup> Booth Papers, MS 64805. London: British Library, 16 September 1859.

<sup>338</sup> A. Rees, *Reasons for Not Co-operating in the Alleged “Sunderland Revivals”* (Sunderland: William Henry Hills, 1859).

<sup>339</sup> 1Corinthians 14:34-35.

self-deprecatory nonsense? They really don't deserve to be taken up cudgels for.<sup>340</sup>

Palmer influenced and inspired Booth to become “an unfailing, unflinching, uncompromising champion of woman's rights.”<sup>341</sup> In a pamphlet, Booth argued her defence of female ministry, rebuffing Rees point for point.<sup>342</sup> She focused upon the place of women that was equal to the men prior to “the Fall”. She offered biblical support for female ministry, arguing “If, “the Fall” set occupations, men should, “till the ground” as God commanded. But if men escape drudgery to find refined tasks, why should women be confined to, “the kitchen and the distaff” on account of Eve's sin?”<sup>343</sup>

Booth, responding to the reasoning that female preaching is unnecessary because there is plenty of scope for women to work in private, remonstrated “We cannot be blind to the supreme selfishness of making her so welcome to the hidden toil and self-sacrifice...without allowing her a title of the honour which He has attached to the ministration of His gospel”.<sup>344</sup> Concluding, she further reasoned “What we sincerely believe is that woman has a *right* to teach. Here the whole question hinges. If she has a *right*, she has it independently of any man-made restriction which does not equally refer to the opposite sex”.<sup>345</sup> Rees' attack on Palmer was to be instrumental in paving the way for Booth to commence preaching. Following the publication of her treatise, Booth began to apply its contents to herself.<sup>346</sup> At Whitsuntide in 1860 at Gateshead's New Connexion Chapel, she preached her first sermon. With the rest of his

<sup>340</sup> Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, 177.

<sup>341</sup> Hyatt, “Spirit-filled Women”, 239.

<sup>342</sup> C. Booth, published a pamphlet on *Female Teaching or the Reverend A. A. Rees versus Mrs. Palmer, Being A Reply to the Pamphlet by the Above Named Gentleman on the Sunderland Revivals*, (London: Salvation Army Printing and Publishing Offices, London, 1859), 351. In December 1859 Booth read a pamphlet written by Rees, attacking the preaching by women and the above was her response.

<sup>343</sup> C. Booth, *Female Ministry: Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel* (New York: Garden City, 1975), abridged edn, 22.

<sup>344</sup> Booth, *Female Ministry*, 105, see also 108-109.

<sup>345</sup> Booth, *Female Ministry*, 121, emphasis hers.

<sup>346</sup> Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, 358.

congregation, William Booth had listened to his wife sharing her struggle concerning a public ministry. As she sat down many were moved to tears, whereupon her husband had risen and announced that she would be the speaker at the evening service.

Steinbach writes “Catherine Booth...and the Salvationist women...known as Hallelujah Lasses...were as radical as the Primitive Methodists had been, but were far more numerous”.<sup>347</sup> Famously, William Booth remarked “My best men are women”.<sup>348</sup> However, even he came under fire for endorsing women’s exercise of authority over men. Significantly, the ebullience of the Salvation Army was to be adopted by the pentecostals.<sup>349</sup> Pentecostalism, by and large a twentieth century phenomenon, was continuous with evangelical Methodism, and nineteenth century evangelical Holiness movements, claiming that one can have subsequent blessings in addition to conversion.<sup>350</sup> I regard that the ministry of the Holiness Movement—especially where Palmer, Whitall Smith, Booth and their adherents were concerned—was to influence pentecostalism in the early twentieth century just as it had done for the Church on the crest of nineteenth century revivalism. Even though the rise of ministering women was soon followed by its demise, except in the Salvation Army, they had broken the ground for pentecostal women who felt the call to minister. Palmer and Booth each formulated a precedent for women’s ministry and Whitall Smith fearlessly “blasted” opposition to it.<sup>351</sup>

<sup>347</sup> Steinbach, 168-169.

<sup>348</sup> R. Tucker, & W. Leifeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women in Ministry from New Testament Times to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), 266.

<sup>349</sup> J. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1949) regarded the connection between the two groups attributable to their exuberant demonstration of praise and approval and “the exciting testimonies of the converts being punctuated by ardent volleys of “Hallelujah”.” 142.

<sup>350</sup> K. Warrington, (ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1988), xi. See Dayton, *Theological Roots*.

<sup>351</sup> Whitall Smith asserted “The gospel did not arbitrarily upset the existing order of things but put a mine under all wrong and oppression that finally blew up. Women were made free by the working out of the principles of Christ who had declared there is neither male nor female in him.” Hyatt, *In The Spirit*, 177, quoting from a letter written by Whitall Smith to her own daughter, 1: 29, 1882, cited in Carole Spencer, “Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival”, in *Quaker History*, Spring 1991, Vol. 80 No.28.

The immediate precursors of early British Pentecostalism were evangelical, notably Holiness Christians, but preceding them, were the early Methodists and the “lady preachers”, neither were to last. The nineteenth century Methodist Revival encouraged women to minister simply on the basis of their spiritual gifting.<sup>352</sup> The building of Chapels heralded institutionalisation of the sect, and as respectability became a new feature and men only trained for leadership roles, the demise of Methodist women’s ministry began. “Female preaching practically ceased to exist for a protracted period”.<sup>353</sup>

As already mentioned a different form of female preaching flourished for a while in connexion with the second evangelical awakening in 1860.<sup>354</sup> Jocelyn Murray shares that *The Revival* was a magazine founded on 30 July 1873 by Richard Morgan to report on the revival, which revealed that the ministry by the “lady preachers” was substantial.<sup>355</sup> Writing about the activities of almost forty of these women Olive Anderson informs that “The most successful of them achieved star status in the revivalist firmament and were all women from various middle-classes”.<sup>356</sup> In only a decade and half, the ministries of these lady preachers had declined or transmogrified, with one important exception, the Salvation Army. Notably the Army’s influence on nascent pentecostalism was substantial. William Kay demonstrates that the influence of the Salvation Army and its theology on new pentecostals was substantial and that “even in the 1950s at least 6 percent of AoG ministers had a Salvation Army background.”<sup>357</sup> Emerging pentecostalism witnessed women praying, prophesying, preaching

<sup>352</sup> See P. Chilcote, *She Offered Them Christ: The Legacy Of Women Preachers* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993).

<sup>353</sup> By the 1830s women’s leadership ministry had declined in Wesleyan Methodism and by the 1850s also in Primitive Methodism and Bible Christians. See W. Townsend, H. Workman, & G. Eayrs, (eds.), *A New History of Methodism* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909), Vol.1, 413.

<sup>354</sup> See Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening* which is the only full-scale modern account.

<sup>355</sup> J. Murray “Gender Attitudes and the Contribution of Women to Evangelism”, in Wolffe, (ed.), *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal*, 107.

<sup>356</sup> O. Anderson, “Women Preachers In Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflexions On Feminism, Popular Religion And Social Change”, in *Historical Journal*, Vol.12, No.3, 1969. Anderson cites Geraldine Hooper, Jessie Macfarlane, Octavia Jary, Elizabeth Baxter, Mrs Thistlethwayte and Catherine Booth adding that only the latter’s reputation has survived, 470.

<sup>357</sup> W. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 139.

and exercising a degree of leadership authority. It was radical at a time when, in the evangelical Church, women ministering at all, let alone similarly to the men, was practically non-existent. This is all the more unusual when viewed against the social mores that prevailed at this time.<sup>358</sup> Crucially, in the milieu when ministering women first attracted widespread attention in the mid-nineteenth century in Britain, (and this was among the middle classes), the established Church was still the great arbiter of public attitudes. Female preaching challenged the social convention that respectable women played no public role in mixed society. Simultaneously, the Church advocated strongly held beliefs which mitigated against women ministering publicly. The negatively restricting interpretations of specific Pauline passages, apparently forbidding public ministry of women, were universally upheld within the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Free Churches.<sup>359</sup> Also, general biblical views maintain that women have been inferior from creation when they were created from men. Unqualified therefore to exercise leadership, their position is a God-ordained subordinate one to men.<sup>360</sup> There is no evidence that Anglican or Free Church evangelicals were less fervently committed than other Christians to the belief that women had to stay in their place. Yet another set of prevailing beliefs involved the traditional teaching that since the beginning, deacons, priests and bishops have to be male, with emphasis being on clerical leadership as opposed to lay participation.<sup>361</sup> Interestingly, missionary work overseas became very attractive for women wishing to minister, but it must be noted that, once back on home soil, women were disadvantaged in that prejudice prevented them occupying the pulpits in Britain.<sup>362</sup> Murray writes about the burgeoning missionary work, which began taking place at the end of the 19th century and was to involve women from all denominations.<sup>363</sup> Allan Anderson explains that a major contributing factor was the changing religious expectation on the role of women in the western world, particularly single missionary

<sup>358</sup> See Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 26 and Chapter Two of this study.

<sup>359</sup> See discussion of women's ministry hermeneutic section 2.4 above.

<sup>360</sup> See M. Furlong, *A Dangerous Delight: Women and Power in the Church* (London: SPCK) which deals with Christian stereotypes of women, 13-50.

<sup>361</sup> See N. Summerton, *A Noble Task, Eldership and Ministry in the Local Church* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1994), 119-132.

<sup>362</sup> Murray, "Gender Attitudes" in Wolffe, *Evangelical Faith*, 111.

<sup>363</sup> Murray, "Gender Attitudes", in Wolffe, *Evangelical Faith*, 102-103.



women in evangelical circles.<sup>364</sup> With the “first flush of revivalism” dissipating in the nineteenth century, so also did the women’s equal ministry role in all but the Salvation Army. As the new century spawned pentecostal revivalism, these Holiness women ministers were to inspire pentecostal women who had ministerial aspirations.

### **3.2.5 The Role of Women in the Welsh Revival 1904/5**

The formation of Britain’s three main pentecostal denominations was rooted in the Welsh Revival, which was seen in retrospect as an inspiration and catalyst by pentecostals. Women played an instrumental role in, and were an integral part of, the Welsh revival fulfilling, just as the men, the preparatory role for the coming pentecostal move of God’s Spirit. Gee regarded the influence of this Revival as pivotal to early British pentecostalism, claiming “It is impossible, and would be historically incorrect, to dissociate the pentecostal Movement from that remarkable visitation of God’s Spirit”.<sup>365</sup>

The “Carriers of Fire” were women evangelists who ministered. They sang, preached and testified from the onset of the Revival, and worked alongside its leader Evan Roberts.<sup>366</sup>

**Figure 3.1 Evan Roberts and the “Carriers of Fire”**



<sup>364</sup> A. Anderson, *Spreading Fires* (London: SCM Press, 2007), 271-272.

<sup>365</sup> D. Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Nottingham: AoG, 1957), 5.

<sup>366</sup> K. Lowe, *Carriers of The Fire* (Llanelli: Shedhead Productions, 2004), 4. See also “The Welsh Revival of 1904-1905—Truth in History”. <http://www.truthinhistory.org/the-welsh-revival-of-1904-1905.html> Accessed on 04.11.2012.

Significantly, it was as a result of earnestly seeking God for revival that these Welsh women saw themselves empowered by the Holy Spirit. This resulted in them being enabled to minister—"The Holy Spirit released a boldness to witness and a deep givenness to God's purposes".<sup>367</sup> This was radically breaking away from the traditional ministry mode, where men only had ministered. The cry "Rwy'n carn'r Arglwydd Iesu a'm holl gallon" (I love the Lord with all my heart), by Florrie Evans in Newquay, West Wales, 1904 "put a match to a nationwide yearning in Wales, that exploded in Revival fire through the life of Evan Roberts and went worldwide."<sup>368</sup> Karen Lowe drew attention to the radical role women played in this revival. She said that despite being "a forgotten history" their story is nonetheless paramount in appreciating the significance of the Revival.<sup>369</sup> Mary Jones, a middle-aged farmer's wife, was recognised (along with Evan Roberts) as one of the "two leading figures" of the Revival.<sup>370</sup> She successfully led the church at Egryn, during which time, "some seventy souls were added."<sup>371</sup>

Teams of teenage men and women were sent out by Jenkins, the minister from Newquay, into neighbouring churches, and were popular and successful.<sup>372</sup> In Blaenannerch, they encouraged Evan Roberts, and from this time began to accompany him on his evangelistic tours.<sup>373</sup> Robert's original team consisted exclusively of women: Maud Davies, Elsie Phillips, Mary Jones, Miss Davies, Mrs Evans, Florrie Evans and another Maud Davies. These teams proved effective for the development of the Revival. Roberts wrote regularly to his sister Mary. His letters show concern for her spiritual well being and for the other young women at Loughor. He wrote,

<sup>367</sup> Lowe, *Carriers*, 23.

<sup>368</sup> Lowe, *Carriers*, 2.

<sup>369</sup> Lowe, *Carriers*, 2.

<sup>370</sup> See E. Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (Bridgend: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1987), 115.

<sup>371</sup> Evans, *The Welsh Revival*, 116.

<sup>372</sup> Evans, *The Welsh Revival*, 62. See also the testimonies to women ministering, 68-71.

<sup>373</sup> See *The War Cry*, "Mother Shepherd", 27 January 1881. Significant "forerunners of the Revival" included Mary David, Pamela Shepherds and her daughter Kate, Rosina Davies and Cranogwen-Sarah Jane Rees. They helped prepare the way for the Revival outpouring of the Holy Spirit which was to empower and embolden women across Wales.

encouraging Mary to change, to be as the Newquay women, who were earnestly and confidently stepping out of their hitherto shy, restricted mode, and ministering freely.<sup>374</sup>

These ministry-teams of women created a sensation in many chapels.<sup>375</sup> It was at Gorseinon that five young women gave themselves as singers to the Revival mission work, and travelled with Roberts as “The Singing Evangelists”. Priscilla Watkins had left her employment to join the travelling team, and her sudden departure was reported in the *Llanelly Mercury* 1 December 1904 and also in the *South Wales Daily News*:

At a meeting of the managers of the Gowertin group of schools on Wednesday it was reported that one of the teachers at Penyrheol School, Gorseinon had departed with the revivalists without tendering notice ...The opinion was expressed that the action of the teacher in question was excusable, that no legal steps be taken against her and that she be paid her salary in full up to the time of her leaving.<sup>376</sup>

When Roberts, with a young lady from his team either side of him, had stood in front of the staid, traditional congregation of the Calvinistic Methodists in Trecynon, Aberdare on 13 November 1904, the people had been shocked and critical. As one of the young women began to sing her testimony with deep emotion, a stillness came upon them “like the quiet presaging an electric storm.”<sup>377</sup> Revival broke out, continuing throughout the day, as a result of public confession of sin by a prominent, hitherto proud, member of the congregation.

Other Revival singers followed, such as: May John, Kate Morgan, Edith Jones, Emlyn House, Mattie Williams, C. Jones and Gwinnie John, but apart from photographs in newspapers little is said about them. Jessie Penn-Lewis wrote about what she saw first-hand, through the dedicated women of the Revival:

<sup>374</sup> Lowe, *Carriers*, 38-39.

<sup>375</sup> N. Gibbard, *Fire on the Altar: A History and Evaluation of the 1904-05 Welsh Revival* (Darlington: Brynterion Evangelical Press, 2005). Writing under the title, “Women Workers”, Gibbard refers to the fact that the roles women were striving to fulfil in the Revival in Wales at that time created a problem in that many people found this situation hard to accept, 22.

<sup>376</sup> *South Wales Daily News*, “Left All and Joined the Mission”, 1 December 1904, 6.

<sup>377</sup> D. Matthews, *I Saw the Welsh Revival* (Belfast: Ambassador, 2004.), 29. [www.revivallibrary.org/catalogues/1904ff/Index1904.html](http://www.revivallibrary.org/catalogues/1904ff/Index1904.html) (Chapter 4). Accessed 14.08.2012.

It is now no uncommon thing to see a young girl of 18 speaking under the evident control of the Holy Spirit while in the big pew sit the ministers and elders with tears coursing down their faces. The servants and handmaidens are prophesying as foretold by Joel.<sup>378</sup>

People were keen to connect with Roberts and his “five young singing evangelists” and invitations to minister became numerous.<sup>379</sup> Developing from women’s successful and popular team ministry was the ministering by women on their own in Wales and beyond. The women were thus an integral part of the Welsh Revival paving the way, as the men, for the coming of pentecostalism. “Children of the Revival” refer to those converts in the Revival who afterwards continued revival meetings in addition to the ordinary schedule of church meetings. They created a crucial link between the Revival and emerging pentecostalism.<sup>380</sup> The ministry of women alongside the men, contributed significantly to the development and success of early British entecostalism.<sup>381</sup> The influence of the Welsh Revival extended to Los Angeles through the activities of Joseph Smale and Frank Bartleman, who visited Wales and were affected by the Revival.<sup>382</sup> On their return, they began praying for similar renewal in America causing Hyatt to declare:

<sup>378</sup> J. Penn-Lewis, *The Awakening in Wales* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1905), 85-86.

<sup>379</sup> See Lowe, *Carriers* who relates that the absence of Evan Roberts at a meeting was a disappointment as was also the absence of his female evangelists, 52.

<sup>380</sup> Evans, *Welsh Revival*, 190.

<sup>381</sup> Women ministered extensively alongside the men in early British pentecostalism as the three denomination chapters reveal. In 1915 the Elim Foursquare Alliance was formed in Ireland by George Jeffreys (1889-1962) and his brother Stephen Jeffreys (1876-1943) was instrumental both in evangelism and healing crusades in Elim and AoG denominations. Both were converts of the Welsh Revival. In 1916 the AC in Wales was formed in South Wales as an off shoot from its parent body the AFC which had also been influenced by the Welsh Revival. Daniel Williams (1882-1947) and William Jones Williams (1891-1945), co-founders of the AC were both converted during the Welsh Revival. Donald Gee (1891-1966), a founder member of AoG, which became a denomination in 1924, was converted by Seth Joshua who was active in the Welsh Revival.

<sup>382</sup> C. Palmer, *The Emergence of Pentecostalism in Wales* (London: Apostolus Publishing Ltd., 2016) maintains that events and individuals linking and uniting Wales with Azusa in America are crucial to understanding the revivalist outpourings in both countries in the early years of the 20th century, 26 .

The Welsh Revival of 1904 aided by the vital ministry of women ... set all Wales ablaze, then London and then all of England, until people from all over the world were coming to see if this was the new Pentecost.<sup>383</sup>

### **3.2.6 Women fulfilled egalitarian roles in the Pentecostal revival**

#### **3.2.6.1 Agnes Ozman (1870-1937)**

I believe that men *and* women ministering efficiently in an equal manner was God's chosen method to advance pentecostalism. Women had made large strides over the latter half of the preceding century becoming "better educated, better trained and better able to work at any number of different roles...women had begun to find their own way."<sup>384</sup> When the twentieth century dawned, women were less marginalised and sufficiently prepared to take up their destined positions in the pentecostal revival. On 1 January 1901, the Holy Spirit famously "came upon" Agnes Ozman, enabling her to speak fluently in a language she had never learnt.<sup>385</sup> Thus, a landmark in Church history was created, initiating the pentecostal movement of the twentieth century.<sup>386</sup> Traditionally it dates from the initial speaking in tongues by Ozman in Topeka College, Kansas, followed by the pioneers of the Azusa Street mission in Los Angeles, creating a trail world-wide.<sup>387</sup> Men and women were recognising the biblical imperative, as enshrined in the message of Joel's biblical prophecy (Joel 2:28-32) cited in Acts 2:16-; women had as much right as men to preach, pray, lead and prophesy, since God/the Bible did not recognise "gender" as a valid differentiation equipping for the ministry.

<sup>383</sup> R. Owens, "The Welsh Revival", in Synan, *The Century*, 41.

<sup>384</sup> J. Murray, "Gender Attitudes and the Contribution of Women", in J. Wolffe, *Evangelical Faith* Chapter Five, 111-112.

<sup>385</sup> N. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), 23.

<sup>386</sup> J. Flower, "Birth of the Pentecostal Movement" in *The Pentecostal Evangel* (26 November 1950), 3.

<sup>387</sup> Synan, *The Century*, ix.

### 3.2.6.2 Azusa Street

Cartwright asserts that women played a vital part in the antecedent events, which led to the Azusa Street revival, in Los Angeles in 1906.<sup>388</sup> He criticises previous accounts maintaining “They contain inaccuracies and have in the process failed to give due significance to the part played by women in the emergence of early pentecostalism”.<sup>389</sup> He purports that women fulfilled significant leadership ministry roles, as did the men throughout this period.<sup>390</sup>

Jennie Moore, while visiting Smale’s New Testament Church on Sunday 15 April 1906, testified to what was being experienced in the Revival at Azusa Street then spoke out a message in tongues. The interpretation given by Ruth Asberry amazed the congregation.<sup>391</sup> McGee recorded that for those who came from far and wide to receive their Spirit-baptism, “the very atmosphere of heaven had descended.”<sup>392</sup> The previous half-century had seen an opening up of opportunities for women to minister within certain circles in America. The fact that many of the leaders and key workers in Azusa Street were women was still unconventional and the unprecedented nature of the work there made newspaper headlines.<sup>393</sup>

<sup>388</sup> E. Blumhofer, “Azusa Street Revival” *prepared for Religion Online by Ted and Winnie Brock*. Posted in 2008. <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=3321> Accessed on 5.12.2008.

<sup>389</sup> D. Cartwright, “Your Daughters Shall Prophecy: The Contribution Of Women In Early Pentecostalism”, Paper given at the Society for Pentecostal Studies Conference, Gaithersburg, Maryland, in *JEPTA Bulletin* 15 November 1985, 14n2. See also Hyatt, “Spirit-filled Women” in Synan, *The Century*, who claims the women were unnamed catalysts for revival at that time, 247.

<sup>390</sup> See Cartwright, “Your Daughters”, “During the next few days as they were renovating the lumber store, the first convert was recorded. One of the women...cleaning the building had one of the workmen down on his knees and he was soundly converted even before the place was opened”, 7.

<sup>391</sup> Cartwright, “Your Daughters”, 7.

<sup>392</sup> G. McGee, “William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival”, in *Pentecostal Ministry Enrichment Journal*. Posted 2008. [http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026\\_azusa.cfm](http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026_azusa.cfm) Accessed on 09.09.2008.

<sup>393</sup> See Cartwright, “Your Daughters”, 7. See *Los Angeles Times*, “Weird Babal Of Tongues”, 18 April 1906, 17.

The trail leading from Azusa Street to Britain was through Thomas Barratt, who was invited to lead revival meetings in Sunderland by Alexander Boddy (see 3.10 below). Barratt had been fundraising in America for a Mission in Norway when he came under the influence of the Azusa Street revival. He testified in a report, which he wrote home, that he had benefitted directly from the ministry of women from Azusa Street.<sup>394</sup>

### 3.2.6.3 Catherine Price

Boddy chronicled the year 1906 in Britain, following the Welsh Revival of 1904-5, when “a ... cry for a Pentecost with scripture evidences, began to rise heavenward from God’s hungry children.”<sup>395</sup> News from Azusa Street, broadcast through the *Apostolic News* magazine, encouraged other prayer groups up and down the land to plead for God to also bless Britain with his Holy Spirit. Catherine Price, wife of a London bank manager, had started one such prayer group in her home in London six months before she received her Spirit-baptism. In January 1907, with the household retired, she had been praying, as she habitually did, and related the following:

While praising Him I had a vision of Jesus upon the cross. It was dark. He extended His arms to me and said: “Come to me”...Then the darkness fled ...Involuntarily I threw up my arms to praise Him and suddenly they seemed charged with electricity and a power came on me and I praised Him in another tongue.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>394</sup> *Elim Evangel*, “Pastor T.B. Barratt in America” 2 January 1928, Vol.15 No.1, 10. See Hyatt, “Spirit-filled Women” in Synan, *The Century*, 246-8. See also the claim made by E. Alexander, *The Women of Azusa Street* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 2005) that the names of the women who played vitally important roles as the men in the Azusa Street Revival and early pentecostalism, have hitherto remained mostly unknown, 10. Alexander substantiates her claim in Part One *Getting to Azusa Street* 1. Neely Terry, 2. Julia Hutchins; Part Two *At the Revival* 3. Lucy Farrow, 4. Clara Lum; Part Three *From Azusa Street to the World* 5. Florence Reed Crawford, 6. Lucy Leatherman, 7. Ophelia Wiley, 8. Lillian Anderson Garr, 9. Susie Villa Valdez, 10. Rosa de Lopez, 11. Ardella Knapp Mead, 12. Daisy Batman, 13. May Evans, 14. Anna Hall, 15. Mabel Whitter Smith Hall, 16. Ivy Glenshaw Campbell; Part Four *The Afterglow of the Revival* 17. Jenny Evans Moore Seymour, 18. Emma Cotton and 19. Rachel Harper Sizelove.

<sup>395</sup> Boddy, *Confidence*, “The Pentecostal Movement”, August 1910, 195. See also S. Frodsham, *With Signs Following* (Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1946), 56-60.

<sup>396</sup> See M. Boddy, *A Pentecost at Home (Tongues as a Sign): Testimony of a Busy Mother*, Privately published, n.d. Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

Gee claimed that the prayer meetings Price began to hold in her home may be regarded as the first definitely “Pentecostal” meetings established in England where many people received their Spirit-baptism.<sup>397</sup> Price described the effect of the power of God in those significant, early pentecostal gatherings; “A few of us who met for prayer at the beginning will never forget the awe of God’s holy presence in the room when everything in it gently rocked”.<sup>398</sup> Boddy claims that Price was the first person in Britain at that time to receive “her Spirit-baptism with the Sign of Tongues.”<sup>399</sup> Letters to the *Apostolic Faith* magazine corroborated and therefore validated the historic “pneumatic ” experiences of the original triumvirate who met to pray.<sup>400</sup> Momentum grew and women took their place, in equal partnership with men, in pentecostalism’s early development as the following chapters verify.

#### 3.2.6.4 Mrs Mary Boddy

Barratt accepted Boddy’s invitation to minister in Sunderland.<sup>401</sup> Though Spirit-baptism accompanied by tongues was not exclusive to the diocese of Durham at this time, the visit of Barratt in September 1907 heralded the spread of pentecostalism across Britain. It was through the *Confidence* magazine, edited and produced by Boddy that news, teaching and details of advertised gatherings such as the conventions he inaugurated in Sunderland, were disseminated.<sup>402</sup> The development of early British pentecostalism was spearheaded under his watchful, competent eye ably assisted by his wife and her extensive ministry. Mary Boddy is

<sup>397</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 21.

<sup>398</sup> Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, 60.

<sup>399</sup> Boddy, *Confidence*, August 1910, 195.

<sup>400</sup> Correspondent J. Hinners of Allerman Road, Brixton was with Mrs Price on 9 January 1907 following her baptism in the Holy Spirit and writes about this adding that now all three of them had received. See *Apostolic Faith* April 1907, Vol.2 No.4, 10 “Many Witnesses to the Power of Blood and the Holy Ghost: in London.” There was still a year to pass before the British publication *Confidence* magazine was to make its appearance and it was from the American platform provided by the *Apostolic Faith* magazine that Mary Martin of 319 Southampton Street, Camberwell broadcast her claim that she was one of the first three upon whom God had blessed with his power the others being Mrs Price and an unnamed brother. See *Apostolic Faith* “Glad Tidings of Great Joy: London, England,” October 1907, Vol.2 No.10, 8.

<sup>401</sup> Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, 61.

<sup>402</sup> 141 editions of *Confidence* were published between 1908 and 1926.



an example of a woman who exhibited ministry in a manner in keeping with the feminist ethos which was making itself felt across society. Confidently and capably she fulfilled her ministry with enthusiasm believing fully that as a woman her calling was from God to minister and as Kay writes, “Boddy certainly felt that his wife had a right to preach or exhort and her contributions to Conventions and *Confidence* were manifold”.<sup>403</sup>

While there is no evidence that Mary fulfilled any official ministry alongside her husband’s role as an Anglican vicar, there is ample evidence that she fulfilled an effectual role within pentecostalism. She was a role model for women aspiring to minister in pentecostalism’s formative stages in Britain.<sup>404</sup> Boddy encouraged his wife to exercise her own ministry by publishing her teaching articles in *Confidence* magazine and by giving her opportunity to preach and pray for people at the Conventions. Mary Boddy exercised a healing ministry in both private and public settings.<sup>405</sup> She wrote articles and books that were widely circulated,<sup>406</sup> and exercised a gift of helping men and women receive their Spirit-baptism.<sup>407</sup> She helped Smith Wigglesworth, who became known internationally as an “Apostle of Faith”,<sup>408</sup> Gerrit Polman, another high-profile Pentecostal who led the movement in Amsterdam was also helped.<sup>409</sup>

<sup>403</sup> Kay, W, *Inside Story* (Doncaster: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990), 37.

<sup>404</sup> See Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, 138.

<sup>405</sup> See *Confidence*, “Pentecostal Meetings”, May 1910, Vol.3 No.5, 112.

<sup>406</sup> See *Confidence*, “His Own Blood” April 1908, Vol.1 No.1, 4, and May 1910, Vol.3 No.5, 2. See *Confidence*, May 1908 where a woman wrote to Mrs Boddy thanking her for the blessing her book “*Health in Christ*,” had been to her, No.1, 18. See also *Confidence*, *Thoughts on the New Creation* (M.B.) a collection of articles published as a 62 page book, August 1910, Vol.3 No.8, 187. See *Confidence*, April 1908 Vol.11 No.4. C. Beruldsen from Edinburgh is testifying to being physically healed and having her life completely changed after receiving her Spirit-baptism when Mrs Boddy prayed for her, 12. See also *Confidence*, October 1908 Vol.1 No.7. Lucy Larkman, a headmistress, is testifying how, after Mrs Boddy told her to praise God and wait for Him, she had done and God’s power had then come upon her flooding her body from head to toe with, what seemed to her, as electric currents. A few days later she had spoken in tongues, 10.

<sup>408</sup> See *Confidence*, Supplement October 1908 Vol.11 No.15.

<sup>409</sup> See Cartwright, “Your Daughters”, 9.

### **3.2.7 Conclusion**

The focus of my study is the women and roles they fulfilled in early British pentecostalism. The overriding issue that all women in the three denominations, to which the themes in this and the previous contextual chapters are inextricably linked, encountered various levels of disadvantage. As the following chapters reveal I argue that the reason why is fundamentally linked to the praxis governing each individual denomination where the issue of women and their participation in ministry is concerned. These are the parameters by which I evaluate my research in my concluding chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR: The Roles fulfilled by Women in the Elim Church

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the women in the Elim denomination and the ministry roles they fulfilled. It reveals how easy it was in the beginning for women to fulfil official roles, and how difficult this became within thirteen years.<sup>410</sup> It provides an evaluation about the reasons for the challenges the women with a call to ministry faced and their reactions to them.

<sup>410</sup> Information on the history of the Elim church can be located in the following principal sources: collection of the *Elim Evangel* magazines, located in Desmond Cartwright Research and Archives Centre, Malvern, (hereafter Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern) and can be obtained in digital format Revival Library, King's Centre, High Street, Bishop's Waltham, Hants, SO32 1AA; tape recording *Pentecostal Heritage*, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern; *Microfische Records of early Elim Ministers*, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern; *Canty's Chronicles A Walk Through the History of the Pentecostal Church*, Audio CDs 1-3, n.d.; Revival Media, Solihull; A. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); E. Boulton, *George Jeffreys, A Ministry of the Miraculous* (London: Elim Publishing Office, 1928); C. Cartwright, Jan & David Holdaway, (eds.) *Defining Moments, Elim 100 Centenary* (Retford: LifePublications, 2014); D. Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists, The Remarkable Lives of George and Stephen Jeffreys* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1986); S. Frodsham, *With Signs Following* (Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1941); Gee, *These Men I Knew: Personal Memoirs of Pentecostal Pioneers* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1980); D. Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Nottingham: AOG, 1967); D. Green, (ed.) *Celebration: Seventy Years Ministry By The Elim Church* (Worthing: Herald House, 1985); M. Hathaway "The Elim Pentecostal Church: Origins, Development and Distinctives", in K. Warrington, (ed.) *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998); W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972); N. Hudson, *A Schism and its Aftermath. An historical analysis of denominational discription in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-1940* (PhD dissertation: London University, King's College, 1999); W. Kay, *George Jeffreys Pentecostal Apostle and Revivalist* (Cleveland: CPT Press, 2017); W. Kay, *Inside Story* (Doncaster: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990); W. Kay, *Pentecostalism A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2022.); W. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000); K. Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered* (Longwood: Xulon, 2008); J. Robinson, *The Origins and Development and Nature of Pentecostalism in Ulster 1907-c.1925: A Study in Historical and Theological Contextualisation* (PhD dissertation: Queen's University, Belfast, 2001); R. Tweed, *Tweed Memoir*, (Privately distributed document, n.d), Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern; T. Walsh, *To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People, An Exploration of the Origins, Emergence and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in England, 1907-1925* (PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2007); C. Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers* (Basingstoke: Marshall

Two vignettes of women who ministered in George Jeffreys' Elim Evangelistic Band, are provided.<sup>411</sup> They represent women who ministered in official roles and demonstrate that women ministered in an equal leadership role as the men did in the foundational stage of the denomination. This was prior to the issuing by Jeffreys of his directive "Sisters Should Not Officiate", in 1928. It shows that women who ministered after this time were single and their numbers were few. The vignette of Margaret Barbour is included because of the impact she had on those entering the Elim ministry at the formative stage of the denomination. Notably, the route to ministry was via the Elim Bible College.<sup>412</sup> This is illustrated by the vignette of Miss Dorothy Flower.<sup>413</sup> When this route became closed to women, officially their leadership ministerial role was subsequently removed. The reasons are complex, and although introduced here, are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven, forming part of the wider discussion and analysis of women's roles across the three Pentecostal denominations. The quantitative and qualitative data generated by the questionnaire to veterans who witnessed what women did in the early era of the denomination, is presented and analysed. I have included a section on Aimee Semple McPherson because of the relationship, ministry and influence she had upon early British Pentecostalism and on George Jeffreys and early Elim in particular.<sup>414</sup>

## **4.2 A brief history of when and how the Elim Pentecostal Alliance emerged**

George Jeffreys, the founder/leader of the Elim Pentecostal Church came to faith in the Welsh Revival in 1904 in Maesteg, South Wales and received his Spirit-baptism in 1910. Two years later, encouraged and funded by Cecil Polhill, he began training for the ministry at the Pentecostal Missionary Union's Bible School at Preston led by Thomas Myerscough. This was

Pickering, 1983); K. Warrington, (ed.) *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998) & B. Wilson, *Sects and Society* (London: Heinemann, 1961).

<sup>411</sup> Hereafter abbreviated to EEB.

<sup>412</sup> Hereafter abbreviated to EBC.

<sup>413</sup> See the extensive collection of *Letters* relative to Dorothy Flower's Application to the Elim Bible College", Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>414</sup> The seven men were: George Jeffreys, George Allen, Frederick Farlow, William Henderson, Albert Kerr and John and Robert Mercer. Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, draws attention to the fact that the minute Book of the EEB records that the reason for the meeting was to discuss the most effective way of evangelising Ireland and spreading pentecostalism, 43.

cut short when Jeffreys answered a call from his brother Stephen to assist him in his successful evangelical and healing meetings in Swansea. In 1913 Jeffreys was invited by Rev Alexander Boddy to preach at the prestigious Sunderland convention where his preaching impacted the congregation.<sup>415</sup> William Gillespie was present and on his return to Ireland invited Jeffreys to preach there and included money for his fare. It was on the occasion he spoke at the 1914 Christmas Convention in Dover Street, Belfast that he first met up with some men from Monaghan. They were dedicated to evangelising Northern Ireland and keen to enlist Jeffreys to hold a revival Campaign in their town. They arranged to meet together on 7 January 1915 in Knox's Temperance Hotel in Monaghan to pray and discuss the way forward. A woman's ministry—see below—was the strategic spur to Jeffreys to begin evangelising Ireland. Jeffreys with his workers, which he named the Elim Evangelistic Band, (EEB) committed together to “contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints” taking a stand against modernism and liberalism of other church groups.<sup>416</sup> This was enshrined in the booklet *What We Believe* which Jeffreys produced, proclaiming that “no member of any other assembly be asked to join the church.”<sup>417</sup>

Their allegiance was to the emergent dispensational premillennialism and its development into a specific Pentecostal eschatology hallmarked by “evangelism, adventism and healing.”<sup>418</sup> The first Elim Church was established in Hunter Street, Belfast in June 1915. At a second meeting of the EEB held on 3 July 1915 at the home of Jack Wilkinson, it was recorded that good progress was taking place. A tent Mission, with Jeffreys at the helm, had begun in North Road,

<sup>415</sup> N. Hudson, “The Earliest Days of British Pentecostalism”, in *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, Vol. XXI, 2001 explores the developing relationship between Boddy, the influential and highly respected cleric, who had been at the centre of British Pentecostalism since 1908, and the younger, relatively obscure Jeffreys. Importantly their combined endeavours in relation to the developing early pentecostalism in Britain would be colossal, 49-67.

<sup>416</sup> D. Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 44 . See C. Cartwright, Jan & David Holdaway, (eds.) *Defining Moments, Elim 100 Centenary*, 25-28.

<sup>417</sup> C. Cartwright et al, *Defining Moments*, 26.

<sup>418</sup> M. Hathaway, “The Elim Pentecostal Church: Origins”, in *Pentecostal Perspectives* K. Warrington, (ed.), 32.

Monaghan for the duration of July.<sup>419</sup> Jeffreys and workers expanded their Mission across the Province. In October 1918 Jeffreys united the EEB with Elim Churches and Elim Missions under the title Elim Pentecostal Alliance in order to unite the increasing number of assemblies, which effected the inauguration of the new pentecostal denomination. By 1922 a further twenty-one churches had been established and in December 1919 the publication of the *Elim Evangel*, the official organ of the denomination, had been launched which further united the fledgling movement as well as becoming a useful publicity and fundraising platform.

The ministry of Jeffreys had been readily received on the mainland where progressively attention became focused and in 1921 he opened England's first Elim Church hall at Leigh-on-Sea, Essex ordaining and inducting George Kingston its first minister. A year later a successful campaign in Clapham, London culminated in the transferral of the Elim administrative headquarters from Belfast to England's capital.<sup>420</sup> The increasing circulation of the *Evangel* and a demand for gospel literature created the "imperative" need to provide a printing press and a publishing office which was opened near to the new Elim headquarters in Clapham on 21 April 1924.<sup>421</sup> The Elim Bible College was launched in May 1925 in the minor hall of the Elim Tabernacle and moved into a former Convent building set in four acres of trees, in January 1926. This became known as "The Woodlands" and was to be home for the College for the next thirty-nine years. The publicity of the burgeoning Elim Movement was recorded by pentecostal writer and historian Donald Gee as something new with "hundreds of thousands being brought into the orbit of its blessing."<sup>422</sup> New buildings were acquired to house converts. Though many did not stay to be disciplined there were many who did and trained ministers from the Bible College were put in place to pastor the new converts. Although in the early years Jeffreys was in supreme control the logistics of the growing Movement necessitated that this role needed to be shared. Tension and strife between Jeffreys and the shared control of the

<sup>419</sup> *EEB Minutes*, 3 January 1915, Second Informal Meeting of Pentecostal Workers at Monaghan, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>420</sup> Hathaway, "The Elim Pentecostal Church", *Pentecostal Perspectives*, explains that this was a quasi-military term borrowed from the Salvation Army, 16. The style of leadership adopted by Elim's leader was also redolent of the Salvation Army. Under Jeffreys command superintendents were responsible for the work which was divided into districts from 1929.

<sup>421</sup> Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 134.

<sup>422</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 140.

Movement grew and their ways parted in late 1939. Writing about the split Neil Hudson remarks that “Ultimately it was about a lack of trust between the charismatic leader of an evangelistic Movement and the administrative and pastoral staff who were attempting to sustain a large number of new churches”.<sup>423</sup> The Elim Pentecostal Alliance struggled for a while but in time grew strong again.

### 4.3 Literature review

Despite the paucity of recorded discussion regarding women’s ministry, the following short review of articles appeared in the *Elim Evangel* during this era. They reveal the struggle and accompanying criticism that the women who had a ministerial call in Elim had to counteract in order to be able to fulfil their ministry.

One of the first articles to appear was written by Pastor Saxby. He declared his thoughts about the place best suited for a woman in the assembly in a chauvinistic way. He argued that unless women kept their proper place “disaster comes in home and church and state. It was patent that the principles laid down would demand that her ministry be subordinate to man and his authority”.<sup>424</sup> Credence for anything Saxby might have been propagating was short-lived, for later he adopted universalism teaching on the after-life rejected by most Pentecostals.<sup>425</sup>

A more balanced viewpoint was adopted in another article discussing “In view of 1Corinthians 14:34, what authority have you for permitting women ministry?” to which the *Evangel* editor, E. Phillips responds by advising taking on board the other important text, which has featured regularly in this study, from Joel, quoted in Acts 2:16-21. He defends women speaking and ministering declaring “God has never prohibited the ministry of women”. He argues that the text from 1Corinthians in no way prohibits women’s ministry; the “wrong construction” had been built upon it, and thereby had “done infinite harm”.<sup>426</sup>

<sup>423</sup> Hudson, “A Schism and its Aftermath” section 3.3.

<sup>424</sup> *Evangel* “Woman’s Place in the Assembly”, September 1920, Vol.1 No.4, 60.

<sup>425</sup> A. Saxby, *God’s Ultimate* (London: Stockwell, n.d). The avoidance of Saxby’s flawed teaching had been one of the factors prompting unity discussions to debate the many small, independent missions becoming affiliated under the AoG umbrella.

<sup>426</sup> *Evangel*, “Questions and Answers” 1 June 1925, Vol.6 No.11, 130.

In the *Evangel*'s daily Bible readings section entitled The Family Altar, people were invited to comment on bible verses. The verse for Saturday 19 April 1930 "And many women were there, beholding afar off" was commented on by Parker who extolls the ministering women. Parker claims that "Christ lifted womanhood into a position of freedom and power". He argues that Pentecost was drawing near and women of faith were to be clothed with power to work for God. He enthuses "Let us praise God for ministering women". His comment "On the whole their ministry may not be as prominent as that of the men folk, but it is not therefore less powerful" reflects the prevailing situation at the time with regards women and their ministry.<sup>427</sup> He encourages sisters to "joyfully plod on with your ministry" while cautioning men to "See to it that ministering sisters frequently hear a word of praise and gratitude".<sup>428</sup>

A series of articles written by a senior Elim minister, Pastor Henderson, proffers an official role, given the auspicious title of the series: The Ministry, Offices and Organisation of the Church. His views regarding the ordination of women are particularly relevant. Women's ministry role is being relegated into a subordinate place when he writes magisterially "In the Apostle's inspired doctrine we have no scriptural authority for the ordination of sisters to do this office".<sup>429</sup>

An article, Woman's Devotion to Christ, written by Mrs Pannabecker,<sup>430</sup> sheds further light on the subject, from the feminine angle. The subject of this article is the woman who poured her precious ointment on Jesus to anoint him. It has much to say about the situation that existed in

<sup>427</sup> Although women's ministry could not be "as prominent" as men's ministry following Jeffery's curtailing edict, women still led churches which they did no differently, "less powerfully" than male ministers; albeit they were now unable to officiate at marriages, water baptisms, Holy Communion and only "stand in the breach" if no male minister was available to officiate at funerals.

<sup>428</sup> *Evangel*, The Family Altar, 11 April 1930, Vol.11 No.14, 238.

<sup>429</sup> *Evangel*, The Ministry, Offices and Organization of the Church, 31 Oct.1930, Vol.11, No.44, 698.

<sup>430</sup> Several interviewees referred to this Elim Minister's wife and her teaching ministry. She never trained at the Elim Bible College as Corry's policy was to impose a ban on women entering training which remained in place until after the era of this study when Corry resigned and women were allowed to train once again. Pannabecker was a contemporary of Dorothy Flower. Her article on p.401 of the *Evangel* 26 June 1936 Vol. XVII No.26 on Pentecostal Giving reveals that she had a teaching ministry and was given an outlet in Elim to exercise it.



the early years of the Elim denomination. Clearly the women are experiencing struggles with, and condemnation from some men. This article reveals that women are not prepared to take this unfounded criticism, but are prepared to fight back. Pannabecker notes that it was to a woman that Jesus gave his first command to go and share the gospel. She points out that “There are men living today who say that a woman should have no part in the ministry of the Word. This is not God’s plan that woman should not have the privilege of obeying God’s command”. Pannabecker remonstrates that:

A woman should not be in bondage to a man in her spiritual life. Her convictions and leadings come from the Lord and not from her husband. A man will run away very often from a hard place in the work of the Lord, then it takes a brave, godly woman to stop in the place and stand true in the testing time.<sup>431</sup>

She concludes by querying if that were the reason why so many lady missionaries were in the hard places of the world. She pleads that a case has to be made for women’s ministry and would involve struggle and a concerted effort on the part of women in order for them to fulfil this.

Robert Tweed’s *Memoir*, introduced in Chapter One 1.1, maintains that the historians’ comments regarding the ministering women had been negligible despite there being a good number of them and their ministry was of a high calibre.<sup>432</sup> Tweed wrote in detail about the two women whose lives and ministry strategically impacted his own ministry and life: the woman who mentored him in his ministry—Margaret Streight, and—Alice McKinley who he mentored and eventually became his wife. His *Memoir* is thus enormously valuable in that it opens a window at this early juncture to allow two of these ministering women to be seen and heard.<sup>433</sup>

#### **4.4 A woman prophesied at the commencement of Elim**

An unnamed woman ministered in early 1915 prior to the start of the Elim work in Monaghan, Ireland. She gave a vision and, after praying for the interpretation, was able to give the meaning

<sup>431</sup> *Elim Evangel*, “Woman’s Devotion to Christ”, 23 April 1937, Vol.18, No.17, 269.

<sup>432</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, (written when Tweed was 92 years of age, d.o.b 16.07.1899), 18.

<sup>433</sup> This was similar to the experience of the women being researched by scholars I was dialoguing with.

of it in precise detail, which Jeffreys regarded as integral to the origins of his Elim ministry in Ireland. He wrote:

The vision consisted of a large golden ring, out of which came a dazzling brightness brighter than the sun of noonday and out of the ring ran many other rings in all directions. She [the sister who gave the prophecy] prayed to God for the interpretation and it was given. (The large ring is the first Elim Assembly and out of it shall come many other assemblies).<sup>434</sup>

To this woman the vision was no idle dream in which a vagary or phantom had passed over her mind leaving little impression. It was God-given, stamped indelibly upon her heart and meant to be fulfilled. The reason why this woman's ministry had been included was because Jeffreys credited it with being "remarkable" and "truthful", occurring as it did without the woman's knowledge of his intentions to start the Elim work in Monaghan. He was endorsing this woman and her ministry to be of the highest calibre.

Jeffreys writes about the early days of Elim. He states that although there were men seeking after God who were convinced that Spirit-baptism was for all Christians who would believe, they had in fact not yet received this experience. However, this unnamed woman had.<sup>435</sup> Her ministry had a life-changing impact on Jeffreys, resulting in him enlarging his initial mission. My analysis questions What can be established therefore, from this incident? Firstly here is a man—Jeffreys—listening to a woman. Secondly, this is a woman who has no status as far as one can tell. Thirdly, what the woman said was so remarkable that Jeffreys initiated his mission by following the directive of the prophetic message. The outworking of this involved making plans to remain in Ireland and to evangelise outwards into other areas from this base. Fourthly, five years later, Jeffreys recalls what this woman had said with precise detail. He was

<sup>434</sup> See Jeffreys' account in *Elim Evangel*, "A Prophetic Vision Fulfilled or How the Elim Work in Ireland Began", 5-6. December 1920, Vol.2 No.1, 15.

<sup>435</sup> *Elim Evangel*, 6 December 1920, 5 records that it was in January 1915 while Jeffreys was staying in a Temperance Hotel that he met with some young men to discuss how the message of pentecost could be effectively spread across Ireland. They had read about Spirit-baptism in the Bible but, although they had not received the experience themselves, they were trusting God that they would in His timing. At this meeting Jeffreys became convinced that God's will was for him to begin evangelising across Ireland and plans were set in motion to obtain a Gospel Tent to enable this to commence.

acknowledging that a woman's ministry had been instrumental in the formulation of his own ministerial vocation. This incident shows that Jeffreys did not attach any significance at this early stage as to whether it was a man or woman who was offering him guidance. It will also be shown, below, that Jeffreys was a leader of a movement where, initially, women and men ministered equally. This was to change dramatically within thirteen years.

#### **4.4.1 George Jeffreys (1889-1962)**

Before the next section, which demonstrates that there were women ministering in early Elim in official leadership roles, it is helpful to discuss the catalyst that made this possible. Jeffreys was unusual in that he was not concerned with what gender a person was when choosing his workers. What was significant was their ability to minister and lead. It was Jeffreys who introduced women into ministry which was unusual because in the evangelical churches men were not doing that.<sup>436</sup> Without Jeffreys' sponsorship women in Elim would have struggled to get into leadership at this inception stage. Kirsten Thorpe discusses the corollary between "crisis sociology" within society resembling a time of charismatic intensity within the Church and the liberating effect both created for women. She observes that it is "at times of ecclesiastical renewal" and "charismatic intensity within the Church" when the authority of the Holy Spirit has been recognised, that women's leadership has flourished.<sup>437</sup> Thorpe's observation is particularly relevant when discussing women's leadership role in early Elim. As the following section shows, Jeffreys, in Elim's early years, recognised women's ministering ability in the authority of the Holy Spirit and subsequently encouraged women to exercise leadership ministry.

#### **4.4.2 Women of the Elim Evangelistic Band**

Margaret Streight and Alice McKinley were pioneer ministers of Elim, and even after Jeffreys curtailed women's ministry roles they continued to minister.<sup>438</sup> Although this was supposed to be in a subordinate role alongside their husbands, their personal ministry was acclaimed for

<sup>436</sup> It would be a further two years before Constance Todd, on 17 Sept. 1917, was ordained as the first female Congregational minister. See K. Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry. The experience of early women Congregational ministers* (PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2005).

<sup>437</sup> K. Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry*, 20.

<sup>438</sup> Streight was the first female member of the Elim Evangelistic Band and McKinley was the last.

many years. They were representative of a number of women who evangelised, preached and led churches in Elim pentecostalism in its pre-curtailment era.<sup>439</sup>

Jeffreys needed workers to help him fulfil his vision.<sup>440</sup> Significantly, one of his first recruits was a woman, Margaret Streight, (see 4.4.3 below). The name “Elim” in the name of his Evangelistic Band held happy memories of the time when Jeffreys preached as a Preston Bible School student at the Elim Mission in Lytham, Lancashire. Elim also encapsulated biblical connotations of refreshment and renewal.<sup>441</sup>

From the beginning women were included as full members of the EEB, but I do not claim that there was an extensive number.<sup>442</sup> To establish a more precise number of ministers in the Elim denomination at this time I surveyed the listings in the *Evangels* of the period. Boulton included thirty-one women in this gallery. The list of women in “The Regular Work of the Ministry” for the same period published in the *Evangel* (15 October 1925), showed some discrepancies. Desmond Cartwright’s judgement does gain credence when these two lists, with over 50% discrepancy between them, are examined. By 1924, the women of the EEB made up 35%—22 men and 12 women; M. Streight, N. Adams, A. Fletcher, P. Hamilton, A. Kennedy, M. Kelly,

<sup>439</sup> See *Evangel*, “Woman’s Devotion to Christ”, 23 April 1937, Vol.18 No.17, 269.

<sup>440</sup> *Tweed Memoir*, 10, 12.

<sup>441</sup> D. Green, (ed.), *Celebration: Seventy Years Ministry By The Elim Church*. When introducing the Elim Church, Green explained “It was the idea of finding shelter and renewal in the midst of a drab environment (war-time) that inspired the name, “Elim”, 3. See Exodus 15: 27.

<sup>442</sup> See Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, photographs on pages 2-5 entitled “Ministers Of The Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance”, 344. Although Boulton labels a gallery of early Elim male and female personnel, when the movement was called the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance, in fact not all these people can rightfully be termed “ministers”. Cartwright, deceased 2012, was a long-serving Elim minister and archivist of Elim Pentecostalism. In June 2006 he proffered to me that Boulton created this extensive gallery claiming the occupants were ministers of the movement in order to give the illusion that the number of ministers was greater than it actually was. One might have been led to believe that of the 97 “ministers” in Boulton’s gallery 31 were women when in fact this was not the case. He claimed his evidence from knowing a great deal about all the people in the gallery of photographs. Some were married to an Elim male minister and while some minister’s wives at this time actively ministered alongside their husbands some of the women in the photograph certainly did not and they could not be deemed a minister at all.

D. Boulton, C. Jansen, E. Crofts, A. McKinley, D. Phillips and A. Henderson.<sup>443</sup> These women were expected to fulfil duties of deaconess, evangelist, missionary or pastor, which could involve working on their own or in twos or threes.<sup>444</sup> The men and women, under the guidance of the founding father Jeffreys, worked in partnership each contributing their different strengths and ministries. Analysing Cartwright's declaration "That without women, the pentecostal revival might never have taken place" establishes that the role women fulfilled in early British pentecostalism was crucially important and was of a high calibre.<sup>445</sup>

Members of the EEB needed to be strongly motivated with an equally robust faith and work ethic. The ministry role demanded people of discipline, good character and a willingness to move, at short notice, to wherever Jeffreys deployed them. In his *Memoir* Tweed comments "Little if anything has been said by the historians of the part taken by the Lady Evangelists" and reflects the "prevailing social culture which gave women definitely a second place."<sup>446</sup> However, for women to achieve egalitarian leadership in the prevailing social climate during the early years when Elim was forming, was no small achievement and reveals much about the women and their characters.<sup>447</sup> Tweed's experience taught him that the demands involved in fulfilling a ministry role in the EEB were as rigorous for women as they were for men.

<sup>443</sup> *Evangel*, "Sisters of the Elim Evangelical Band", 24 October 1924, Vol.5 No.10, 2.

<sup>444</sup> The office of "deaconess" is referenced in relation to all three researched denominations but is officially adopted only within one of them—the AC. To clarify— the Elim and AoG denominations never used the term "deaconess" nor had any definitions of ministry until Jeffreys issued the declaration regarding women's ministry in 1928. The same issue occurs with my deployment of the Apostolics' eight Standard Schemes for women's ministry that I use across the three denominations and yet it only belonged to the Apostolics. Questionnaire responses from the Elim and AoG veterans fitted naturally and conveniently into these eight spheres of ministry.

<sup>445</sup> Cartwright, "Your Daughters", 8.

<sup>446</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 57.

<sup>447</sup> See Chapter Two above.

#### 4.4.3 Margaret Streight



**Figure 4.1 Miss Streight**

The *ad hoc* approach to the provision of ministry in Elim's very early days was soon addressed by Jeffreys. In order that the denomination might progress satisfactorily, he needed to improve the standard of ministry. Tweed records that "There came a time following the use of local talent in conducting the services that a more advanced and permanent type of ministry and leadership must have been contemplated by Pastor Jeffreys, so he appointed Miss. M. Streight his first lady Evangelist".<sup>448</sup> Streight, a talented speaker who exercised spiritual gifting, was a wise choice, and ideally suited to fulfil this leadership ministry role according to Tweed who claims that "No better choice could have been made at that time...for Ballymony. Her cheerful...disposition, her ability as a speaker and leader of open air and indoor meetings made her a...popular and delightful person to be in charge of the young church".<sup>449</sup>

Well-qualified for the post at Ballymony, Streight possessed needed qualities demanded to lead the assembly. Streight's disposition was straightforward and forthright and the witticism used to describe her "Streight by name and straight by nature" was apt indeed.<sup>450</sup> She had been rejected by the Pentecostal Missionary Union prior to joining the EEB because of being "too fanatical."<sup>451</sup> Cartwright, in an email to myself on 9 September 2008 shared "The records that

<sup>448</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 13.

<sup>449</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 13.

<sup>450</sup> In an interview with James Robinson on 4 February 2008 he told me that Jimmy Towell, who knew Streight very well, used this phrase to describe her when Towell visited him on 19 December 1996.

<sup>451</sup> The Index to the Pentecostal Missionary Organisation dealing with Streight's application in 1914, *Minute Book* No.1. PMU, 1909-1917 Index Streight, Margaret, held in Donald Gee

we have reveal Streight's manner and ways were alarming to the old boys of the PMU, who were very cautious". Nevertheless on more than one occasion, when exercising a "word of knowledge", her outspoken manner was used to discipline people in the assembly.<sup>452</sup> On one occasion, she prevented a woman continuing to speak in tongues, protesting "We'll have no more of that!" Unbeknown to the congregation this woman was conducting an affair with another woman's husband.<sup>453</sup> John Carter had joined the EEB in 1919.<sup>454</sup> He wrote about this incident, (see below), providing evidence that the role Streight fulfilled in early Elim was hallmarked by exercising mature leadership and gifts of the Spirit precisely and effectively. Appointing Streight as the leader of the above assembly indicates that Jeffreys valued Streight and acknowledged her spiritual gifting.

An incident took place when Jeffreys and Darragh were conducting the mission in Ballymena in 1916.<sup>455</sup> Carter records that to prevent any "talk of a scandal-mongering nature" Streight had lodged on the other side of the town from the men, who were troubled by lack of funds needed for the campaign. They did not want to burden Streight with the problem but while praying some miles away Streight clearly heard their voices and was made aware of the problem. When she confronted her colleagues the next day and revealed that she knew precisely the financial situation they had been astonished.<sup>456</sup> Carter concludes that by revealing the details supernaturally God had intended Streight to be aware of the dire financial situation in order that she could share the burden and pray.<sup>457</sup> Although there was no comment by Streight that she wanted her ministry role to be viewed equally as the men's, her actions, when analysed,

Centre, Doncaster, informed that she had been rejected as "Unsatisfactory", 22. The application form has the word "fanatical," on it. She operated in the gift of the word of knowledge which could be spectacular.

<sup>452</sup> One of the gifts of the Holy Spirit listed in 1 Corinthians. 12:7-10.

<sup>453</sup> A reminiscence of J. Towell, given in an interview to J. Robinson, *Pentecostalism in Ulster*, 146, on 19 December, 1996, when he was 79 years of age was related by Robinson to myself 4 February, 2008.

<sup>454</sup> John Carter's brother Howard was to become eminent in the AOG.

<sup>455</sup> Carter and Streight were overseeing the Lurgan Elim church together.

<sup>456</sup> J. Carter, *A Full Life: The Autobiography of a Pentecostal Pioneer* (London: Evangel Press, 1979), 49-50.

<sup>457</sup> J. Carter, *A Full Life*, 50.

indicate that this could have been feasible. Streight had boldly confronted the male workers, saying she knew precisely the financial situation, which they had been keeping from her, for God had informed her himself.

Tweed relates that he had thanked God for the help received from the more senior, experienced Streight when he was a young pastor.<sup>458</sup> Wesley Gilpin, an Elim Minister for many years and one-time Principal of the Elim Bible College, testifies to Streight's successful ministry when he wrote about the early years of Elim Pentecostalism in Ireland and women's equal ministry role:

My father, George Gilpin was one of the four early elders in company with George Gillespie and who was more or less self-appointed in the very nature of things in those days. The Church in the Ballysillan area of Belfast was founded by my father. He rented this...one-time Cinema Hall...and invited...Streight to conduct a mission. I was 12 years of age in 1924 and can remember it all vividly. She was quite a success and the good lady stayed on. She lodged at our home in the Ballysillan area and became like one of the family.<sup>459</sup>

Further insight into the ministerial role that this early female pioneer exercised is provided by Robinson's interview with Towell.<sup>460</sup> Towell indicated that Streight was renowned for strictly controlling her meetings and for determinedly "sticking to the Word".<sup>461</sup> Towell's summary of Streight and her ministry—"Streight would have made a good member of the Brethren!"—was an accolade indeed. Gilpin explains that:

In Northern Ireland Elim was very much influenced by Brethrenism and was moulded on the Brethren style of Church where men were in prominence. For a woman to make any impression and gain respect she had to be forceful and

<sup>458</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 13.

<sup>459</sup> W. Gilpin's recollections, part two of the interview survey questionnaire, dated 08.05.08.

<sup>460</sup> Robinson related this to me in a telephone conversation on 11 June 2005.

<sup>461</sup> This is a term commonly heard in pentecostal circles and refers to a preacher's fundamentalist, and usually literal, exposition of the Bible.



Spiritual. These ministering ladies could hold their own with the men and had to be able to do so if they were to survive. It was very much a man's world.<sup>462</sup>

As Tweed concurs, becoming accepted into the EEB was not easily achieved even for men.<sup>463</sup> When analysing this fact, it was all the more remarkable that Streight, a woman, was the first member of Jeffreys' ministry Band.

#### **4.4.4 Alice McKinley**



**Figure 4.2 Miss McKinley/Tweed**

McKinley was another pioneering woman minister handpicked by Jeffreys. Gilpin provides details concerning Alice McKinley and her ministry in the EEB informing "This lady was a lively, forceful preacher with a beautiful musical ministry in song and was competent at the keyboard".<sup>464</sup>

McKinley ministered at the Belfast assembly having had prior leadership experience in the Lurgan, Annaghanoon, Cullybackey and Tullynahinnion churches between the years 1923-1926.<sup>465</sup> From the information Tweed and Gilpin provide about McKinley she was a gifted, able woman who fulfilled her ministerial calling effectively. She was encouraged by Jeffreys at this "birthing" stage of the Elim denomination to function in a full ministerial capacity.

<sup>462</sup> Gilpin's recollections, part two of the questionnaire.

<sup>463</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 13-14.

<sup>464</sup> Gilpin's *recollections*.

<sup>465</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 34.

Although Jeffreys was supplying a “good supply of preachers from among the Elders at the Ballymena church to Tullynahinnion...Miss Alice McKinley was sent to take complete charge, which she did very successfully”.<sup>466</sup> McKinley’s musical talents were also utilised by Jeffreys who enlisted her as soloist for his campaigns. She would have been called upon to fulfil this ministry role regularly in this revivalist movement, where singing and praising played such a prominent part.

A crucial requirement in the leader—man or woman—at this pioneering stage of Elim was maintaining the financial viability of the assembly. McKinley’s value as a leader—and the acceptance by others of her leadership—was demonstrated in that she was able to “live by faith” and raise the funds for her churches.

Self-funded as all the members of the EEB were, McKinley would have needed to have learnt the important lesson of “living by faith”. Tweed mentions the generosity of McKinley’s “saintly” Mother shown both to himself and others in the Band. Although he records that “McKinley came from a godly home which was not impoverished” she still required faith that God would prompt people to give money and other provisions to enable her to survive in a ministry where there were no wages.<sup>467</sup> Tweed writes that *all* the members of the EEB had met the challenge of trusting God to provide for their pecuniary needs. This reveals commitment to the disciplined rigours, which the ministry at that time demanded. Tweed conveys how the principle had worked when precarious financial situations for the Band had arisen.<sup>468</sup> He relates when “Finance was just sufficient to keep things going for the weekend services. Faith’s reward had resulted in the remarkable provision of a person’s home...where meetings could be held free of charge”.<sup>469</sup>

Thus McKinley, in her leadership role, would have needed to put the “living by faith” principle into operation when facing the general struggles incumbent on Elim pioneering ministers. In those challenging times the “ministry practice” resorted to was simply praying with faith that God *would* meet their every need. Tweed testifies to what would have been a common

<sup>466</sup> Tweed in his *Memoir*, 43.

<sup>467</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 7.

<sup>468</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 11.

<sup>469</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 13.

occurrence in the EEB, when the needed “breakthrough came as faith’s reward.” He “found the ground so terribly hard that he was driven to his knees for a season of fasting and prayer...the victory...came...for almost at once a wave of revival broke over the place.”<sup>470</sup>

Jeffreys adopted Jesus’ plan of sending his workers out two by two (Luke 10:1). In this arrangement an experienced senior EEB member took the role of mentor and the younger member acted as an assistant.<sup>471</sup> Tweed was Streight’s assistant and benefitted considerably from her mentoring. McKinley became Tweed’s assistant and on 19 May 1926 became his wife.<sup>472</sup> The manner in which McKinley ministered is revealed by Tweed’s reference to her being hard-working and having a teachable attitude.<sup>473</sup> Tweed’s reference to the fact that McKinley had had considerable and creditable experience as the pastor in charge of several churches further informed my analysis of McKinley’s leadership acumen. The fact that these were still in existence confirms that McKinley contributed to laying well the foundations that enabled the infant churches of the Elim denomination to grow and become established.<sup>474</sup> Her “teachable spirit”, and conscientious endeavours strengthened the work she did, not only in the early years but also throughout her years of ministry in Elim. The important ministry role McKinley successfully fulfilled in pioneering pentecostalism in Britain involved her helping “many” of the “crowds of young people” to experience their Spirit-baptism.<sup>475</sup> She encouraged a number of them to become Elim ministers.<sup>476</sup> Tweed, spoke from first-hand experience when

<sup>470</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 29.

<sup>471</sup> Constitution of the Elim Pentecostal Alliance, revised 1923, 12, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>472</sup> To avoid confusion, I continue to refer to this female minister as McKinley except where the context demands her to be referred to by her married name, Mrs Tweed.

<sup>473</sup> Tweed recalled the more experienced EEB member, Pastor Henderson, impressing upon the young McKinley the imperativeness of not being a gossip. One suspects that inexperienced ministers had unwisely erred in this area causing injury to the pentecostal witness, hence this warning and “good advice” given by the experienced pastor Henderson. See references to “Henderson the Good” in this chapter 4.6.3.7, 149-150. See Tweed, *Memoir*, 33.

<sup>474</sup> Tweed in his *Memoir* relates that the churches McKinley was in charge of at Lurgan, Lisburn, Annaghanoon, Cullybackey and Tullynahinnion were still in existence, 34.

<sup>475</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 37.

<sup>476</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 37. I remember in my youth elderly ministers, such as J. McAvoy, S. Gorman, F. Byatt and N. Nolan who, as young men had entered the newly opened “Woodlands”

referring to McKinley's ministry with the young people at the Belfast assembly when working as his assistant minister. He writes "She was not long at work there when she had the young people round her, delighted with her cheerful and buoyant personality. She was an excellent visitor and very acceptable in the homes of the members."<sup>477</sup> She was a good soloist and leader like Pastor Darragh".<sup>478</sup>

Pastor Darragh was an initial member of the EEB. He also became a member of Jeffreys' handpicked Revival Party, and thus one of his close colleagues. For Tweed to have included a correlation between McKinley's ministry and that of Darragh further informs my analysis of McKinley's ministerial performance. This insightful comment reveals both the excellent and dedicated manner in which McKinley fulfilled her ministry role, and the respect male colleagues had for her.

McKinley, after marriage, continued to minister both in her own right and in tandem with her husband.<sup>479</sup> McKinley's leadership was extensive and successful, reflective of Romans 12:7-13. The women's group she founded and led in the Birmingham assembly, for example, totalled seventy-five to eighty members.<sup>480</sup> Her leadership role included teaching the Scriptures to the full church assembly, and offering support and guidance by writing letters "to parents exercised about the salvation of their children not in the kingdom or to couples with marriage problems."<sup>481</sup> McKinley's pastoral leadership is further demonstrated by her caring for the

Elim Bible College from Melbourne Street, Belfast Elim church, having been encouraged to do so by the ministry of McKinley.

<sup>477</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 38. Visiting her congregation involved cycling several miles in remote areas summer and winter when, for example, she pastored the Annaghanoon church.

<sup>478</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 36.

<sup>479</sup> Mary Stormont is in her late nineties and still sprightly with good health and sound recall; still drives a car and lives on her own. She was a one-time pastor's wife, has been in Elim all her life and was married to an Elim minister for many years. She told me on 9 June 2006, in Gloucester, how closely the Tweeds had ministered together. She recalled many examples especially that regularly one would give a message in tongues and the other would interpret and vice versa.

<sup>480</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 36. See Appendix B photograph of Mrs Tweed's "Young Women's Bible Class, Elim Tabernacle, Graham Street, Birmingham. 2 June 1933".

<sup>481</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 51.

physical and social well being of her flock, as evidenced by her provision of sewing and swimming lessons.<sup>482</sup>

Years later McKinley's strength of character and exemplary ministry role were still noteworthy, as the following reveals, "The untiring ministry of Pastor and Mrs. Tweed and their faithful exposition of the Scriptures and necessary words of admonition are having positive effect".<sup>483</sup> McKinley, like Streight, ministered dedicatedly over many years as the following testifies "Pastor and Mrs. Tweed's loving ministry and faithful exposition of the Scriptures has been mightily blessed of the Lord".<sup>484</sup> In addition to working alongside her husband, McKinley had a significant ministry role in her own right, which was recognised as being on a par with that of her husband, as the following accolade reveals:

On the departure of the Revival Party the work was left in the hands of Pastor and Mrs. Tweed...in consolidating and building up the new born Church. We are fortunate as we have a double pastorate both are exceedingly capable and...efficient organisers...Mrs. Tweed administers the Word and brings moving gospel songs.<sup>485</sup>

The leadership ministry exercised by the pioneers in Elim establish the fact that this was not dependent on gender distinctions, as the two vignettes illustrate. These ministries were fulfilled

<sup>482</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 43. McKinley's ministry and care also for the needs and well-being of Elim's Leader was note-worthy. He records that the often travel-weary Principal, (Jeffreys) knew he would always be welcome at the Tweed's home, known as the "Half Way House."

<sup>483</sup> *Evangel*, 13 October 1933 Vol.XVI No.41 "Blessings Abound on Every Hand—Birmingham", 654.

<sup>484</sup> *Evangel*, 30 November 1934 Vol.XV No.48 "Birmingham", 765.

<sup>485</sup> *Evangel*, 5 April 1933 "Have You Heard?" Vol.XVI No.14, 221. I found that women with a call to minister in this era were all emphatic on asserting their rights to minister, whether married or not. Mrs Boddy, Mrs Beruldsen, Mrs Serjeant and Mrs Crisp in AoG for example, were as emphatic as asserting ministry rights as any single woman minister. In Elim single women with a call to minister who married were still as emphatic on asserting and carrying out their ministry as when they were single ministering fully with their husband as the example of Miss McKinley who married Robert Tweed illustrates. A frequent comment from the interviewees regarding this fact was that churches regarded they had two pastors for the price of one which is what was said about Mrs Tweed and illustrates that she was as emphatic on asserting her ministry rights after marrying Pastor Robert Tweed as she was before her marriage.

by men and women on egalitarian grounds. For all EEB members the demands were rigorously high. History attests to the fact that progress did not fluctuate when the Elim headquarters removed to England in 1920. Elim pentecostalism in Ireland continued to prosper and expand; “The spirit of revival continued and the glory did not depart...Elim Evangelists...were making their presence felt in spiritual power”.<sup>486</sup> The work grew apace, and was attributable in no small part to the leadership ministry of women such as Streight, McKinley and the numerous “Other Lady Evangelists” mentioned by Tweed.<sup>487</sup>

#### **4.5 Women and the Elim Bible College—an Overview**

The EBC opened in 1926, with Ernest Phillips as Dean. Percy Corry replaced him a few months later. It was established in order to train women and men equally to become qualified ministers in charge of Elim pentecostal churches. A photograph, entitled “Elim Bible College”, taken in December 1927, shows 18 men, one of whom is Jeffreys, and 12 women, one of whom is Miss Barbour. Although a valuable record, especially in the absence of College records up to the start of Corry’s tenure, one cannot be certain that all these women were in training to become ministers of Elim churches. At this stage it was the norm for women to be ministering in their own ministerial capacity alongside men. Within a short time this situation was to reduce dramatically and remain so until the leader of Elim seceded at the end of 1939. In the first year of Corry’s tenure, which was in 1927, the female student in-take was only four. Two of these students came to study so that they could help their Pastor husbands in Elim Churches. The other two students trained for leadership ministry of an Elim church. Student training was comparatively short at that time. Once women qualified and were placed in charge of a church, they would have fulfilled official duties equally as the men, until restricted by Jeffreys’ curtailment in 1928. The records from 1928 to the end of 1940 reveal that there were no female students admitted for ministerial training for the Elim church in Britain.<sup>488</sup> From 1928 the EBC trained only men for pastoral ministry in Elim—see Table 4.1 below. By 1928, Jeffreys

<sup>486</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 37. See Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 111.

