

**FLICKERING FLAMES:
THE EARLY PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT
IN DENMARK, 1907-1924**

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ABSTRACT

This study is the most extensive treatment of Danish Pentecostal history to date. It is also the first case study of early European Pentecostalism focused on describing the hindrances to Pentecostal growth in this part of the world and the ways the movement responded to these.

The otherwise successful Anglo-Norwegian preacher T.B. Barratt attempted but failed to make Copenhagen a hub of the fledgling Pentecostal movement from 1907, though the movement managed to penetrate a wide range of socio-economic strata there. The movement was hampered by a relative lack of existing minority denominations, along with rejection by Evangelical and Holiness leaders within the state church.

Many Danish Pentecostals themselves undermined the movement's survival, by resisting any departure from its original, ecumenical, spontaneous state. They often pursued interdenominational, itinerant strategies – or travelled abroad as missionaries – rather than forming Pentecostal congregations as in contexts where the movement was more successful. When the inevitable institutionalisation happened, it was accompanied by a few years of dynamic growth, but ended in a debilitating schism.

The difficulties imposed by the combination of aggressive secularisation and a monopolistic state church should not be underestimated. These may also help us understand contemporary religious minorities.

A bruised reed he will not break,
and a dimly burning wick he will not quench;
he will faithfully bring forth justice.

He will not grow faint or be crushed
until he has established justice in the earth;
and the coastlands wait for his teaching.

— Isaiah 42:3-4

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Abbreviations

AC	Apostolic Church (<i>Eglwys Apostolaidd; Apostolsk Kirke</i>)
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
DAAL	Danish American Archive and Library, Blair, NE, USA
EMA	Evangelical Missionary Alliance (precursor of the CMA)
GDP	Gross domestic product
MCC	Mission Covenant Church (<i>Missionsforbundet</i>)
MS	Manuscript (unpublished); plural: MSS
PMU	Pentecostal Missionary Union of Great Britain and Ireland
WWI	World War One
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association (<i>Kristelig Forening for Unge Mænd</i>)
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association (<i>Kristelig Forening for Unge Kvinder</i>)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 What is Pentecostalism?

The beginning of the 20th century heralded a new religious movement which has grown at an unprecedented rate and is already more widespread than many much older Christian traditions. According to the broadest definition (counting in independent churches as well as Charismatics, once known as Neo-Pentecostals), the Pentecostal movement now claims over half a billion adherents.¹ While there were many significant international Christian movements in the 20th century – the ecumenical movement, political and liberation theology, the Catholic reform movement, the Evangelical Lausanne movement, and others – none of these gripped the masses in quite the same way as the Pentecostal movement. Not many movements – religious or otherwise – have transcended the boundaries of all major civilisations in quite the same way.² Perhaps the only other transnational movement that can compare in terms of magnitude is the socialist labour movement. The Pentecostal movement has almost literally turned Christendom upside down in the course of two or three generations, as it has been a great force for the spread of active faith in the global South.

Since the movement has spread so far and wide, it should not come as a surprise that it is difficult to pin the origins of it down to a single point in time and space. Nonetheless, throughout most of its history, the events in North Bonnie Brae Street and later Azusa Street, Los Angeles beginning in 1906 have been seen as especially significant.³ Los Angeles is if not the Jerusalem of Pentecostalism then certainly its Antioch: the place where the movement

¹ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*, Second Edition (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–5.

² Birgit Meyer, 'Pentecostalism and Globalization', in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., *The Anthropology of Christianity* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 113–30.

³ Joe Creech, 'Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 65, no. 3 (September 1996): 405–424, doi:10.2307/3169938.

was first identified as crossing the boundaries of, and therefore distinct from, any previous classification of people groups, whether religious, ethnic, or economic, and also the place from which many of its earliest missionaries went out.⁴ The revival meetings at Azusa Street were characterised by speaking in tongues, ecstatic dancing, faith healings, as well as more traditional elements such as singing, prayer, preaching, and giving testimonies. The leader, William J. Seymour (1870-1922), now seen by many as the father of Pentecostalism, was a son of former slaves, but the movement soon attracted a following from all races, classes, and Christian denominations.⁵ The Pentecostal movement was highly ecumenical; it did not arise out of thin air but drew from several historical roots.⁶ This interdenominational ideal was an especially persistent feature of early European Pentecostalism.⁷

The Pentecostal movement is still at least as diverse culturally and theologically as it was in its beginnings, and it is of crucial importance to bear this in mind when one thinks of the millions of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians in the world today. Most of these live in the global South and can appear very different from Western Pentecostals. Many of them belong to independent churches in Africa and Asia whose origins are not directly linked with the influence of Western missionaries. Others have stayed within the historic denominations, the largest group of these being Roman Catholic Charismatics in Latin America.⁸

The diversity of the movement means that it is hard to define universal characteristics of it. The various branches of the movement diverge in their views of such seemingly central things as the question of believers' or infant baptism and even the importance of speaking in tongues

⁴ Cf. Acts 11:26, 13:3.

⁵ Cecil M. Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* / Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. (Nashville: Nelson, 2006), 132–36.

⁶ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005).

⁷ Jean-Daniel Plüss, 'Pentecostalism in Europe and the Former Soviet Union', in *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*, ed. Cecil M. Robeck and Amos Yong, Cambridge Companions to Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 96–97, 101.

⁸ Anderson, *Introduction*, 5–6.

(glossolalia), the most distinctive practice of the Pentecostal movement, with which it was in the beginning almost always identified, and which has been seen by many in the movement as the decisive sign of Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Focusing on this last characteristic alone gives an understanding of the movement that is on the one hand clearly reductionist,⁹ and on the other hand simply incorrect for large parts of the movement – today and throughout history. Many Pentecostals acknowledge and encourage this practice as one gift among many, without seeing it as an ultimate criterion of true spiritual life.¹⁰ Perhaps the best way to characterise Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians is to say that, notwithstanding any variations in their views on these, they are united by *a new experience of the manifestations of the Holy Spirit in present day spiritual gifts (χαρίσματα)*, which they see as *a continuation of the events at the first New Testament Pentecost*.

Simply attempting to define Pentecostalism is one thing; understanding how and why it works is another. Can a single theory explain the explosive growth of Pentecostalism in contexts as diverse as Stockholm and Lagos? There is a recognised need for more research into what conduces and impedes the growth of Pentecostalism.¹¹ This study contributes towards this need by asking how Pentecostalism could work well in one place – and not in another similar one. The rest of this section will review the current state of research on European and particularly Scandinavian Pentecostalism, and will discuss various prior proposals to explain the patterns of growth of Pentecostalism and similar religious movements, before outlining the aims and methods of the present study.

⁹ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury, 1987), 15–17.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Introduction*, 187.

¹¹ E.g. Meyer, 'Pentecostalism and Globalization', 120.

1.2 Scandinavia and Europe in Pentecostal historiography

Broadly speaking, the Pentecostal movements in Denmark and the other Nordic countries are different in at least two important ways: firstly, the Pentecostal movement has attracted a much more significant number of followers in Sweden, Norway, and Finland (about 5,000 Pentecostals in contemporary Denmark, versus 32,000 in Norway, 49,000 in Finland, and over 100,000 in Sweden),¹² and secondly, Danish Pentecostalism remained more closely integrated within both the Lutheran and other churches until as late as 1919, when the leading Pentecostal couple in the Copenhagen area formed their own congregation.¹³ In both ways, Denmark is more similar to most other Western European countries,¹⁴ despite its more obvious similarities to the rest of Scandinavia in most other respects. Since the territory of this small country consists precisely of the overlap between Scandinavia and the main European continent, including adjacent islands, it is easy to imagine that the story of Pentecostalism there could have gone either way: stagnation as across the border in Germany and further afield, or explosive growth as across the waters in Sweden and most of the world. And though the history of Pentecostalism in Europe has been studied often, a complete explanation of its exceptionally weak status within global Pentecostalism remains to be articulated.

¹² Jan-Åke Alvarsson, 'Chapter One. The Development of Pentecostalism in Scandinavian Countries', in *European Pentecostalism*, ed. William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 38. Each of the four countries has 5-10 million inhabitants. The much less cautious estimates in Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas, eds., *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002) are mildly incredible, in the case of the Nordic countries. The *Danish Pluralism Project* estimated that there were 7-8,000 Pentecostals in Denmark, with the caveat that much of the growth has only happened in recent decades (Lars Ahlin et al., 'Religious Diversity and Pluralism: Empirical Data and Theoretical Reflections from the Danish Pluralism Project', *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 27, no. 3 (October 2012): 407), doi:10.1080/13537903.2012.722034.

¹³ Nils E. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964), 78–79.

¹⁴ See table in Appendix A, as well as William K. Kay, 'Chapter Fifteen. A Sociological Perspective on Pentecostalism in Europe', in *European Pentecostalism*, ed. William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 387–89.

1.2.1 Historical paradigms

Despite acknowledging the significance of the Azusa Street events, many of the early European historians of Pentecostalism (most of them not Pentecostals themselves) preferred to shift the focus of their accounts relatively quickly to something closer to home. The most prominent representative of this Euro-centric paradigm was the Norwegian theologian Nils Bloch-Hoell (1915-2002). The American scholar David Bundy mentions several earlier historians (some Pentecostal, some outsiders) whose accounts of international Pentecostalism also centred on Europe – usually on their own countries – such as Paul Fleisch, Efraim Briem, Martin Ski, Leonhard Steiner, and, as an exception to the rule that Euro-centrism was only a relatively early tendency, a work by Lauri Ahonen from 1994.¹⁵

There were also British writers who exhibited a similar tendency, such as Donald Gee.¹⁶ Another early example is the Dutch historian G.A. Wumkes, writing as early as 1917, almost as early as Fleisch's first works that mention the Pentecostals.¹⁷ Also notable is the account of the Pentecostal movement by the Danish Lutheran priest Michael Neiiendam (1895-1962), first published in 1927. He acknowledged William Seymour as an early leader of Pentecostalism, but the Anglo-Norwegian Methodist preacher T.B. Barratt (1862-1940) is named as 'the principal leader of the whole of the modern Pentecostal movement'.¹⁸ This evaluation is almost certainly skewed, not just by Scandinavian regionalism but also by racial

¹⁵ David D. Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2009), 5–6, 11–16; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 406–11.

¹⁶ Donald Gee, *Wind and Flame : Incorporating the Former Book The Pentecostal Movement, with Additional Chapters* (Croydon: Assemblies of God, 1967).

¹⁷ G.A. Wumkes, *De Pinksterbeweging voornamelijk in Nederland* (Amsterdam: G.R. Polman, 1917).

¹⁸ Michael Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 1st ed. (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1927), 190. Barratt, a Methodist pastor, had travelled from Kristiania (Oslo) to the US in 1906 to raise funds for his 'City Mission'. Whilst unsuccessful in this, he instead encountered the Pentecostal movement in New York, where he experienced baptism in the Spirit and spoke in tongues. He returned to Kristiania to preach the Pentecostal message in Norway and beyond.

bias.¹⁹ In spite of this, Neiiendam's description of Pentecostalism is on the whole sympathetic and accurate, and his focus on the leadership of Barratt is understandable and should be taken seriously, not least because it is repeated in later historians.

Early Euro-centric writers were beginning to put together the puzzle of Pentecostalism as a global phenomenon, and still assumed that a focus on Europe was justified, not just because of the perspective of their European audiences, but because they seemed to believe that the spark from Los Angeles only became a blazing fire after it had crossed the Atlantic. This tendency culminates in the prominent position of Norwegian Pentecostalism in Bloch-Hoell's monograph from 1956.²⁰ Despite reducing the focus on Norway in the English version, Norway is still the only country apart from the US that gets its own chapter. The reasoning behind this seems to be the overarching role of Barratt whose ministry is treated extensively both in that chapter and a further chapter on his international impact. Bloch-Hoell concludes that 'Barratt was in effect the apostle of the Pentecostal Movement in Europe and his assembly in Oslo the mother congregation of the European Pentecostal Movement'.²¹

By contrast, the next great scholarly study of Pentecostalism – arguably the founding document of all current Pentecostal studies – was the ten-volume *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung* by Swiss theologian Walter Hollenweger (1927-2016), which signalled a paradigm shift. When this was abridged for publication, no Scandinavian country or leader was given a separate chapter.²² This is partly because the polyglot Hollenweger tailored the

¹⁹ Neiiendam described Seymour as 'a man who belonged to a race in which the threshold to the subconscious is very low' (Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 186).

²⁰ Nils E. Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen: En undersøkelse av Pinsebevegelsens tilblivelse, utvikling og særpreg med særlig henblikk på bevegelsens utforming i Norge* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1956). Bundy notes that the 'early interpretations of Pentecostalism as a global phenomenon' had already broken down by then (Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 406).

²¹ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 86.

²² Walter J. Hollenweger, *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung*, 10 vols (Geneva, 1965); Walter J. Hollenweger, *Enthusiastisches Christentum: Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Wuppertal:

different editions of his book to suit a German-, English-, or Spanish-speaking audience. But in fact, there were two emerging US-centred paradigms in the 1960s. The first focused on the leadership of Charles F. Parham (1873-1929) and the events in Topeka, Kansas starting in 1901 as the real origin of the Pentecostal movement.²³ The other paradigm, spearheaded by Hollenweger as a counteraction to the former, focused on the leadership of William Seymour and the events in Los Angeles, California starting in 1906, not simply as the starting point of the first distinctly Pentecostal revival – which earlier historians had acknowledged – but as a Big Bang containing the essence of all later Pentecostalism.²⁴

For the Hollenweger school, the difference between these two US-centred views had strong racial overtones: the Topeka paradigm had to be refuted because it purposefully elevated the white Parham over the black Seymour.²⁵ Of course, not all the proponents of the Topeka view can be accused of such racial bias. For example, the American social historian Robert Mapes Anderson has strongly disagreed with Hollenweger over the priority of Azusa Street.²⁶ But these conflicting views both brought the US to the front of the research focus to such an extent that it is now a common perception that global Pentecostalism is a thoroughly

Theologischer Verlag, 1969); Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1972); Walter J. Hollenweger, *El pentecostalismo: Historia y Doctrinas* (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1976).

²³ The culmination of this paradigm was James Goff's 1988 biography of Parham: James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* / by James R Goff. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988).

²⁴ Michael J. McClymond, 'Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism: From North American Origins to Global Permutations', in *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*, ed. Cecil M. Robeck and Amos Yong, Cambridge Companions to Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 44. For more on Hollenweger's notion of an ideal, original form of Pentecostalism, see Nikolaj Christensen, 'Pentecost for Others: Dietrich Bonhoeffer According to Walter Hollenweger', *PentecoStudies* 15, no. 1 (March 2016): 25–45, doi:10.1558/ptcs.v15i1.26523.

²⁵ Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 20–24; cf. Augustus Cerillo, 'Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins', *Pneuma* 19, no. 1 (1997): 41–45.

²⁶ Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 257, n. 15.

US-American product.²⁷ As a result, the mission efforts by Scandinavian Pentecostals outside Europe have been overlooked, even by Bloch-Hoell.²⁸

Hollenweger's focus on Azusa Street as the paramount centre of Pentecostal origins has been continued in particular by Pentecostal historian C.M. Robeck,²⁹ and is in many ways still valid. But there were other early centres from which the Pentecostal movement spread as well. The numerical strength of Asian, African and Latin American Pentecostals means that the views that see the movement as a US-American export have begun to give way to a polycentric paradigm that recognises its multiple distinctive identities in the globalised world.³⁰ But even a closer scrutiny of European Pentecostal origins reveals that 'Pentecostalism in Europe was not just an import from the United States'.³¹ This points us to the importance of local religious roots (see below, 1.4, 2.1.3).

However, as the general research focus is moving from North America to the global South, the significance of European centres such as Scandinavia remains in the background.³² Furthermore, an indispensable handbook in Pentecostal studies has yet to catch up with the most recent paradigm in the field: *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and*

²⁷ E.g., Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* / Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, Susan D. Rose. (New York ; London: Routledge, 1996); John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *God Is Back: How the Global Rise of Faith Is Changing the World* (London: Penguin, 2010), esp. 213-242.

²⁸ Bundy, *Visions*, 10–11.

²⁹ Robeck, *Azusa Street*.

³⁰ Anderson, *Introduction*, 7–15, 36–39; Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 43–50; Everett A. Wilson, 'They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They? Critical History and Pentecostal Beginnings', in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, ed. Murray W Dempster, Byron D Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Oxford, UK; Irvine, Calif.: Regnum Books Intl., 1999), 109–10; Adam Stewart, 'From Monogenesis to Polygenesis in Pentecostal Origins: A Survey of the Evidence from the Azusa Street, Hebden and Mukti Missions', *PentecoStudies* 13, no. 2 (2014): 151–72.

³¹ Plüss, 'Pentecostalism in Europe', 95.

³² Consider e.g. the near-absence of references to Scandinavian Pentecostal movements (and their missions) in books such as David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish, Religion and Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Murray W Dempster, Byron D Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, eds., *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (Oxford, UK; Irvine, Calif.: Regnum Books Intl., 1999); Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*.

Charismatic Movements contains a multitude of points of view represented by many different authors, and there is no clear consistency in its priorities.³³ The overall tendency is that English-speaking – and especially US-American – perspectives are treated most fully in the theological, sociological and biographical articles in the dictionary’s third part. The editors have even taken the consequence of this to the extent that there is no single country article on the USA; the entry instead simply contains references to a multitude of US-centred articles elsewhere in the book.

Since the international research community is so predominantly Anglophone, it should come as no surprise that this lopsided perspective also reflects on the highly English-literate Scandinavian countries. *Nordic Folk Churches* ascribes Pentecostal and Charismatic movements to ‘Anglo-American’ influence rather than seeing them in any sense as home-grown spiritualities.³⁴

Allan Anderson mentions multiple biases in Pentecostal historiography: white, Western, North American, Anglophone, denominational, and male.³⁵ This study cannot contribute to correcting the first two (though this is a necessary task for other contexts), but will attempt to challenge the latter four. For example, I use a broad definition of ‘Pentecostal’, referring not simply to those who eventually became part of the Pentecostal denominations but to all who

³³ The two longest country articles are on South Africa and Italy at 12 and 9 pages respectively – but according to the dictionary’s own statistics the former country has over five times as many Pentecostals and almost five times as many ‘Total Renewal’ (including Charismatics and Neocharismatics) as the latter. Among the Nordic countries, e.g. Denmark gets just over a page, whereas Norway gets just under a page, only a little more than Iceland (Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 80–81, 117–18, 132–41, 193, 227–38).

³⁴ Gunnar Heiene, ‘Theology and Spirituality’, in *Nordic Folk Churches: A Contemporary Church History*, ed. Björn Ryman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 145–47. The same is sporadically the case for other contributions to the same book: the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement is either ignored – perhaps most tellingly in Björn Ryman’s account of the ‘ecumenical world’ (62–98) – or described as an element of foreign (i.e. US-American) influence – e.g. by Aila Lauha (29) and Ryman (50).

³⁵ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), 4–9; see also Anderson, *To the Ends*, 46–47.

at any given point accepted Pentecostal teachings and practices.³⁶ However, there is also a wider emerging stream of scholarly interest in Scandinavian Pentecostalism which may act as a corrective to current consensus.

1.2.2 Recent studies on Scandinavian Pentecostalism

An overview of Scandinavian Pentecostal history is found in a book chapter by Jan-Åke Alvarsson.³⁷ Finland and Iceland are generally not considered part of Scandinavia proper, but still have strong historical, political and ecclesiastical links with the region. The Finnish Pentecostal movement is relatively vibrant, and there are a few historical studies available to an English-speaking audience on Finnish Pentecostalism.³⁸ The movement is smaller in Iceland, though the combined number of Pentecostals and Charismatics is noteworthy relative to the overall population.³⁹ One significant study, which covers the Faroe Islands and Greenland in addition to Iceland, has been written by Pétur Pétursson.⁴⁰ Though all these three North Atlantic countries were, during the period concerned here, dependencies of the Danish state, they do not fall within the scope of this study, since Pentecostal influences mostly arrived later – and mainly from Sweden and Norway.⁴¹

Sweden has a large Pentecostal contingent and has been the subject of several historical studies. Among these are a two-volume anthology by Claes Waern and others,⁴² doctoral

³⁶ As also in Bundy's study; see e.g. Bundy, *Visions*, 175.

³⁷ Alvarsson, 'Development of Pentecostalism'.

³⁸ Lauri Ahonen, *Mission Growth: A Case Study on Finnish Free Foreign Mission* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1984); § Kärkkäinen, "'From the Ends of the Earth to the Ends of the Earth": The Expansion of Finnish Pentecostal Missions from 1927-1997', *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 20 (1 January 2000): 116–31; Nils G. Holm, 'Pentecostalism in Finland: The Precarious Beginning', *Approaching Religion* 5, no. 1 (2015): 92–95.

³⁹ A possibly excessive estimate of 23,000 'Total Renewal' (in a population of circa 320,000) is given in Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 117.

⁴⁰ Pétur Pétursson, *Från väckelse till samfund: Svensk pingstmission på öarna i Nordatlanten* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1990).

⁴¹ See also Michael Fell, *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A History of Christianity in Iceland*, American University Studies. Series VII: Theology and Religion 201 (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 288–89.

⁴² Claes Waern et al., *Pingströrelsen*, 2 vols (Örebro: Libris, 2007).

theses by Tommy Davidsson and Nils-Eije Stävare on the Pentecostal leaders Lewi Pethrus (1884-1974) and Georg Gustafsson (1899-1983), respectively,⁴³ and a voluminous dissertation by David Bundy, focusing on Pentecostal foreign mission organisation in both Sweden and Norway from 1906 to 1935.⁴⁴ Significantly, more Pentecostals have themselves been involved in research, especially through the Institute for Pentecostal Studies, founded in cooperation between Uppsala University and the Pentecostal Theological Seminary, also in Uppsala. Alvarsson's work in cultural anthropology is a good example of the multidisciplinary approach to the multifaceted phenomenon of Pentecostalism.⁴⁵ Also significant, though covering a later period than the one in question in this study, is Simon Coleman's anthropological work on the Uppsala-based Word of Life movement.⁴⁶

Norway was at the centre of some relatively early attempts at writing the history of the Pentecostal movement,⁴⁷ but there have also been some more recent studies, such as a historical analysis by Pentecostal theologian Terje Hegertun of the development from ecumenism to denominationalism (and back),⁴⁸ as well as several studies by the independent

⁴³ Tommy Henrik Davidsson, 'Lewi Pethrus' Ecclesiological Thought 1911-1974: A Transdenominational Pentecostal Ecclesiology' (University of Birmingham, 2012), <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3379/>; Nils-Eije Stävare, *Georg Gustafsson: församlingsledare, predikant och förebedjare inom den svenska Pingströrelsen*, Skrifter utgivna av Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning 12 (Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning, 2011), http://www.pingst.se/content/uploads/2015/05/12StavareGeorgG_410547147.pdf.

⁴⁴ Bundy, *Visions*.

⁴⁵ Jan-Åke Alvarsson, *Om Pingströrelsen: Essäer, översikter och analyser*, Studia Pentecostalia Upsaliensis 1 (Skellefteå: Artos, 2014).

⁴⁶ Simon Coleman, *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity / Simon Coleman*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); see also Simon Coleman, 'The Charismatic Gift', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 10, no. 2 (2004): 421–442 and other articles. For a comprehensive overview of studies on Swedish Pentecostalism, see Jan-Åke Alvarsson, 'Research on Pentecostalism in Sweden', *Approaching Religion* 5, no. 1 (2015): 16–30.

⁴⁷ Apart from Bloch-Hoell's work as an external observer also Martin Ski's as an internal chronicler: Martin Ski, *Fram til urkristendommen: Pinsevekkelsen gjennom 50 år*, ed. Egil Strand, Erling Strøm, and Martin Ski, 3 vols (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956).

⁴⁸ Terje Hegertun, *Det brodersind som pinseandens nødvendigvis maa føde: Analyse av økumeniske posisjoner i norsk pinsebevegelse med henblikk på utviklingen av en pentekostal økumenikk og fornyelse av økumeniske arbeidsformer* (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk, 2009); see also Terje Hegertun, 'Thomas Ball Barratt and "the Spirit of Unity"', *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 35, no. 1 (April 2015): 34–47, doi:10.1179/1812446114Z.0000000006.

scholar Geir Lie, who mainly covers the period from circa 1960 onwards and has edited both a journal and an encyclopaedia on Pentecostal and Charismatic movements.⁴⁹

Cultural studies of contemporary Pentecostal churches in Denmark have been carried out in doctoral theses by Karl Inge Tangen and Ib Sørensen.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the Lutheran priest and church historian Elith Olesen (1922-2016) has laid a crucial foundation for the present study in his monumental achievement on the Holiness movement in Denmark around 1900. His style is often eccentric, and he sees Pentecostalism as something of an aberration,⁵¹ but in chronicling the Danish Holiness movement he leaves no stone unturned, except for the forgivable – almost unavoidable – weakness that his work focuses mainly on the interaction between Holiness leaders and little on characterising their followers. Barratt's influence in Denmark is described in some detail by Bloch-Hoell, Olesen, and Bundy, but is of passing interest to all three.⁵² Bloch-Hoell noted at the time that he wrote his ground-breaking study: 'No satisfactory monograph on the Pentecostal Movement in Norway was to be found in the literature'.⁵³ What was true of the research situation for Norway then is still true for Danish Pentecostal history over half a century on.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *Refleks: med karismatisk kristendom i fokus* (published in Oslo, 2002-2009); Geir Lie, *Norsk pinsekristendom og karismatisk fornyelse: ettbinds oppslagsverk* (Oslo: Refleks-Publishing, 2007); see also Geir Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse til moderne norsk karismatik: Et historisk overblik* (Oslo: Akademia forlag, 2011), which contains many articles by Lie previously published elsewhere.

⁵⁰ Karl Inge Tangen, *Ecclesial Identification beyond Late Modern Individualism? : A Case Study of Life Strategies in Growing Late Modern Churches* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Ib Sørensen, 'Leg med ilden: Pentekostale trosfællesskaber og problematiske omverdensrelasjoner' (Syddansk Universitet, 2010).

⁵¹ Elith Olesen, *De frigjorte og trællefølket: Amerikansk-engelsk indflydelse på dansk kirkeliv omkring år 1900* (Frederiksberg: Anis, 1996), 15, 126, 155, 161–57.

⁵² Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 271–81; Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 77–79; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 425–31, 543–44, 559; Bundy, *Visions*, 189–204, 418–20.

⁵³ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 3.

⁵⁴ A more exhaustive bibliography on Nordic Pentecostal history (especially mission history) which, tellingly, omits Denmark (since there are no significant studies) is provided by David Bundy in Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 409–12. In the Danish case, such 'detailed analyses ... remain desiderata' (Bundy, *Visions*, 26).

1.3 Explaining Pentecostal growth and stagnation

This study aims not only to fill the lacuna in Pentecostal history as regards Denmark – and the lacuna in Danish church history as regards Pentecostalism – but also to explain the differences in receptivity to the Pentecostal movement between different contexts. Some anthropologists and sociologists have promoted theories to explain the growth of Pentecostalism globally and in particular locations. In the 1960s Luther Gerlach and Virginia Hine distilled ‘five factors crucial to the growth and spread’ of the Pentecostal movement: ‘reticulate organization’, ‘recruitment along pre-existing lines of significant social relationships’, ‘a commitment act or experience’, ‘change-oriented ideology’, and ‘real or perceived opposition’.⁵⁵ While such theories often focus on those parts of the world where the numbers have been the most impressive, their applicability to a European context should not be ruled out without further probing. Reversing their conclusions and applying them to explain why a historical movement was *not* successful could potentially falsify their claims. As it turns out, my findings seem rather to confirm their conclusions.

However, several other ideas have been proposed to explain the disparity between the success of Pentecostalism in general and the relative failure of its Danish and wider European segment. Below I present first three types of explanations proposed by others, along with my reasons for being critical of them, before suggesting what I believe is a more fruitful hypothesis. There is a certain overlap between these types and Augustus Cerillo’s classification of approaches to US Pentecostal historiography.⁵⁶ The exception is what I have

⁵⁵ Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, ‘Five Factors Crucial to the Growth and Spread of a Modern Religious Movement’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 1968, 23–40. A related area is Christian missiology, which attempts to understand what methods and conditions are best for evangelisation; see e.g. Paul Everett Pierson, *The Dynamics of Christian Mission: History through a Missiological Perspective* (Pasadena: William Carey International University Press, 2009).

⁵⁶ ‘The Providential Approach’, ‘The Historical Roots Approach’, ‘The Multicultural Approach’, and ‘The Functional Approach’ (Cerillo, ‘Interpretive Approaches’; cf. Cornelis van der Laan, ‘Historical Approaches’, in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., The

called the market saturation theory, which seems to be rooted in a particular Danish historiographical tradition.