<sup>487</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 36. See also “Portraits of Irish Trophies”, an annotated photograph—which includes Streight & McKinley—applauding the many women who ministered as members of the EEB in “the Emerald Isle”—*Evangel*, 2 February 1934, Vol.14 No.5, 75.

<sup>488</sup> Records reveal there was an increase in numbers after this time—Desmond Cartwright Centre Malvern.

perceived that women needed to be reined in and their leadership role in the Elim churches curtailed. Notably his directive was curtailment, not removal, of women’s leadership role in Elim churches.<sup>489</sup>

The notion that there were no women wanting to apply for church leadership does not equate with the evidence. Indeed, Corry himself refers to the students he had to turn away because “there are no openings for female ministers in Elim.” Evidence—below—reveals that there were women who felt called to be ministers in charge of Elim Churches during this time, but were prevented from fulfilling their call.

**Table 4.1 Overview of the female student intake at EBC**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Female intake</b>	<b>Purpose of training</b>
1926	12	Trained for full leadership ministry in Elim.
1927	4	Two studied to help their husbands in their ministry while two trained for, and entered, full time Elim ministry in their own right.
1928	3	All trained as missionaries.
1929	1	To help her husband—an Elim pastor.
1930	1	Trained for the mission field.
1931	1	To help her husband—an Elim pastor.
1932	3	Two trained for the mission field the other to help her husband—an Elim pastor.
1933-5	0	
1936	1	Trained for the mission field.

<sup>489</sup> See Jeffreys’ DUTIES OF MINISTERS in 4.7 below.

1937-8	0	
1939	11	Ten were Congolese nationals (who were to return to work in the Congo) and the eleventh trained for the mission field <sup>490</sup> .
1940	1	Trained for the mission field.

Several veteran women respondents relate that, when young, they had been denied access to College training, but could clearly remember a time previously when women were allowed access to the College. Even in their twilight years, they felt passionately about what they regarded as a serious injustice. I believe there was also another restricting dimension—Corry's attitude to women. The late Ruth Walker was a Hathaway—a well-known second-generation Elim family. Her brothers, following training at the EBC, became qualified pentecostal ministers. In an interview with myself, Walker declared:

I had a strong call on my life before my brothers did and they were allowed to enter the EBC but I was a woman and so I was not. When Corry was forced to leave the College, women were free to enter...as the men but it was a bit late for me. By that time, I had married and had had my first child.<sup>491</sup>

#### **4.5.1 Percy Corry**

A substantial number of the responses from the veterans concerned Percy Corry, Dean (Principal) of the EBC indicated that further investigation was required. This was in order to substantiate the firmly held belief that Corry blocked the path for women who had a call to leadership ministry. I am convinced that Corry, who functioned as Dean, from 1927-1940,

<sup>490</sup> There is no clear statement of intent on her application form but there are indications from attached notes that she was training as a missionary.

<sup>491</sup> Taped interview between Ruth Walker, now deceased, and myself, at her home in Cheltenham, 9 June 2005, my personal collection. See vignette of Dorothy Flower 4.8 below. The senior minister at the Elim Headquarters whom Flower turned to after Corry told her to desist from contacting him again was William Hathaway, Ruth Walker's father. He would have fully understood Flower's longings, aspirations and frustration after witnessing how his daughter had suffered because of not being allowed to fulfil her ministerial calling, like her two brothers, solely because of her gender. Now, some time later and in a senior position, Walker's father was able to treat Flower's request sympathetically and successfully circumnavigate the blockade preventing Flower fulfilling pastoral ministry in Elim.



personally discouraged this equality of opportunity. Corry stood as the gatekeeper to training for ministry. The EBC was the only route to ministerial qualification, whether as a missionary overseas or as a minister working in a pastoral role in Britain. By excluding women, this effectively barred them from achieving ministerial status. Several women veterans of early Elim, who had been keen to enter the ministry, readily related with passion, to myself their fruitless battles to enter the EBC. Not without cause did they feel Corry was happier allowing only men to enter the EBC. Some veterans were reluctant to give their reasons why they felt that women were unable to fulfil leadership ministry in Elim. However, those who were prepared to speak about it were unequivocal that Corry's sexuality was a factor preventing women from entering the EBC. Further probing elicited the response, for example, from Tom Walker, a retired Elim Minister, which resolutely lay the blame for this on Dean Corry. Walker initially related how, unlike his wife, he experienced difficulty talking about Corry with regards to women and ministerial training. He spoke highly, in animated tone, of Corry's ministry as a preacher and soloist with an excellent baritone voice, but in subdued tone reluctantly added:

Unfortunately, we have to go into some matter that you do need to know about.

I firmly believe the widely known fact that Corry would *never* hear of a woman coming near the College for training for leadership ministry, and because he was Dean for a long time, has bearing on the fact that during his time as head of the College no woman underwent training for the ministry.<sup>492</sup>

Walker also shared, in the above interview, that at the time he entered the Elim ministry in 1942 Corry was in Reading Gaol serving a three-year sentence for homosexual activity. He shared that four young men, related to the Corry affair, were dismissed from the Elim Movement at the time. It had been a terrible shock in the Elim Headquarters, and was neither understood nor widely known about throughout the Movement. Walker explained that this affair had taken place a very long time ago and, thankfully, was a rare occurrence. With a sense of relief, Walker continued "After he (Corry) left, women were able to undergo ministerial training once again as the men".

<sup>492</sup> Tom Walker, a one-time General Superintendent of Elim, now deceased, in interview with myself, on 9 June 2005, my personal collection.

Further questioning of Cartwright, concerning the above, confirmed its validity.<sup>493</sup> Cartwright, further informed:

There is nothing in the Elim File on Percy Newton Corry.<sup>494</sup>...In April 1940, while Corry was conducting a meeting of the executive council a policeman turned up at the college to interview him! He resigned on the spot. His case went to trial. The case was lost and Corry was sentenced and went to prison for three years.<sup>495</sup>

#### **4.5.2 Margaret Barbour**



**Figure 4.3 Miss Barbour**

Barbour exercised a unique and strategically influential role on men and women entering training for leadership ministry in early Elim and warrants recognition and discussion here.<sup>496</sup>

<sup>493</sup> Email sent to myself from Cartwright dated 15 January 2008, my personal collection.

<sup>494</sup> Cartwright explained that all ministers have a ministerial record kept at Elim Headquarters but Corry's had been removed and was unsure if indeed it now existed.

<sup>495</sup> Corry's sexuality was still problematic in the culture of society prevailing at the time even eight years after Corry's first trial and prison sentence. At his second court case in 1948 Corry was sentenced to five years imprisonment for gross indecency. See "Corry Case 6", *The Criminal Records, The National Archives, Kew*, visited and accessed 20 May 2009 by myself and son, a lawyer. The report stated that in the Central Crown Court, the Old Bailey, London on 12 October 1948; "Mr. Justice Stable...sentenced (Corry) to five year's penal servitude". (Also reported in *The Times*, 13 October 1948).

<sup>496</sup> Though not a leader of a Pentecostal church as such, Barbour encouraged male and female students who would become ministers leading pentecostal churches. Her ministry goes beyond the eight categories of unofficial ministry-qualitative data gathered from veterans, Part 2 of the questionnaire.

When the Bible College opened in January 1926, Barbour accepted the job of Superintendent. The effective manner in which she fulfilled the position can be ascertained by the description of Elim's Secretary General, Derek Greenaway who, on her death in February 1963, paid tribute to her exemplary life and ministry; "All over the world former...students will look back with gratitude and affection for the Superintendent who set such a noble standard of life and Christian practice during the days they spent...at Elim Woodlands as the Elim Bible College was known".<sup>497</sup>

Barbour had a good speaking ministry, as references in the *Evangel* reveal.<sup>498</sup> An indefatigable worker, Miss Barbour also organised summer holiday homes for Elim, had oversight of the guesthouse for holidaying Elim members, at Glossop in Derbyshire, served on the Elim Missionary Council and had done, as a keen member, for many years. She was also on the executive of the Elim Holiday Homes and Eventide Homes. Barbour provided a role model for students and ministers. Many who were helped in numerous ways in those bygone days, look back with loving thoughts revering Barbour as a "Mother in Israel".

Gilpin maintains that her influence on a significant number of young ministries was extensive and far-reaching.<sup>499</sup> Her Victorian composure gave an air of calm in the College; she was approachable and keenly interested in all the students. He felt certain that many young people would have had cause to be thankful for her input into their lives and ministries. As an inspirational woman working in "The Woodlands" from 1926-1945 Barbour played an important and stabilizing role in early Elim. She was able to influence positively, support and encourage many aspiring men and women who were destined to become the leaders of the new generations of Elim. A woman minister writes "I first met Miss. Barbour when I stood, a timid young student, on the threshold of the college in September 1927, where she welcomed me. At

<sup>497</sup> See D. Greenaway's obituary to her; "A Faithful Servant Called Home", *Evangel* 9 March 1963, Vol.58 No.3, 156.

<sup>498</sup> *Evangel*, 19 April 1935 Vol.16 No.16, "Open Saturday at Elim Woodlands" records how Pastor Kemp convening the meeting on behalf of all the college students and staff gave an appreciative and warm introduction to Miss Barbour who in her delightful and godly manner then addressed the gathering, 245. See also *Evangel*, "Watch These Dates", 25 September 1936, Vol.17 No.39, Cover Page; *Evangel*, "Convention, Winton, Bournemouth", 29 April 1940, Vol.21 No.18, 277 & *Evangel*, "Letchworth Whit Convention", 10 June 1940, Vol.21 No.23, 373.

<sup>499</sup> Gilpin in telephone conversation with myself, 10 June 2005.

first, I was in awe of her but as time went on, I greatly loved her. As I look back...I realise how much her compelling influence moulded my life”.<sup>500</sup>

## **4.6 Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944)**

### **4.6.1 Introduction**

The focus of this section is to investigate the role Aimee Semple McPherson fulfilled and the extent of her influence on early British Pentecostalism. Her inclusion in this chapter is warranted and relevant, given her affiliation with early British Pentecostalism was primarily with George Jeffreys and the Elim denomination. Whereas various writers claim these two leaders were friends I establish that their relationship became very close. The quest to find out whether McPherson played a significant part in early British pentecostalism involved examining and analysing documents; books, church magazine articles, letters, memoirs, newspaper articles, photographs, telegrams and the discussions I had with the several veteran Elim ministers who readily reminisced about her. McPherson was a hugely successful pentecostal leader with celebrity status. I acknowledge her seismic significance to pentecostalism within her own country and investigate here whether she was also significant in early British pentecostalism following the visit by Jeffreys to Los Angeles and ministry at the Angelus Temple—the church she founded—and her ministerial visits to Britain.

In the 1970s the academy slowly became aware of McPherson. Until that point, pentecostalism had been regarded contemptuously. It was not considered worthy of being taken seriously, with pentecostal evangelists being relegated to the margins of respectability. Blumhofer maintains the reasons for McPherson’s acceptance into the academic fold from this time was gender-related with scholars accepting her as a “pioneer woman in ministry, a...proto-feminist...forging ahead to find fulfilment despite cultural obstacles.”<sup>501</sup>

<sup>500</sup> Mrs Gladys Gorton, a former EBC student during Barbour’s tenure, wrote a “Tribute To A Noble Lady” in her Women’s Column, *Evangel* 9 March 1963.

<sup>501</sup> E. Blumhofer, “Reflections on the Source of Aimee Semple McPherson’s Voice” in *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Spring 1995, Vol.17 No.1, 21.

#### 4.6.2 McPherson's life, ministry and impact on early American Pentecostalism



**Figure 4.4 Aimee Semple McPherson**

McPherson “may well be the most important ordained woman minister in the history of Christianity.”<sup>502</sup> Born and reared in a Canadian Salvation Army/Methodist family Aimee Kennedy came to faith and became a pentecostal in 1907 under the ministry of Irish evangelist Robert Semple and two years later married him. Ordained by William Durham the couple travelled, ministering for him and in 1910 embarked for Hong Kong working there as missionaries until two months later Robert succumbed to malaria.<sup>503</sup> With her baby Roberta Star, twenty-year-old Aimee returned to work alongside her mother in the Salvation Army in New York. In 1911 she married Harold McPherson and began her interdenominational ministry

<sup>502</sup> V. Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal* (Nashville: Nelson, 2001), 133. See also; D. Epstein, *Sister Aimee The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993), Bibliography, 459-469; E. Blumhofer, “Reflections on the Source of Aimee Semple McPherson’s Voice”, in *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Spring 1995, Vol.17 No.1, 21; A. Anderson, *An Introduction To Pentecostalism*, Second edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 56 & A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers & C. Van der Laan, (eds.), *Studying Global Pentecostalism Theories and Methods* (London: University of California Press, Ltd., 2010) where, in the discussion of pentecostalism’s “share of strong even rebellious women”, the claim was made that Aimee Semple McPherson was archetypal, 107.

<sup>503</sup> R. Bahr, *Least of All Saints The Story of Aimee Semple McPherson* (Lincoln: Backinprint, 2000), Part One 2-48.

preaching salvation and divine healing.<sup>504</sup> McPherson's "Foursquare Gospel"—Christ the Saviour, Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, Healer and Coming King—ministry career blossomed as she promoted militant fundamentalism of an all embracing and loving God working as he had done since ancient times to redeem lost mankind.<sup>505</sup> McPherson adopted nationwide preaching to multitudes of people exploiting theatrically assisted addresses. Her ostentatious advertising involved delivery of notification of services from an aeroplane and a slogan-covered vehicle plus her pioneer utilisation of radio broadcasting which she also used to maintain contact with her adherents.<sup>506</sup> In a class of her own as a staunch first-generation pentecostal leader, McPherson created her own denomination in 1927 called The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel the headquarters of which was the huge Angelus Temple in Los Angeles. Although McPherson did not reach old age the extent of her significance on early American pentecostalism was huge. On 27 September 1944 McPherson died. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of accidental death. "Death was caused by shock and respiratory failure from an accidental overdose and a kidney ailment".<sup>507</sup> Importantly her ministry formed an early bridge linking pentecostalism with mainstream America helping to make pentecostalism one of the

<sup>504</sup> See A. McPherson, *This is That, Aimee Semple McPherson*, a presentation of her autobiography of personal experiences, sermons and writings (Los Angeles: The Bridal Call Publishing House, 1919).

<sup>505</sup> See M. Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America* (London: Harvard University Press, 2007) especially Chapters 2 "The Foursquare Gospel" and 3 "Marketing the Old-Time Religion", 37-66.

<sup>506</sup> D. Jacobsen, (ed.), *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology Voices From the First Generation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 185-186. See also; M. Shelbourne, *Hollywood in the Pulpit* (M.Th thesis: in Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies, University of Wales at Bangor, 2001) & W. Kay, *Pentecostalism A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 32-3. See also E. Clark, *The Small Sects In America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1965) who maintains that McPherson's whole career was an interesting study in sexual charm and religious devotion, 115-116. See also H. Cox, *Fire From Heaven The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996). He maintains that music was crucially employed by McPherson firstly using a tambourine and later supported by a full symphony orchestra, in spreading her movement's appeal and power, 121-122.

<sup>507</sup> E. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson Everybody's Sister* (Michigan: Erdmans, 1993), 379.

largest and fastest-growing religious movements in the world.<sup>508</sup> Hayford writes that McPherson's life provided a lens through which the changes in the pentecostal movement could be observed; "she left an imprint."<sup>509</sup>

**Figure 4.5 Angelus Temple, Los Angeles, California**



#### **4.6.3 McPherson effected early British Pentecostalism<sup>510</sup>**

The influence McPherson had on the veterans was also significant. Her name evoked affectionate memories with words such as "amazing", "remarkable", and "wonderful" being ebulliently used to describe her...followed by a listing of her dazzling achievements.<sup>511</sup> Even

<sup>508</sup> See C. Barfoot, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the making of modern Pentecostalism 1890-1926* (London: Routledge, 2011). Of all the important people in the genesis and advance of modern pentecostalism no one was more so than McPherson according to E. Blumhofer, *Everybody's Sister*, Preface xxiii.

<sup>509</sup> J. Hayford & S. Moore, *The Charismatic Century* (New York: Time Warner Book Group, 2006), "Aimee, America and Pentecostalism," 131-158. See S. Burgess, & E. Van der Maas, (eds.), discussing the construction, facilities and ministries of Angelus Temple, in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements* (Zondervan: Grand Rapids, 2002) revised and expanded edition, 314-315.

<sup>510</sup> I am indebted to Cartwright for presenting me with his personal archival collection containing primary sources relative to McPherson which include cablegrams, letters, articles and photographs. This took place shortly before Cartwright died. He stated that I would know what to do with them. I have consulted them extensively to good effect. They are currently in my personal archival collection and to be deposited in Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>511</sup> McPherson had been a sensation in Britain also in this early era. Pastors, such as Cartwright, Gilpin, Canty, Walker, Rees, Whittaker and Belfield, some of whom had visited Angelus Temple, all described McPherson in this manner.

Gee, famous for his balanced chronicling of British pentecostalism, recorded that he and other British Pentecostals followed McPherson's unfolding American career "almost with bated breath."<sup>512</sup> He acknowledged that the "theatrical touch" of her ministry and methods" did not detract from "good spiritual results" and that importantly her affinity with the young British pentecostal movement's stance on evangelism warranted their interest, support and admiration.<sup>513</sup> I researched in the Heritage Archival Department on a site visit to the Angelus Temple—International Church Of The Foursquare Gospel—in March 2019 in a quest to locate material written relative to McPherson's connections with people she communicated within early British pentecostalism and the visits she made to Britain.<sup>514</sup>

#### 4.6.3.1 McPherson meets Jeffreys

Crucial to McPherson exercising influence on early British pentecostalism was her meeting with George Jeffreys. This took place in her church when Jeffreys and party paid her a visit whilst on a transatlantic tour in 1924.<sup>515</sup> Not wishing to leave the "Mecca of the Pentecostal Movement"—Angelus Temple—without "first attending just one meeting" the party planned to slip in surreptitiously. The spotting of Jeffreys by Pastor W. Black, who then introduced him

<sup>512</sup> Gee, *These Men I Knew: Personal Memoirs of Pentecostal Pioneers* (Nottingham Assemblies of God, 1980) includes a vignette on Aimee Semple McPherson, 58.

<sup>513</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 58.

<sup>514</sup> Blumhofer, *Sister Aimee*, records for example that Smith Wigglesworth, the unschooled plumber from Bradford, England, preached for McPherson, 309. Several months prior to planning my site visit I was told about and keen to explore, a collection of McPherson's personal correspondence and papers bequeathed by McPherson's son Rolf and earmarked for the Heritage Center Angelus Temple Archives. On my arrival at the Heritage Center I was met by its director Steve Szleny and his assistant Jackie Millar. They were deeply disappointed to be sharing with me that a box of rubbish and box of archival material, where the latter was mistakenly destroyed instead of the former, meant that any investigation was now impossible. Millar explained how a few weeks previously, Stirling Brackett from the Heritage Center and herself had visited the Flower Heritage Archives in Springfield, Missouri. They had been told about McPherson's box of letters and papers. Millar had been keen to take the collection back with her but the staff said they were coming themselves to the Heritage Center at Angelus Temple and would deliver the box of McPherson's personal material at the same time. Millar shared how she bitterly regretted not doing so as now they have been lost forever. Despite this calamitous news the visit to the Angelus Temple was valuable.

<sup>515</sup> A. Edsor, *Set Your House In Order* (London: New Wine Press, 1989). The Party consisted of Stephen Jeffreys, Robert Darragh, James McWhirter and Ernest Boulton, 68.



to McPherson, ensured “he came into contact with this great woman evangelist.”<sup>516</sup> Jeffreys accepted McPherson’s invitation to address the church and captivated the congregation.

Amicable feelings were reciprocated as revealed by a letter written by E. Phillips, the Secretary/General of the Elim Alliance to McPherson:

Pastor Jeffreys and the other Elim Evangelists who accompanied him on his tour of U.S.A. and Canada...were delighted with their visit to the Angelus Temple. I had heard much of your work through the Bridal Call, ...I was especially glad to hear such splendid reports of the work first-hand through our brethren.<sup>517</sup>

Though the resemblance between both organisations was significant, as revealed by Phillips, who wrote again on the same day to McPherson, nothing officially linked them:

There seems to be...great similarity between your work and ours. While we both repudiate the...fanaticism...found in so many Pentecostal Assemblies, nevertheless, we stand firmly for the four-square Gospel.<sup>518</sup>

McPherson’s early influence is detected in that her usage of the term *foursquare* was adopted by Jeffreys from this time.<sup>519</sup> Blumhofer enquired of Elim’s archivist “When did George Jeffreys come up with the rubric ‘*foursquare*’?...I am wondering if Jeffreys may have influenced Aimee’s later formulation of the foursquare gospel?”<sup>520</sup> Cartwright’s reply reveals that there was no reference to Jeffreys using the term *foursquare* prior to his visit to the USA.<sup>521</sup>

<sup>516</sup> Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, 156.

<sup>517</sup> Letter, from E. Phillips to A. McPherson 23 March 1925, my personal collection.

<sup>518</sup> Letter, from E. Phillips to A. McPherson 23 March 1925, my personal collection.

<sup>519</sup> Sutton, *Aimee Semple* relates how, whilst delivering a sermon in Oakland, California, in October 1922, McPherson shared her interpretation of the four different faces of an obscure creature in Ezekiel—those of a man, an ox and an eagle to the four stands of her gospel, claiming; “It came to me by inspiration...a perfect Gospel! A complete Gospel for body, soul, spirit and for eternity...the Foursquare Gospel”, 44. See also McPherson “The Four-square Gospel,” *The Bridal Call* 6 January 1923, 44-45 and McPherson “The Foursquare Gospel in the Foursquare Way,” *The Bridal Call* 8 August 1924, 18.

<sup>520</sup> Letter from E. Blumhofer to D. Cartwright, 3 February 1993, my personal collection. This was when Blumhoffer was researching for her book, *Everybody’s Sister*.

<sup>521</sup> Letter from D. Cartwright to E. Blumhofer March 1993, my personal collection.

He directed Blumhofer to a report by Ernest Boulton of the visit Jeffreys and team made to Angelus Temple stating, with reference to McPherson “This successful evangelist still stands steadfast for the foursquare gospel”.<sup>522</sup> The influence of the term on Jeffreys was far-reaching. McPherson’s incorporation of *foursquare* into the title of her *Bridal Call Foursquare* magazine influenced Jeffreys to adopt and insert the rubric onto the title page of his own publication.<sup>523</sup> McPherson’s influence increased when in January 1925 the *foursquare* rubric featured in the title of the Elim Pentecostal denomination “Foursquare Gospel Churches British Isles”.<sup>524</sup> Later that year the Secretary/Treasurer of Foursquare Gospel Churches, Edward Pinch, reported that the name “Foursquare” was “catching on like wildfire” revealing that McPherson’s influence in Britain was widening.<sup>525</sup>

Keen to foster the friendly relationship burgeoning between himself and McPherson Jeffreys directed Phillips to write to her:

We would be delighted if we could have articles from you...Perhaps...you might allow us, occasionally, to reprint your articles from the *Bridal Call*. May we have the privilege of inserting your name among the other contributing editors? I shall be glad to hear from you.<sup>526</sup>

The reply in the affirmative from Kennedy on behalf of her daughter, strengthened the relationship between Jeffreys and McPherson and their British and American Foursquare Pentecostal Movements.<sup>527</sup>

<sup>522</sup> *Evangel Supplement*, October 1924, Vol.5 No.3, 47.

<sup>523</sup> When the *Evangel* was enlarged in 1925 the motif “FOURSQUARE on the word of God” appeared on the masthead above the Editorial. See the *Evangel*s prior to January 1925 and copies after that date. Refer to CD Rom, Revival Library, Bishops Waltham.

<sup>524</sup> The word “Incorporated” was added in 1927.

<sup>525</sup> *Evangel*, 1 July 1926, Vol.V11 No.14. A sermon by Jeffreys: “The Foursquare Gospel” was published, further reinforcing the important, full Pentecostal message, to members throughout the Elim Churches, 151. Cartwright in conversation with myself, 6 December 2007, Motorway Service Station, Cardiff, explained that “Plagiarism is the besetting sin of Pentecostalism”.

<sup>526</sup> Letter from E. Phillips to A. McPherson 23 March 1925, my personal collection.

<sup>527</sup> Letter from M. Kennedy to E. Phillips 13 May 1925, my personal collection.

To some extent, McPherson's second major area of influence on early British Pentecostalism was to affect Jeffreys in making up his mind not to agree with any plans to lead his Elim denomination into joining forces with the newly formed British Assemblies of God. In his article chronicling the first two decades of early British Pentecostalism, Cartwright laments the fact that Jeffreys did not go on his transatlantic tour in 1923 as he had originally planned to do.<sup>528</sup> McPherson's Angelus Temple was only newly opened in 1923 but a year later in October, Jeffreys was able to witness a more established church successfully expanding with the opening of a Bible School and the start of the innovative Kall Four Square Gospel Radio ministry.<sup>529</sup> As an evangelist responsible for pastors and an extensive church planting programme across Britain, Jeffreys would have been impressed with McPherson's successfully developing achievements and this without being affiliated to the Assemblies of God from which she had broken ranks in 1922.<sup>530</sup> Jeffreys had, on the other hand, been totally unimpressed by what he saw operating in the churches affiliated to the Assemblies of God in

<sup>528</sup> D. Cartwright "From The Backstreets Of Brixton To The Royal Albert Hall British Pentecostalism 1907-1928" paper presented at the European Pentecostal Theological Association, (EPTA) Leaven, Belgium, December 1981, 9, 1-14.

<sup>529</sup> Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson*, outlined the regular pattern of the weekly services operating at Angelus Temple plus recording that in the first six months of the Temple's opening, the number of professed conversions was 8,000 and 1,500 were baptised in its baptistry, 247.

<sup>530</sup> Muriel Shelbourne "Hollywood in the Pulpit" (M.Th thesis: University of Wales Bangor 2001), 34-35 relates accounts of small-mindedness McPherson had experienced when affiliated with the US AoG (which led her to eventually break ranks with them.) Shelbourne describes them as long-simmering uncertainties and cites for example the distrust that some pentecostals had of McPherson giving her enormous popularity as the reason. The cherishing by the AoG of their "outsider" status which they believed McPherson's use of the language and faith of American Christianity was threatening, became a difficulty for her. Jack Hayford *The Charismatic Century* (New York: Time Warner Book Group, 2006), 145-146 comments that it was on the occasion McPherson challenged the excesses of hyper-emotionalism in her crusade meetings at Wichita in May 1921 that these simmerings came to a crisis point. Some pentecostals took offence accusing that McPherson was guilty of "quenching the Holy Spirit." Her moderated pentecostal view was that "The Holy Spirit is not marked by wildness, hysteria, screaming or unseemly manifestations but by deep, holy, sober, godly, reverent, prayerful exultation of the gentle Christ of Galilee" (Edith Blumhofer, *Everybody's Sister* (Michigan, Erdmans, 1993), 186. The ensuing criticisms and disputes from disgruntled small-minded AoG pentecostals increased culminating in McPherson surrendering her ministerial credentials with the AoG in January 1922.

Canada and America as he toured around them in 1924. He found petty bickering and disharmony rife, as McPherson had. Jeffreys shared,

We are not accepting engagements to preach anywhere as there is a great deal of jealousy all around in the various Assemblies there re our coming. We receive letters every day saying 'don't go there' until we are sick and tired of reading them. The Assemblies of God ia not working here.<sup>531</sup>

A further letter Jeffreys wrote to Phillips referred to him having met delegates from nearly all the US AoG assemblies during the Council week for the Assemblies.<sup>532</sup> The letter gives explanatory details of the disappointing condition of the assemblies which “are very small and governed by elders...Some of them I can assure you are quite officious (to the pastors). They have no use for the gifts. They seem to lie dormant. I hear of discontent and murmurings everywhere. May God keep us from such”. What clearly impresses Jeffreys is the “Christian Missionary Alliance”. He writes,

The greatest and most successful work is the “Christian Missionary Alliance. Nearly all the noted Evangelists that have received the Baptism in the Holy Ghost have left the old movement (AoG) and joined it. They are making great strides and capturing all...The more I see of the work here, the more persuaded I am that we should go on independently and be in Gt Britain what the CMA is in America. Of this I am fully persuaded.<sup>533</sup>

Jeffreys letter relates further incidences which continue to discourage any thoughts of ever amalgamating with AoG pentecostalism back in Britain and shares,

I have had a fair sickening of the pentecostal AoG. It is split everywhere. To think of our going over with the Alliance we have, would be suicide. Every step from Montreal to this place makes me more determined to keep clear. I am simply concrete in my determination not to join any Assembly of God in England. This is of course confidential...I shall never join in

<sup>531</sup> *Letter* from G. Jeffreys to E. Phillips 11 September 1924, California.

<sup>532</sup> *Letter* from G. Jeffreys to E. Phillips dated 5 August 1924, Manatoba.

<sup>533</sup> *Letter* from G. Jeffreys to E. Phillips 19 August 1924.

England... In accordance with my promise I will call a meeting of the Band and let them decide. BUT I WILL NOT GO OVER MYSELF.<sup>534</sup>

Cartwright mentioned the strong possibility that McPherson's influence might "have had a hand" in persuading Jeffreys not to proceed with the contingency plans under discussion to "go in with the British Assemblies", which was similar to the American Assemblies of God.<sup>535</sup> Clearly he had found McPherson and the working out of her vision at her Angelus Temple significantly impressive eliciting Hudson's observation that "Jeffreys seems to have been hugely affected by McPherson".<sup>536</sup> Cartwright's summary was that a great opportunity to unite the early British denominations was surely missed.<sup>537</sup> It is my firm opinion that McPherson played some part in influencing Jeffreys not to amalgamate with AoG and therefore influenced early British Elim and AoGod denominations to continue operating separately.

#### **4.6.3.2 McPherson visits Britain in 1926**

McPherson's ministering in Ireland and Britain under the auspices of Jeffreys and the Elim Foursquare denomination would see further forging of the friendship between these two enigmatic leaders.<sup>538</sup> McPherson's influence on Jeffreys and his nascent Pentecostal denomination in the British Isles would increase.

The pace had been relentlessly frenetic over the three years since the opening of the Angelus Temple and McPherson desperately needed rest, hence her reluctance to accept ministerial engagements.<sup>539</sup> However, she consented to preach for Jeffreys for two days in Belfast where

<sup>534</sup> Letter from G. Jeffreys to E. Phillips, 19 August 1924.

<sup>535</sup> Cartwright in discussion with myself, concerning McPherson, at Regents Theological College, Nantwich, 12 December 2008.

<sup>536</sup> N. Hudson, "A Hot Gospeller in a Cool Climate: Aimee Semple McPherson in Britain through the lens of the British Press", *Cyberjournal For Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, MS, 1981.

<sup>537</sup> Cartwright "From the Backstreets of Brixton", 1981, 9, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>538</sup> In 1910, two years after their marriage, the prospective missionaries Robert and Aimee had spent three weeks in Northern Ireland farewelling Robert's parents who lived at Magherafelt.

<sup>539</sup> McPherson worked prolifically counselling, planning, organising, producing sermons for church and radio, (she preached over the radio at 7am on a daily basis, in addition to often

she was received by the Lord Mayor and City Councillors at its City Hall.<sup>540</sup> McPherson preached to large, appreciative crowds. When the departure time arrived, the SS *Graphic* was detained by The Belfast Steamship Company for twenty minutes to allow time for McPherson to conclude her meeting. The following report indicates McPherson's considerable influence in Ireland:

This rare favour we esteemed very highly, and especially did those who came long distances to sit under the ministry of the famous evangelist. Thousands of Irish saints, who hitherto knew Sister McPherson by repute, now had been gladdened to hear...and will be happy to pray for her continually.<sup>541</sup>

While exploring London, en route for the Holy Land, McPherson had refused to allow herself to be persuaded to accept invitations to preach. Her explanation was that she was "resting not preaching" and continued enjoying the sights of the capital aware that:

The ministers seemed more sympathetic than disappointed,...some had visited Angelus Temple and knew the...load I carried. They agreed I deserved a rest...some...commenced to pray that...the Lord would direct me to preach in their midst if it were His blessed will. Meanwhile I took off to France.<sup>542</sup>

At Nice, after initially battling whether to return to London and preach, McPherson made up her mind to do so and contacted Phillips, at Elim headquarters, to say that she was coming to

preaching up to twenty times weekly in the Temple), playing and writing music, in its many forms, creating theatrical presentations, writing articles, pamphlets, books, delivering college lectures plus meeting and talking with dozens of people within the Temple and wider community and was heavily involved in Commissary relief work.

<sup>540</sup> McPherson's recall of memories when she visited Ireland with her first husband Robert Semple included having spoken at the time with Harland and Wolf's shipbuilders working on the Titanic.

<sup>541</sup> *Evangel*, J. McWhirter, Evangelist; "Sister McPherson in Ireland", 1 May 1926, Vol.11 No.9, 104.

<sup>542</sup> *Evangel*, "Mrs Aimee Semple McPherson in London", 15 March 1926, Vol.V11 No.6. C. Kingston writes that the invitation from Elim to McPherson to hold special meetings had joined the numerous other calls from many quarters. All had been declined as McPherson made her way en route to the Holy Land", 61-62.

preach for four days in London at the Elim Surrey Tabernacle commencing the following Thursday, 4 March 1926.<sup>543</sup> This *volte face*, shows that the relationship between McPherson and Jeffreys was deepening indicating trust and an appreciation of each other's ministry. This is evidenced with McPherson on the one hand feeling she could alter her course of action from telling Jeffreys that no, despite his efforts to persuade her to preach she would not be coming to preach, to yes, she now was coming with dates. On the other hand, Jeffreys felt he could immediately reciprocate, cancel his already arranged and advertised campaign in order to accommodate McPherson and her change of heart. Hastily returning from Guernsey he postponed his Revival Campaign in Liverpool in order that he could support McPherson and her campaign in Surrey.<sup>544</sup>

Preparations were swiftly commenced:

Hurry! No time to lose! Printing press...groans as thousands...of handbills come from...its rollers. The day before a long procession of Elim Crusaders wend their way through the district advertising by banner placard and handbill the coming meetings.<sup>545</sup>

Official photographs were taken on 3 March 1926 to accompany the *Evangel* report.



<sup>543</sup> See Cartwright, *From the Backstreets*, 1981, 9, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>544</sup> See the Supplement to the *Evangel*, 1 March, 1926 Supplement Vol.V11 No.5, which includes printed posters advertising the Surrey and Liverpool campaigns, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>545</sup> *Evangel*, "Mrs. Aimee Semple McPherson in London", 15 March 1925 Vol.V11 No.6, 61-62.

#### **Figure 4.6 Bible college students and McPherson**

This photograph taken on the steps of the Elim Bible College in Clapham, London includes: A. McPherson with G. Jeffreys, C. Kingston, F. Trevor, H. Court, J. McWhirter, R. Smith, R. Mercer, W. Henderson, J. Smith, E. Phillips & R. Darragh.



**Figure 4.7 Jeffreys welcoming McPherson**

The photograph of Jeffreys welcoming McPherson shows a very different welcoming pose. Aimee is standing smiling at the top of the steps at the Elim Bible College, in Clapham, London with Principal Jeffreys at the bottom smiling up at her holding her hand. Their pleasure at seeing each other has been captured by the camera.<sup>546</sup>

Kingston describes McPherson as “A striking figure...dressed...in white with a black gown draped from her shoulders (who) swayed the thousands by her eloquence”.<sup>547</sup> There was a grand finale with McPherson promising to be back to preach at Easter. The crowds, “loth to leave” repeatedly sang “God be with you till we meet again”. Kingston’s appraisal that the “Results

<sup>546</sup> See also photograph, Appendix D taken in Jeffrey’s study where he is welcoming McPherson on bended knee looking up admiringly at McPherson as they shake hands, my personal collection. Surely going down on bended knee is extending a little more than the average “hello” and speaks of adulation.

<sup>547</sup> Kingston, *Evangel*, 15 March, 1926, “Mrs. Aimee Semple McPherson in London”, 15 March 1926 Vol.V11 No.6, 63.



were so wonderful” provides evidence that McPherson and her preaching were influential.<sup>548</sup> Her next visit was already being eagerly looked forward to causing Jeffreys to seriously reconsider booking the Surrey Tabernacle, which would now be inadequate.

#### **4.6.3.3 McPherson ministers at the Royal Albert Hall, Easter 1926**

McPherson’s visit to the Surrey Tabernacle was more in-house to British pentecostalism and was therefore less spectacular in comparison to the attention the press gave to her later two visits. Even so this gave credence to Cartwright’s opinion that early British pentecostalism was in debt equally to the interest paid to it by the “secular press” as it was to “any human source” for the extensive preoccupation with its origins and nascent development.<sup>549</sup>

In his appraisal of McPherson and her visits to Britain, which he viewed through the lens of the British press, Hudson establishes that the sustained high visibility McPherson maintained in the secular press went against the norm. Whereas other American evangelists’ time in the spotlight was relatively short-lived, soon passing into an “archive of forgetfulness”, McPherson’s lasted six years, which was extraordinary.<sup>550</sup> Hathaway acknowledges in his historical exposition of the denominations of early British pentecostalism, and specifically in his vignette of the Elim pentecostal church, the significant influence McPherson exercised on the latter at this early stage.<sup>551</sup> The culmination of McPherson’s prominence and press-coverage, despite the misconstrued and at times hostile reporting, were key factors facilitating the launch of Elim’s Easter Conventions. Hathaway notes that the relationship that existed between McPherson and Jeffreys was also beneficial to the Elim cause and to Jeffreys in particular. It gave Jeffreys inspiration and confidence from this time “for the more dramatic occasions.”<sup>552</sup> With anticipated masses attracted by McPherson’s return visit from Ireland, adding to the expected Easter crowds, the Surrey Tabernacle would have been inadequate thus Jeffreys made a “snap

<sup>548</sup> Kingston, *Evangel*, “Mrs. Aimee Semple McPherson in London”, 15 March 1926 Vol.V11 No.6, 64.

<sup>549</sup> Interview between Cartwright and myself on 7 May 2008, at Regents College, Nantwich.

<sup>550</sup> N. Hudson, “A Hot Gospeller in a Cool Climate”, 1.

<sup>551</sup> Hathaway, “The Elim Pentecostal Church: Origins, Development and Distinctives” in K. Warrington, (ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives*.18.

<sup>552</sup> Hathaway, “The Elim Pentecostal Church”, 18.

decision” to book the Royal Albert Hall for Easter Sunday 4 and Easter Monday 5 April 1926.<sup>553</sup> “This was the first time that Pentecostals had hired such a large, prestigious hall”.<sup>554</sup> For Jeffreys and Elim, this Easter extravaganza at the Albert Hall was to be repeated every year with Jeffreys preaching there until 1939. Also from this time Jeffreys proceeded to hire some of the largest venues in the land for his evangelistic and healing campaigns. Hudson speaks of the Albert Hall meetings as “a development in terms of the size of the venues Pentecostals might attempt to fill.”<sup>555</sup> Given that initially, the Surrey Tabernacle was to have been the venue without McPherson, it was highly likely the step to hire the larger, ostentatious Royal Albert Hall would not have been attempted had it not been for her presence. What is certain is that this is evidence of Jeffreys being massively impacted by McPherson.

#### **4.6.3.4 McPherson missing, presumed drowned**

Returning to the Angelus Temple on April 26 1926 McPherson resumed preaching to capacity crowds but mysteriously “disappeared” one afternoon after swimming off Venice Beach.<sup>556</sup> It was significant that it was to Jeffreys that McPherson’s mother immediately turned. Not only did this indicate that “this must have been an endorsement of his gifts at the highest level” it also indicates that a close relationship had developed between himself and McPherson.<sup>557</sup> This allowed Kennedy not only to feel that she could readily turn to Jeffreys for help but could also *expect* him to step out of his busy life and leave immediately to assist her in her dilemma. Kennedy’s cablegram read:

<sup>553</sup> The decision by the railway companies to take advantage of the longer Easter public holiday and offer people living in the provinces the opportunity to take family train excursions, at reasonable rates, boosted the number of visitors in the capital.

<sup>554</sup> Cartwright, “From the Backstreets”, 11.

<sup>555</sup> Hudson, “Hot Gospeller”, 1.

<sup>556</sup> Blumhofer, *Everybody’s Sister*, related that on Tuesday, 18 May, 1926 McPherson had planned a repeat service of the Monday evening’s slide show of her recent Holy Land tour but she had not shown up and was missing, presumed drowned, 281-282.

<sup>557</sup> Kay, *George Jeffreys Pentecostal Apostle and Revivalist*, 125.

IMPERATIVE NEED YOU HERE IMMEDIATELY THIS CRISIS  
HOUR CABLE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE YOU CAN LEAVE  
MOTHER KENNEDY<sup>558</sup>

Jeffreys replied immediately:

STAGGERING BLOW TO MYSELF AND MINISTERS WHO LOVED  
SISTER DEARLY DEEPEST SYMPATHY WITH YOURSELF AND  
DARLING ROBERTA AND ANGELUS TEMPLE FAMILY  
PRAYERFULLY CONSIDERING YOUR CALL ALTHOUGH  
APPARENTLY INSUPERABLE DIFFICULTIES HERE BESIDES  
ESTEEMING MYSELF UNEQUAL TO SUCH A TREMENDOUS  
TASK GEORGE JEFFREYS<sup>559</sup>

Jeffreys was keen to reiterate that he would help Kennedy in her hour of crisis if this were possible:

HAVE MADE EVERY EFFORT AND WOULD COME WITH ALL MY  
HEART IF CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTED BUT GREATLY  
REGRET IMPOSSIBLE AT PRESENT MUCH IN PRAYER FOR YOU  
GEORGE JEFFREYS<sup>560</sup>

Though Jeffreys cannot be alongside Kennedy he shows his support by keeping in touch, eagerly wishing to be kept informed:

AWFUL SUSPENSE PAPERS FULL OF CONFLICTING REPORTS IS BODY  
FOUND CABLE LATEST NEWS<sup>561</sup>

McPherson had endeared herself to a wide audience of followers in Britain who were keen to have news as the letter from the editor of the *Christian Herald* indicates:

I was...grieved to hear the news concerning Mrs. McPherson, who greatly  
attracted me during her visit to London. If you could...send me a copy of

<sup>558</sup> *Telegram* from M. Kennedy to G. Jeffreys 20 May 1926.

<sup>559</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to M. Kennedy 21 May 1926.

<sup>560</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to M. Kennedy 27 May 1926.

<sup>561</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to M. Kennedy. Sent in May 1926, date obscure.

the “Bridal Call” or any other paper that reaches you, giving any further details regarding her I should esteem it a favour.<sup>562</sup>

Phillip’s reply shares how difficult it was to get authentic news and how the English papers had been full of contradictory reports. He did not think there could be much doubt that McPherson had drowned. He shares “Mrs. Kennedy asks again for Pastor Jeffreys to go out there as soon as possible”.<sup>563</sup>

Jeffreys made the decision to observe the extraordinary proceedings unfolding in the sensationally theatrical city of Los Angeles from the comfort of the phlegmatic side of the Atlantic.<sup>564</sup> He shared Kennedy’s first telegram with the Elim “Family” in an article that paid tribute to McPherson. With palpable grief, he writes:

Words are inadequate to express the deep regret experienced by myself and all the Elim workers. We felt that one of ourselves had been called home. She loved Elim and Elim loved her...As one who was privileged to gain her confidence whilst working with her in the British Isles, I can truly say that Aimee Semple McPherson was not only a princess among preachers, but was also one who behind the public scene of life was a really humble soul and a true saint of God...Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to Mother Kennedy and the darling children, whom we prayerfully commend to the God of all consolation and hope.<sup>565</sup>

Jeffreys was claiming to know McPherson not casually but exceptionally well and that their relationship was very close. This was the extent to which Jeffreys had gained McPherson’s confidence and could use the word *truly* purposefully, when he claimed he could vouch for

<sup>562</sup> Letter from F. Murray, editor of *Christian Herald*, to E. Phillips, 15 June 1926.

<sup>563</sup> Letter from E. Phillips to F. Murray, 18 June 1926.

<sup>564</sup> Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson*, explains that as the initial shock and intense searching for McPherson began subsiding and normality started to return, dramatically the flames of rumour mongering began to flare up as the knowledge that Kenneth Ormiston, McPherson’s one-time radio operator, who was suffering marital breakdown, had also left Los Angeles at around the same time as Aimee went missing. He would be eliminated from the enquiry, 97-98.

<sup>565</sup> *Evangel* “G. Jeffrey’s, A Tribute to Sister McPherson”, 1 June 1926, Vol.7 No.11, 122.

knowing her very well behind her public façade. Contrary to Hudson's comment that the real nature of Jeffreys and McPherson's relationship may never be fully known, (although he does concede that it seems to have been of great significance), there are clues, such as the above, that reveal otherwise.<sup>566</sup>

Theories of conjecture and confusion surrounding McPherson's disappearance was not quashed as Kennedy had hoped, even after the huge funeral, which she lavishly orchestrated in the genuine belief her daughter had tragically drowned.<sup>567</sup> The reverse happened; within three days it rose to gargantuan proportions with the sensational resurrection of McPherson and accompanying melodramatic story of subterfuge and kidnap.<sup>568</sup> Kennedy was rendered speechless with shock. The world gazed on in disbelief as, with predictable pageantry the amazing drama was played out in Los Angeles between the camp of supporters who were joined to McPherson with a hoop of steel and believed her version of events implicitly, and those who did not. Aware that McPherson had not drowned Murray had written again to Phillips commenting with typical British restraint and detectable suspicion "It is certainly an extraordinary happening" causing one to imagine that she was reeling in disbelief.<sup>569</sup> One could never imagine such sensational happenings to clergy in the stable, predictable life of the church in Britain. The *Christian Herald* had never had to report on such an incredible drama involving a church leader. McPherson cabled Jeffreys declaring:

<sup>566</sup> Hudson, "A Hot Gospeller", 3.

<sup>567</sup> In excess of seventeen thousand people attended three Temple services on 20 June 1926 in addition to the thousands of radio listeners, who followed them on air, paid tribute to McPherson in a phenomenal outpouring of love and grief. See Epstein *Sister Aimee*, 295 & Service of Memory and Floral Tributes in *The Foursquare Magazine*, editor in chief Dr. Rolf McPherson, November 1944 Vol.16 No.11, 2-51.

<sup>568</sup> See *Los Angeles Times*, 27 June 1926, "Cheering Throngs Hail Aimee McPherson Home", an account of McPherson's rapturous welcome home. See McPherson, *The Story of My Life*, 164-165. See also Epstein, *Sister Aimee* who quoted the essayist Morrow Mayo, who at the sight of such a tumultuous welcome home after McPherson's ordeal had declared that no one, even Presidents, had ever received such an incredible welcome in Los Angeles, 300-301.

<sup>569</sup> E. Phillips published the cablegram, in the *Evangel*, 29 June 1926 Vol.V11 No.13, which he had received from M. Kennedy on Saturday 26 June 1926: SISTER SAFE UNHARMED SPEAKING IN TEMPLE SUNDAY MOTHER KENNEDY. See *Letter* from F. Murray to E. Phillips, 30 June 1926.

GOD WONDERFULLY DELIVERED FROM KIDNAPPERS AND  
MAMMOTH PLOT TO WRECK INFLUENCE AND WORK TREMENDOUS  
SPIRITUAL OUTPOURING HERE THOUSANDS THRONING  
EXPECTING YOU AUGUST FIRST<sup>570</sup>

Jeffreys was supportive and sympathetic towards McPherson as evidenced by the following cablegram he sent to her:

THOUSANDS OF ELIM FRIENDS THROUGHOUT BRITISH ISLES  
SEND LOVING SYMPATHY AND CONTINUE PRAYING FOR YOU  
IN YOUR FIERY TRIAL<sup>571</sup>

The Foreword by Jeffreys to an account written by McPherson of her harrowing kidnapping experience would also have given McPherson much needed support.<sup>572</sup> Jeffreys maintains that the account read as an addition to the Acts of the Apostles. McPherson was deeply grateful for Jeffrey's allegiance and was keen for him to join her as she stood in her battle:

MESSAGE DEEPLY APPRECIATED REVIVAL SWEEPING  
ONWARDS SATAN OPPOSING FIERY FURNACE BLAZING  
SAINTS DEFENDING SOLIDLY UNITED ULTIMATE VICTORY  
WHEN CAN YOU COME<sup>573</sup>

A grateful McPherson cabled Jeffreys providing evidence that they had become regular pen friends; note that the word McPherson used below was *many*. She resolved that if Jeffreys was not able to come to her she would go to him:

THANKS FOR MANY ENCOURAGING MESSAGES PAST YEAR  
PLANNING BE IN ENGLAND IN SPRING.<sup>574</sup>

The next day Jeffreys, with obvious pleasure, hurried a reply:

<sup>570</sup> *Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 22 July 1926.

<sup>571</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 18 Oct. 1926.

<sup>572</sup> *Evangel*, "Kidnapped, Sister McPherson's Remarkable Testimony", 15 September, 1926, Vol.V11 No.18, 210.

<sup>573</sup> *Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 24 October 1926.

<sup>574</sup> *Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys, 24 October 1927.

DELIGHTED YOU ARE COMING WRITING <sup>575</sup>

In his promised letter, Jeffreys cannot conceal his joy at the prospect of having McPherson visit Britain once again:

I am simply delighted at the thought of your visit to the British Isles once again. You will receive a right royal welcome from us all. Any further particulars I know you will *give fully*, as you know me this time.<sup>576</sup>

These are difficult days still for McPherson and in her reply to Jeffreys on 28 December 1927 she refers to her reply being delayed and the fact that she could not be certain of the date when she could come but cabled:

WILL PUT SELF SECRETARY IN YOUR HANDS WRITING AIMEE  
SEMPLE MCPHERSON<sup>577</sup>

Jeffreys' reply to McPherson reveals his willingness to accommodate her on her terms:

TOUR ARRANGED...WE CERTAINLY BELIEVE NOW IS THE  
BEST TIME WOULD BE DISAPPOINTED IF YOU DO NOT COME  
NEVERTHELESS WILL POSTPONE TILL FALL IF THIS WOULD  
BE MORE IN GOD'S WILL FROM YOUR STANDPOINT<sup>578</sup>

When this was not possible, Jeffreys sent an assuring cable:

QUITE UNDERSTAND...WILL POSTPONE LOVING GREETINGS  
FROM ELIM<sup>579</sup>

Jeffreys' kind understanding and staunch support of McPherson never wavered as the following illustrates. A cablegram expressing concern by McPherson as to whether the airing of her personal problems publicly in the press, might be giving Jeffreys second thoughts, relative to her upcoming British tour, received an assuring cable from Jeffreys:<sup>580</sup>

<sup>575</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 25 October 1927.

<sup>576</sup> *Letter* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 7 November 1927.

<sup>577</sup> *Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 28 December 1927.

<sup>578</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 1 January 1928.

<sup>579</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 24 January 1928.

<sup>580</sup> *Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 8 August 1928.

LETTER RECEIVED ALL PLANS COMPLETED FOR BRITISH  
TOUR HAVE READ LURID REPORTS IN NEWSPAPERS OF GREAT  
TROUBLE CONCERNING YOURSELF YOUR MOTHERS  
STATEMENTS AND THE TEMPLE IF THE SERIOUS SITUATION  
DEMANDS YOUR PRESENCE AT LOS ANGELES I WILL GLADLY  
RELEASE YOU FROM THE TOUR IF IT DOES NOT HEARTIEST  
WELCOME AWAITS YOU CABLE REPLY<sup>581</sup>

Jeffreys must have breathed a sigh of relief to hear from McPherson on 6 September 1928, that she would be in Britain shortly.

#### **4.6.3.5 McPherson ministers again at the Royal Albert Hall and major cities from October 1928**

There is a paucity of primary source material covering McPherson's visits to Britain. Therefore the *Manuscript* in my personal collection, hitherto not seen in the public domain is a significant primary source. It is an eyewitness account written by Harry William ("Billy") Greenway, and provides in-depth coverage of McPherson and her ministerial visit to Britain in 1928. Greenway was a student at the EBC and wrote from the perspective of the Pentecostals in Britain at that early juncture. This document is therefore unique in presenting an informative and insightful portrait of McPherson, her visit and the measure of influence she brought to bear on pentecostalism in this country during this early era and is heavily drawn upon.<sup>582</sup>

McPherson had accepted an invitation by Jeffreys to conduct a countrywide Campaign commencing with a second appearance at the Royal Albert Hall. The memories of her sensational visit only two years previously were heightened following her abduction and ransom claims, by the substantial grinding of the publicity mills in America and Britain. Greenway gives this full publicity as the reason for the heightened excitement being

<sup>581</sup> *Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 14 August 1928.

<sup>582</sup> Cartwright in discussion with myself on 4 June 2009 at Motorway service Station, Cardiff explained that Greenway intended to write an account of the infant stage of Pentecostalism in Britain but died before this could be accomplished; his *Manuscript* is in my personal collection.



experienced among the faithful as well as the secular, especially the press, as the anticipated campaign and evangelist's appearance had grown closer:<sup>583</sup>

Newspapers publicised her coming in banner headlines, critics dipped pens in vitriol and licked their lips sensing easy victory, the entertainment world buzzed with impatience, orthodox conformists trembled for fear of repercussions among cynics, the smart set anticipated relief from boredom on the Metropolitan scenes.<sup>584</sup>

London was hit by the deluge of propaganda both for and against the meetings organised on McPherson's behalf.<sup>585</sup> Greenway shares that many stories had circulated about unorthodox American fundamentalist methods and that the reporters from the press alleged that a band of forty feminine members of McPherson's church were to accompany her to Britain. Rev. A Carter, an independent minister with his supporters, had joined forces with another minister, Rev. W. Pietsch, an evangelist touring Britain from McPherson's home city of Los Angeles to attempt to prevent McPherson from entering the country, but their efforts failed.<sup>586</sup>

Nothing like this had been experienced before by the pentecostals. The reporters had come in droves to the Headquarters' offices in Clarence Avenue "and hovered round the College pestering whoever might provide some titbit of news."<sup>587</sup> Greenway shares that there seemed nothing they wouldn't stoop to do to get a story. There was a threat by one journalist, desperate to find the evangelist "to stage another disappearance story" in a bid to beat his rivals.<sup>588</sup> Another national press editor disgraced himself by going to extreme measures when he interfered with the length of the skirt on a photograph of McPherson. This had been taken of her on her previous visit to the Surrey Tabernacle. Deep offence to "the good taste of many Christians had been caused, happening as it did before the days of permissiveness and mini-

<sup>583</sup> H. Greenway, "Aimee Comes To Town", *Manuscript* 1928, 51.

<sup>584</sup> Hudson, "A Hot Gospeller", informs that 47 national and local newspapers reported her revival tour in Britain in September 1928, 13. See Hudson, "A Hot Gospeller", 51-52.

<sup>585</sup> Greenway, "Aimee Comes To Town", 51.

<sup>586</sup> See *Reynold's Newspaper*, "Home Office asked not to admit Mrs McPherson", 30 September 1928, 5.

<sup>587</sup> Greenway, "Aimee Comes To Town", 54.

<sup>588</sup> Greenway, "Aimee Comes To Town", 54.

skirts.”<sup>589</sup> This led to an uproar with the Elim offices being inundated with complaints. The demanded apology was a short, obscure insert accompanied by an untrue explanation claiming “The original plate had been broken during processing and the distortion had occurred in the touching up for re-publication”.<sup>590</sup>

When McPherson arrived in London, she had given an interview with the press and answered the most probing of questions with competence. “No, she was not bringing a choir of angels with her! No, she did not intend to give illustrated sermons in the Royal Albert Hall! Yes, she was a fundamentalist”.<sup>591</sup>

The opening night arrived and the Elim Bible College students, who had been briefed regarding an expected group of University students with intentions of rushing the platform to “rag the evangelist” were ready. Greenway shares that he could have imagined the worst, had this actually happened. He describes what he witnessed as he and his fellow students made their way up through the entrance en route to the platform. The scene they were met with was far removed from any religious meeting. The vast auditorium was filled with personages from the acting and entertainment world. In addition notables of the various churches occupied the boxes, one of whom Greenway informed was the actress of notoriety, Tallulah Bankhead:

Photographers positioned themselves in front of the platform to get the best vantage point...firemen stood at the ready to ensure the safety of the audience, for these were the days of the open flash.<sup>592</sup>

Greenway describes in detail what McPherson looked like and what she wore. He had questioned whether this woman, who had been written about so profusely, could quieten and control the crowd before her:

...in a few words of thanks...with a sweeping gesture along the row of press men immediately in front of her, in a humorous aside, McPherson reminded them of their “truly British”! attitude. She was at once en rapport with that section of the audience who had come to distort her image, and

<sup>589</sup> Greenway, “Aimee Comes To Town”, 54-55.

<sup>590</sup> Greenway, “Aimee Comes To Town”, 55.

<sup>591</sup> Greenway, “Aimee Comes To Town”, 55.

<sup>592</sup> Greenway, “Aimee Comes To Town”, 56.

even disrupt the proceedings if that would provide headline for the following day's release. Her hand...raised for silence. She began to pray. The levity subsided and a new atmosphere was generated as the crowd began to realise this woman had come to do business for the kingdom of God.<sup>593</sup>

Fears that there would be displays of unorthodox flamboyancy were unfounded. In an hour, which only felt five minutes, McPherson had told the story of her life to good effect and those who came to jeer, went away subdued knowing that here was a woman earnestly contending for their souls.

Attempting to describe the experience that McPherson offered her audiences, Winifred Holtby, reporter for *Time and Tide*, poses the question "What went ye out...to see?"<sup>594</sup> She informs that there was a setting of the scene to create the awesome atmosphere for what was to follow. Prior to the entrance of McPherson there was an awareness of the vast publicity. The battle for seats and singing was creating an atmospheric sense of suspense and an irrational sensation of expectancy and were all factors conducive for McPherson's theatrical, libertine performance to provide the audience with "A Greater Experience Than Ever".

Reporters were keen to gather information about McPherson, given the immense publicity, much of it erroneous, which surrounded her. Jeffreys welcomed the opportunity to right any misconceptions and staunchly supported her in an interview with a reporter from the *Evening Standard*.<sup>595</sup> The opening paragraph explained that the interview was taking place with the founder/leader of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance Principal Jefferies (miss-spelt), under whose auspices the famous Los Angeles Evangelist, Mrs Aimee Semple McPherson was coming to Britain. When asked what his church thought concerning the "attacks" and "imputations" being made against her, Jeffreys replied that "the church of course was not happy because they were unjustified as the judge in her trial ruled and therefore there could be no justification for any talk against her." Probing further the reporter had been keen to know if his

<sup>593</sup> Greenway, "Aimee Comes To Town", 57.

<sup>594</sup> *Time and Tide*, Winifred Holtby, "What went ye out...to see" 20 September, 1928, 3 (informed by librarian front covers were dispensed with when collection of issues were bound and therefore Vol. & No. unknown).

<sup>595</sup> *Evening Standard*, "Mrs. McPherson & Mr. Jeffries", 28 Sept.1928.

approval of McPherson was altered given the nature of what she had been accused of. Jeffreys had responded in the affirmative explaining that “the evangelical Christians, including their ministers, had supported McPherson and her meetings when she visited London two years previously. He declared “Evangelical England was in favour of her”. Unhesitatingly Jeffreys explains “McPherson had been kidnapped because she was such a daring evangelist. She had exposed the underworld of Los Angeles, was kidnapped because of that exposure, and it was not at all surprising that their fear of her led them to want to get rid of her”.

I have established that McPherson emboldened the leader of early British pentecostalism. Greenway’s comments also establish that she did the same for pentecostals generally. He describes pentecostals at that time being nervously hidden, peering out anxiously as it were, with a “parapet” mentality at what was taking place. Gradually confidence began to replace timidity as “feelings were stirred by wonder and glee” with the dawning awareness that “the truths for which we had fought through much opposition for” were “being brought into the full blaze of publicity.”<sup>596</sup> Greenway shares that this caused Elim pentecostals in this early era, to confidently rejoice as they gathered together at the Royal Albert Hall identifying in solidarity with crowds of other pentecostals upholding the same hard-won truths.<sup>597</sup> This gathering would become a “fixed and central point in Jeffrey’s year.”<sup>598</sup> It was to become an annual event of worship and high profile witness in the Elim church to the end of Jeffery’s ruling tenure and beyond.<sup>599</sup>

Further campaign meetings held by McPherson in other cities were also reported to be highly successful. The next venue for McPherson’s campaign was the City Hall Glasgow, 17-19 October 1928. The reporter Percival Bisher, readily admits that he went to sneer and to perpetuate this on paper, but instead found himself opening his heart stating “I may have interviewed a theatrical revivalist, but I had met a great lady”. While aspects of the meeting “may savour of the unusual”, to his mind there could be no doubting McPherson’s sincerity.

<sup>596</sup> Greenway, “Aimee Comes To Town”, 51.

<sup>597</sup> Greenway, “Aimee Comes To Town”, 52.

<sup>598</sup> Kay, *George Jeffreys*, 125.

<sup>599</sup> I was privileged to attend Elim’s Easter Monday celebration in the Royal Albert Hall in 1966 as a young person.

Declaring his *volte face*, he saluted McPherson “You are the very incarnation of everyday humanity, speaking to it in the language it understands”.<sup>600</sup>

Rev. Mahan felt privileged to have listened to the “much-talked-of evangelist” admitting that, although he had been on the lookout for “something finical, if not fantastic” he had not encountered anything from start to finish that could have offended “any good Presbyterian.” He had found her address “very able and edifying.”<sup>601</sup>

Greenway, whilst reminiscing about McPherson’s meetings in Salem Central Hall, Leeds 22-23 October 1928, maintains that due to the reporter in the *Leeds Mercury* making an effort to become fully informed and impartial, his article “What I think of Sister Aimee” was therefore more objective.<sup>602</sup> The reporter refutes those who spoke of McPherson as “a painted, bewigged actress of the revival platform...as an American freak religion-monger.” Greenway describes the report as a fair defence of McPherson.

From Leeds McPherson travelled to a four-day campaign to packed and appreciative audiences in Kingston Upon Hull.

#### 4.6.3.6 Hull Campaign



<sup>600</sup> *Foursquare Revivalist*, 16 November 1928 press extracts from the *Glasgow Daily Record*. McPherson Campaign.

<sup>601</sup> *Foursquare Revivalist*, 16 November 1928 press extract from the *Greenock Telegraph*. McPherson Campaign.

<sup>602</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, “What I think of Sister Aimee”, 22-23 October. 1928, 7.

### **Figure 4.8 Hull City Town Hall**

The methods McPherson utilised in preaching her messages were explained by her as “through Eye-gate as well as Ear-gate.” She had referred to people covering up their sins and rejecting the Saviour and declared “Many people are only white-washed, when what they need is to be washed white”.

A young lady called Alice May Watson attended McPherson’s campaign in Hull City Hall. Quite possibly she is in the above photograph, which has been included, as the crowd there supports the fact that McPherson influenced early British pentecostalism. In great need, having undergone an abortion, Watson had responded to McPherson’s gospel appeal. She joined a pentecostal church that was attended by many converts from this campaign, and eventually married another convert. They were life-long members and brought up their children to attend the church, one of which was my Aunt. Many of my family and friends in Hull can also trace their families’ spiritual history back to McPherson’s revivalist and irrefutably influential ministry.<sup>603</sup>

#### **4.6.3.7 Henderson’s letter impacted Jeffreys**

Cartwright maintains that the question of Jeffreys going over to Los Angeles and taking over the leadership of Angelus Temple, not only at the time McPherson disappeared but also for some time afterwards, was a real possibility in these early years of British pentecostalism. This caused Jeffreys turmoil as he turned the prospect over in his mind.<sup>604</sup> He was supportive of McPherson although acquiesced that she could be foolish.<sup>605</sup> McPherson and Jeffreys must have continued their friendship and correspondence with each other subsequent to McPherson’s final visit to Britain. Significantly what would have been a serious consideration in dissuading Jeffreys from leaving Britain and the Elim denomination he had birthed, to go to Los Angeles, was a strongly worded letter warning him of the consequences if he were to even visit McPherson.<sup>606</sup> There was a date but no address on the handwritten letter and the standard

<sup>603</sup> It is feasible to conclude that McPherson’s far-reaching ministry in Hull was replicated in other British towns where she held Campaign meetings.

<sup>604</sup> Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, 82.

<sup>605</sup> Cartwright shared in interview with me on 8 June 2007 at Regents College, Nantwich.

<sup>606</sup> Letter from W. Henderson to G. Jeffreys dated 1 April 1930, my personal collection.

of English could be better. It was written by an elderly statesman of Elim pentecostalism, William Henderson, who was known as “Henderson the Good”. He was highly respected and known for his support and the good advice that he gave liberally to the new, mostly young pastors.<sup>607</sup> Any consideration by Jeffreys of going to see McPherson caused Henderson to caution Jeffreys “I know it will only be a friendly meeting but oh the horror of what it suggests to evil minds”. He had then questioned “Did you know that here in Southampton it is now a common practice to go across to the Continent to satisfy sexual passions?” Clearly he regarded McPherson as an archenemy to the Elim work and with exasperation had warned “There is no point in courting disaster by putting our heads in the lion’s mouth. Why should we give the enemies of our work the delight of seeing your name and hers in big headlines in all the big dailies?”<sup>608</sup> He drew Jeffreys’ attention to the fact that this would shamefully cause him to become the butt of ridicule by his family. “Your brother [Stephen] and Eddie [nephew] will have a rich time over it”.<sup>609</sup> He continued by giving Jeffreys warning about judgement and trembling for what uncalled sufferings pentecostal folk would have to go through if there was any further meeting between him and McPherson. He pleaded with Jeffreys to have nothing whatsoever to do with her. The diatribe is lengthy ending up with another warning; “It will be absolutely disastrous. Please blot the whole thing out for the Glory of God”. Henderson was at great pains to vividly portray, how untenable it would become for Jeffreys if he were to continue his friendship with the controversial McPherson. Henderson maintained that the result would be a fallout with family and ministerial colleagues and friends and would damage the Elim movement. Jeffreys took Henderson’s “Good” advice to heart for we read no more of their names being linked.

<sup>607</sup> He had given the young minister McKinley advice. See Tweed *Memoir*, 33.

<sup>608</sup> A prevalent notion of the time was that the “Continent” could refer to anywhere abroad. See discussion of the British public’s ignorance and antipathies concerning the Continent in D. Gowland, *Britain and the European Union* (Milton Park: Taylor & Francis, 2016), 22 *passim*.

<sup>609</sup> For evidence that the relationships between George Jeffreys and his brother and between George and his nephew were at times poor see Desmond Cartwright *The Great Evangelists The Remarkable Lives of George and Stephen Jeffreys* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1986), pp.64-65.

#### 4.7 Curtailment of women's ministry

There were several important reasons why Elim women were not routinely ministering in a full leadership role after the late 1920s, and no evidence exists attributing this fact to any influence brought to bear by the controversies surrounding McPherson. The major restriction was due to the implementation of Jeffreys' directive issued in 1928. His new ministerial guidelines, DUTIES OF MINISTERS directed that the women:

##### *Sisters Should Not Officiate*

37. Where a sister is in charge of a Church, she must in the event of funeral, marriage or baptismal services, invite a brother Minister of the Alliance to officiate. In the case of a funeral, if it is difficult to obtain the services of such owing to shortness of time, she or a responsible Deacon may officiate. A sister may conduct the Breaking of Bread Service, but will ask a responsible Deacon to seek the blessing of God on the bread and wine, after which he will distribute to the brethren.<sup>610</sup>

Women who were free to minister in full leadership before 1928 were no longer free to do so after this date, though some women like Agnes Kennedy—footnote 590 below—were able to continue pragmatically. The responses given by ten respondents before, and forty after this event, testifies to this fact (See 4.9 below.) With reference to women's ministry roles George Canty noted:

There never was any ruling on women's ministry in the beginning, but there was a traditional prejudice against their equality of ministry with men in those post-First World War days when the prevailing culture gave a definite second place to women socially. I know the question of women's

<sup>610</sup> Jeffreys, *Duties of Ministers*, 21. Previous functioning by women in official roles was now to cease and be allotted to male ministers. In the case of a funeral a Sister could only carry out the funeral and committal if another local minister was unable to assist. Common consensus from the feedback of responses to the questionnaire affirmed Cartwright's comment that pragmatically a female minister would ensure, if at all possible, that a male minister was unavailable to officiate at a funeral in her church and she would carry out the service as in former times when no sanction was in place.



ministry and status was a thorny question left for later discussion by the powers in Elim—Jeffreys, Phillips, Boulton and company.<sup>611</sup>

Although women were allowed to continue leading churches, their freedom to minister the same as the men had been prohibited. This curtailment meant that now women were reliant on asking men to conduct the official<sup>612</sup> ministry roles inferring that forthwith women's ministry role was inferior to men's ministry role and the number of women coming forward to take charge of churches began to diminish. By the early 1930s, many of the single women who had ministered in leadership roles, married male leaders and were, in effect, giving churches two ministers for the price of one.<sup>613</sup> Women's roles had been curtailed anyway, and once married, the wife was traditionally subordinate to her husband. Of course, she received no remuneration now, and some respondents commented that "the wife was a better preacher than her husband"—who was the Pastor. Not all single ministering women married. They continued

<sup>611</sup> Taped interview between Canty and myself, 9 July 2005 at his home in Birmingham. Canty was almost a hundred years old when he died (2011) and still very sound in mind. He was an Elim minister who served the denomination for several decades. He wrote many books and wrote profusely for the *Evangel*. He gave his time generously discussing and answering my many questions on several occasions; much of which was taped. Ordination was not introduced in Elim until 1929 when the Constitution was drawn up. Canty gave the example of Agnes Kennedy who ministered fully, pastoring Elim churches for over forty years. She was never ordained and her ministry, which was recognised by Jeffreys, was well established before the curtailment. Pragmatically she just ignored it and continued ministering as she always had from the early years of Elim. See her Ministerial record, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>612</sup> The "official" ministry roles were designated by Jeffreys as those involved in conducting funeral, marriage, water baptism and holy communion services. See ministerial guidelines over page. These were the official ministry roles Jeffreys was now saying in 1928 a man ideally should officiate in, not women when he issued this curtailing edict in his Duties of Ministers pamphlet, 21. Jeffreys did not work round issues theologically but pragmatically and to accommodate new-comers from churches where because of sacramental and in the AFC because of eschatological reasons, women did not function in these official and arguably more public roles. Jeffreys' way of dealing with the issue was to reign the women in and stipulate that men only from 1928 must fulfil these ministry roles. Although significant, pastoring and evangelism were not regarded as being on a same official level as the roles women were being told they must relinquish.

<sup>613</sup> Marriages for example took place between Miss McKinley & Pastor Tweed; Miss Streight & Pastor Mercer; Miss Edwards & Pastor Gorton; Miss Bell & Pastor Llewellyn; Miss Buchanan & Pastor Channon; Miss Gornold & Pastor Smith; Miss Manning & Pastor Gorton; Miss Adams & Pastor Stoneham; Miss Dougherty & Mr Strachan; an elder and local preacher and Miss Hawes & Pastor Barton.

ministering, but their numbers were very few, as verified in publications of the *Evangel* until the end of 1940. As has been established, women's route to leadership ministry was barred between 1928 and 1940 with the EBC accepting only men for training.

I delineate various "coincidences" of timing of the cultural ethos with possible effects on Elim's ministering women. Women over 30 years of age were granted the vote in 1928 which coincided with Elim's leader declaring curtailment of their official ministry roles. Jeffreys was motivated thoroughly by pragmatic interests which overshadowed other interests such as women becoming voters.<sup>614</sup> Jeffreys from the beginning exhibited this trait in that when it suited him Jeffreys bucked the trend in society which did not allow any women the vote at the time and actually harnessed them in leadership ministry to propagate and extend the Elim denomination and when it suited his purposes of keeping happy new members from church groups who found difficulty with women in leadership ministry he pragmatically reined the women in! Corry, who became principal of the Bible College in 1927 was, for personal reasons able to prohibit women from fulfilling leadership ministry roles by blocking their entrance to the prerequisite Bible College training. (There is no evidence to suggest that Corry was reacting to the "Flapper Act" in society nor Jeffreys' pragmatic curtailment of ministering women within the Elim movement). Prior to his tenure at the College women were welcomed to training and Elim leadership ministry and, after his immediate removal, women were again allowed to fulfil Bible College entrance and thereby their ministerial calling in Elim. Jeffreys supported McPherson consistently from his earliest contact with her at Angelus Temple in 1924 until 1928 when Henderson convinced him that his future lay not with McPherson in Los Angeles but in Britain with the Elim denomination he had birthed and the link is severed once and for all. The only other reaction I could locate in any sources to Aimee Semple McPherson's escapades in 1928 apart from Henderson's direct appeal to Jeffrey's to make a clean break with McPherson, see 4.6.3.7 p.147-148, was that of Donald Gee. With a sense of measured calm and non-committal, in contrast to the continuing media hype on both sides of the Atlantic, he summed up the whole issue of McPherson by stating, "She could never have the same magnetic appeal, as she did in America, to the more conservative British temperament and...needs putting against her own proper background...the city of Hollywood and the dramatic".<sup>615</sup>

<sup>614</sup> See footnote 997 on pps.171-172.

<sup>615</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 120.

Although both of these men drew a curtain across McPherson's further involvement in Britain and on the leader of Elim, the seeds she planted here would grow bringing forth lasting results. The following vignette illustrates the fact that women, with a call to minister in Elim pentecostalism during this era, were seriously disadvantaged because of their gender.<sup>616</sup> It also illustrates one woman's tenacious refusal to accept this discrimination and her persistent determination to fulfil her calling to pastor an Elim pentecostal church, which she eventually achieved.

#### **4.8 Dorothy Flower**



**Figure 4.9 Miss Flower**

Flower's vignette provides evidence of how problematic it became for women to gain entry into Elim leadership ministry, which was via the Elim Bible College. The issue of the impenetrable intransigence of the EBC which barred women from fulfilling the hitherto same ministry roles as the men—notably at the hands of Percy Corry, its Principal/Dean—is highlighted.<sup>617</sup> Flower strove relentlessly, over six protracted years to fulfil her aspiration to become a minister in the Elim Pentecostal Church, as attested to by the large collection of

<sup>616</sup> Respondents supported the fact that there were several women who felt God had called them to minister in Elim Pentecostalism during this era and that they were prevented from doing so.

<sup>617</sup> Walker's accusation above was repeated by several respondents, for example Mary Stormont, who wanted her anonymity to be waived, (see footnote 462). She knew Corry well. When women were allowed entrance to the EBC following Corry's removal to prison, on charges of immorality, this came too late for some women as Walker explained above.

letters which passed between Flower and Elim personnel throughout this period.<sup>618</sup> Flower's endeavour was rewarded. Although not College-trained, she became the minister in charge of the Ledbury Elim church and was successful.<sup>619</sup>

#### **4.8.1 Flower applies to the Elim Bible College**

Dorothy Flower was born in Bath, had a good education, and could play the piano. The reason she was prepared to endure her struggle was because she was totally convinced of her calling to become a minister in the Elim denomination. She answered the question on the EBC application form "How much...preaching have you done?" by giving particulars of almost five years' experience preaching in numerous places adding that she had also completed four EBC Correspondence Courses. Answers to health enquiries assured that Flower had a clean bill of health, and was willing to work hard.<sup>620</sup> Her parents, the pastor of the Church she attended, and her friends could give the required supportive references and consent with regard Flower's desire and suitability regarding serving as a minister in an Elim pentecostal Church.

On the advice of pastor Coates, the Elim Foreign Missionary Secretary, whom Flower had been in communication with, she writes to Dean Corry:

I have heard that Elim are very short of holiday workers. Do you think an enthusiastic sister would fill in? The Lord has graciously blessed me in that I very often take meetings at the...Mission Halls in Bath, so...it seems...He is fitting me for the call.<sup>621</sup>

Corry's reply emphasizes the importance of facing difficulties and allowing them to strengthen character and resolve:

Character is more important in the sight of God than even your call...It is through the setbacks and the difficulties, through the trials and perplexing

<sup>618</sup> See Flower's *file* collection of archival material relating to her, from which the samples of *letters* in this section have been selected, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>619</sup> See the photographs Figure 4.9 and 4.10 below—Flower and her telegram of acceptance, dated 17 April 1939.

<sup>620</sup> Flower answered "Yes" to the question; "Are you prepared to do any manual work allotted to you in connection with the Elim Bible College, Campaigns or Missions during your studentship?"

<sup>621</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 23 July 1931.

moments that the Lord is going to make you a fit...worker in His Kingdom.<sup>622</sup>

Flower took this advice to heart and with resolve replies "I'll trust Him and however long the waiting may be...I shall be found ready".<sup>623</sup> She enquires in the same letter "How much money is required for training at the College? I shall be ready when He opens the way for me, as I know He is going to". Corry advises Flower "Before Timothy was taken out in the work by Paul, he (was)...well reported of by the brethren...where he lived...Before you come to the Bible College...this is the first thing which is necessary".<sup>624</sup> Corry's secretary informed Flower; "The sum...namely 20/- [20 shillings - a pre-decimalisation £1.00] per week is the amount required...for Bible training at the Elim Bible College to include board and lodging".<sup>625</sup> This news encourages Flower to formally apply. "After waiting upon God...I have been definitely led to write to you and apply for entrance into the Elim Foursquare Gospel ministry".<sup>626</sup> Flower is undeterred by Corry's unambiguous reply in the negative.<sup>627</sup> She continues to write letters pleading her case to be allowed entry to the EBC and the Elim ministry.<sup>628</sup> A letter from Corry marked "Confidential" is sent to A. Magee, Flower's pastor concerning her; "At present we have no openings in the work, but all the same I would like...to...know if this young lady has proved herself in the Bath assembly and if, in your opinion, her application should be encouraged".<sup>629</sup> Magee endorses that Flower had heeded Corry's earlier advice to work hard to prove her ministry; "Miss Flower is a very good speaker...one of my best workers in Bath...and she is...well-liked by all. She is very anxious to get into some work".<sup>630</sup> Presumably Flower knows about the reference which understandably encourages her to boldly approach Corry again; "I have been expecting to hear from you

<sup>622</sup> *Letter* from P. Corry to D. Flower 24 July 1931.

<sup>623</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 27 July 1931.

<sup>624</sup> *Letter* from P. Corry to D. Flower 28 July 1931.

<sup>625</sup> *Letter* from P. Corry's Secretary to D. Flower 31 July 1931.

<sup>626</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 14 March 1932.

<sup>627</sup> *Letter* from P. Corry to D. Flower 16 March 1932.

<sup>628</sup> See for example *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 17 March 1932.

<sup>629</sup> *Letter* from P. Corry to A. Magee 13 August 1932.

<sup>630</sup> *Letter* from A. Magee to P. Corry 25 August 1932.

re...my application for entrance into Elim...God is still calling me this way...If this were not so I should not be writing...The desire to go forth for Him becomes deeper and every day the burden of souls upon my heart grows heavier”.<sup>631</sup>

Corry’s letters to Flower continually reiterate the futility of her ever being allowed entrance to the EBC and the Elim ministry.<sup>632</sup> Despite this, Flower clings tenaciously to the hope that she will be allowed and passionately reiterates her continuing desire stating that; “it burns within me.” Corry fights back, equally uncompromisingly, stating; “I cannot give you the slightest hope that at the completion of training there would be any post”.<sup>633</sup> Flower reveals that she also is unwilling to compromise her stand and is preparing for when she will be ministering.<sup>634</sup> Impervious to Corry’s relentless refusals to grant Flower’s equally relentless requests, her approach intensifies as she addresses what she perceives as the core issue preventing her entering the Elim ministry; her gender:

Although I have written... many, many times...I feel led to write...again.  
...Mr Corry...tell me in the face of...Elim’s refusal to accept me...Can *God* be wrong? He never has been...the Baptists, also Methodists are receiving women into the ministry but...if I applied to them, I should be refused on the grounds that I belong to...Elim Foursquare who will not accept (me) on the grounds that I am a sister. Is not God’s blessing upon the ministry of women in these days? I think so, for recent accounts in the *Evangel* have told of blessings attending campaigns held by Miss Linton...and from the ministry of Miss Thomas and Mrs Channon.<sup>635</sup>

Undeterred by the repeated refusals by Corry to her entry into the EBC, Flower, in the same letter, challenges his argument that assemblies are prejudiced against women preachers stating that congregations change their minds when met with a capable one. She begged “Surely Mr

<sup>631</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 15 October 1932.

<sup>632</sup> See for example *Letter* from P. Corry to D. Flower 20 October 1932.

<sup>633</sup> See for example *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 21 October 1932. See also *Letter* from P. Corry to D. Flower 26 October 1932.

<sup>634</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 1 December 1932.

<sup>635</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 4 January 1933.

Corry there is a work *somewhere* in Elim that a sister may do? I've got faith enough to believe there is. P.S Perhaps you could give me a trial...it would be much appreciated".

Although Corry rebuffed Flower's desperate importunity she continues undeterred by the unsuccessful breakthrough in her ongoing quest to be treated as the men, who were allowed to fulfil their calling. She assures Corry that she will continue to pray that he may receive wisdom. Corry remains equally intransigent repeating his unchanged stance; "I regret that we shall not be able to accept you as a student for entrance into the work. The position as I have already explained...is unchanged".<sup>636</sup> The poignancy of what was taking place—the erosion of Flower's personal self-worth—begins to be revealed, as with exasperation, Flower challenges Corry's grasp of the situation:

I know I am a sister, but He also knows it as He bids me to do His will. I don't think you have...understood me. I am certain that the Will of God for me is to be a worker in Elim. If I were not sure I could not write, in spite of everything, as I have...If Elim will accept me...I will work entirely...by faith...I know I am a sister, but He also knows it as He bids me to do His will. As I told you before I am willing to do anything—evangelising, campaigning, anything.<sup>637</sup>

Further correspondence in this stalemate continued until finally Corry loses patience with Flower's importunity and with exasperation writes, "It would please me if you would desist from corresponding".<sup>638</sup> Flower respects Corry's request but with her resolve to fulfil her calling as the men undiminished, turns her attention to lobby other Elim senior personnel.

<sup>636</sup> See for example *Letter* P. Corry to D. Flower 5 January 1933. See for example *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 8 September 1933. See *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 11 September 1933.

<sup>637</sup> *Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry 23 September 1933.

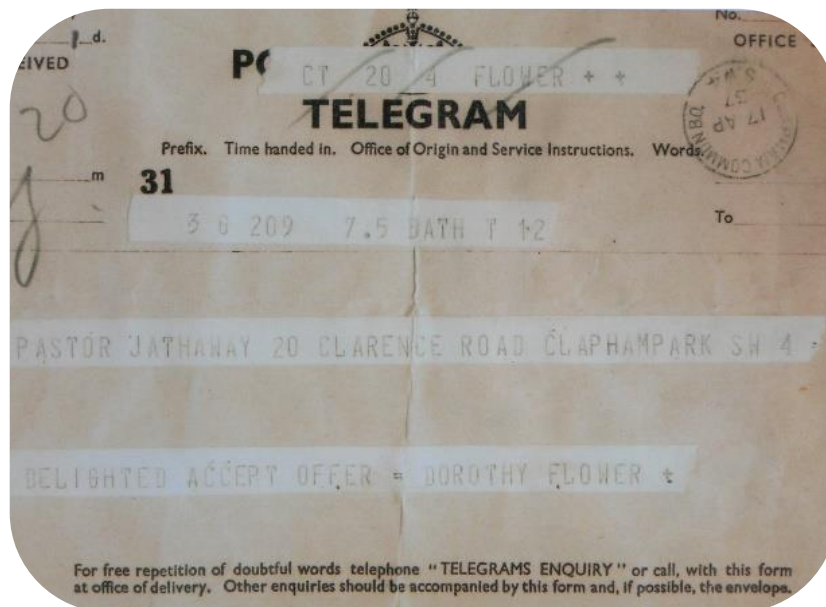
<sup>638</sup> *Letter* from P. Corry to D. Flower 30 September 1933.

#### 4.8.2 Flower eventually leads an Elim church

Appeals to various executive members at Elim headquarters continue to be made by and on behalf of Flower.<sup>639</sup> Breakthrough eventually comes for Flower to fulfil her ministerial calling in Elim pentecostalism despite being denied training in the EBC because she was a woman:

We discussed your case and Pastor Phillips mentioned your letter to him.  
...we are prepared to offer you the charge of the...Elim church at Ledbury  
on an un-salaried basis...we agree to you receiving the (weekly) balance  
of the offerings, (£1.00)...We shall be...pleased for you to take  
charge...on Sunday 2 May.<sup>640</sup>

Flower immediately telegrammed Hathaway her grateful acceptance—DELIGHTED  
ACCEPT OFFER\* DOROTHY FLOWER



**Figure 4.10 Telegram of Acceptance**

A progress report appeared six months after Flower's appointment and informs "The Church here is receiving much blessing under the ministry of Miss D. Flower. God is using His servant

<sup>639</sup> Letter for example, from Flower's pastor, A. Gorton to pastor W. Hathaway at Elim Headquarters 5 October 1935, making a valiant request for Flower to minister in the Elim denomination.

<sup>640</sup> Letter from W. Hathaway to D. Flower 15 April 1937.



and the work is progressing”.<sup>641</sup> This vignette shows that Flower’s tenacity in determining to fulfil her calling, despite struggling against male misogyny and disappointment results in her being vindicated. She demonstrates that she was indeed able to minister as effectively as the men, albeit without training at the EBC.

#### **4.9 Analysis of Quantitative Data<sup>642</sup>**

The List of Charts illustrates at a glance, the percentages, of the respondents’ experiences of the role of women in ministry in both the pre and post curtailment periods.<sup>643</sup>

The tables below present the collated answers to the question; “How often did you see women in leadership roles in the various named special worship services?” The veterans were asked to indicate whether they remembered women exercising a leadership function; often (O), sometimes (S), rarely (R) or never (N).

**Table 4.2 Showing Percentage of Women’s participation in official ministry roles in the pre-curtailment period 1915-1928**

<b>Elim 1915-1928</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
<b>Baptism</b>	10%	60%	0%	30%
<b>Weddings</b>	20%	20%	30%	30%
<b>Funerals</b>	20%	30%	20%	30%
<b>Holy Communion</b>	0%	60%	20%	20%

The table of data shows that during this first period there were women ministering to a considerable degree in leadership roles within the official services of the early Elim churches. There was no differentiation between the ministry roles men or women fulfilled in this pre-curtailment era.

<sup>641</sup> *Evangel*, “Progress Report Ledbury”, 31 December 1937, Vol.XV111 No.53, 846.

<sup>642</sup> Data was entered into Microsoft Word 2003 Programme.

<sup>643</sup> See Appendices F-Z , (Figures 4.1-7.5).

**Table 4.3 Showing Percentage of Women’s participation in official ministry roles in the post-curtailment period 1929-1940**

<b>Elim 1929-1940</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
<b>Baptism</b>	0%	0%	2.5%	97.5%
<b>Weddings</b>	2.5%	0%	2.5%	95%
<b>Funerals</b>	0%	0%	5%	95%
<b>Holy Communion</b>	2.5%	5%	12.5%	80%

The tables above, are significant in that very few respondents remembered women ministering in these leadership roles “often” or even “sometimes” after 1928. There is a marked differentiation between the ministry roles fulfilled by women. Men were able to continue as they always had in full ministry roles whereas women were forbidden from doing so following Jeffreys’ formal restricting instructions. Chapter Seven explores this data in comparison to the AC and AoG data. At this juncture it is appropriate to offer comments by way of summary remarks. Following Jeffreys’ curtailing directive, and Corry’s tenure as Dean of the EBC, (see 4.7 and 4.5.1 above) the recollections of the veterans is that the leadership role of women radically altered.<sup>644</sup> The data in Table 4.3 is almost inverted when compared with the results in Table 4.2. What is being demonstrated is the fact that substantial restrictions were imposed on women’s official roles as a result of Jeffreys’ curtailing directive.

#### **4.10 Analysis of Qualitative Data**

##### **4.10.1 Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral**

The very elderly respondents recalled women regularly speaking at Convention gatherings. R11 shared that her mother and herself lived near the Hull assembly in Bourne Street and were eager not to miss the missionaries, many of whom were women, speaking when home on

<sup>644</sup> See charts in Appendices J-M & Z (Figures 4.5-4.8 & 7.5) showing, at a glance, the women’s diminished official ministry roles.

furlough.<sup>645</sup> The *Evangel* advertises “The Annual Pentecostal Convention...will be held on August 5-10, speakers to include...Mrs. Crisp (London) and...Mrs. Trevitt (China)”.<sup>646</sup>

Verbal and written references to women undertaking preaching and bible exposition, and this to mixed gender congregations are regularly mentioned. R14 recalls Mr H. Phillips and daughter Miss D. Phillips, ministering together in Letchworth Garden City before the latter went on overseas missions.<sup>647</sup> The *Evangel* records “A Double Event—Opening of New Tabernacle in Letchworth Garden City and Whitsuntide Convention. Speakers included Mr H. Phillips and Miss D. Phillips who became responsible for the Assembly at the beginning. Two other female preachers...were Mrs George Kingston of Leigh-on-Sea and Miss Henderson of Grimsby”.<sup>648</sup> R2 recalls, when working in service at a big house in Plymouth in the 1930s, attending the Elim church there when she was free to.<sup>649</sup> She shares that it was not uncommon to have two pastors in a husband and wife team. The wife was Mrs Gladys Gorton who was a wonderful pastor and bible expositor. She had ministered in Jeffrey’s EEB as Miss Edwards. R2 shares that she had not regarded herself as a scholar as such, but enjoyed the bible studies and gained a lot from the straightforward manner in which pastor Gladys Gorton preached making the bible alive and relevant to everyday living.

R18 remembers Irish women ministering at her church in 1929.<sup>650</sup> The *Evangel* reports “Under the...ministry of Miss. Streight and Miss. Edwards souls are won for the Master week by week...During th(is) time...the saints have been blessed through the Word of God...and...souls...won”.<sup>651</sup> The *Evangel* advertises “Miss. Adelaide Kennedy...will be speaking on...“Solemn Talks on Serious Subjects For Young Men and Women” Number 11

<sup>645</sup> Interview between R11 and myself in Hull on 22.10.05.

<sup>646</sup> *Evangel*, “Items of Interest”, August 1922, Vol.13 No.8, 121.

<sup>647</sup> Telephone interview between R14 of Essex and myself on 22.12.05.

<sup>648</sup> *Evangel*, “New Tabernacle at Hendon”, 15 July 1927, Vol.V111 No.14, 206.

<sup>649</sup> Interview between R2 of Brighton, East Sussex and myself on 27.01.06.

<sup>650</sup> Telephone interview between R18, of Swansea and myself on 22.02.06.

<sup>651</sup> *Evangel*, “Breezes from the Branches, Portsmouth”, 29 November 1929, Vol.X No. 25, 492.

Courtship”.<sup>652</sup> Miss Henderson was remembered with affection by R6 who remembers the Elim church opening in Cardiff in 1929 when he was a child and attending with his parents who had been converted at one of Jeffrey’s big campaigns.<sup>653</sup> Although young, he remembers his parent’s excitement with the remarkable healings that had taken place. It had been very different from the Methodist church they had previously attended. He became very involved in the Elim Youth Group. The woman pastor who R6 remembers very clearly and with admiration, is Miss Henderson. He relates that she got alongside the young people of the church and taught them to study the scriptures and to trust God for everything. The *Evangel* shares “Miss Henderson’s messages...struck a note of deep spiritual significance”.<sup>654</sup>

A pastor’s wife could be called upon to preach when her husband was away from the church or, when accompanying her husband on a speaking engagement she could be asked to address the Sunday school. R16, who became Regional Superintendent in Elim in Bristol, recalls this taking place regularly.<sup>655</sup> He shares that the pastor’s wife sometimes deputised for her husband when he was away on a preaching campaign and that in many instances the pastor’s wife was a better preacher than the pastor. In some cases the wife had been a pastor in her own right in the early days of Elim. The *Evangel* reports “The Sunday School had their annual tea and prize-giving...the prizes were distributed by Mrs. Goreham, the pastor’s wife. She also took the meetings at Exeter while her husband was taking a fortnight’s revival campaign at Topsham”.<sup>656</sup>

#### **4.10.2 Prayer/Spiritual Gifts**

Prayer featured importantly in early British Pentecostalism. Most respondents mention how important women were in this area of ministry. R37 attended the weekly church prayer meeting and monthly half night of prayer and in later life headed up a successful prayer ministry in the Elim denomination.<sup>657</sup> He recalls that women freely prayed as the men and in the Sunday

<sup>652</sup> *Evangel*, “Elim Crusader Page”, 19 April 1935, Vol.XV1 No.16, 269.

<sup>653</sup> Interview between R6 and myself at Bournemouth on 26.01.06.

<sup>654</sup> *Evangel*, “Elim Crusader Page”, 24 May 1935, Vol.XV1 No.21, 335.

<sup>655</sup> Interview between R16 and myself at Clevedon, Somerset on 30.03.05.

<sup>656</sup> *Evangel*, “Conversions! Healings! Baptisms!”, 18 March 1932, Vol.X111 No.12, 183.

<sup>657</sup> Interview between R37, R38 and myself at Eastbourne, East Sussex on 28.02.05.

morning breaking of Bread (Holy Communion) service women would exercise the spiritual gifts of tongues, interpretation and prophecy. R37 had been in Elim from the 1920s when Jeffreys left Ireland and began both holding campaigns and planting Elim churches in England. He shares that he had been part of the leadership diaconate team of the Eastbourne Elim church and would pray for the sick with the pastor. He shares that visiting women speakers would also pray for people to be healed. He remembers Mrs George Kingston, wife of pastor George Kingston of Essex, visiting the church and hearing people declaring their illnesses had gone after she prayed for them to be healed. R38, R37's wife, was very elderly and frail but could clearly recall the day when she "found the Lord at the hugely crowded campaign meetings held in the Bingley Hall in Birmingham under Principal George Jeffrey's ministry." She married R37 in 1938 sharing that he was an Elim minister by that time.<sup>658</sup> She had worked hard as a minister's wife for many years regarding that her ministry role was to support her husband, which she did joyfully. She had also been able to develop prayer ministry and regularly prayed for people in healing services held in the church.

R24 shares that in their church at Scarborough in the late 1930s they had "a lovely pastor's wife" called Mrs Tetchner.<sup>659</sup> Though her husband was the pastor of the church, she recalls that she was a wonderful pastor to the young people in her own right "She prayed powerfully and taught us young people well". The *Evangel* reports "Under the loving supervision of Mrs. Tetchner, whose efforts for the church—and especially for the young people's department—are untiring".<sup>660</sup>

#### **4.10.3 Visitation**

Respondents recall many forms of visitation that involved women. R20, a Sunday School home visitor, recalls that she would visit a scholar's home with the purpose of finding out the reason for the absence from Sunday School, and if the church could offer any help.<sup>661</sup> Respondents recall women visiting hospitals, prisons and elderly people's Homes. R27 recalls visiting the

<sup>658</sup> The respondents wished to waive their anonymity by allowing their announcement of their marriage on April 18 at Cardiff Elim church in the *Evangel*, May 13 1938, to be shared with readers.

<sup>659</sup> Telephone interview between R24 of Scarborough and myself on 20.03.05.

<sup>660</sup> *Evangel*, News from Scarborough, 24 July 1936, Vol.17 No.30, 349.

<sup>661</sup> Interview between R20 and myself at Romsey, Hampshire on 26.10.05.

Surbiton hospital with a team of women in 1932 and “wrote letters to those in need.”<sup>662</sup> R1 shares that when she lived in Portsmouth, the church had two pastors, pastor Mercer and Mrs Mercer (née Miss Streight), who always wore a bonnet.<sup>663</sup> R1 explains that before they married, Miss Streight had ministered in Jeffrey’s EEB and though “fiery” she had a real heart for people. She would take R1 and other women to visit people in Homes for the elderly, intent on preaching the gospel to the residents to “get them saved before they died and went to a lost eternity.” R1 recalls that those days visiting the residents, and being a blessing to them, were happy and shares that there were conversions.

R4 shares that she joined Elim in 1924 and became a prison visitor.<sup>664</sup> She had been nervous at first but her pastor encouraged her to go along and to take her guitar to accompany the singing. She recalls “As we made our way into Lewes Prison chapel, we came face to face with 100s of prisoners”. She had soon forgotten her nervousness and enjoyed playing her guitar and teaching scripture verses set to “catchy” choruses hoping breakthrough would come to the needy people, and added that she was sure it did do. An article written by Miss Q. Slemming “From Prison to Eastbourne” refers to the prison visitation undertaken by women in the Eastbourne assembly.<sup>665</sup>

#### **4.10.4 Open-Air/Evangelism/Church Planting**

Respondents testify that women were at the forefront of these activities, which featured very regularly in this revivalist denomination and was borne out by copious references in the *Evangel*. Two very elderly respondents, R36 and R40, recall that much was made in the early days in Elim of people being encouraged to seek the baptism in the Holy Spirit.<sup>666</sup> This was to give them power and courage to witness and get people converted.<sup>667</sup> R36 recalls reading about people who had experienced added power to testify and preach about Jesus and recalls many

<sup>662</sup> Interview between R27 and myself at Wimbledon, London on 12.04.06.

<sup>663</sup> Telephone interview between R1 of Cardiff, Wales and myself on 27.10.06

<sup>664</sup> Interview between R4 and myself at Blackpool, Lancashire on 12.12.05.

<sup>665</sup> *Evangel*, “From Prison to Eastbourne”, 24 May, Vol.XVI No.21, 335.

<sup>666</sup> Interview between R36 and myself at Manchester, Lancashire on 28.05.05

<sup>667</sup> Interview between R40 and myself at Cheltenham, Gloucestershire on 21.05.05.

evangelistic endeavours undertaken by women of the EEB.<sup>668</sup> R26 shares that she “found the Lord in the Leeds Coliseum under the Principal’s ministry in the late 1920s.”<sup>669</sup> She related at length about the huge crowds that had attended Jeffreys campaigns up and down the length of Britain, and how Jeffreys made the headlines.<sup>670</sup> R26 declares what a good role model Jeffreys was for soul winning; this was something she loved getting involved in even to the present day.

R9 was a student at the EBC in 1927 and became Jeffreys’ chauffeur.<sup>671</sup> Thus, he knew the roles women across Britain were involved in and shares that women fulfilled leadership roles preaching and planting churches in the early days. He shares how gradually they did less, once their pastoral ministry roles were curtailed by Jeffreys. He remembers that “In society it began to be viewed that married women should remain in the home as home builders and not wage earners”. R8 recalls that in 1924, when she began attending Elim, women ministered in an unlimited role.<sup>672</sup> She shares that Miss Hawes was in charge at Watford when the pastor was absent and states that “the Lord graciously set His seal on her ministry.” R8 had helped her in open-air evangelism and had enjoyed the challenge of fulfilling Christ’s command to share the Gospel. Examples of reports appear regularly in the *Evangel*; “Successful Special Services were held...there was blessing during the Campaigns conducted by Mrs. Channon”.<sup>673</sup> “An Irish Campaign was taken by pastor Farlow and Miss. Kennedy, being heartily entered into. Both...evangelists are of ripe experience...and agreed to speak on alternate nights”.<sup>674</sup> “Plymouth Foursquare Campaign...During the week of the Campaign, Mrs. Barton ministered

<sup>668</sup> *Evangel* “Fragrant Impressions of Whitsuntide Gatherings in the Royal Albert Hall, 19 June 1936, Vol.17 No.25, 387.

<sup>669</sup> Telephone interview between R26 of Eastbourne, East Sussex on 22.02.06

<sup>670</sup> See for example the report in the *Daily Express* 24 March 1927 “Great Wave of Evangelism. “Miracles” At Revival Meetings 1,400 Conversions”.

<sup>671</sup> Telephone interview between R9 of Porthcawl, Bridgend and myself on 20.03.05.

<sup>672</sup> Interview between R8 and myself at Eynsford, Kent on 19.06.07.

<sup>673</sup> *Evangel* “Successful Special Services”, 14 June 1935, Vol.XV1 No.24, 383.

<sup>674</sup> *Evangel* “Irish Campaign”, 7 February 1936, Vol.XV11 No.6, 93.

at three afternoon services...and were rich in blessing”.<sup>675</sup> “The church...welcomed... Mrs. Hilliard for a 15 day’s mission”.<sup>676</sup>

R12 recalls that when training to be a nurse in Hendon, London, he attended the Hendon Elim church.<sup>677</sup> He remembers women fulfilling ministry, speaking regularly in open-air services as well as preaching in the assembly. The *Evangel* reports for example “A Saturday’s Open-Air Service at Hyde...has recently been conducted here...by Miss. Linton whose ministry proved...inspiring to God’s people”.<sup>678</sup> R29 remembers revivalist activity taking place regularly in London, some undertaken by women from the Elim church.<sup>679</sup> The *Evangel* reports “Our sister, Mrs. Lillicrap...by whose step of faith the work was started during the period of the daylight Air Raids in a busy quarter...is leaving us...for six months”. The writer was keen to enlist other “spirit-filled” Christians to join the forty helpers known as the “Open-Air Evangelistic Band” advertising that “These meetings afford...splendid opportunities for spirit-filled Christians to...testify to the unsaved multitudes of our Metropolis”.<sup>680</sup> R3 shares that he had lived all his life in Barking and remembers the big revivalist campaigns of George Jeffreys and his evangelising party.<sup>681</sup> When he had begun attending the Barking Elim church in 1927, he recalls that two women pastored in team ministry together, both were energetic and committed to evangelising and establishing Elim assemblies. Pastor Adelaide (Nan) Kennedy was the pastor in charge assisted by Miss W. Buchanan.<sup>682</sup> He remembers how well they worked together making a strong and effective pastoral team. R3 shares taking a real interest in Miss Buchanan and had prayed regularly for her, especially when she went leading evangelistic Missions, which she had a calling to engage in.<sup>683</sup> As a teenager himself he

<sup>675</sup> *Evangel*, “Easter Conventions”, 10 April 1936, Vol.XV11 No.15, 237.

<sup>676</sup> *Evangel*, “Items of Interest”, 29 January 1937, Vol.XV111 No.5, 80.

<sup>677</sup> Telephone interview between R12 of Swindon, Wiltshire and myself on 23.02.06.

<sup>678</sup> *Evangel*, “Watch these Dates”, 13 December 1935, Vol.XV1 No.50, Cover ii.

<sup>679</sup> Telephone interview between R29 of Yeovil, Somerset and myself on 26.02.05.

<sup>680</sup> *Evangel*, “Open-Air Work in London”, June 1921, Vol.2 No.3, 39.

<sup>681</sup> Interview between R3 and myself at Barking, London on 02.02.05.

<sup>682</sup> See Miss. Kennedy’s ministerial record sheet, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>683</sup> See *Evangel*, “Prayer Request...for Special Mission at Palais de Danse, Silverhall, St. Leonards on Sea conducted by Miss Buchanan”, 15 November 1927 Vol.V111 No.22, 352



remembers how suited her preaching was to young people. The report of the third Sunday School Anniversary at Barking acknowledges this “Miss. W. F. Buchanan’s delightful and helpful Bible expositions simply gripped both young and old alike”.<sup>684</sup> R10 was very elderly but could clearly recall ministering as joint leader of an Elim assembly with another lady in York in 1936.<sup>685</sup> They evangelised and ran follow-up classes for the converts. R10 shares that she and her colleague also went out ministering in the nearby town of Malton, (combined with the smaller adjacent area of Norton), conducting cottage-type meetings in people’s homes to which unchurched people were invited. They were keen to reach the young people who lived-in at the farms and the young jockeys and stable-hands who lived-in at the numerous stud farms in the locality. An item of news, which indicates the church-planting endeavours of these two women was bearing fruit, appears in the *Evangel*, where it was reported under the title, “Have you heard churches recently received into fellowship or taken over by the Alliance include Malton, Yorkshire?”<sup>686</sup>

Respondents remember women evangelising villages. R38 and R39 remember when they were newly-weds living in Hereford.<sup>687</sup> R38 recalls “Some women came in a caravan and held gospel meetings in the village hall. They...preached with passion...very different from Chapel”. The *Evangel* advertises “A Pentecostal caravan will...be working...in the...villages of Herefordshire. A responsible sister will be in charge...accommodation is for one or two ladies...living expenses only...Anyone wishing to combine a cheap holiday with happy service for Christ, should communicate...with Miss. Burgess”.<sup>688</sup>

and *Evangel*, “...mission in St. Leonards on Sea conducted by Miss Buchanan still in progress...souls are being saved,” 10 December 1927, Vol.VI11 No.23/24, 384.

<sup>684</sup> *Evangel*, “Holding the Fort—Foursquare Anniversary Barking”, 29 July 1926, Vol.VI1 No.14, 170.

<sup>685</sup> Telephone interview between R10 of Scarborough, North Yorkshire and myself on 07.05.05.

<sup>686</sup> *Evangel*, “Have you heard?” 27 November 1936, Vol.XV11 No.48, 765.

<sup>687</sup> Interview between R38 and R39 at Cheltenham, Gloucestershire and myself on 10.12.05.

<sup>688</sup> *Evangel*, “Items of Interest”, May 1923, Vol.4 No.5, 93.

R5 was very elderly and too frail for me to be allowed to visit or to communicate with her directly.<sup>689</sup> Her son and daughter-in-law were able to discuss the questionnaire with her when on a visit back home from Australia, where they now lived, and relayed her insightful comments to me. R5's son was keen that his mother's contributory thoughts and memories were conveyed to me. He shares that his father had been an Elim pastor and together his mother and father on 10 April 1937 had moved to Tamworth, where his father was inducted as pastor of the Elim church. Mother and father had been in Elim for a considerable length of time that added weight to R5's comments. R5's son writes on the end of his mother's completed questionnaire, on which he had written his mother's answers and comments for her "Mum is 94 years of age. Prior to entering the ministry with Dad she was a member of the London Crusader Choir. Her Elim roots are deep!" A paraphrased summary of R5's comments now follows. It witnesses to the fact that there had been a noticeable difference, over time, in the extent of the ministry roles women were allowed to fulfil. She shares that in the early days, when Jeffreys and his party of workers were laying the foundations of Elim women were encouraged by Jeffreys to minister as the men did in full ministry roles. As the movement had become established Jeffreys had a change of mind and announced that women had to rely more on the male pastors to carry out some of the ministry roles, which understandably did not go down very well with the women pastors. There was another difficulty for women pastors in charge of churches in those post-war days when the country was attempting to get back to some sort of normality. It was not at the time regarded as "the done thing" for married women to be seemingly taking jobs from men. Married women had to step back and let men take over more as they did before "the Great War." People became more in favour of having a paid male pastor and less keen to have a paid woman pastor in charge of their church. This was due in part to the influence of what R5 referred to "as the world" (society) at the time. The numbers of Elim women pastors began to reduce and there were quite a few who married Elim pastors. Only a few single female pastors hung on like Miss Adelaide Kennedy who, although she encountered a measure of difficulty, didn't allow this to stop her. She just kept going as she always had done. R5 clearly held pastor Kennedy and her ministry in high regard as so many veterans did.

<sup>689</sup> Telephone interview between the parents of R5 of Fazely, Staffordshire and myself on 08.05.05.

#### 4.10.5. Literary/Musical

The *Young Folk's Evangel* made its debut as “the first Pentecostal paper for children...published in the British Isles” and the *Evangel* designated a “Crusader Page” for young people.<sup>690</sup> Women regularly wrote articles for both. R50 recalls reading this page to her children and enjoyed the messages herself.<sup>691</sup> She shares “I never was one for doing lots of reading but enjoyed these pages”.<sup>692</sup>

R7 had a long, illustrious ministry career evangelising, preaching, painting, playing his violin and recalling bygone experiences in his long life in Elim by writing his “Chronicles”.<sup>693</sup> He joined Elim in 1923 and became my mother’s Youth Leader in Hull in 1935 under pastor Harry Greenway.<sup>694</sup> He showed me his copies of the *Evangel* from this early period and provided five tapes of information concerning the roles women fulfilled across both periods. He recalls fellow-writers, many of whom were women, with clarity and obvious joy. One of his favourite articles was “Hope”, written by Mrs Walshaw.<sup>695</sup>

A Sunday School Teacher’s Handbook written by Miss Ivolckman, Miss G. Bath, Mrs J. Knight and Evangelist D. Vanstone was “a big help” to R20 who taught in the Sunday School at Bourne Street, Hull.<sup>696</sup> She shares “Inexperienced, I was eager to learn and was encouraged by pastor Charles Knight’s wife and Mrs. Knight senior. She gave me a copy of the Sunday School Teachers’ Handbook and it...helped me”.<sup>697</sup>

<sup>690</sup> *Evangel*, “Items of Interest”, 1 December 1925, Vol.V1 No.23, 267.

<sup>691</sup> Interview of R50 and myself at Swansea, Glamorgan on 22.10.05.

<sup>692</sup> *Evangel*, “The Crusader Page”, 19 November 1937, Vol.XV11 No.47, 751.

<sup>693</sup> Interview between R7 and myself at Birmingham on 06.11.05. first of subsequent visits to his home. See *Canty's Chronicles*, Renewal Christian Centre, Solihull B91 2JR. Greenway was the Elim Bible College student who wrote the *MS* “Aimee Comes To Town”.

<sup>694</sup> See photograph of Hull Crusaders, Supplement to the *Evangel*, November 1935, Vol.XVI No.42.

<sup>695</sup> *Evangel*, “The Crusader Page”, 7 June 1935, Vol.XVI No.23, 367.

<sup>696</sup> Interview between R20 at Hull, East Yorkshire and myself on 26.10.05.

<sup>697</sup> *Evangel*, “Items of Interest”, 25 December 1936, Vol.XV11 No.51/52, 807.

Women were heavily engaged in musical ministries, as attested to by virtually all the respondents. R15 recalls being in the Crusader Choir at the Albert Hall Easter Convention in 1931. She eagerly looked forward to this annual event.<sup>698</sup> All her young friends wore white blouses or white shirts and made a spectacular sight as well as sound. The *Evangel* reports “The London Crusader Choir and Miss. Joan Holman will be at Maidstone Prison again on April 5th. We are grateful to Chaplain Rev. M. Davis for his...willingness to allow the choir to...visit.”<sup>699</sup> Miss Holman, daughter of General Sir Herbert and Lady Holman, contributed beautiful solos with searching messages”.<sup>700</sup>

R17 joined Elim in 1928 and recalls Miss Holman singing at the Albert Hall at the annual Elim Easter Monday Rallies.<sup>701</sup> She enthuses that her singing “was inspirational and made a considerable impact.” Despite their age, gramophone recordings of Holman singing, affirm that her singing talent was considerable.<sup>702</sup> Mrs Woodhead, a singer, was often mentioned by the respondents. R17’s husband, R19, gave me a tape recording of him introducing Alice Woodhead as “a very popular and gifted soloist” before she delivered a powerful rendering of: “I Shall See the King”.<sup>703</sup> Most respondents mention that women played musical instruments, usually organ or piano. R46 shares “There was a mixed orchestra at Ilford in Essex during the 1930s”.<sup>704</sup> R32 remembers a lady playing a concertina.<sup>705</sup> The *Evangel* states “A four week’s

<sup>698</sup> Interview between R15 at Coventry, West Midlands and myself on 04.11.05.

<sup>699</sup> *Evangel*, “The Crusader Page”, 17 April 1936, Vol. XV11 No.16, 255.

<sup>700</sup> *Evangel*, “The Foursquare Revival in Edinburgh”, 18 November 1932, Vol.X111 No.47, 742.

<sup>701</sup> Interview between R17 and myself at Cheltenham on 06.06.05.

<sup>702</sup> *Elim Gramophone Record*, No. E35, a recording of Joan Holman singing “Christ is not a disappointment”, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

<sup>703</sup> Interview between R17 and myself at Cheltenham on 06.06.05. *Precious Heritage*, is a selection of sermonettes and songs from some very early records introduced by Tom Walker and produced by ICC Studios, Eastbourne in 1985.

<sup>704</sup> Telephone interview between R46 of Bexhill-on-Sea, East Sussex and myself on 22.03.05.

<sup>705</sup> Interview between R32 at Gloucester, Gloucestershire and myself on 22.10.05.

campaign has just been conducted by pastor and Mrs. Martin. Mrs. Martin played her concertina”.<sup>706</sup>

#### **4.10.6 Practical**

Women enjoyed going on outings together. R19 recalls going on one with his wife.<sup>707</sup> The *Evangel* reports “The Sister’s Own held their annual outing at Hastings when about one hundred sisters and some brethren, [Elim men], spent a happy day together”.<sup>708</sup>

Women were involved in Public House Visitation. R7, a Crusader, shares that she had been involved in this for some time.<sup>709</sup> The *Evangel* reports “It is three years since our first Crusader meeting...Our ladies are organising a Public House Band under the leadership of Mrs. Lees, when each Saturday they distribute tracts...and the *Elim Evangel*...to public houses”.<sup>710</sup>

Women’s practical ministering to fellow-believers involved cleaning the church building. R45 recalls being a member of the Cleaning Band when she had lived in Nottingham in 1930.<sup>711</sup> She shares “It was my ministry and was a happy time...It worked well...because Mrs Channon, the pastor’s wife, got enough people involved. She made us feel we were doing a vital job...we took... pride in keeping God’s house...cleaned and polished”.<sup>712</sup>

#### **4.10.7 Refreshments**

Many respondents recall women ministering in this area. Often a woman headed up a team of rotas. R35 recalls the “Sisterhood Rallies”.<sup>713</sup> These were held in the Elim churches in the

<sup>706</sup> *Evangel*, “Evangelistic Mission at Dungannon”, 20 October 1933, Vol.XIV No. 42, 670.

<sup>707</sup> Interview between R19 at Hull, East Yorkshire and myself on 26.10.05.

<sup>708</sup> *Evangel*, “News From London Churches”, 22 August 1930, Vol.XI No.32, 541.

<sup>709</sup> Interview Between R7 at Southport, Lancashire and myself on 25.10.06.

<sup>710</sup> *Evangel*, “Elim Crusader Page”, 27 March 1936, Vol.XV11 No.13, 207.

<sup>711</sup> Telephone interview between R45 of Wells, Somerset and myself on 14.01.05.

<sup>712</sup> *Evangel*, “Sisters’ Bible Class Equipped for service”, 17 November 1933, Vol.XIV No.46, 738.

<sup>713</sup> Telephone interview between R35 of Neath, West Glamorgan and myself on 22.02.06.

Presbytery.<sup>714</sup> When it was her church's turn, she ensured all went smoothly and was grateful for the reliable support given by the various "catering ladies". With pride, she recalls; "Knowing it was my ministry to...provide the best spread possible, I gave it everything. We were on show and I didn't want to let the Lord or our church down. Other churches would ask for a donation, we never did". The *Evangel* shares "Successful meetings at Hull were presided over by Mrs. Homer the pastor's wife...fifteen churches gathered on November 5th. Rev. and Mrs. J. Day of North Hull Mission were the speakers...110 women sat down for tea provided by the women of the assembly, free of cost".<sup>715</sup>

#### 4.10.8. General Assistance

Numerous women were involved in a ministry of generally assisting in church life. R21, a young "Crusader" in 1937, recalls looking forward to the Easter Rallies.<sup>716</sup> This was when Elim Churches congregated in the Royal Albert Hall "When my pastor had asked for volunteers to help organise the group attending from the church, I put myself forward. He had helped my family...and I was pleased to act as a help for him in return".

Respondents such as R47, R49 and R23 often mention this ministry that was referred to as "helps."<sup>717</sup> The following article entitled "Helps" expounds this non-leadership assistance ministry role.<sup>718</sup> It summarises the many activities fulfilled by women that these respondents fulfilled themselves or saw other women fulfilling in this period:

Elim would not be long in existence without her royal, loyal, godly "Helps" who think and pray and work...(continually)...for the blessing and comfort of...(numerous) visitors who flock to her doors? Who is it that scours the country and writes...letters in search of suitable places for holiday homes for the weary and sad...God's gift of Helps. Who are they

<sup>714</sup> Elim Churches were designated into Geographical districts called Presbyteries, throughout Britain and Ireland.

<sup>715</sup> *Evangel*, "Sisterhood Rally", 9 December 1940, Vol.XX No.47, 765.

<sup>716</sup> Telephone interview between R21 of St. Peter Port, Guernsey and myself on 03.01.05.

<sup>717</sup> Telephone interview between R47 of Leicester, East Midlands and myself on 22.02.06. Telephone interview between R49 of Westcliff-on-Sea, Southend-on-Sea and myself on 22.02.06. Interview between R23 at Bath, Somerset and myself on 14.10.05.

<sup>718</sup> *Evangel*, "The Gift of Helps" 9 April 1937, Vol.XV111 No.15, 230.

who keep up correspondence with souls saved in the campaigns and churches to help them in their new life? God's gift of Helps.

#### 4.11 Conclusion

This chapter establishes that for a woman aspiring to leadership ministry was initially easy, with women being handpicked at the outset. The vignettes of Streight and McKinley, representative of ministering Elim women leaders, reveal that ministries exercised by the pioneers in Elim were not dependent on gender distinctions. The successful establishment and development of the embryonic denomination was attributable in no small part to the full leadership ministry of women such as Streight and McKinley and other women. Tweed shares that "Other Evangelists were also being used (e.g.) Miss Linton, one-armed...Evangelist...in charge of the Aughnacloy assembly".<sup>719</sup>

McPherson fulfilled a significant role in early British Pentecostalism; she brought a measure of influence and emboldening to bear on Jeffreys and on the nascent Elim denomination in numerous ways. Especially was this so at a crucial time of decision-making. Following his visit to America, Jeffreys had been "hugely impressed" by McPherson and the work at the Angelus Temple and not at all by the AoG churches. He was certain that the right decision for himself and the Elim churches was to remain separate and not amalgamate with the British AoG. This influence was to have longevity for the AoG also; both denominations remain autonomous to this day. McPherson inspired Jeffreys to book the Royal Albert Hall for the Easter celebration, which became an annual event. He went on from this time to hire some of the largest halls in Britain for his revival crusades.

Gee regards the reason why McPherson did not visit Britain again after 1928 was the revelation this visit highlighted "She could never have the same magnetic appeal, as she did in America, to the more conservative British temperament and...needs putting against her own proper background...the city of Hollywood and the dramatic".<sup>720</sup> Building upon Hudson's statement that Jeffreys "seems to have been hugely affected by McPherson" I speculate that their

<sup>719</sup> Tweed, *Memoir*, 36. See also "Portraits of Irish Trophies", an annotated photograph, which includes Streight and McKinley applauding the many women who ministered as members of the EEB in "the Emerald Isle" *Evangel*, 2 February 1934, Vol.14 No.4, 75.

<sup>720</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 120.

relationship grew very close citing as evidence the tone and frequency of telegrams and letters which passed between them; the photograph capturing Jeffrey's adulation on bended knee welcoming McPherson; the fact that Kennedy turned immediately to Jeffreys with expectation for help and support following her daughter's disappearance; the turmoil experienced by Jeffreys whether to leave his beloved Elim churches and followers, to lead Angelus Temple and the issue of the blistering warning letter from Henderson and some people's insinuation of there being "no smoke without fire." The latter, I believe, persuaded Jeffreys that there could be no further contact with McPherson if the work and people he had poured his life into were not to suffer. The hope of clarifying the relationship between these two leaders by visiting the Heritage archives at the Angelus Temple and gaining access to and examining a bequeathed private collection of McPherson's papers was dashed when they were accidentally destroyed. Thus, any possibility had been removed of clarifying the precise nature of the relationship that existed between McPherson and Jeffreys. Importantly this study does provide a clearer understanding and appreciation of the role Aimee Semple McPherson played in early British pentecostalism.

To be in charge of an Elim Church one needed, man or woman, to have completed training at the Elim Bible College. Jeffreys when curtailing women's ministry was not banishing women from leading churches and was supportive of women entering the College—which therefore indicates Corry was acting on his own initiative preventing them doing so. Jeffreys was never slow to dictate his orders and if there had been any intention of removing women from leading Elim churches he would have made it his business to say so. The fact that he didn't adds strength to my analysis, that Corry was preventing women entering EBC ministry, as Flower's vignette illustrates. Significantly, the role of women in leadership ministry in Elim was stopped by the actions of some men.<sup>721</sup> The Flower/Corry imbroglio establishes that both achieved their

<sup>721</sup> See email from Cartwright to myself, 12 June 2008 where he shares that at this nascent stage in Elim's history Jeffreys was always alert to circumstances unfolding around him and rather than working out difficulties theologically would do so pragmatically. Cartwright shared that pastor Nan Kennedy had to weather a tough time in Liverpool, where she had been sent by Jeffreys following his campaign there. Boulton, *George Jeffreys*, reported that a good number of people had joined the Elim church in Liverpool following the campaign, 194. D. Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*, records that by placing a woman as a first pastor at Liverpool Jeffreys had created much animosity from some of the men who had transferred from other churches to join the Elim church at this time. The explanation given by Cartwright was that the Liverpool Elim church felt a woman was not able to provide adequate leadership as a male pastor, 83. Acting pragmatically following another highly successful crusade, this time at Bournemouth—



aims in their own way—with Corry never relenting and Flower in the end bypassing Corry and appealing directly to a senior minister at the Church Headquarters who offered a church without Flower having to fulfil the mandatory training at the Bible College.

Thus, women were prevented from entering Bible College training because a man, Corry, barred them and other women already in charge of a church were denied a full leadership ministry role in Elim because a man, Jeffreys, dictated this to be so. A seismic shift from a clear opening for women in Elim to a prohibition of women had taken place, with women's leadership ministry role subsiding. On Corry's departure in 1940 women were once again free to enter the EBC.<sup>722</sup>

As a result of researching the Elim denomination it has been possible to establish precisely what official and unofficial ministry roles women fulfilled and the rise and demise of their ministry roles. It has also been possible to explain the reasons why this happened.

see Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists*,—Jeffreys was careful not to repeat the ill-advised move of placing a woman pastor there as he had done in Liverpool, 83. Cartwright explained that men who had been involved with William Hutchinson and the AFC were included in the high number of men in the services at Bournemouth, 83. At that juncture women in Hutchinson's church were confined to non-leadership roles.

<sup>722</sup> Jeffreys parted company with the Elim denomination towards the end of 1939 and founded the Bible Pattern pentecostal denomination. See N. Hudson, *A Schism and its Aftermath. An historical analysis of denominational discernment in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-1940*. (PhD dissertation).

## CHAPTER FIVE: The Roles Fulfilled by Women in the Apostolic Church

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the women within the AC and the ministry roles they fulfilled.<sup>723</sup> It provides details about the women, establishes when and how they ministered, reveals the challenges they faced and their reactions to them. It explores the smallest of the Pentecostal denominations being researched in this study. It also acknowledges that the hermeneutic roots of women's ministry roles in the AFC—and indeed, knowledge of the parentage of the AC itself—were in danger of being buried.<sup>724</sup> This was a result of the dismissive handling by the

<sup>723</sup> Information on the history of the AC and its parent church the AFC can be located in the following principal sources: collection of the AFCs' magazines *Showers of Blessing* and the collection of the ACs' magazines *Riches of Grace* located at the AC archives, Luton; *The Apostolic Church Its Principles and Practices*, (Bradford: Apostolic Publications, 1961, [1937]); J. Black, *Apostolic Theology* (Luton: Apostolic Church, 2016) ; R. Evans, *Precious Jewels from the 1904 Revival in Wales*, (Llandeilo: J. Thomas and Sons, 1962); D. Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Nottingham: AoG, 1967) ; M. Hathaway, "The Role of William Oliver Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith Church in the Formation of British Pentecostal Churches", in *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, Vol. XVI, 1996, 40-57; W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972); W. Kay, *Inside Story* (Doncaster: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990); W. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000); W. Lewis, *And He gave Some Apostles* (Bradford: Puritan Press, 1954); H. Llewellyn, *A Study of the History and Thought of the Apostolic Church in Wales in the Context of Pentecostalism*, (MPhil thesis: University of Wales, 1997); C. Palmer, *The Emergence of Pentecostalism in Wales* (London: Apostolos Publishing Ltd., 2016); J. Robinson, *The Origins and Development and Nature of Pentecostalism in Ulster 1907-c.1925: A Study in Historical and Theological Contextualisation* (PhD dissertation: Queen's University, Belfast, 2001); W. Rowe, *One Lord One Faith* (Bradford: The Puritan Press, Ltd., n.d); T. Turnbull, *Apostle Andrew* (Bradford: Puritan Press, 1965); T. Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought: A Short History of the Apostolic Church* (Bradford: Puritan Press, 1959); I. Vaughan, *Pilgrim With a Limp* (Neath: Self-published, 1981); G. Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two—part of A history of the Apostolic Church 1900-2000* (Barnsley: Self-published, 2003); K. White, *The Word of God Coming Again: Return of Apostolic Faith and Works Now Due on Earth. With a Sketch of the Life of Pastor W. Oliver Hutchinson and Woman's Place in the Church of the Last Days* (Bournemouth: AFC, 1919); D. Williams, *Souvenir Exhibiting the Movements of God in The Apostolic Church Issued in Commemoration of the Opening of the Apostolic Temple, Penygroes* (Penygroes: The AC, 1933); J. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, (Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991) & L. Worsfold, *Subsequence, Prophecy and Church Order in the Apostolic Church, New Zealand*, (PhD dissertation: Victoria University of Wellington, 2004).

<sup>724</sup> Though the smallest of the three main Pentecostal denominations in Britain, the AC has conducted a vigorous and extensive overseas missionary programme and is established in

Pentecostal historians of the AC and their leaders.<sup>725</sup> It was necessary to begin my exploration therefore from the genesis of Apostolic pentecostalism when the parent AFC was birthed in Bournemouth by William Hutchinson in 1908. At this incipient stage women ministered as freely as the men, but this freedom was curtailed in accordance with the emergence of beliefs which regarded women's restricted ministry roles to be necessary in readiness for the Parousia, to take place.<sup>726</sup> This chapter reveals that women's ministry roles became circumscribed by the all-male oversight governing the AC, and that clearly defined guidelines stipulating the subordinate ministry roles women were allowed to fulfil, were also drawn up by men.

A review of the literature pertinent to the roles the women fulfilled in the AC and within its predecessor, the AFC was undertaken. Their extensive magazine collections and other artefacts were examined. Data gathered from administering the interview survey questionnaire to AC veterans was also scrutinised. The definitive Apostolic and Prophetic ministry roles of the AC are explained here.

A selection of vignettes of women who ministered early in the emerging AC are discussed. Significantly "While the secession from the AFC was a break, little else was broken," and women's truncated ministry role was ratified by the AC when it seceded from the AFC.<sup>727</sup> The concluding part of the chapter focuses on the definition of women's ministry as ratified by the AC which, in its broadest sense, suggests that all activity accomplished in Christ's name, no matter how humble, was and still is, regarded as ministry.

around 100 nations, most of which are autonomous. See W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 191; D. Morgan, *The span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales 1914-2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1999), 14-15 and H. Llewellyn, *A Study in the History and Thought of the Apostolic Church in Wales in the Context of Pentecostalism*, (M.Phil thesis: University of Wales, 1980).

<sup>725</sup> This took place a year after the Elim denomination was launched in Ireland.

<sup>726</sup> This is another term meaning the Second Coming of Christ to earth.

<sup>727</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 173. See further discussion by L. Worsfold, *Subsequence, prophecy and church order in the Apostolic Church*, Chapter One AC Origins, 1-4, (PhD dissertation).

### 5.1.1 Apostles and Prophets

Apostles in the AC were distinct from the original twelve apostles. They functioned as church planters exercising ultimate authority in areas of discipline and revelation and their office was lifelong.<sup>728</sup>

William Kay describes the manner in which this distinctive teaching of the AC began.<sup>729</sup> Such was the immediacy and force of prophecy and its relevance to his own life, that Daniel Williams began to teach the relevance and need for the nine gifts of the Holy Spirit spoken of in 1Corinthians:12 and the five ministry gifts of Christ to be operating in the Apostolic Churches.<sup>730</sup> When Thomas Turnbull declared “If we as an Apostolic Church witness to one thing above any other, it is to the fact of Church Government by apostles and prophets” he was referring to the hierarchical structure of the Church as set out in Ephesians 4:11 “It was he who gave some to be apostles, some...prophets, some...evangelists and some...pastors and teachers”.<sup>731</sup>

Hallmarking the AC and its parent AFC was the practice of directive prophecy. Daniel Williams clarified his Church’s argument for its prophetic beliefs, which involved men being sent to locations to minister by directive prophecy.<sup>732</sup> Pentecostal groups who maintained that if someone were to be “called” to a new location, they would be, and should be, the first to

<sup>728</sup> See Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 192 and William Lewis, *And He Gave Some Apostles* (Bradford: Puritan Press), 25 pages.

<sup>729</sup> Kay, *Inside Story*, 45.

<sup>730</sup> See 5.4 below.

<sup>731</sup> Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought*, 17. See L. Worsfold, *Subsequence*, especially Chapter One AC Origins (British origins), 1-37 and Chapters Four and Five for discussion of Prophecy, 139-212. See also W. Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy* (Eastbourne: 2000), 51,71 & J. Black *Apostolic Theology* (Luton: AC), 499 where he counters Grudem’s definition of prophecy. See I. Vaughan, autobiography, *Pilgrim With a Limp* (Neath: privately published, n.d) relating how he was called out to be a prophet through a major “Set” prophet in the local AC, 20. He developed his prophetic ministry role which included delivering directive prophecy, a prophetic role denied to women, on account of their gender, not calling, when the all-male governance of the AC had a change of mind in 1929, see 5.4 below.

<sup>732</sup> Daniel Williams, *The Prophetic Ministry in the Church* (Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1931), 51.

know about it.<sup>733</sup> This led to the AC becoming isolated from the Elim and AoG denominations. The AC's National Council supported Williams' proposal in 1929 that women must not function in directive prophecy because it was part of the government of the church and therefore outside of women's remit. From this time women were only permitted to prophesy for edification, exhortation or comfort in line with Paul's instruction in 1Corinthians14:3.<sup>734</sup>

This critique regarded the harmonious functioning of apostles and prophets in ecclesial government to be the factor distinguishing the AC from the other early British pentecostal denominations. The other denominations chose to distance themselves from what they perceived were errant teaching and practices. Donald Gee and Nelson Parr wrote scathingly about these errors.<sup>735</sup> Gee cautioned that prophets were "not to add anything to the perfect revelation of the Scriptures, but for the building up of the body of Christ through an...inspiring ministry-gift that interprets and applies those Scriptures with new light...life and power."<sup>736</sup>

## **5.2 A brief history of when and how the Apostolic denomination emerged.**

William Oliver Hutchinson is a strategically positioned figure in the history of emerging pentecostalism in this country despite having been excluded from the works of pentecostal historians and the academy.<sup>737</sup> This chapter establishes that Hutchinson and the AFC he pioneered, was in the vanguard of early British pentecostalism and played a formative role in parenting the AC.

Hutchinson was impacted by the Welsh and Azusa Street Revivals in the early twentieth century. After attending the first pentecostal Conference in Britain, held at Sunderland in 1908, and receiving his Spirit-baptism there, he sought to open a pentecostal Church to minister to people keen to practise the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Hutchinson left the Baptist Church and in

<sup>733</sup> See Weeks, *Origins*, 60 footnote 2 with regards Directive Prophecy.

<sup>734</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 205; footnote 3 cited his source; "Common knowledge".

<sup>735</sup> See Gee, *Wind and Flame*,<sup>74</sup> & also N. Parr, "The Apostolic Church error" in Brynmor Thomas, *The Teaching and Practice of Parr the Apostolic Church with special reference to its concept of Directive Prophecy* (PhD dissertation: Bangor University, 2016), 165, Appendix 11.

<sup>736</sup> D. Gee, *The Ministry Gifts of Christ* (Springfield: GPH, 1930), 44.

<sup>737</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*; E. Boulton, *George Jeffreys, Ministry of the Miraculous* (London: Elim Publishing, 1928); Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought*; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* & S. Burgess et al, *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*.

1909 bought a plot of land in Bournemouth and erected a building naming it “Emmanuel Mission Hall”. In renaming the Mission two years later, “Apostolic Faith Church”, Hutchinson was copying the name of the journal issued from the Azusa Street Mission and caused Kay to presume that Hutchinson was harbouring hopes that his church would do for Britain what this Mission had done for America.<sup>738</sup> Initially the teachings Hutchinson was propagating were no different to those of other proto-Pentecostals “seeking salvation, sanctification and the baptism of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>739</sup> Gradually Hutchinson’s teachings began to change. Convinced that pentecostals required direct prophetic guidance “in their personal lives but also in the structural governance of church” he created “the most radical expression of British entecostalism.”<sup>740</sup> Hutchinson’s church became a hub for its affiliating churches in other parts of England, Scotland and Wales which included Daniel Williams and the church he pastored in Penygroes, Carmarthenshire.<sup>741</sup>

The periodical, *Showers of Blessing*, founded by Hutchinson in 1910, provided the vehicle for distributing his teachings and transcriptions of prophecies delivered in the Bournemouth assembly and the expanding network of churches fellowshiping with him. Kay regards that this “set a dangerous precedent...lifting these utterances to a position where they could not be properly evaluated.”<sup>742</sup> Malcolm Hathaway suggests that “the spoken word was seen as greater than the Bible and confirmed by it, not the reverse.”<sup>743</sup> By so doing the AC was, according to Colin Whittaker, guilty of abusing the prophetic gift thereby causing distress to many independent Pentecostals.<sup>744</sup>

<sup>738</sup> Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, 16.

<sup>739</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 36.

<sup>740</sup> N. Hudson, “The Development of the Birth of British Pentecostalism” in W. Kay & A. Dyer, (eds.), *European Pentecostalism* (LeidenL BRILL, 2011), 44.

<sup>741</sup> Work in Ireland was regarded as a missionary outreach of the AC in Wales and from 1922 came under the jurisdiction of the Missionary Council. See Worsfold, *Origins*, 219 fn 2.

<sup>742</sup> Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, 16. See also Worsfield, *Origins*, recording that the gifts of the Spirit were regularly operating in the Evangelistic Hall and that prophecy was increasing in prominence, 23.

<sup>743</sup> Hathaway, “The Role of William Oliver Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith Church in the Formation of British Pentecostal Churches”, in *EPTA Journal* 1996 Vol.XV1 , 40-57.

<sup>744</sup> C. Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers* (Basingstole: Marshall Pickering, 1983), 90.

After his conversion in the Welsh Revival, Daniel Williams became a minister of a Congregational Church, the Penygroes Evangelistic Hall, and wrote a letter to Hutchinson informing him of his appointment as leader. Hutchinson was pleased and published William's letter in *Showers of Blessing*, February 1911. In 1913 a faction opposing Williams' leadership arose in the church—which had been affiliated as an AFC with Hutchinson in Bournemouth for the previous two years. This culminated in Williams being locked out of the church. There is the possibility that a reason for this expulsion was not simply because of pentecostal praxis but because Williams and his supporters were practicing directive prophecy, which at this early point in time included women prophesying in this authoritative ministry role as the men.<sup>745</sup> With his sixty supporters Williams formed a new congregation and in May 1914 a building was procured near Penygroes with Hutchinson in attendance at the opening service.<sup>746</sup> The following year though was to see a weakening of this relationship between Hutchinson and Williams.

During the Whitsuntide Convention of 1915 in Kilsyth, a prophecy was delivered to the gathering that the Scottish apostle Murdoch should sit at Hutchinson's right hand. This was the place usually occupied by Daniel Williams, thus displacing the supremacy of the much larger Welsh contingent. Worsfold emphasises the nationalist tensions emerging between Hutchinson and the Welsh churches at this time and writes "It is no secret that the Welsh congregations felt irritation in having to submit to an Englishman, especially an autocratic one".<sup>747</sup> Tensions increased fuelled by Hutchinson's refusal to accept Williams' suggestion to engage a committee of seven men to handle a large offering of money which had been gathered in a conference meeting in August 1915.<sup>748</sup> Hutchinson maintained the money was his to use as he pleased which added to growing animosity between the two men. By 1916 relationships had

<sup>745</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 23.

<sup>746</sup> Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 37. The first AFC in Wales was in Swansea. Shortly after James Brooke's induction in February 1910 the empty Belle Vue Chapel became occupied by Brooke and his congregation, Weeks *Origins*, 49.

<sup>747</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 119.

<sup>748</sup> At the AFC conference held in Bournemouth from 31 July to 3 August 1915 after a prophecy instructing the congregation to give money to a special offering that was to be taken up, over £3,000 was received. Given that a Welsh miner's wage at that time was approximately £3 a week this was a large offering and the suggestion that several people should be responsible for its wise use, was reasonable.

deteriorated significantly and led to a crisis meeting of church leaders on 8 January 1916 in the AFC, Ammanford, South Wales. At this meeting Hutchinson spoke for three and a half hours declaring that he had come there as the Chief Apostle and that he alone had the authority over everything. No one else was permitted to speak. Williams' response to Hutchinson's cavalier attitude was to state that he could no longer work with him and he left the meeting. He resigned his position with the AFC and commenced pioneering the "Apostolic Church in Wales." The majority of AFC leaders in Wales either pledged their allegiance straight away or subsequently took the decision to join the emerging AC in Wales denomination. From this time the AC in Wales burgeoned in Britain. In the first issue of the AC in Wales' periodical, *Riches of Grace* in 1916, it was made clear that the AC in Wales was in no way connected with the AFC, Winton, Bournemouth. A list of the nineteen churches in Wales was included in the magazine. During the first week of August 1916 the AC in Wales, which was the Church's full title, held its first major convention in Penygroes. Another eight assemblies were opened during 1917 and the convention in August was held in a large tent in order to accommodate the crowds. From 1922 the AC also began successful missionary expansion overseas.<sup>749</sup>

<sup>749</sup> The appellation "in Wales" was dropped from the official denominational name in 1922 as a result of considerable expansion beyond the country of Wales. See Worsfold, *Origins*, Chapter Ten, for a discussion of this expansion and unification.



### 5.3 Literature Review

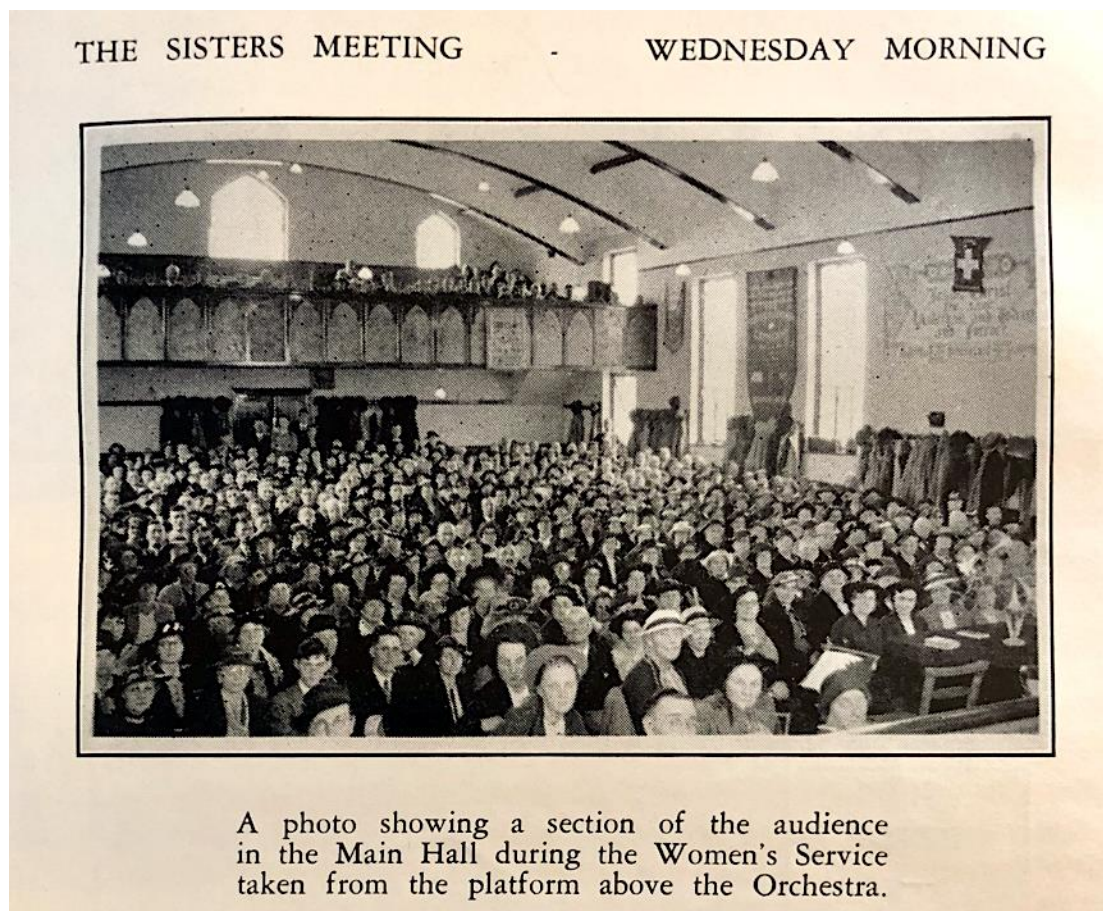


Figure 5:1

**“Sister’s Meeting”: Apostolic Convention, Penygroes, 9 August 1936<sup>750</sup>**

Women are infrequently mentioned in the Apostolic magazine collections.<sup>751</sup> The above is a rare photograph showing women at the Penygroes Convention Women’s Meeting and thus warrants inclusion, (there are “necessarily” also men present!). This is in sharp contrast to the

<sup>750</sup> *Report, Floods Upon the Dry Ground* of the Apostolic Church International Convention held at Penygroes, Carmarthenshire, S. Wales August 5–13, 1939. (Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1939), opposite 126.