1.3.1 Deterministic explanations

In a deterministic process, the link between cause and effect is not obvious and demonstrable. Explanations of this type are naturally difficult to test; their plausibility depends on a supposed lack of other plausible explanations. This form of explanation can express itself in some superficially quite different ways. For example, consider the idea from the natural sciences that even a small difference in the initial conditions can cause a vast difference in the effects – popularly known as the ‘Butterfly Effect’ after the question posed by the father of chaos theory, Edward Lorenz: ‘Does the flap of a butterfly’s wings in Brazil set off a tornado in Texas?’ However, according to the scientific chaos theory, the effects of small events are not infinitely amplified in greater and greater effects, but rather cancel each other out over time.⁵⁷ This equilibration does not seem to have happened in the case of Scandinavian Pentecostalism.⁵⁸

Instead, among early Pentecostal writers of the movement’s history, the common view was that the Pentecostal revival simply arrived as a gift from heaven to fulfil God’s purposes on earth for that time. This providential view of Pentecostal history continued in internal

Anthropology of Christianity 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 208–209). Due to the ethnic homogeneity of the Danish populace, the multicultural approach is the least relevant in this context.

⁵⁷ Edward N. Lorenz, ‘Predictability: Does the Flap of a Butterfly’s Wings in Brazil Set Off a Tornado in Texas?’ (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 139th Meeting, New Approaches to Global Weather: GARP. Sheraton Park Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass, 29 December 1972). Some attempts have previously been made – especially in the 1990s – to connect chaos theory and the study of history, but these attempts have also met with some criticism in the historical community; see Paul A. Roth and Thomas A. Ryckman, ‘Chaos, Clio, and Scientific Illusions of Understanding’, *History and Theory*, 1995, 30–44.

⁵⁸ The Pentecostal movement in Norway did eventually begin to stagnate after an explosive start; see Tor Edvin Dahl and John-Willy Rudolph, *Fra seier til nederlag: pinsebevegelsen i Norge* (Oslo: Land og kirke-Gyldendal, 1978). But in the case of Sweden, the differences from Denmark so far show no signs of evening out.

Pentecostal historiography in the United States from the 1960s, which attempted to counter critical modernist and confessionalist accounts. This approach is largely coterminous with the Topeka paradigm described above, locating the origins of Pentecostalism in the heart of white America.⁵⁹ Other writers have used the notion of providence to reject the nationalistic overtones of the former accounts and instead speak of multiple, geographically dispersed origins of global Pentecostalism, though this could be explained without resorting to the idea that the new Pentecost came completely out of the blue.⁶⁰

The British Pentecostal scholar William Kay has attempted to rehabilitate the providential view by drawing on Karl Popper's concept of falsification, arguing that a providential approach can be a help to avoid the dangers of inductive reasoning. Kay acknowledges the need for contributory explanations, such as an understanding of the religious backgrounds and motivations of the people involved, thereby avoiding the danger of reducing history to a single, predictable set of fixed laws.⁶¹ This version of a providential approach is free from the dualistic notion that events happen *either* due to divine providence *or* natural causes. But only by thus emptying the providential view of any absolute explanatory power can Kay avoid Popper's criticism of teleological or 'prophetic' views of history.⁶² However, Kay's conclusion that Popper 'does not, as others do, rule out providence' is problematic. If history is not 'driven by abstract forces' but by individuals making decisions in specific situations,⁶³ then why is providence itself not to be considered an 'abstract force'? Kay endorses a

⁵⁹ Cerillo, 'Interpretive Approaches', 31–36.

⁶⁰ van der Laan, 'Historical Approaches', 202, 206–7.

⁶¹ William K. Kay, 'Karl Popper and Pentecostal Historiography', *Pneuma* 32, no. 1 (1 March 2010): 5–15, doi:10.1163/027209610X12628362887514.

⁶² Karl Raimund Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 2011); Karl Raimund Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, Harper Torchbooks. The Academy Library (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

⁶³ Both quotes from Kay, 'Karl Popper', 15.

progressive ‘Whig interpretation of history’,⁶⁴ but this is a form of what Popper describes as historicism. According to him, the optimistic belief in steady progress is only possible if one is willing to ‘*adjust one’s system of values as to make it conform with the impending changes*’.⁶⁵ For Popper, progress can be recognised in specific historical developments without the need to derive a universal law from such trends.⁶⁶

Similar criticisms can be directed against a different attempt at explaining history deterministically, though this one gives mere invisible causes more of a back seat. According to ‘Great Man’ theory, as developed in the 19th century in the wake of the so-called Enlightenment in Western Europe, the course of history can be explained by the impact of a few ‘Great Men’, such as a formidable general like Napoléon Bonaparte or a religious reformer like Martin Luther. The theory is related to the Hegelian view of Great Men as agents of the ‘*Weltgeist*’.⁶⁷ A specific difficulty for this approach when applied to Pentecostalism is the decentralised leadership that seems essential to this movement because of, on the one hand, its strongly congregational structure, and on the other hand, its emphasis on the Spirit’s distribution of charismata to all believers – the priority of the individual Charismatic over the one charismatic individual.⁶⁸

Nonetheless, such ideas are frequently applied to Scandinavian Pentecostalism. It is tempting to think of, for example, Thomas Ball Barratt as such a ‘Great Man’: unimpeded by much formal education – like Rousseau’s *Émile* – his mind developed in isolation on a small island in the Hardanger Fjord under the high Norwegian sky, only his artistic soul nurtured

⁶⁴ Kay, ‘Karl Popper’, 12.

⁶⁵ Popper, *Poverty of Historicism*, 54. Emphasis original.

⁶⁶ Popper, *Poverty of Historicism*, 115.

⁶⁷ Hegel was one of the three main thinkers against whom Popper formulated his anti-historicism; see Popper, *The Open Society*, II:375-487. Providentialist accounts of Pentecostal history might replace the ‘world-spirit’ with the Holy Spirit.

⁶⁸ Joel Robbins, ‘Anthropology of Religion’, in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., *The Anthropology of Christianity* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 162; Gerlach and Hine, ‘Five Factors’, 26–30.

under the tutelage of Edvard Grieg and Hans Dahl.⁶⁹ One might then also think that there was a lack of a ‘Great Man’ to lead the Pentecostals in Denmark. Bloch-Hoell wrote that their most famous representative, Anna Larssen Bjørner (1875-1955), ‘did not possess the eloquence necessary to bridge the gap between the different cultural levels which she and the majority of the audience represented’.⁷⁰ It is true that, though she had been an actress, Bjørner struggled for a while to find her own voice – but perhaps historians prone to focus on the works of ‘Great Men’ have also treated her and other early female Pentecostal leaders unfairly because of their gender.

A classic objection to ‘Great Man’ theory is that great leaders are themselves products of the movements they lead and of the social developments that made these movements possible. In Barratt’s case, we might point to the Methodism of his English parents and generations before them as providing such a foundation for his development as a leader of the Pentecostal renewal movement.⁷¹ And historical religious roots in the wider context may have been of even greater importance to the success of Pentecostalism than the efforts of any single individuals. However, more tangible, socio-economic contextual factors should not be dismissed out of hand.

⁶⁹ For these biographical facts, see Bundy, *Visions*, 139. Truls Åkerlund begins his investigation of Barratt’s leadership by asking the classic question, ‘Are great leaders born or made?’, but ‘has no ambition to settle the dispute’, though his perspective leans on Weber’s notion of charisma and other leadership-focused theories, which suggests an implicit ‘Great Man’ orientation (Truls Åkerlund, ‘“When the Fire Fell”: Historical and Narrative Perspectives on the Charismatic Leadership of T. B. Barratt’, *PentecoStudies* 15, no. 1 (2016): 7).

⁷⁰ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 180. ‘Great Man’ theory has also been applied negatively to the Danish context more recently; see Mette Skov Hansen, ‘Da Helligånden flyttede i villakvarter’, *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 27 October 2011, <https://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/kirke-tro/da-helligaanden-flyttede-i-villakvarter>; Lars Due-Christensen, *Liv: en frikirke gennem 100 år : 100 år 2011*, ed. Jarle Tangstad (Copenhagen: Alstrup, 2011), 29, 192.

⁷¹ Bundy, *Visions*, 138. This would be consistent with a more recent attempt to combine chaos theory with the influence of individuals on history proposed in Michael Danos et al., ‘Chaostheorie und Geschichte’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 2004, 325–338.

1.3.2 Deprivation theory

Among sceptical observers of Pentecostalism, it has been widely believed that this new spirituality meets some need that the converts are unable to satisfy through other channels, due to a lack of financial or mental resources. Two classic representatives of this view are Nils Bloch-Hoell and Robert Mapes Anderson. Bloch-Hoell's account characteristically does not limit the application of deprivation theory to the financial aspect, but enters into psychological speculation as well. In this he was preceded by other Scandinavian scholars such as Efraim Briem, J.P. Bang, and Emanuel Linderholm.⁷² Bloch-Hoell describes the early US-American Pentecostals' experience of religious ecstasy as a consequence of neuroses and hysteria.⁷³ He does not, however, conclude that the Pentecostal movement as a whole is neurotic, but simply characterised by 'strong, primitive emotions'.⁷⁴ This kind of psychologising must now be seen as dated and is contradicted by empirical evidence.⁷⁵ But Bloch-Hoell's critical perspective is also mixed with admiration:

The religious emancipation of the laity often runs parallel with a similar emancipation of the less well-to-do and uneducated classes. There is no doubt from one point of view that the Pentecostal Movement is a link in the democratizing of society. The Pentecostal Movement was, and to a certain extent still is, a class movement, the primitive Christianity of the less educated.⁷⁶

This deprivation theme is toned down considerably in Bloch-Hoell's account of Pentecostalism in Norway and Europe, though he still concluded that Norwegian Pentecostals

⁷² Efraim Briem, *Den moderna pingströrelsen* (Stockholm, 1924); J. P. Bang, *De stora väckelserörelserna, En historisk och psykologisk framställning, Till svenska från författarens manuskript* (Stockholm, 1926); Emanuel Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen, dess förutsättningar och uppkomst: ekstas, under och apokalyptik i Bibel och nytida folkreligiositet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1924); Emanuel Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige: ekstas, under och apokalyptik i nutida svensk folkreligiositet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1925).

⁷³ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 21, 26, 28, 37, 47.

⁷⁴ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 174.

⁷⁵ Stefan Huber and Odilo W. Huber, 'Psychology of Religion', in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., *The Anthropology of Christianity* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 133–55.

⁷⁶ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 11.

on average were less well-off and less educated than the general population.⁷⁷ There are also more indirect links with economic deprivation according to Bloch-Hoell, such as the comparatively high rate of emigration from Norway to the US around 1900 and therefore greater cultural contact with the environment where Pentecostalism first became identifiable as a movement – with a large representation of immigrants.⁷⁸ Others have made similar claims with reference to other countries.⁷⁹ According to Bloch-Hoell's theory, the socio-economic uncertainty and rootlessness of newly arrived immigrants and especially their loss of a formal church affiliation led to an 'unsatisfied religious need' and thus a higher likelihood of becoming Pentecostal.⁸⁰

Immigrants in the US have always been statistically likely to become more religious than they were before, since religion (and the celebration of religious diversity) functioned as an important agent of integration into the American people of new citizens from all different backgrounds and ethnicities.⁸¹ Pentecostalism proved attractive to at least some European immigrant groups, such as Italians,⁸² though the significance of their influence on

⁷⁷ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 172.

⁷⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 65; cf. Hegertun, *Det brodersind*, 34.

⁷⁹ E.g., Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 133 (s.v. Italy); Grant Wacker, 'Searching for Eden with a Satellite Dish: Primitivism, Pragmatism, and the Pentecostal Character', in *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, ed. Richard T. Hughes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 148–49; Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 33, 48–49. A similar dynamic has been claimed for intra-European migration, e.g. on German-speaking minorities and Roma; see Plüss, 'Pentecostalism in Europe', 98–99.

⁸⁰ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 9–10.

⁸¹ José Casanova, 'Immigration and the New Religious Pluralism: A European Union/United States Comparison', in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas F. Banchoff (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 66–70.

⁸² Richard D. Alba and Robert Orsi, 'Passages in Piety: Generational Transitions and the Social and Religious Incorporation of Italian Americans', in *Immigration and Religion in America: Comparative and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Richard D. Alba, Albert J. Raboteau, and Josh DeWind (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 42. Several studies on Pentecostal dynamics among other migrant and ethnic minority groups have been published, which seem to confirm that at least the first premise of Bloch-Hoell's argument is generally applicable (i.e., that migrants are prone to become Pentecostals); see e.g. Juan Francisco Martínez, 'Remittances and Mission: Transnational Latino Pentecostal Ministry in Los Angeles', in *Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism*, ed. Donald E. Miller, Kimon Howland Sargeant, and Richard W. Flory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013),

Pentecostalism in the homeland has been drawn into question.⁸³ There is statistical evidence for a certain correlation between emigration to the US and subsequent Pentecostal growth in the country of origin, but the numbers alone are not sufficient to account for differences in receptivity to Pentecostalism (see Appendix A). Qualitative evidence of a link between migration and Pentecostalism will be further explored below (2.3.3; 5.1.1).

The deprivation motif was taken up again in an even purer form by Mapes Anderson in his study of US Pentecostalism. He was fiercely critical of the impact that the Pentecostal movement had had on the working poor in the early 20th century, believing that rigid religious convictions held them back from using other means that could have been a more material help to them, such as labour unions. The Pentecostal movement was a misdirected class revolt, drawing on a theology that was overly focused on the emotional and spiritual over the social and material.⁸⁴

A similar theory has been applied to Evangelicalism in general – in Denmark popularised by the Marxist novelist Hans Kirk in 1928.⁸⁵ An attempt to substantiate this perspective was made by the church historian P.G. Lindhardt (1910-1988), who was probably more inspired by Ernst Troeltsch and H. Richard Niebuhr than Karl Marx.⁸⁶ Although sceptical of a too strictly method-driven approach,⁸⁷ Lindhardt argued that the 19th century revivals were a consequence of socio-economic turmoil at the time, and that the divisions within Danish revivalism (see below) happened because of class differences between the wealthier freeholders and the poorer smallholders and rural workers. Since the first edition of

204–24; Jan-Åke Alvarsson, 'Conversion to Pentecostalism among Ethnic Minorities', *Swedish Missiological Themes* 87, no. 3 (1999): 359–87.

⁸³ Mark Hutchinson, 'The Problem with Waves: Mapping Charismatic Potential in Italian Protestantism, 1890-1920' (Charismatics Renewal: Historical Perspectives 1950-2000, Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, 2016).

⁸⁴ Anderson, *Vision*, 224–29.

⁸⁵ Hans Kirk, *Fiskerne* (København: Gyldendal, 2006).

⁸⁶ P. G. Lindhardt, *Vækkelse og kirkelige retninger* (Århus: Aros, 1978); cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, A Meridian Book (New York: New American Library, 1975).

⁸⁷ Lindhardt, *Vækkelse*, 14.

Lindhardt's book, closer scrutiny by church historian Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen (1921-2004) and others has shown that the link between class and churchmanship is not as strong as he expected.⁸⁸

In light of the growth of Pentecostalism in the global South, some new studies have been carried out with a more positive view of the transformative potential of Pentecostal faith. These argue that, on the one hand, Pentecostal faith often imparts a Weberian 'Puritan work ethic' on its working-class followers, leading to respectability or even prosperity, and on the other hand that Pentecostalism should be acknowledged as an 'earnest religious quest'.⁸⁹ They still employ some form of what Augustus Cerillo calls the 'functional approach'; he mentions historians such as John Nichol, Grant Wacker, Edith Blumhofer, and theologian Harvey Cox.⁹⁰ Walter Hollenweger could be mentioned as another, even earlier example.⁹¹ However, the more critical approach is still alive as well.⁹²

Approaches that see Pentecostalism's response to deprivation as futile and those that believe it can be constructive and empowering point to two very different conceptions of Pentecostalism: either as a form of religious escapism for the disinherited, or as a dynamic ecumenical missionary movement, in the same spirit as the 1910 World Missionary

⁸⁸ Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen, ed., *Vækkelsernes frembrud i Danmark i første halvdel af det 19. århundrede* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1960), e.g. 3:2:398; Anders Pontoppidan Thyssen, 'The Relationship between Religious and Secular Revival Movements in Denmark' (Paper given on 'Implicit Religion Seminar' at Denton Hall Conference, 13 May 1984), Harold Turner Collection, HT/H/1/246, Cadbury Research Library; cf. Lindhardt, *Vækkelse*, 13.

⁸⁹ Stephen Hunt, 'Sociology of Religion', in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., *The Anthropology of Christianity* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 183; see also André Droogers, 'Globalisation and Pentecostal Success', in *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, ed. André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 2001), 50.

⁹⁰ Cerillo, 'Interpretive Approaches', 47–49.

⁹¹ E.g. Hollenweger, *Enthusiastisches Christentum*, 108–13.

⁹² E.g. Kyle Murray and Owen Worth, 'Building Consent: Hegemony, "Conceptions of the World" and the Role of Evangelicals in Global Politics: Evangelicals in Global Politics', *Political Studies* 61, no. 4 (December 2013): 731–47, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.01003.x; for further examples see also Phil Zuckerman, Luke W. Galen, and Frank L. Pasquale, *The Nonreligious: Understanding Secular People and Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 65.

Conference in Edinburgh.⁹³ Barratt and many other Pentecostal pioneers had a social agenda and wanted to reach the marginalised. This was less evident among Danish Pentecostals. It is difficult to discern whether the disadvantaged still became Pentecostals with a higher frequency than others in this context. But socio-cultural factors may have had a more direct impact on religious developments.

1.3.3 Market saturation

19th century Lutheran revivalism in Denmark developed into two distinct churchmanships in the latter half of the century:⁹⁴ *Indre Mission* was the more internationally oriented movement and therefore more Evangelical in the modern sense,⁹⁵ whereas *Grundtvigianism*, named for N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1982), was more nationalistic, or to use a term that is harder to translate, it was a movement that laid great emphasis on being '*folkelig*'.⁹⁶ Danish church historians habitually attempt to explain why none of the 'free churches' have become widespread in Denmark by claiming that the broadness of the established Lutheran church in Denmark and the success of the revival movements within it absorbed the growth that other denominations might otherwise have had. Thyssen offers a typical formulation of this theory in his description of these two movements:

⁹³ Bloch-Hoell in a sense used both of these perspectives, on the US and Europe respectively. Perhaps he saw Barratt as the one who transformed the movement from deprived (out-of-this-world) to dynamic (out-into-the-world).

⁹⁴ I use the term 'revivalism' to refer to movements in the Western world which were broadly in continuity with 18th century Pietism and (at least in some cases) Methodism and which were opposed to what they saw as dry Rationalism that dominated the established churches in the early 19th century; see e.g. the definition in Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The Churches in England from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II*, vol. 2 (London: SCM Press, 1997), 119. Most adherents of such movements happily received influence from the international Evangelical and Holiness movements, but in the case of Denmark this is only partly the case.

⁹⁵ Literally 'Inner Mission' or 'Home Mission', i.e. mission among the already baptised masses within and on behalf of the state church.

⁹⁶ I.e., 'national' with connotations to the 'popular' or even the 'folksy'. For an introduction, see A. M. Allchin, *N.F.S. Grundtvig: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1997). On Grundtvig's significance for Danish nationalism, see Uffe Østergaard, 'The Nation as Event: The Dissolution of the Oldenburg Monarchy and Grundtvig's Nationalism', in *Building the Nation: N.F.S. Grundtvig and Danish National Identity*, ed. John A. Hall, Ove Korsgaard, and Ove K. Pedersen (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2014), 110–33.

Both took shape in the 1850s and 60s and spread all over the country to such a degree that there was no scope for further revivals, so to speak. Free Church movements of Anglo-American origin, known from other Nordic countries, only gained a very modest following in Denmark.⁹⁷

In other words, the idea is that Denmark had a more saturated market for faith than, for example, Norway did. Kurt Larsen repeats this received explanation, but also declares that a final explanation cannot be given since this area has not been particularly investigated yet.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the theory is repeated often in both popular and academic publications.⁹⁹

The main problem for this theory is that Lutheran revivalism seemed to make an even deeper impact in the Norwegian state church than in Denmark,¹⁰⁰ which has not obviously led to less success for Pentecostalism and other free church movements there – or the Roman Catholic Church for that matter.¹⁰¹ This idea of the saturated market should not be confused with the idea that the monopoly status of the national church in Denmark meant that the Pentecostals felt they had no other choice than to stay in it (see 1.4). But that hypothesis *could* run into the same issue, namely that if Pentecostalism was eclipsed by Lutheran revivalism in Denmark, how did the same not happen in Norway or Finland? While globally speaking

⁹⁷ Thyssen, 'Relationship', 8.

⁹⁸ Kurt E. Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup: dansk kirkeliv i det 20 århundrede* (Fredericia: Kolon, 2007), 243–44. Furthermore, Larsen supports the idea, at least for Catholic-majority countries, that Pentecostal growth should be explained as building on a foundation rather than filling a gap; see Kurt E. Larsen, 'Pinsebevægelsen i 100 år - en slags folkelig katolicisme?', *Ichthys*, no. 4 (2001): 157–65.

⁹⁹ Jesper Fodgaard, 'Den rummelige folkekirke slugte frikirkerne', *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 24 May 2007, <https://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/kirke-tro/den-rummelige-folkekirke-slugte-frikirkerne>; Hansen, 'Da Helligånden flyttede'; Bent Bjerring-Nielsen, 'Frikirkelig Folkekirke?', *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 27 October 2014, <https://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/kronik/2014-10-27/frikirkelig-folkekirke>; Ahlin et al., 'Religious Diversity', 407; Lars Schädler Andersen, *Balancekunstneren: Harald Westergaard, kirkesagen og det sociale spørgsmål 1878-1907*, University of Southern Denmark studies in history and social sciences, vol. 438 (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2012), 314–15.

¹⁰⁰ In both countries, the revivals led to the formation of national 'inner mission' societies with an ambiguous relationship to the state church, organising congregational life semi-independently in local chapels known in Denmark as '*missionshuse*' ('mission houses') and in Norway as '*bedehus*' ('prayer houses'). During the time of political union, Danish was the official language of religion in both nations, and all clergy was trained at the University of Copenhagen.

¹⁰¹ 'The World Factbook' (Central Intelligence Agency), accessed 8 March 2014, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html> counts 3.9% 'other Christian' and 1.8% Roman Catholic in Norway, as compared to 3% 'other Christian (includes Protestant and Roman Catholic)' for Denmark. An explanation for the growth of Pentecostalism could therefore perhaps help explain the relative success of these other churches as well.

‘Pentecostalism has grown most rapidly in those areas ... where a pluralistic religious environment is the norm’,¹⁰² this explanation alone does not seem to be enough for the special case of Scandinavia.

If we discount the unlikely idea that revivalism as such was less widespread in the rest of Scandinavia at the turn of the century, we might instead consider the possibility that 19th century Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish Lutheran revivalism was of a less ‘Spirit-filled’ variety than specific Danish forms of revivalism, primarily Grundtvigianism. Bloch-Hoell suggested that Pentecostalism was so successful in Norway, Sweden and Finland (but not Denmark) because the movement provided an alternative to a Lutheranism that had neglected the dynamic, optimistic, mystical and experiential aspects of the Christian faith.¹⁰³ But as a part of this problem he mentions a lack of focus on sanctification, which is also a feature of Grundtvigianism.¹⁰⁴ One possible bridging figure between Grundtvig and the Pentecostals could be the German Lutheran revivalist pastor, faith healer, and Social Democratic politician Christoph Blumhardt (1842-1919), sometimes considered a ‘proto-Pentecostal’. He occasionally felt the need to state his priority of experience over Scripture in unequivocal terms.¹⁰⁵ There may be some similarity to Grundtvig’s ideas of the ‘living word’,¹⁰⁶ but the link seems quite tenuous. Grundtvig did not share Blumhardt’s characteristically Lutheran pessimistic anthropology.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Anderson, *To the Ends*, 37.

¹⁰³ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 91–92. Bloch-Hoell applied a similar idea to the US, saying that Pentecostalism began in the westernmost states because that was where the rate of church membership was the lowest (Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 9).

¹⁰⁴ Allchin, *N.F.S. Grundtvig*, 172.

¹⁰⁵ Simeon Zahl, *Pneumatology and Theology of the Cross in the Preaching of Christoph Friedrich Blumhardt: The Holy Spirit between Wittenberg and Azusa Street* (London; New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2010), 54–57, <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10421860>.

¹⁰⁶ Allchin, *N.F.S. Grundtvig*, 102.

¹⁰⁷ Allchin, *N.F.S. Grundtvig*, 144; cp. Zahl, *Pneumatology*, 32–33.

A more fruitful line of argument might be that while revivalism was strong in the other Nordic countries as such, there was still a vacuum in bigger cities such as Kristiania (Oslo) and Stockholm which the Pentecostals could fill, which then gave them the necessary momentum to spread the movement across the nation and beyond. Conversely, it might be meaningful to speak of a saturated market in Copenhagen, where the Church Building Fund (*Kirkefondet*), pioneered by the economist and Evangelical lay leader Harald Westergaard and others, was successful in doing something within the national church which was very similar to what Barratt had made many frustrated attempts at with the Methodist Church in Kristiania in the time up until his Pentecostal turn, namely raising large amounts of money to establish ministries for the urban poor and destitute. The historian Lars Andersen has argued that, by hesitantly permitting this display of activism, the state church authorities were able to contain most of the free church tendencies in the capital. Thus, perhaps the people that Barratt and the Bjørners would attempt to reach in Copenhagen may have already had their religious and social needs met by the many new Lutheran congregations that had cropped up as a result of successful fundraising, or else by socially conscious Salvationists or Methodists.¹⁰⁸ However, I will propose that there is more reason to be sceptical of the market saturation theory as such than of its opposite.

¹⁰⁸ Lars Schädler Andersen, 'Folkekirkens entreprenører', *Historie*, no. 1 (2008): 35–86; Andersen, *Balancekunstneren*; Jørgen Thaarup, 'Der Methodismus und die Pfingstbewegung in Dänemark', in *Der europäische Methodismus um die Wende vom 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Referate der historischen Konferenz der EmK in Europa vom 10. bis 15. August 2004 in Tallinn, Estland*, ed. Patrick Philipp Streiff, EmK Geschichte 52 (Stuttgart: Medienwerk der Evangelisch-methodistischen Kirche, 2005), 259–66. However, the pastors of these new parishes may still have had a hard time engaging the working class and getting them to join these active congregations; see also Nynne Helge, 'Familien Jensen og Vorherre: religionens plads i københavnske arbejderfamiliers kultur og livsform 1870 til 1950 - med særlig vægt på perioden før 1920' (Institut for Systematisk Teologi på Københavns Universitet, 1996). The opportunities intrinsic to urbanisation for Nonconformist groups especially has long been noticed; see Hugh McLeod, *Piety and Poverty: Working-Class Religion in Berlin, London, and New York, 1870-1914*, Europe Past and Present Series (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), xxi–xxiii.

1.4 Holiness roots: the necessity of Pentecost

Like many before me, I am arguing that historical, religious roots have had a decisive effect on Pentecostalism – not just on the form of its message but also on its success. I propose that – at least in Scandinavia – the Pentecostal movement arose as a consequence of socio-religious developments that had built up expectations for the sort of release that the Pentecostal experience provided. I also believe that there are subtle but nonetheless powerful and detectable reasons why Sweden, Norway, and Finland proved more fertile ground for Pentecostalism than Denmark. But these religious roots are intertwined with secular developments stretching back at least to sometime in the 19th century.

By the time Barratt experienced baptism in the Spirit and the call to lead a Pentecostal revival in Europe, he was already 44 years old and one of the most central leaders of the Norwegian branch of the US Methodist Episcopal Church – according to Terje Hegertun he was even ‘the foremost leader’.¹⁰⁹ He had already had an impressive career in ministry, and not just on account of his ability to communicate fluently with the US-based bishops and members of the mission board of his denomination who only spoke English – in fact he did not always get on well with them, as Bundy has shown¹¹⁰ – nor just because of his great gifts as a preacher, but perhaps mostly because of his entrepreneurship in mission, social work, publishing, ecumenism, fundraising, and politics. What he experienced in 1906 during his visit to the US was not a conversion in the sense of becoming a Christian, nor was it a call to go from passivity to active involvement in God’s mission. The best way to describe his Spirit baptism is perhaps that it was on the one hand an empowerment for the work that he was already trying (but struggling) to do, and on the other hand an enlargement of the scope of his efforts, from Kristiania to all of Europe and beyond. The continuity from Holiness Methodism

¹⁰⁹ Hegertun, *Det brodersind*, 33.