<sup>751</sup> *Showers of Blessing*, AFC and *Riches of Grace*, AC.

frequent mention of men and inclusion of several photographs of men in the literature. What is implied therefore is that to write about or photograph women was not required or even desired by men who were in authority in the AC. Analysing this considerable imbalance establishes that leadership ministry, which was exclusive to men, therefore predominated over women's ministry which was relegated to mostly non-leadership "domestic" roles. Subsequently women remained well hidden in the background with men taking centre-stage. This illustrates how men in the AC denomination elevated themselves above women. As will be confirmed in this chapter, men dominated women in an utterly chauvinistic and unacceptable manner by ensuring that women were kept down in a place of subservience often out of sight.<sup>752</sup>

*The Word of God Coming Again* was an important source for establishing the rise and demise of women and their ministry roles in the AFC. Kent White gave a first-hand account of women ministering when he visited the AFC the first purpose-built pentecostal church at Bournemouth, in 1910.<sup>753</sup> He provided a well-focused image for posterity. By examining it closely, historians can draw a wealth of clues that reveal reliable information about women's ministry roles at the beginning of Apostolic pentecostalism in Britain. White recorded that he observed ministry taking place "with no barriers up against women." To him it was a notable feature that women were routinely ministering fully and freely alongside the men, indicating that gender was clearly not an issue at that early period. Informing that Pastor Hutchinson "was open to let God have His way in the meetings" White was providing an important clue, as to why the women were able to minister so uninhibitedly. It followed that women who were "blessed without distinction" would definitely have been functioning in step with the men.<sup>754</sup> This was an egalitarian feature common in Primitive Methodism that Hutchinson would have been comfortable replicating in his own church, in response to the leading of God's Holy Spirit.

<sup>752</sup> Their state of obscurity was further reinforced by the prevalent notion in society that once married, women were not addressed by their own name, but that of their husband for example the gifted scribe Kathleen Squires after her marriage was addressed as Mrs P. Brooke.

<sup>753</sup> White, *The Word*, 149.

<sup>754</sup> Acts 2:1-21; 8:5-24; 10:34-48, and 19:1-7 survey the role of the Holy Spirit in the birth of the Church in the 1st century. See D. Petts' exegesis of these texts; "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit: The Theological Distinctive", in K. Warrington, (ed.) *Pentecostal Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 98-119. Peter's reply to the questioning of the glossolalic phenomenon was the fulfilment of the prophecy in Joel 2: 28-32 where notably women are included as recipients of the enduement of power for ministry.

Significantly, this would cease once White's condemning prophesying against women commenced. Even from these few, though crucial, observations made by White, it can be reliably deduced that women were ministering obediently as God directed with the pastor encouraging them to do so. White further informs that following this first successful convention at Bournemouth, it became an annual event and attracted Pentecostal leaders and members from the increasing number of satellite congregations relating to Hutchinson's leadership at the Emmanuel Mission Hall.<sup>755</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the ministering women White observed would have been providing role models and encouragement for other women with a call to minister.

White, via the gift of prophecy, believed he had been instructed by God to curtail women's leadership ministry. The high regard paid by the parent AFC to prophecy referred to as the "Spoken Word," would have therefore made the acceptance of White's curtailing policy quite straightforward. The policy limiting the ministry role of women slipped into place in the AFC, and the women, irrespective of whether they liked this or agreed with it, had no alternative but to honour it. White, in his position of influence and authority was well placed to expound his views convincingly concerning women and their ministry roles. His views were strenuously opposed to female preachers and had been honed from his experience of women ministering in the USA. The rift in the relationship with his estranged wife Alma, affected his views and centred around the accepted stereotype for women in this era which dictated they be consigned predominantly to occupy the roles of wife and mother, not the pulpit.<sup>756</sup> Alma White bucked this trend and with feminist ardour developed into an unabashed and accomplished religious leader. She became "bishop", of the Pillar of Fire movement, a Holiness denomination in America.<sup>757</sup> Kent White's personal experience clearly affected what he did at Bournemouth because he was coming diametrically against his wife, being thoroughly at odds with her scriptural ministerial affirmation and headstrong independence, which in modern parlance

<sup>755</sup> At the close of 1911 these numbered: thirteen in Wales, eleven in England and six in Scotland in Weeks, *Chapter Thirty-Two*, 32. See Worsfold, *Origins*, 42.

<sup>756</sup> V. Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* (Nashville: Nelson, 2001), 54, 204. See also S. Cunningham, *Feminist Pillar of Fire The Life of Alma White* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

<sup>757</sup> S. Cunningham, *Feminist Pillar of Fire* 5, 77 and Chapter 4 which chronicled Alma White's efforts to achieve her feminist goals by publishing *Woman's Chains* a periodical containing radically feminist illustrations in her promotion of the militant edge of the National Women's Party, the sole "self-defined" American feminist party in the 1920s.

equated to being a feminist. Distancing himself from her across the Atlantic, he determined to implement his very different views regarding women and acceptable ministry roles in the AFC in Bournemouth. When analysing the defining factors of the three churches of this study it was this heavy-handed patriarchy passed over in equal measure to the seceded AC, which characterised it more than the other two denominations. Women in the AoG were free to minister as men from the start. Women in the Elim denomination did enjoy liberty to fulfil their ministerial calling for almost a decade and half, until Jeffreys put a halt to their freedom but women with a call to minister in Apostolic pentecostalism were seriously restricted shortly after the inception of the parent movement and continually from the beginning of the AC.<sup>758</sup>

Kent White's case was strengthened by linking his views essentially with the belief that they were in accordance with getting ready for Jesus' second advent—when He would then take His people to heaven, and the end of the age would be ushered in.<sup>759</sup> Limiting the role of women in ministry was perceived by White as putting right a wrong, and part of the necessary preparation to set everything correctly in place, as God decreed and was thus in line with “The Word of God Coming Again.”<sup>760</sup>

An AC historian, Rees Evans describes his book; *Precious Jewels* as “an imperfect collection of facts that led to the beginning and Foundation of the AC between the years 1904-1917.”<sup>761</sup> It is in this document that one is introduced to the ministry of Maggie Morris and the eminent Mrs Kenny. When introducing the four members of the visiting ministry team from Bournemouth, it is significant that Evans, after introducing Hutchinson in detailed and glowing terms, then introduces Prophet Dennis and the Scribe quite simply. When he introduces the fourth member, Mrs Kenny, he gives an extensive introduction, eulogising over her ministry referring to it as being “all in accord with the New Testament.”<sup>762</sup> Evans provides two factors for his readers which indicate that it was immaterial whether the person God chooses to call, empower and use for His glory and the extension of His Kingdom, was male or female. Firstly,

<sup>758</sup> See further analysis in Chapter Seven.

<sup>759</sup> See J. Glass, “Eschatology: A Clear and Present Danger—A Sure and Certain Hope”, in Warrington, *Pentecostal Perspectives*, Chapter Six.

<sup>760</sup> White, *The Word of God*, “Woman's Place in the Church of the Last Days”, 148-160.

<sup>761</sup> Evans, *Precious Jewels*.

<sup>762</sup> Evans, *Precious Jewels*, 11.

Evans highlights that it was the prayer ministry of Maggie Morris which acted as a catalyst at the pivotal time in the wake of the 1904 Revival in Wales, and secondly, that it was the spiritual gifts ministry of Mrs Kenny which heralded, with others on the ministry team from Bournemouth, the coming of Apostolic pentecostalism to Wales. Evans was therefore emphasising that what was important was the capacity to minister and to have one's heart open and willing for God to use and that being male or female was inconsequential.<sup>763</sup>

Another AC historian, Gordon Weeks, shares in his preface that he was fulfilling the task asked of him by the General Executive. This was to write an accurate historical account of the Church's origins and history in order to address the anomalous record.<sup>764</sup> Walsh acknowledges Week's timely undertaking as "an unprecedented...acknowledgement of controversial and neglected pre-1916 British Pentecostal origins."<sup>765</sup>

Prophetic leadership ministry was robustly fulfilled both by men and women in the Apostolic —"tap-root church"— as the AFC was sometimes referred to, and also in the nascent off shoot AC.<sup>766</sup> Weeks intimates an almost sacred regard for prophecy when reaffirming AC praxis, following the painful severance from its parent church. He declared, "We submit to the authority of the Apostles to fulfil the whole word of the Holy Spirit through the Prophets, as people...appointed to be stewards of God's inheritance".<sup>767</sup> He includes prophetesses.

James Worsfold claims that his *Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, was written with encouragement from fellow AC ministers, and was the result of a quest similar to that of Weeks, to compile a comprehensive history to include the disinterring of the "lost origins" of the AC as Britain's first organised Pentecostal movement.<sup>768</sup> Worsfold maintains his account, "attempts to lead the reader to their genesis."<sup>769</sup> On the subject of women and their ministry,

<sup>763</sup> Evans, *Precious Jewels*, 4, 11,12.

<sup>764</sup> Weeks, *Chapter 32*, 2.

<sup>765</sup> Walsh, "To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People", 2007, 29.

<sup>766</sup> For further debate see L. Worsfold, "Subsequence, prophecy and church order in the Apostolic Church" Chapter One (PhD dissertation) regarding this AC distinctive.

<sup>767</sup> Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 49.

<sup>768</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 2007.

<sup>769</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, Introduction xxv.

he wrote that the prophecy recorders and transcribers in the AC were referred to as “scribes” and were predominantly women. By describing their ministry as “gifted” Worsfold implies that women fulfilled this ministry as competently as the men and he singled out Kathleen Squire in particular.<sup>770</sup>

In his article, *Shave That Woman*, Robert Jardine, in the breakaway AC, reinforced the hermeneutic on women’s ministry inherited from the parent AFC.<sup>771</sup> In his discourse on the role of authority in the church, Jardine maintained that Paul in 1Corinthians 9: 1-16 was dealing with disorders in the church at Corinth. Jardine felt it was his duty to ensure that women were reminded that they needed to wear a covering on their head and that any notions they might have of official leadership ministry would not be tolerated. By so doing, Jardine was attempting to ensure that women’s leadership ministry role would be forever one of subordination to the men in the AC, and it has indeed remained so to this day.<sup>772</sup>

#### **5.4 Women’s ministry in the parent AFC**

Hathaway informs that Hutchinson was affiliated for many years with Primitive Methodism, which unlike Wesleyan Methodism, gave equal status to women as preachers and class teachers.<sup>773</sup> I therefore deduce that Hutchinson’s experience, from birth, as a Primitive

<sup>770</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 37.

<sup>771</sup> R. Jardine, *Shave That Woman*, n.p, n.d. See K. White, “Woman’s Place in the Church of the Last Days” in *The Word of God Coming Again* , 148-150.

<sup>772</sup> The “*Confidence*” magazines, edited and issued by Rev Boddy from 1908-1926, was the first British Pentecostal magazine. Malcolm Taylor maintains in *Publish and be Blessed: A Case Study in Early Pentecostal Publishing History, 1908-1926* (PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1994), 103 that it holds a unique position as *the* principal wellspring for the examination of the origins and chronicling of early British Pentecostalism and eulogised about its revolutionary impact on evangelicalism in Britain. Gee, *Wind and Flame*, declared it to be the formal instrument and mouthpiece of British Pentecostal authority, 42. It gives useful information on the subject of women and the ministry they fulfilled both at home and overseas in the AFC’s early years, and the first ten years of the AC. See for example the transcript of the address Nellie Hodges delivered at the Sunderland Convention in *Confidence*, “Mrs Hodges on The Baptism”, August 1916, Vol.XI No.8, 128.

<sup>773</sup> Hathaway, “The Role Of William Oliver Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith, 3. 40-57. See J. Turner, *John Wesley The Evangelical Revival and the Rise of Methodism in England* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2002), 129 & P. Chilcote, *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1991), 236, 243.

Methodist was the reason why he saw no objection to women ministering in the AFC as freely as the men, until the time Kent White appeared prophesying “the Word of God” that this should cease. Therefore, women’s freedom to minister was relatively short-lived, and was quashed well before the AC seceded. Mrs Kenny was a member of the ministry team that operated in the AFC in Bournemouth. As Rees reveals, Kenny and the ministry team also visited other churches delivering directive prophecy. Kenny was the prophetess who had given and written the crucial prophecy commanding Pastor Hutchinson and James Dennis to visit Penygroes to anoint Daniel Williams, authorising him to be the minister in charge of the Evangelistic Church at Penygroes.<sup>774</sup> By mid-1911 Penygroes had joined a number of churches in Wales, Scotland and England under the banner of the AFC.<sup>775</sup>

When the secession from the parent AFC took place in 1916, the first apostle “called out”—appointed—in the newly formed AC in Wales was Robert Jardine. Although Jardine did not remain long in the newly formed denomination, he became a leading figure in it and a determined advocate of women occupying a subordinate leadership ministry role to men.<sup>776</sup> This is discussed further at 5.8.

## **5.5 Women’s subordinate ministry roles**

The AC’s policy on women’s ministry had transferred *en bloc* following the breakaway in 1916. The unambiguous aim of men in leadership in the early AC was to stifle women fulfilling their “ministerial calling” and to impose a subordinate ministry role upon them. It is highly

<sup>774</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 12. See also Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 27 and Worsfold, *Origins*, 56.

<sup>775</sup> See *Showers of Blessing*, “News from assemblies”, February 1912, Vol.1 No.2.

<sup>776</sup> Jardine’s roller-coaster ministry did not feature long in the AC but where the subject of women’s ministry role was concerned it played a crucial part. Worsfold, *Origins*, supported his claim that Jardine was charismatic by highlighting that Jardine, an Englishman, was the first man to be set apart as an apostle in Wales, 178-9. Clearly Jardine impressed Williams who as editor, published the article reporting his calling in the first issue of *Riches of Grace*, Vol.1 No.1, January 1917, 8-10. Later in 1917 Jardine withdrew from the AC in Wales and in 1923 was ordained in the Church of England. He officiated at the marriage of HRH Duke of Windsor and twice-divorced American Wallis Simpson (December 1936), blatantly ignoring an Episcopal edict proscribing such involvement. See Worsfold, *Origins*, 180-81 for further details of Jardine’s colourful career.

likely that some women must have been sitting uncomfortably with this praxis given the references and directives, which occurred in the AC's infancy, discussed in 5.9 below.

Significantly, there were women in some of the groups affiliating with the AC who fulfilled leadership ministry roles, not only at its inception but also in its development. The next section shows examples of such women, some of whom would have found difficulty in readjusting their ministry roles.

## **5.6 Pioneering Women**

### **5.6.1 Mrs Jones**

Williams reveals that the Pontypridd AC began with a Mrs Jones, of Sion Street.<sup>777</sup> While he and his brother, prophet William Jones Williams, were on a visit to Mountain Ash, in 1913, they had met and encouraged this woman, endorsing her pioneering and leadership ministry. Significantly, it was a woman chosen to pioneer and expand this assembly which would develop into an AC. This became a sizeable church, and was to have substantial influence radiating from this locality in the Rhondda valley. Overseer (pastor), Lewis Jenkins recorded that Number 11 Sion Street was the birthplace of the Apostolic Vision in Pontypridd.<sup>778</sup> He provides a picture of a dedicated woman of God who fearlessly proclaimed her faith and pentecostal beliefs to good effect. He shared that she brought many to Christ, encouraging and nurturing these followers, both in the locality and further afield. To do this she had to brave persecution and hold firmly to the Apostolic vision. Subsequently as Williams shares "A new place of worship (Moriah) was bought at Pontypridd, 1 October 1927, when much evidence was given of God's favour".<sup>779</sup> It supports the fact that the foundational work of Mrs Jones was expanding and in blessing.<sup>780</sup> Increasingly, numbers of people attended as a result, and the AC in Pontypridd became established. Jenkins maintained that although "Sister Jones was an unsung hero of this pioneering period, there would come a day when her sterling efforts would

<sup>777</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 13.

<sup>778</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 26.

<sup>779</sup> J. Williams, "My Introduction To And Connection With The Apostolic Church", in D. Williams, *Souvenir*, 1933, 30.

<sup>780</sup> J. Williams, "My Introduction", in D. Williams, *Souvenir*, 30.



be acknowledged and rewarded”.<sup>781</sup> This indicated that the leadership acumen of Mrs Williams was of a high standard capable of leading the expanding church forward and that she would continue to be an effective leader. Daniel Williams informed that “Here, the Lord spoke of Pontypridd and referred to it as a place in His future plan to be a centre of a great work and that His handmaiden, Mrs. Jones was exhorted to continue her meetings in her house...when He would gather many to her”. This endorsement of her ministry indicated that early pentecostals sometimes, against the prevailing official stance of the church, used women equally as men, to pioneer and develop the Apostolic churches.<sup>782</sup>

### **5.6.2 Mrs Sheppard**

Williams shared that in 1911 another woman, Mrs Sheppard—“affectionately known as Mother Sheppard”—was in charge of the Pentwyn Bach Mission, Trecynon.<sup>783</sup> This statement tells us a great deal about the ministry of this notable woman. Although Williams deals briefly with her, he acknowledges that she was ministering in a leadership capacity. The group she was leading numbered only seven at this time, but Williams emphasised that each person was walking close to God sincerely and successfully experiencing the leading of the Holy Ghost in their lives. Williams credited this achievement to “Mother Sheppard”, explaining that this title was a term of endearment. To have been awarded such a title reveals that she exhibited love and friendship, and had a ministry that was approachable and effective; she would have been a good listener, delighting in caring for her flock.

### **5.6.3 Mary and Edith Delbridge**

These two sisters are examples of women who were initially evangelists and chose to settle in a town and pastor a group of people in the wake of their evangelistic campaign. They fulfilled significant leadership ministry roles in pioneering and successfully establishing an independent pentecostal work. In 1909 they arrived in the town of Wem in Shropshire, zealous to evangelise and commence a pentecostal witness. They came with other Christians from nearby Shrewsbury and held open-air outreach meetings and prayer meetings. Les Ashwood who had

<sup>781</sup> L. Jenkins, “Some Memories Of Past Movements In The Rhonda Valley”, in D. Williams, *Souvenir*, 1933, 26.

<sup>782</sup> D. Williams, *Souvenir*, “A Brief Account”, 13.

<sup>783</sup> O. Jones, “Early Movements in Llwynhendy And District”, in D. Williams, *Souvenir*, 22.

been in the AC all his life, explained to me that women ministering as the Delbridge sisters did was a nation-wide occurrence in the very early years prior to the formation of the AC.<sup>784</sup> Women, filled with the Holy Spirit, were not officially sent from other churches but went out independently pioneering pentecostal Missions. “They were just women keen to see people coming to faith, prospecting for precious souls”.

These two women ran a successful Evangelistic campaign; their first convert was Martha Doward. Other converts followed and a pentecostal assembly was established. Ashwood further related that the women had a free hand to minister and preach to mixed-gender congregations in those early days and shared “Their ministry was not gender-determined; it was God-ordained, and everyone acknowledged it as such”.<sup>785</sup>

The birth of the work at Wem, under the guidance and inspiration of the Delbridge sisters, was equated by Williams as occurring “under the circumstances similar to the work and ministry of our Lord in that it was born in a stable on 6 June 1909.” He further shared that they “soon saw fruit from their toil.”<sup>786</sup> Here we have two women whose successful leadership and ministry were responsible for starting a Pentecostal assembly and, from the comments made by Apostle Vivian Wellings, the success of their work at Wem was sufficient to “cause a stir in the district”, resulting in establishing further Pentecostal groups which also were welcomed into the AC denomination.<sup>787</sup> Assemblies in the surrounding Shropshire district in Minsterley, Pontesbury and Grinshill were established. This ministry bore witness to the highly effective ministry of these two women in pioneering and official leadership ministry in Pentecostal assemblies.<sup>788</sup>

Significantly, the Delbridge sisters were willing for the work they had started to become an AC, but in order for this to happen, which only allowed men to hold the leadership role of

<sup>784</sup> The late Les Ashwood R8, was the grandson of Martha Doward and an elder in the Wem AC for several decades until his retirement. He was 93 years of age when I interviewed him on 10 July 2006 in his home at Shrewsbury and, although almost blind, his recall was reliably clear. He was keen that I should waive his anonymity.

<sup>785</sup> Interview between Les Ashwood and myself, July 2006.

<sup>786</sup> V. Wellings, “Wem and District”, in D. Williams, *Souvenir*, 49.

<sup>787</sup> V. Wellings, “Wem and District”, in Williams, *Souvenir*, 49.

<sup>788</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 49.

Overseer (pastor) they were willing to submit to the men by stepping down from their leadership ministry roles. Their leadership structure was replaced “with an Overseer, (male), one Elder (male), two Deacons (both male), an Evangelist and two Deaconesses”.<sup>789</sup> Writing about the ministry of these two sisters Wellings stated; “God led His workers on to see the fuller Revelation of Church Order and Government, and they willingly invited Apostolic brethren from Smethwick, Wales and Hereford to come and show...the ways of God more perfectly”.<sup>790</sup> This is an example of the blatant misuse of female ministry. Contrary to the above evidence, the men from the AC headquarters considered that the ministry of the Delbridge sisters in fact was *not* “highly effective” at all because it was not following the “ways of God more perfectly”! Otherwise they would not have demoted these women and replaced them by installing men, whose ministry they judged to be superior on the basis of their gender—men—and therefore “more ideal” to lead the church. This was deplorable and demeaning to these successful pioneering women.

#### **5.6.4 Mrs Nelly (“Nelsie”) Hodges (née Vinter)**

Nellie Vinter had an established ministry in her own right before she met and married Frank Hodges, “who was of like precious faith.”<sup>791</sup> She then shared the ministry with her husband, who was in charge of an independent pentecostal assembly. The Hereford AC was inheriting a woman who was already a gifted minister. She enjoyed an excellent reputation as a woman who; “ministered without limitations.”<sup>792</sup> This strengthened the argument that in the AC, in this early era, there were women who were ministering in opposition to the denomination’s policy, which limited women’s ministry. These women were possibly coming in from other religious groupings, which did not have a policy of curtailing women’s ministry. Vinter’s ministry was already recognised and established prior to her marriage and was ongoing after it. Her husband’s account of the commencement and development of what became the Apostolic assembly in Hereford testifies to this fact.<sup>793</sup> He explains how, at the beginning of his ministry,

<sup>789</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 49.

<sup>790</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 49.

<sup>791</sup> W. Rowe, *One Lord, One Faith* (Bradford: The Puritan Press Ltd., n.d), 2 of Dedicatory.

<sup>792</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 45.

<sup>793</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*. In his account of the commencement and development of the AC in Hereford Headquarters Section, Williams informs that it was as a result of Hodges’ desire for a church to be started in his own City of Hereford to accommodate the people who were seeking

God had sent several gifted men and women to work with him, and a wife trained in ministry, an able preacher and evangelist. Notably she ministered extensively in helping other believers receive their Spirit-baptism. Hodges believed his gifted wife was God's helpmeet to him and had declared "Again another difficulty was overcome, and I was greatly helped in the work by her ministry".<sup>794</sup> It was as a result of Mrs Boddy praying for her, with another woman—Catherine Price—in the latter's drawing-room in Croydon in 1908, that Hodges had received her Spirit-baptism.<sup>795</sup> The effect of this powerful experience on Hodges was to make her bold in her ministry. Evidence of Hodges ministering in this manner was provided, for example, on the occasion of the opening of the Swansea AC. Hodges had, "brought two inspired evangelistic messages" and "during the eleven days of convention-type ministry the congregation had broken out in praise and dancing."<sup>796</sup> As Worsfold and the *Confidence* report reveals, Hodges, being appreciative of the beneficial effect on her own ministry, was desirous of mentoring other members in the developing Apostolic denomination, teaching them to be open and receptive in order that they also might receive this empowering. The report further reveals that Hodges had given practical guidance to those seeking their "full baptism in the Holy Spirit with the Sign of Tongues" informing that the methodical process she had used here had also been successfully applied to others.<sup>797</sup>

the pentecostal gifts, 44. Notably it was a woman who, in 1910 donated a plot of land upon which a hall to house the increasing numbers of converts could be erected. Hodges was keen to have God's direction where the naming of the meeting hall, which he had funded himself, was concerned. He sought audience with a woman, a Mrs Smart in Pontypridd he knew ministered in the gift of prophecy and the outcome was the name "Apostolic". The name was not universally approved of initially and was even the subject of debate by the local newspapers. The name was seven years in use before Hodges' independent Pentecostal group came to hear of the AC in Wales. Thus, Hereford was using the name AC before its usage in Wales and women had played their crucial roles. As a result of attending the Penygroes convention in August 1920, Hodges invited Williams to minister in Hereford and subsequently, the assembly joined the AC denomination.

<sup>794</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 45.

<sup>795</sup> Given the location and timing involved this was most likely the same woman Catherine Price, who is referred to as the first person to speak in tongues in Britain in the new century. See Chapter Four, 95 of this study.

<sup>796</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*, 205.

<sup>797</sup> *Confidence*, August, 1916, 128.

Hodges was a popular convention speaker. She was no novice, but a woman with a mature, Spirit-empowered ministry, which was effective and appreciated.<sup>798</sup> Several of the veterans in their responses spoke of their recollections of Hodges, and of the fact that AC magazines at that time included reports about her ministry.<sup>799</sup> R8 recalls Hodges' four nights of "excellent teaching" at the Wem AC and of her ministry helping people to receive their Spirit-baptism. Her preaching was also memorable and powerful, assisted by her pointing, from time to time, with a cane to the notes she had written on a blackboard. Ashwood shares that, although only a lad at that time, he could clearly remember "this fiery preacher and her enthusiastic teaching and preaching ministry very well, to this day", before relating in detail her sermon on the subject of the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea.

### **5.6.5 Women in Mid-Glamorgan**

Women were prospectors seeking out gold, namely, "lost precious souls", and were used in pioneering ministry across the nation during this period as already attested to by Ashwood. Indeed, women, along with men, were to the fore in opening up the Maesteg district in Wales.<sup>800</sup> Apostle Noot reveals that the flourishing Mid-Glamorgan area had grown from small beginnings, steadily spreading and developing. He writes about the women who pioneered with the men at this time, maintaining that "Much credit is due to the early prospectors". They were; "energetic, enthusiastic, inspiring and encouraging."<sup>801</sup> He referenced his accolade by referring to "the day of small things having dawned at Nantyffyllon, in 1920, where a few saw and wondered at its breaking...and now there are twelve assemblies set...ordered and controlled by the Lord...Head of the Church."<sup>802</sup>

<sup>798</sup> Worsfold, *Origins*. Worsfold relates that at the commencement of the Swansea AC in February 1920 Mrs Nelly Hodges who, while ministering, shared that ancestry on both sides of her family were traceable back to John Wesley, 205.

<sup>799</sup> See *Apostolic Herald*, "South Shropshire" May 1932 Vol.9 No.5, 10.

<sup>800</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, 49.

<sup>801</sup> Apostle Benjamin Noot, "Maesteg District" in Williams, *Souvenir*, 30-31.

<sup>802</sup> Williams, *Souvenir* informed that AC assemblies were established at; Maesteg, Nantyffyllon, Bryn, Cwmavon, Blaengarw, Nanthir, Pontycymer, Pontyrhyl, Kenfig, Cornelly, Pencoed, and Bridgend, 30-31.

Women and their leadership ministry were a regular feature in pre-Pentecostal denominational groups, a significant portion of which developed into ACs with women's leadership ministry roles being relinquished. Writers of pre-denominational AC history were male. The ministry undertaken by women in this time-span is flagrantly underplayed or even ignored by many of the historians. Also, the fact that little is said about women's public ministry has to be understood in the light of "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence." Richard Berendzen, the astronomer, during a symposium discussion about the possibility of life in other worlds acknowledged that there is no data whatever on the existence of life anywhere but on earth and pointed out therefore that, "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence."<sup>803</sup> Consequently, when evidence is found this is, in fact, the tip of the iceberg. Indeed, much about women's leadership ministry in early British pentecostalism lies well hidden. The history of Pontardawe and District, written by pastor William James, is a case in point. When writing a history of the beginnings of that work he acknowledges that women played a significant role but added a rider to explain why women were used in ministry then, but were not at a later date. He chronicles:

One-night meeting...He by His Spirit spoke through a sister (no leader being present), and told her to...lay hands upon those who were seeking the fullness of the Spirit, and that He would bless. And so, it was that everyone, the moment hands were laid upon them in Jesu's Name, were filled.<sup>804</sup>

This is re-interpreted history. Clearly the ministry was carried out by "a sister", with a particularly noteworthy ministry that could not be ignored when writing a history of the Pentecostal work. Pastor James is writing years after these events in the light of the "curtailing edict", and felt constrained to offer an explanation of why women could be used years ago in the formation period of the AC, but not in the period of consolidation in which he was writing.

His report actually reveals that there were women who were operating in leadership ministry. He has no rationale to explain why a sister rather than "a brother" acted in loco for the absent

<sup>803</sup> William Hines of (The Press Chicago Sun-Times), wrote an article in *The Evening Press* "When the Stars Speak" quoting Berendzen who was discussing this aphorism; Quote Page 16B, Column 1, Binghampton, New York. (Newspapers. Com), December 6 1972.

<sup>804</sup> J. Williams, "Pontardawe and District" in D. Williams, *Souvenir*, 27.

(or non-existent) male leader. With its focus on the work being a spontaneous operation of God's Holy Spirit, he failed to explain why God chose to use "a sister" and abundantly bless her as she "laid hands" on those present. The fact of a woman "laying hands" on men would have presented as a difficulty for later church government, where this was exclusively the prerogative of (male) apostles and (male) church leaders. This report basically reveals that women were operating effectively in leadership ministry roles, as the men, facilitating members of the mixed gender congregation to be blessed by God, and to go deeper in their walk with Him. Despite God having to use women, the work was blessed until the, "more ideal" male provision was made available.<sup>805</sup> We have a deliberate attempt to minimise the proven ministry of this woman. Instead of the opportunity being taken to acknowledge the woman in a positive light, James quite blatantly is belittling her and her ministry, insinuating that both are inferior. By describing the situation as being less than ideal, James is adding insult to injury by evaluating it as a "make-do stop-gap" ministerial arrangement. On the other hand James is elevating the ministry of the male minister who will come and be able to offer superior, "more ideal" ministerial provision. Until that time the church will just have to grin and bear it and make do with the woman albeit she is "short of the mark." This incident reveals yet again, that from the incipient stage of the emergence of the AC, women played a role almost entirely under the control and permission of men and were denied any real authority, which is indubitable prejudice against women and their ministry!

## **5.7 Women ministered in the role of evangelist**

Weeks, when recording the ceaseless evangelistic efforts of the early AC, emphasises "the use of Deaconesses and other Sisters in preaching and Campaign work."<sup>806</sup> He states that their output was prolific, recording that "the magazines were full of reports of this activity."<sup>807</sup> He continues to name an impressive list of new assemblies, which were set up as a result of this "aggressive activity."<sup>808</sup> The grave below, located and photographed by myself, is irrefutable evidence that Nora Jones functioned as an evangelist in the early years of the AC. The fact that

<sup>805</sup> J. Williams in D. Williams, *Souvenir* writes "Thus the work went on for a time, until God sent along some of His chosen men", 27.

<sup>806</sup> Weeks, *Chapter Thirty-Two*, 125.

<sup>807</sup> Weeks, *Chapter*, 125-126.

<sup>808</sup> Weeks, *Chapter*, 126.

the title is engraved on her memorial would indicate it is highly unlikely that she was the only woman who functioned as an evangelist, or that she took the role on in an informal, casual capacity.

It is significant and intriguing that Jones' grave and memorial stone is strategically situated in the grounds of, what was at the time, the international headquarters of the AC in Penygroes. This reflected the high esteem in which Nora Jones and her evangelistic ministry was held, in that it was recognised and revered.



**Figure 5.2**

**Grave and Headstone of Evangelist Nora Jones (CEF 1 CREWIL Bethlehem) in the grounds of The Apostolic Temple, The Mount, Penygroes, Wales.**

The inclusion of the following, from members of the AC executive, establishes how effective the ministry roles of its evangelising women were, providing further evidence that these women, and their ministry, were held in high regard. Prophet Turnbull had given prophecy on; “The evangelistic ministry of women” and the President, Daniel Williams gave an exposition on it; “Remember the word to you dear sisters that you may be winners of souls...all around and to our neighbours”.<sup>809</sup> This word was certainly heeded by the Women’s Movement.<sup>810</sup> Examples of evidence of women’s evangelistic efforts are recorded in the following reports.

<sup>809</sup> *Riches of Grace*, July 1929 Vol.4 No.6, 203.

<sup>810</sup> See 5.10.1 below and *The Apostolic Church Its Principles And Practices*, Chapter 28, for a full account of the women’s movement.



Brother Oswin Flynn reported on a “Gigantic Rally of Mardy Ladies.” “A(n)...open-air meeting and indoor Church rally took place at Mardy on Wednesday, July 14 under the auspices of the Apostolic Church”.<sup>811</sup> On arrival a hundred women, in a huge circle in the open air, exuberantly sang and witnessed to their faith arousing substantial interest in the neighbourhood. The women later attended a service in the church where an address was given by Mrs. Thatcher, Cwmbach, a solo by Mrs. Lewis, Porth and a recitation by Mrs. Ruby, Porth.<sup>812</sup>

Another report recorded; “Well-attended evangelistic meetings were conducted at Liverpool by Miss. Goforth of Hull, and Miss. Smith of Keighley”. These women also preached at Wallasey, Huyton Quarry and Prescott.<sup>813</sup>

A new feature of evangelistic activity in Scotland was a mission conducted by deaconesses; Howard, Turnbull and Pridie of Glasgow. Totally convinced that they were answering God’s call to evangelise, and with the knowledge also that Christians at home were praying for them, the women were encouraged and strengthened to “fearlessly and with great liberty preach night by night both in the open air and in the Tent.” This article reveals that “The Lady Preachers”, as they were called, attracted and interested the people. Unsurprisingly, the article concludes by informing that an assembly had been established in Prestwick.<sup>814</sup>

## **5.8     Apostle Jardine wrote authoritatively against women’s ministry**

In 1919 Jardine produced several articles for the ACs’ new publication—a free broadsheet newspaper—“The Apostolic Messenger of the Apostolic Churches of God in England and Wales.” One of the six articles he produced was called “Women’s Ministry.”<sup>815</sup> In his ten-page treatise on “The Divine Order for the Church of God”, Jardine condemns those churches that

<sup>811</sup> Blaenrhondda, Penyrergler, Treorchy, Cwmpark, Tonypany, Trealaw, Porth, Pontypridd, Cardiff and Pontygwaith.

<sup>812</sup> *Apostolic Herald*, July 1932, Vol.1 No.11, 12.

<sup>813</sup> *Apostolic Herald*, May 1932, Vol.9 No.5, 12.

<sup>814</sup> *Apostolic Herald*, October 1931, Vol.1 No.2, 5.

<sup>815</sup> Extensive searching was unsuccessful in tracing Jardine’s article on women’s ministry but other articles he wrote have been consulted which clearly reveal his views on women’s ministry. See Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 56-57.

were “breaking the Scriptures by appointing “women overseers”.” To his mind they were thereby heading for a “Thyatira state of things”, explaining:

But I have this against you; you let that woman Jezebel spread false teachings. She says she is a prophetess but by her teaching she leads my people to take part in sexual sins and to eat food that is offered to idols. I have given her time to change her heart...but she does not want to change. So, I will throw her on a bed of suffering. And all those who take part in adultery with her will suffer greatly.<sup>816</sup>

The article Jardine writes entitled “Shave That Woman” leaves no one in any doubt as to his strong views regarding women’s ministry.<sup>817</sup> Arguably he wrote with even more vitriol than White had done in the parent AFC on this issue. The article indicates unequivocally his views regarding the problematic core issue of women and authority in the church. He is emphatic that women must not function in official ministry leadership roles, which include not addressing mixed-gender congregations. They must be restricted to only addressing children and women. Here, at this early period of the AC, at least twenty years before the Constitution was put in place, Jardine is publicly opposing the notion of women having any real authority in a mixed-gender assembly. Here we have a clear example of chauvinism, which the feminists were campaigning against. White, before him, had also ministered in America, and both he and Jardine had formed strong opinions against women ministering in leadership roles equal to the men.<sup>818</sup> I maintain that the reason why women in Apostolic pentecostalism did not minister in this official capacity, to any great extent, beyond the earliest years in the taproot AFC, or in the vast majority of its off-shoot ACs, was because of the robust stance propagated by these Apostolic male leaders.

On the first page of the pamphlet “Shave that Woman” Jardine discusses the roles of women in the Church in the light of 1Corinthians. 11:1-16. He begins by acknowledging the controversial nature of this passage of the Bible, and the reason why so many preachers and

<sup>816</sup> Revelation 2:18-29 v. 20.

<sup>817</sup> R. Jardine, *Shave That Woman*, n.p, n.d. Note that the mailing address on page 4, from where further copies could be acquired, was Brenham, Texas, where Jardine ministered before his commitment to the AC in Britain in 1916.

<sup>818</sup> White, *The Word of God Coming Again*, Introduction.

teachers prefer to bypass it in the pursuance of peace in the fellowship. Jardine explains that he expects his readers to respond negatively, both against the pamphlet and even against himself. His defence is “Whether they will hear or not, the truth concerning this matter must go forth, so that God’s house may become a real house of God and not look like a concert hall, or a Movie Theatre”.<sup>819</sup> The title, “Shave That Woman” is just another way of saying what Paul says in the sixth verse “For if a woman be not covered, let her also be shaven”. Jardine quoted Moffat, who he considered, “puts it in a nutshell” when translating this verse “If a woman will not veil herself, she should cut off her hair as well”.<sup>820</sup> He then expands Moffat’s argument in establishing his own “So the natural covering of the LONG hair, which is a woman’s glory (not spiritual) is not the covering or veil referred to in verse five”.<sup>821</sup> The point Jardine is at considerable pains to emphasise is that hair—long hair—is the natural covering of a woman, but what God decrees is an *additional* covering on top of the hair. Jardine maintains this subject is not trivial, and in fact is one of the ordinances committed to the church to be observed and guarded. His understanding is that the Corinthian church had been failing to keep this ordinance “They were evidently failing in this through some contentious members of the church”.<sup>822</sup> On the second page of the article Jardine maintains that “these contentious women” are rebellious, and that, “the contention rages around the woman” who is unwilling to accept a position of subordination to man. He retaliates by declaring, in capitalised writing “THERE CAN BE EQUALITY WITH SUBORDINATION” and adds that this could come as a surprise “News for the women who tell you they are as good as any man, therefore they are going to do what they like, covering or no covering”. By wearing a head covering, maintains Jardine, women are signifying their willingness to be obedient and subordinate to men. Qualifying his argument, he argues:

When a woman puts away her covering, she puts away her badge of subjection to man, which is her true honour, for through him—the man—it connects her with Christ, the head of Man, and through Christ with God

<sup>819</sup> Jardine, *Shave That Woman*, 1.

<sup>820</sup> There is no citation. James Moffat, DD (1870-1944) was a theologian and graduate of Glasgow University. He translated one of the standard Modern English Bible translations, the Moffat, New Translation (MNT). Jardine, *Shave That Woman*, 1.

<sup>821</sup> Jardine, *Shave*, 1.

<sup>822</sup> Jardine, *Shave*, 1.

the Father. She is guilty of breaking the golden link of equality with subordination.<sup>823</sup>

Jardine is using this passage of scripture to teach what he regarded as a divine ordinance given by God to the church of the hierarchical order of man to God, and woman to man. A woman having her head covered is indicative that she is agreeable to submit to her subordinate role, where the men in authority—pastor, apostle, overseer—are concerned. This role is most definitely not for a woman ever to think of fulfilling. Any woman thinking otherwise is, therefore, like a woman with her head shaved.

His further denunciation—over several pages, reveals what he was advocating for the role of women in the AC. Women are to be kept in their place—that is, in meek subordination to man, which their heads dutifully veiled, or hatted signify.<sup>824</sup> Jardine is promoting this particular role for women, as in his view this is necessary if order—God’s order as he sees it—is to be restored. He is convinced that this is on the wane in the church declaring “In fact there is more order in a movie theatre than in some Churches”.<sup>825</sup> He maintains that the task, if carried out to the letter, would be enormous, with barbers kept busy for a lengthy period of time with “women preachers on the platform”, and women from “most Assemblies.”<sup>826</sup>

Key clues about the treatment of women in the very early period of the AC are given in this article. Jardine acknowledges that his views are controversial, which establish that there were people who both accepted and appreciated women’s authoritative leadership roles in the ministry. Clearly the reference to the article upsetting the peace of the assembly indicates therefore that there was mostly a peaceful, harmonious co-working of men and women in authoritative leadership under the overall leadership of the male pastor. Noteworthy was the phrase, “most Assemblies”, in that it is not saying *some* or *a few* but that in fact it is the norm in *most* AC assemblies. From the reference to “the women preachers on the platform” one gathers that the recognised and appointed role of women is to preach in mixed gender contexts,

<sup>823</sup> Jardine, *Shave*, 2.

<sup>824</sup> I recalled AC women, in church meetings, wearing veils on their heads and over their faces as a commonplace occurrence, fifty years ago.

<sup>825</sup> Jardine, *Shave*, 1.

<sup>826</sup> Jardine, *Shave*, 1.

not once in a while but that women are sitting on the platform among the eldership. The fact that the “shaving” would keep a barber busy for some time reveals that there are not just one or two people involved, but a considerable number. Jardine’s pamphlet informs that women leaders, preachers along with the elders, were a familiar sight. Jardine’s tirade is too much of a protest for this to be an isolated, rare issue. What is being expounded is the belief that God’s blessing is conditional upon his order being honoured. This is the reason why a woman covering her head, whilst praying and prophesying in the church, is fundamentally important; authority being the crucial issue. Jardine advocated that this was God’s divine plan for woman, that she should occupy the place, not of equality with man, but in subordination to him. Jardine therefore cannot contemplate women preaching, or taking any authoritative leadership role over men in the Church.

Jardine was a speaker on the AC convention platform. He maintained that the distribution of his message was with the full backing of Daniel Williams. Jardine in his senior capacity as an apostle for England, would also have assured that his views on this important issue would have been incorporated into the hermeneutic regarding the roles of women in ministry within the AC. The principle would later be included in the ACs’ “Statement of Faith (5)” when it appeared three years later in 1919. The unambiguous declaration to women was “Women are not allowed to TEACH or to usurp authority over the man”. This is, of course, the standpoint the AC was already committed to. Jardine’s powerful manifesto is an attempt by him to reinforce what had been put in place in the parent AFC in Bournemouth years previously. Clearly, he was attempting to correct robustly what he deemed to be errors of rebellion that were occurring.

Jardine is advocating that women’s ministry is to be recognised in the office of deaconess, (see 5.10.2). He was only offering this because he had to offer something to those whose “call” and “gifting” from God to minister was obvious, and had been recognised by the wider body of Christ. The “Statement of Faith” would have circulated throughout the AC network, at home and abroad, leaving no one in any doubt as to its doctrinal conviction that the leadership role of women in the AC was most definitely one of limitation and subordination. He includes women in training opportunities for working in the church, but strictly in the limited role of deaconess. On the back cover of a second publication written by Jardine was the advertisement; “The School of Prophets, for the training of men and women deaconesses for the Work of the

AC. Only those who have been baptised in the Holy Ghost with the Scriptural evidence as in Acts 2:4...need apply”.

## **5.9 Some women rebelled**

There were women choosing to ignore these directives intended to curtail their ministry. They were resolute in wanting to fulfil what they perceived as their God-ordained full ministry roles. The leaders of the denomination were equally resolute in combating this lack of acquiescence by dictating that they had to submit to it. Heavy-handed denouncements and reminders by the Apostolic hierarchy were issued. Not all women were willing to meekly succumb as a letter written by Pastor Frank Hodges to Daniel Williams reveals.<sup>827</sup> Hodges is relating a troubling time he had been experiencing in his church because some of the women refused to accept male authority and had been unwilling to comply with policy instructions. Enforcing this had caused Hodges strain and worry. The difficulties encountered by those women not prepared to submit to the governing oversight of the church had been fuelled by gossip and interference from visitors to the church. The matter has been addressed publicly by Hodges who admonishes the troublesome women, that even if it were possible for them to replace the oversight with another set of men of their choosing, the same situation would be repeated within another six months. He concludes “I made all who believed this to be the WORD OF GOD TO STAND UP and all stood accepting the Word of God against this other word which was...rebuking us. I think that is nipped in the bud now”.<sup>828</sup> Although Jardine’s articles have aimed to be hard-hitting, what we have here, even in 1923, is evidence that there were still women who had not fully submitted to the men’s teaching, and who were struggling with being excluded from exercising authority in the AC.

Even by 1929, the curtailment of women’s ministry was still problematic. Women’s prophetic ministry operated significantly during early British pentecostalism, as this study has revealed, but this ministry role also became curtailed in the AC, as teaching involving “setting the church in order” began to be implemented. Again, the issue concerns authority. A Report of a National Council meeting at AC Headquarters, Penygroes in 1929 reveals that a discussion of the various

<sup>827</sup> *Letter*, from F. Hodges to D. Williams, 1 October 1923—Apostolic Archives, Luton.

<sup>828</sup> *Letter*, from F. Hodges to D. Williams on 1 October 1923.

ways being used to recognise elders in the ACs had been taking place.<sup>829</sup> An account reported by a pastor of what had taken place when he had visited the “Burning Bush” AC, was given. It had been a woman who had prophesied that Ian McPherson’s father should be called out as an elder. Immediately this matter caused consternation in the Council meeting. What needed clarifying was whether prophesying in this manner by a woman was in breach of correct procedure. The minister of the “Burning Bush” church, Andrew Turnbull, had given his report confirming that a woman had prophesied this. Maybe he sensed disapproval, for he was quick to inform the Council that it was not only a woman whom God had spoken through “And the Lord spoke through Tom,” referring to his son. He had then queried “Were we in real apostolic order then?” Clearly there was a problem which needed sorting out for another apostle probed further “This is a vital fact for me to know...if the Lord spoke through a woman...to anoint someone (a man) to be a deacon. Is that a recognised thing in the Church?” Daniel Williams, had retorted “Oh no!” The reasoning behind William’s decision, which had the support of the Council, can be understood with reference to what the AC believed regarding authority and governance.<sup>830</sup> The following minute from the meeting, sanctioned that from this time forward the role of women’s prophetic ministry in the AC was now curtailed:

It is acceptable that anyone prophesying edification, exhortation or comfort in accordance with St. Paul’s instruction, can be male or female but when directive prophecy is being ministered this is in the domain of the governance of the church which is the ministry role reserved solely for males to practise.<sup>831</sup>

## **5.10 Apostolic Church Constitution—women and their ministry roles.<sup>832</sup>**

Although Jardine and the AC drifted apart in 1921—he wrote to H. Chanter that he was “Personally...glad to be out of such a muddle”—his foundational input regarding the women

<sup>829</sup> National Council meeting Report, 1929, Apostolic Church Archives, Luton.

<sup>830</sup> See L. Worsfold *Subsequence, prophecy and church order in the Apostolic Church*, Chapter One, 1-4, (PhD dissertation).

<sup>831</sup> The *Report of the Convocation of Apostles and Prophets at Bradford*, 19 October 1929, Apostolic Church Archives, Luton.

<sup>832</sup> See “The Apostolic Church Constitution” in *Apostolic Church Its Principles and Practices*; “Women’s Movement” in *Apostolic Church*, Chapter 28, 139-143 & “Deaconesses” in *Apostolic Church*, Chapter 38, 173-175.

and their ministry roles within the denomination, remained. They became permanently positioned and ratified as the publication of the ACs' Constitution in 1937 attests to.<sup>833</sup> Explanatory extracts are briefly included here.

#### **5.10.1 The Women's Movement**

This organisation was envisioned as a "systematic structure" aimed at encouraging spirituality in the women members of the AC. This would be achieved by women engaging in intercessory prayer, Bible study and work among women "at the direction of the Leaders, to co-operate with the local government of the Church, Pastors and Apostles in avenues of service, particularly adapted to womanhood." To institute and conduct a Women's Meeting in each assembly in accordance with the Women's Movement Scheme was another expectation of the Women's Movement.<sup>834</sup>

A planned scheme incorporating the guidelines laid out in the Constitution was to be produced by the (male) General Superintendent of the Women's Movement with the approval of the (all male) General Executive of the AC. With their ministry role/s in the church now inflexibly subordinate to the men, the women were being handed a scheme advocating what the all-male hierarchy of the AC regarded would "give the greatest possible outlet for the ministry of womanhood within the circle of Church life." They further endorsed their dictatorial stance with the following prophecy, to ensure the women would know how to conduct themselves:

There is nothing so definite as that which is written "I SUFFER NOT A WOMAN TO TEACH." You cannot read in, nor read out, of that word for truly in a very definite manner have I given through my servant the standard and I am desirous that you should understand that I am expecting you to abide by the ruling of My Word... so that you may know how to act together.<sup>835</sup>

<sup>833</sup> See Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, resignation *Letter* from R. Jardine to H. Chanter signifying that he no longer wished to be involved as an apostle, 69-70.

<sup>834</sup> *Apostolic Church*, "The Apostolic Church Constitution", 139-143.

<sup>835</sup> *Riches of Grace*, Nov. 1929 Vol.1 No.2. A prophecy given by Prophet W. Jones Williams on "Women's Ministry In The Body Of Christ", 30.



The ranges of ministry women were allowed to fulfil are discussed in 5.11 below.<sup>836</sup> These prescriptive areas, unsurprisingly, correspond closely with the respondents' responses in all three denominations regarding the unofficial and non-leadership ministry roles they recalled women in their churches fulfilling. These were the roles women were allowed to fulfil in the confines of the male oriented, AC. Furthermore, although these roles were subordinate to the men's leadership roles, women viewed them as their ministry that they fulfilled as unto God himself. Therefore, women endeavoured to fulfil their ministry, no matter how humble or how circumscribed, to their utmost ability.

### 5.10.2 Deaconesses

In the ACs' 1919 Statement of Faith, the women's official ministry role was categorically confined to "the office of Deaconess."<sup>837</sup> This was ratified in the Constitution of 1937.<sup>838</sup> Notably, no women had been involved in its compilation. The clear message being conveyed therefore is that women in ACs played no decisive part in deciding what their ministry role could be. This was determined solely by men.

Comments were made to me during the follow-up telephone conversations and face-to-face conversations in relation to responses in part two of the questionnaire, by women who were deaconesses in this early era. Frustration was clearly detected with what they perceived as the limitation of their ministry role. The female respondent Bennett for example, (who requested her right to waive her anonymity), revealed that as a leading deaconess at the Bo'ness AC, she had demonstrated a fighting spirit and achieved a landmark victory for herself and fellow deaconesses. Not prepared to put up with the injustice which was being heaped upon herself

<sup>836</sup> See *Apostolic Church*, "Women's Movement", 139. The Women's Movement was controlled by the General Superintendent of the Women's Movement with the approval of the General Executive. See W. Jones Williams, *Standard Scheme For The Women's Movement* (Bradford: The Apostolic Publishing Office 1942), 11, for example. This revised booklet of guidelines, though not dated, was prepared by W. Jones Williams, the pastor of the AC, Cardiff who was the General Superintendent of the AC in 1942. See the *Standard Scheme* pamphlet which stipulate the above eight prescribed areas in which women could minister. Earlier editions had been compiled by Herbert Cousens and later J. Omri Jones. See also W. Jones Williams, *The Apostolic Church Women's Movement Syllabus of Studies* (Bradford: AC Publishing Office, 1942).

<sup>837</sup> Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 56-57.

<sup>838</sup> See *Apostolic Church*, Chapter 8, 35-44.

and her colleagues, Bennett related that she had not been able to accept that deacons wishing to meet together for a church service among themselves could do so but deaconesses, with a desire for the same, could neither hold a meeting among themselves nor even attend the men's meeting. Meetings for deaconesses were banned on the grounds solely because they were for women. Triumphantly Bennett explains:

It was blatant prejudice...I fought hard for justice and...the day came when we were allowed to join the men and were treated on the same footing. I was not prepared to sit back and do nothing...I fought back and won.<sup>839</sup>

The duties and sphere of deaconess ministry in the AC extended into many church avenues other than government. The duration of the appointment was initially for twelve months after which a review would take place extending the term for a possible further year. The focus of ministry was on preaching the gospel, visiting sick women members and women who attended irregularly whilst attempting to recruit children to attend the Sunday School. The preparation and clearing of the Holy Communion table and arranging food for officer's meetings lay within the scope of ministry of the responsible deaconess in co-operation with the subordinate assembly deaconesses. The authority of a deaconess did not extend beyond the women members of the church and it was expected that "She will apply the unquestionably accepted truths of God's Word in dignity and simplicity, avoiding doctrinal and debatable matters".<sup>840</sup> What this latter point highlights is that men rigorously exercised authority over women justifying that in their view women were not deemed capable of functioning at an intellectual and authoritative level equal to men. Rather, women were to regard their subordinate role as a privilege bestowed upon them from God himself. A prophecy reaffirmed authoritatively:

The purposes in this plan are beyond the human mind to grasp, if all the sisters will take to heart the privilege that is bestowed upon them...For I am declaring that if I will have the Sisterhood in the Assemblies to believe and act...on My Word. I know that I can find in their hearts untiring efforts

<sup>839</sup> R45, Follow-up telephone discussion between M. Bennett, of the Bo'ness AC and myself in relation to part two of the questionnaire, 25 July 2006. Notably meetings held just for deaconesses never were sanctioned but, in a victory of compromise, deaconesses were allowed from this time, to attend the deacons' meetings with the men.

<sup>840</sup> *Apostolic Church*, 173.

to serve Me and unwavering fidelity and faithfulness to Me and unlimited love to sacrifice for Me.<sup>841</sup>

## 5.11 Analysis of Quantitative Data

**Table 5.1 Percentage of Women's participation in official ministry roles**

<b>AC 1916-1940</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
<b>Water Baptism</b>	14.5%	8%	5.5%	72%
<b>Weddings</b>	5%	7%	15%	73%
<b>Funerals</b>	9%	10.5%	4.5%	76%
<b>Holy Communion</b>	9%	22%	11%	58%

It is significant that very few respondents remembered women ministering in leadership roles “often” or even “sometimes.” However, when asked about the specific roles undertaken by women in these four services, a more complete picture emerges. The ministry roles fulfilled the most by women overall in these types of service are supportive of subordinate, unofficial leadership roles. Officially women were not sanctioned with authority for fulfilling preaching and teaching ministry roles to mixed gender assemblies nor for presiding over or distributing the bread and wine in the Communion service. The charts are further referred to in analysis and discussion of the AC hermeneutic of women's ministry role/s and in comparison, with the findings of the other two denominations and their hermeneutic on women's ministry in Chapter Seven.

## 5.12 Analysis of Qualitative Data

### 5.12.1 Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral

Most respondents recalled women meeting together and meditating on the Bible. They said this was mainly through the Women's Movement (WM) meetings. R1 had been in the AC all his life, and recalls how much his wife enjoyed the women's group.<sup>842</sup> R11, also a retired veteran overseer/pastor, sums up the essence of the WM.<sup>843</sup> He states “Women ministered to women and...occasionally ministered in public ministry (mixed congregations) as well”. To my

<sup>841</sup> A prophecy previously given through an ordained prophet in a meeting was brought to mind by pastor Herbert Cousen when writing the Foreword for the first *Women's Movement* pamphlet (Llanelly: Apostolic Publications, 1937, 1d.), 5.

<sup>842</sup> Interview between R1 and myself at Wakefield, Yorkshire on 23.11.07.

<sup>843</sup> Interview between R11 and myself at Bridgend, Wales on 12.11.07.

comment that I understood women were not allowed to preach and certainly not to mixed congregations, he replied “Well it wasn’t as hard and fast as all that especially in the early days. How does one curb oneself, man or woman when the Spirit is moving on one? If you were classifying what was happening well it most certainly was teaching”. R11 explains that rules were tightened up with the inauguration of the Constitution “It was a big thing and it said they must not and that was that. It was written down now”. The reality was that although the AC stipulated that women could not preach/teach in mixed assemblies at times the roles blurred as the line of demarcation was sometimes crossed.<sup>844</sup> Daniel Williams spoke about the crossing of this line of authority. At the Penygroes Convention in 1938 he reminds and warns the women “You are to remember your position in the Church...when a woman is pushing herself over that line to a place of authority that they have never been ordained of God, she is missing the line that God works through her...to be of real spiritual value and substance”.<sup>845</sup> R14 who was born to Apostolic parents, remembers women regularly speaking at the Sunday evening meeting over the years at the Aberdare assembly but this was always a gospel meeting.<sup>846</sup> Her husband, R15 remembers in the early days of the Movement “bonneted” deaconesses who took Evangelistic Campaigns and services.<sup>847</sup> Following the compilation of the Constitution, however, these gradually became replaced by elders, deacons and pastors.

R10 was born in the early 1920s to parents who had married in the AC.<sup>848</sup> She had always attended the AC and lived most of her life in Renfrew, Glasgow. She shares that only specified deaconesses ministered and that only to the women; they never addressed mixed gatherings other than Gospel meetings. She remembers a Mrs Meldrum, a deaconess who was never

<sup>844</sup> Women were only allowed to share the Gospel message of salvation and never to teach at these mixed gender gatherings which were specifically called Gospel meetings.

<sup>845</sup> *Riches*, September 1938, Vol.XIV No.1, 126.

<sup>846</sup> Interview between R14, R15 and myself in Bournemouth on 20.01.08.

<sup>847</sup> Bonnets and dark clothing were worn by Holiness, Faith Mission, Salvation Army and pentecostal ministering women during this era and were reflective of the conservative dressing at that time. Although the length of women’s skirts in society from the 1920s onwards were shortening, women in these churches were normally a few steps behind the accepted dress code and wore ankle-length skirts.

<sup>848</sup> Telephone interview between R10 of Falkirk and myself on 07.01.08.

comfortable speaking from the front even to women. R10 was happy always serving others for which she became renowned.<sup>849</sup>

R32 had been in the Bradford AC most of her life.<sup>850</sup> She remembers a Mrs Birstow who was a deaconess leader amongst the women; “We always had our Women’s Leader and there would always be cover of a prophet on hand to answer any difficult question”. R32 shares that the prophet would fulfil this role for a year or two and added that she could never recall him ever being uncomfortable, despite being the only man among a group of women.

Several respondents verify that the AC assembly at Bo’ness was unique in that women enjoyed a great deal of freedom and ministered very often in a leadership, unlimited role which was not the norm in the AC. R24 and R25 hail from Bo’ness.<sup>851</sup> R25 shares that although the Constitution said that women must not preach however when the men were deep sea fishing, the women administered Holy Communion, preached and fulfilled all the ministry roles of the church. R24 declares “The women just got on and ministered freely and kept the doors open”. Both respondents speak warmly about a pastor Williams who spent many years at the church and the fact that he went against the AC guidelines actively encouraging the women with a ministerial call to develop their ministry must have contributed to creating the relatively egalitarian character of the church. It must though be appreciated that the women’s leadership role was one of convenience as attested to by the respondents who are quick to add that once the fishermen returned the women stepped back again until the men went away and they conveniently stepped into the men’s shoes and fulfilled their ministry roles once again. Gordon Weeks, the AC historian, affirmed this atypical situation in conversation with myself.<sup>852</sup>

R37 hails from Co. Durham where she has lived all her life until recently, and recalls that ordinarily men, not women, did the preaching.<sup>853</sup> She explains that when the men went to war her church, which was only a small assembly, was left to carry on with a dear, very old, shaky man who was an elder “and therefore”, she explains, “the rules had to be bent a bit.” Women

<sup>849</sup> See *Riches of Grace* January 1938, Vol. 13, No.7, where the role of deaconess is referred to as a “sacred ministry of serving”, 3.

<sup>850</sup> Interview between R32 and myself in Barnsley, Yorkshire on 18.11.07.

<sup>851</sup> Interview between R24, R25 and myself in Bo’ness, West Lothian on 13.03.07.

<sup>852</sup> Telephone interview between Weeks and myself on 01.09.07.

<sup>853</sup> Interview between R37 and myself in Kirkcaldy, Fife on 17.03.07.

were asked to help out with preaching but with the understanding that they had to cease on the men's return from war.

### 5.12.2 Prayer/Spiritual Gifts

Prayer was mentioned as a ministry role women fulfilled to a significant extent. Many respondents recall that special intercessory prayer regularly took place. This could be asked for by the apostle, pastor or local presbytery and took place either in the church or in private at the pastor's house.<sup>854</sup> R10 had lived in Devon almost all her life and writes about a woman who had prayed a great deal in the assembly there.<sup>855</sup> She had encouraged herself and many other members to pray faithfully for the pastor and elders and any need as it arose.<sup>856</sup>

Many respondents in this AC denomination referred to women ministering in prophecy which not surprisingly was to a greater extent than in the Elim and AoG denominations. R6 is very elderly and shares at length about the prowess of Mrs Kenny's gifting with regards directive prophecy in the early years before the AC authorities banned women from delivering this type of prophecy.<sup>857</sup> She recalls how Kenny was known as a gifted prophetess and recalls that she was outstanding, and kindly towards herself and other young people.<sup>858</sup> A very elderly couple R12 and R13 recall women regularly being exercised in the spiritual gifts especially prophesying "The Word of the Lord" at the Penygroes Conventions.<sup>859</sup> R43 shares that several of his and his wife's relatives were active in the AC in the early days when women were freely prophesying in local assemblies and in national conventions.<sup>860</sup> Worsfold acknowledges that God was raising up women as well as men in their congregations to prophesy in addition to

<sup>854</sup> See Worsfold, *The Origins*, 25 and Evans, *Precious Jewels*, 11.

<sup>855</sup> Interview between R10 and myself in Plymouth, Devon on 20.06.07.

<sup>856</sup> See *Riches*, Obituary Notices "Sister Mrs. Baker, Ottery St Mary...A faithful prayer warrior and a stalwart for the Apostolic vision". Convention Number, September 1937, Vol. X111 No.1, 262.

<sup>857</sup> Interview between R6, and R28 and myself in Cardiff, Glamorgan on 11.05.07.

<sup>858</sup> See Worsfold, *Origins*, 25, 87 and Rees, *Precious Jewels*, 11.

<sup>859</sup> Interview between R12 and R13 and myself in Barnsley, Yorkshire on 10.01.08. See *Riches*, which refers to a message given by Sister Smart of Pontypridd calling the congregation to be holy. Convention Number September 1926 Vol.111 No.1, 68.

<sup>860</sup> Interview between R43 and myself in Hereford, Herefordshire on 04.12.07.

fulfilling other ministry. Worsfold names two women, (their initial is their husbands), a Mrs F. Bairstow and Mrs G. Perfect who had given prophetic words of edification and comfort during the Easter public services in 1922 at Bradford. What can be gathered from Worsfold relating that the Missionary Council, when it met, had recorded that the women had ministered in this way is that they must have done so excellently to the satisfaction of the gathering of Apostolic personnel.<sup>861</sup>

Women were urged to continually seek spiritual gifts, in particular prophecy in which they could function, in order to extend the kingdom. This is what an article in *Riches*, in a unique way, was attempting to do, “In other words, shall I say, it is a pouring out of one’s life-blood. I will conclude with these words, SISTERS, BLEED ON!”<sup>862</sup>

### 5.12.3 Visitation

Many respondents said that organised visitation took place in co-operation with the assembly elders and deaconesses and took various forms including Sunday School visiting and sick visiting. R19 shares that she was a Tract Band Leader in the Kirkaldy AC.<sup>863</sup> She shares that she had enjoyed giving out the “Good News” adding that people were, on the whole, pleased to take the tracts and read them. Visits, she explains, were called general visitations.<sup>864</sup> She always made sure to extend an invitation to the woman of the house to come to the Women’s Meeting and shares that this was how her friend May and herself had met. They became life-long friends, which caused R19 to give thanks that she had been in the Tract Band. Had she not been in it she felt she probably would never have visited and invited May to her church.

<sup>861</sup> See Worsfold, *Origins*, 216

<sup>862</sup> *Riches*, September 1938, Vol. XIV No.1, 179, Apostolic Archives, Luton.

<sup>863</sup> Interview between R19 and myself in Kirkaldy, Fife on 10.03.08.

<sup>864</sup> Distributing leaflets—tracts—gospel invitations was a regular activity undertaken throughout the ACs. Men and women in the assemblies involved in this ministry were organised into Tract Bands and the person, appointed by the overseer/pastor with responsibility for its operation, was the Tract Band Leader.

The names of all the Tract Band Leaders in the Scottish ACs were published each month in the *Apostolic Messenger*, under *Monthly Report of Scottish Evangelistic News*. The report in which R19 appeared was on a list of forty-five of which notably, there are no men.<sup>865</sup>

#### **5.12.4 Open Air/Evangelism/Church Planting**

In addition to home Tract distribution, ministry was carried out by women during or after open-air meetings in conjunction with the local Tract Band Leader. R39 recalls this happening in her Shropshire village of Minsterley in 1909.<sup>866</sup> Two women had arrived in the village from nearby Wem, where they had pioneered an assembly named, “The Pentecostal mission.” R39 recalls that one sister would preach in the open-air and the other circulated distributing tracts to people who gathered inviting them to the meetings and many people came and there were conversions.<sup>867</sup>

R40 shares that she became a Christian as a result of listening to a group of bonneted women speaking in an open-air service.<sup>868</sup> Home life was miserable because her husband had a drink problem and she became desperate. R40 became a Christian and before long, as a result of seeing a big change in her life, her husband also became a Christian. She shares that she had never ceased being grateful for the witness of the women evangelists.

R12 and R13 share that the AC in Britain during the era of this study was involved in ceaseless evangelistic efforts with deaconesses in particular, being actively engaged in preaching and campaign work.<sup>869</sup> This statement has been borne out by the responses from other respondents and the many magazine reports of women functioning in this ministry role. R22 and R23 have

<sup>865</sup> *The Apostolic Messenger: Monthly Report of Scottish Evangelistic News*, July 1931, Vol. 2 No.2, 3.

<sup>866</sup> Interview between R39 and myself in Shrewsbury, Shropshire on 11.07.07.

<sup>867</sup> See Williams, *Souvenir*, 49 and 5.6.3 above vignettes of Mary and Edith Delbridge.

<sup>868</sup> Telephone interview between R40 of Strabane, County Tyrone and myself on 02.11.07.

<sup>869</sup> Interview between R12 and R13 and myself in Sheffield, Yorkshire on 10.01.08.



lived all their lives in Cardiff and recall, with animation, the evangelistic ministry of Nora Jones.<sup>870</sup>

Many respondents share memories of the time they were in the Witness Movement or Young People's Work. R4 told me that the Movement had its origins in Scotland in 1930.<sup>871</sup> She recalls that in her youth Witness services were held in her AC in Glasgow and eventually the Movement was adopted as part of the AC universally.<sup>872</sup> The young people from her church would witness sharing the gospel message of salvation to unchurched young people on the streets. She had married a Witness Movement worker who had pastored several ACs throughout Britain and shares that her ministry was to encourage the young people to become witnesses also. R34 was very active in her local Apostolic Witness Movement in Glasgow.<sup>873</sup> She sent me the *Standard Programme Sessions for the Winter Season 1936-1937* which, as a young woman, she had used week by week and kept various copies over the years.<sup>874</sup> She speaks eagerly and with obvious delight; "It is as if the years have rolled away and I am that young person so active in evangelism once again". The cardboard memento listing the meetings have clearly evoked happy memories. She remembers considerable witnessing and evangelism activity taking place in her local assembly and in other assemblies in her locality. Referring to the Witness Movement she explains that she has always been thankful to God for this initiative stating that she had found it a great help in setting her up to live her life for God. She married a fellow Witness R35, who became an AC minister. He too gave thanks for the good training that helped him in later ministry. R34 had been present at a Consecration Meeting, which had taken place at the annual convention at Penygroes from which the Witness movement had arisen. During this meeting fifty young men and women consecrated their lives

<sup>870</sup> Interview between R22 and R23 and myself in Swansea, Wales on 04.01.08. See 5.6 Pioneering Women and Figure 5.2 above photograph of the grave and headstone of "Evangelist Nora Jones".

<sup>871</sup> Telephone interview between R4 of Belfast, County Antrim and myself on 01.11.07.

<sup>872</sup> Williams, *Souvenir*, writes about the Young People's Movement claiming; "Many are the souls who have been brought to the Master's Feet by this timely Movement", 63. See also Turnbull, *Wrought*, 51.

<sup>873</sup> Telephone interview between R34 and R35 of Shepperton, Surrey and myself on 10.12.07.

<sup>874</sup> Compiled by the Youth Leader in the local assembly in Glasgow, Lanarkshire 1936.

to God. After a prophecy was given about the need for a Gospel Tent for evangelism, a special collection raised £96 for the purchase of the tent.<sup>875</sup>

Although occupying a subordinate ministry role, the women who ministered in the AC worked hard at whatever their hands found to do and this included the commission to go and preach the gospel, which as the following excerpt reveals, they did well. This article also reveals that these evangelising women were in need of being encouraged and their evangelistic endeavours being recognised, as they expended effort laying the foundations of the AC in Britain. The following prophecy appearing in *Riches* would have provided positive encouragement; “I say unto you, in the name of a disciple to a disciple I would have you to remember that the work as it is today, would not be what it is BUT FOR MINE HANDMAIDENS THAT HAVE LABOURED THAT HAVE BEEN WILLING”.<sup>876</sup>

#### **5.12.5 Literary/Musical**

The writing of tracts and articles for publications, hymns and choruses and compiling the accompanying music were ministry roles fulfilled abundantly by women in the AC. These contributions were submitted through the local pastor. A regular feature at the annual convention at Penygroes in this period is the contribution of women rendering poetry, for example the poem, “Let Go” was rendered by Miss Lina Harding.<sup>877</sup>

R47 recalls the opening of the Bible College in 1933 at Penygroes as; “a momentous occasion in the history of the AC.”<sup>878</sup> R47 knew of men and women who have attended the Bible College and others who have completed correspondence courses. She recalls how very proud they were to gain their certificates. The AC Bible School published the names of those who had gained Diplomas in Bible Study and Homiletics.<sup>879</sup>

<sup>875</sup> Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 58.

<sup>876</sup> *Riches*, July 1932, Vol.V11 No.6, 255.

<sup>877</sup> *Riches*, September 1937, Vol.X111 No.1, 263.

<sup>878</sup> Interview between R47 and myself in Cardiff, Glamorgan on 24.01.08.

<sup>879</sup> *Riches*, November 1937, Vol. X111 No.2, 302.

Women wrote articles for children, and many respondents recall Cousin Marion who wrote for the Children's Correspondence Column and Mrs Suckling, among others.<sup>880</sup> R49 had been a deaconess and said that many deaconesses fulfilled this literary role.<sup>881</sup> A writer she particularly enjoyed was Frances, a deaconess from Dumfries. She remembers one article which had encouraged her entitled; "His Saints Are Precious In His Sight".<sup>882</sup> This, she shares made a lasting impression on her.

A high proportion of respondents mentioned the extensive contribution by many women rendering solos/ duets and playing the organ and piano. All Apostolic publications make ample reference to the important input women made in the area of music in the AC. R30, and her husband R31, had both played the organ and piano for many years in their local assembly, often accompanying congregational singing together.<sup>883</sup> R30 enjoyed the "sisters singing" and gave many examples of occasions when the women sang both in the church and in the open air. R31 recalls that musicians played at the conventions at Penygroes and that women performed to a high standard, which was often acknowledged, "The week's praise received substantial help from a full orchestra, under the leadership of Mrs. F. Henson, Ammanford".<sup>884</sup> At the same convention Mrs W. Macleod "brought much blessing" with her solo "The Saviour of the World".<sup>885</sup>

#### **5.12.6 Practical**

Almost all respondents recall women fulfilling practical roles. Clearly the ACs are sensitive to the needs of their assemblies as well as the needs of the poor in their communities. R48 recalls when the times were very hard financially in her Welsh community.<sup>886</sup> She was part of a small

<sup>880</sup> *Apostolic Herald*, October 1936, Vol.I No.4, 15. See also *Apostolic Herald*, April 1937 Vol.6 No.5, 59.