¹¹⁰ Bundy, *Visions*, 149–64.

to Pentecostalism was strong in Barratt's case. Even though he and his followers soon parted ways with the Methodists, he maintained the same strong focus on sanctification that he had learnt in the Holiness movement.¹¹¹ Furthermore, he did not change his view on infant baptism until he and his wife were baptised by Lewi Pethrus in 1913, and even after that adult baptism did not become a condition of membership in Barratt's congregation until 1919.¹¹²

David Bundy and Elith Olesen have suggested that Barratt and other Pentecostal evangelists misread some subtle differences between Danish and Norwegian Evangelicalism.¹¹³ Some leaders in the Holiness movement had previously been subjected to strong criticism from other Evangelicals, which created problems when some of the former later decided to join the Pentecostal movement (see 2.1.3). But the prior criticisms against the Holiness movement also point to features of the broader religious context in Denmark, which also created problems for the Pentecostals. Most Danish Lutheran revivalists were more sacramental in their theology than the Norwegians, and therefore also more ideologically committed to the national Lutheran church. Among other things, this may have led the first Danish Pentecostals to put a long concerted effort into an attempt to integrate with the national church, following the example of earlier Holiness leaders in Denmark, before finally forming a separate denomination in the late 1910s. The Pentecostal movement in Norway formed its own congregations five to ten years earlier than this, and in Sweden even earlier. Despite the admirable ecumenical ideals behind the strategy that many Danish Pentecostals pursued, it seems they were held up from progress by this frustrated attempt.

The formation of congregations is also closely linked with the publication of distinctively Pentecostal periodicals, at least in the Danish case. It is generally recognised that the use of

¹¹¹ Thomas Ball Barratt, *Barratts utvalgte verker*, ed. Oddvar Nilsen (Skjetten: Rex, 2005), 151–206, <http://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/ac9bb87234dcfa31bf4127a2447a86ff?index=0>.

¹¹² Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 72.

¹¹³ Bundy, *Visions*, 190; Olesen, *De frigiterte*, 426.

periodicals – the most readily available mass medium – was of great importance for the early spread of Pentecostalism in Western countries.¹¹⁴ In this and other ways, the monopoly status of the national church may have stifled early Danish Pentecostalism, even through those members of the established church who were sympathetic towards the new movement and encouraged it to stay within the church.

This turns the market saturation idea on its head, as it has little to do with revivalism as such, perhaps even the opposite. The monopolistic Lutheran church of Denmark may have also limited the success of previous revival movements, relative to the rest of Scandinavia, leading to secularisation.¹¹⁵ Voluntaristic movements even helped enforce this monopoly and ward off outside stimuli. The popular Grundtvigian movement – which was also a political movement – was sceptical towards foreign influence, in part because of the great defeats by the Germans. This reflected a wider sentiment in the general population. But even the relatively more internationally oriented Evangelicals in the Indre Mission may have been less open to influence from the German branch of the Holiness movement than other Scandinavian Evangelicals.¹¹⁶

The Norwegian and Swedish Holiness movements laid a quantitative foundation for the Pentecostal movement, in terms of potential converts, and a qualitative one, in terms of greater theological and practical similarities. Perhaps the success of earlier revivals in those countries even helped push the Pentecostals out of the older churches and movements, as

¹¹⁴ Malcolm John Taylor, 'Publish and Be Blessed: A Case Study in Early Pentecostal Publishing History, 1906-1926' (University of Birmingham, 1994), <http://core.kmi.open.ac.uk/download/pdf/76403.pdf>; Bundy, *Visions*, 17.

¹¹⁵ David Martin, *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 59.

¹¹⁶ Bundy, *Visions*, 192, n. 74. This question does not appear to have been addressed directly in Olesen's research, but his work indicates that the inspiration was more often from England or from the other Scandinavian countries, and that German influences played a surprisingly small role, given the geographical and cultural proximity; see e.g. Olesen, *De frigiorte*, 261–76.

established revival leaders saw their position threatened by emerging Pentecostal leaders in their ranks.

To put it in market terms, the *existing demand* was lower in Denmark. Or one might say, the 19th century revivalists in Sweden or Norway had cultivated a particular type of discerning consumer who required the sort of intensive as well as extensive religious experience that Pentecostalism then offered. Though on a smaller scale, Kristiania and later Stockholm were to Scandinavian and European Pentecostalism what cities like Nashville and Colorado Springs have become for American Evangelicalism: hubs of innovation and propagation.¹¹⁷

Conversely, Copenhagen became somewhat of a dead end for the Pentecostal movement, instead of the bridge to the European mainland that Barratt hoped for. Nonetheless, the fledgling movement survived even under hard conditions. The story of Pentecostalism in Denmark also invites comparison with the rest of Europe, where the movement would develop along similar lines in many places. Europe was exceptionally unreceptive to Pentecostalism, with the Nordic countries as an exception to this, and Denmark in turn the exception to that. Thus, whereas the success of Nordic Pentecostalism is a compelling story, an explanation for the lack of success of its Danish counterpart would point to a much wider context.

1.5 Method, delimitations, and shape of the study

For the purposes of this case study of European Pentecostal stagnation and survival, the chief focus is on the historical development from revival to institution – the life cycle of a social

¹¹⁷ Micklethwait and Wooldridge, *God Is Back*, 170–74.

movement.¹¹⁸ Systematic theological and other more strictly cultural aspects play a secondary role – but are recognised as contributing to the shape of material historical developments.

To accomplish the aims of this study, I acknowledge the necessity of striving to write it as a ‘history from below’, emphasising the views and conditions of ordinary people as much as those of their leaders.¹¹⁹ Published materials mostly represent the perspectives and priorities of those with the means to get their writings printed. Therefore, this study involves a range of sources. Where possible it includes statistics, though reliable numbers are rarely available. Archival material, such as letters and scrapbooks, is a cornerstone of the study. Typically only papers pertaining to the most significant leaders such as T.B. Barratt and Anna Larssen Bjørner have been preserved – but such materials still reveal details of who their most important contacts were, which is not always clear from published periodicals and memoirs. I have found that a broader range of perspectives is available in certain long forgotten published materials, such as short-lived, small-circulation periodicals. Nonetheless, this study will often rely explicitly on the perspective of leaders and other high-status individuals, and only implicitly be able to perceive the experience of their followers.

Since my area of research is virgin territory, I have found it necessary to prioritise using Pentecostal periodicals as sources in the first instance. An invaluable supplementary resource on other little-known periodicals has been Elith Olesen’s collection of manuscript notes on the Pentecostal movement and related movements.¹²¹ Where possible, I have sought to verify the citations of secondary sources, and have generally given precedence to contemporary first-hand accounts, while seeking to identify the biases of these sources where relevant. As

¹¹⁸ In the analysis chapter, this life cycle is described with reference to Francesco Alberoni’s typology of movements and institutions (5.6).

¹¹⁹ Allan Anderson, ‘Revising Pentecostal History in Global Perspective’, in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia / Edited by Allan Anderson, Edmond Tang; Foreword by Cecil M. Robeck, Jr.*, ed. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang, 2nd ed. (Eugene, Or: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 118–40.

¹²¹ Kindly lent to me by Kurt E. Larsen.

noted by John Usher, a ‘critical great person approach’ can still help to illuminate the stories of otherwise obscure figures ‘from across the social spectrum’.¹²² For the purposes of this study, the consequence of the ‘critical’ aspect is a distinction between sources and reality; that is, a conscious avoidance of a ‘great person’-based explanatory framework (see 1.3.1).

For the benefit of those less familiar with Scandinavian naming conventions, I should note that family names ending in ‘-sen’ are extremely common in Denmark and Norway. Typically, no relation should be assumed between people of the same such surname. None of the various people mentioned or cited in this work named Christensen are of any relation to the present author. When it comes to describing growth and stagnation in the Danish Pentecostal movement, the obvious objects of comparison or contrast are primarily Norway and Sweden, occasionally also Finland and Iceland, hence why I will sometimes speak of the ‘Scandinavian’ and sometimes the ‘Nordic’ countries. Among other adjectives and their associated nouns that take an initial capital letter in this work, three require an explanation: ‘Pentecostal’, to avoid assigning a different status to ‘classical’ (denominational) Pentecostals as opposed to early interdenominational (or non-denominational) Pentecostals; ‘Charismatic’, when referring to the Charismatic renewal movement of the second half of the 20th century, to distinguish this from the Weberian term ‘charismatic’; and ‘Evangelical’, for consistency but also to distinguish Evangelical movements from various more questionable uses of the term ‘evangelical’. I use ‘Evangelical’ in the modern sense,¹²³ not simply to mean ‘Protestant’, except in the phrase ‘Evangelical Lutheran’. Translations provided in quotes are generally my own, except where another source for the translation is cited. Biblical quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version (Anglicised edition).

¹²² John Martin Usher, “‘For China and Tibet, and for World-Wide Revival’: Cecil Henry Polhill (1860-1938) and His Significance for Early Pentecostalism’ (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2015), 17–18, <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/6344/>; see also Andersen, *Balancekunstneren*, 16–17.

¹²³ As in e.g., David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

The main body of this study consists of three historical chapters on the periods 1907 to 1911, 1911 to 1919, and 1919 to 1924. Each of these years has a special significance: In 1907, news of a Pentecostal revival first reached Denmark, followed quickly thereafter by the first of many visits from T.B. Barratt and his associates. While Barratt became among the first to spread the Pentecostal message in multiple countries, this study shows that his involvement with Denmark was particularly great, but that he began to divert his efforts elsewhere around 1911. That year then forms a natural break in the story. After that point, the most visible leaders of the movement were Anna and Sigurd Bjørner. In 1919, they signalled a new, unified direction for the Pentecostal movement in Denmark, by becoming baptised in water and forming a congregation of their own in Copenhagen. Then followed a relatively successful period in the history of Pentecostalism in Denmark, which was however interrupted by a schism in 1924, at which point over half of the Pentecostal movement in Denmark, including the Bjørners, joined the Welsh-led Apostolic Church. This was a time of reorganisation and institutionalisation across the European Pentecostal movements, and is a natural point at which to end this investigation.

In other words, the first of these three chapters deals with the *Pentecostal revival* in its emerging, interdenominational stage, the second with the *Pentecostal movement* in its slowly consolidating stage, and the last with the *Pentecostal churches* in their institutionalising stage.¹²⁴ In a final chapter, I then discuss the reasons for the particular shape that the Pentecostal movement took in Denmark, before concluding this study.

¹²⁴ This is an extension of the distinction made in Alvarsson, *Om Pingströrelsen*, 22.

CHAPTER 2: REVIVAL, 1907-11

2.1 Background and origins

The Pentecostal movement was birthed in turn by a succession of earlier movements, diachronically seen. Here I will concentrate on painting a more synchronic or contextual picture, focusing on the end result of the 19th century revivals and other historical developments: the specific situation in which Pentecostalism arose as an identifiable movement in on one particular context.¹

2.1.1 Socio-political situation

You mastered England once and overran it,
ruled all the North — but now men say you wane;
so small a land — yet up and down our planet
still ring the song and chisel of the Dane.

— Hans Christian Andersen, 1850²

Denmark in the early 20th century was, like many European countries, experiencing great changes – politically, socially, culturally, and economically.³ From the point of view of political history, Denmark had previously been at the centre of a small empire, from the late 14th century until the 19th century. The continental territory under the Danish throne shrank more than twenty-fold between the Swedish War of Independence in 1523 and the Second

¹ This idea of a synchronic approach is somewhat similar to what Cerillo calls the functional approach (Cerillo, 'Interpretive Approaches', 45–49). A synchronic approach could also help to better understand the curiously synchronous origins of global Pentecostalism.

² 'Danmark, mit Fædreland'; English translation in R.P. Keigwin, *In Denmark I Was Born...: A Little Book of Danish Verse* (Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søn, 1948), 59. Danish kings never actually ruled both England and all of Scandinavia at the same time; the precise details of the past often become blurred in national romanticism. The 'chisel' refers to Thorvaldsen, the sculptor.

³ For a more extensive overview of social developments, see Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen, eds., *Mellem skøn og ret. Dansk Velfærdshistorie 2. 1898-1933*, University of Southern Denmark Studies in History and Social Sciences 427 (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2011), 9–81. For political developments, see Bo Lidegaard, *A Short History of Denmark in the 20th Century* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2009), 36–60.

Schleswigian War in 1864, to a mere 39,000 km².⁴ Moreover, Copenhagen had been bombed and the once famous Danish Navy destroyed by Admiral Nelson's fleet in 1807, following which the Danish state went bankrupt in 1813. This further precipitated the loss of Norway in 1814 and Schleswig-Holstein in 1864. It was on this background that Danish nationalism developed in the 19th century.⁵

The focus had shifted towards making the most of the remaining territory, through the cultivation of former moorlands. Denmark had traditionally been a heavily agricultural society. Of late, the farmers had also become a dominant political force through the liberal agrarian *Venstre* ('Left') party, which had already dominated the lower chamber of the Danish parliament since the 1870s and had finally become the party of government with the King's permission in 1901. The government was led by J.C. Christensen. He managed to hold together the mutually suspicious factions of the party until 1908, when the Minister for Justice, P.A. Alberti, was exposed in an embezzlement scandal of international proportions. This challenged the liberal optimism of the previous years and led to a period of political instability.⁶

At the same time, large parts of the rural population were beginning to move to the towns and cities due to mechanisation and industrialisation, which meant fewer jobs in the fields and more in factories. The railway enabled new, rapidly growing towns to become hubs of industry. These new towns joined traditional market towns and cities which were also

⁴ This excludes the Kingdom of Denmark's sparsely populated North Atlantic areas (Greenland, the Faroe Islands and, until 1944, Iceland), as well as the few Danish colonies such as the Danish West Indies (sold in 1917 and now known as the US Virgin Islands). The area of Denmark grew again by about 4,000 km² after WWI when the population of North Schleswig voted to re-join Denmark (1920).

⁵ Østergaard, 'Nation as Event'; alternatively see Uffe Østergaard, 'Danish National Identity: A Historical Account', in *Global Collaboration: Intercultural Experiences and Learning*, ed. Martine Cardel Gertsen, Anne-Marie Søderberg, and Mette Zølner (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 37.

⁶ Knud Thestrup, *Alberti* (København: Schönbergske Forlag, 1979).

growing around this time, for similar reasons.⁷ Copenhagen, traditionally a stronghold of the conservative bourgeoisie, became particularly crowded, with hundreds of thousands of new citizens. This led to new concerns over living and working conditions, resulting in the rise of the labour movement. Its political wing, *Socialdemokratisk Forbund* ('Social Democratic Union'), took part in local government in the capital from 1903, and gradually came to dominate there and in other major cities, typically unseating the *Højre* ('Right') party.⁸ Nationwide agreements between workers and employers from 1899 onwards which were gradually backed up with legislation gave organised labour a strong position.