<sup>881</sup> Interview between R49 and myself in Falmouth, Cornwall on 22.06.07.

<sup>882</sup> *Riches*, September 1940, Vol.XIV No.7, 15.

<sup>883</sup> Telephone interview between R30 and R31 of Southend on Sea on 13.11.07.

<sup>884</sup> *Riches*, Special Convention Number, September, Vol.XIV No.1, 1938, Foreword.

<sup>885</sup> *Riches*, Special Convention Number, September, Vol.XIV No.1, 1938, 93.

<sup>886</sup> Telephone interview between R48 of Ammanford, Carmarthenshire and myself on 02.01.08.

team of women who visited the poor and destitute with the offer of help. This social concern had been taken on board early in the life of the AC.<sup>887</sup> R50 had been aware in this era of the financial struggles experienced by several ACs.<sup>888</sup> She shares that the AC leaders would never sanction holding Jumble Sales and fund-raising activities in the church. Giving by members was applaudable and she recalls examples in her own church where sacrifice was involved, especially by the women. She recalls that pressure on the local assembly was relieved practically by the sacrifice and generosity of two women who had each sent one week's salary to the Secretary for the Missionary cause. They stated that they had been inspired to do this through the example set by the Missionary staff at home and abroad in giving a week's salary to the Lord to help relieve the AC Movement's serious financial hardship.<sup>889</sup> Pastor's wives are often mentioned by the respondents. R21 recalls how sacrificially some of them lived "making do and often going without."<sup>890</sup> One pastor's wife's thriftiness involved her having adapted her husband's old hat to her own needs as she had not wanted to be a financial burden to him.<sup>891</sup> From discussions with respondents one gathers that this must not have been an isolated incident.

R5 recalls women fulfilling many practical ministry roles.<sup>892</sup> Whereas the deacons looked after the maintenance of the physical structure of the church building the deaconesses looked after the furnishings/fabric—curtains, carpets, Communion table and kitchen linen. Many women worked under the direction of deaconesses fulfilling many practical roles in a variety of ways. R5 had, along with other women, been involved in making curtains, embroidering banners and painting a mural. Other women in the assembly did washing of heavy curtains and ironing under the guidance of deaconesses. Buying flowers, by rota, to commemorate birthdays of deceased loved ones and gardening all helped to make the church and surroundings smell and look attractive. Providing hospitality is another practical way in which women served the

<sup>887</sup> See the discussion of AC's philanthropy in response to suffering in society, Chapter Two, 2.3.3 above.

<sup>888</sup> Telephone interview between R50 of Falkirk, Scotland and myself on 07.01.08.

<sup>889</sup> *Apostolic Herald*, April 1932, Vol.1 No.8, 11.

<sup>890</sup> Interview between R21 and myself at Ammanford, Carmarthenshire on 12.01.08.

<sup>891</sup> *Riches*, September, 1935 Vol.XI No.1, 71.

<sup>892</sup> Telephone interview between R5 of Wimbledon, London and myself on 02.11.07.

assembly. R38 shared that putting up visiting speakers overnight was a practical role fulfilled regularly by women. She shared that there were some women who fulfilled voluntary roles as Church Secretaries and Treasurers and that by doing so this ensured church financial expenditure was kept at a minimum. R38 recalls that providing hospitality and meals for visiting speakers was done on rota under the guidance of the leading deacon. She recalled joyous times when her husband and herself provided hospitality for visiting speakers, many of whom were missionaries home on furlough breaks.<sup>893</sup> Women who served in the above roles were appreciated and valued. This was evidenced from the tribute given by Daniel Williams at the funeral of the late Mrs. Rowe. He referred to “the great part Mrs. Rowe had played in the Church.”<sup>894</sup>

#### **5.12.7 Refreshments**

Women assisted the church’s leading deaconess by providing refreshments at conventions and other times, serving at tables and fulfilling related duties. R41 shares how enjoyable being on the tea rota with her friend Mabel was.<sup>895</sup> She shares that there always was lots of tea-making taking place in the assembly. R41 shares how heavy the big water urn and metal tea-pots were. They made sure the urn was filled and turned on before the start of the meeting and during the last hymn would tiptoe out unobtrusively, from the service to the kitchen, to make the tea in order that it was brewed ready to serve everyone when the meeting finished. R41 took pride in her Refreshments ministry role recalling that the crockery was pale green ware and looked lovely on white tablecloths. The leading deaconess was responsible for co-ordinating the catering teams for convention teas and also for catering after a wedding or funeral in the church when refreshments would be laid out in the minor hall. R41 shares that washing up was a big task but happily working together with her friend ensured the task was soon accomplished. She shares “We took a pride in getting the tables looking lovely. It was a labour of love which we did willingly for the Master”.

<sup>893</sup> Interview between R38 of Swansea, Wales and myself on 5.01.08.

<sup>894</sup> *Apostolic Herald*, October, 1938, Vol.VI No.10, 30.

<sup>895</sup> Telephone interview between R41 of Strabane, County Tyrone and myself on 02.11.07.

### 5.12.8 General Assistance

Women worked together in the fulfilment of their duties in the various branches of generally assisting church activity such as Sunday School, Witness activities, Missionary work and other activities. R42 shares that she never sought the limelight preferring to remain in the background.<sup>896</sup> When women got baptised, she was happy to hold the towel to wrap round the candidates as they got out of the tank and have a hot drink ready after they dressed. R42 recalls many conversions occurring at the Kilsyth assembly and also many water baptism services that reflected her church praxis, which preached the importance of new converts being obedient and obeying God's command to be baptised.

Weeks writes that there were forty ACs in Scotland and over two thousand members in 1926. A woman of 102 years of age was among the many baptismal candidates in Glasgow's congregation which could not be contained in the Renfrew Street hall.<sup>897</sup> From this account one assumes that there were many such women as R35 fulfilling this necessary, ministry role being of general assistance to women who were getting baptised.

Almost all of the 50 respondents mention the importance of the deaconesses. R27 shares that she remembers a deaconess being in charge of setting up the Holy Communion table.<sup>898</sup> Her role involved making sure there was bread set out and diluted blackcurrant juice, (no alcoholic wine was used), in the individual tiny glasses and that over this was neatly hung white cloths. She also remembers women helping the deaconess in charge, assisted by other women on a rota. She recalls deaconesses visiting the sick and ministering in a general assisting role. R17 was often asked to accompany the deaconess appointed for this ministry.<sup>899</sup> R17 recalls that Ada was the deaconess in her church in charge of sick visiting. She had a lot of respect for Ada and enjoyed visiting with her. Ada did the talking and praying but always thanked R17 for accompanying her. The deaconess appointment was renewed every year and R17 was always keen for Ada to continue and shares, "Our relationship was a good one". This had been the experience of deaconess Dickson. Reporting on this woman and her ministry *Riches* informs

<sup>896</sup> Interview between R42 and myself in Bridgend, Wales on 16.11.07.

<sup>897</sup> Weeks, *Chapter Thirty Two*, 97.

<sup>898</sup> Telephone interview between R27 of Swansea, Wales and myself on 03.01.08.

<sup>899</sup> Interview between R17 and myself in Swansea, Wales on 06.01.08.

“She will keep her present position as a deaconess...at Airdrie”.<sup>900</sup> The respondents’ comments establish that deaconesses were willingly assisted by many other women.

### 5.13 Conclusion

It has been established in this chapter that the AC originated from the AFC parent, and when it seceded in January 1916, all doctrinal policy was inherited by its offspring. What is further established, is that women’s ministry role was initially the same as the men’s in the pioneering AFC in that Hutchinson’s focus was for God to have his way irrespective of gender. This did not project beyond the infant stage of the movement and women’s ministry role had been curtailed in the AFC well before the secession. It was Jardine in his appointed role of apostle of the AC who reinforced the inherited policy with regards women’s limited ministry role. For previously independent Pentecostal groups joining the AC this could be new and for some women with a call to minister, challenging. This teaching became ratified prescriptively when the Constitution was drawn up in 1937. Some ministering women, as the case of Mrs Hodges illustrates, already had an established preaching and teaching ministry prior to joining the AC and it has been attested that Hodges continued ministering. However, the number of these women was very few as the responses to the questionnaire establish, and women’s subordinated role of deaconess remains to the present day. A noticeable factor is the detailed manner in which the AC respondents recall the roles that were fulfilled either by themselves or by other women. This reflects the dedicated approach they adopted towards the roles they *were* permitted to fulfil. Male governance of the AC, from the beginning, had stipulated that, apart from deaconesses, and this to a limited degree, ministry roles women were relegated exclusively to fulfill involved domestic work, generally regarded in the era as “women’s work.”

Worsfold and Weeks affirmed the origins of the AC thereby removing any vague notion that its offspring came into existence in famed “Topsy-like” fashion without parentage, appearing by some mystical happening on the Mount at Penygroes.

The question posed by this chapter concerning women’s ministry roles in the AC (with recourse to its parent body the AFC above) has been unequivocally answered and establishes when and how the women ministered, the challenges they faced and their reactions to them. This was as a result of scrutinising the AC case study, analysing data gathered from interviewing AC

veterans and examining and researching a wide range of artefacts and various sources of literature. These were internal both to Apostolic Pentecostalism and the wider academy. The research has established that women fulfilled important, though mostly limited ministry roles in subordination to the men, in early British Apostolic Pentecostalism that has remained so until very recently.<sup>901</sup>

<sup>901</sup> Speaking with Laverne Anamelechi at the AC Headquarters in Luton, 6 February 2020, she explained to me that women's ministry role in the AC has been under review and discussion for some time. This has, in a few assemblies, resulted in a relaxation of previously held rules with women being admitted into leadership ministry. These are early days and there is strong resistance across the movement against these recent, highly controversial developments. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the trend instigated by Tim Jack the recently departed Leader of the AC back to New Zealand, will not now flounder but develop and more women will be leading ACs in the future.



## CHAPTER SIX: The Roles Fulfilled by Women in the Assemblies of God

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the women within the Assemblies of God denomination and the ministry roles they fulfilled.<sup>902</sup> Unlike the previous two denominations, women in this denomination enjoyed egalitarian ministry from the beginning, which has continued

<sup>902</sup> In addition to the collection of the *Redemption Tidings* magazines, located at AoG Bible College, Mattersey Hall, Doncaster and can be obtained in digitalised format from Revival Library, Bishop's Waltham and the Pentecostal Archives of the University of Southern California D. Gee collection. The following sources provide further historical information: D. Allen, *Signs and Wonders: The Origins, Growth, Development and Significance of Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland, 1900-1980* (PhD dissertation: University of London, 1990); J. Andrews, *The Regions Beyond: The History of World Mission within the Assemblies of God In Great Britain and Ireland, from its formation in 1924 until 1945* (PhD dissertation: University of Wales, 2003); H. Carter, *A Full Life: The Autobiography of a Pentecostal Pioneer* (London: Evangel Press, 1979); J. Carter, *Man of the Spirit* (Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1971); J. Carter, *Donald Gee—Pentecostal Statesman* (Nottingham: AoG, Publishing House, 1975); D. Cartwright, *The Great Evangelists: The Remarkable Lives of George and Stephen Jeffreys* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1986); W. Counsell, *Fire Beneath the Clock* (Nottingham: New Life Publishing, 2003); H. Fisher, & O. Reeve, *Still It Flows* (Lytham: Lord's Publishers, n.d); D. Gee, *These Men I Knew: Personal Memoirs of Pentecostal Pioneers* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1980); D. Gee, *Wind and Flame* (Nottingham: Assemblies of God, 1967); L. Goodwin, *The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), a case study exploring the missiological roots of early British Pentecostalism (1909-1925)* (PhD dissertation: University of Chester, 2013); W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972); W. Kay, *A History of British Assemblies of God* (PhD dissertation: University of Nottingham, 1989); W. Kay, *George Jeffreys Pentecostal Apostle and Revivalist* (Cleveland: CPT Press, 2017); W. Kay, *Inside Story* (Doncaster: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990) W. Kay, *Pentecostalism A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); W. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000); W. Kay & A. Dyer, (eds.) *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies: A Reader* (London: SCM Press, 2004); K. Malcomson, *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered* (Longwood: Xulon, 2008); D. Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union: An Examination of the Origins of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland During the Years 1920-1925* (PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1988); A. Missen, *The Sound of a Going* (Nottingham: AoG Publishing, 1971); J. Parr, *Incredible, Autobiography of John Nelson Parr* (Fleetwood: Self-published, 1972); T. Walsh, *To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People, An Explanation of the Origins, Emergence and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in England, 1907-1925* (PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2007) & C. Whittaker, *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers* (Basingstoke; Marshall and Scott, 1983).

uninterrupted to the present day.<sup>903</sup> The reasons why the ministry roles of women in this denomination were different from the other two denominations are explored and discussed.

A brief history of the denomination prefaces a review of the literature. Data gathered from the interview survey questionnaire to AoG veterans is also discussed. As the studies of the two previous Pentecostal denominations reveal, historical writing concerning women has been sparse.<sup>904</sup> The women of this denomination fare no better. Hitherto no one has enquired about the roles women fulfilled or researched the part they played in the formative years in the AoG denomination.<sup>905</sup> This chapter reveals how easy it was in the beginning for women to be welcomed into official leadership ministry roles and it shows that their ministry and status were recognised and accommodated. It establishes that this praxis continued unchallenged throughout the period and beyond.<sup>906</sup> This chapter relates the experience of ministering women in the AoG denomination, providing details of when, where and how they ministered.

My firm belief is that it was the fiercely guarded autonomy of the assemblies, which was one of the chief factors facilitating women's freedom to minister. This chapter establishes that the contribution of women in the formative stage of this fissiparous movement was significant and it includes vignettes demonstrating that women ministered in similar ways to men. This section concentrates on only a few ministering women (because of limitation of space). Importantly they are reflective of the many women, at least fifty, who ministered similarly as pastors in charge of AoG churches in this era.<sup>907</sup>

This chapter establishes that where women and their ministry roles were concerned, the grafting in of the fully formed missionary body—The Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great

<sup>903</sup> Chapter Four—Elim denomination and Chapter Five—Apostolic Church denomination.

<sup>905</sup> P. Weaver, "Leading Ladies—Right or Wrong?" in *Redemption* (the successor to *RT*), March 1987, 13-15. Although Weaver discussed the issue of women's ministry—see below—no research as such into the individual lives of the women and their ministry, was undertaken.

<sup>906</sup> See W. Kay & M. Robbins "A woman's place is on her knees: the pastor's view of the role of women in the Assemblies of God". A paper given at the Centre for Theology and Education, Trinity College, Carmarthen, n.d., Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern. Their debate acknowledged the existence since the inception of the AoG, of its praxis supportive of female official ministry.

<sup>907</sup> See Appendix E List of AoG Women Ministers 1924-1940.

Britain and Ireland—to the nascent AoG was strategically significant.<sup>908</sup> Its ethos became integrally interwoven with the burgeoning infant AoG. The extensive subject of women ministering as Pentecostal (overseas) missionaries lies beyond the scope of this study, but because of their lasting legacy for women in the nascent AoG denomination, the impact of women PMU missionaries is discussed. This is followed by a fuller discussion of the women and the ministry roles they fulfilled within the AoG.

The importance of the PMU and its established praxis on shared-gender ministry and the subsequent merger with the infant AoG warrants being introduced before the women who ministered in the AoG are discussed below. The chapter then presents an analysis of the data produced from the responses given by the veterans to the questionnaires. Further analysis and discussion takes place in Chapter Seven, forming part of the wider debate of women's roles across the three pentecostal denominations studied.

## **6.2 A brief history of when and how the Assemblies of God denomination emerged.**

The AoG Pentecostal denomination was the last to form in this early era in Britain. Neither of the two most prominent leaders who dominated the pentecostal movement in post 1914-18 War, Rev Alexander Boddy and Squire Cecil Polhill, had envisaged anything other than the infusing of Pentecostal revivalism into existing churches by those who had received their Spirit-baptism.<sup>909</sup> Donald Gee wrote disparagingly about the lack on the part of these leaders to move the pentecostal movement forward into a separate entity given the impracticability of attempting to put the Pentecostal “new wine” into the “old bottle” of inflexible existing church groups.<sup>910</sup> He questioned whether they had failed to fully recognise God's purpose by not doing so and was adamant that if they had risen up exploiting the moment, leading with strength and inspiration, nascent pentecostalism would not have floundered and could have become “a

<sup>908</sup> Hereafter abbreviated to PMU. See Andrews, *The Regions Beyond* (PhD dissertation), ii. which explores the activities of men and women who incorporated “a rich inheritance through the amalgamation of the PMU with the AoG, a union which brought together both personnel and projects already engaged in the regions beyond.”

<sup>909</sup> See W. Counsell *Fire Beneath The Clock*, which illustrates how impractical such a notion was. (Nottingham: New Life Publishing Co., 2003), 17-18.

<sup>910</sup> Gee *Wind and Flame*, (Croydon: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1967), 88.

mighty spiritual force in the land.”<sup>911</sup> The founding of the Elim Pentecostal Alliance, the AFC and its seceded offspring, the AC, had demonstrated the feasibility of solely pentecostal assemblies coming together functioning and fellowshiping together in a network across Britain. In 1922 there still remained fissiparous gatherings of pentecostals with no desire to affiliate with these centrally-governed denominations operating what they believed to be the “two-fold menace of erroneous doctrine and practice.”<sup>912</sup> This caused them to stall and be suspicious when talk of amalgamation was broached. While ultimately a co-operative fellowship of organisational unity of these assemblies did take place, it is certain that the opinions of Boddy and Polhill held it back.<sup>913</sup>

Travelling around these churches in 1921 William Burton, a senior pentecostal, furloughing for the first time from his mission in the Congo, became alarmed at the level of division among the small pentecostal groups. Before leaving Britain, Burton used his influence to ensure a Conference was arranged aimed at facilitating dialogue for the purpose of creating a unified body of these independent assemblies. The second instigator of this unity Conference was George Jeffreys whom Massey maintains harboured ulterior motives of exploiting the situation to bolster his own Elim work.<sup>914</sup> Circulatory letters were distributed in preparation for the Conference to be held at Sheffield on 23-24 May 1922. Notably, two of the speakers at the first of these gatherings were Eleanor Crisp and Lydia Walshaw which reveal how acceptable and normal it was to have women speaking, on equal terms, alongside ministers of such pre-

<sup>911</sup> Both Gee and William Kay bemoan the fact that neither Boddy, with the leniency of a sympathetic Bishop, nor Polhill, with his squire status and financial security, experienced social or religious ostracism resulting from their pentecostal experience, whereas many pentecostals had suffered measurably. As Neil Hudson maintains, Boddy did forego preferment in the Church of England because of his pentecostal experience and activities and Polhill suffered significant criticism by family members who considered his generosity to pentecostals tantamount to him being used by them. See N. Hudson, “The Roots and History of The Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement The Formation of the Assemblies of God” lecture given at Regent’s Theological College Nantwich, ©19 May 2005, 1 of 6.

<sup>912</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 125. See also where Gee is referring scornfully to this practice as “children playing at Churches,” 74.

<sup>913</sup> Andrews, *The Regions Beyond*, 96.

<sup>914</sup> Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union* (PhD dissertation), “Jeffreys was half-consciously preparing the way for a remarkable new development of his Elim Church...and with significant interest being shown in the prospects of a unification of the unaffiliated assemblies”, 24.

eminence as Howard Carter, George Jeffreys and Smith Wigglesworth.<sup>915</sup> The comment by Gee that “the preachers were all at their best” reveal that the two women were regarded on a par with other leaders as having ministerial calibre, coming to the fore of the pentecostal scene at that time.<sup>916</sup> At the conclusion of the conference a general Provisional Council had been elected and commissioned to draw up a Constitution to form a basis of the union of independent pentecostal assemblies to be known by the name Assemblies of God. Upon the formulation of the Constitution, leaders of the assemblies were sent a letter with the invitation for their members to subscribe, but the large majority were not in favour. Gee merely states that “the time was not fully ripe and the effort proved abortive.”<sup>917</sup> Cartwright summarises “Thus the effort came to nought”.<sup>918</sup>

An account entitled “Those Early Years” was written by John and Howard Carter and helpfully provides information about the experiences of the early pentecostal movement in Britain. It is especially relevant to the unaffiliated Pentecostal groups.<sup>919</sup> They share that an itinerating missionary from South Africa, Archibald Cooper, while visiting them at the Hampstead Bible College in 1923, had been keen to reinstate unity talks to address the dire state of the British fragmented pentecostal churches. Howard reminisces how he and his brother, and also many others at the time, had been fanatically opposed to any form of denominationalism. They believed that any organisation would lead to central government, and the curtailing of their

<sup>915</sup> See vignettes of these women at 6.6.1 and 6.6.2 below.

<sup>916</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 110-111.

<sup>917</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 126.

<sup>918</sup> D. Cartwright *From the Back Streets of Brixton to the Royal Albert Hall. British Pentecostalism 1907-1926*, Unpublished paper read at EPTA Conference, Leuven, December 28-29, 1981, 9 of 1-13. This is not strictly true when one considers the comment Cartwright adds in the same paragraph that subsequent to him producing an original copy of the documented 1922 Sheffield Conference at a joint executive meeting of Elim and AoG representatives at Nottingham in 1981, the decision was made to establish an archive to house artefacts covering all aspects of Pentecostal history, the instigation of a most valuable enterprise.

<sup>919</sup> Howard Carter died in 1971 and the discussion he and his brother John had concerning this early era took place some years earlier. A typescript of their reminiscences “Those Early Days” n.d., records their conversation which is located in the Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

spiritual freedom.<sup>920</sup> Nonetheless, Cooper decided to engage the help of Nelson Parr, a dynamic Mancunian.<sup>921</sup> He took up the gauntlet in a surprising turnaround from being ardently critical of a move towards unity.<sup>922</sup> Once he appreciated the inevitability of organisation, Parr was keen to avert any centralised form emerging. “Operating the controls he could therefore ensure delivery of a sound and scriptural union”.<sup>923</sup> Parr was able to firstly, gain support for a union from pentecostal leaders who he appointed as signatories, then secondly, he circulated independent Pentecostal groups in late November/early December 1923 sharing his vision. Thirdly he called the signatories together to discuss the best way in which this shared vision, with assurances of maintaining autonomy, could feasibly proceed. A day of prayer and fasting was set for 23 January 1924 and a draft of proposals sent to the signatories to debate at a conference to be held 1 February 1924 at Birmingham.<sup>924</sup>

The proceedings at the Birmingham conference, 1 February 1924, are commented on 6.5.2 below, in the discussion of the identity of the leaders who brought to birth the British denomination and the one high profile woman who fulfilled an official ministry role in the proceedings. It is therefore sufficient to include here the following summary points. The first level of union that was agreed upon was to be comprised of local assemblies adhering to fundamental truths. The second level of union was local assemblies to be in fellowship via District Presbyteries, each drawn from local pastors or elders. A third level of union was a General Presbytery drawn from itinerant and overseas ministers and District Presbytery members to meet together annually. This structure was ratified and remained in place for the

<sup>920</sup> J. & H. Carter, “Those Early Days”, 2.

<sup>921</sup> I attended Parr’s church, Bethshan Tabernacle, Longsight, Manchester many times in the 1960s and can testify that Parr drew a large crowd of people, many who travelled considerable distances, to hear him. Being able to find a seat, even in such a large building, could never be guaranteed.

<sup>922</sup> See the first issue of *The Faith Herald*, the magazine Parr compiled and edited, March 1920, Vol.1 No.1, 1, which reveals Parr was against any organisational unity of the independent Pentecostal assemblies. Allen, *Signs and Wonders*, maintains that following the realisation of the benefits and therefore need for unity, Parr dedicated himself unreservedly to achieving this, 108.

<sup>923</sup> *Letter*, Nelson Parr to assembly leaders, 23 November 1923, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

<sup>924</sup> See Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union*, for a thorough exegesis of the personalities and proceedings which took place in connection with this crucially important unity conference which successfully culminated in the launch of the AoG denomination.

next sixty years without major modification.<sup>925</sup> Parr swiftly proceeded in organising the conference in February 1924 for the pastors and elders of the newly affiliated seventy assemblies. A telegram from Jeffreys broke into the first day's proceedings enquiring why he had not been invited to join this unity debate.<sup>926</sup> Jeffreys with his Elim entourage were invited to attend on the second day when Ernest Phillips astonished the assemblage with his proposal that Elim should become the evangelistic section of the AoG. Any notions of Elim and the newly formed AoG uniting was held in abeyance and by the end of 1924 was discarded with the two denominations committed to forging separate paths.

The AoG became firmly established in this era with Kay referring to its numerical expansion of churches, especially in the first six years, as extraordinary. The locally autonomous assemblies flourished, achieving a genuine fellowship, co-operating with a unity of interests and aims.<sup>927</sup>

### 6.3 Literature review

Missionaries and missionary interests have always occupied a central place at the heart of the AoG with the women's initiative, the Women's Missionary Auxiliary, specifically praying for and supporting missions.<sup>928</sup> *Redemption Tidings*, (*RT*) was the denomination's magazine that regularly carried features encouraging members to take the missionaries and their cause to heart.<sup>929</sup> One such article was appealing for support for the veteran missionaries and declared;

<sup>925</sup> I gained personal experience of the successful operation of this three-layer structure as an AoG minister's wife, 1969-1972.

<sup>926</sup> See the Carter brother's comments in "Those Early Days" which reveal that though there were people present who were keen to welcome Jeffreys they were in no rush to do so until the early days of consolidation had passed when a clearer assessment could be made. Crucially nothing and no strong personality such as Jeffreys were to be allowed to jeopardise local autonomy, 5.

<sup>927</sup> Kay, *Inside Story*, 80.

<sup>928</sup> This was the unequivocal view gathered from interviewees and pastors with regards this era.

<sup>929</sup> Hereafter abbreviated to *RT*.

“If we have caught the true vision of fellowship in AOG, then all our missionaries are our own”.<sup>930</sup>

An edition of *RT* was devoted to the question of women’s ministry.<sup>931</sup> This was the first time anything like this had ever been attempted and is relevant for this study. The article by Paul Weaver; “Leading Ladies—Right or Wrong?” looked retrospectively to the early years of AoG. As referred to in 6.4 below, women’s names appeared on the first ministerial list of the denomination. Weaver gave an overview stating “For years the AOG fellowship has accepted women to their ministerial lists. We have had...women who are pastors, elders, evangelists, teachers as well as those who operate other ministries, functioning happily alongside their male colleagues”.<sup>932</sup>

This article was significant in that it was an acknowledgement, (although not backed with data or systematic research), that women have fulfilled leadership and non-leadership ministry roles within British AoG pentecostalism since its earliest days. The fact that women ministered in a parallel role to their male colleagues was particularly relevant. Discussions have taken place over the intervening years, but never has there been any policy, let alone the issuing of any directive aimed at curtailing women’s ministry role, by any senior personnel at the AoG headquarters. This would not be a possibility because of the principle that each local assembly is autonomous and remains so to this day.

An article in *RT* published in 1931 by Cyril Parker, Tutor-in-Charge at the Women’s Bible School in Westgate House, Louth, Lincolnshire, reports that the subject of women’s ministry had been discussed at a meeting of the Executive Presbytery, and that he was writing at the suggestion of the Chairman of the AoG. He wrote respectfully of the fact that each AoG church was authorised to govern itself. Parker began his article by acknowledging the age-old controversy concerning the ministry of women in the church of God; that this has usually “raged round their admission to the Pastorate.”<sup>933</sup> Acknowledging that there seems nothing

<sup>930</sup> *RT*, “Our Veteran Missionaries” May 1936, Vol.12 No.9, 7.

<sup>931</sup> P. Weaver in *Redemption* (the successor to *RT*), “Leading Ladies—Right or Wrong?” March 1987, 13-15.

<sup>932</sup> Weaver, “Leading Ladies”, 13.

<sup>933</sup> *RT* “Women’s Ministry”, C. Parker, November 1931, Vol.7 No.11, 14-17.



new to add to the debate, he maintains that he was not advocating one view above another and wrote in conciliatory tone “each one must be fully persuaded in his own mind.” Arguably, the real reason for the writing of this article was to drum up the numbers at the Bible School. Finance was an ever-present problem, and Parker does not hide the fact that the aims of the paper were “Firstly, to stir up the Spirit-filled women of God to seek His face, that He may show them new opportunities in His vineyard”.<sup>934</sup> This new work would involve working amongst women and children. A second aim was “to suggest to the Assemblies that a full-time deaconess working under the pastor, would be of incalculable benefit both to him and...to the Lord’s work in the district.” Parker reports that the Women’s Bible School at Louth was able “to provide pastors with consecrated women workers, well able to act as deaconesses, and, as the door of opportunity opens, the number of candidates will increase.” In further conciliatory tone Parker explains in his final paragraph:

Our aim is not to produce a cut-and-dried organisation, but rather to open our movement for the specialised work of women and to allow the Spirit of God a free course to suggest both to the Assemblies and to individual women new ways in which the blessing of the Gospel can be brought to their fellow women<sup>935</sup>.

Many new assemblies were formed via the auspices of the British Evangelistic Society, the evangelistic arm of the Bible School run by Howard Carter at Hampstead and the Women’s Training School run by John Carter at Louth.<sup>936</sup> A student who had successfully completed the College course was encouraged to join this Society and work under the mentorship of another minister for a year, in what was described as a term of probation or an apprenticeship. The Society conducted campaigns and pioneered churches throughout Britain and was good preparation for a prospective pastor before he or she was launched into their own fulltime pastoral ministry. Bell travelled down this route in the early thirties and was an excellent

<sup>934</sup> The Bible Schools operated on “faith lines” receiving no support from any organisation. See H. Carter, *Prospectus of the Bible and Missionary Training School*, 1927, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster, which reveal this caused Howard Carter hard times of struggle and stress, 8. Kay, *Inside Story*, maintains that although no charge was made for tuition, Carter’s hospitality charges were significantly high, 124.

<sup>935</sup> *RT*, “Women’s Ministry”, H. Carter, November 1931, Vol.7 No.11, 14-17.

<sup>936</sup> See Allen, *Signs and Wonders*, 18.

advertisement for the Society. From this woman's successful ministry, (see 6.6.4), it seems that the Society provided students with good teaching and opportunity to gain sound experience before being launched out on their own.

Willie Burton wrote an article querying what the Bible says about women's ministry for the *Comforter*, which was republished in the *RT*.<sup>937</sup> Burton was a missionary to the Congo, headed his own Congo Evangelistic Mission organisation and was instrumental in lifting awareness of the possibility of the unification of the independent pentecostal fellowships in Britain when he was home on furlough in 1922.<sup>938</sup> This article was an answer given to a woman who was wanting to know what a sister may or may not do in an assembly i.e. what ministry roles a woman was allowed to fulfil. A lengthy answer was succinctly summed up by Burton who lamented the fact that "Many assemblies are like a motor with only half its cylinders sparking. Why? Simply because of the utterly unscriptural practice of silencing the women".<sup>939</sup> This article reproduced and appearing in the *RT* magazine, would have empowered women in the British AoG churches. By emphasising the necessity for them to be proactive in their ministry, they were being reminded of the fact that God expected women, equally as the men, to fulfil the ministry He had given them.

Excerpts from taped discussions between myself and three AoG veteran pastors, now deceased, follows.<sup>940</sup> These elder statesmen who had all ministered as pastors for several decades and had

<sup>937</sup> Burton was a one-time student at Myerscough's Bible School in Preston after which he sailed for South Africa on 5 June 1914 and was joined a year later by James Salter. Together, with others, they pioneered many hundreds of churches placing nationals they had trained, in charge. See Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 98-101. In my childhood I attended either the AoG Glad Tidings Gospel Hall in Hull or the AoG Fig Tree Gospel Hall in Hull on the Missionary day of the Easter Bank Holiday ministry weekends. I recall being enrapt hearing Burton and other men and women missionaries, when back home in Britain on furlough, relating their experiences from the work Burton headed up in what was then the Congo. "Women's Ministry What Saith the Scripture?" was written by W. Burton and reprinted from *The Comforter* in *RT*, 15 January 1935, 6.

<sup>938</sup> See Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 126.

<sup>939</sup> *RT*, "Women's Ministry", W. Burton, 15 January, 1935 Vo.11 No.2, 6.

<sup>940</sup> Discussions which took place between myself and Belfield, Rees, & Whittaker on 15 February 2007 were taped. I have known these men, and their ministries over several decades. Belfield is particularly well known to me. I attended the AoG church in Wigan in the 1960s as

held senior positions, were very happy to talk with me about the early years of their ministry in the movement and in particular the women and their ministry. Their points raised during the above interview warrant inclusion here. The veterans; Ray Belfield, Clifford Rees and Colin Whittaker are particularly well known to me. Belfield shares that women had fulfilled full ministerial roles from the commencement of the movement. He maintains that the promise Nelson Parr gave to each pentecostal group who had been contemplating joining the proposed new AoG denomination was a crucial contributory factor. He assured them that the self-governing of each assembly would continue unaltered.<sup>941</sup> Thus, with autonomy assured, maintain all three men, many pentecostal groups were happy to join the newly formed AoG in 1924. Belfield adds that the ministering women were free to continue. Rees explains that the idea of joining the AoG movement had been for mutual benefit, certainly not to destroy one another's ministry—especially not that of the women.

Belfield said for the women, that he had known in his ministry who led churches, he had the highest praise, They had also been his colleagues with a ministry equal to his own. He praised them, as did Rees and Whittaker, for their characteristic hard work and the high achievements they had maintained. Belfield was certain other men would readily affirm their positive opinions. Rees recalls women who had been ministering when he came into the AoG movement in 1940, and shares “Having equal ministerial status with male pastors, these women fulfilled all the duties of pastoral ministry on equal terms as the men”. Belfield makes particular mention of two female ministers. He shares that Miss Harriet Fisher and Miss Olive Reeve formed a strong team with complimentary personalities and ministerial giftings. Together they built up a successful Pentecostal children's church in this era and developed this into church meetings for adults founding the Hockley Pentecostal Church. For many years it was a leading AoG church in Birmingham and still exists.<sup>942</sup> Tom Wilson, a well-known AoG evangelist wrote “They have dared to go and dared to do what few men have ventured upon” in the Foreword

a teenager with my fiancé who was the full-time Youth Director in Belfield's burgeoning church.

<sup>941</sup> See Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union*, 60.

<sup>942</sup> Saturday evening meetings, which I visited in the 1970s, drew large crowds of people from a wide radius. Fisher and Reeve encouraged people to exercise the gifts of the Holy Spirit and although there was freedom they maintained control and orderliness at all times.

to the book Fisher and Reeve wrote about the work.<sup>943</sup> Rees refers to the fact that, comparatively speaking, the number of women fulfilling a ministerial leadership role was much lower than the number of men, but the women who did fulfil this role did so as effectively as the male pastors in every respect.

Rees regards the attitudes of senior personnel such as Gee, who had considerable experience of women fulfilling leadership ministry roles, as an important factor that had encouraged women to fulfil their call to leadership ministry. Whittaker adds that Gee was renowned for promoting women to fulfil their ministry. Gee's first wife had a ministry of her own as Matron of the Women's Training School at Louth in the 1930s. She had fulfilled ministry as her counterpart Miss Barbour had similarly done in the Elim denomination, (see Chapter Four, 4.5.2) preaching to mixed-gender gatherings as well as influencing, supporting and encouraging women students training for pastoral leadership ministry. Rees adds that Mrs Gee was a gifted woman and used her gifts to good effect.

Whittaker recalls that the Carter brothers, John and Howard, who were distinguished AoG leaders in the early years of the denomination, promoted women in ministry. John Carter's wife, Roxana, was active in ministry and preached with her husband's blessing and encouragement. Rees recalled a time when Mrs Carter had gone abroad preaching in America for six months, leaving him with a year-old toddler. Mr Carter had known for some time that his wife had wanted to go on a preaching tour and it had been he who had encouraged her to go. He applauded his wife's courage and determination to "take this first trip overseas, with no companion, a very limited purse and very few ministerial engagements in her diary."<sup>944</sup>

Whittaker explains that neither men nor women were ordained in the early days in the period being studied because the Carters at the Training Colleges were against ministerial status. No one was concerned about status. It only became a pertinent issue just before the Second World War. Pentecostal Ministers at the time of the First World War, who had not been affiliated to a denomination, had not been allowed exemption from being called up to fight. Those who were conscientious objectors, like Howard Carter, had been imprisoned and subsequently suffered considerably. To avoid a repeat of this situation ministers were issued with a ticket

<sup>943</sup> H. Fisher and O. Reeve, *Still It Flows* (Lytham: The Lord's Publishers, n.d).

<sup>944</sup> H. Carter, *A Full Life*. Carter had enlisted the help of his cousin to care for their daughter, 98-99.

stating the holder was an affiliated, ordained minister of the British AoG Church. Belfield shares that ministers, men and women alike, were then blessed and prayed for. This had been his experience and added “and that was all there was to it.”

Subsequent to the taped interviews referred to above, Rees shared a lengthy, detailed account, when answering part two of his questionnaire, concerning various women who had ministered as pastors in the early years of the AoG. He names Mrs Serjeant, (see 6.6.4 below), as the woman minister who had most influenced him as a young pastor just beginning in pastoral ministry.

The booklet written by Willie Hacking, with foreword written by Ray Belfield, reflects the missionary ethos that dominated AoG praxis in this period.<sup>945</sup> The title, *Faith's Ventures*, describes what was involved and experienced by many Pentecostals in this early era as they attempted to fulfil the “Great Commission” to fulfil Christ’s command to “Go into all the world and preach the good news (gospel) to all creation”.<sup>946</sup> Belfield comments that Hacking and his efforts are the outworking of the powerful motivation to evangelise at that time. Willie Hacking is another example of an AoG minister who encouraged women as equally as the men, to fulfil their leadership ministry in this denomination. Notably this was when women in the Elim and AC denominations were barred from engaging in egalitarian ministry.

#### **6.4 AoG Ministering Women**

WW1 was a crucial time for early British pentecostalism as attested to by several writers of pentecostal history.<sup>947</sup> Factors in society brought about by the war were indirectly responsible for increasing the missionary impetus and distinctive of the AoG denomination in Britain at this time. The pivotal place of the pentecostal Missionary Union, (PMU), significantly became repositioned which impacted directly on the newly birthed AoG denomination.<sup>948</sup> Timothy Walsh aptly comments that the PMU and its subsequent influence on the formative years of

<sup>945</sup> Belfield at the time was the senior Pastor of the AoG church, Scholes, Wigan. See W. Hacking, *Faith's Venture*, (Self-published, 1988).

<sup>946</sup> Mark 16:15.

<sup>947</sup> Kay, *Inside Story*, 58; Cartwright, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth*, 141; Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 108, 110 & Parr, *Incredible*, 26.

<sup>948</sup> See L. Goodwin 5.4 “Formation of the AOG and merger with the PMU” in *The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU)* (PhD dissertation: University of Chester, 2013).

early British pentecostalism “proved to be the official inauguration of a collaborative relationship that would prove seminal for the formative years of pentecostalism.”<sup>949</sup> This was the experience, not least, for the considerable number of ministering women in what would become the second largest of the three early British pentecostalism denominations.<sup>950</sup> Before discussing the conditions in society that impacted and helped weaken the PMU, the foundational work achieved by women of earlier missionary organisations, which included Hudson Taylor’s China Inland Mission, (CIM), and the PMU is noteworthy. Notably it was these women of the CIM who influenced the missionary aspirations of the women of the PMU, which in turn transferred to the women and their ministry in the nascent AoG denomination. The CIM was one of a growing number of missionary societies in the nineteenth century which became involved in recruitment drives which resulted in a substantial number of women volunteering as missionaries with a commitment to convert the world to Christ.<sup>951</sup> This created considerable conflict and pressure for change, which resulted in women being allowed to enter the hitherto male-only missionary bastion.<sup>952</sup> They successfully secured an integral and equally competent role as their male counterparts in the expanding missionary enterprise of the late nineteenth century.<sup>953</sup> Gender was never an issue with the CIM, nor later with the PMU. The CIM was unequivocally clear, as its principles assert “Single women have the same responsibilities as men. They may work on their own as pioneer evangelists”.<sup>954</sup>

## 6.5 PMU formation and philosophy

Cecil Polhill, when drawing up the PMU’s Principles, ensured they were equally pellucid as those of the CIM from which he came. The summary statement “They apply equally to female

<sup>949</sup> Walsh, *To Satisfy*, 73.

<sup>950</sup> Elim has currently 647 churches in the UK and Ireland. AoG has currently 500 churches in 700 locations in the UK.

<sup>951</sup> See R. Hedlund, *Roots of the Great Debate in Mission* (Madras: Evangelical Literature Services, 1981), 9-11.

<sup>952</sup> N. Thomas, (ed.) *Readings in World Missions* (London: SPCK, 1995), 71.

<sup>953</sup> See Thomas, *Readings*, 71-72.

<sup>954</sup> K. Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994), 33.

as to male missionaries” unambiguously reflects the PMU’s egalitarian philosophy.<sup>955</sup> The strong missionary praxis of early British pentecostals was noted by Gee:

One conspicuous result of the new pentecostal movement in the British Isles, as elsewhere, was the kindling of an ardent zeal for foreign missions, and the need became apparent for some kind of Pentecostal missionary organisation.<sup>956</sup>

The PMU was formed on 9 January 1909 at All Saints Vicarage in Monkwearmouth, Sunderland. Nominated representatives from each Pentecostal centre were to forward financial donations—collected extensively via missionary boxes—and to gather the names of “suitable volunteers for Foreign Service.”<sup>957</sup>

### **6.5.1 “Hall”–(Polhill) and “Rectory”–(Boddy)**

Attention has been drawn to the alliance forged between Polhill and Boddy, key PMU personnel, with regards to their working relationship peculiar to historic country life, between “the parson and the old squire.”<sup>958</sup> Notably this benefaction existed in the period of early British pentecostalism in the fortuitous alliance of these pentecostal pioneers. The missionaries, and the PMU enterprise they headed, benefitted from the endeavours of Polhill and Boddy. This partnership also resulted in providing far-reaching ramifications for ministering women both in the PMU and the fledgling AoG. Gee’s comment on the successful relationship of this squire and parson pentecostal team was that he felt them to be “ideally complementary”, stating that

<sup>955</sup> “Principles of the PMU” Peter Kay *The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation, Policy and Practice of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) 1909-1925* (MA thesis: Trinity College, Bristol, 1995), 13.

<sup>956</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 46. A. Boddy in W. Kay & Anne Dyer *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies* (London: SCM press, 2004) writes that a result of the outpouring of God’s Spirit on Christians was to sharpen their focus on anticipating the parousia at any time and while watching for this cataclysmic event they were to be engaged in working for the kingdom, 28-29.

<sup>957</sup> Pentecostal centres were gatherings of people in homes whose members might still belong to other churches or a defecting group from a church whose Pentecostal stance was not welcome.

<sup>958</sup> See Gascoyne-Cecil, “The Upper Classes: The Old Squire and the New” in Lowther-Clarke, (ed.), *An Englishman’s Religion*, 30, 38. For a more recent exploration of such a collaborative relationship see Owen Chadwick, *Victorian Miniature* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 73-74.

“For the first ten years of the PMU in the British Isles, these two founder members were the most outstanding figures”.<sup>959</sup>

### 6.5.2 PMU Women Missionaries

Early pentecostal praxis flowed from the belief that the Second Coming of Jesus was, if not imminent, at least not far hence.<sup>960</sup> Inherent in this belief was that the world had reached the stage where it was a “wrecked vessel”, and on Christ’s return it would be destroyed, with only God’s people escaping the mass destruction.<sup>961</sup> The pentecostals who believed the “parousia” could occur at any time, lived therefore, with a sense of impending destruction. Their priority was to utilise the time that was left to best advantage, which meant preaching Christ as the Saviour from the doomed universe.<sup>962</sup> This “rescue-shop” revivalism fuelled their missionary fervour to “reach the unreached”, and resulted in the springing up of numerous “faith missions.” Grace Elkington is an example of a PMU missionary who was convinced that “The Lord is verily coming soon, it seems to us that he is making His last call to the heathen world before he comes...and the judgments of the great tribulation come”.<sup>963</sup> Further endorsement came from the added conviction that the coming of the promised parousia, as prophesied by the prophet Joel, was the restoration of the end-time gifting from God, to enable his followers to gather in as many souls and to hasten his return.

<sup>959</sup> D. Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement: A Short History and an Interpretation for British Readers* (London: Victory Press, 1941), 53.

<sup>960</sup> See J. Glass “Eschatology: A Clear and Present Danger—A Sure and Certain Hope”, in Warrington, (ed.), *Pentecostal Perspectives*. The bedrock of Pentecostal eschatology was that the Lord Jesus Christ would return to earth in glory. Whereas the manner and prior events might be uncertain, the fact of his return was beyond dispute, the biblical basis being the words of Jesus Himself—Matthew. 24:30, 1Thessalonians 4:15, 2 Pet. 3:3-10 and Philippians. 2:10-11. Glass declares that this was the foundation of Pentecostal eschatology and the central hope of pentecostalism, 120-146.

<sup>961</sup> D. Moody, (1837-1889) conducted Evangelistic Tours in Britain in 1867, 1872, 1873-5, 1883-4 and 1892. He was highly influential in America, his own country, as well as in Britain and propagated his beliefs. See V. Synan, *The Century of The Holy Spirit*, (Nashville: Nelson, 2001), 29-31.

<sup>962</sup> See T. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming* (New York: Oxford, 1979), 72, 102-3.

<sup>963</sup> See *Flames of Fire*, June 1915, Vol.2 No. 28, 51; July 1915, Vol.2 No.29, 61.



Gee's statement that "Young men and women were coming forward in an increasing stream" to enlist in this "rescue-shop" evangelism in the PMU, indicates how seriously, the above eschatology was being taken and how widespread it was.<sup>964</sup> Polhill's response to the urgency of the hour was to create the new "emergency" missionary force.<sup>965</sup>

**Table 6.1 Numbers of PMU Missionaries 1909-1924<sup>966</sup>**

<b>Total Number</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>No. of Women</b>	<b>No. of Men</b>
36	China	21	15
12	India	9	3
9	Africa	4	5
3	South America	2	1

Of the 60 missionaries sent out by the PMU 36 were women.<sup>967</sup> Single women, willing to "live by faith" were eagerly welcomed as Pentecostal missionaries in the same way that they had been in the CIM.<sup>968</sup> While there was apparently no shortage of applicants there was a real shortage of candidates with sufficient ready skills to take on the rigours of missionary work. Polhill reports that the consensus of the PMU Council, therefore, regarded the setting up of Training Homes as an "absolute necessity." Apart from the first two PMU missionaries; Kathleen Millar and Lucy James, who set sail for the mission field soon after the PMU was established in 1909 "none was *ripe* for acceptance." Experience showed the mistake and undesirability of "immature workers, however zealous and spiritual, going forth to a heathen

<sup>964</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 46.

<sup>965</sup> See P. Kay, *The Four-Fold Gospel*, 1995. He attributes Polhill's creation of the PMU and hasty gathering of unordained men and women as his response to this urgency, 46.

<sup>966</sup> PMU Annual Statements and Reports 1921-1924, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

<sup>967</sup> Only one of the 24 men, Mr Swift, an American, was ordained.

<sup>968</sup> See Tucker and Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church*, 317-8.

land” and these concerns were swiftly addressed by the emerging PMU.<sup>969</sup> Training was deemed by Polhill to be an urgent, immediate requirement in order to equip men and women alike to minister as missionaries to meet the high demands of the PMU.<sup>970</sup> Following the opening of the first men’s Bible and Training School a similar establishment was opened for women, in January 1910 at Hackney in London, under the leadership of Mrs Crisp,<sup>971</sup> (see 6.5.4 below).

### **6.5.3 The cost of missionary work**

In the address Margaret Clarke gave in Sunderland, prior to departing for the mission field in India, she talked romantically about busy Bombay streets and the mysteries of the jungle.<sup>972</sup> Her address on a return visit reveals these notions have evaporated after the stark experience of the mission-field. She shares “We learnt of the...heroism of faith in cases where persecution was so real and overwhelming”. Several PMU missionaries paid the ultimate price, the first being Millar, who died in 1911.<sup>973</sup> Many became seriously ill from the incumbent hazards. Sunstroke,<sup>974</sup> fever,<sup>975</sup> cholera<sup>976</sup> and sheer exhaustion,<sup>977</sup> constantly threatened, and it was not uncommon for many to be overcome. These early missionaries were resolved to act stoically whatever the cost, even if ordinarily they would have been utterly repulsed at what they saw as Miss Biggs shared when she and her friends ate their first Chinese meal: “When we saw the peculiar food, and the dirt around us, we...felt that we had an opportunity for victory...from our

<sup>969</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU”, November 1909, Vol.11 No.11, 253.

<sup>970</sup> See *The Principles of the PMU*, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

<sup>971</sup> At Howley Place, Paddington, London under the leadership of A. Niblock.

<sup>972</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU” January 191, Vol.1V No.1, 17.

<sup>973</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU” December 1911, Vol.1V No.12, 285.

<sup>974</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU” September 1911, Vol. IV No.9, 214.

<sup>975</sup> Letter from M. Noad in the Congo to T. Moser, Noad’s pastor in the AoG “Hebron” assembly in Southsea, England, 24 August 1928.

<sup>976</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU”, September 1912, Vol.IV No.9, 213.

<sup>977</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU”, September 1912, Vol.IV No.9, 213.

hearts we sang, “Praise God from whom all blessings flow”, and lifted our chopsticks and proceeded...we can be happy under all circumstances”.<sup>978</sup>

#### **6.5.4 The PMU was open to women and their ministry**

The PMU drew on previously neglected forces of women and exercised a praxis of openness to women’s ministry.<sup>979</sup> The copious accounts in *Confidence* reveal that the PMU women missionaries ministered competently.<sup>980</sup> Whilst there are no records of women ever holding the position of Field Director, they did have charge of outstations and in conjunction with their husbands could exercise a supervisory role. Miss Noad, is a witness that women fulfilled equal ministry roles at an impressive level of competence:

She was accepted as a prospective missionary candidate under the PMU... entered the Women’s Training Home in Hackney...in September 1918...and sailed for the Kalembe Field, on the Western shores of Lake Tanganyika, on 4 August 1921. She is now responsible for the Nundu section, with its two overseers, 60 teachers, 42 churches, 33 schools and 3,000 Christians...In 1954 Miss Noad was decorated by the Belgian Government with the Croix de Chevalier for her long and valuable services to the people of the Congo.<sup>981</sup>

The PMU enlarged and developed as a result of the dedicated ministry of men and women such as Noad.

#### **6.5.5 Eleanor Crisp trained prospective women missionaries**

The vignette featuring Crisp has been included in this section on two accounts; she was the only female member of the Council at the inauguration of the PMU. She also fulfilled the responsibility for training women in the burgeoning PMU, carrying out her duties as Principal

<sup>978</sup> *Confidence*, “The PMU”, September 1911, Vol.IV No.9, 214.

<sup>979</sup> Kay, *The Four-Fold Gospel*, 61.

<sup>980</sup> See the PMU, which from its instigation in 1909, had its own designated section in each publication of *Confidence*. See also the chapter “The PMU Pioneers” in M. Noad, *Conquering The Kalembe For Christ* (Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1930), 9-15

<sup>981</sup> See Noad, *Conquering the Kalembe*, frontispiece.

conscientiously from its beginning, (with a brief break in 1918) until its closure in 1922.<sup>982</sup> The feminist ethos of women challenging their inferiority and fighting their way to a near equality was seen in abundance in the life of Eleanor Crisp who applied herself vigorously and capably in her office as Principal of the Women's PMU Training School as evidenced by her testimony which she gave at the missionary meeting of the 1910 Sunderland Convention claiming this was "a calling from God and she felt privileged to serve in this way."<sup>983</sup> Crisp was a strong-minded woman who, in line with the feminist ethos in society developed her own ministry and was not reticent in training other women to do the same. At the opening ceremony of the PMU's Women's Training Home Principal Crisp made its aims unambiguously clear:

- Everyone who comes to stay in the home will pass under the rod, not only of direction or correction, but of comfort of the Good Shepherd.
- The definite object will be that, in the training, every graduate shall be prepared for winning souls for Jesus Christ.
- The knowledge of the Word comes by real work then the Spirit illuminates.
- All mere learning for learning's sake is to be avoided.<sup>984</sup>
- The syllabus consisted of systematic Bible Study, approached prayerfully, with a reliance on the Holy Spirit. Lessons in English, Geography and Peoples and Religions of the world were undertaken, in order to facilitate intelligent prayer for all nations. Weekly written tests on the week's work were administered and time was allocated daily for intercessory prayer. Musical proficiency—in playing the harmonium and singing—was encouraged in order to assist in the playing and singing of hymns.<sup>985</sup>

The Principal's hands-on approach expected that by the end of a month her students would be giving "gospel addresses, and to deal with souls" and as the May report six months after opening indicates, her expectations were being successfully met:

Under the care of Mrs. Crisp and Miss. Shepherd, (the "House Mother"), the sisters are progressing. Their ministries are acceptable in a number of

<sup>982</sup> She was also referred to as "Matron" or "Superintendent."

<sup>983</sup> *Confidence*, "Sunderland Convention "Day by Day", June 1910, Vol.111 No.2, 132.

<sup>984</sup> *Confidence*, "The PMU Bible School at Hackney", February 1910, Vol.111 No.2, 32. Bullet point not in original, added for clarity.

<sup>985</sup> *Confidence*, "The PMU", March 1911, Vol.IV No.3, 68.

local meetings and on Sunday night good gospel meetings have been conducted in a neighbouring YMCA. Open-air work in Victoria Park, as the weather grows warmer, is part of the plan.<sup>986</sup>

Her input into the lives of a generation of women who “passed under the rod” was instrumental in helping to create dedicated, successful female workers in the PMU foreign missions.<sup>987</sup> Her legacy was impressive.<sup>988</sup> Gee writes:

Under her capable Principalship of the Women’s Bible School there were none of the vicissitudes that troubled the Men’s Training Homes. She seemed to have the knack of keeping in harmony with the brethren of the PMU Council...Mrs. Crisp put a stamp upon her girls, but it was a good one and it lasted.<sup>989</sup>

Maggie Noad was one of those students who “held her in awesome respect mingled with love,” and is testimony to the above accolade. Gee reminisces that when the Men’s School reopened

<sup>986</sup> *Confidence*, “The Sister’s Training Home” May 1910, Vol.III No.5, 119.

<sup>987</sup> “Certificates of the Union” were awarded to Miss Margaret Clarke, Miss Elkington and Miss Jones, who sailed to India in January 1911 to Mukti Mission in Bombay en route to Fyzabab, and Miss Constance Skarratt accompanied these ladies. Two other holders of PMU certificates, Christina and Thyra Beruldsen, were already in China, *Confidence*, February 1911 Vol.IV No.2, 22, 45. The seven students in the Women’s Training Home in March 1911 were; Miss Kate White, Miss Minnie Thomas, Miss Alice Reeve, Miss Maud Rawlings, Miss Elizabeth Biggs, Miss Elizabeth Scharten and Miss Fruida Baas. *Confidence*, March 1911, Vol.IV No.3, 68.

<sup>988</sup> D. Gee, *These Men I Knew* (London: Evangel Press, 1980.) The sub-title *Pentecostal Memoirs of Pentecostal Pioneers* is placed before the main title of the book. One then turns the page and the conclusion of the Foreword in exaggerated tones is claiming that the men the readers are now meeting are flawless. Yet ironically, four women; Cantel, Crisp, McPherson and Walshaw appear in the Contents and are remembered in their own vignette later in the book by Gee. Presumably, their outstanding ministry was the qualifying reason for their inclusion but one would never have known by reading the title or the Foreword. If this was the case one wonders why women could not have been made visible and included by Gee in the title of the book or by Dando’s elevated description in the Foreword. Their omission at the very least is misleading especially when one appreciates that the women, from the beginning in the AoG ministered as the men. Again, here we have an example of male historians writing history from a patriarchal bias and is incorrect. This study goes some way to recast and correct this mistake by giving women the profiles which are rightfully theirs.

<sup>989</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 34.

at one point, not far away at No 60, the men regarded this formidable lady “with a touch of awe even from a safe distance and maybe if they had had some of her discipline it would have done them good.”<sup>990</sup> Crisp did much to flag up the case for women’s ministry, and was also an encourager to men and their ministry. As a young man Gee had himself gained helpful counsel from Crisp, whom he regarded as a trusted counsellor and whose ministry he revered.<sup>991</sup>

Crisp’s disciplined, practical ministry effused pentecostal grace and power. This was demonstrated at a Sunderland Convention. Gee, who had been present, recalls how a message in tongues, prefaced by a peculiar cry, had been given. Miss Doering, home on furlough, was present and testified to Crisp’s faithful interpretation of the tongues. She explained that in her part of the Congo, sentries of the Kifioti tribe, stationed strategically, send out a warning note before the message they send. Gee concludes the relating of this incident by stating “Such experiences of the supernatural were more impressive if they came through one as practical as Mrs. Crisp”.<sup>992</sup>

Gee maintained that Crisp was one of several women who were prominent in early British pentecostalism and eulogised “Her strength of personality was matched by natural and spiritual gifts and...seemed to radiate competency”.<sup>993</sup> In the last week of Crisp’s life Lydia Walshaw had spoken with her, and she too eulogised “How gifted she was! Her Bible talks, her gift of interpretation, her insight, her discernment—so reliable, so sympathetic”.<sup>994</sup> So highly did Boddy revere Crisp and the lasting good she achieved for the Kingdom, that he co-ordinated an appeal for £1,500 for a Gospel Hall to be erected in memory of her in Hackney.<sup>995</sup>

<sup>990</sup> See Andrews, *The Regions Beyond*, 102. The Men’s Training Home experienced a very unsettled passage. In the time Mrs Crisp commenced as Principal until her retirement in 1922 the Men’s Home had moved location three times, closed once (only briefly due to the war), and had its fourth Principal. See *Confidence*, “The PMU”, July 1913, Vol.VI No.7, 146-147 & *Confidence*, “The PMU”, April-June, No.129, 1922, 29. See also Gee, *These Men*, 34-35

<sup>991</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 35.

<sup>992</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 35.

<sup>993</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 34.

<sup>994</sup> *Confidence*, “Mrs. Crisp: A Mother in Israel”, January-March 1924, No.136, 115.

<sup>995</sup> *Confidence*, “The Late Mrs. Crisp Proposed Hall in Hackney”, August-September 1924, No. 138, 145.

### **6.5.6 Social conditions impacted the PMU in the post-war era**

The PMU Minutes and the annual Statement and Report give the cause for the crippling financial demise which had come upon the PMU in this period to the social upheavals being suffered by society generally, “Owing to the strikes and unemployment many of our best supporters have been quite unable to help as in the past”.<sup>996</sup> Cecil Polhill generously came to the financial rescue on a number of occasions when PMU funds were insufficient. The PMU Minutes record for example that Mr. Polhill “very kindly” provided £100 in order that a “needy” missionary could go on furlough.<sup>997</sup> Devaluation of the English pound caused by difficulties in the Yunnan Province in China compounded the PMU’s finances even further and it was untenable that Polhill should be expected to underwrite the financial shortfalls of the PMU indefinitely. Mounting debts were made known by Ernest Moser, the PMU’s treasurer, in 1921 and in June the following year the Women’s Training Home was shut followed by the closure in August of the Men’s Training Home. Howard Carter rented the buildings of the latter Home from his father, who purchased them, and he opened an Independent Bible School catering for men and women.

## **6.6 Women ministered regularly during the AoG’s incubation period**

### **6.6.1 Lydia Walshaw.**

Walshaw lived in Halifax with her husband, who was a solicitor.<sup>998</sup> They did not lead a church but were leaders of a group of missionary intercessors who called themselves “Emmaus” handling large sums of money sent in to them for the missionary cause to which they were dedicated.<sup>999</sup> At these “semi-private” prayer meetings Mrs Walshaw would sometimes preach. Given how strategic the PMU was to become in the nascent AoG, including Mrs Walshaw’s vignette and her crucially supportive ministry to the life of the PMU warrants her inclusion here. Walshaw’s conference ministry was to a high standard. Following her attendance at the first Sunderland Convention she preached regularly at this and at other conventions and

<sup>996</sup> PMU Statement and Report 1921, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

<sup>997</sup> PMU Minutes, January 13 1920, Vol.2, 137.

<sup>998</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 84.

<sup>999</sup> See *Evangel* “Coming Conventions”, 25 October 1921, Vol.2 No.4, 69. Both Mrs Walshaw and Mrs Crisp were named as speakers at the forthcoming Convention in London.

churches.<sup>1000</sup> A hallmark of Walshaw's preaching was her homely illustrations, centring on the kitchen and home, which "helped to keep the Pentecostal Testimony REAL."<sup>1001</sup> Her messages were never boring. Gee asserted that "there was no danger of her becoming super-spiritual like some of the men."<sup>1002</sup> Walshaw had a sense of humour, which Gee illustrates in his vignette of her. She could "liven up the most boring of situations."<sup>1003</sup> Though differing, the ministry of Walshaw and Crisp complemented each other. They partnered well on these occasions and both wore the same "deaconess garb" of dark dress and bonnet.<sup>1004</sup> Gee placed Walshaw in an important pioneering catalyst role. Talking about this woman when well into her nineties, Gee maintained that Walshaw:

...was one of those personalities that seem to flourish in the early years of a Revival Movement before it has had time to solidify into a denomination. Frequently they leave a mark of the Spirit of God upon those who later become leaders in a more public sense and for that cause we correctly include them among our Pioneers.<sup>1005</sup>

### 6.6.2 Margaret Cantel

Cantel was one of the few who fulfilled an important ministry role at the early pre-denominational stage of early British Pentecostalism, and later in the emerging early British AoG. Her ministry roles include executive leadership on a par with her male colleagues. She was one of a limited number of carefully chosen representative leaders, invited to the decisive conference at 12 and 14 Whitehead Road, Aston, Birmingham on 1 February 1924 to discuss the unifying of independent Pentecostal centres.<sup>1006</sup> At this historic meeting, the organisation of the AoG in Great Britain and Ireland was born. This fact was significant in that it conveyed

<sup>1000</sup> *Confidence*, "International Pentecostal Convention", June 1912, Vol.V No.6, 123.

<sup>1001</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 85.

<sup>1002</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 85.

<sup>1003</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 85.

<sup>1004</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 84-85.

<sup>1005</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 86.

<sup>1006</sup> Missen, *The Sound Of A Going*, relates that the meeting place was a room over a garage owned by a Mr Roe, 11.



a great deal about the leadership ministry role of women at the formative stage of British AoG pentecostalism.

Massey considers, when looking at the origins of the AoG, that it is important to establish the identity of the leaders whose discussions and decisions brought to birth the British AoG denomination.<sup>1007</sup> Cantel was one of the signatories at these formative talks.<sup>1008</sup> Her presence and involvement is evidence that her leadership acumen, not her gender, was important. Each delegate had been handpicked because of their proven ministry.<sup>1009</sup> Massey equates Cantel's performance with high leadership ability, as would have been demanded by such a serious and formidable unity conference, when he states "It is of great surprise that a woman should have been invited to join the select band of leaders, especially considering the nature of the conference".<sup>1010</sup> He qualifies this by stating that on only this occasion in the history of the AoG has a woman been invited to occupy such a high executive position.<sup>1011</sup> The fact remains that Cantel had been selected and obviously fulfilled what had been rigorously demanded of her, just as the men had.

Cantel was another "famous" pentecostal woman who exhibited the feminist ethos prevalent in society in that as a single woman, recently widowed and with a baby in a foreign country she determined to minister herself and provide a platform for others to minister in the missionary rest home she established. Her managerial skills were evident in that she also assisted her missionary guests with their travel arrangements and revealed that she possessed business ability and organisational skills equal to those of men. She achieved success as evidenced by the fact that she was able to extend her work by purchasing a larger guest house providing her own finance arrangements.<sup>1012</sup> Cantel was an outstanding role model for men

<sup>1007</sup> Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union*, 88.

<sup>1008</sup> Missen, *The Sound Of A Going*, 11.

<sup>1009</sup> After careful deliberation, invitations were sent out to a few selected representative leaders to attend a preliminary conference to be held on 1 February 1924. See Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 127.

<sup>1010</sup> Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union*, 88.

<sup>1011</sup> Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union*, 88.

<sup>1012</sup> See Gee, *These Men*, for evidence that Cantel possessed the high level of business acumen and strong faith which qualified her to so ably manage the national and internationally acclaimed "Highbury", 31. Gee, *These Men*, relates that on arrival from America Mr Cantel

and women alike whose ministry, based at her home, was highly esteemed and valued. Gee writes that, “73 Highbury, New Park in London became for nearly thirty years one of the best known and best loved pentecostal centres not only in London but the whole of the British Isles and far beyond”.<sup>1013</sup> Gee remembers being “captivated by the sense of God’s presence” as Cantel presided from the front. He recalls how similar the meetings were then to those experienced by the early Church in Ephesus or Corinth, especially when the same spiritual gifts were manifested during the meetings led by Cantel. Gee exclaims that “Those pioneer days had their own unique thrill, for they were anchored in the New Testament”.<sup>1014</sup>

Nelson Parr was eager to avoid another aborted attempt at uniting the independent pentecostal centres. Each step would have been the result of meticulous, thoughtful planning and every invited person subject to the most rigorous selection procedure. It is reasonable to assert that Cantel’s presence around the arbitration table was no mere accident. Parr was keen not to upset or offend anyone, and therefore would not have been willing to risk inviting anyone whose presence would jeopardise the proceedings of this special venture in any way. Parr was a strong personality, not known for compromising his views. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that neither Parr nor anyone else present objected to women occupying leadership ministry roles. Therefore, one gathers that to have women in leadership would not have been frowned upon and certainly no one raised any objection at this seminal occasion. Indeed, one reads that the Birmingham conference was an historic achievement. The task facing the members of the Executive Council, chaired by Parr, was the crucial task to achieve unity, eventually, of the hitherto disparate centres, under the umbrella of a new federal pentecostal denomination, to be

became the minister of a Church in Islington but died in 1912, 31-32. pentecostalism in America was growing rapidly at that time and many missionaries were being sent overseas. In those days of steam ships journeys were frequently broken in Britain which meant many missionaries were travelling through London. Mrs Cantel, in a foreign country without any means of supporting herself and baby son provided a facility where missionaries going out to the mission field, coming home on furlough or breaking their journey could be provided with a Christian Rest Home to lodge in. She helped missionaries, was able to sustain herself and her son from the income and also fulfil a ministry role. In a step of faith Cantel purchased “Highbury”, a much larger Home, where she extended her work and incorporated the Church her husband had started, 31-32. See the *Visitor’s Book* in Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster. See also Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 80-84.

<sup>1013</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 31.

<sup>1014</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 33.

known as the AoG of Britain and Ireland. Importantly, autonomy was to be safeguarded and assurances were given that there would not be any heavy-handed governing from a central autocratic authority. The fellowships would only be loosely affiliated. It is significant that a woman exercised a full and equal role in these proceedings confidently and capably.

### **6.6.3 Christiana Beruldsen**

Mrs Beruldsen was more stable and aspirational than her husband, and fulfilled important leadership ministry roles both in the pre-denominational and denominational stages of the AoG. She provides information regarding the roles women fulfilled and the many typical features which were present in the very early period of denominational Pentecostalism. Gee writes:

As pioneers the Beruldsens were typical of an era now passed. It consisted of semi-private little meetings often financed by devoted Christians with a zeal for God. Their family caught the zeal of those exciting days and not only John, but two of his sisters offered for the Mission Field.<sup>1015</sup>

Both Mrs Beruldsen and her husband had been present at the Faith Mission conference in Edinburgh in January 1908, and had attended the Boddys' meetings in Sunderland. Mrs Beruldsen shares "I went to their meetings and there got such a longing to give myself wholly to God". They had befriended the Boddys, as they had other pioneers of the PMU, and were keen to hear more from them about what was happening in the Anglican parish hall and vicarage. They went to hear and see for themselves.<sup>1016</sup> Mrs Beruldsen is an example of a woman who was "like so many others at that time...hungry for more of God, and so made a journey of investigation to All Saints Parish Church."<sup>1017</sup> This in itself was not necessarily noteworthy but her ministry that developed as a result of this visit is. Beruldsen was not disappointed. She received her Spirit-baptism and healing as Mrs Boddy ministered to her in the vicarage dining room. She testifies "I shall never forget the solemnity of that meeting and the holy awe in that place". She reports:

<sup>1015</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 17-18.

<sup>1016</sup> It is possible that Mr Beruldsen, a Norwegian himself, may have been induced to go and hear the missionary as he was a naturalised English-Norwegian.

<sup>1017</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 17.

They seemed to know how to lay hold of God. In a very short time I felt the power of God coming upon me; my whole being seemed to be filled with a calm rest and peace...After Mrs Boddy was assured that I had no unforgiveness in my heart, she said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," and, "By simple faith," I said, "I receive the Holy Ghost"<sup>1018</sup> but without "tongues", that came a few days later.<sup>1019</sup>

After about two hours, Beruldsen experienced "a peculiar struggle going in my throat." Following more prayer, her "tongue was loosed", and she spoke in tongues for two hours. She records "All through the night I was singing heavenly music. I cannot express in words the sweet communion and adoration that filled my whole being".<sup>1020</sup> She maintains that God answered her eager questioning regarding the interpretation telling her she would "preach Jesus to...sinners."

Keen to spread the message of Spirit-baptism the Beruldsens "commenced pentecostal meetings in their large house in Murrayfield, Edinburgh, later transferring to a beautiful home by the Firth of Forth."<sup>1021</sup> At the same time they also commenced a mission at Leith Dock. Importantly it was Mrs Beruldsen who led "the two religious activities in Edinburgh."<sup>1022</sup> She writes about the work she was leading, "Regular Sabbath meetings have commenced at the Protestant Institute. The Lord is blessing us richly in our gatherings". The report written by a Miss Haggie confirms this "There is a beautiful work going on in Edinburgh. Mrs Beruldsen is deeply taught of God showing in her life the gifts of the Spirit".<sup>1023</sup> The report six months later was further verification of the leadership ministry role undertaken by this woman; "Remarkable times of blessing are being experienced in the Mission Hall in Leith, which Mrs Beruldsen and her

<sup>1018</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 12.

<sup>1019</sup> *Confidence*, "All Saints Monkwearmouth", April 1908, No.1, 12.

<sup>1020</sup> *Confidence*, "All Saints Monkwearmouth", April 1908, No.1, 12.

<sup>1021</sup> Gee, *These Men*, 18. See also *Confidence*, "The Edinburgh Conference", January 1910, Vol.111 No.1, 16-18 for a report of the annual conference held in Edinburgh which was held there for several years.

<sup>1022</sup> *Confidence*, "The Edinburgh Conference" January 1910, Vol.111 No.1, 18.

<sup>1023</sup> *Confidence*, "Report by Miss. Haggie", February 1911, Vol.IV No.2, 62.

helpers have recently opened. Many have been Baptised in the Spirit or healed of sickness”.<sup>1024</sup> Rev. Boddy’s comments in 1917 reveal that this pioneering woman fulfilled leadership ministry *over time*. He writes “Since their first visit to Sunderland in 1907...Mrs Beruldsen has led the good work which is now conducted in their Leith Mission”.<sup>1025</sup> He further comments in *Confidence* “In a recent visit to Edinburgh Mrs Crisp addressed the Assembly established by Mrs Beruldsen”.<sup>1026</sup> A further indication that Christiana Beruldsen took the leadership and public role is revealed by the fact that her name appeared among the thirty signatories of Pentecostal leaders in Britain in a statement of belief called “The London Declaration”, in November 1910.<sup>1027</sup> Her colleague, Mrs McPherson is a signatory, but her husband Elif Beruldsen’s name does not appear.<sup>1028</sup> This stand of solidarity among the pentecostal leaders in Britain reveal much about Mrs Beruldsen’s strength of character and leadership acumen. The Beruldsens travelled on a specially commissioned train taking pentecostal people from Scotland to the first Sunderland Convention hosted by the Boddys. Being able to speak Norwegian, Mrs Beruldsen fulfilled the role of interpreter for Dagmar Gregersen and Agnes Thelle, two Norwegian women.<sup>1029</sup>

We have here an example of women, Mrs Beruldsen and her co-worker Mrs McPherson, who had been “envisioned” and encouraged by the convention held at Sunderland, and as a consequence were keen to both minister and organise conferences in Edinburgh. It is important to note that there was no indication that such action caused any negative outcry from any quarter. Arrangements went ahead unchallenged. The main speaker at the first of these conventions, held later in 1908, was Mrs Boddy who spoke on Jesus’ Second Coming. The

<sup>1024</sup> *Confidence*, “Pentecostal Items” August, 1911, Vol.IV No.8, 189.

<sup>1025</sup> *Confidence*, “Scottish New Year Conferences”, January-February 1917, Vol.X No.1, 5.

<sup>1026</sup> *Confidence*, “Pentecostal Items”, October 1916, Vol.IX No.10, 170.

<sup>1027</sup> See P. Hocken “The Berlin Declaration”, in S. Burgess & Louard, (eds.), *The New International Dictionary*, September 1910, 371. This was a theological statement drawn up in September 1910 by 56 leading evangelical theologians in Germany, condemning the German Pentecostal movement stating it was “not from above, but from below.” “The London Declaration” was a response entitled “The Baptism in the Holy Ghost—What we teach concerning the evidence and results”. See next footnote.

<sup>1028</sup> See *Confidence*, “The London Declaration”, December 1910, Vol.II No.12, 287.

<sup>1029</sup> *Confidence*, “Conference Reports”, June 1908, No.3, 16.

report in *Confidence* states “God set His seal of blessing by a wave of power which suddenly broke over the entire audience”.<sup>1030</sup> These women were now providing a further platform, not only for their own ministry, but also for other women who felt called to minister, and would continue for some years.

Beruldsen’s leadership ministry was pivotal in that it would pave the way for Gee and his ministry. The “Pentecostal seed” planted and tended predominantly by Mrs Beruldsen with some support from her husband, was to bear lasting fruit. In 1920, Gee was invited to become the pastor of “Beruldsen’s Mission”. He would become a senior statesman of the British AoG denomination, earning national and international acclaim. Primarily a teacher, he wrote several books and became co-editor of the *Redemption Tidings*. His musical talent led him to being appointed Chairman of the Committee which produced “Redemption Hymnal.” “His steadiness in times of stress, his wise counsel and his utter reliability were of immense value”.<sup>1031</sup> The exploration of this incipient stage of British AoG Pentecostalism substantiates my claim that a woman’s leadership ministry had played a vital role.

#### **6.6.4 Mrs Mildred Serjeant (née Bell)**

Serjeant/Bell is discussed because firstly, in the interests of balance, she ministered much later in the time span of this study than the previous women discussed. Also, as a student of the Hampstead Bible School, which she attended from 1931 to 1933, her experience reflects the inclusive praxis with regard to women’s ministry, which operated in the early British AoG and flourished despite prevailing social pressures.<sup>1032</sup> Bell’s experience of divine healing when she attended the Divine Healing Campaign in April 1927 with evangelist Stephen Jeffreys, set the

<sup>1030</sup> *Confidence*, “First Conference in Edinburgh”, November 1908, No.8, 14.

<sup>1031</sup> See Missen, *The Sound Of A Going*, 37-41. Later, outside the span of this study, Gee became Principal of AoG Bible College at Kenley. Gratitude to Gee for his outstanding acumen and sound input into the lives and ministry of his students was given by several veterans for example my brother-in-law the late pastor Alan Hocking in interview with myself on January 18, 2004, Walsall. He attended Kenley Bible College 1953-55 and gave ready testimony to the sound, foundation-laying input for ministry life Gee imparted to him.

<sup>1032</sup> Miss Bell became a fully accredited AoG minister with a ministry of the highest calibre. In honour of the outstanding work she did among the American servicemen stationed at Lakenheath air base during WW2 Serjeant was awarded an honorary Doctorate at the recommendation of personnel of the American Forces.

scene for her future ministry role.<sup>1033</sup> A recording of her testimony in 2000, informs that seventeen-year-old Mildred Bell was in the crowds queuing along the street waiting for admission with her left leg in an iron.<sup>1034</sup> At the age of two she had contracted polio, and despite operations her left leg had failed to grow, necessitating the wearing of an iron on her leg, and a built-up shoe. Bell relates in her testimony that her faith was stirred during the meeting to witness a six-year-old girl, born without eyes—just empty sockets—receive two new blue eyes after being prayed for by the evangelist. Stephen Jeffreys prayed for Bell after looking at her leg and explaining “I cannot do anything for you but I know a God who can”. Serjeant in her testimony states “One short prayer, a touch from God and that great Evangelist knelt down and took the iron off my leg”.<sup>1035</sup> Serjeant records her amazement to find her leg had grown two inches in length instantly, and was now the same length as her right leg, further sharing that she had run home in stockinged-feet, knocking at every door in the street to tell the occupants what had happened. Shortly after this time Serjeant recorded that she felt God “calling her” to the ministry and she worked and saved hard to pay for her training through the Hampstead Bible School.<sup>1036</sup> Carter’s Bible School became the chief training centre for women pastors like Bell, with the aim “To provide a place where young men and women, called by God to devote their lives to His service, may first give themselves wholly to the study of His word”. Carter’s co-educational innovation, which was reflective of changes taking place in society at that time, meant breaking from the PMU practice which separated the women’s training from the men’s. Although the Bible School was to remain the independent property of Howard Carter until 1951, the fact that Carter was a nascent member of the AoG, serving on its Executive

<sup>1033</sup> Missen, *The Sound of a Going*, 21.

<sup>1034</sup> Hear “Mildred Bell—a brief outline of her life” from tape recordings of Serjeant giving her testimony early in 2000. A copy of a set of two double-sided tapes was given to me when I interviewed Mrs Serjeant’s son in his home in Lakenheath, Suffolk, 31 May 2007. Further copies can be purchased from Mr Serjeant, Lakenheath.

<sup>1035</sup> Hear Serjeant’s taped testimony, 2000.

<sup>1036</sup> Bell became a fully accredited, ordained minister in 1934 following a probationary period of two years. Years of successful operation of the Ladies Training School drew to an end when serious financial and operational constraints conspired to close it, although the Men’s Training School remained. The following year 1922, the PMU invited Howard Carter, to take over the leadership of the school which included the financial, academic and spiritual responsibility. See the *Prospectus of the Bible and Missionary Training School*, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

Presbytery, ensured that the Hampstead Bible School became the foremost training establishment for future AoG pastors.<sup>1037</sup>

Bell was to benefit from PMU input into the burgeoning AoG in that from its infancy the denomination possessed a zealous commitment to missions and evangelism. There was no danger therefore of students, ministers or congregational members of the AoG becoming part of a “holy enclave” because of the constant reminder of each person’s responsibility to preach the Gospel of salvation to every person. As shall be seen, Bell, both as a student minister and later as a fully fledged pastor, faithfully fulfilled this task.

Kay’s insightful comments regarding the priority attached to training of ministers is relevant when discussing the ministry role of women, like Bell, in early British pentecostalism especially within AoG. It was this fervent commitment ingrained in the PMU to the training of its missionaries, women equal to men, which transferred at the merger with the AoG. Kay writes “If the United Kingdom was a mission field, then it was logical to train men and women for that field as it was for any other”. Massey maintains that Moser and Mundell actively promoted the formation of the AoG as a means of both rescuing and securing the future of the PMU.<sup>1038</sup>

Carter came to appreciate that there was not much use in putting men and women through Bible School training if at the end there were no congregations in front of whom they could be placed. To overcome this, Carter devised a scheme using students, on leaving the School, in pioneer evangelism. Gee’s observation was that “The School did much to meet the great demand for pentecostal ministers that arose from the big campaigns”.<sup>1039</sup> Bell was an example of a student sent out to start a new assembly, and as the following account reveals, she was successful.

<sup>1037</sup> See Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 151, & Missen, *The Sound of a Going*, 80.

<sup>1038</sup> Massey, *A Sound and Scriptural Union*, 243. See Kay, *A History of British Assemblies of God*, (PhD dissertation), 61. Massey also maintains that common ground existed between the PMU and AoG and conspired to galvanise action towards a merger, notably the “Mundell initiative”, 173.

<sup>1039</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 152.



Carter's master plan, his Bible School Evangelistic Society (BES), was launched in 1926, and was to prove fruitful within a relatively short time.<sup>1040</sup>

Bell's commission on completion of training was to Thetford, and from there to start services in Lakenheath fourteen miles away and Bury-St-Edmunds, fourteen miles in the other direction. Her only form of transport was a bicycle.<sup>1041</sup> The Principal was a man of faith and he sent his students out with the main instructions to; "live by faith and establish a Church."<sup>1042</sup> Bell pioneered the AoG Church in Lakenheath in an upstairs room belonging to "The Bull" public house in 1933.<sup>1043</sup> She announced the meetings "FULL GOSPEL HALL" on a board at the entrance. Soon the numbers of people attending increased. In 1936 Mildred Bell and Campbell Serjeant were married in Lakenheath and worked together as a supportive team. Mrs Serjeant was always quick to acknowledge the support her husband was to her and how this impacted positively on the success of her leadership ministry.<sup>1044</sup>

Eventually the assembly moved into an independent Chapel nearby, which became vacant at the same time as the Lakenheath and Mildenhall air bases were being built, in preparation for WW2, which was imminent. RAF servicemen began coming to the services, some only once, many dying in bombing raids over enemy territory. Mrs Serjeant had been given a prophecy some years previously that had stated "You shall see them. They shall come from the North, the South, The East and the west. Male children shall be born to you. You shall nurse them, nourish them and teach them to go". In the Royal Air Force were men from many countries and she felt this was now being fulfilled to the letter.

<sup>1040</sup> Kay, *Inside Story* relates that; "In less than three years...he had 67 ministers working in 17 English counties", 128.

<sup>1041</sup> Bell cycled thousands of miles which in winter was particularly challenging. She shared in her testimony that it was by singing hymns that she encouraged herself as she travelled the empty, lonely roads. Hear Serjeant's Testimony tape.

<sup>1042</sup> See Kay, *Inside Story*. The Principal expected the faculty members to "live by faith" as well as the students, 124.

<sup>1043</sup> The pub landlord, a big, burly ex-policeman, was helpful and supportive, even lighting the fires before the services.

<sup>1044</sup> He was church organist, chauffeured his wife, directed all the church building projects at the main and branch sites and undertook much of the building work himself.

The following examples illustrate Serjeant operating in faith, as she was commissioned to, and it was a hallmark throughout her forty-eight years of ministry. When she decided the church would benefit from a minibus to collect the people and children, she found herself standing alone without one AoG council member daring to support this venture. So sure was she that it was God's will that she ordered the vehicle. In the following months support slowly came so that by the time the minibus was ready for delivery the exact amount needed had been given to meet its cost. The bus—with the times of the meetings advertised boldly on it with scripture texts—became a regular feature, circulating the neighbourhood. When Serjeant launched two further ventures of faith concerning the purchase of land for a manse and land on the other side of the church to extend the premises, again support was negligible, but Serjeant's faith was honoured and the sales went through smoothly, leaving no debt. Serjeant was determined to fulfil her commission to build a church that involved her commitment to ministering to children. Virtually every child in Lakenheath attended the Sunday School and/or the weekly Sunshine Corner children's meeting, and joined in the Annual Village Parade behind the band. This was testimony to Serjeant's dedication and commitment to ministering to children and young people in her church.<sup>1045</sup>

<sup>1045</sup> On the occasion when I visited the Serjeant's home to interview Geoffrey Serjeant, his sister Mrs Nesta Franke was, fortuitously, on a home visit from America, where she now resides. Visiting with her was a group of American friends. They shared that they had lived with their families as children when they had been stationed at the American air base and had attended pastor Serjeant's sunshine Corner in the 1930s. Now in their seventies they all referred to one meeting in particular that had remained vividly in their memories over the years. Serjeant had prayed for God to mightily bless the children after which the congregation of children, which they had been part of, had begun speaking in tongues as they had worshipped God with many falling down under the power of the Holy Spirit. Franke stated that this had been a remarkable experience and one that she had never forgotten. One of the group, an Australian gentleman, recalled how this had been a high-water mark experience in his life. He had been keen to give me his name and address. He was pastor Rod Tirrell of Tewantin, QLD, Australia.



**Figure 6**

**Taken in the AoG Church, Lakenheath,  
shows Serjeant baptising a convert<sup>1046</sup>**

Serjeant was also faithful in evangelism and mission, sharing the Christian gospel with those without faith, in her efforts to build a church. She headed up the church's evangelistic outreach, holding open-air meetings and tent campaigns across the county, and was instrumental in the pioneering campaigns of a number of other assemblies in Suffolk. She was regularly called upon by needy churches throughout East Anglia, and if she was able to, willingly gave her assistance.

Serjeant enjoyed robust health, living into her late eighties, dying on 18 September 2000. It is reasonable to contend that, in almost fifty years as an outstanding minister, it was inevitable

<sup>1046</sup> This photograph was taken on the occasion of the first baptismal ceremony being held in the new baptistry at the AoG Lakenheath Church. Mr C. L. Parker of the AoG Bible School had expounded the meaning of Water Baptism prior to the four candidates being immersed/baptised by pastor Munday and pastor Serjeant. See *RT*, "Assembly News", August 1952, Vol.1 No.1,14. As attested by family members, respondents and minister colleagues Serjeant was responsible, as minister of the church, for regularly baptising new converts.

that she positively influenced and encouraged other women who had a call to minister and became a first-class role model for them to emulate as she fulfilled her commission.

## 6.7 Analysis of Quantitative Data

The table below (6.2) presents the answers to the question: “How often did you see women in leadership roles in the various named special worship services?” The veterans were firstly asked to indicate whether they remembered women exercising a leadership function, often (O), sometimes (S), rarely (R) or never (N).

**Table 6.2 AoG Overall percentage figures**

AOG	1924-1940			
	O	S	R	N
Baptism	42	29	14	15
Wedding	28	29	9	34
Funeral	29	34	17	20
Communion	45	25.5	11.5	18

The general responses about the degree of women’s involvement in key, specific, acts of worship and rites-of-passage services show that a relatively high number of respondents remembered women fulfilling unlimited official leadership ministry. As the table shows, the spread of figures overall were weighted 2:1 in favour of often/sometimes as against rarely/never.

It is significant that women are functioning in these official roles in the early AoG, given the prevailing social mores at the time and the situation regarding women’s curtailed ministry roles in the other two denominations. To the extent they are, is reflective of the shared-gender commonplace attitude in the early AoG. The individual tables reveal that the majority of the respondents remember that there were women fulfilling the same ministry roles as the men. Importantly the veterans’ comments establish that the women’s input was welcomed, not merely tolerated. Significantly, women were encouraged to fulfil major leadership roles in this movement, and as this chapter has established, there were women who did so. There were women in the AoG who also chose to fulfil non-leadership roles also, as the qualitative data below establishes, the crucial factor is that women were free to choose the roles they fulfilled in this denomination.

## 6.8 Analysis of Qualitative Data

### 6.8.1 Devotional/Speaking/Pastoral

Respondents are saying that women very often met together with other women once a week to enjoy fellowship. There was nothing official—the idea just became popular over time as more assemblies started women’s meetings. A report from the Margate assembly four years after the formation of the AoG denomination, happily announces “A splendid sisters’ meeting has just been inaugurated and is growing in attendance week by week”.<sup>1047</sup> R6 shares about the Sisterhood meetings.<sup>1048</sup> His wife used to look forward to these weekly meetings very much. He writes “I often wondered what the women did in their meetings, they always seemed very popular and there was always a good turnout”.

A report from the Southend Assembly informs that a “Sister’s Meeting” had been inaugurated on Wednesday afternoons sharing that “There is a good number of women between 40 and 50 who have just joined under the leadership of Mrs. Jeffreys so we have much to praise God for”.<sup>1049</sup> Jeffreys was the pastor’s wife. Overseeing the woman’s meeting became traditionally the role of the pastor’s wife. R6’s wife R7, also spoke about the Sisterhood Rallies which gradually emerged as the general conferences became held annually.<sup>1050</sup> R7 looked forward eagerly to meeting up with women from other churches at the annual general conference and at the district rallies. Mrs Entwistle was the resourceful pastor of the Hebron assembly.<sup>1051</sup> She made every effort to gather the women together from other churches’ Sisterhoods for rallies in the town. Ever with an eye to “win the lost” she had created a crèche to ensure that women with children could avail themselves of a lively Pentecostal meeting they would otherwise not be able to attend “Hebron Sisterhood, under the Presidency of Mrs. Entwistle is now making itself known amongst the many similar organisations in the town. Here mothers can safely

<sup>1047</sup> *RT*, “Power and Praise”, Margate. 11 January 1928, Vol.1 No.4, 6-7.

<sup>1048</sup> Interview between R6, R7 and myself in Rotherham, Yorkshire on 28.01.09.

<sup>1049</sup> *RT*, “Home Page”, Southend. 7 March 1927, Vol.3 No.3, 11-13.

<sup>1050</sup> The general conferences were joined by the attendance of people from AoG congregations who had a holiday enjoying the facilities while the ministers and delegates attended the business sessions with everyone gathering together for the evening fellowship meetings.

<sup>1051</sup> *RT*, Sunderland, “Our Business is to dry tears, not shed them” January 1929, Vol.5 No.1, 3.

leave their bairns in the tender care of voluntary nurses in the crèche—a spacious room with toys and rocking chair whilst they enjoy the meeting on a Monday afternoon”.<sup>1052</sup>

Women speaking at conventions in mixed gender gatherings, was a regular occurrence. R11 recalls how popular the Easter conventions were at the Kingsway Hall and remembers hearing Miss Hyde there once.<sup>1053</sup> In the forthcoming Easter convention announcements in 1935, her name appears as one of the speakers, with another woman also “Easter Monday Convention Kingsway Hall Speakers...Miss. Hyde of Witham and...Mrs. East of Tonbridge Wells”.<sup>1054</sup> It is no surprise to find in this missionary-orientated AoG movement, that missionaries ministered extensively, and a large percentage of respondents make reference to this feature. R29 shares how she always enjoyed the Bank Holiday Monday, the day traditionally reserved for the Missionary speakers.<sup>1055</sup> A report of the Darlington Easter convention reports “We have had a most blessed week-end in Darlington during the visit of our Sisters Misses Noad and Hegi (Missionaries to the Belgian Congo—Africa). The Lord certainly honoured the ministry of these two handmaidens”.<sup>1056</sup>

R12, as a boy, attended Scarborough AoG Sunshine Corner. He shares that as he grew up, there were “lady teachers” who took him and other young people “under their wings.”<sup>1057</sup> He shares how they involved him in the open-air beach work that they did during the summer. He remembers how loud their voices were and commented that this was required to be able to carry out this sort of ministry. Another woman who used her loud voice in this type of ministry was Mrs Jennie Weller. R20 in her late eighties and still pastoring, writes an extensive account illustrating how this woman pastor, who had been converted by Howard Carter of the Lee assembly in the 1920s, ably ministered to women and men, helping them to develop their

<sup>1052</sup> *RT*, “Women’s Meeting” January 1929, Vol.5 No.1, 3.

<sup>1053</sup> Telephone interview between R11 of Rotherham, Yorkshire, and myself on 08.07.06.

<sup>1054</sup> *RT*, “Convention Kingsway Hall Speakers” 1 April 1935, Vol.11 No.7, Back Cover.

<sup>1055</sup> Interview between R29 and myself at Darlington, County Durham on 02.04.08.

<sup>1056</sup> *RT*, “Miss. Noad and Miss. Hegi at Darlington” March 1931, Vol.6 No.3,14.

<sup>1057</sup> Telephone interview between R12 and myself of Leeds, Yorkshire on 20.03.09.

calling to become ministers.<sup>1058</sup> R38 shares that he became a deacon in Weller's church.<sup>1059</sup> At the time he joined the church it was only small. Two of the members, a Mrs Edwards and a Mrs Douche were very inspirational. They had been baptised in the Holy Spirit in 1908 at the home of Mrs Catherine Price of Akerman Road, Brixton. He had been shown a book of prophecies by Mrs Douche, which she had written down in shorthand when she had heard them in Mrs. Price's meetings. They were committed evangelists keen to see people brought into the church. Pastor Weller had taken R38 "under her wing," as she did everyone with potential. She trained him so that he was able to be launched by her into the ministry to become a pastor with an assembly of his own. When it was his time to preach in a service, she would encourage him whispering "Brother I feel the Spirit tonight. Preach with power".

### **6.8.2 Prayer/Spiritual Gifts**

The prayer meeting was an important aspect of assembly life. This was usually a set time of designated prayer one evening a week. Days of prayer with accompanied fasting would often be arranged by the pastor. R28 from Wigan said that in the early days when a building project was on-going and funds were needed, the church assembled together regularly for half nights of prayer until the crisis passed.<sup>1060</sup> R15 had been a one-time student at Hampstead Bible School.<sup>1061</sup> She writes "We would know about the financial pressures as Howard Carter would share these with us so that we could pray about the financial shortfall. We were all taught how to trust and have faith and there were some wonderful answers to prayer".<sup>1062</sup>

R30 shares that she had joined the Leyland AoG fellowship in 1939 having attended the Bethel Church founded by Edward Jeffreys.<sup>1063</sup> She recalls that there were lots of days and evenings of prayer, fasting too, that God would bless the church and informs "Those prayer meetings

<sup>1058</sup> Interview between R20 and myself at Alfreton, Derbyshire on 02.08.07.

<sup>1059</sup> Telephone interview between R38 of Doncaster, Yorkshire and myself on 15.10.07.  
Interview between R20 and myself at Alfreton, Derbyshire on 02.08.07.

<sup>1060</sup> Interview between R28 and myself at Morecambe, Lancashire on 05.06.07.

<sup>1061</sup> Interview between R15 and myself at Stonehouse, Gloucestershire on 29.01.09.

<sup>1062</sup> See *A Sacrifice of Praise*, Missionary and Bible Training School, Report No.1, July 1923, 2. Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

<sup>1063</sup> Interview between R30 and myself at Gwynedd, Wales on 10.08.07.

were very powerful. I was only a teenager, part of a group of young men and women and I have never forgotten prayer meetings like that. It's little wonder there were so many wonderful miracles of healing".

Prayer for the sick was a distinguishing feature of the Divine Healing and Evangelistic Campaigns undertaken in Britain during the period by Smith Wigglesworth, George, Stephen and Edward Jeffreys and Fred Squire. R3 recalls going up the mountain with others, who were part of the young people's group, to hold intercessory prayer meetings.<sup>1064</sup> They did this regularly and R3 writes in her response that her Pastor and others in the church strongly believed that it was in answer to the young people's earnest praying up the mountain, many of whom were women, that God moved in the assemblies in the Rhondda.

Both women and men were encouraged to engage in audible praying in the AoG churches. The pastor would name a person to either open or close a meeting by praying. This would often include a prayer of thanks for bringing everyone to the meeting and a prayer imploring God to bless the gathering, not forgetting those who could not be with them. If someone present asked for prayer for themselves, the pastor invariably would ask an elder to join him/her and gently laying his/her hands on the person's head, would usually place a drop of olive oil on the person's forehead. The pastor then would ask God for the person to be blessed and have their need met.<sup>1065</sup> Prayer books were never used as praying was always "from the heart," and individuals were encouraged to pray to God naturally, conversing freely as one would with a close family member.

In his book Hacking writes "There was also in the Assembly a great spirit of prayer and Missionary burden. On a Sunday morning at 7 a.m. we could muster about twenty-five men and women to the early morning Prayer Meeting—and what praying! They were touching Heaven and Heaven was touching them!"<sup>1066</sup>

Intercessory prayer is referred to often by respondents. R44 recalls attending the weekly Tuesday night prayer meetings where women praying out loud was a regular occurrence.<sup>1067</sup>

<sup>1064</sup> Telephone interview between R3 of Ystrad, Rhondda Valley and myself on 28.01.09.

<sup>1065</sup> This was in accordance with James 5:14-15.

<sup>1066</sup> Hacking, *Faith's Ventures*, 15.

<sup>1067</sup> Interview between R44 and myself at Widnes, Cheshire on 10.08.07.



She shares it was not uncommon for women to lead these prayer meetings and she herself felt it was her ministry when asked by the pastor to take charge of the prayer meeting which was every few months. As needs were prayed about it was not unusual for people to weep with a “spirit of love” as they prayed. Hacking shares an incident of this type of intercessory prayer.<sup>1068</sup> He testifies to the good results he saw from this type of praying when he was pastor of the Blackburn Church. A member, named Violet, lived next door to Margaret and Joe. One day Margaret went in to see Violet and she found her on her knees, her eyes red with weeping. “What’s the matter Violet?” she asked. “You wouldn’t understand”, was the reply. “I want to know”, Margaret persisted and finally Violet explained that she had been praying for a young, very ill pastor. “Do you weep for one another?” Margaret had asked, incredulously. She reported this to her husband, Joe, who was a heavy drinker. On hearing this, he was emotionally moved. Joe, Margaret and their two daughters all came to the service and were converted. They were later to lead one of the small AoG churches.

R32 enjoyed ministering in the spiritual gifts.<sup>1069</sup> She shares that the men and women in her church in Swadlincote were encouraged to exercise the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1070</sup> They had received good teaching on these pentecostal ministries by the pastor and deacons. She shares that it was not uncommon for a woman to start singing, unaccompanied “in the Spirit in an unknown tongue.” Increasingly others would join in singing in beautiful harmony.<sup>1071</sup> R2 shares similarly how her church building would become filled with an amazing cacophony of worship, all unrehearsed. She further informs “There was only one condition, if you were a woman you could only minister in these gifts, if your head was covered”.<sup>1072</sup>

<sup>1068</sup> Hacking, *Faith’s Ventures*, 24.

<sup>1069</sup> Telephone interview between R32 of Dundonald, Belfast and myself on 14.05.07.

<sup>1070</sup> See 1Corinthians. 12.

<sup>1071</sup> This experience was referred to frequently by the respondents. See Gee’s account of his experience in R. Massey *Another Springtime Donald Gee Pentecostal Pioneer*, (Guildford: Highland Books, 1992), 12 & RT “How the Latter Rain Fell” 2 June 1929, Vol.5 No.6, 2.

<sup>1072</sup> She shares that in her assembly there were hats hanging up in the cloakroom for people to wear and that this was a regular feature in all the AoG churches as women generally were expected to wear a hat or scarf in the services. See RT, Editorial, “Worship and Women’s Hats”, 15 October 1943.

### **6.8.3 Visitation**

R10 writes that Miss Winifred Copeland, who had a strong love for the lost, became her special friend and would take her into the prison in Nottingham when she was home on furlough from the Mission field.<sup>1073</sup> R10 shares that she used to feel nervous but Copeland was confident and; “on fire for God. She would say that everyone should be a missionary to the needy people wherever they live. When she returned, to Egypt, she would write to the inmates back home and many were helped by her”.

R16 and R17 are sisters who attended the new Radcliffe Tabernacle in 1927, and were part of the hospital visiting team that visited the Mental Hospital at Prestwich, Manchester once a month.<sup>1074</sup> R16 shares that three other women would join her and her sister and together they would make the journey by bus. They would meet at the Tab, (as their AoG church was referred to), and pray with the pastor before they set off. The bus stop was just by the church at the bottom of the road. R17 shares that there were some very sad cases at the hospital with some people having suffered shell shock in the First World War. Both respondents express how important this ministry was to them, which they firmly believed God had specially given them to fulfil. R16 explains that they brought their requests to the prayer meeting and shares “I know this helped our visits bear fruit”.

R26 was a deacon’s wife and the Sick Visitor for the assembly. She shares how she would go to homes of children who had stopped coming to the Sunday School, or Sunshine Corner.<sup>1075</sup> If she came upon genuinely needy families, she felt it was her ministry to encourage and help practically by doing shopping or washing as well as by praying for the children and the families.

### **6.8.4 Open Air/Evangelism/Church Planting**

Evangelism is an important hallmark of the AoG denomination and the women were as active as the men in looking for opportunities to share the gospel. A report from the Crossley assembly illustrates this “The Sisters have a wonderful meeting every Wednesday evening. They sometimes have an Open-Air Meeting first, when about 50 or more make their stand for Christ

<sup>1073</sup> Interview between R10 and myself at Netherfield, Nottingham on 30.06.07.

<sup>1074</sup> Interview between R16, R17 and myself at Whitefield, Lancashire on 21.02.07.

<sup>1075</sup> Interview between R26 and myself at Louth, Lincolnshire on 30.05.07.

outside; after which, they go into the Assembly. They nearly always see souls saved and many healed”.<sup>1076</sup>

R22 shares that handing out tracts to people and inviting them to the meetings with the idea they would hear the gospel message and get saved, was a regular activity carried out by women in the AoG churches.<sup>1077</sup> Even the very elderly were involved. She remembers two sisters in their late 80s, who before the 6pm Sunday gospel meeting, would stand at the door of the church in Sykes Street, Hull inviting people passing by to come in with the purpose of getting them to hear the gospel message and get converted. R22 recalls how these spinsters would fearlessly approach groups of rowdy teenagers and implore them to come to the service, which would be starting shortly. Some young people did come in to the services and there were conversions. R22 particularly recalls a man wearing a leather jacket with “Al Capone” written across the back in silver studs.<sup>1078</sup> He got soundly converted and became a soul-winner himself.

R25 joined the Spennymoor assembly following an evangelistic Campaign by Edward Jeffreys.<sup>1079</sup> He writes about subsequent ongoing evangelism, which was ably undertaken by women. This is similarly attested to in the following *RT* article “We praise God for His wonderful presence with us...Our Assembly under the pastorate of Mrs. J. Tetchner and Miss. Waller, Evangelist, continues to grow. God has blessed their work. Souls are being saved, the sick divinely healed and the saints baptised in the Lord’s own way”.<sup>1080</sup>

Evangelism also took place by women witnessing on a one-to-one basis. R36 shares that he attended the AoG Church at Nottingham in his teenage years.<sup>1081</sup> He remembers the minister sharing his testimony that he became a Christian as a result of a young woman’s persistent and

<sup>1076</sup> *RT* “Reports From Far and Near” July 1925, Vol.1 No.7, 9.

<sup>1077</sup> Interview between R22 and myself at Hull, Yorkshire on 05.02.09.

<sup>1078</sup> Alphonse Gabriel Capone rose to infamy as a gangster in Chicago during the 1930s in America.

<sup>1079</sup> Interview between R25 and myself at Spennymoor, County Durham on 04.12.07.

<sup>1080</sup> *RT* “Greater things Are Ahead, Amen” July 1929, Vol.5 No.7, 16.

<sup>1081</sup> Interview between R36 and myself at Nottingham, Nottinghamshire on 10.04.07.

“fiery witnessing” about God’s love for him. She wouldn’t give up on him and it was this determination that won him over in the end”.<sup>1082</sup>

Indeed, personal witness is an activity very much in evidence in early British Pentecostalism and referred to often by many respondents. R14 relates that she could remember as clearly as though it were yesterday that women in 1936 were not ashamed to stand in the open-air meetings and give out tracts inviting people back to the assembly where they so often “gave their hearts to Jesus.”<sup>1083</sup> She shares that she would go along with other young women in a group, after being prayed over by the pastor to keep them safe, to the “down and outs” where they would distribute food and clothes. She recalls that although 1936 was hailed as a mild winter, she met many shivering, hungry people on the streets whom they were able to help. There were several wonderful conversions of people who accepted the invitations from the group to come to the church services. R14 explains that the reason why they got involved in this ministry was remembering that “Jesus mixed with these sorts of needy people to win them and bring them into the Kingdom”.<sup>1084</sup> R4 from Ilkeston, also recalls that she used to witness to “down and outs” with other young women who felt “a burden for the lost with the idea of getting them saved and living a happy, new life.”<sup>1085</sup> A report of women ministering at Ilkeston states enthusiastically “There was a time of sweet refreshing...during which time Sister Parker and Sister E. Wilcox ministered jointly. The two sisters worked hard both in the assembly and in the district round the hall...about equal numbers of re-consecrations and conversions were recorded”.<sup>1086</sup>

Open-air outreach is an activity the AoG denomination was very committed to, with women featuring prominently. This was attested to by almost all the respondents who mentioned this form of ministry and they also said that women regularly took leading roles. R28 shares that Mrs Weller was an energetic pastor committed to training young people especially, to go out

<sup>1082</sup> See *RT*, Obituary Frederick A. North; “Brother North first heard about Pentecost through the earnest witness of a teenage girl”, 24 May 1963, Vol.39 No.5, 15.

<sup>1083</sup> Telephone interview between R14 of Maida Vale, London on 12.02.07.

<sup>1084</sup> *RT*, “Don’t Give Up”—“A True Witness Delivereth Souls”, January 1933, Vol.9 No.1, 8.

<sup>1085</sup> Interview between R4 and myself at Nottingham, Nottinghamshire on 06.01.09.

<sup>1086</sup> *RT* “Revival Tidings” May 1933, Vol.9 No.5,18.

in the open-air and win souls.<sup>1087</sup> On summer Sunday evenings she would be alongside pastor Weller as she held open-air preaching on the busy thoroughfare outside the church and she remembers souls being converted. She would be asked to give her testimony on the spot and although very nervous she always managed to give it. Willie Hacking writes about zealous ministering women. Some, he shares, had humble beginnings in the open-air meetings, and as a result of much practice, became first class evangelists. He writes in his recollections that there was one young girl, Alice Mellin, who would stand to preach. He writes that he and his friends would say of her that “she murdered the English language every time she preached, yet such was the unction that rested upon her message that the audience was...spellbound. So it was with others. Thus, preachers were born...in those early days”.<sup>1088</sup> Hacking relates how he would visit Burnley and stand with the leader Brother Edward Taylor and a few other people and they would give out gospel tracts. He relates that they would stand in the open square and after they had sung a hymn he would announce, for example, that Miss Florrie Maudsley was going to bring a short message after which they would sing another hymn. Taylor would pray, and then announce; “Now Miss Hyde is going to bring a word”. From this first preaching experience Lizzie Hyde progressed and developed a gifted ministry and through the years she successfully pastored assemblies “becoming a much sought out Convention speaker with a very sweet and unique ministry.”<sup>1089</sup> Pastor/Evangelist Miss Hyde was one of the women most mentioned by the respondents and had been very highly respected. Hacking writes; “Last Sunday night the pastor and elders received into fellowship over 300 new members...An average of 14 services each week are held in the Tabernacle besides open-air meetings. The branch works are enjoying blessing under...the ministry of Miss. Hyde, late of Blackburn”.<sup>1090</sup> R21 hails from the Rhonda Valley and recollects women pastors powerfully preaching in open-air evangelism in Wales.<sup>1091</sup> The *RT* informs; “The Chief speaker Mrs Hills’ (Pontlanfraith) Ministry was inspired and edifying. After tea an Open-Air meeting was held and many listened

<sup>1087</sup> Interview between R28 and myself at Scarborough, Yorkshire on 10.10.07.

<sup>1088</sup> Hacking, *Faith’s Ventures*, 13.

<sup>1089</sup> Hacking, *Faith’s Ventures*, 14.

<sup>1090</sup> Hacking, *Faith’s Ventures*, 15.

<sup>1091</sup> Telephone interview between R21 of Pontypridd, Wales and myself on 26.05.07.

to the Gospel story”.<sup>1092</sup> Following their affiliation with the newly formed AoG movement in 1924 the smaller fellowships, which had become affiliated, began to grow in size and number. A regular occurrence immediately following the formation of the AoG denomination was the building or acquiring of new church premises. The opening ceremony was understandably a momentous occasion. Women spoke at these special services as regularly as the men did. R19 recalls the opening of the new church at Mardy.<sup>1093</sup> The speaker at the opening ceremony had been a woman, a Miss Jones of Ton Pentre.<sup>1094</sup> The Scottish Evangelists Mr and Mrs Sykes effectively ministered as a team and are mentioned ministering at the convention and were known as the Singing Evangelists.<sup>1095</sup> R18 recalls that there was a lovely married couple from Scotland who, though he cannot remember their names, knows that “they travelled far and wide throughout Britain preaching and singing and were very popular.” They were the speakers and presumably also sang, at the annual convention in Bethshan Tabernacle, Longsight, Manchester in December 1930.<sup>1096</sup>

#### **6.8.5 Literary/Musical**

Many respondents refer to these areas perhaps more than any other. R27 enjoyed creating poems and reading them out in the church service.<sup>1097</sup> She would attempt to contribute suitable ones for various points in the church calendar throughout the year.

Bible Correspondence Courses are advertised in the *RT*.<sup>1098</sup> These courses, issued from Howard Carter’s Training School at Hampstead, are advertised “For those who are desirous of Bible Training but who cannot come into the School for Studies”. R33 was responsible for the church bookstall.<sup>1099</sup> Always keen to promote these Courses she said “I made sure there were Bible concordances and Bible dictionaries to help prospective students...this encouraged many who

<sup>1092</sup> *RT*, “Pentecostal Sisters’ Rally” 1 July 1936, Vol.12 No.3, 14.

<sup>1093</sup> Interview between R19 and myself at Y Maerdy, Monmouthshire on 15.02.07.

<sup>1094</sup> *RT*, “Opening of New Church at Mardy” 15 May 1935, Vo.11 No.8,12.

<sup>1095</sup> Interview between R18 and myself at Glasgow, Lanarkshire on 15.03.07.

<sup>1096</sup> *RT*, “Coming Convention” December 1930, Vol.5 No.12, back cover page.

<sup>1097</sup> Interview between R27 and myself at Preston, Lancashire on 28.10.07.

<sup>1098</sup> *RT*, “Items of Interest” Bible Correspondence Course, October 1925, Vol.1 No.10, 11.

<sup>1099</sup> Interview between R33 and myself at Eynesford, Dartford on 26.01.09.

were lacking confidence in studying a Bible Course”. She had eagerly shown the Certificates that she had been awarded for studying Bible Courses to people in her church. This had encouraged would-be students and the opportunity to make payment by instalments was an important incentive also. She declares “So all in all we did our bit in our Assembly to encourage men and women to become students of God’s Word. I took to heart the command of Paul to Timothy”.<sup>1100</sup> R33 recalls that many women had written good articles which she had read in the *RT* magazine. She had forgotten all but one, the subject of which concerned being salt and its influence for good. It had been written by Winifred Copeland, and made a lasting impression on her.<sup>1101</sup>

Music features in almost every respondent’s recollections. Many pianists and organists in early AoG churches were women. It was a regular feature in AoG churches to have congregational singing accompanied by an organ and piano being playing simultaneously. A regular feature, particularly of Sunday evening gospel services was the singing of solos or duets. The references to people, many of whom were women, who played and sang, appear continually in the *RT*. To be able to play or sing was an advantage in the pentecostal meetings because singing was an important feature of almost every gathering, whether by an individual, small group or large choir. A regular feature was to have “chorus singing” at the commencement of the gospel service, which often was led by a member of the congregation. R40 shares how she particularly enjoyed this time of chorus singing.<sup>1102</sup> She shares that she would choose a particular chorus at home and though she was too nervous to ever lead the choruses she would muster up courage and shout her request out when the person leading asked for someone’s choice. R24 recalls how the pastor in her church at Bury in Lancashire, would ask her to lead as she had a loud and pleasing voice.<sup>1103</sup> She enjoyed fulfilling this ministry and would ensure that the choice of her songs were rousing and cheerful; she would also engage the congregation by asking folk for their choices. R24 would sometimes be asked to lead the chorus singing at conventions held at her church, which she regarded as an honour and would prepare thoroughly. She recalls how

<sup>1100</sup> “Timothy 2:15 “Study to show thyself approved, a workman (and woman) that needeth not to be ashamed”.

<sup>1101</sup> *RT*, “Salt of the Earth” by Winifred Copeland, 24 February 1939, Vol.15 No.5, 6.

<sup>1102</sup> Interview between R40 and myself at Bilston, Wolverhampton on 08.12.06.

<sup>1103</sup> Interview between R24 and myself at Westhoughton, Greater Manchester on 02.08.07.

popular Miss Terill and her singing at conventions was.<sup>1104</sup> The music and singing at the Kingsway convention is remembered by R43. She attended annually with other young people from her own assembly in Belfast along with young people from other neighbouring assemblies in Ireland.<sup>1105</sup> She shares how they would look forward to this convention, which she recalls was “always wonderful. Donald Gee was the regular organist but Miss Partington would stand in for him sometimes.”<sup>1106</sup>

#### **6.8.6 Practical**

Cleaning the church was another area of ministry that traditionally had been a role relegated to the women of the church to fill, and many of the respondents refer to the women who regularly fulfilled this role. R46 and R47 are cousins who share that they were not ones who liked “being up the front”.<sup>1107</sup> They enjoyed a few hours each week fulfilling their ministry polishing the pulpit and scrubbing the tiled floors “keeping the Sanctuary spick and span for the Master.” Richard Crook in his report on general blessing at the Pentecostal Gillam Mission includes the comment “The sisters are happy and we pray blessing upon them for their labours with brush and duster, keeping the Sanctuary sweet and fit for the presence of the Lord”. The women of Bishop Auckland AoG responded swiftly to fulfil their ministry in this particular role the day a former Moulding Shed became their new church building. They are described by the writer as “A rush of willing sisters from the Assembly (who) soon scrubbed the floor, making way for the painters”.<sup>1108</sup>

R1 enjoyed distributing the *RTs*, but was always careful to collect the money for them in the week day services, as buying goods on the Lord’s Day (Sunday) was not allowed.<sup>1109</sup> R1 explains “The AoG denomination was very strict in observing the Lord’s Day. Quite a few of our fellowship belonged to the Lord’s Day Observance Society. None of us who were members

<sup>1104</sup> *RT*, “Coming Conventions” 18 May 1929, Vol.5 No.5, 15.

<sup>1105</sup> Interview between R43 and myself at Belfast, N. Ireland on 25.01.07.

<sup>1106</sup> *RT*, “Great Revival Convention” 15 June 1928, Vol.4 No.6, 13-14.

<sup>1107</sup> Telephone interview between R16 and R17 of Middlesborough, Yorkshire on 16.01.07.

<sup>1108</sup> *RT*, “New Home for the Bishop Auckland Assembly” 1 September 1934, Vol.10 No.17, 21-22.

<sup>1109</sup> Telephone interview between R1 of Portsmouth and myself on 25.04.07.



did business or shopping on the Lord's Day". She shares that some women would not cook a roast dinner on Sundays because they felt it more in keeping with respecting God's special Sabbath day if a simple meal only, was prepared.

R9 informs "Not many people had a wireless set and reading was very popular.<sup>1110</sup> I bought books that were advertised in the *RT* magazine and distributed them to folk in the church. Everyone loved to read missionary stories. I remember how popular books, especially by Willie Burton, and about him, were".<sup>1111</sup>

R2 had joined the AoG in 1927 and writes "Our assembly in Taff, South Wales was keen to serve the Community and one way was to run Nursery classes in the week days for pre-school children".<sup>1112</sup> R2 shares that there was water, sand and toys and books for the children to play with. They played games and sang action songs. She was very involved with this work that she describes as her ministry. By caring for the children in this way the church, she believes, was able to reach mothers. She shares that several mothers became members through this ministry.

Many respondents recall women fulfilling ministry connected with flowers for the church. R34 shares that for many years it was her job to purchase the flowers and she enjoyed arranging them artistically, maintaining that only the best was good enough for "the Lord's House."<sup>1113</sup> People were very kind and would take her to the florist as she got older. She regarded teaching her skills to younger women who were keen to learn, as part of her ministry where the flowers for church were concerned. R34 writes that she would take the name of anyone wishing to pay for the flowers in remembrance of an anniversary date. She also shares that "It was a custom in our church, Fig Tree Gospel Hall in Hull, as it was in many AoG churches, to take the flowers to any church member who was ill, or to a house where there had been a bereavement or new baby". R34 feels the name of the church had some connection with her ministry and shares; "Our church name originated from there being a large fig tree in the garden in Caroline Place when the church began in 1913". The work had started as a children's work, as so many AoG

<sup>1110</sup> Interview between R9 and myself at Chelmsford, Essex on 26.04.07.

<sup>1111</sup> See W. Burton & Max Moorhead *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests*. (Preston: R. Seed, 1922) and David Womersley & David Garrard *The Thrilling story of William Burton and Central African Missions* (Preston: Central African Missions, 2005).

<sup>1112</sup> Interview between R2 and myself at Cardiff, Wales on 16.02.07.

<sup>1113</sup> Telephone interview between R34 at Hull, Yorkshire and myself on 29.10.07.

churches had. When Sister Jenny Curtis came as a Missioner from Grimsby with Sister Hettie Allitt, they lived in the house and held children's meetings there. R34 explains that it had been the children who used to refer to their Sunday School as "Fig Tree" and the name stuck. She relates how she had always loved gardens and flowers and shares "It seemed natural to take up this ministry providing the floral displays at the church".

Homes of Rest were run often by women and the provision offered could involve either holidays or accommodation during a convention. These facilities are advertised in the *RT* magazine. Several respondents speak about the hospitality they enjoyed at these Homes. Mrs Cantel was famous for catering for Missionaries at her home at Highbury. (See 6.6.2 above).

R37 recalls going on holiday to Margate every year to a Home of Rest run by Mrs Miles who attended the local AoG and was assisted in practical ways by several other women from the church.<sup>1114</sup> This was the assembly Miss Furnival pastored for a little while when the War had been imminent preventing her continuing her Missionary work in India. This respondent has a continuing interest in this Mission Field because of the happy holidays she spent staying at the holiday home and worshipping at the Margate AoG church under pastor Furnival. Miss Furnival, aged 101, in interview with myself had shared from her bed in her Nursing Home, incidents from this time. She was also keen to talk about other women ministers thanking God for the "wonderful friendship and Sisterhood of fellow ministers such as Mrs Serjeant, Miss Hegi, Miss Noad, Miss Kennedy and Miss Hyde" who she said "ministered in full ministry roles as the male pastors. They did everything and their labours were mightily blessed".<sup>1115</sup>

### **6.8.7 Refreshments**

Arrangements for the provision of refreshments at conventions could vary in early AoG churches. It was exclusively the ministry of the women of the church. R13 recalls that along with a team of women she fulfilled this ministry and emphasised that that was how she regarded this work, which she had done for many years.<sup>1116</sup> She shares that her ministry was not

<sup>1114</sup> Interview between R37 at Nottingham, Midlands, on 28.09.07.

<sup>1115</sup> Taped Interview between Miss Furnival and myself in London on 5 June 2007. Though bedbound and physically frail Miss Furnival was mentally alert and shared numerous incidents which she had experienced through decades of ministry in Britain and overseas, with detailed clarity and joy.

<sup>1116</sup> Telephone interview between R13 of Falkirk, Stirlingshire and myself on 30.10.07.

speaking to people but she was very happy working behind the scenes in the kitchen alongside other women who also were happier doing this ministry as members of the catering team of the assembly. She feels “It was well worth all the effort to see how people enjoyed our hospitality and was lovely when we were thanked by them”.

The report of the convention at Merton, Durham, states “After the meeting, luncheon was provided for us by the beloved sisters of the Assembly”.<sup>1117</sup> Another report states “At the South Normanton Midland Annual Bank Holiday Convention meetings were held in Bethel Chapel (kindly loaned) and refreshments were provided”.<sup>1118</sup>

A very popular alternative was for visitors to each bring a little food to be gathered together and shared. This was to take place at the convention held at the Wolverhampton pentecostal Tabernacle and was announced as “Faith Tea at 3.00.”<sup>1119</sup> R8 was less keen adopting this method but acknowledges “It did have its advantages though as it did save on finances”.<sup>1120</sup> She recalls Mr. and Mrs. C. Yesson going out from her local church in Boyer Street in Derby in 1932. She remembers the event clearly because it was the first time she had been invited to cater for the tea after the valedictory send-off sermon, speeches and presentation of gifts to the Yessons.

#### **6.8.8 General Assistance**

R5 had been a student who had attended Howard Carter’s Bible School at Hampstead, and wrote at length about her time there.<sup>1121</sup> She recalls that in 1932 she attended a tin mission.<sup>1122</sup> It was called Victory Hall and pastored by Mr and Mrs East; “Mrs East, who was a gifted speaker, had a forceful personality, but a very practical outlook and worked extremely hard”. This, R5 informs, had found expression in the Easts overseeing a Home for aged workers they had provided, in addition to their pastoral work. With her pastor’s permission, when aged

<sup>1117</sup> *RT*, “Revival Tidings” August 1933, Vol.9 No.8, 14.

<sup>1118</sup> *RT*, “Revival Tidings” August 1932, Vol.8 No.8, 20.

<sup>1119</sup> *RT*, “Coming Conventions” August 1932, Vol.8 No.8, Back Cover.

<sup>1120</sup> Interview between R8 and myself at Alfreton, Derbyshire on 18.01.07.

<sup>1121</sup> Interview between R5 and myself at Portsmouth, South East on 03.07.07.

<sup>1122</sup> A tin mission hall is a type of prefabricated ecclesiastical building made from corrugated galvanised iron.

seventeen years of age, R5 had led a team ministering in chapels and missions around Grimsby and shares that this had been good experience which she was to benefit from when she later went on the Mission Field herself. She praised Mrs East, in particular, for always encouraging and supporting her which she had valued and needed to keep going in those early formative years. The rigours of the pastoral ministry role had traditionally made this a challenging occupation and was the subject of Aaron Linford's editorial to the *RT* on 21 August 1959. He writes "The tremendous physical, mental and nervous strain of a normal Pentecostal ministry is exhausting". He shares that one could only keep going by God's strength.

R23, a highly intelligent, articulate veteran, possesses a very good memory.<sup>1123</sup> His lengthy, detailed responses provide valuable insight with regards the issue of women's ministry in the early days of AoG. It is clear from his recollections, that to minister, a woman needed to be strong in the knowledge that God had called her and to work very hard in order to survive. R23 informs that his sister was involved in the ministry of Counselling. She would be asked to be present if the male pastor was asked to counsel a female. He adds that pastoral care was good in his assembly and that his sister was often called upon to offer her counsel and advice from a woman's perspective. Whilst appreciating the value of this ministry, which he believes was essential, he also appreciated the effort involved by the pastor to provide it. He thought, that unless they have a good team partner, preferably a wife, although George Jeffreys had his Evangelical Band, any pastor must find the work of God very demanding and draining indeed.

It is important at this juncture to compare how the eschatologies of the three denominations to access how the differences between them accounted for their different levels of openness to women in ministry. The impact of eschatology is precisely the dogmatic context within which the ministry of women was severely limited in the AC. The timing of Christ's Second Coming to the earth, when Jesus would come for his Church heralding the end of this present heaven and earth and the inauguration of their new replacements was believed to be dependent on how prepared the Church was for these events to begin taking place. As part of the preparation for Christ's Second Coming, the AC believed that God was forbidding women to fulfil official ministry roles. These were the reserve of men. Inextricably linked with this belief therefore was the commitment by the men at the AC headquarters that it was an urgent necessity to ensure women did not cross over into leadership ministry in mixed gender gatherings as this

<sup>1123</sup> Interview between R23 and myself at Bolton, Lancashire on 11.01.07.

would hold back the commencement of eschatological events. Whereas AC eschatological praxis was committed to restraining women from fulfilling their call to minister as the men, which was reflective in the AC's restrictive policy on women's ministry, the AoG and PMU's beliefs contrasted sharply viewing the world as a wrecked, doomed vessel in urgent need of being "rescued" which called for an "all hands on deck approach." This was reflected in their very different policy on women's ministry with women being encouraged to train and minister on an equal footing as the men to work, with a sense of urgency, in ensuring as many people as possible were saved before the inevitable ending of the world, which they believed was fast approaching, when time would run out and no further opportunity to win the lost would be possible. They regarded the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon men as well as women to be God's provision of power to enable this harvesting of precious souls. Jeffreys' approach to women and ministry was very different from either of these two denominations because the impact on women's ministry policy was not eschatology; his approach was purely pragmatic. This was evident in the way he curtailed women's leadership to accommodate members coming into his developing assemblies from churches where women ministering in official ministry roles was unacceptable. He only put women in charge of churches where the issue of having a woman minister would not be problematic. Women and their ministry at the incipient stage of Elim was pragmatically indispensable whereas at this later stage of his movement's development Jeffreys adopted a policy that curtailed women's ministry role and selectively deployed them, again pragmatically.<sup>1124</sup>

## 6.9 Conclusion

This chapter establishes that, although there were women fulfilling subservient roles in the movement, significantly the AoG denomination provided, from its early beginnings, a positive forum where women were encouraged to fulfil their call to pastoral leadership ministry successfully leading AoG churches just as their male colleagues did. This necessarily involved being offered training with the expectation that a woman could lead a church and also gave encouragement to pioneer a church in the absence of there being an established church to lead. This chapter illustrates how the two defining characteristics of AoG—the integral missionary

<sup>1124</sup> See B. Wilson *Sects and Society*, 50. Wilson's observation of Elim at this time is that the institutionalisation or routinisation of the denomination is beginning to take place. Jeffreys perceives that by pragmatically reining the women in he will keep the men happy and thereby maintain his growing movement.

praxis and the individual church autonomy of its loosely affiliated organisation—had benefitted women strategically in the fulfilling and maintaining of their call to leadership ministry. Firstly, the lasting legacy of the women PMU missionaries which transferred at the infusing of the PMU with the AoG in its infancy, set the scene for women to minister freely. Secondly, the AoG, though a distinctly defined movement, had always been composed of loosely affiliated, autonomously-governed assemblies. This research has revealed that in the absence of any central governance being able to inflict restrictions on them, AoG women were able to continue from the beginning, ministering in official roles.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: Analysis and Conclusion**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The overriding theme of this study is that women in this era were seriously disadvantaged. My first theme, anonymity, was a major disadvantage experienced by women both in society (Chapter Two) and in the churches (Chapter Three) especially those women in Elim who were, prior to 1928, allowed to minister fully as the men but even though they were allowed to pastor churches after this time this was not in a full pastoral role. They found the idea of having to ask another minister, simply because he was a man, to come and fulfil the ministry they were denied doing just because of their gender, gauling indeed. The gathered responses from the interviewees verified that the women involved were very perturbed about this situation. Ruth Walker, even in her twilight years, was still outraged that she had been robbed of Bible College training and leadership ministry. This avenue was open to her brothers because they were men but closed to herself because she was a woman.

### **7.2 Research Claim**

My hypothesis is that scant attention has been paid hitherto to the women who ministered in the three largest Pentecostal denominations in Britain at their beginnings from 1915 to 1940. This resulted in them remaining mostly hidden and their voices unheard. On the basis of the limited evidence provided in the literature, especially that of Tweed and Cartwright, my premise became the starting point for testing through further investigation.<sup>1125</sup> My thesis finds that women fulfilled significant ministry roles during the formation and initial development of these denominations in this early era. It finds that women had a much more influential role than has been ascribed to them by historians.

### **7.3 Research Purpose**

The purpose of the research was to discover what role/s women fulfilled/what part they played in nascent British Pentecostalism. When I had initially approached Cartwright he pointed out that no one had ever asked the questions I was asking about what roles women fulfilled in them

<sup>1125</sup> See Chapter One, 1.1, Chapter Two, 2.1.3, and Chapter Three, 3.2.

and that the issue still remained unaddressed. Endorsement of this lacuna and call for it to be rectified were further identified in the literature.<sup>1126</sup>

#### **7.4 Research question**

My desire, as expounded in the Introduction of this study, became a question as a result of discovering and surveying the paucity of knowledge in understanding the roles fulfilled by the women in the denominations. My question was something existing research had also failed to consider.<sup>1127</sup> I set about correcting this deficiency.

#### **7.5 Significance**

This study is beneficial to many people. Importantly, gaps in knowledge of what the women actually did in early British Pentecostalism and the ministry roles they performed are substantially filled by my archival and interview research. The rediscovery of the women's hitherto mostly forgotten, neglected lives has allowed their stories to be made available to the public for the first time in the majority of cases. A further benefit of this study is its valuable contribution to the collection of gender studies about women in other church organisations. These studies have also committed to rediscovering women's ministry roles, hearing their voices and re-casting the women's narratives.<sup>1128</sup>

#### **7.6 Summary and Analysis**

Information was gathered using the methodology and research tools explained in chapter 1, via the process of triangulation, which by analysing and discussing the information enabled the central research question to be answered. I am affirming my reasoning through the thesis as I address the main purpose.

The narrative of the women who ministered in early British Pentecostalism is complex. The research highlights the operating of various pragmatic, governmental, theological and

<sup>1126</sup> See Chapter One, 1.1, Chapter Three, 3.2.2

<sup>1127</sup> See limited and inadequate discussion and assessment of women in the literature reviews in Elim Church, Chapter Four 4.3; Apostolic Church, Chapter Five 5.3, Assemblies of God, Chapter Six 6.3.

<sup>1128</sup> See Chapter Three, 3.2.2, Literature Review (other scholars) and Chapter Seven, 7.7 Dialoguing with other scholars.



sociological factors which impinged upon the women and were responsible for causing variation in the extent of their ministry roles.

Pragmatism, theological issues and sociological trends were factors responsible for causing variance in church governance that crucially affected women's ministry roles. Initially, pragmatic action in the Elim denomination is taken to meet demands without involving much forethought, as Boulton emphasised. As these needs began to be met, the movement was moving towards becoming a denomination with Jeffreys having not thought out what Wilson referred to as the "bureaucratic organisation"(routinisation), a process that is planned and organised. Jeffreys attempted to meet the growing needs of the burgeoning Elim denomination around himself. Theological factors impinged to varying degrees upon the women with a call to minister in this early era of denominational Pentecostalism. This became apparent as the narratives in each denominations' documentary material were researched and analysed. The Holiness women, Phoebe Palmer and Hannah Whitall Smith, who articulated reasons why women could minister created a precedent for women's ministry. Catherine Booth of the Salvation Army, fiercely defended it. These inspirational women were particularly influential to the ministering women in the Pentecostal denominations. For women to be fulfilling the same ministry roles as the men at this early juncture was radical, for in the mainline Churches it was not happening and given the prevalent mores of the time, was most unorthodox. However, it had been a woman's ministry that had inspired Jeffreys to launch the Elim denomination and his revivalist ministry across Ireland. Women's official ministry role did not escape regulation following Jeffreys' decision to regulate the government of the denomination. Jeffreys wrote pamphlets specifying what everyone in the organisation, men and women alike, could and could not do. He curtailed the women's ministry role decreeing that women could no longer officiate in Baptisms, Weddings, Funerals and Holy Communion Services.<sup>1129</sup> Although women could be in charge of a church, they no longer had the freedom that the men had to fulfil these official ministry roles. Only if a man was unavailable was a woman sanctioned to step in as reserve and carry out the official ministry role and take a funeral, as in previous times. This was now women's reduced official ministry role. Such was the tightly controlled governance of the Elim movement, with Jeffreys its autocratic leader, able to restrict

<sup>1129</sup> G. Jeffreys, *Duties Of Ministers* (Section A) *Sisters Should Not Officiate* 37 (London: Elim Publishing Co., May 1929).

the women as and how he deemed fit, that the women acquiesced. Indisputedly this was abuse of the women and their ministry.

Women's official ministry role in the AC was also affected as a result of pragmatic and theological issues. The prescribed theological ruling for what ministry roles women were allowed to fulfil, apart from their prophetic ministry role that is discussed below, had already been addressed prior to the secession from its parent AFC. The women's ministry policy had transferred intact and its praxis and policy were already firmly in place in the AC at its launch although, as Jardine discovered, observing them at this early juncture was not strictly adhered to and he took it upon himself to rectify this.<sup>1130</sup> Designed solely by men, the Women's Movement with its *Standard Schemes* and the role of deaconess were specific to this denomination and the eight circumscribed areas of unofficial ministry roles they deemed women could minister in.<sup>1131</sup> Some leadership ministry was granted to the role of deaconesses; for example, they were allowed to conduct evangelistic outreach. Their ministry role in the assembly pertained to women and children, which came overall, under the rule and jurisdiction of the men. This is illustrated by the fact that even in a Women's Meeting a man was required to be present in case an issue arose requiring clarification or a question needed answering. Not even the deaconess could step in; all authority remained with the man to give his considered opinion. "Blatant prejudice" was the phrase used by a very elderly respondent, a deaconess in the AC in this early era, to describe the injustice she encountered. Deaconesses had not been allowed to gather for a meeting, nor even to attend with the deacons, who could. This injustice against deaconesses because of their gender, which she had encountered and successfully

<sup>1130</sup> It is important to note that although the Constitution was not officially compiled and published until 1937, that is "put in stone" setting out the women's 8 areas of permissible ministry, there was continual affirmation that women were to fulfil only non-leadership, subordinate ministry many years before this time. The prophecies, as the examples seen above, delivered at the annual Convocation at Penygroes, verify this fact. The women were fulfilling these 8 areas of ministry even before they were written into the Constitution; it was imperative that they did so because of the important issue regarding the AC's hermeneutic concerning the parousia. It was inextricably linked with the belief that women occupying subordinate ministry was part of the preparation required by the church before this could take place.

<sup>1131</sup> I was not surprised to find that the interviewees' responses regarding the categories of unofficial ministry Elim and AoG women fulfilled naturally fitted similarly into the categories labelled by the AC and I conveniently adopted them when categorising Elim and AoG responses.

challenged, had remained with her always. By the time the secession of the AC had taken place in 1916, the ministry role/s of women had been severely curtailed in the belief that this was part of the prophetically inspired message from God. Respondents did recall, though, the women in the Bo'ness Apostolic assembly having to step into the breach and fulfil official ministry when the men routinely went on deep-sea fishing expeditions.

As this denomination also began to develop and routinise, its leader Williams began to reconsider the official prophetic ministry role women were exercising. Women had freely prophesied with authority and in mixed-gender congregations from the time its parent church had formed continuing through its secession until 1929 when Williams decreed this now had to stop and they were no longer permitted to fulfill the official role of delivering directive prophecy. The goalposts for women's prophetic ministry had moved. The theological issue of "directive prophecy," a feature of the AC from the beginning, was rooted in church governance and now women were barred from ministering officially in this type of prophecy. The women had to accept this curtailment of their ministry role. Similar to the Elim women's experience, there was nothing the Apostolic women could do either to change the directive of the dictatorial leader of their centrally governed denomination. Rebellion accomplished nothing and women, in the main, settled into their subservient ministry roles. The curtailment of any official ministry role for women was now complete and in 1937 the policy passed unceremoniously into the constitution, which remained unaltered until very recently.<sup>1132</sup>

Women in the AoG denomination continued ministering officially, uninterrupted by any centralised governance. Gee referred to the root of the difference between the Elim and AoG denomination explaining that; "Elim stood for centralised, Assemblies of God for local government."<sup>1133</sup> The AoG had originated when a significant number of fully independent fellowships had come together to co-operate while still retaining their own identity and autonomous control.<sup>1134</sup> Women in the fissiparous AoG ministered as freely as the men, influenced by the role models of ministering Salvation Army women and Alexander Boddy's ministering wife, Mary. As a result of triangulating the sources I engaged with, it was established that the missionary ethos of the AoG was a theological issue in that this was

<sup>1132</sup> See footnote 877 above.

<sup>1133</sup> Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 129.

<sup>1134</sup> See Chapter Six 6.2

eschatalogically driven and women were not limited to subservient roles of ministry. This held true whether the geographical location of ministry was at home in Britain or on a field abroad. Repeatedly the interviewees related this fact. Combined with autonomous freedom enjoyed by each assembly without recourse to a centrally governing headquarters, women's ministry roles did not suffer curtailment. The denomination was not affected by pragmatic, theological or central governmental issues and thus their women ministered uninterrupted, without restriction. This was safeguarded in that the women's ministry roles could not be tampered with at the whim of a leader ruling from a governing centralised body.<sup>1135</sup> The impact of social trends, commented upon in the following paragraph, was circumnavigated by this denomination's encouragement and support of its women with a call to minister, to pioneer their own assembly.

Social trends in society impacted on women's freedom to minister. The post war positive approach to women was the renewed importance being given to woman's traditional role as manager of her household and this was extended effectively across society. The "cult of domesticity" trending in society affected the freedom of the women who ministered in an official ministry capacity in the Pentecostal churches at that time. When a woman married, she vacated her job. The prevailing culture did not accommodate women who had a husband to provide for her, keeping her employment. Men had come back from the war and needed their jobs. This had some bearing on the praxis emerging in the churches. Wives in the work-place could not keep their jobs and the same held true when a woman pastor married. She had to vacate her pastorate. The general trend in Elim was not to appoint married women. Many single women pastors married but had to give up their churches, which reflected the mood pervading society. The women's individual ministerial record sheets reveal that some unmarried women

<sup>1135</sup> It is important to clarify that the congregational principle of government of the AoG accommodated various/diverse degrees of reception and affirmation of women in ministry. It was a defining characteristic that women and their ministry were accommodated uniformly throughout the denomination. Kay is a corroborating source in that he affirms in his history of the AOG *Inside Story* (Doncaster: Mattersey Hall, 1990), 39, that women and their ministry role as pastors have "always" had a place in AoG and Weaver affirmed in his article, "Leading Ladies—Right or Wrong?" in *Redemption*, March 1987, 13-15 that women functioned as ministers "happily alongside their male colleagues" from the earliest days. The interviews I conducted with the 50 AoG respondents and particularly with long-serving AoG pastors—Belfield, Rees and Whittaker corroborate and verify the above written affirmations and that this was uniform throughout the denomination. There is no evidence that AoG reacted in any way to the Flapper Act; there is no reference made to it in the *Redemption Tidings* or by the pentecostal historians.

ministers continued pastoring churches but they were not many.<sup>1136</sup> Corry, the gate-keeper at the EBC adopted the policy of preventing women from training at the Bible College, which effectively barred women from ministering officially in Elim as this training was a prerequisite. Consequently, women in the Elim denomination with a call to minister were unable to fulfil official ministry roles. The number of women ministering officially in Elim from this time reduced dramatically. Flower was an exception.<sup>1137</sup> Her vignette reveals that for women in Elim determined to fulfil an official ministry role, demanded extraordinary tenacity and courage. Told by Corry to refrain from pestering him further, Flower did so but was still utterly determined to pursue her ministerial calling and lobbied a more accommodating member of the Elim Headquarter's staff. This senior official listened sympathetically to Flower and eventually offered her a tiny pastorate on a stipend of £1.00 a week, which she gratefully accepted. She was to successfully prove her calling. Analysis of this vignette reveals that Flower suffered rejection on the grounds of her gender. No woman underwent official training in Elim from 1928. This was when Corry began adopting the policy of barring women from entering the Bible College, until he left in disgrace in 1940, when the policy changed to one of accepting women again.<sup>1138</sup>

The trend in society did not affect the women in the AoG. Carter's reaction to the assemblies' preference for a male minister was to positively work round the problem, unlike his Elim counterpart Corry. He instigated the Bible School Evangelistic Society in 1926 to support and encourage his female (and male) Bible College students, such as Bell, to pioneer their own churches.<sup>1139</sup> Some of these women ministers took part in the interview survey questionnaire and related how profitable had been their attendance at Carter's Bible College. These respondents gave heartfelt testimony to the encouragement and support they received from Carter during their church-planting endeavours. Several male ministers, including Belfield, Rees and Whittaker, respectfully referred to the female pioneers as their colleagues, on equal

<sup>1136</sup> See Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern

<sup>1137</sup> See Chapter Four, 4.8.

<sup>1138</sup> To clarify the era of this study only extends to 1940 and I am only able to comment confidently because of my extensive research on women's role in this period although I have acquainted myself with the current situation.

<sup>1139</sup> See Chapter Six, 6.3 & 6.6.4.

footing with themselves.<sup>1140</sup> The women's ministry roles in this denomination were extended and strengthened as a result. This is in sharp contrast to the women of the other two denominations, who had a call to minister, but were denied the opportunity to fulfil it.

### **7.6.1 Quantitative Data**

The extent of women's ministry in the four official services within each denomination is reflected in the table below.<sup>1141</sup> Value-laden choices were made by veterans.<sup>1142</sup> The block and pie graphs created from this data reveal at a glance the extent of the involvement of women ministering in these official roles. The ranking order 1-4 was arrived at relative to the extent veterans recalled women ministering. Women in the AoG denomination ministered the most and in a ranking order of leadership involvement therefore, the AoG was positioned in first place. The denomination that had the next highest number of women ministering below the AoG number was positioned in second place and so on.

**Table 7.1 The levels of women's official ministry in early British Pentecostalism 1915 to 1940**

<b>The Ranking of Leadership Involvement</b>	<b>Baptism Service</b>	<b>Wedding Service</b>	<b>Funeral Service</b>	<b>Holy Communion Service</b>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Place</b>	<b>AoG</b>	<b>AoG</b>	<b>AoG</b>	<b>AoG</b>
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Place</b>	<b>Elim Period 1</b>	<b>Elim Period 1</b>	<b>Elim Period 1</b>	<b>Elim Period 1</b>
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Place</b>	<b>Apostolic</b>	<b>Apostolic</b>	<b>Apostolic</b>	<b>Apostolic</b>
<b>4<sup>th</sup> Place</b>	<b>Elim Period 2</b>	<b>Elim Period 2</b>	<b>Elim Period 2</b>	<b>Elim Period 2</b>

<sup>1140</sup> See Chapter Six, 6.3, 228.

<sup>1141</sup> The embedded table of the responses gathered from the respondents, the data, was inserted into Microsoft Word computer programme. The ranking was arrived at by studying the computer printout provided by the data.

<sup>1142</sup> See Chapter One Methodology 1.4.4.1 Interview Survey Questionnaire.

The above table reveals an overall repeated pattern. The place order is consistently the same with the women of the AoG denomination ranked in first place, fulfilling official ministry in Baptism, Wedding, Funeral and Holy Communion services the most. Elim Period 1 is ranked in second place. Ranked in third place is the AC and ranked in the last place is Elim Period 2, fulfilling official ministry services the least. It is noteworthy that Elim Period 2 reflects the paucity of women ministering in official leadership following George Jeffreys' curtailing edict in 1928, which said women should not do so. Significantly this was also a time when women pastors were no longer welcome to lead churches as they had been prior to the popularity of the cult of domesticity that began to pervade society. Women pastors married with many marrying male pastors.<sup>1143</sup> The vignette of Dorothy Flower was included to illustrate how extremely difficult it was for a woman with a call to minister in Elim to be allowed entry for the prerequisite training to the Elim Bible College. This never was granted but after years of concerted struggle Flower was offered the pastorate of the small Ledbury church, which was towards the end of this era. On the other hand, the AC at Bo'ness was an established assembly of some years and it was a well-known and accepted fact that the women with a ministry call played a strategic role in the running of the assembly stepping into leadership ministry when the men went routinely on fishing expeditions. The fact that the long-term pastor Williams encouraged women with a call to minister when the men were absent was significant and created a ministerial platform for the women. When these factors are taken into account it is unsurprising that the AC ranks in third place, albeit marginally, above Elim Period 2 which is in fourth place.