The growing numbers of lower class urbanites were not the only thing making the *ancien régime* uncomfortable. A new class of radicals – progressive intellectuals – began to replace traditional conservatives as a political and cultural elite, especially in the capital. The mastermind of this movement was Georg Brandes, an internationally influential intellectual from a middle-class Jewish background. His younger brother Edvard helped shape and promote radical ideas as a co-founder of the newspaper *Politiken* ('The Politics') in 1884 and the *Radikale Venstre* ('Radical Left') party in 1905. The radicals also came to dominate the arts: literature and theatre evolved along modernist lines and captured the imagination of many.⁹ This is part of the reason why Anna Larssen, Denmark's most famous Pentecostal convert, experienced such tension between her inner life and her profession, leading to her

⁷ Niels Peter Stilling, *De nye byer. Stationsbyernes befolkningsforhold og funktion 1840-1940* (Viborg: Selskabet for Stationsbyforskning, 1987); Kristian Buhl Thomsen, 'Danske byers historie gennem 1300 år' (Aarhus: Dansk Center for Byhistorie, 2009), 20–21, <http://www.byhistorie.dk/filer/Byhistorie1300aar.pdf>.

⁸ Svend Cedergreen Bech, Povl Engelstoft, and Svend Dahl, eds., *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 3rd ed. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979), s.v. Jensen, Jens. In 1915, *Højre* was reorganised and became known as *Det Konservative Folkeparti* ('The Conservative People's Party').

⁹ Jon A.P. Gissel, *Konservatisme og kulturkamp* (Aarhus: Munch & Lorenzen, 2014).

leaving the stage in 1909. Instead, she became the main voice of Danish Pentecostals for a generation.¹⁰

This leads us to the last – but not the least – group that must be mentioned as a shaper of Danish society in the first decade of the 20th century, namely the women’s rights movement. Like in other countries, the struggle at this time was for universal suffrage. In the Danish context, the movement was launched in 1871 with the founding of the Danish Women’s Society. Women gained voting rights in national elections in 1915, and before that in local elections from 1908 and in parochial church councils already upon their formation in 1903.¹¹

Another thing that Denmark had in common with many other European countries, was that many individuals dreamt of a fresh start. Of those who found themselves out of a job because of mechanization, a substantial number sought their fortune abroad – mainly in the USA. About 300,000 people emigrated from Denmark to the United States between the middle of the 19th century and the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929, corresponding to about one in ten inhabitants of Denmark around this time. Most of these migrants had arrived in the USA by the time Pentecostalism emerged as an identifiable movement in the early 20th century.¹²

Meanwhile, many of the remaining farm workers were enabled to support themselves as smallholders. All in all, Denmark began to be a relatively wealthy country.¹³ New technologies affected life in other ways as well. While the era of modern mass communication can only truly be said to have begun when radio broadcasting began to

¹⁰ Bundy suggests that the alliterative title of Larssen Bjørner’s autobiography, *Teater og Tempel* (‘Theatre and Temple’) is meant to deliberately evoke the name of *Politiken*’s long-running review column *Teater og Tribune* – ‘Tribune’ meaning a platform, either for spectators or performers (Bundy, *Visions*, 197).

¹¹ Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen, *Mellem skøn og ret*, 20–21.

¹² Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America : The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants*. (New York: Academic Press, 1975).

¹³ Angus Maddison, *Contours of the World Economy, 1-2030 AD* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 382 (table A.7; numbers for 1913).

become widespread in the 1920s, in a certain sense mass communication has existed for centuries and used whichever media were available.¹⁴ The invention of the printing press made it possible to communicate to a dispersed audience, whether for their entertainment or enlightenment or both. Combined with the development of a reliable postal service and the idea of the free press, the distribution of information in this way became gradually cheaper, simpler, and safer. In the early 20th century, this means of mass communication was as widely available as ever before, and, across the world, ‘the pioneers of Pentecostalism proved adept at exploiting the advantages of this mass medium’.¹⁵ In contrast to the later broadcast media, print media did not require large capital investments and allowed audiences to interact, reply, and pass on copies.

The Scandinavian countries remained closely interlinked politically, economically, culturally, and ecclesiastically, as they had been for centuries, and they are the obvious point of comparison for this study. Linguistically, Danish and Norwegian were particularly close; in written form, they were nearly indistinguishable at the beginning of the period in question here. Furthermore, wars with Germany in the 19th century meant that Danish culture instead became orientated towards the English-speaking world, even sooner than the other Nordic countries.¹⁶ Still, the continuing similarities with German culture revealed themselves somewhat in the way Pentecostalism was received in Denmark.

2.1.2 Ecclesiastical situation

With the constitution of 1849, all citizens of Denmark had, at least in theory, been granted freedom to belong to any faith of their choosing. However, the Lutheran state church remained one of the most conservative institutions of the kingdom. By 1900, about 99% of

¹⁴ Peter Simonson, *Refiguring Mass Communication: A History*, The History of Communication (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

¹⁵ Taylor, ‘Publish’, 15.

¹⁶ Østergaard, ‘Danish National Identity’, 37.

the population were still registered as members of the state church,¹⁷ and the state often put its power behind the defence of this near-monopoly against the few dissenters and foreign influencers. The ever-shrinking territory of the Danish kingdom may have led to a feeling of national claustrophobia that amplified a tendency towards moderation of religious tempers by pushing out marginal and exogenous religious movements.¹⁸

Often the ecclesiastical authorities did their best to ignore the wider Christian world, even when it appeared right on their doorstep, as at the Evangelical Alliance's 8th world congress in Copenhagen in 1884. This had been organised in a Lutheran country in part as a response to the isolationism of that denomination, and helped introduce the Holiness movement in Denmark, especially through a subsequent 'literary invasion' of translated literature.¹⁹ However, Elith Olesen deplors the 'provincialism' that led the royal family – on the advice of state church bishops – to refuse to make an appearance at the opening meeting, 'against all custom'.²⁰

Nonetheless, as described above, popular religious revivals had arisen in 19th century Denmark like in many other countries, and had begun to form their own institutions. The Danish YMCA was founded in 1878, followed by the YWCA in 1883. These were run as the Indre Mission's youth branches, and thus were Lutheran rather than ecumenical – unlike the worldwide organisations.

Other churches also began to become a significant, albeit small, minority. The Baptist Church was the first of the free churches to be formed – unofficially – in the 1830s, before

¹⁷ P. Wittmann, 'Denmark', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04722c.htm>.

¹⁸ Østergaard, 'Danish National Identity', 44–50. By contrast, Norway had become an independent kingdom in 1905, the year before the Pentecostal revival broke out there. Finland was still under Russian control, but had its own strong nationalist movement and would gain independence in 1917. As for Sweden, its 'imperial age' was a more distant memory than Denmark's – and its remaining extent still much greater.

¹⁹ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 235–41.

²⁰ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 231–35.

religious freedom was granted. Before 1849, the children of Baptist parents were sometimes taken by force and baptised. In Schleswig, where the new constitution had no force, the persecution lasted into the 1850s.²¹ Indirect methods were later used to combat religious dissent; for example, the Swedish-American evangelist, mission organiser, faith healer and forerunner of the Pentecostal movement Fredrik Franson (1852-1908) was deported as a quack in 1885.²² As Olesen interprets the events, Franson experienced a lack of response in Denmark compared to other contexts, and therefore intensified his healing methods until they went out of hand.²³ Thus his campaign, along with those of other US-based groups such as the Mormons, may have been not just a victim but also a shaper of Danish prejudice against faith healing. Two Mormon missionaries were also deported in 1897, followed by another pair in 1900, but both on the possibly unjust accusation of promoting polygamy.²⁴

The Danish Methodist Church was officially recognised as a religious community in 1865, but like its Norwegian counterpart it remained heavily dependent on the US Methodist Episcopal Church long into the 20th century. The beginnings of the Methodist churches in Scandinavia in the 19th century were strongly influenced by migrants who had joined the Methodists in the United States. The rootlessness resulting from internal migration also led to Methodist growth in Copenhagen and other industrial towns. Methodism's strength was its ability to activate the laypeople and import new methods of evangelism, which in turn

²¹ Asger Sørensen and Bent Hylleberg, 'Baptisme', *Den Store Danske* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2012), http://denstoredanske.dk/Sprog,_religion_og_filosofi/Religion_og_mystik/Sekter_og_kirkesamfund/baptisme; Søren Hansen and Peter Olsen, *De danske Baptisters Historie* (Copenhagen: Laur. Madsen, 1896), 121–22.

²² Frederick Hale, 'Norwegians, Danes, and the Origins of the Evangelical Free Tradition', *Norwegian-American Studies* 28 (1979): 89; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 247–48. On Franson as a proto-Pentecostal, see Gary B. McGee, *Miracles, Missions, and American Pentecostalism*, American Society of Missiology Series, no. 45 (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 2010), 60; Jan-Åke Alvarsson, 'Some Notes on Swedish Contributions to Pentecostalism in Latin America', *Swedish Missiological Themes* 97, no. 3 (2009): 379.

²³ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 243–52.

²⁴ Soren J. M. P. (Soren Jacob Marius Peterson) Fogdall, *Danish-American Diplomacy, 1776-1920* (Iowa City: The University, 1922), 136–37.

prompted the Indre Mission to imitate this in order to prevent defections to the Methodists.²⁵ The Methodist community in Copenhagen and their existing ecumenical (Holiness) contacts were the main basis from which T.B. Barratt would initially promote the Pentecostal movement in Denmark.

The Mission Covenant Church (*Det Danske Missionsforbund*; MCC), also known as the Free Mission (*Frimissionen*), was established in 1888 in the wake of Fredrik Franson's evangelistic campaign. The MCC in early 20th century Denmark emphasised holiness, millenarianism, the independence of the local assembly, and interdenominationalism. Some of its leaders had a background in the Indre Mission.²⁶

Some new churches were born out of an Evangelical social consciousness similar to what has been described above (1.3.3), most prominently the Salvation Army. It arrived in Copenhagen in 1887 and would sometimes come into tension with the Social Democrats, who were battling for the same souls. Still, the Army was left to work in relative peace and became a significant presence in Copenhagen and other cities.²⁷ Other denominations seem to have catered more to the intellectual bourgeoisie, such as, on the one hand, the Unitarian church, whose first and now only Scandinavian church was founded in Copenhagen in 1900 with a former Grundtvigian, Uffe Birkedal, as its first minister,²⁸ and on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church, whose most famous converts were the writer Johannes Jørgensen, who went against the general tide of modernism in literary circles, and the Liberal nobleman Ludvig

²⁵ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 250–55; Thaarup, 'Methodismus'; Patrick Philipp Streiff, *Methodism in Europe: 19th and 20th Century* (Tallinn: Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary, 2003), 63–64, 165; Erik Helmer Pedersen, *Drømmen om Amerika*, 1. udg, Politikens Danmarkshistorie (Copenhagen: Politiken, 1985), 229.

²⁶ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 255–56; F. Bredahl Petersen, ed., *Danmarks Frikirker* (Odense: Nordisk Litteratur Forlag, 1952), 428–40.

²⁷ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 252–54.

²⁸ Poul Juul Foss, 'Unitarsamfundet i København', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 2000, 105–21.

Holstein-Ledreborg, who briefly served as prime minister in 1909. A considerable number followed them in the early 20th century.²⁹

Bridging the gap between Catholicism and the forebears of Pentecostalism, the Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingites) arrived in Denmark from the 1850s and found more receptivity in this country than in the rest of Scandinavia.³⁰ This had some restorationist and interdenominational ambitions in common with the Pentecostal movement, and also had its British background and a belief in the restoration of the apostolate in common with the later Apostolic Church, which would have such great impact on the Danish Pentecostals. Another free church with a strong eschatological focus was the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which however only experienced significant growth in Denmark later in the 20th century.³¹

In the world mission movement, Denmark had played an originating role: the first Protestant foreign missionaries ever, in 1706, were two German Pietists from Halle who were sent out by King Frederik IV of Denmark to his colony of Tranquebar (now Tharangambadi) in south-east India. These were soon followed by the sending of the Norwegian missionary Hans Egede to the Danish dominion of Greenland. The propelling agency in mission was at that time the pietistic state, not the Christian people desiring to share the gospel with those who had not yet been fortunate enough to hear it. This both hampered public support and created a problematic connection of colonialism and mission.

Soon, foreign mission would instead be left to free initiative. The pioneers of the popular foreign mission movement in Denmark were heavily influenced by the British mission movement. Most of the more patriotically oriented Grundtvigians did not think the time was for foreign mission, so it was decisive that the founding of the Indre Mission in 1861 instead

²⁹ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 246–47; Wittmann, ‘Denmark’.

³⁰ Tim Grass, personal communication, August 2015.

³¹ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 259–61.

provided much synergy between foreign and domestic mission.³² During the last two decades of the 19th century, the Holiness tradition gave new energy and urgency to the mission effort. The first Danish non-Lutheran foreign missionary – a Baptist – was sent out in 1888.³³ By the turn of the 20th century, there were more than a dozen Danish foreign missionary societies operating especially across Africa, the Middle East, and India.

2.1.3 The Holiness movement in Denmark

Pentecostalism ... at first just one chip in the increasing fragmentation of the evangelical movement that began early in the twentieth century.

— Gary McGee³⁴

As in many other contexts, probably the most significant religious precondition of the spread of the Pentecostal movement was the existence of a local Holiness movement, through which the idea of Spirit baptism and related ideas could be introduced, paving the way for the Pentecostal movement.³⁵

The more internationally oriented of the now well-established movements resulting from the early-to-mid-19th century revivals, the Indre Mission and related movements like the *Luthersk Missionsforening* (known internationally as the Danish Lutheran Mission) had come under the influence of various global and especially Anglo-American movements. Of particular importance to the Holiness movement in 1890s Copenhagen were the meetings in a certain temperance hotel (literally, ‘mission hotel’). Its proprietor was the veteran evangelist A.C. Nissen (b. 1840), who was attached to the Indre Mission. He was even more open to outside influence than most of its supporters, some of whom were offended by the style of these meetings. Nissen would later be among T.B. Barratt’s most important contacts during

³² Knut B. Westman et al., *Nordisk Missionshistorie* (Copenhagen: De Unges Forlag, 1950), 30–55.

³³ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 304, 312.

³⁴ McGee, *Miracles*, 179.