The extent of women's official ministry was dependent upon the variance of pragmatism, governance and theological and sociological factors operating within the denominations. This is reflected in the above table. Not surprisingly, the AoG ranked first place indicating women in this denomination fulfilled official ministry throughout the era. The governance was local and therefore not exposed to the issue of any rule an autocratic leader might want to enforce by the issuing and imposing of any curtailment of the women's ministry roles. Theologically this denomination did not regard women's ministry role to be subservient to that of the men's. They viewed Britain as any other mission field where this rule did not apply; men and women were free to minister in egalitarian roles. The results for the Elim denomination reflect the

<sup>1143</sup> See Chapter Four 4.7 Curtailment of Women's Ministry especially footnote 591 which gives examples of this taking place in Elim.

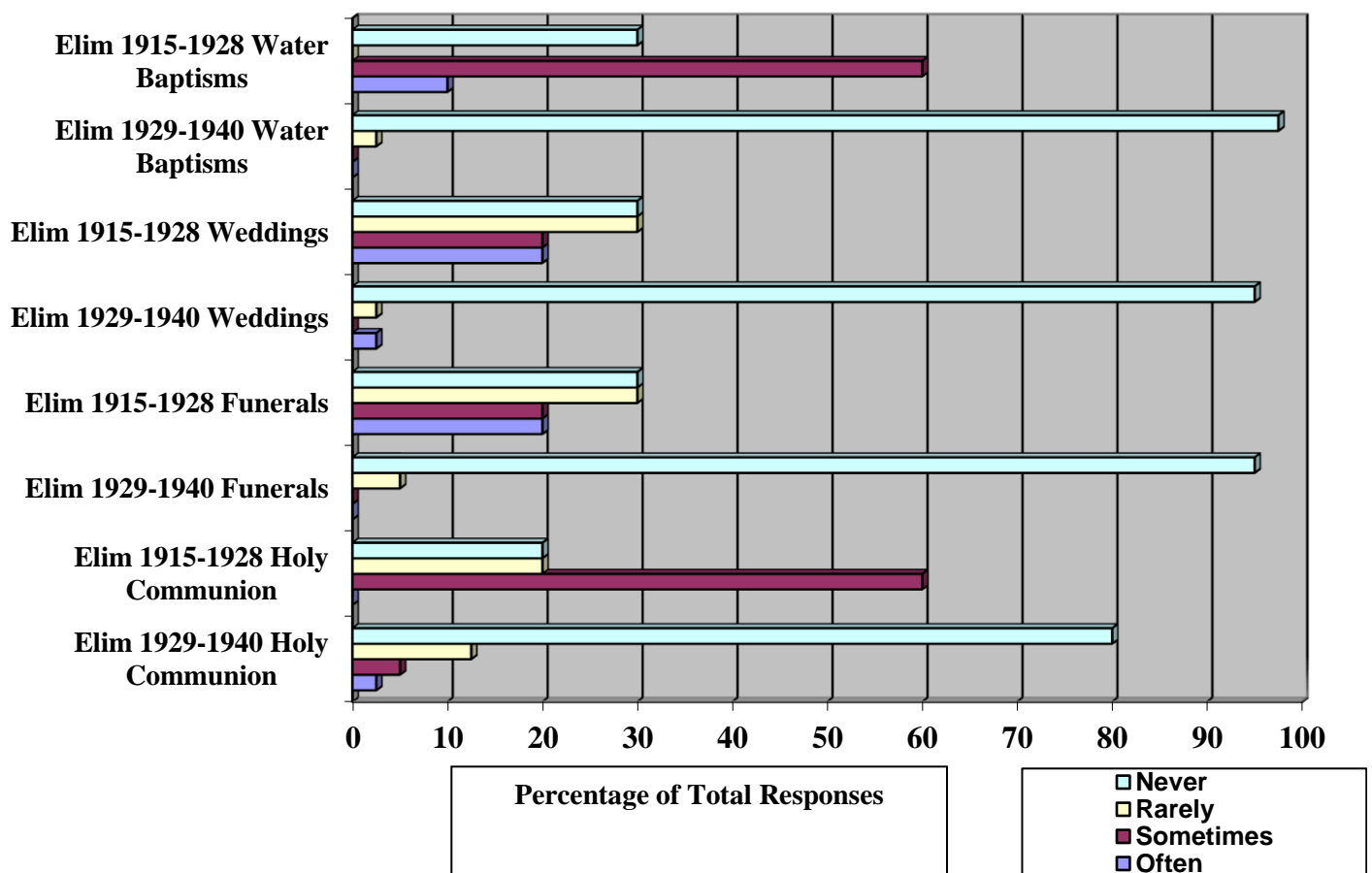
operating of pragmatism and its centralised tightly controlled governance. In the beginning Jeffreys had been keen for men or women to fulfil official ministry roles and this is reflected in the women's consistently high level of official ministry in the first part of this early era—Period 1. As the denomination settled and the routinisation process began this was to alter dramatically as various issues, such as the highly controversial theological issue of “women's ministry” were scrutinised. This impacted the women and their ministry with Jeffreys stipulating the withdrawal of their official ministry roles. This was to be the domain forthwith of the men only. In order that there were no hold-ups where funerals were concerned, the rule could be conveniently bent and women allowed, if a male pastor could not be located, to step into the breach. So, women could be called upon to fulfil this official role as a convenience but as a matter of rule, women were deemed to be not ideal on account of their gender. The prevailing cult of domesticity in society compounded the situation as churches now preferred to pay a man to pastor them as the majority of married women in society were now prevented by the marriage bar from earning a wage. Even single ministering women found difficulty in being placed in a church. With the only route to becoming an Elim minister blocked by Corry, women and their official ministry role virtually vanished, which is reflected in Elim Period 2 being consistently placed bottom in the ranking order in the above Table. The centrally organised governance around Daniel Williams, the AC's autocratic leader, is reflected in the denomination's low-ranking level. Williams stipulated that women could no longer fulfil the official ministry role of directive prophecy, thereby removing their only official ministry role. The reason this denomination is ranked in third position and not in fourth is because of the egalitarian situation operating at the Bo'ness assembly. Although women could stand in and conduct official ministry for funerals in Elim Period 2, this was obviously less than the official ministry Apostolic women were standing in for and conducting, when the men were absent, which was a regular occurrence. The fact that the women were not considered as ideal as the men and able therefore to fulfil ministry when the men were not away fishing, was because of their gender. Again, here we have another example of women being treated as a convenience. This is blatant abuse of them and their ministry.



I have included, to show at a glance, Figure 7.1, (Chart 7.5 in the Appendix), which reflects the very different levels of women’s official ministry operating in these two Periods in the Elim denomination in this era.<sup>1144</sup>

**Chart to show comparison of Women’s official ministry roles,  
Elim period 1, 1915-1928 and period 2, 1929-194**

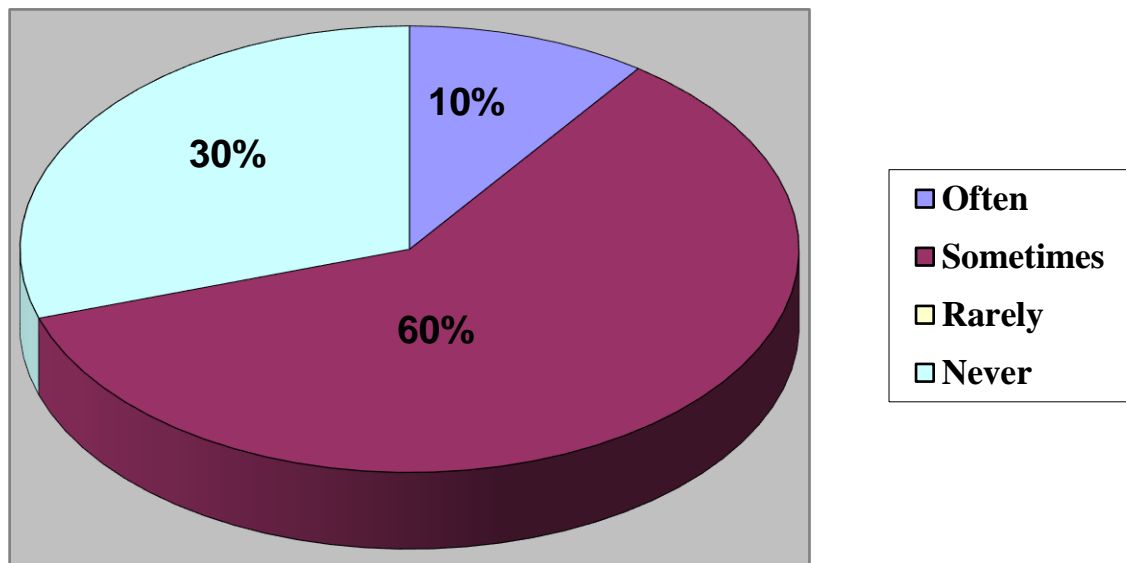
**Figure 7.1<sup>1145</sup>**



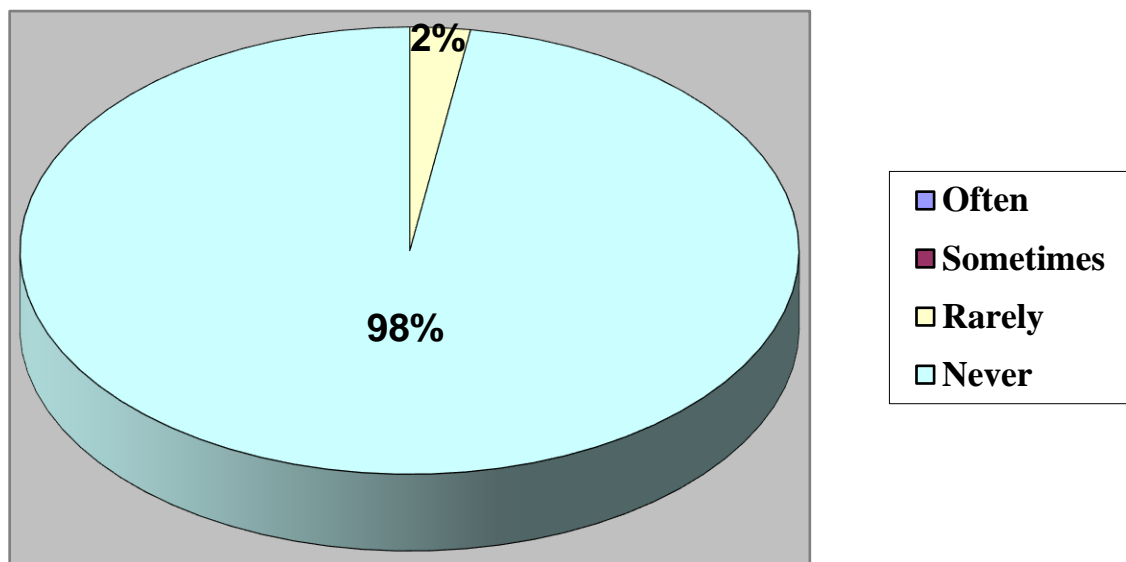
To show variance in the extent women ministered in these official ministry roles within the three denominations, the example of the water Baptism service has been included.<sup>1144</sup>

<sup>1145</sup> This is Figure 7.5 in Appendix Z.

**Figure 7.2<sup>1146</sup> Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Roles of Women in water Baptism services in Elim 1915 to 1928 Period 1.**



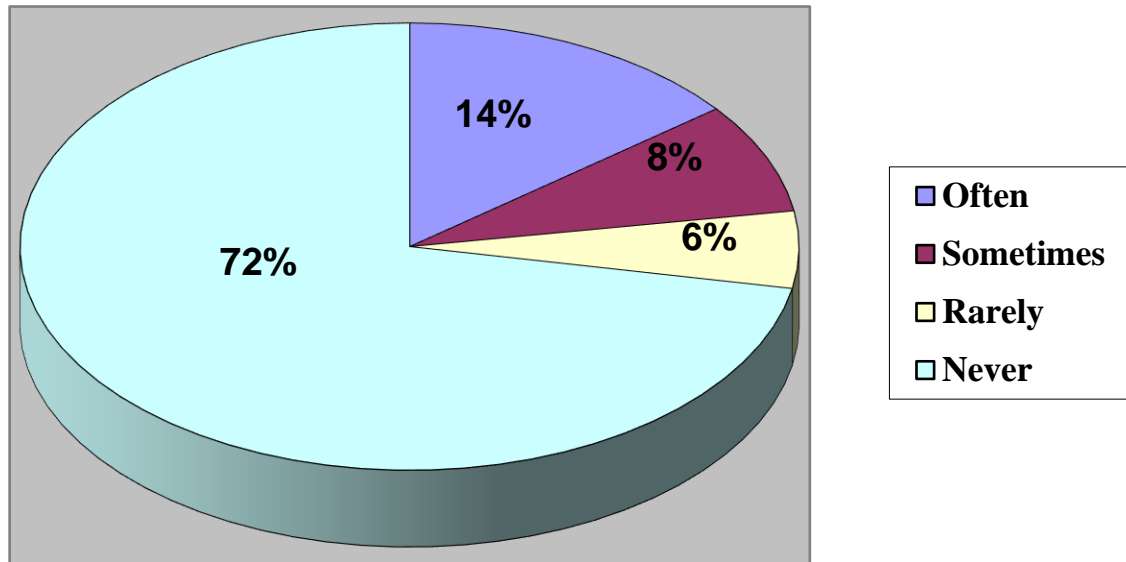
**Figure 7.3<sup>1147</sup> Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of Roles of Women in Baptism Services Elim 1929 to 1940 Period 2**



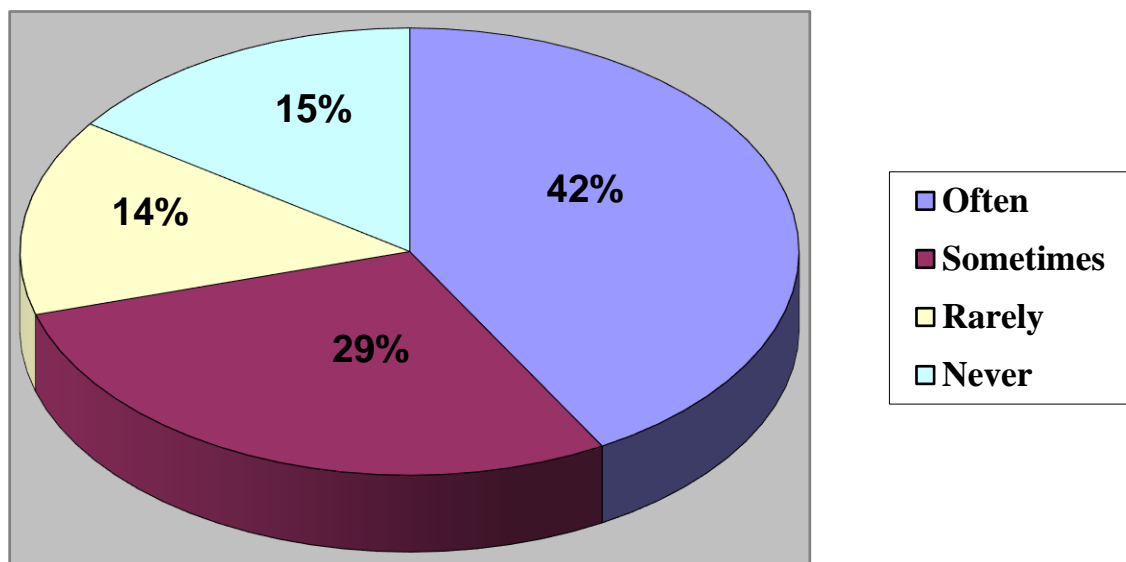
<sup>1146</sup> This is Figure 4.1 in Appendix F.

<sup>1147</sup> This is Figure 4.5 in Appendix J.

**Figure 7.4<sup>1148</sup> Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Roles of Women in Water Baptism Services Apostolic Church 1916 to 1940**



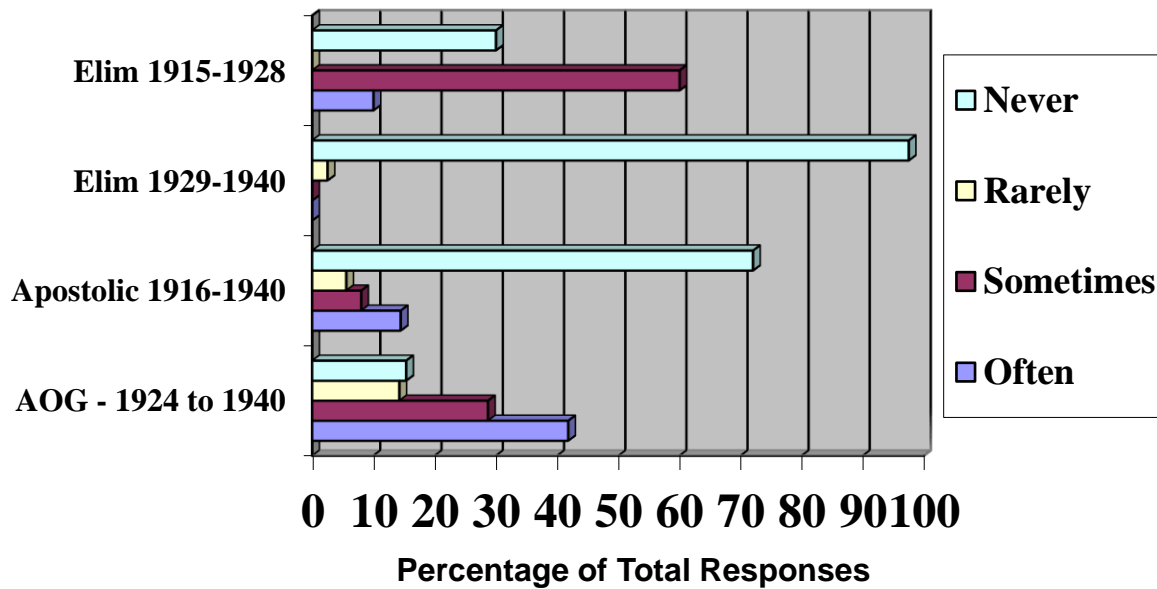
**Figure 7.5<sup>1149</sup> Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Role/s of Women in Baptism Services Assemblies of God 1924-1940**



<sup>1148</sup> This is Figure 5.1 in Appendix N.

<sup>1149</sup> This is Figure 6.1 in Appendix R.

**Figure 7.6<sup>1150</sup> Chart to Show Comparisons Across the three Denominations in terms of respondent's recollections regarding the Roles of Women in Baptism Services**



### 7.6.2 Qualitative Data

Qualitative data is presented in each respective denomination chapter where it is analysed and discussed. Comparative analysis of the data shows evidence that women in all three denominations were busily engaged throughout the era in fulfilling the eight areas of ministry with prophecy featuring more in the AC than in the other two denominations. This was not an unusual result given prophecy's high profile in the AC. The qualitative data provides evidence that women's involvement in these eight areas of unofficial ministry roles was extensive. It informs that they contributed significantly to the smooth and efficient running of the Pentecostal assemblies throughout the three denominations.

<sup>1150</sup> This is Figure 7.1 in Appendix V.

## 7.7 Dialoguing with Other Scholars

The focus of my research and that of other researchers I am dialoguing with is predominantly women. This is warranted, for as Slee reminds us, traditionally research has focussed on men to the exclusion of women.<sup>1151</sup> Our shared commitment is exploring what role/s women fulfil and to break what Guin terms “the silence of women”. Women are finding their voices, “Coming Back From the Silence.”<sup>1152</sup> A common feature of all the combined research, bar that experienced by women ministering in the AoG, is the struggles as Shaw notes, that women have engaged in “to be part of the official status quo within the Christian Church.”<sup>1153</sup> Another shared feature is the similar congregational context, as women were interviewed and listened to “there in the pew who no one ever asked before.”<sup>1154</sup>

The findings of Graham’s research of ministering Primitive Methodist women equates with those of my research involving the women in the Elim denomination. Women in the incipient stages in both movements were encouraged to fulfil their callings and were successful in egalitarian ministry but this was not to last. This conveniently suited the Primitive Methodist officials and Jeffreys at this time but as both movements began the process of routinisation attitudes began to change. Both the female travelling Methodist preachers and the ministering Elim women were to experience curtailment of their ministry roles. Time would need to pass, well beyond this era, until barriers would be removed for women in these parts of the Church and their ministry roles restored in an egalitarian way.

Research undertaken by Ammerman and Brasher equates closely with my research of the women in the Apostolic denomination (albeit without the Apostolic emphasis of the roles of prophet and apostle). The research by Ammerman takes place a decade before Brasher’s and is exploring a fundamentalist congregation opposing all forms of modernity and referring to themselves as “true Bible believers.” For the women this translates as adhering strictly to the

<sup>1151</sup> J. Gillespie, *Women Speak of God, Congregations and Change* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1995), 5.

<sup>1152</sup> *Talking on the Water*, 115 an interview with Guin by Jonathan White excerpted by permission of Sierra Club Books (San Francisco: Sierra Book Club, copyright, Jonathan White, 1994).

<sup>1153</sup> M. Shaw “The Role Of A Methodist Minister”, 1.

<sup>1154</sup> B. Brasher, *Godly Women* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

entrenched view that their role is one of subservience with all authority remaining firmly with the men. The research by Brasher, who is acting as a practitioner researcher of two fundamentalist congregations, stipulated that there was in fact more taking place in the congregations that she was researching than in Ammerman's congregation. An ironic situation existed that was providing an ideal environment in which the women's ministries were able to flourish. With male supremacy remaining intact and unchallenged women were confidently creating their own ministries running parallel to the men's and separated by "a sacred gender wall." While the Apostolic women do indeed enjoy a Women's Movement agenda where the roles of deaconesses flourish, they do not enjoy the same amount of freedom as the women in these other fundamentalist churches. A deacon has always to be present when the Apostolic women meet which definitely curbs their freedom. None of the fundamentalist women are permitted to minister in official ministry roles like the men are which is the same for the women Thorpe researched in the Church of England. This was the same for the women Purvis researched in the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches in America and the women Barker researched in the British Baptist churches, in this era. Whereas women in all the above church groups eventually broke through the all-male priesthood to achieve ordination, women in the Apostolic church have only just begun the incipient stages towards being able to do so.<sup>1155</sup>

My research of the women in the AoG denomination reveals that, as a denomination operating within a missionary-oriented and autonomous context they are encouraged to minister in official ministry roles. This has been so from the beginning and equates with the freedom women ministered in during the infant years of Primitive Methodism, the Elim churches and even in the AFC parent of the AC, until routinisation caused curtailment of the women's ministry roles. The egalitarian ministry role of ministering women in the AoG continues uninhibited.

## **7.8 Limitations**

Cognisant of the fact that limitations to research are not simply a result of sample, location or method, I am aware that they are also about the person carrying out the research. My capacities and blind spots create the need for some reflection at this juncture. This study could have been enhanced by investigating some of the other smaller Pentecostal groups, which also featured

<sup>1155</sup> See footnote 877.

in early British Pentecostalism. This would have broadened the narrative and comparisons of Pentecostal women's ministry roles in this era. Also, while appreciating that my research was valid and well executed, I am aware that three British Pentecostal denominations in the bigger picture is very small compared to Christianity as a whole in this country.

An area in which this research could develop would be to explore the women missionaries of early Elim, AC and AoG. Their names appeared regularly in my research and I would now welcome the opportunity to research and study their contribution to the development and expansion of early Pentecostalism overseas, during this era.

## **7.9 Implications**

This research has established that early British Pentecostal women are no longer invisible and their voices no longer muted as they were predominantly prior to this study. Nor are they relegated to the periphery in any discussion of the formation of early British pentecostal denominations. The principle which makes this research relevant is that women have the same right as the men to be seen and heard and are given their rightful place in the historical narrative. As the discussion in Chapter One established, it would be helpful to place this research project into the whole picture of gender studies in the academic work which has gone out in much more recent years. Thus, I have dialogued with other scholars who similarly shared this principle.<sup>1156</sup> They too wanted to find out what women did in other church groups, to hear the women's voices and restore them to their rightful place in the academy and to bring them in from the periphery. By employing similar methodological tools and rigour to extract and analyse information they were also following lines of enquiry with a similar commitment to

<sup>1156</sup> Other scholars I have dialogued with included N. Ammerman, *Bible Believers: Fundamentalism in the Modern World* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987); S. Purvis, *The Stained Glass Ceiling: Churches and Their Women Pastors* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995); J. Gillespie, *Women Speak: Of God, Congregations and Change* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1995); B. Brasher *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Nicola Slee, *Women's Faith Development: Patterns and Processes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004); Dorothy Graham, *Chosen By God: The Female Itinerants of Early Primitive Methodism* (PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1986); Kirsten Thorpe, *Gender and Ministry. The experience of early women Congregational ministers* (PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2005); Anthony Barker, *Women's Roles in the Baptist Churches* (PhD dissertation: University of Oxford, 1996) and Helen Thorne, *Journey to priesthood: an in-depth study of the first women priests in the Church of England* (PhD dissertation: University of Bristol, 1999).

rediscover women's experiences and to hear their voices. I wanted to seek out people who were having similar conversations as I was having; scholars who were asking similar questions in a quest to find out what roles women were fulfilling in congregational settings. Incorrect assumptions regarding women's ministry roles and the insignificant part women were thought to have played in the history of the pioneering stages of pentecostalism in Britain have been formally addressed and amended. This research has been an important endeavour and long overdue. As a result, women can now occupy their rightful place in the narrative. Pentecostal history has been corrected. As a result of the research undertaken by the selection of scholars who have managed to open a window into the lives of the women they were researching, and capture the women's voices, these women were brought alive for me and I was also able to view what they were doing and hear what they were saying. By adding to these gender studies, the intention is that I am contributing to them. The women I have been researching will also come alive for other scholars to be able to view what the women were doing and to hear their voices in the formation and early development of Elim, Apostolic and AoG Pentecostalism.

## **7.10 Conclusions**

Previous to this research, very little was known about the women and what ministry roles they fulfilled in early Pentecostal denominations. Historians chose largely to ignore them and as a consequence these women remained mostly hidden. Until it was understood what the involvement of women and their contribution to early British Pentecostalism was, an important aspect of the formation and development of nascent Pentecostalism in Britain would remain a mystery. If it could be known precisely what women actually did in the three main Pentecostal denominations in Britain then it could be established what roles they fulfilled and how significant their contribution was at this important juncture. Triangulation of the veterans memories with denominational records from Minutes and their periodicals, with secondary sources as this crucially validates the memory aspect of the evidence.<sup>1157</sup> From this research a clear picture has emerged. The data gives evidence that these women ministered in official ministry; notably there is evidence of wide variation between the denominations and that for some women their ministry roles changed over time. It can now be appreciated that many women in Pentecostalism in this era ministered significantly in full ministry roles and also pioneered new churches as did the men. They contributed significantly to burgeoning

<sup>1157</sup> See Chapter One pp. 11-13.



Pentecostalism, fulfilling a considerable, though neglected part, which validates the hypothesis. It is also now known that while some women were free to follow their ministerial calling, for other women their ministry roles suffered rise and demise, struggle and disappointment. For many this was not according to merit but because of their gender and men's dictatorial rule and blatant misuse of them.

This research has contributed to knowledge by producing new evidence that adds to the understanding of the development of early British Pentecostalism. A substantial amount of new material now exists. The lacuna that existed in the literature has now been filled. The scope and focus of the study provides information and insights that are of benefit to UK Pentecostalism in particular, but also to the wider Pentecostal world.

Locating this work in Pentecostal studies is obvious but I claim it is not just historical; what this study has done is to address the issue of the historiographical argument that male secondary sources have neglected this area and also to address the hitherto neglect in Pentecostal studies within the UK on the topic in current male sources. Locating this work in Gender studies is also obvious; this is my original contribution to knowledge within the field of Pentecostal studies and is a stimulus to men to affirm women's ministries in their potential writings.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Primary Sources**

#### **Periodicals**

##### ***Apostolic Faith***

1907 2.4 (April) 2.10 (October)

##### ***Apostolic Herald, The***

1931 1.2 (October)

1932 1.8 (April) 5, 12 (May) 1.11 (July)

1936 1.4 (October)

1937 5.6 (April) 1.4 (October)

1938 6.10 (October)

##### ***Apostolic Messenger, The***

1931 2.2 (July)

##### ***Bridal Call, The***

1923 (January)

1924 (August)

##### ***Clarion, The***

1913 (14 November)

##### ***Common Cause, The***

1914 6.258 (7 August)

### ***Confidence***

1908 1.1 (April) 1.18 (May) 3.16 (June) 1.7 (October) 11.15 (October Supplement) No.8 (November)

1909 11.7 (July) 11.11 (November) 11.12 (December)

1910 111.1 (January) 111.2 (February) 111.3 (March) 111.5 (May) 111.8 (August)

1911 IV.1 (January) IV.2 (February) IV.3 (March) IV.8 (August) IV.9 (September) IV.12 (December)

1912 V.6 (June) V.9 (September)

1913 VI.2 (February) VI.7 (July)

1914 111.12 (December)

1916 IX.8 (August) IX.10 (October)

1917 X.1 (January/February)

1922 No.129 (April-June)

1924 No.136 (January-March) No.138 (August/September)

### ***Elim Evangel***

1920 1. 4 (September) 2.1 (5-6 December)

1921 2.3 (June) 2.4 (October)

1922 3.8 (August)

1923 4.5 (May) 4.8 (August)

1924 5.8 (August/September) 5.10 (24 October) 5.3 (October Supplement)

1925 VI.11 (June) VI. 23 (1 December)

1926 V11.3 (February) V11.5 (8 March) V11. 6 (15 March) V11.7 (April  
 Supplement) 11.9 (1 May) V11.11 (1 June) V11.13 (29 June) V11.14 (1July)  
 V11. 14 (29 July) V11.18 (15 September)

1927 V111.14 (5 July) V111.22 (15 November) V111.23/24 (10 December)

1928 XV.1 (2 January )

1929 X.29 (November)

1930 X1.14 (April) X1.32 (22 August) X1.44 (31 October)

1932 X111.12 (18 March) X111.47 (18 November)

1933 XIV.12 (March) XV1.14 (April) X1V.22 (2 June) XIV.42 (20  
 October) XIV.44 (3 November) XIV.46 (17 November)

1934 XIV.5 (2 February) XV.48 (November)

1935 XV.2 (January) XV1.16 (19 April) XV1. 21 (24 May) XV11.23 (7June)  
 XV1.24 (14 June) XV1.35 (September) XV1.42 (November Supplement)  
 XV1.50 (13 December)

1936 XV11.6 (7 February) XV11.13 (27 March) XV11.17 (10 April)  
 XV11.16 (17 April) XV1.25 (19 June) XV11.30 (24 July) XV11.39 (15  
 September) XV11. 48 (27 November) XV11. 51-52 (25 December)

1937 XV111.5 (29 January) XV111.15 (9 April) XV111.17 (23 April)  
 XV111.47 (19 November) XV111.53 (31 December)

1938 No.13 (May)

1940 XX1.18 (29 April) XX1.23 (10 June) XX.47 (9 December)

1963 LV111.3 (March)

***Faith Herald***

1920 1.1 (March)

***Flames of Fire***

1915 2.28 (June) 2.29 (July)

***Foursquare Magazine*** Service of Memory & Tributes Vol.16 No.11  
(November 1944)

***Landswoman, The***

1918 1.9 (September)

***Pentecostal Evangel, The***

1950 No.3 (26 November)

***Redemption Tidings***

1923 1.7 (July)

1925 1.7 (July) 1.10 (October)

1927 3.3 (March)

1928 1.4 (11 January) 4.6 (15 June)

1929 5.1 (January) 5.5 (18 May) 5.6 (June) 5.7 (July)

1930 5.12 (December)

1931 6.3 (March) 7.11 (November)

1932 8.8 (August)

1933 9.1 (January) 9.5 (May) 9.8 (August)

1934 10.17 (1 September)

1935 11.2 (15 January) 11.17 (1 April) 11.8 (15 May)

1936 12.9 (1 May) 12.13 (1 July) 17.39 (25 September)

1939 15.5 (24 February)

1940 21.18 (29 April) 21.23 (10 June)

1943 (15 October)

1952 1.1 (August)

1959 (21 August)

1963 39.3 (9 March) 39.5 (May)

### ***Redemption***

1987 (March)

### ***Riches of Grace***

1917 1.1 (January)

1928 V & VI (January-March)

1929 IV.2 (July) No.4 (March) 1.2 (November)

1932 VII.6 (July)

1935 XI. 1 (September)

1937 XI11.1 (September) XI11.2 (November)

1938 XI11.3 (January) XIV.1 (September Special Convention Edition)

1940 XIV.3 (January) 14.7 (September)

1944 XIX.1 (October)

### ***Showers of Blessing***

1912 1.2 (February)

***Suffragette, The***

1913 (26 December)

1914 (November)

***Time and Tide***

1928 (20 September)

***War Cry, The***

1881 (27 January)

**War Illustrated, The Magazine**

1941 (December)

***Woman's Magazine***

1930 (August)

**Newspapers**

*Bournemouth Daily Echo* (19 October 1928) *Clarion* (14 November 1913)

*Daily Express* (24 March 1927)

*Evening Press* (6 December 1972)

*Evening Standard* (28 September 1920)

*Foursquare Revivalist* (16 November 1928) press extract from the *Glasgow Daily Record*

*Foursquare Revivalist* (16 November 1928) press extract from the *Greenock Telegraph*

*Ilford Election News*, (October 1924)

*Leeds Mercury, The* (22-23 October 1928)

*Los Angeles Times* (18 April 1906) (27 June 1926)

*Reynold's* (30 September 1928)

*Times* (14 February 1907) (19 July 1915) (23 January 1917) (13 October 1948)

*Tribune* (14 February 1907)

*South Wales Daily News* (1 December 1904)

*Wanganui Chronicle* (19 July 1915)

*World Pictorial News* (21 November 1926)

## **Letters/Telegrams/Cablegram**

### **Letters**

*Letter* from E. Blumhofer to D. Cartwright (3 February 1993)

*Letter* from E. Bolton to P. Corry (4 October 1948)

*Letter* from D. Cartwright to E. Blumhofer (March 1993)

*Letter* from C. Booth to her parents British Library AM 64805 (16 September 1859)

*Letters* from P. Corry to D. Flower (24 July 1931) (28 July 1931) (16 March 1932) (20 October 1932) (26 October 1932) (5 January 1933) (30 September 1933)

*Letter* from Corry's secretary to D. Flower (31 July 1931) (16 March 1932)

*Letter* from P. Corry to A. Magee (13 August 1932)

*Letter* from A. Magee to P. Corry (23 August 1932)

*Letter* from D. Flower to P. Corry (23 July 1931) (27 July 1931) (14 March 1932) (17 March 1932) (15 October 1932) (21 October 1932) (1



December 1932) (4 January 1933) (8 September 1933) (11 September 1933)  
(23 September 1933)

*Letters, Flower's file*, further to her application to the Elim Bible College  
Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern

*Letter* from W. Gilpin to the author J. Hocking (8 May 2008)

*Letter* from A. Gorton to W. Hathaway (5 October 1933)

*Letter* from W. Hathaway to D. Flower (15 April 1937)

*Letter* from W. Henderson to G. Jeffreys (1 April 1930)

*Letter* from F. Hodges to D. Williams (1 October 1923)

*Letter* from R. Jardine to H. Chanter (30 December 1921)

*Letter* from G. Jeffreys to E. Phillips (19 August, 1924)

*Letter* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson (7 November 1927)

*Letter* from M. Kennedy to E. Phillips (13 May 1925)

*Letter* from M. Lyttelton to C. Talbot (17 September 1857)

*Letter* from A. Magee to P. Corry (25 August 1932)

*Letter* from F. Murray to E. Phillips (15 June 1926)

*Letter* from F. Murray to E. Phillips (30 June 1926)

*Letter* from M. Noad to E. Moser (24 August 1928)

*Letter* from N. Parr to AoG assembly leaders (23 November 1923)

*Letter* from E. Phillips to F. Murray (18 June 1926)

*Letter* from E. Phillips to A. McPherson (23 March 1925)

*Letter* from Hannah Whitall Smith to daughter 1:29, 182 cited in Carole Spencer, “Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival”. In *Quaker History: The Bulletin of Friends Historical Society*, 80.1 (Spring 1991, 28)

*Letters* bequeathed by Stopes to the National Library on her death in 1958

*Telegram* from D. Flower to W. Hathaway 15 April 1937

*Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to M. Kennedy 21 May 1926

*Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to M. Kennedy 27 May 1926

*Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 18 October 1926

*Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 25 October 1927

*Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 24 January 1928

*Telegram* from G. Jeffreys to A. McPherson 14 August 1928

*Telegram* from M. Kennedy to G. Jeffreys 20 May 1926

*Cablegram* from M. Kennedy to G. Jeffreys 26 June 1926

*Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 22 July 1926

*Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 24 October 1927

*Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 28 December 1927

*Telegram* from A. McPherson to G. Jeffreys 8 August 1928

### **Lecture Notes, Minutes, Papers, Reports, Speeches**

*Annual Statements and Reports* Pentecostal Missionary Union (1921-1924)  
Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster

Booth *Papers*, MS 64805 London: British Library (16 September 1859)

*Constitution Deed Poll and General Rules*, Elim Foursquare Pentecostal Alliance  
(London: Elim Publishing, 1926)

*Constitution of the Elim Pentecostal Alliance* (revised 1923), Desmond  
Cartwright Centre, Malvern

*Constitution Deed Poll and General Rules*. Elim Foursquare Pentecostal  
Alliance. London: Elim Publishing 1926. Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

*Constitution of the Elim Pentecostal Alliance*, revised 1923. Desmond  
Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

*Criminal Records* The National Archives Kew “The Old Bailey, Corry, Case  
6 (12 October 1948)

*“Declaration of Berlin”* (September 1910)

Elim Evangelistic Band *Minutes* 3 January 1915

Floods Upon the Dry Ground *Report of the Apostolic Church International  
Convention held at Penygroes Carmarthenshire, South Wales (5-13 August 1939)*  
(Bradford: Apostolic Publications, 1939)

Guildhall *Speech* Plymouth (17 November 1914)

House of Commons *Debates* Archives (7 August 1914)

*Lecture Notes* Julian Ward “Pauline Texts and Women and Ministry” Regents  
Theological College, Nantwich 10 June, 2008

*Lecture Notes* Neil Hudson, “The Roots and History of the  
Pentecostal/Charismatic Formation of the Assemblies of God” Regents  
Theological College, Nantwich 19 May 2005

*“London Declaration”* (November 1910)

*Minutes of The Report of the Convocation of Apostles and Prophets at Bradford* (19 October, 1929) Apostolic Church Archives, Luton

*Ministry records of Elim ministers to 1940*, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern

*Missionary and Bible Training School Report. A Sacrifice of Praise*, No.1, July 1923 Hampstead Bible School, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster

National Archives *file* (MEPO 3/203) Police violence against Suffragettes

National Council Meeting *Report* 1929 Apostolic Church Archives Luton

*Obituary* by D. Greenaway of Margaret Barbour *Evangel* 9 March 1963

PMU *Minute Book* No.1 “The Index to the Pentecostal Missionary Organisation”  
Index Streight Margaret 22. Donald Gee Centre Doncaster

PMU *Minutes* Missionary and Bible Training School *Report* No.1 July 1923  
Donald Gee Centre Doncaster

PMU *Minutes* Vol.2 No.13 (13 January 1920)

PMU *Statement and Report* 1921 Donald Gee Centre Doncaster

*Principles of the PMU* Donald Gee Centre Doncaster

*Prospectus of the Bible and Missionary Training School* by H. Carter 1927

*Report of National Council meeting held at the AC Headquarters Penygroes*  
1929 Apostolic Church Archives, Luton

*Report* by Laura Steerman “Women’s Land Army” for The National Farmer’s  
Union (Stoneleigh: NFU, First World War Centenary 2014)

*Standard Programme Sessions* for the Winter Season 1936-1937 compiled in  
Glasgow, Lanarkshire by Youth Leader Apostolic Church 1936 Apostolic Church  
Archives Luton

*Talbot Papers*, 36. Centre for Kentish Studies Maidstone, Kent

*Visitor's Book*, "Maranatha", 73 Highbury New Park, London. Donald Gee  
Centre Doncaster

## **Secondary Sources**

Adams, Quincy. *Neither Male Nor Female A Study of the Scriptures*. Dallas: Christ For The Nations, 1977, 205 cited Johann Schleusner, *The Tyro's Greek Lexicon*, compiled by John Jones. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1885.

Adams, William. *Some historic women, or biographical studies of women who have made history*. London: John Hogg, n.d.

Adams, William. *Stories of the lives of noble women*. London: Nelson & Sons, 1882.

Alexander, Estrela. *The Women of Azusa Street*. Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 2005.

Alexander, Kimberly. *Dismantling the Dualisms for American Pentecostal Women in Ministry: A Feminist-Pneumatological Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Ambrose, Linda. *A Great Rural Sisterhood: Madge Robertson Watt & The Associated Country Women of the World*. London: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Ammerman, Nancy. *Bible Believers: Fundamentalism in the Modern World*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969.

Ammerman, Nancy, ed. *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*. Oxford: OUP, 2007.

Ammerman, Nancy & Carroll Jackson, eds. Carl Dudley & William McKenny, authors, *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998.

Anderson, Allan. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Anderson, Allan & Edmond Tang, eds. *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*. Oxford: Regum, 2004.

Anderson, Allan. *Spreading Fires The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*. London: SCM Press, 2007.

Anderson, Allan, Michael Bergunder, André Droogers & Cornelis van der Laan, eds. *Studying Global Pentecostalism*. London: University of California Press, Ltd., 2010.

Anderson, Gregory, ed. *The White-blouse Revolution: Female Office Workers since 1870*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

“Apostolic Church Constitution” 7-176, “Women’s Movement” 139-143 & “Deaconesses” 173-175. In Daniel Powell, ed. *Apostolic Church Its Principles and Practices*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1933.

*Apostolic Church, Its Principles and Practices*, Bradford: Apostolic Publications, reprinted 1961, [1937].

*Apostolic Church, The Standard Scheme For The Women’s Movement*, Bradford: Puritan Press Ltd., 1937.

Appleton, Edith. *A Nurse at the Front: The First World War Diaries of Sister Edith Appleton*. London: Simon & Schuster, 2012.

Atherton, Gertrude. “The Living Present” July 1915. In J. Marlow, ed., *The Virago Book of Women and the Great War*. London: Little Brown Book Group.

- Bahr, Robert. *Least of All Saints The Story of Aimee Semple McPherson*. Lincoln: Backinprint, 2000.
- Balfour, Clara. *Working women of the last half century*. London: W7F Cash, 1854.
- Banks, Olive. *Faces of Feminism*. Oxford: Martin Robertson & Co. Ltd., 1981.
- Barfoot, Chas. *Aimee Semple McPherson and the making of modern Pentecostalism 1890-1926*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Barrett, Charles. *Church Ministry and Sacraments in the New Testament*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1993.
- Bartley, Paula. *Votes for Women*. Abingdon: Hodder & Stoughton, 1998.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1949.
- Bebbington, David. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Bebbington, David. *Patterns in History*. Leicester: Apollos, 1990.
- Beckson, Karl. *London in the 1890's: A Cultural History*. New York: Norton, 1993.
- Bedarida, Francois. *A Social History of England*. London: Methuen, 1991.
- Bell, Florence. *At the works: a study of a manufacturing town*. London: Virago, reprinted 1984 (1907).
- Benson, John. *Affluence and Authority A Social History of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Britain*. London: Hodder Education, 2005.
- Bilborough, Ethel. *Diary journaling*, July 1915. In Marlow, ed. *The Virago Book of Women and the Great War*. London: Little Brown Book Group.
- Black, Jonathan. *Apostolic Theology*. Luton: Apostolic Church, 2016.

- Bland, Lucy. *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality 1885-1914*. London: Penguin, 1995.
- Bloch-Hoell, Nils. *The Pentecostal Movement*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1964.
- Blumhofer, Edith. *Aimee Semple McPherson Everybody's Sister*. Michigan: Erdmans, 1993.
- Boddy, Mary. *A Pentecost at Home (Tongues as a Sign): Testimony of a Busy Mother*. Privately published, n.d.
- Bons-Storms, Riet. *The Incredible Woman: Listening to Women's Silences in Pastoral Care and Counselling*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1996.
- Booth, Catherine. *Female Ministry: Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel*. Abridged edition. New York: Garden City, 1975.
- Booth, Catherine. "Female Teaching or the Reverend A.A. Rees versus Mrs. Palmer, being A Reply to the Pamphlet by the Above-Named Gentleman on the Sunderland Revivals". London: Salvation Army Printing & Publishing Offices, London, 1859.
- Booth, Charles. *Life and Labour of the People of London. Religious Influences*, Vols. 3, 5, 7. London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.
- Booth-Tucker, Frederick. de L. *The Life of Catherine Booth, the Mother of The Salvation Army* (London: Simpkin & Co., 1892, Vol.1.
- Boulton, Ernest. *George Jeffreys, A Ministry of the Miraculous*. London: Elim Publishing Office, 1928.
- Brasher, Brenda. *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Brittain, Vera. *Testament of Youth*. London: Virago, 1978.



Brown, Callum. “Angels: Women in Discourse and Narrative 1800-1950”. *The Death of Christian Britain*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.

Bruley, Sue. *Women in Britain since 1900*. New York: Palgrave, 1999.

Bruscoe, Elizabeth. “Gender and Power” in *Studying Global Pentecostalism*, Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder & Cornelis van der Laan, eds. London: University of California Press, 2010.

Bryne, Mike. *Britain 1895-1918*. London: Hodder Murray, 2005.

Burgess, Stanley & Eduard Van der Maas, eds. *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002.

*Burke’s Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* 18th ed. Vol.2. London: Burke’s Peerage Limited, 1972.

Burton, William & Max Moorhead. *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests*. Preston: R. Steed, 1922.

Bushnell, Katherine. *God’s Word to Women 101 Questions Answered*. Printers: Lowes Ltd. Southport, 1928.

Butler, Josephine. *Social purity: an address*. London: Social Purity Alliance, 1870.

Carney, Thomas. *Content Analysis*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1973.

Carr, Edward. *What is History?* London: Macmillan, 1961.

Carter, Howard. *Bible School and Missionary Association Prospectus*, 1927.

Carter, John. *A Full Life: The Autobiography of a Pentecostal Pioneer*. London: Evangel Press, 1979.

Carter, John. *Donald Gee—Pentecostal Statesman*. Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1975.

Carter, John. *Man of the Spirit*. Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1971.

Cartwright, Chris, Jan & David Holdaway, eds. *Defining Moments, Elim 100 Centenary*. Retford: Life Publications, 2014.

Cartwright, Desmond. *The Great Evangelists, The Remarkable Lives of George and Stephen Jeffreys*. Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1986.

Cartwright, Desmond. *The Real Smith Wigglesworth: the Man, the Myth and the Message*. Tonbridge: Sovereign World, 2000.

Catterall, Peter, ed. *Britain 1867-1918*. Oxford: Heinemann, 1994.

Chadwick, Owen. *Victorian Minature*. Cambridge: CUP

Chapman, Diane. *Searching the Source of the River*. London: Push, 2007.

Chilcote, Paul. *She Offered Them Christ: The Legacy Of Women Preachers*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1993.

Chilcote, Paul. *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism in England*. London: The Scarecrow Press, 1991. 2002.

Clark, Elmer. *The Small Sects in America*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1965.

Clough, Peter & Cathy Nutbrown. *A Student's Guide to Methodology*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2012.

Cohen, Louis. *Research Methods in Education*. London: Routledge/Falmer, 2000.

Coles, Robert. *A Witness to Idealism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993.

Cook, Chris. *Britain in the Nineteenth Century 1815-1914*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2005.

Copelman, Dina. *London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism 1870-1930*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Counsell, William. *Fire Beneath the Clock*. Nottingham: New Life Publishing, 2003.

Cousen, Herbert. *Women's Movement* pamphlet. Llanelly: Apostolic Publications, n.d

Cox, Harvey. *Fire From Heaven The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Cassell, 1996.

Craske, Jane. "The Grounds of Dispute: Theologies of Leadership, Ministry and Ordination—and Women's Ministry". In *This Is Our Story*, ed. Janet Wooton. 11-29. Peterborough; Epworth, 2007.

Cunningham, Loren, David Hamilton & Joel Rogers, eds. *Why Not Women? A fresh look at Scripture on Women in Missions, Ministry and Leadership*. Seattle: YWAM Publishers, 2000.

Cunningham, Stanley. *Feminist Pillar of Fire The Life of Alma White*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006.

Czaja Ron, & Jonny, Blair, *Designing Surveys: A Guide to Decisions and Procedures*. California: Pine Lodge, 1996.

Daggett, Mabel. *Women Wanted-The Story Of The Blood Red Letters Of The Great World War*. New York: George Doran, 1918. In Joyce Marlow ed. *Women and the Great War*. London: Little, Brown & Co. 1998.

Davies, Emily. *The Higher Education of Women*. London: Alexander Strahan, 1866.

Davies, Ross. *Women and Work*. London: Arrow Books, 1975.

Dayton, David. *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Dayton, David. *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. London: Hendrickson, 2007.

D'Cruze, Shani. "Women and the Family—Changing Fertility and Family Limitation". In Jane Purvis, *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Deane, Theresa. "Late Nineteenth-Century Philanthropy: The Case of Louisa Twining". In Anne Digby & John. Stewart, eds., *Gender, Health and Welfare*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Delafield, E. (pseudonym of Edmée Elizabeth Monica Dashwood) *Diary of a Provincial Lady*. London: Virago, 1930.

Edsor, Albert. *Set Your House In Order*. London: New Wine Press, 1989.

Eliot, Thomas. *The Journey of the Magi*, in *Collected Poems 1909-1962. The Centenary Edition*. London: Faber, 1963.

Epstein, Daniel. *Sister Aimee The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson, Bibliography*. London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993.

Evans, Eifion. *The Welsh Revival of 1904*. Bridgend: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1987.

Evans, Mary. "Simone de Beauvoir: Dilemmas of a Feminist Radical". In Dale Spender, ed., *Feminist Theories*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Evans, Mary. *Women in the Bible*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998.

Evans, Rees. *Precious Jewels from the 1904 Revival in Wales*. Llandeilo: J. Thomas & Sons, 1962.

- Faupel, David. *The Everlasting Gospel the Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Fee, Gordon. *The International Commentary on the New Testament, 1 Corinthians*. Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 1987.
- Fielder, Klaus. *The Story of Faith Missions*. Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994.
- Fisher, Harriet & Olive Reeve, *Still It Flows*. Lytham: Lord's Publishers, n.d.
- Fletcher, Sheila. *Victorian Girls Lord Lyttelton's Daughters*. London: Phoenix, 1997.
- Flower, Joseph. "Birth of the Pentecostal Movement". In *The Pentecostal Evangel*, 26 November 1950.
- Francis, Amy. *God's Word to Women (on Katherine Bushnell): with a fresh historical background of Biblical sources*. London: Crowning Educational, 2016.
- France, Richard. *Women in The Church's Ministry A Test-Case for Biblical Hermeneutics*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1995.
- Furlong, Monica. *A Dangerous Delight: Women and Power in the Church*. London: SPCK, 1991.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. London: Penguin, 1963.
- Frodsham, Stanley. *With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century*, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1946.
- Gardiner, Juliet. *Women's Voices 1880-1918: The New Woman*. London: Collins & Brown, 1993.
- Garner, Les. *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women's Suffrage Movement 1900-1918*. London: Heinemann Educational, 1984.

Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert. "The Upper Classes: The Old Squire and the New". In Henry Lowther Clarke, ed. *An Englishman's Religion*. London: James Nesbit, 1912, 30, 38.

Gazeley, Ian. *Poverty in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Gee, Donald. *These Men I Knew: Personal Memoirs of Pentecostal Pioneers*. Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1980.

Gee, Donald. *The Pentecostal Movement: A Short History and an Interpretation for British Readers*. London: Victory Press, 1941.

Gee, Donald. *Wind & Flame*. Nottingham: AoG, 1967.

Gibbard, Noel. *Fire on the Altar: A History and Evaluation of the 1904-05 Welsh Revival*. Darlington: Brynterion Evangelical Press, 2005.

Giles, Judy. *Women's Identity and Private Life*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1973.

Gillespie, Joanna. *Women Speak: Of God, Congregations and Change*. Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1995.

Gillies, Midge. *Amy Johnson Queen of the Air*. London: Phoenix, 1988.

Gittins, Diana. *The Fair Sex*. London: Hutchinson, 1982.

Glass, John. "Eschatology: A Clear and Present Danger—A Sure and Certain Hope". In Keith, Warrington, ed. *Pentecostal Perspectives*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1988.

Glynn, Sian. & John Oxborrow. *Interwar Britain*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1976.

Godwin, William. *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman, 1798* in Pamela Clemit & Gina Walker, eds. Peterborough: Broadview Press Ltd., 2001.

Goodenough, Simon. *Jam and Jerusalem: A pictorial history of Britain's greatest woman's movement*. Glasgow: Collins, 1977.

Gowdand, David. *Britain and the European Union*. Milton Park: Taylor & Francis, 2016.

Graham, Dorothy. *Chosen By God. A List of the Female Travelling Preachers of Early Primitive Methodism*. Bunbury: Bankhead Press, 1989.

Green, Derek, ed. *Celebration: Seventy Years Ministry By The Elim Church*. Worthing: Herald House, 1985.

Greer, Germaine. *The Female Eunuch*. London: Harper Perennial, 2006.

Grieve, Mary. *Millions Made My Story*. London: Gollancz, 1964.

Grudem, Wayne. *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament and Today*. Eastbourne: Wipf & Stock, 2000.

Guin, Ursula Le. *Dancing at the Edge of the World*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

Hacking, Willie. *Faith's Ventures*, self-published, 1988.

Hagin, Kenneth. *The Woman Question*. Tulsa: Faith Library Publications, 1979.

Hamilton, David. *The Question of Headship*. In *Why not Women?* Seattle: YWAM Publishing, 2000.

Harris, Carol. *Women At War 1914-1918*. Stroud: Pitkin, 2014.

Harris, Jose. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain*. London: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Hastings, Adrian. *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985*. London: Collins, 1986.

Hathaway, Malcolm. "The Elim Pentecostal Church: Origins, Development and Distinctives". In Keith Warrington, ed. *Pentecostal Perspectives*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1988.

Hattersley, Roy. *The Edwardians*. London: Little Brown, 2004.

Hayford, Jack & Seth Moore. *The Charismatic Century*. New York: Time Warner Book Group, 2006.

Hedlund, Roger. *Roots of the Great Debate in Mission*. Madras: Evangelical Literature Services, 1981.

Hocken, Olive. *Two Girls on the Land Wartime on a Dartford Farm*. London: E. Arnold, 1918.

Hocken, Peter. *Berlin Declaration*. In Stanley Burgess & Eduard Van der Mass, eds. *The New International Dictionary*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002.

Hollenweger, Walter. *The Pentecostals*. London: SCM Press, 1972.

Holton, Sandra. *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Honderich, Ted. *The Oxford companion to philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

hooks, bell. *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2000.

Hudson, Neil, "The Development of the Birth of British Pentecostalism". In William Kay & Anne Dyer. Leiden/Boston: BRILL, 2011.

Hurley, James. *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.

Hyatt, Eddie. *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity*. Dallas: Hyatt Press, 1996.



Hyatt, Susan. *In the Spirit We're Equal*. Dallas: Hyatt International Ministries, Inc., 1998.

Hyatt, Susan. "Spirit-Filled Women". In Vinson Synan, ed. *The Century of the Holy Spirit*. Nashville: Nelson, 2001.

Hyatt, Susan. "The Azusa Street Revival. In Vincent Syan, ed. *The Century of the Holy Spirit*. Nashville: Nelson, 2001.

Hyatt, Susan. *In the Spirit We're Equal* quoted from a letter written by Hannah Whitall Smith, 1:29, 1882 cited in Carole Spencer, "Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival". In *Quaker History*; Spring 1991 Vol. 80 No. 28.

Jacobsen, Douglas, ed. *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology Voices from the First Generation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Jardine, Robert. *Shave That Woman*, n.p, n.d.

Jeffreys, George. *Duties of Ministers Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance*. London: Elim Publishing Co., 1928.

Jenkins, Inez. *The History of the Women's Institute Movement of England and Wales*. Oxford: Batey, 1953.

Jenkins, Lewis. "Some Memories Of Past Movements In The Rhondda Valley". In Daniel Williams *Souvenir*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1933, 26.

Johnson, Robert. *British History 1870-1918 The Birth of Modern Britain*. Somerset: Studymates, 2003.

Jones, Omri. "Early Movements in Llwynhendy And District". In Daniel Williamd, *Souvenir*, 22.

Jordon, Ellen. *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment*. London: Routledge, 1999.

- Kalu, Ogbu. *African Pentecostalism*. New York: OUP, 2008.
- Kay, William. *George Jeffreys Pentecostal Apostle and Revivalist*. Cleveland: CPT Press, 2017.
- Kay, William. *Inside Story*. Doncaster: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1990.
- Kay, William. *Pentecostalism A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Kay, William. *Pentecostals in Britain*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000.
- Kay, William & Anne Dyer, eds. *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies: A Reader*. London: SCM Press, 2004.
- King, Peter. *The Story of the 100 Year Fight to Establish Women's Place in Farm and Garden*. London: Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1999.
- Kitchen, Penny. *For Home and Country, War, Peace and Rural Life as Seen Through the Pages of the WI Magazine*. London: Edbury Press, 1990.
- Kroeger, Richard & Catherine. *I suffer not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2: 11-15 in the Light of Ancient Evidence*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992.
- Kumar, Ranjit. *Research Methodology*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2019.
- Lacey, Candida, ed. *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodicon and the Langham Place Group*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Lacey, Penny, ed. *Distance Education: Practitioner Inquiry in Education*. School of Education, University of Birmingham 2002.
- Lane, Margaret. *Manifesto*. In Martin Pugh *Women and The Women's Movement 1914-1999*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. 2000.
- Ledger, Sally. *New Woman Fiction and feminism at the fin de siècle*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

- Lerner, Gerda. *The creation of feminist consciousness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Lewis, Jane. *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991.
- Lewis, William. *And He Gave Some Apostles*. Bradford: Puritan Press, 1954.
- Liddington, Jill & Jill Norris. *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of The Women's Suffrage Movement*. London: Virago, 1978.
- Llewellyn, Dawn. *Reading, Feminism and Spirituality: Troubling the Waves: Breaking Feminist Waves*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.
- Lowe, Karen. *Carriers of the Fire*. Llanelli: Shedhead Productions, 2004.
- Malcomson, Keith. *Pentecostal Pioneers Remembered*. Maitland: Xulon Press, 2008.
- Marcus, Jane, ed. *Suffrage and the Pankhursts*. London: Routledge, 1987.
- Marlow, Joyce, ed. *The Virago Book of Women and the Great War*. London: Virago, 1999.
- Marr, Andrew. *The Making of Modern Britain*. London: Macmillan, 2009.
- Martin, Bernice. "The Pentecostal Gender Paradox: A Cautionary Tale for the Sociology of Religion". In *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion*, ed. Richard Fenn. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*. London: Bodley Head, 1965.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The Nature of History*. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Marwick, Arthur. *Women At War 1914-1918*. Glasgow: Collins, 1977.

Massey, Richard. *Another Springtime Donald Gee Pentecostal Pioneer*. Guildford: Highland Books, 1992.

Matthews, David. *I Saw The Welsh Revival*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1957.

Mathews, Vera. *Blue Tapestry*. London: Hollis & Carter, 1848.

May, Trevor. *An economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1970*. Harlow: Longman, 1987.

Maykut, Pamela & Richard, Morehouse. *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophical and Practical Guide*. London: Falmer Press, 1994.

McCall, Cicely. *Our Villages A Survey of amenities and public services in rural areas*. London: National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1956.

McCall, Cicily. *Women's Institutes*. London: William Collins, 1943.

McPherson, Aimee Semple. *This is That, Aimee Semple McPherson*. Los Angeles: The Bridal Call Publishing House, 1919.

McPherson, Aimee Semple. *The Story of My Life*. Waco: Word Books, 1973.

Mertens, Donna. *Research Methods in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: Sage, 1998.

Meyer, Birgit. "Pentecostalism and Globalization". In Allan Anderson, André Droogers & Cornelius Van der Laan, eds. *Studying Global Pentecostalism, Theories and Methods*. London: University of California Press, Ltd., 2010.

Missen, Alfred. *The Sound of a Going*. Nottingham: AOG Publishing House, 1973.

Mitchell, Geoffrey, ed. *The Hard Way Up: The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell Suffragette and Rebel*. London: Faber, 1968.

Mitchell, Sally. *Daily Life in Victorian England*. Westport: Greenwood, 1996.

Moffat, James. *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, a New Translation—abbreviated MNT*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Morgan, Kenneth. *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922*. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1980.

Moorman, John. *A History of the Church in England*. London: A. & C. Black, 1953.

Morgan, Denzil. *The Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales 1914-2000*. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1999.

Murray, Jocelyn. "Gender Attitudes and the Contribution of Women to Evangelism and Ministry in the Nineteenth Century". In John Wolffe ed. *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal*. London: SPCK, 1996.

Newby, Jennifer. *Women's Lives Researching Women's Social History 1800-1939*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2011.

Noad, Maggie. *Conquering The Kalembe For Christ*. Nottingham: AoG Publishing House, 1930.

Noble, Iris. *Emmeline and her Daughters: The Pankhurst Suffragettes*. Folkestone: Bailey Bros & Swinfen Ltd., 1974.

Noot, Benjamin. "Maesteg and District". In Daniel Williams ed. *Souvenir*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1933, 30-31.

Oppenheim, Abraham. *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter, 1992.

Orr, James. *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1949.

Owens, Robert. "The Welsh Revival". In Vincent, Synan, ed. *Century of The Holy Spirit*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2000.

Palmer, Chris. *The Emergence of Pentecostalism in Wales*. London: Apostolos Publishing Ltd., 2016.

Palmer, Phoebe. *Four Years in the Old World*. Boston: Foster & Palmer, 1865.

Palmer, Phoebe. *The Promise of the Father: or a Neglected Speciality of the Last Days*. Salem: Schmal Publishers, reprinted 1981, (1859).

Parr, John. *Incredible, Autobiography of John Nelson Parr*. Fleetwood: Self-published, 1972.

Patmore, Coventry. "Angel in the house". In Asa, Briggs. *A Social History*. London: Book Clun Associates, 1984.

Paxman, Jeremy. *Great Britain's Great War*. London: Viking, 2013.

Payne, Leah. *Gender and Pentecostal Revivalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Pember-Reeves, Maud. *Round about a pound a week*. London: Bell, 1913.

Penn-Lewis, Jesse. *The Awakening in Wales*. New York: Fleming Revell, 1905.

Penn-Lewis, Jesse. *The Magna Charta Of Women* (on Katherine Bushnell). Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1975.

Peppiat, Lucy. *Rediscovering Scripture's Vision for WOMEN Fresh Perspectives on Disputed Texts*. London: Intervarsity Publishers, 2019.

Petts, David. "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Theological Distinctive". In *Pentecostal Perspectives*, K. Warrington ed, 98-119. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998.

Piper, John & Wayne Grudem, eds. *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood A Response to Evangelical Feminism*. Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1991.

Polhill, Cecil. *The Principles of the PMU* printed 1913, Donald Gee Centre, Doncaster.

Prior, Robin & Trevor, Wilson. *The First World War*. London: Cassell & Co Ltd., 2001.

Prochaska, Frank. *Women and Philanthropy in Victorian England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.

Pugh, Martin. *State and Society A Social and Political History of Britain 1870-1997*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Pugh, Martin. *The Pankhursts*. London: Penguin, 2002.

Pugh, Martin. *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1999*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.

Purvis, June. "Pankhurst, Emmeline (1858-1928)". In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. 2008.

Purvis, June. *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Purvis, Sally. *The Stained Glass Ceiling: Churches and Their Women Pastors*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995.

Raeburn, Antonia. *Militant Suffragettes*. Kent: New English Library, 1973.

Rees, Augustus. *Reasons for Not Co-operating in the Alleged "Sunderland Revivals"*. Sunderland: William Henry Hills, 1859.

Roberts, Elizabeth. *A Woman's Place*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Roberts, Robert. *The classic slum: Salford, life in the first quarter of the century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971.

Robeck, Cecil & Amos, Young, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

- Robson, Colin. *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Robson, Colin. "Sampling in Surveys". In Colin Robson, *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. *Hidden From History: 300 years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*. London: Pluto, 1973.
- Rowe, William. *One Lord, One Faith*. Bradford: The Puritan Press Ltd. n.d.
- Rowntree, Seebohm. *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*. London: Macmillan, 1901.
- Ruether, Rosemary, & Rosemary, Keller, eds. *Women and Religion in America: The Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Ruether, Rosemary. *Sexism and God-Talk Towards a Feminist Theology*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1983.
- Saxby, Albert. *God's Ultimate*. London: Stockwell, n.d.
- Scholer, David. "The Evangelical Debate over Biblical Headship". In Catherine Kroeger & James Beck, eds. *Women, Abuse and the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996.
- Schreiner, Olive. *Women and Labour*. London: T.F. Unwin, 1911.
- Scott, Caroline. *Holding the Home Front The Women's Land Army in the First World War*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 2017.
- Shibley, David. *Heaven's Heroes*. Green Forest: New Leaf Press, 1994.
- Slee, Nicola. *Women's Faith Development: Patterns and Processes*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2004.
- Smilde, David. *Reason to Believe: Cultural Agency in Latin American Evangelicalism*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2007.



- Smith, Harold. *British Women's Suffrage Campaign 1866-1928*. Harlow: Longman, 1998.
- Smith, Hannah Whittall. *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*. London: Nesbet, 1870.
- Spradley, James. *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, 1980.
- Spring-Rice, Margery. *Working-class wives: their health and conditions*. London: Virago, reprinted 1981 (1939).
- Stanley, Liz, ed. *The Diaries of Hannah Cullwick. Victorian Maidservant*. New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1984.
- Stanley, Susie. *Feminist Pillar of Fire*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006.
- Steinbach, Susie. *Women in England 1760-1914 A Social History*. London: Phoenix, 2005.
- Stephenson, Lisa. *Dismantling the Dualisms for American Pentecostal Women in Ministry: A Feminist-Pneumatological Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- Storey, Neil & Molly Housego. *Women in the First World War*. Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010.
- Strachey, Ray. *The Cause: A short history of the women's movement in Britain*. London: Virago, 1978 (1928).
- Stopes, Marie. *Married Love—A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties*. London: Hogarth Press, 1918.
- Summerton, Neil. *A Noble Task, Eldership, and Ministry in the Local Church*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1994.
- Sustein, Emily. *A Different Face: The Life of Mary Wollstonecraft*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Sutton, Matthew. *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America*. London: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Swidler, Ann. *Foreword*. In Joanna Gillespie *Women Speak: of God, Congregations and Change*. Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1995.

Synan, Vinson, ed. "Pentecostal Roots—Dwight Moody". In *The Century of the Holy Spirit 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal*. Nashville: Nelson, 2001, 30-31.

Tashakkori, Abbas & Charles, Teddlie. *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. California: Sage, 1998.

Taylor, Harriet & John, Mill. *The Subordination of Women*. Dover: Thrift Editions, reprinted 1997 (1869).

Thane, Pat. "The Social, Economic and Political Status of Women". In Peter Johnson, ed. *20th Century Britain, Economic, Social and Cultural Change*. Harlow: Longman Press, 1994.

Thomas, Norman, ed. *Readings in World Missions*. London: SPCK, 1995.

Thompson, Francis. *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Thompson, William. *Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men to Retain Them and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery*. London: Virago reprint, 1983, (1825).

Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-1914*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1987.

Torjesen, Karen. *When Women were Priests: Women's Leadership in the Early Church and the Scandal of Their Subordination in the Rise of Christianity*. San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1993.

Townsend, William, Herbert Workman & George Eayrs eds. *A New History of Methodism*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909.

Tucker, Ruth & Walter, Liefeld. *Daughters of the Church: Women in Ministry from New Testament Times to the Present*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987.

Turnbull, Thomas. *Apostle Andrew*. Bradford: Puritan Press, 1965.

Turnbull, Thomas. *What God Hath Wrought: A Short History of the Apostolic Church*. Bradford: Puritan Press, 1959.

Turner, John. *John Wesley The Evangelical Revival and the Rise of Methodism in England*. Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2002.

Turner, Mary. *The Woman's Century*. Surrey: National Archives, 2003.

Tweed, Robert. *Memoir of Robert Tweed*. Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern. Privately published, n.d.

Twinch, Carol. *Women on the Land*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1990.

Tyrer, Nicola. *They Fought in the Fields, The Women's Land Army Movement*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996.

Vaughan, Idris. *Pilgrim With Limp*. Neath: Self-published, 1981.

Verma, Gajendra & Kanka, Mallick. *Researching Education: Perspectives and Techniques*. London: Falmer Press, 1999.

Vicinus, Martha. *Independent women, work and community for single women 1850-1920*. London: Virago Press, 1985.

Wacker Grant. "Biography and Historiography of Pentecostalism (US)". In Stanley Burgess et al, eds. *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988.

Wacker, Grant. *Heaven Below*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Wakefield, Gavin. *The First Pentecostal Anglican: The Life and Legacy of Alexander Boddy*. Cambridge: Grove Books, 2001.

Walkowitz, Judith. *Prostitution and Victorian society: Women, class and the state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Walters, Margaret. *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Ward, Sadie. *War in the Countryside*. London: Cameron Books, 1988.

Warrington, Keith, ed. *Pentecostal Perspectives*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1988.

Weber, Thomas. *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*. New York: Oxford, 1979.

Weeks, Gordon. *Chapter Thirty Two—part of A history of the Apostolic Church 1900-2000*. Barnsley: Self-published, 2003.

Wellings, Vivian. “Wem and District”. In Dan Williams, *Souvenir*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1933.

White, Kent. *The Word of God Coming Again: Return of Apostolic Faith and Works Now Due on Earth With a Sketch of the Life of Pastor W. Oliver Hutchinson and Woman’s Place in the Church of the Last Days*. Bournemouth: Apostolic Faith Church, 1919.

Whittaker, Colin. *Seven Pentecostal Pioneers: The Inside Story of the Pentecostal Movement and its present-day influence*. Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1983.

Williams, Daniel. *Souvenir Exhibiting the Movements of God in The Apostolic Church Issued in Commemoration of the Opening of the Apostolic Temple*, Penygroes. Penygroes: The Apostolic Church, 1933.

Williams, Daniel, *The Prophetical Ministry in the Church*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1931.

Williams, James. "Pontwardawe and District". In Daniel Williams ed. *Souvenir*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1933.

Williams, Jones. *The Standard Scheme For The Women's Movement*. Bradford: The Apostolic Publishing Office, 1942.

Williams, Jones. *The Apostolic Church Women's Movement Syllabus of Studies*. Bradford: Apostolic Church Publishing Office, 1942.

Wilson, Alan. *After the Victorians*. London: Hutchinson, 2005.

Wilson, Bryan. *Sects and Society*. London: Heinemann, 1961.

Witherington, Ben. *Women in the Earliest Churches*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Wolffe, John, ed. *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal*. London: SPCK, 1995.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*. London; Phoenix, reprinted 1995, (1792) .

Womersley, David & David Garrard, eds. *Into Africa The thrilling story of William Burton and Central African Missions*. Nottingham: New Life Publishing Co., 2005. Includes the revised texts of "Congo Pioneer by Harold Womersley 1973 and "Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests" compiled by Max Moorhead, 1922.

Woodhead, Linda. "Feminism and the Sociology of Religion: From Gender-Blindness to Gendered Difference". In Richard Fenn, ed. *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Woolf, Virginia. *Collected Essays*, Vol. 2. London: Hogarth Press, 1966.

Worsfold, James. *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*. Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991.

Wrigley, Edward & Roger Schofield. *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Yin, Robert. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. California: Sage, 1994.

Yong, Amos. *Beyond the Impasse: Toward a Pneumatologically Theology of Religions*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003.

Young, Alison. *Deeds not Words: The Story of Emmeline Pankhurst*, Winner of the Essay Prize, Fall 2009 ID 282: British Studies. Harlaxton College, USA.

### **Articles and Theses**

Allen, David. *Signs and Wonders: The Origins, Growth, Development and Significance of the Assemblies of God in Britain and Ireland, 1900-1980*. PhD dissertation: University of London, 1990.

Anderson, Allan. *Research Methods in Theology and Religion Historiographical Issues & Research Proposals*. © 2013.

Anderson, Allan. "Book Review" of *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*, eds. Cecil Robeck Jr and Amos Yong. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. In *PentecoStudies* Vol. 16, 1, 2017, 144-145.

Anderson, Olive. "Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflexions On Feminism, Popular Religion And Social Change". In *Historical Journal*, Vol. 12, 3. 1969.

Andrews, John. *The Regions Beyond the History of World Missions within the Assemblies of God*. PhD dissertation: University of Wales, 2003.

Bailey, Kenneth. "Women in the New Testament: A Middle Eastern Cultural View". In *Journal Theology Matters* Vol.6 No.11, January-February 2000, 18-24.

Barker, Anthony. *Women's Roles in the Baptist Churches*. PhD dissertation: University of Oxford, 1996.

Blumhofer, Edith. "Reflections on the Source of Aimee Semple McPherson's Voice". In *Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Vol.17 No.1 Spring 1995, 21.

Burton, William. "Women's Ministry What Saith the Scripture?" reprinted from *The Comforter* published in *RT*, 15 January 1935, 6.

Cartwright, Desmond. "From the Backstreets of Brixton To The Royal Albert Hall British Pentecostalism 1907-1928" paper presented at the European Pentecostal Theological Association, Leaven, Belgium 28-29 December 1981, 9, 1-14.

Cartwright, Desmond. "Your Daughters Shall Prophesy. The Contribution of Women in Early Pentecostalism." Paper given at the Society for Pentecostal Studies Conference, Gaithersburg, Maryland in *JEPTA Bulletin* 5 November 1985, 4-30.

Chapman, Diane. *The Contribution of Women's Ministry to the Origins and Early Years of Pentecostalism in Britain*. M.A. thesis: University of Birmingham, 2000.

Davin, Anna. "Imperialism and Motherhood". In *History Workshop Journal*, 1978, 9-66.

Davis, Natalie. "Women's history in transition: the European case". In *Feminist Studies*, 1975-1976, 83-103.

DuPree, Sherry. "In the Sanctified Holiness Pentecostal Charismatic Movement". In *Pneuma*, Vol. 23, No.1, 2001, 97-114.

Evans, Mary. "Simone de Beauvoir: Dilemmas of a Feminist Radical". In Dale Spender *Feminist Theorists*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Gerrard, Jessica. "Lady Bountiful: Women of the Landed Classes and Rural Philanthropy". In *Victorian Studies*, Vol.30 No.2, 1987, 183-210.

Goodwin, Leigh. *The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), a case study exploring the missiological roots of early British Pentecostalism (1909-1925)*. PhD dissertation: University of Chester, 2013.

Greenway, Harry, William alias "Billy". "Aimee Comes To Town", MS 1928.

Halifax, Stuart. "Over by Christmas: British popular opinion and the short war of 1914". In *Journal First World War Studies* Vol.1 No.2 2010, 103-121.

Harden, Angela & James Thomas. "Methodological Issues in Combining Diverse Study Types in Systematic Reviews". In *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. Vol. 8, 83, 2005, 257-271.

Hathaway, Malcolm. "The Role of William Oliver Hutchinson and the Apostolic Faith Church in the Formation of British Pentecostal Churches". In *EPTA Journal* Vol. XVI. 1996, 40-57.

Hocken, Peter. "Cecil H. Polhill—Pentecostal Layman". In *PNEUMA* Vol.10, No.1 Fall 1988, 116-140, 122.

Holtby, Winifred, "What went ye out to see"? In *Time and Tide, The Feminist and Cultural Politics of a Modern Magazine*, weekly review, edited by Lady Margaret Rhonda, 20 September 1928, 3.

Hudson, Neil. "A Hot Gospeller in a Cool Climate: Aimee Semple McPherson in Britain through the lens of the British Press". In *Cyberjournal For Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, 13. April 2004.

Hudson, Neil. *A Schism and its Aftermath. An historical analysis of denominational discession in the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1939-1940*. PhD dissertation. London University, King's College, 1999.



Hudson, Neil. "The Earliest Days of British Pentecostalism". In *JEPTA*, XXI, 2001, 54, 49-67.

Jordan, Ellen "The Lady Clerks at the Prudential: The Beginnings of Vertical Segregation by Sex in Clerical Work in Nineteenth Century Britain". In *Gender and History* Vol. 8, 1, April 1996, 66.

Kalu, Ogbu. "African Pentecostalism in Diaspora". In *PentecoStudies*, Vol. 9 No.1, 2010, 9-34.

Kay, Peter. *The Four-Fold Gospel in the Formation, Policy and Practice of the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) (1909-1925)*. MA thesis: Trinity College, Bristol, 1995.

Kay, William. *A History of British Assemblies of God*. PhD dissertation: University of Nottingham, 1989.

Kay, William. "Three Generations on: The Methodology of Pentecostal History". In *JEPTA Bulletin*, Vol.10, 1&2, 1992, 62-63.

Kay, William, and Mandy Robbins. "A Woman's Place is on her Knees: the Pastor's View of the Role of Women in the Assemblies of God." A paper given at the Centre for Theology and Education, Trinity College, Carmarthen, n.d.

Laan Van der, Cornelius. "Historical Approaches". In *Studying Global Pentecostalism Theories & Methods*, Allan Anderson et al,

Levine-Clark, Marjorie. "Engineering Relief: Women, Ablebodiness and the New Poor Law in Victorian England". In *Journal of Women's History*, Vol.11 No.4, 1991, 107.

Livesey, Ruth. *Women, Class and Social Action in late-Victorian and Edwardian London*. PhD dissertation: University of Warwick, 1992.

Llewellyn, Henry. *A Study of the History and Thought of the Apostolic Church in Wales in the Context of Pentecostalism*. MPhil thesis: University of Wales, 1997.

Martineau, Harriet. "Female Industry". In *Edinburgh Review*, Vol.109, 1859, 298.

Massey, Richard. *A Sound and Scriptural Union: An examination of the Origins of the Assemblies of God of Great Britain and Ireland during the years 1920-1925*. PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1987.

Parr, John Nelson. Appendix 11, "The Apostolic Church error". In Brynmor Thomas, *The Teaching and practice of the Apostolic Church with special reference to its concept of Directive Prophecy*. PhD dissertation: Bangor University, 2016.

Powers, Jay and Robert, Baird. "Phoebe Palmer and her Pentecostal Protegees," presented at the 35th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Pasadena, 2006, 11-37.

Purvis, Jane. "The Prison Experiences of the Suffragettes in Edwardian Britain". In *Journal of Woman's History*, Vol. 4, No.1, 1995, 106, 103-133.

Purvis, Jane. "Women's History in Britain: an Overview". In *European Journal of Women's History*, 1985, 7-19.

Robinson, James. *The Origins and Development and Nature of Pentecostalism in Ulster 2007-c. 1925: A Study in Historical and Theological Contextualisation*. PhD dissertation: Queen's University, Belfast, 2001.

Shaw, Mervyn. *The Role of a Methodist Minister*. PhD dissertation: University of the West of England in collaboration with the UK Methodist Church, 1996.

Shelbourne, Muriel. *Hollywood in the Pulpit*. MTh thesis: University of Wales at Bangor, 2001.

Slee, Nicola. "Some Patterns and Processes of Women's Faith Development". In *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, Vol. 21 No.1, 2000, 5-16.

Smith, Kenneth. *The Militant Suffragettes as a Police Problem: London 1906-1914*. PhD dissertation: Ohio State University, 1974.

Taylor, Malcolm. *Publish and be Blessed: A Case Study in Early Pentecostal Publishing History, 1908-1926*". PhD dissertation: University of Birmingham, 1914.

Thomas, Brynmor. *The Teaching and Practice of the Apostolic Church with special reference to its Concept of Directive Prophecy*. PhD dissertation: Bangor University, 2016.

Thomas, John. "Women, Pentecostalism and the Bible: An Experiment in Pentecostal Hermeneutics," in Lee Roy Martin, ed. *Pentecostal Hermeneutics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Thorne, Helen. *Journey to priesthood: an in-depth study of the first women priests in the Church of England*. PhD dissertation: University of Bristol, 1999.

Thorpe, Kirsten. *Gender and Ministry. The experience of early women Congregational ministers*. PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2005.

Van der Laan, Cornelius. "Historical Approaches". In *Studying Global Pentecostalism Theories and Methods, The Anthropology of Christianity* Allan Anderson et al, eds. London: University of California Press, 2010. London: Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1999.

Wacker, Grant. "Biography and Historiography of Pentecostalism (US)". In Stanley Burgess, Gary McGee & Patrick Alexander, eds. *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988.

Walsh, Timothy. *To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People An Explanation of the Origins, Emergence and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in England, 1907- 1925*. PhD dissertation: University of Manchester, 2007.

Wellings, Vivian. "Wem and District". In D. Williams, *Souvenir*. Penygroes: Apostolic Publications, 1933.

White, Jonathan. *Talking on the Water* Interview with Ursula Le Guin excerpted by permission of Sierra Club Books. San Francisco: Sierra Book Club, 1994.

Wooton, Janet. "The Ministry of Women in the Free Churches". In *Feminist Theology*, Vol.3 No.8, 1995, 55-74.

Worsfold, Luke. *Subsequence, Prophecy and Church Order in the Apostolic Church, New Zealand*. PhD dissertation: Victoria University of Wellington, 2004.

Zurlo, Gina, Todd Johnson & Peter Crossing. *International Bulletin for Mission Research* 2019 Vol.43 (1) 92-102. "Christianity 2019 What's Missing? A Call for Further Research". Table 3 Global Christianity by Tradition 1900-2050, 96.

## **Media and Internet**

### **Recordings**

*Brief Outline of the Life of Mildred Bell*, cassette tapes produced by Geoffrey Serjeant, Lakenheath, Suffolk, 2000.

*Canty's Chronicles*, CD Rom, King's Centre Revival Library, Bishops Waltham, 2005.

*Elim Gramophone Record*, No E35.

*Microfische Records of early Elim Ministers*, assembled in 1985, Desmond Cartwright Centre, Malvern.

*Pentecostal Heritage*, cassette tape produced by ICC Studios, Eastbourne 1985.

Telephone and face-to-face *Interviews* with Elim, Apostolic and Assemblies of God respondents.

### **Web Sites**

<http://www.enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199904/026azusa.cfm> accessed 09.09.2008.

<http://www.glis.academia.edu/19516262> accessed 02.09.2008 -LIS 391D1.

[Video at www.nfuonline.com/wla](http://www.nfuonline.com/wla).

[www.nfuonline.com/worldwarone](http://www.nfuonline.com/worldwarone). Accessed on 05.02.2020.

<http://www.massae490.weebly.com/victorian-criticism-continued.html> accessed 08.09.2012.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35376>. accessed 20.06.2009.

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast> accessed 03.02.2015.

<http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=3321>. accessed 05.12.2008.

<http://www.revivallibrary.org/catalogues/1904ff/Index1904.html>. accessed 14.08.2012.

<http://www.salfordelimchurch.org/heritage.php>. accessed 18/12/2008.

<http://www.truthinhistory.org/the-welsh-revival-of-1904-1905.html>. accessed 04.11.2012.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/61SX8KM2U2N6QWWUYPC1/full?target=10.1080/18124461.2020.1721190> accessed 05.02.2020.

## APPENDICES

Appendix Ai	The Roles of Women in Ministry Questionnaire Part 1.....	346
Appendix Aii	The Roles of Women in Ministry Questionnaire Part 2.....	351
Appendix B	Photograph of Young Women’s Bible Class.....	352
Appendix C	“A Graphic Narrative”.....	353
Appendix D	Photograph—Jeffreys in his study welcoming McPherson on bended knee.....	359
Appendix E	List of AoG Women Ministers 1924-1940.....	360
Appendix F	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services Elim Period 1, 1915-1928 Figure 4.1.....	363
Appendix G	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Wedding Services Elim Period 1, 1915-1928 Figure 4.2.....	363
Appendix H	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services Elim Period 1, 1915-1928 Figure 4.3.....	364
Appendix I	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services Elim Period 1, 1915-1928 Figure 4.4.....	364
Appendix J	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services Elim Period 2, 1929-1940 Figure 4.5.....	365
Appendix K	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Wedding Services Elim Period 2, 1929-1940 Figure 4.6.....	365
Appendix L	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services Elim Period 2, 1929-1940 Figure 4.7.....	366
Appendix M	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services Elim Period 2, 1929-1940 Figure 4.8.....	366
Appendix N	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services Apostolic 1916-1940 Figure 5.1.....	367
Appendix O	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Wedding Services Apostolic 1916-1940 Figure 5.2.....	367
Appendix P	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services Apostolic 1916-1940 Figure 5.3.....	368
Appendix Q	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services Apostolic 1916-1924 Figure 5.4.....	368
Appendix R	Chart to show Respondent’s Recollections of the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services AoG 1924-1940 Figure 6.1.....	369

<b>Appendix S</b>	<b>Chart to show Respondent's Recollections of the Role of Women in Wedding Services AoG 1924-1940 Figure 6.2.....</b>	<b>369</b>
<b>Appendix T</b>	<b>Chart to show Respondent's Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services AoG 1924-1940 Figure 6.3.....</b>	<b>370</b>
<b>Appendix U</b>	<b>Chart to show Respondent's Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services AoG 1924-1940 Figure 6.4.....</b>	<b>370</b>
<b>Appendix V</b>	<b>Chart to show comparison across 3 denominations in terms of Respondent's Recollections regarding the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services Figure 7.1.....</b>	<b>371</b>
<b>Appendix W</b>	<b>Chart to show comparison across 3 denominations in terms of Respondent's Recollections regarding the Role of Women in Wedding Services Figure 7.2.....</b>	<b>371</b>
<b>Appendix X</b>	<b>Chart to show comparison across 3 denominations in terms of Respondent's Recollections regarding the Role of Women in Funeral Services Figure 7.3.....</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>Appendix Y</b>	<b>Chart to show comparison across 3 denominations regarding Holy Communion Services Figure 7.4.....</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>Appendix Z</b>	<b>Bar chart to show comparison between Women's official ministry roles, Elim Period 1, 1915-1928 and Elim Period 2, 1929-1940 Figure 7.5.....</b>	<b>373</b>



## THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN MINISTRY QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Your input is invaluable and greatly appreciated.

Please complete the following details:

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

TELEPHONE  
NUMBER: .....





**THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN MINISTRY  
QUESTIONNAIRE  
PART ONE**

The following questions relate to the role of women in ministry within the Elim Pentecostal Church. Please answer each question by putting a tick in the appropriate box.

Q 1. Were you involved in the 'Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance' movement during the period 1915 until end of 1940?

☐ YES

☐ NO

Q 2. If yes, please indicate the period during which you were involved in the movement.

.....  
...  
.....  
...

Q 3. During the period of your involvement in the Elim movement, please state whether, in your experience, the role of women in ministry was:

☐ Very limited

☐ Limited

☐ Unlimited

---

Q 4. Can you recollect a woman ever taking part in a water baptismal service?

☐ YES

☐ NO

Q 5. If yes, please state whether, on those occasions where a woman was involved in water baptismal services, her role was more often than not:

• An assisting role (i.e. helping a male leader) ☐

• A leading role (i.e. taking the service) ☐

Q 6. If yes, please indicate how often a woman was involved in the following tasks in such services by marking each as:

1 'often'

2 'sometimes'

3 'rarely'

4 'never'

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Preaching  | <input type="checkbox"/> • Reading bible passage/promise |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Praying  | <input type="checkbox"/> • Playing a musical instrument  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Leading worship                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> • Holding the towels            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Performing a musical item (ie singing solo/duet) | <input type="checkbox"/> • Leading service               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Baptising the candidates                         |  |

---

Q 7. Can you recollect a woman ever taking part in a wedding service?

☐ YES / ☐ NO

Q 8. If yes, please state whether, on those occasions where a woman was involved in wedding services, her role was more often than not:

- An assisting role (i.e. helping a male leader) ☐
- A leading role (i.e. taking the service) ☐

Q 9. If yes, please indicate how often a woman was involved in the following tasks in such services by marking each as:

- 1 'often'
- 2 'sometimes'
- 3 'rarely'
- 4 'never'

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Preaching  | <input type="checkbox"/> • Reading bible passage/promise                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Praying  | <input type="checkbox"/> • Playing a musical instrument                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Leading worship                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> • Conducting the wedding ceremony (i.e. wedding vows) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Performing a musical item (i.e. singing solo/duet) |  |

---

Q 10. Can you recollect a woman ever taking part in a funeral service?

☐ YES / ☐ NO

Q 11. If yes, please state whether, on those occasions where a woman was involved in funeral services, her role was more often than not:

- An assisting role (i.e. helping a male leader) ☐
- A leading role (i.e. taking the service) ☐

Q 12. If yes, please indicate how often a woman was involved in the following tasks in such services by marking each as:

- 1 'often',
- 2 'sometimes'
- 3 'rarely'
- 4 'never'

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Preaching   | <input type="checkbox"/> • Reading bible passage/promise   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Praying   | <input type="checkbox"/> • Playing a musical instrument    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Performing a musical item<br>(ie singing solo/duet) | <input type="checkbox"/> • Conducting the funeral ceremony |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Conducting committal service                        |  |

---

Q 13. Can you recollect a woman ever taking part in Holy Communion (breaking of bread)?

☐ YES / ☐ NO

Q 14. If yes, please state whether, on those occasions where a woman was involved in Holy Communion, her role was more often than not:

- An assisting role (i.e. helping a male leader) ☐

Q 15. If yes, please indicate how often a woman was involved in the following tasks in such services by marking each as:

- 1 'often',
- 2 'sometimes'
- 3 'rarely'
- 4 'never'

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Praying                          | <input type="checkbox"/> • Reading bible passage/promise |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Conducting the breaking of bread | <input type="checkbox"/> • Playing a musical instrument  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> • Serving the bread/wine           |  |
- 

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please return to the following address and I will reimburse the postage costs.

Jan Hocking



**Appendix Aii The Roles of Women in Ministry Questionnaire Part 2**

**Open-ended Question:**

**What other activities can you recall women in early Elim Pentecostalism fulfilling?**

**Appendix B Photograph of Mrs Tweed's Young Women's Bible Class, Elim Tabernacle, Graham Street, Birmingham 2 June 1933**

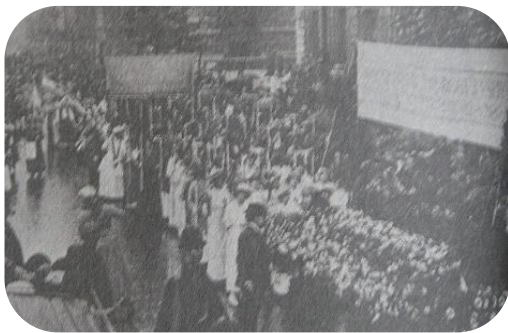


**An excellent example, which others would do well to emulate, was set by Mrs Tweed in the formation of a Young Women's Bible Class..., shortly after pastor and Mrs Tweed's arrival in Birmingham in 1931. The class is held every Sunday afternoon and consists of young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two and now has a membership of over seventy. The members of the class have deeply appreciated the spiritual help and edification received through Mrs. Tweed's ministry.**



## Appendix C “A Graphic Narrative”

The following collation of photographs was created and titled by the author to depict a documentary-type “newsreel” illustrating the enormous breadth of the work undertaken by women on the Home-front in war-time in Britain, 1914-1918. Permission was granted to use photographs numbered 7,8,9,13 and 22 from *The Pitkin Guide to Women At War* (Stroud: Pitkin Publishing 2014). The remaining photographs were procured with permission from the Christian Publishing Organisation, Worthing, Holders of *The Christian Herald* (London: England).



1. Women marched for the right to serve in war work.



2. A detail of women demanding to be allowed to engage in war work.



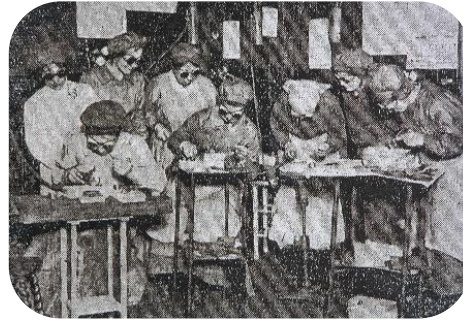
3. And work they did!!! Munitions work in a shell factory.



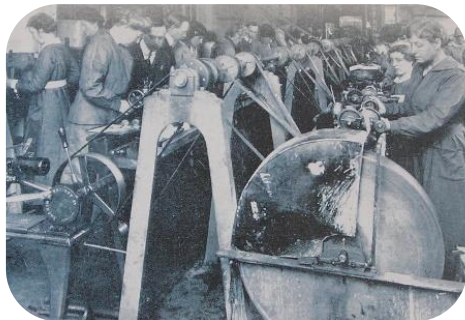
4. Women working hard to produce the bullets their men needed on the Western Front.



5. A girl operates a rifling machine at the Gun Factory, Royal Arsenal, Woolwich.



6. Women trained to build aeroplane parts.



7. The work the women did required them to be trained to use heavy machinery.



8. They also worked in 'defence'. Here women fire-fighters parade with their fire buckets.

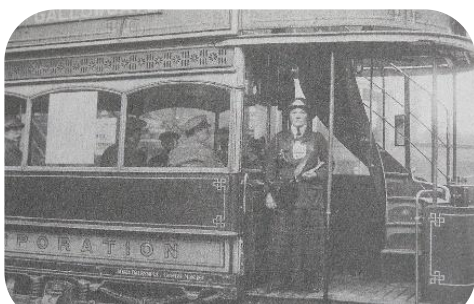


9. Women kept Britain moving here a female mechanic repairs a car.



10. Driving trams - there was great opposition from the men. By the end of the war there were still very few women tram drivers in England.





11. The "go-ahead" corporation of Glasgow Tramways Dept. who immediately hired women as conductors.



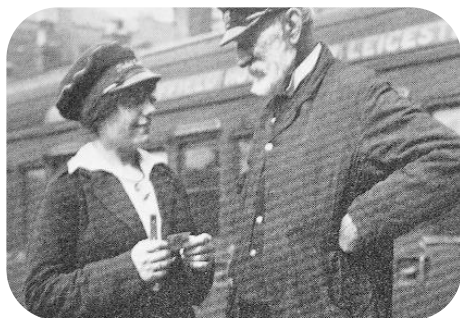
12. A woman tram-conductor collecting fares.



13. One of London's 'Clippies' - so called because they clipped the tickets to show the fare had been paid.



14. Women also worked on the railways; here they are seen cleaning the carriages.



15. Two railway collectors. An old man and a young woman; a sight becoming more and more common in the War.



16. Birmingham 1918. Working in a signal box this woman keeps the trains running smoothly.



17. The roads had to be kept clean. Women were prepared to 'do whatever it takes' to keep the nation in good order.



18. No doubt there were a few raised eyebrows when the ladies turned their hand to tarring and flinting Oxford St.



19. Collecting and delivering the mail fell to an increasingly female postal staff.



20. Heavier and dirtier by far was coke and coal heaving; another job willingly undertaken by women.



21. Cleaning chimneys was another "dirty job" undertaken by women to keep the home-fires burning.



22. Windows needed cleaning, again this was undertaken by the women on the home-front.





23. Women Police Volunteers must have seemed both an odd and a reassuring sight during the war.



24. Moving "out of town" we see a woman lock-keeper working on the Thames.



25. The horse was important in the countryside. Here a female "coachman" (a coach-girl) polishes the horses' hooves.



26. The Village Blacksmith. Even in the villages, women were doing work that they would not have done before the war.



27. Women vets were increasingly taking on "large animal" work. Here a woman is seen attending to a horse's hoof.



28. Here women are employed in the hay-pressing department of an Army Forage Depot.



29. Health was also an area that was opening up to more and more women. Here a female dentist is performing an examination.



30. Because of the shortage of male doctors more and more women were trained in the profession.



31. Heavy work preparing the casks in the brewery were undertaken by women.



32. Here a woman is bill posting, recruiting more women for war-work at home!

## Appendix D



**Photograph showing Jeffreys, in his study. welcoming  
McPherson on bended knee**

## **Appendix E List of AoG Women Ministers 1924-1940**

Below is a list, collated by the author, of the names of the women who were ministers of AoG churches 1924-1940 with an example of where they ministered.

Miss D. Abbott	Tonbridge
Mrs Basketfield	Plumstead, London
Mrs M. Cantel	Highbury, London
Mrs Chapman	Gilfach Goch
Miss Clayton	Woolwich
Mrs E. Clarke	Bideford, Devon
Mrs K. Barratt	Donnington
Mrs M. Serjeant	Lakenheath
Mrs R. Carter	Eltham, London
Mrs N. Charter	Lakenheath
Miss J. Curtis	Hull
Mrs S. Davies	Tintern
Mrs W. Ellis	Plumstead, London
Miss Everitt	Sheffield
Mrs H. Fentiman	Sutton-in-Ashfield
Miss A. Fielding	Baroldswick
Miss Fisher	Consett
Miss Furival	Margate
Miss Griffiths	Glamorgan
Miss A. Hambleton	Oldham

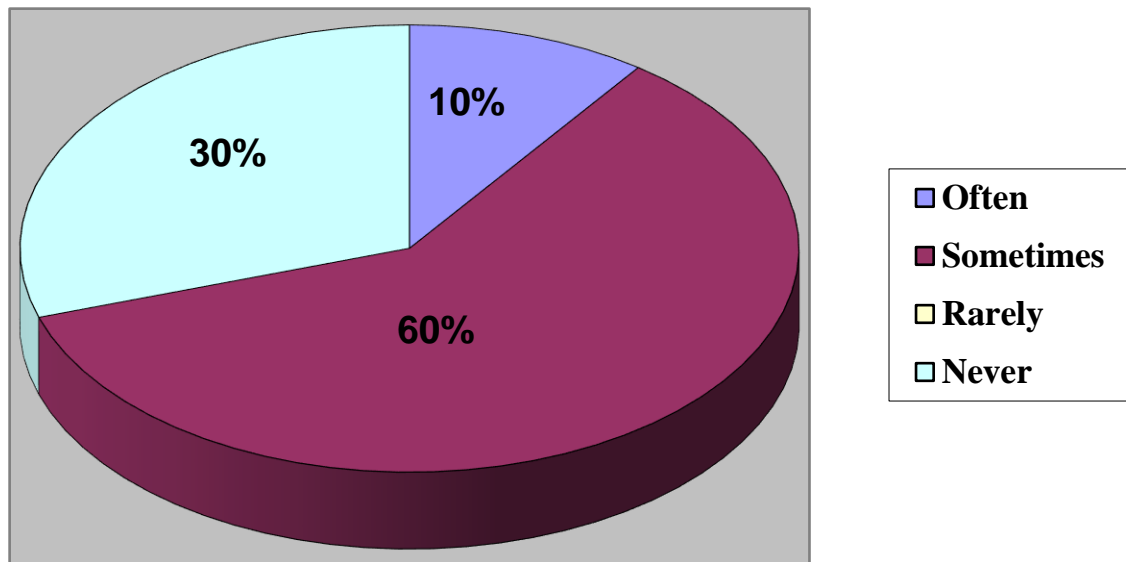
Miss E. Harrison	Barrow-in-Furness
Mrs E. Horsewood	Wymondham
Miss C. Hugh	Relaw
Mrs G. Hugh	St. Thomas, Cornwall
Miss E. Hyde	Witham
Mrs A. Inman	Seaham Harbour
Mrs Jubb	Moorends
Miss A. Locker	Haslingden
Miss N. Logan	West Aukland
Mrs Magill	Dromore, County Down
Mrs Mc Clanahan	Liverpool
Mrs Mogridge	Lytham St Annes
Miss F. Newsholme	Barnoldswick, Lancashire
Miss E. Morgan	Middlesborough
Miss T. North	Crick, Cheshire
Miss M. Payne	Bacup, Lancashire
Mrs Powell	Bedlingog, Taff Bargoed Valley
Mrs Proctor	Lytham St Annes
Mrs Rashleigh	Coach Lane, Cornwall
Miss N. Shearman	Gloucester
Miss O. Smith	London
Mrs Sutcliffe	Halifax
Mrs P. Tetchener	Spennymoor
Mrs Walker	West Mercia
Miss Waller	Bedlingog, Taff Bargoed Valley
Miss Walsh	Bolton
Miss Watling	New Southgate, London

Miss Weightman	Oxford
Miss Welsh	Bolton
Miss M. White	London
Miss Whiting	Oldham
Miss M. Whitelands	London
Miss Winstone	Worcester



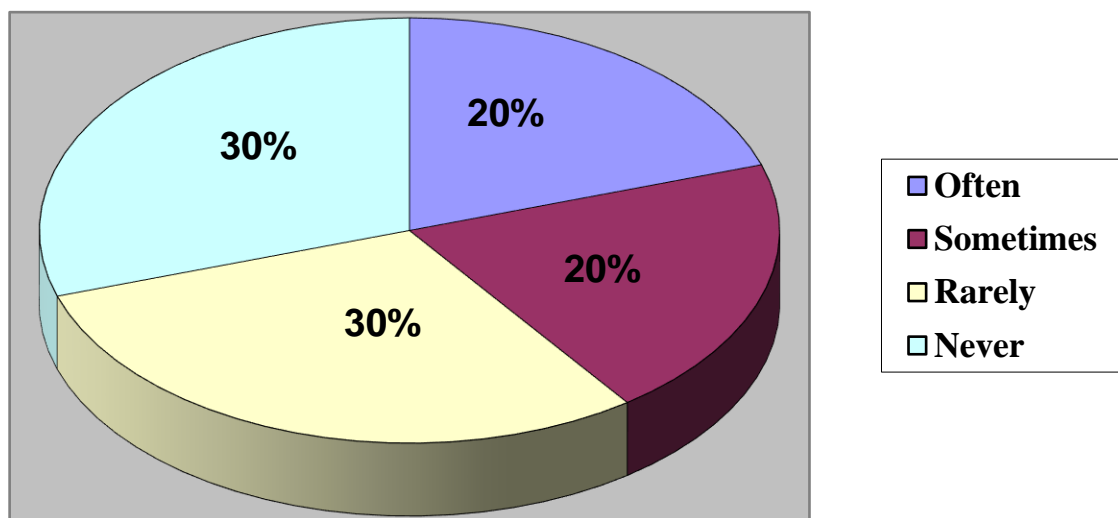
## **Appendix F Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services Elim 1915 to 1928**

**Figure 4.1**



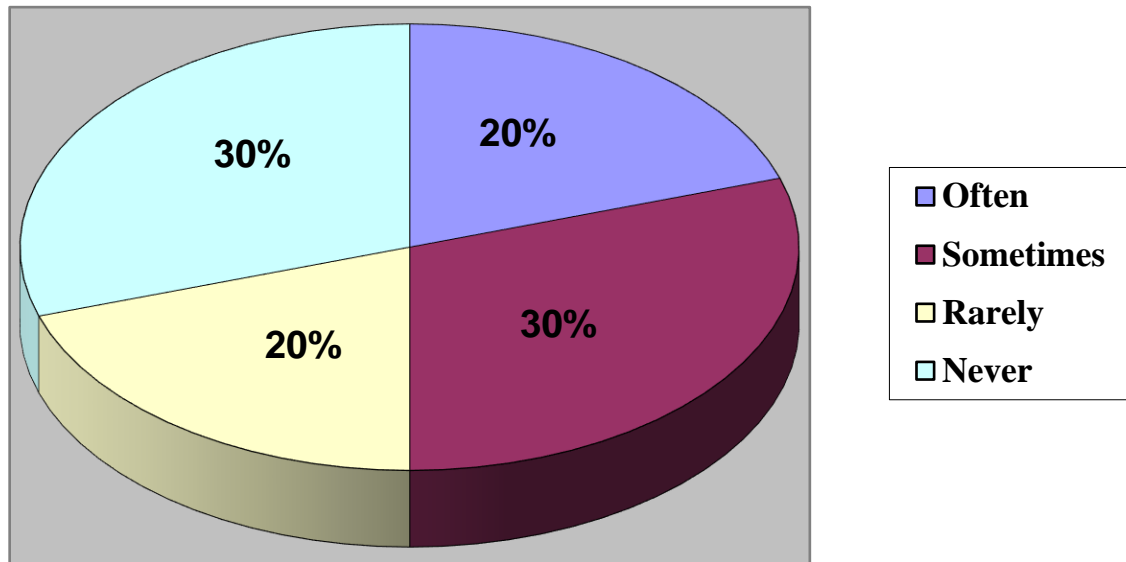
## **Appendix G Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Wedding Services Elim 1915 to 1928**

**Figure 4.2**



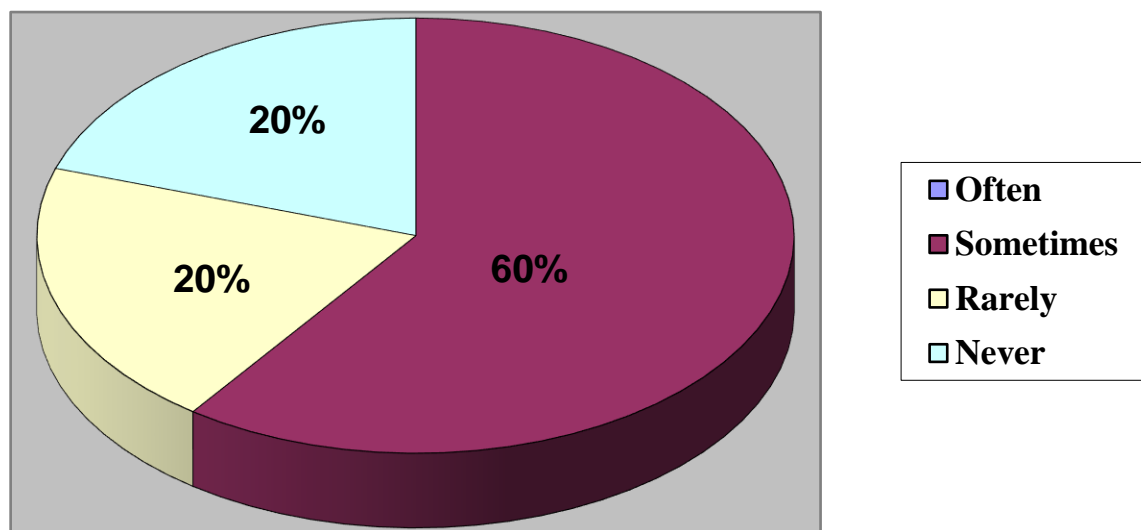
## **Appendix H Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services Elim 1915 to 1928**

**Figure 4.3**



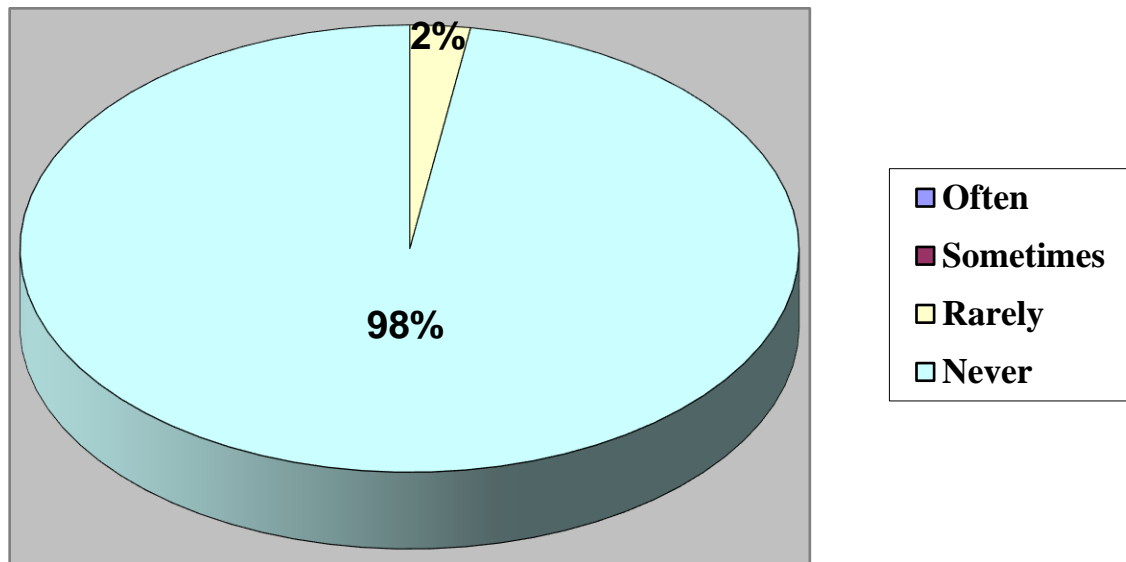
## **Appendix I Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services Elim 1915 to 1928**

**Figure 4.4**



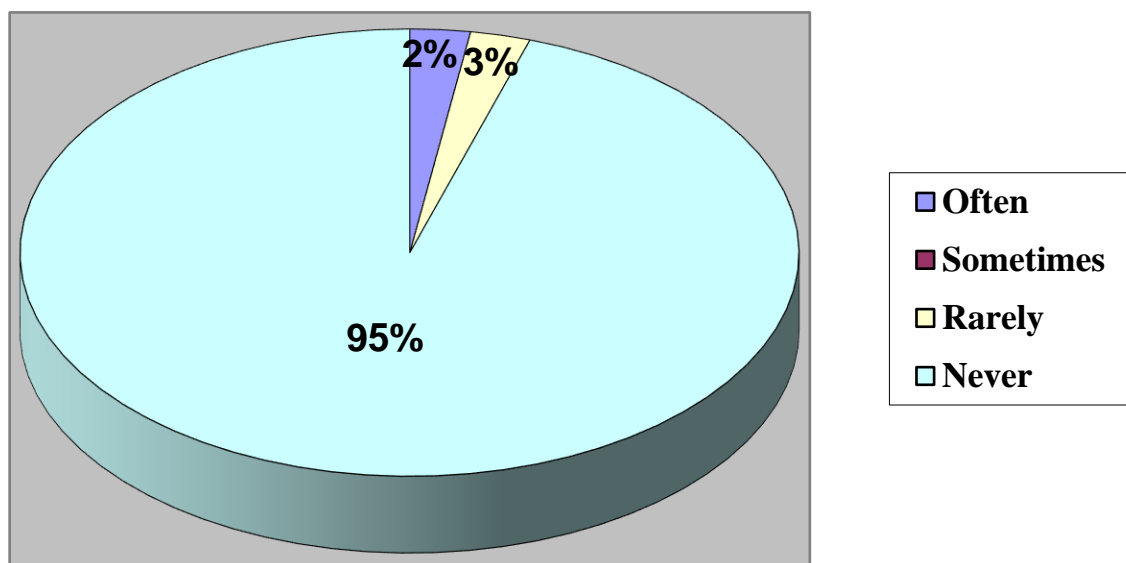
## Appendix J Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of Role of Women in Water Baptism Services Elim 1929 to 1940

Figure 4.5



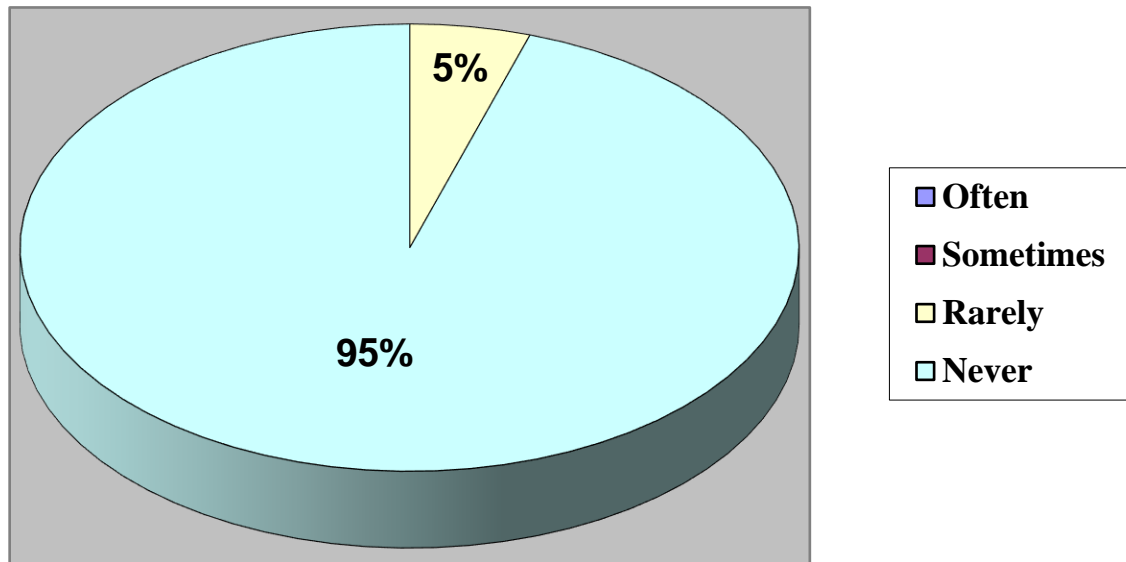
## Appendix K Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Wedding Services Elim 1929 to 1940

Figure 4.6



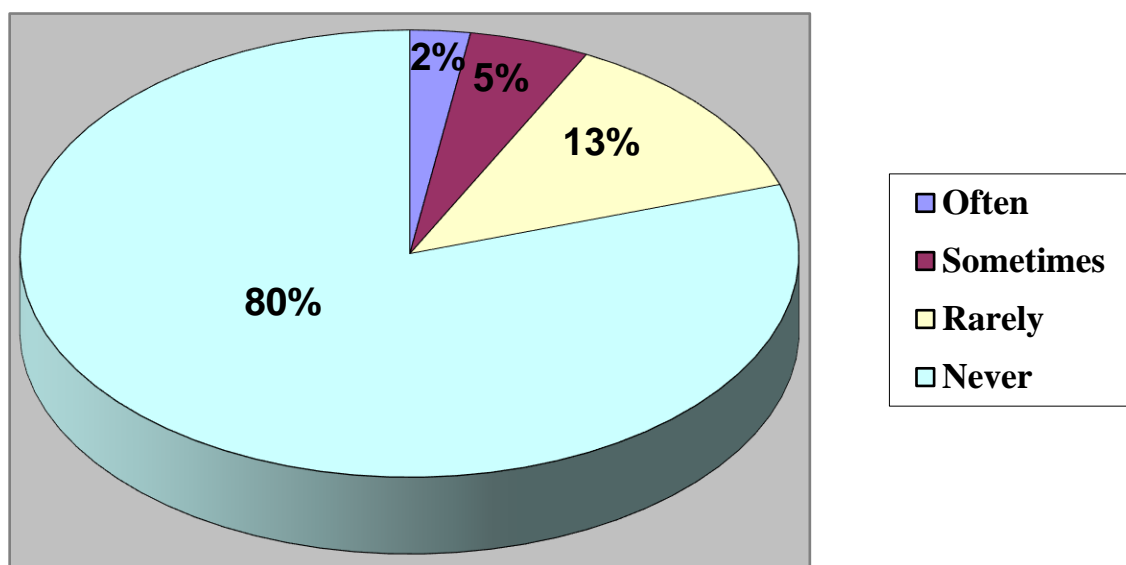
## Appendix L Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services Elim 1929 to 1940

Figure 4.7



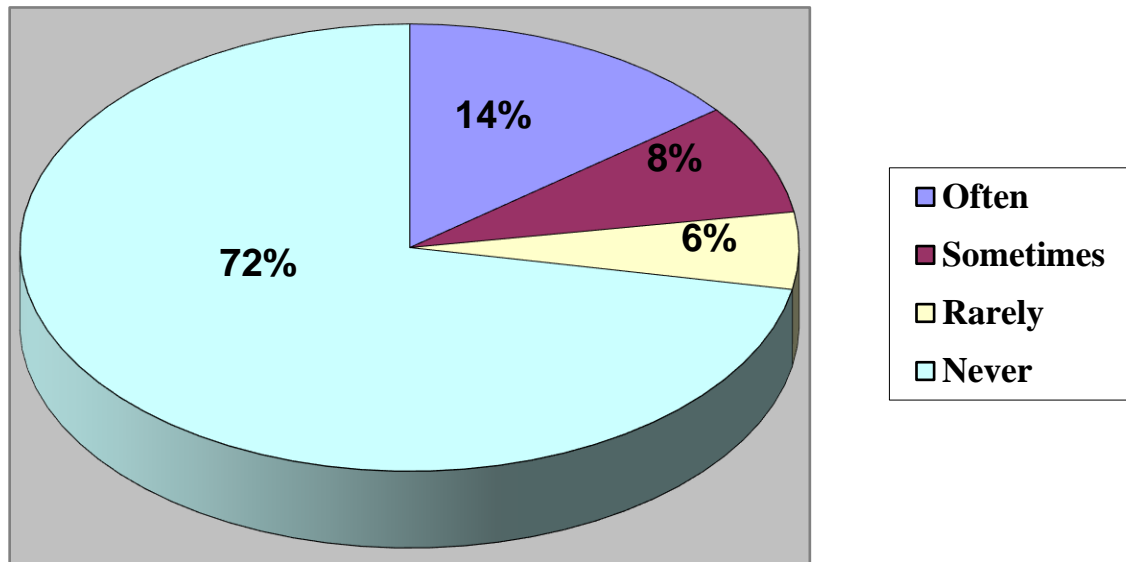
## Appendix M Chart to show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services Elim 1929 to 1940

Figure 4.8



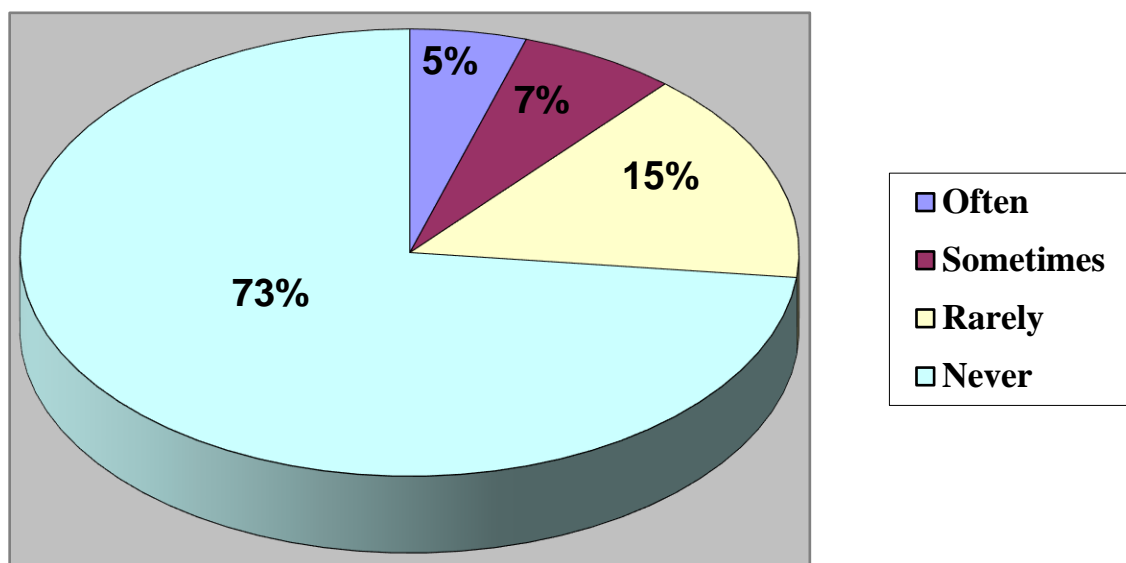
## Appendix N Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Role of Women in Water Baptism Services AC 1916 to 1940

Figure 5.1



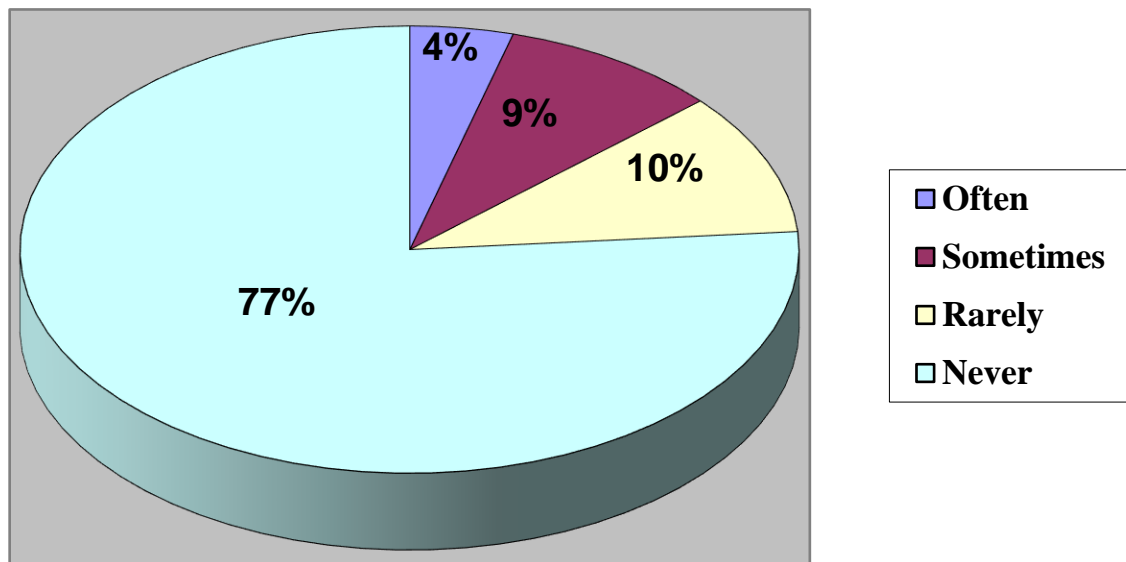
## Appendix O Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Role of Women in Wedding Services Apostolic 1916 to 1940

Figure 5.2



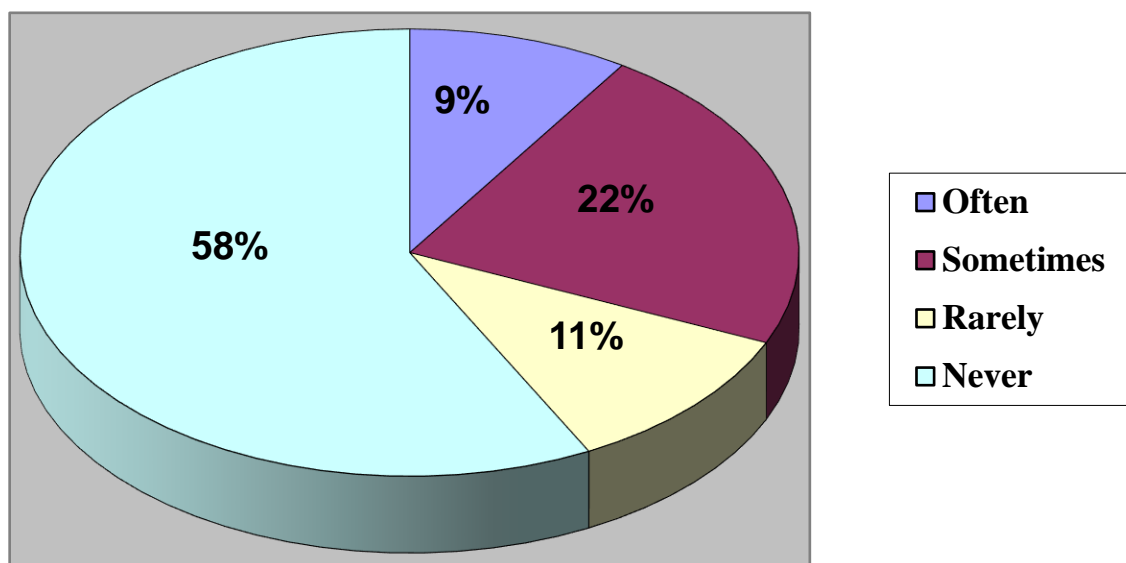
**Appendix P Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Funeral Services Apostolic 1916 to 1940**

**Figure 5.3**



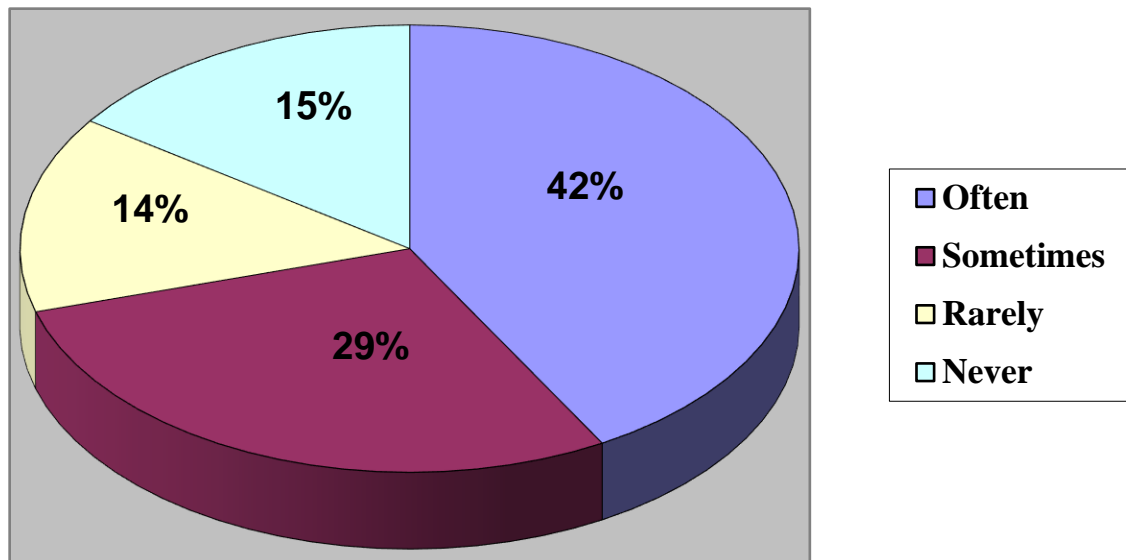
**Appendix Q Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services Apostolic 1916 to 1940**

**Figure 5.4**



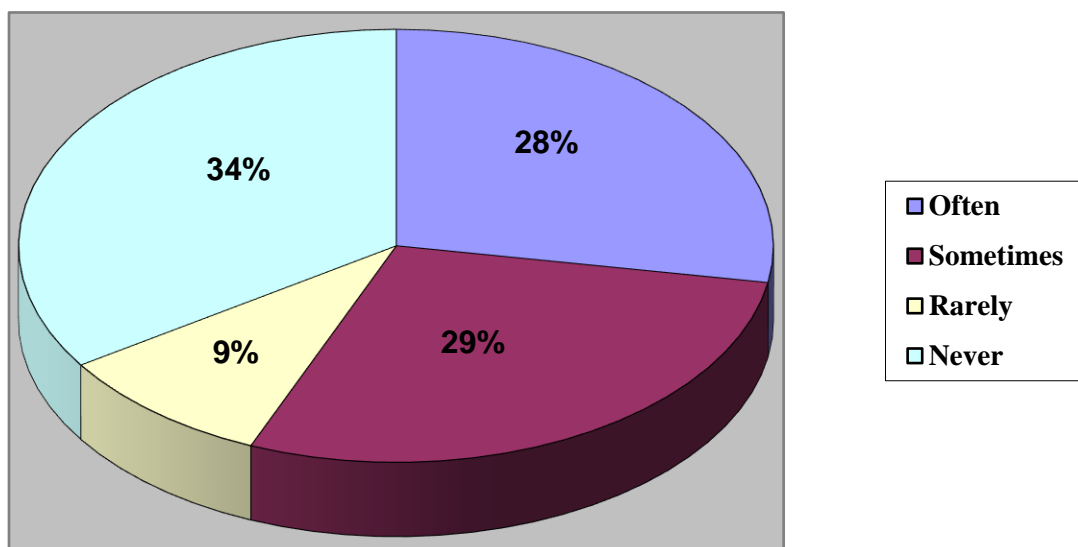
## Appendix R Chart to Show Respondents Recollections of Role of Women in Water Baptism Services AoG 1924 to 1940

Figure 6.1



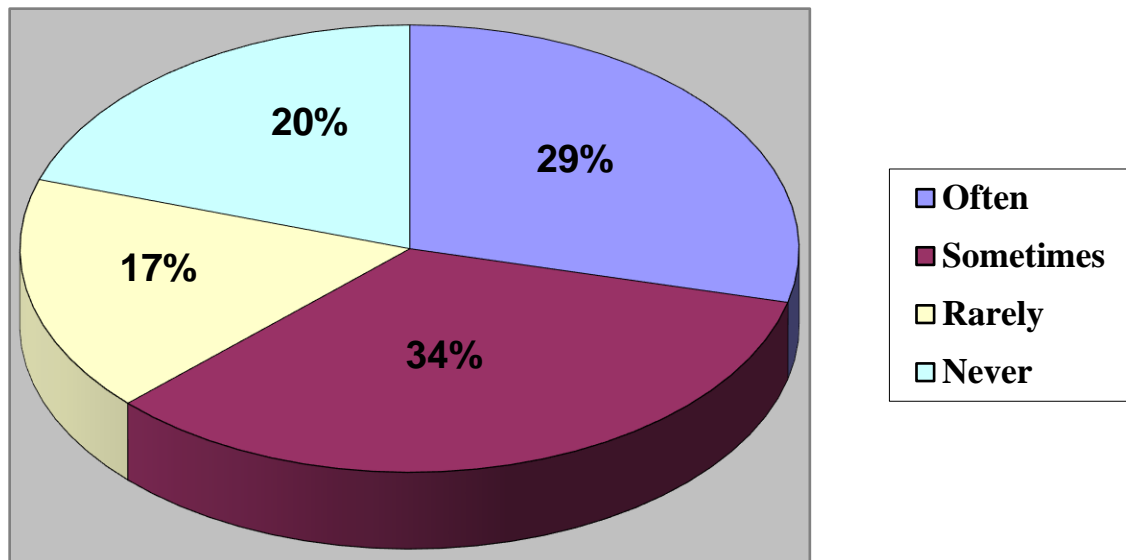
## Appendix S Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Role of Women in Wedding Services AoG 1924 to 1940

Figure 6.2



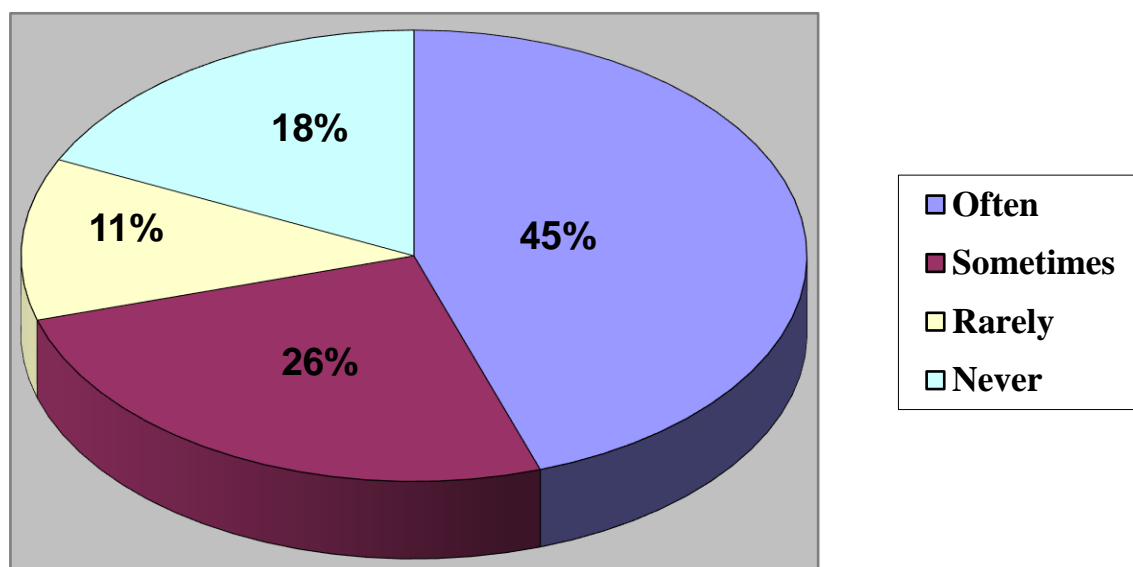
## Appendix T Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Role of Women in Funeral Services AoG 1924 to 1940

Figure 6.3



## Appendix U Chart to Show Respondents' Recollections of Role of Women in Holy Communion Services AoG 1924 to 1940

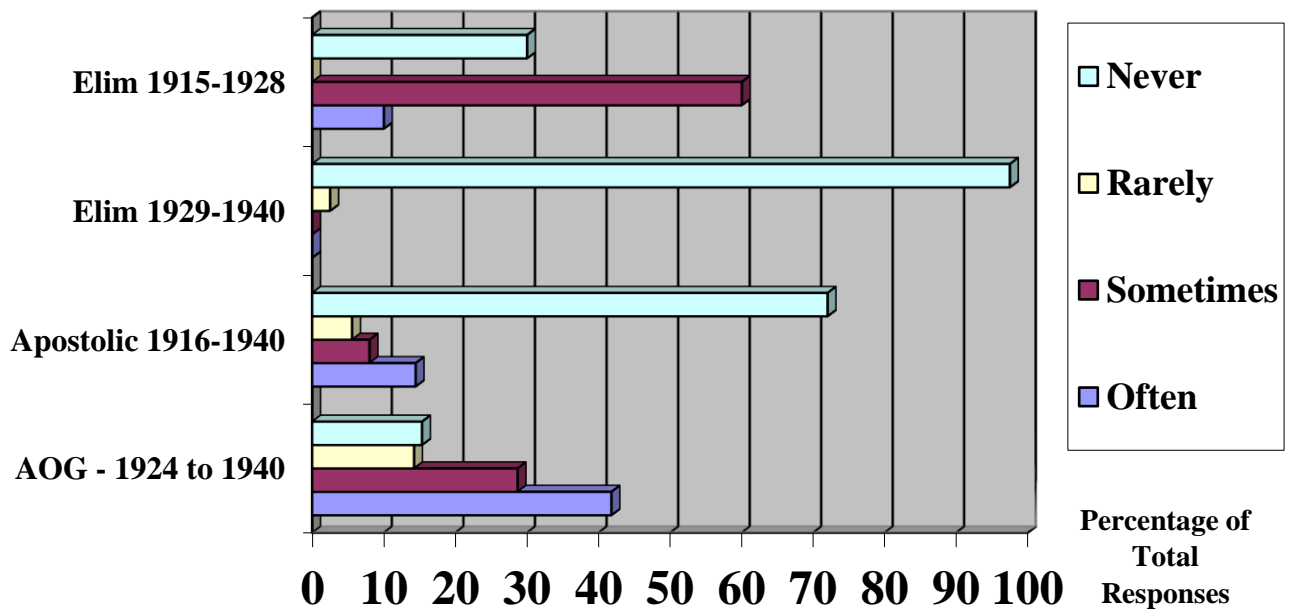
Figure 6.4





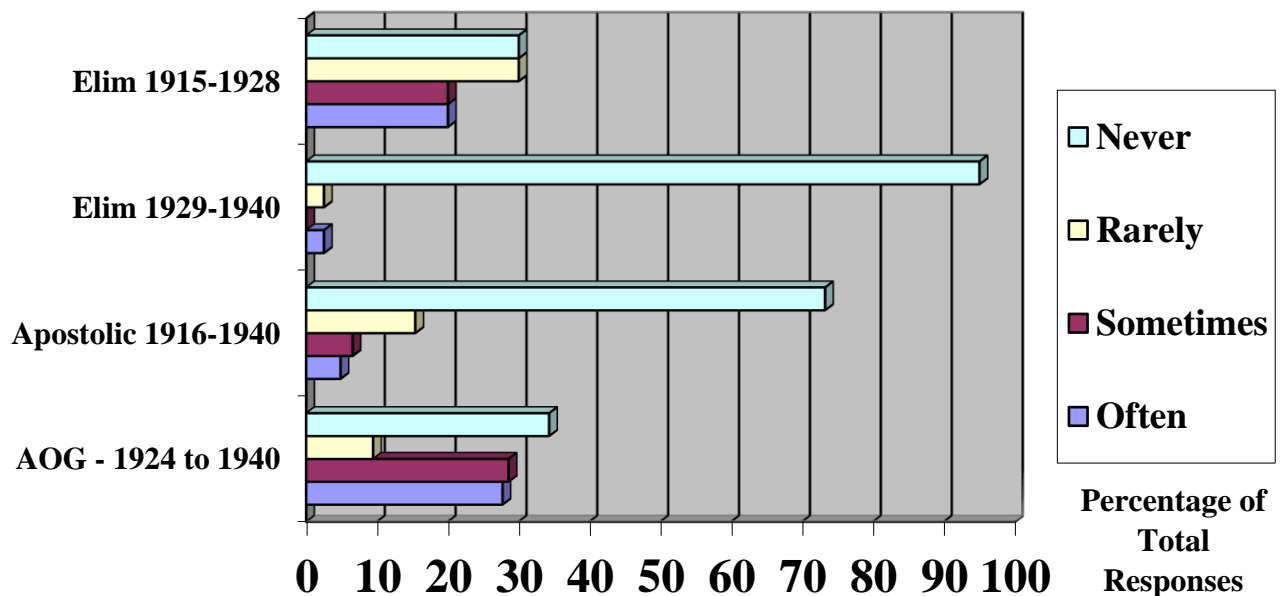
## Appendix V Chart to Show Broad Comparison Across 3 Denominations in Terms of Respondent's Recollections Regarding the Role of Women in Water Baptism Services

Figure 7.1



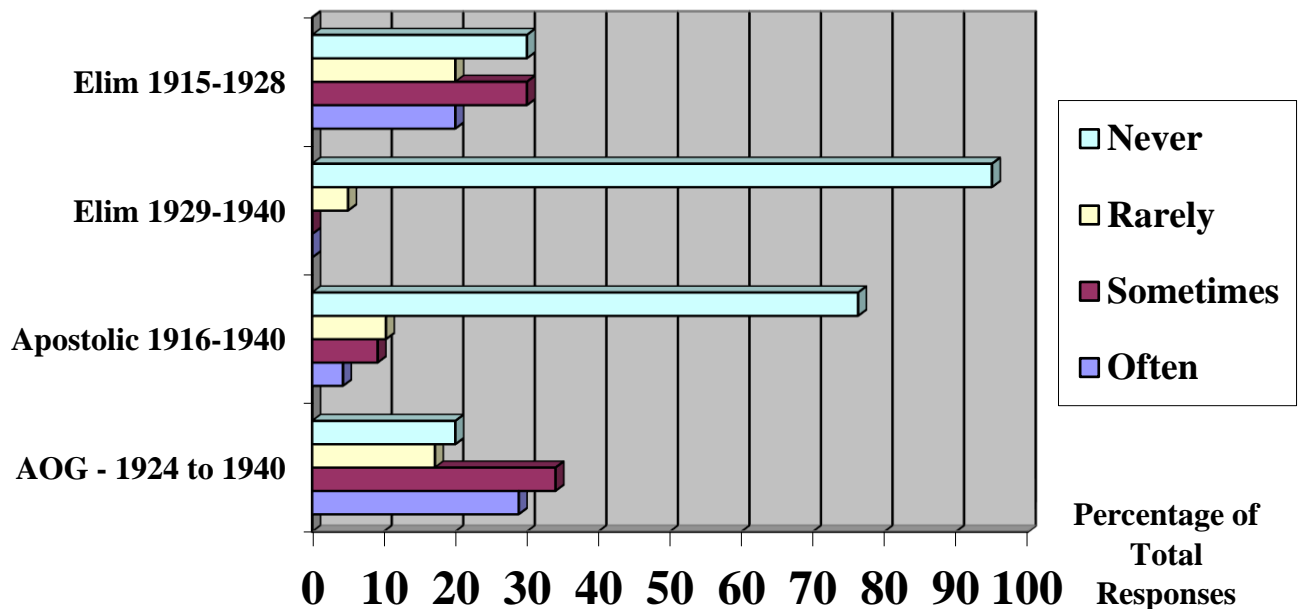
## Appendix W Chart to show comparisons across the three denominations in terms of Respondent's Recollections regarding the Role of Women in Wedding Services

Figure 7.2



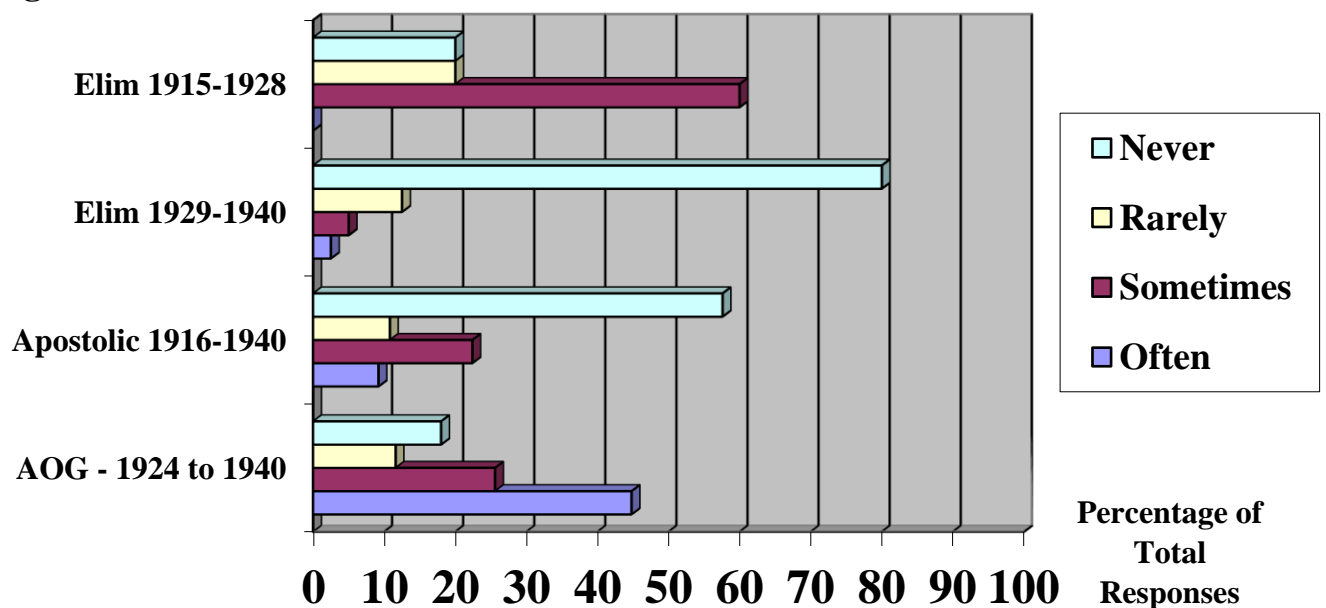
**Appendix X Chart to show comparison across the three denominations in terms of Respondent's Recollections regarding the Role of Women in Funeral Services**

**Figure 7.3**



**Appendix Y Chart to show comparison across the three denominations in terms of Respondent's Recollections regarding the Role of Women in Holy Communion Services**

**Figure 7.4**



**Appendix Z Bar chart to show comparison between Women's official ministry roles, Elim period 1, 1915-1928 and Elim period period 2, 1929-1940**

**Figure 7.5**