³⁵ Cf. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 23–24.

his first Pentecostal campaign in Denmark, along with the missionary and former Lutheran parish priest Hans Jacob Mygind (1867-1949). The Holiness movement also spread widely beyond the capital.³⁶

One particularly influential – and problematic – precursor of the Pentecostal revival needs to be mentioned at this point. During Mygind’s absence when he was in Syria for the first time in the late 1890s, the Danish-American Louis Von gathered an interdenominational circle in the Copenhagen area, with muddled views and practices of water baptism. The group had a focus on divine healing, a strong eschatological expectation, and pursued being filled by the Spirit and freed from sin – with inspiration from the British preacher Reader Harris and his Pentecostal League. All of this combined to raise the concerns among the more established movements, and these similarities also became incriminating for the later Pentecostal movement. Olesen suggests that the main reason why Mygind became a problematic person was not any particular heresies of his own but rather simply his ecumenical openness and in particular his loyalty to Von, who had once re-baptised some of his followers and held more extreme views of sanctification than Mygind himself.³⁷

Mygind returned to Denmark in the spring of 1899. He led a revival campaign beginning in the autumn and lasting until January 1900 when he returned to Syria. This campaign was again similar to the beginnings of the later Pentecostal revival with its extremely long, intense, and frequent meetings. Mygind won new friends, and his conflict with the Indre Mission leadership also won him admirers, but after his departure there was a ‘purge’ of his followers who were excluded from the work in the mission houses. Mygind returned already a year later and began holding ‘free meetings’ – Sunday and midweek – in a hall on

³⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 256–323.

³⁷ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 361–73.

Margrethevej in the Frederiksberg borough in Copenhagen. Their emphasis was on following the lead of the Spirit, and Mygind attempted to diminish his own significance.³⁸

In 1901-02 Von was back from the USA, and though Mygind still could not bring himself to say anything unkind about his old friend, he explicitly rejected the antinomianism that Von's doctrine of sinlessness had degenerated into – but Mygind's insistence that Jesus alone performs the work of sanctification without any human efforts could equally be understood as antinomian. Coupled with his insistence on seeing the church as a purely spiritual reality independent from denominations and sacraments, the result was that he remained on the margins of the institutional church. However, Mygind more than perhaps anyone in Denmark had emphasised the link between Spirit baptism and sanctification, something which aligned him with the radical wing of the Keswick movement. This put him in an ideal position to make the same transition that many of these leaders later made to connecting Spirit baptism with tongues, on the one hand, and power for mission, on the other, giving birth to distinctive doctrines of the Pentecostal movement.³⁹

The year 1902 was a climax for 'the released' or 'liberated' (*de frigjorte*) as Mygind's movement became known. Their influence extended into the Indre Mission and several free churches where the Holiness movement was already influential, including the MCC and the Methodists. When this resulted in divisions, it further damaged Mygind's reputation – and incidentally also meant that the Norwegian Holiness preacher and later Pentecostal leader Erik Andersen (later Nordquelle; 1858-1938) had already rubbed some in Denmark the wrong way. In the MCC, the movement led to a split during that same year, where about half of its preachers (and their followers) withdrew to form assemblies where they could preach

³⁸ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 374–95; see also Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 205–7.

³⁹ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 395–405; cf. Walter J. Hollenweger, 'An Introduction to Pentecostalism', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 25, no. 2 (2004): 130; McGee, *Miracles*, 21–40.

‘freedom from sin’. Some of these followers may well have later joined the Pentecostal movement, but their ecclesiological practice was even more strictly congregational than the movement they had come from, with the result that they did not form a coherent movement and seem to have lost their power by the time the Pentecostal movement entered the stage.⁴⁰

Olesen notes that ‘in the assembly there were many turbulent elements, and Mygind did not have the ability to manage them’.⁴¹ Beginning around 1902, the ‘released’ also began to be divided from the inside. Mygind for a while embraced universalism, but rejected the antinomianism into which this – once again – collapsed among some of his followers. The principle of ‘free meetings’ furthermore meant that millennialism gained a foothold in its most radical form: the ‘Millennial Dawn’ (later Jehovah’s Witnesses). The venue at Margrethevej was consequently given up in 1903 and the movement was split among different leaders in different places. This also marked the emergence of Johanne Mollerup (b. 1854), the widow of a Lutheran dean and mother-in-law of Mygind, as a leader of independent significance, and perhaps a more theologically stable one than Mygind himself.⁴²

Within the Holiness movement there were several ‘socially highly trusted persons (for instance noblemen, Court officials) or very prosperous persons (for instance merchants)’, whose socio-economic power could enable access to more prominent venues and guarantee financially for publications.⁴³ The most important of these for the introduction of the Pentecostal movement was the butter merchant Thorvald Plum (1844-1923). By the end of the 19th century, he had become the main contact in Denmark for Reader Harris’ Pentecostal

⁴⁰ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 406–16; Finn Kier-Hansen, ‘Det danske Missionsforbunds kirke- og dogmatikhistorie’ (Aarhus Universitet, 1993), 21–23.

⁴¹ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 860 (‘English Summary’).

⁴² Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 417–22.

⁴³ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 861 (‘English Summary’).

League of Prayer, and it seems that for him the continuity between this and the later Pentecostal movement was obvious.⁴⁴

Thus, some of these Holiness or ‘release movement’ leaders who would later come into contact with the Pentecostal movement arrived there from a somewhat different point of view than Barratt, even though the latter also retained many of the Holiness views he had had as a Methodist. Mygind, in particular, along with Plum, had come from a more Perfectionist point of view. Drawing on Olesen, Kurt Larsen has suggested that even though Mygind distanced himself from some of his previous ideas, he was still viewed with suspicion to such an extent that this was the main reason for the difficulties for the Pentecostal movement in Denmark.⁴⁵ However, as we shall see, the main split between the Holiness and Pentecostal movements happened already in the winter of 1907-08 while Mygind was away in Syria.

The international Holiness movement was – in Denmark – very much a mere undercurrent in the more home-grown Indre Mission and related movements, as Pentecostalism would also be initially. The Pentecostals were far from alone in their longing for revival. During the earliest period, many simultaneous revival campaigns were held in Copenhagen and across the country. The Indre Mission had experienced much growth in the late 19th century, and there was a strong expectation that this revival would continue. A climax was what Olesen has called ‘the greatest success in Danish church history’, a revival campaign in Copenhagen in September 1905, with the pastors H.P. Mollerup (Johanne Mollerup’s stepson and Mygind’s brother-in-law; 1866-1929) and Andreas Fibiger (1868-1937) as the two main leaders. Though the leaders and speakers at these meetings were all Lutheran, they were

⁴⁴ *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 303–6, 320–21. In the UK where the League was founded, the relationship was a little less straightforward (Kyu-Hyung Cho, ‘The Move to Independence from Anglican Leadership: An Examination of the Relationship between Alexander Alfred Boddy and the Early Leaders of the British Pentecostal Denominations (1907-1930)’ (University of Birmingham, 2009), 74–78), <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/421/>.

⁴⁵ Kurt E. Larsen, ‘Karismatik i Danmark – før den karismatiske bevægelse’, *Dansk Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 41, no. 4 (2014): 303.

widely supported (or co-opted) by free church leaders as well, with Mollerup's approval.⁴⁶ However, the more conservative Fibiger, a member of the Indre Mission's national committee, had been a critic of groups such as Vigo Lund's circle at Nissen's temperance hotel around 1897, with its 'loud groaning and hands clapping during the singing of hymns', which Fibiger saw as *Sværmeri* ('enthusiasm'), even though it was more moderate than Von's circle.⁴⁷ It is likely that that part of the motive behind the 1905 campaign was to direct the revival away from the free churches.⁴⁸

Among the more alliance-friendly circles, the Norwegian lay preacher Albert Lunde (1877-1939) was particularly popular during this time. He and Evangelical Alliance leaders such as H.P. Mollerup would occupy somewhat a middle ground between the more confessional mainstream of the Indre Mission and the wider Lutheran church on the one hand, and the more radical Pentecostal movement.⁴⁹ Part of this wing was the Keswickian circle around N.P. Madsen. The 'hot spot' of this group was in the opposite end of the country from the circle around Von and Mygind which had been centered in Copenhagen. Like many Holiness leaders abroad, Madsen had promoted the need to 'experience a Pentecost'.⁵⁰ Ideas about being filled with the Spirit were being spread around the country, along with rejections of denominational barriers. Around 1905-06 it even seemed like this group might split off and form a new 'churchmanship' in the Church of Denmark separate from the Indre Mission.⁵¹ In 1906 the Indre Mission itself was on the verge of being turned into an interdenominational alliance movement with an emphasis on being filled with the Spirit. Holiness-influenced leaders like A.C. Nissen quickly became marginalised when this failed. Thus, the Pentecostal

⁴⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 433–44.

⁴⁷ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 297.

⁴⁸ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 434–35.

⁴⁹ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 585–86; see also Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 559.

⁵⁰ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 492.

⁵¹ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 499–502.

movement in Denmark began in the middle of a battle that was not its own. The Holiness faction would come somewhat close to adopting Pentecostalism as its banner – but not close enough.

2.1.4 News from Kristiania

There already existed in Copenhagen a small anticipant group ...

— Nils Bloch-Hoell⁵²

The revival in Kristiania during 1906-07 captured the attention of not just the local population but also many outside visitors. Among the Danes who visited T.B. Barratt's Pentecostal meetings in Kristiania, were, on the one hand, H.I.F.C. Matthiesen (1861-1932), the editor of *Kristeligt Dagblad* ('Christian Daily'), along with the paper's business manager, Ernst Kjærsgaard. Like many other journalists, they published critical reports.⁵³ Matthiesen, in particular, would become one of the main antagonists of the Pentecostal movement because of his specific theological disagreements, whereas Kjærsgaard's position was more ambiguous. On the other hand, a number of prominent Lutheran spokesmen of the Holiness movement in Denmark visited as well, including Thorvald Plum and F. Rasmussen (publishers of the periodical *Kirkeklokken*, 'The Church Bell'), the aforementioned pastor and missionary H.J. Mygind (who helped discern the languages spoken in tongues), an evangelist (and singer) called Lange, a brother Justussen, and the lay leader Waldemar Thrane, along with the Methodist pastor Anton Christensen (1861-1912).⁵⁴ Many other Danish readers of Barratt's

⁵² Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 78.

⁵³ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 8/1/1907; 11/1/1907; 12/1/1907; 17/1/1907; 18/1/1907; referenced in Bundy, *Visions*, 190; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 787, n. 374.

⁵⁴ *Byposten*, 9/2/1907, 17 (mentions Plum, Rasmussen, and Mygind); 9/3/1907, 29 (Lange); 23/3/1907, 37-38 (Christensen); *Sandhedsvidnet*, 21/2/1907, 32 (Thrane, cited in Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 425). Mygind was 'something of a linguistic genius' according to Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 365. However, Olesen is critical of his interpretation of tongues (Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 787, n. 378; see also Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige*, 86-88). Mygind's friend Thrane seems to have had no further involvement with the Pentecostals. The identification of 'br. Lange' with H.O. Lange (1863-1943), chief librarian of

periodical, *Byposten* ('The City Post'), along with readers from numerous other countries, sent prayer requests to the congregation in Kristiania.⁵⁵ Part of Barratt's strategy was to establish continuity between existing Christian revival movements in Scandinavia and his Pentecostal revival. He filled an entire front page of *Byposten* with an extract from a pamphlet on being 'filled with the Spirit', written by the Holiness-inspired Danish Lutheran clergyman Carl Skovgaard-Petersen (1866-1955).⁵⁶

Mygind also wrote for *Byposten* multiple times early on in the Pentecostal revival, affirming his conviction that tongues were real languages,⁵⁷ and reporting on children receiving Spirit baptism.⁵⁸ Anton Christensen similarly wrote a long piece on his experience of ten days in the Kristiania revival, to which he was drawn through reading in *Byposten* of Barratt's experience of Spirit baptism. He went in spite of the objections to the movement that he had also heard. On arrival, he 'felt that it was the Spirit of God that was on the meetings', and that everything was thoroughly biblical and focused on the central message of atonement and on prayer, rather than 'testimonies of virtues and preaching of morality'. He understood tongues as a sign for unbelievers and believers alike, and hinted at having received his own

the Royal Library and a prominent layman in the Church of Denmark, is uncertain, but H.O. Lange had strong sympathies with the free church movements. If he did have some connection with the Pentecostal movement, it would have been one of many transient acquaintances for him; see Povl Helweg-Larsen, *H. O. Lange: En mindebog* (Copenhagen: P. Haase & Sønns Forlag, 1955), 309, 315. His companion 'br. Justussen' (or perhaps Justesen) has not been identified.

⁵⁵ *Byposten*, 26/1/1907, 8; 6/4/1907, 42.

⁵⁶ *Byposten*, 20/4/1907, 45-46; for more on Skovgaard-Petersen and his pamphlet, see Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 497-99.

⁵⁷ *Byposten*, 9/2/1907, 20.

⁵⁸ *Byposten*, 23/2/1907, 26. On this topic Barratt wrote: 'I have heard many children speak in tongues when Jesus filled their hearts with His Spirit; and what good, kind, obedient, loving children they became' (Thomas Ball Barratt, 'In the Days of the Latter Rain', in *The Work of T.B. Barratt.*, ed. Donald W. Dayton, Higher Christian Life 4 (New York: Garland, 1985), 184). Apparently Mygind also had similar reports published in other periodicals, both in Denmark and Sweden (Bundy, *Visions*, 289).

Spirit baptism there as well, before concluding: 'I wish the Lord would give us such a Pentecost in Denmark!'.⁵⁹

Some of those who visited the Kristiania revival immediately began trying to get Barratt to come and visit Copenhagen. The first Pentecostal meetings in Denmark were not held by Barratt, however, but – on a smaller scale – by Mygind, in the Frederiksberg neighbourhood of Copenhagen in the early spring of 1907. The meetings grew out of Evangelical Alliance meetings in 1906, following which a group of people began to meet regularly to pray for baptism in the Spirit. A young seamstress, Ellen Hansen, received her Spirit baptism here. She would soon be the first Dane to speak in tongues in the modern sense at a more public meeting in Copenhagen, on Maundy Thursday 1907 at a building in Zinnsgade ('Zinn's Street'), which would soon become a hub for the early Danish Pentecostals. These meetings were also visited by two young women from Kristiania and A.J. Anthony from Larvik, Norway – a preacher and editor of the periodical *Missionæren*, who had become a Pentecostal only weeks earlier.⁶⁰ Ms Hansen would also help arrange for Barratt's first visit to Copenhagen, in cooperation with Plum. The latter raised awareness of Pentecostal topics in *Kirkeklokken*.⁶¹

2.2 T.B. Barratt and Copenhagen

Barratt's missions to Denmark were perhaps his most dramatic and problematic.

⁵⁹ *Byposten*, 23/3, 1907, 37-38; cf. Thomas Ball Barratt, *Erindringer* (Ronny Larsen, 2011), 155, <http://kristenbloggen.net/e-bok-thomas-ball-barratt-erindringer/>.

⁶⁰ *Byposten*, 9/3/1907, 32; 20/4/1907, 48; 10/8/1907, 73; *Sandhedsvidnet*, 18/4/1907, 63 (cited in Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 425). This sequence of events differs slightly from what is reported by Bloch-Hoell, but since he only devotes brief attention to these events, I have given priority to the fuller account offered by Barratt, whose first-hand source was Ellen Hansen with whom he met privately on 29 June (*Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65); cf. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 78; Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 270–71. For a discussion of Mygind's Spirit baptism experience, see below, 2.2.6.

⁶¹ *Kirkeklokken*, 16-23/12/1906, 311-12; 20/1/1907, 16-18; 27/1/1907, 22-24; 3/2/1907, 28-30, 34; 17/2/1907, 44; 24/2/1907, 52; 24/3/1907, 75; 7/4/1907, 86; 14/4/1907, 91-92; 28/4/1907, 103; 5/5/1907, 108-09; 19/5/1907, 119-20; cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 192–93.

2.2.1 The summer of 1907

After his Spirit baptism in New York and subsequent return to Kristiania, Barratt soon set his eyes on Copenhagen as a natural bridge to the European continent. The original plan was that Barratt would visit at the end of May, but he received a letter from four Methodist leaders in Copenhagen – presiding elder Chr. Jensen and the pastors Anton Bast, S.S.S. Rosendahl, and the aforementioned Christensen – asking him to postpone it until after the Danish and Norwegian Methodist conferences: ‘We do not – for multiple reasons – consider the proposed date to be fortunate, and as you know, we are rapidly approaching the annual conference, which after all takes up much of our time and energy’.⁶³ What other reasons they were thinking of remains unspoken. Perhaps they were aware of Barratt’s difficult relations with the US-based Methodist bishops and mission board. Anton Bast (1867-1937), who would eventually be made a bishop, had expressed scepticism about the revival in Kristiania, but later reported Barratt’s visit enthusiastically in the Methodist periodical *Kristelig Talsmand* (‘Christian Advocate’), at least initially.⁶⁴

Barratt did not postpone his arrival for long, so this first campaign in Copenhagen still ended up overlapping with the Methodist conference in Kalundborg in late June. He arrived on Saturday 1 June from Sweden where he had held similar meetings in several places. His collaborator Chr. Olsen had come straight from Kristiania and met him on arrival at the train station, where he was accompanied by several leaders from the circles that had been expecting his visit: Plum and Rasmussen, Christensen, Bast, and Rosendahl, and Jensen-Maar

⁶² Bundy, *Visions*, 189.

⁶³ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.10, p. 82, dated 27/4/1907; cf. Solveig Barratt Lange, *T.B. Barratt : et herrens sendebud* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1962), 189.

⁶⁴ *Kristelig Talsmand*, 22/2/1907, 61; 15/3/1907, 85-86; 14/6/1907, 189; 21/6/1907, 196-97; cf. Bundy, *Visions*, 149-64.

of the MCC, among others, perhaps including the aforementioned Ellen Hansen whom Barratt did not yet know personally. Throughout the summer, Barratt would hold more or less daily meetings at the Methodist churches led by Christensen (Golgota), Rosendahl (Bethania), and Bast (St Marcus). Christensen had wished for a Pentecost in Denmark, and he cannot have been disappointed – already on the first meeting the next morning ‘the Spirit of God fell mightily’, according to Barratt. He explains: ‘At the meetings, the different preachers gather around the platform and have helped with great interest and brought much blessing’. Apart from the men already mentioned, there were also A.C. Nissen from the Indre Mission, Chr. Jensen from the Methodist Church, and Lange and Justussen who had made a memorable impression at the revival in Kristiania.⁶⁵

The yearning for *breakthrough* was central to Barratt, expressed in various ways: ‘I suddenly burst out in tongues’;⁶⁶ ‘it broke loose’;⁶⁷ ‘the soul won through to victory’;⁶⁸ ‘men and women were thrown to the floor under the power of the Spirit, but came through jubilantly’.⁶⁹ His own experience of Spirit baptism had been a succession of breakthroughs of increasing intensity.⁷⁰ So when he reported a breakthrough both at his first meeting in Copenhagen and again two days later, he was certainly expecting no less. Speaking in tongues

⁶⁵ *Sandhedsviðnet*, 6/6/1907, 91 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Mygind og tungetalen’, MS); *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 62. Note that in this issue of *Byposten*, Bast both had his name spelled wrong as ‘Bart’ and in some places was confused with a Norwegian ‘brother Bolt’, who was en route from Frankfurt am Main to Kristiania when Barratt met him briefly at St Marcus on the Wednesday after his arrival in Copenhagen. The error is corrected in the following issue, 29/6/1907, 66. For these first days, see also Barratt’s letter (with some delay) in *The Bridegroom’s Messenger*, 15/6/1908, 4. Soon, Barratt would receive more reinforcements from Norway: brother Harvold (from mid-June onwards) and brother Asp (in August) *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 66; 24/8/1907, 77-78.

⁶⁶ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 62.

⁶⁷ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 62.

⁶⁸ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 63.

⁶⁹ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 64.

⁷⁰ Bundy, *Visions*, 167–72.

– either by Barratt or others – was the typical medium of breakthrough, and the consequence was often expressed in the notion that the meetings ‘could have gone on all night’.⁷¹

There were also two meetings for Thorvald Plum’s factory workers (circa 3-5 June).⁷² On Sunday 9 June, open-air meetings were held in and around Copenhagen by Barratt’s collaborator Chr. Olsen and the three Methodist pastors Bast, Christensen, and Rosendahl.⁷³ Other meetings were hosted by the Salvation Army or held in various secular venues which were hired for the purpose. A Norwegian-born Salvation Army officer, Carl Breien, also attended meetings that were held elsewhere, and later told his old friend Barratt they reminded him of the early days of the ‘Army’.⁷⁴

Despite the positive spin Barratt put on his visit to Copenhagen, he was also, at first, met with a wall of scepticism and silence. The potential ‘gatekeepers’ in the Holiness movement were unsure of whether to support the new understanding of Spirit baptism.⁷⁵ Barratt himself notes that ‘many of the Christians were sceptical and did not know whether they dared open their doors for the meetings. But there were also many who longed for it’. He seems to imply that though this latter group made for a host of helpers, the attendance was not as impressive at first.⁷⁶ The secular press ignored the meetings, unlike what had happened in Kristiania. Bundy speculates that this was ‘because of the public perception of the events in Kristiania already framed by *Kristeligt Dagblad*’, and that this was a missed opportunity for free

⁷¹ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 63; 13/7/1907, 64. A detailed account of Barratt’s theology falls outside the scope of the present study. Arguably he did not at this point distinguish sharply between the Spirit working in an individual and in a group, nor did developments happening as a process exclude the possibility of a final, climactic, instantaneous crisis.

⁷² *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 62.

⁷³ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 63.

⁷⁴ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95.

⁷⁵ Bundy, *Visions*, 193; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 425; Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 271; Alvarsson, ‘Development of Pentecostalism’, 36.

⁷⁶ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 62.

publicity.⁷⁷ However, Olesen believes the meetings went more peacefully, compared to neighbouring countries, because of the absence of sensationalist press coverage.⁷⁸

Among the most significant meetings were those hosted privately by Johanne Mollerup, the widow of a dean in the state church and stepmother of the aforementioned pastor H.P. Mollerup and of Jenny Mygind, H.J. Mygind's wife. Johanne Mollerup's home in the Gentofte neighbourhood was already a hub of enthusiastic revivalists, and would remain central to the early Danish Pentecostals in Copenhagen. She would become a mother figure to many early Danish Pentecostals, in spite of both a lack of financial means and much opposition from her usual circle of acquaintances.⁷⁹ On Saturday 8 June, she hosted Barratt and a diverse group including local Methodist pastors, some deaconesses (nursing sisters), and the aforementioned Ernst Kjærsgaard from *Kristeligt Dagblad*, along with his wife, in what has been seen as the turning point of the campaign.⁸⁰ Barratt himself reported, under a heading with a preferred expression of his, 'The Fire has fallen in Gentofte and Copenhagen, Hallelujah!':

It was a blessed conversation and prayer meeting. Finally most went home, so only the Mollerups, the Myginds and a young woman from Kristiania were there. *That night the Spirit of God fell upon us!* We continued until 4 in the morning and were as if struck to the floor under the power of the Spirit. Mygind, the young Norwegian lady and I spoke and praised God in tongues. Mrs Mygind sang in the Spirit, even though she has no singing voice, and the others were so filled with power that the jubilation seemed to be unending.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Bundy, *Visions*, 193–94.

⁷⁸ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 425.

⁷⁹ Laura Barratt, *Minner* (Oslo 1946), 86, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Mygind', MS.

⁸⁰ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 425–26; Bundy, *Visions*, 193; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 560.

⁸¹ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 63 (emphasis original); cf. Thomas Ball Barratt, 'When the Fire Fell and an Outline of My Life', in *The Work of T.B. Barratt.*, ed. Donald W. Dayton, Higher Christian Life 4 (New York: Garland, 1985), 147; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 20. Barratt later published an (unfortunately anonymous) 'letter from a sister in Norway to a sister in Denmark', responding, without promising anything, to an invitation to come to Copenhagen (*Byposten*, 24/8/1907, 78). This Norwegian sister seems to have been another collaborator of Barratt, perhaps the same as the one mentioned here. When Barratt mentions 'the Mollerups', it probably includes Mrs Mollerup and her daughters Elisa and Anna, who also became supporting figures for the early Pentecostals, but does not necessarily include H.P. Mollerup who is not known to have attended this meeting.

In this way, the spiritual significance of an event could be measured not by the size of a gathering but instead by the strength of the divine presence. There were more such meetings in Mrs Mollerup's home during these weeks, and Barratt was living there for at least part of his visit.⁸²

Another private meeting was held on Monday 10 June in the home of Lutheran lay leaders Count Adam Moltke (1928-1913) and his wife, Countess Magda (1846-1920), in Snekkersten, a short train journey north of Copenhagen, but Barratt does not later mention whether anything of note happened there.⁸³ He would also sometimes retreat for a few days to A.C. Nissen's country house, Grønnæsegaarden, in Lynæs, 'three hours journey with train and carriage outside of Copenhagen'.⁸⁴ Barratt held public open-air meetings there, in spite of his intention to seek rest. It was clearly worth it: he reported that many were blessed, one meeting went on until 6am, and '*now the fire has fallen in Grønnæs also, hallelujah!*'.⁸⁵ The social status and financial capacity of the landed gentry made them attractive as allies; they could open doors which would otherwise be closed.

Barratt was determined to raise the public profile of the Pentecostal movement. To this end, a prominent venue was hired, the monumental *Koncertpalæet*,⁸⁶ where Barratt led meetings on at least four Sunday evenings in the summer of 1907 (16 June, 23 June, 7 July, 25 August). He unashamedly lets his readers know the rent of 300 kroner for one meeting,

⁸² *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65.

⁸³ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 63. Magda Moltke had in the past shown an interest in eschatological themes which the Pentecostal movement shared with the Holiness movement (Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 348–50). However, by early 1908, she had become one of many vocal critics of Pentecostalism (*Sandhedsvidnet*, 16/2/1908, 26, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS).

⁸⁴ *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84 (current official spelling: *Grønnessegården*).

⁸⁵ *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 66 (emphasis original).

⁸⁶ 'Concert Hall', more accurately known as *Odd Fellow Palæet*, 'Odd Fellows Hall', after its owners since 1900, but always mentioned under the former name by Barratt and other relevant writers.

corresponding to about £2,000 in today's money, but is less candid about who put down this amount.⁸⁷

The 1905 revival meetings had also been held at Koncertpalæet (see above, 2.1.3), so this choice of venue had great symbolic significance. Barratt tried to distance himself somewhat from those who had had connection with 'the released' (the Perfectionist movement in which Mygind had been a prominent leader), and instead spoke favourably of other movements also marked by outside influence, such as the Evangelical Alliance. However, Barratt was not primarily distancing himself from excesses in the Holiness movement. He was even more shocked by the anti-ecumenical attitude among the state church clergy, even some of those who were otherwise in favour of revivalism – but only in isolation from 'Sects and Anabaptists'. He noted that the previous revival meetings in Koncertpalæet had been both well-attended and controversial because of their 'English' (Methodist) influence.⁸⁸ Barratt does not mention Mygind by name in his criticism of 'the released'; he seems to have made a distinction between Mygind and those members of 'the released' who had persevered in their error.⁸⁹

A meeting on 17 June was attended by 'two German pastors who have visited Kristiania'. Olesen identifies them as the Pentecostal pioneers Jonathan Paul (1853-1931) and Emil Meyer (1869-1949). Their interpreter was C. Ravens, an evangelist (*indremissionær*) for the

⁸⁷ *Evangelisten*, 26/7/1907, 237 (quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemissionen', MS); *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 66; *Statistics Denmark*, <http://dst.dk/da/Statistik/emner/forbrugerpriser/forbrugerprisindeks.aspx>, accessed 19 February 2015.

⁸⁸ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 64; cf. Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 426; Hegertun, *Det brodersind*, 38–43. Barratt also published strong statements in favour of freedom from sin, e.g. *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 79. Over three issues of *Byposten*, including the one discussing 'the released', a long article by Anton Christensen advocating instantaneous sanctification ('by faith') is reprinted from the Danish Methodist organ *Kristelig Talsmand* (*Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 67–68; 13/7/1907, 63–64; 10/8/1907, 74).

⁸⁹ *Byposten*, 11/1/1908, 3. The enemies of the 'released' movement had often seen Louis Von as the 'main antagonist', but Olesen puts Mygind at the centre of the movement (Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 385–406).

Indre Mission, who is also reported to have experienced Spirit baptism.⁹⁰ If the identification of Paul is correct then this is a further indication that Barratt was not overly anxious to avoid association with those who were seen by some as excessively optimistic about sanctification.⁹¹

Barratt was constantly reporting on individuals who had been affected by the Pentecostal revival. He rarely gives us the names of the person in question, so the identification of specific persons known from later sources is often impossible. One man from Gentofte had attended a couple of meetings at Koncertpalæet when Barratt met him, and the man gave off the clear impression that ‘the Spirit of God was at work’. He followed them back to Mollerup’s home where ‘a prayer meeting was in full swing, and shouts of joy and victory were heard’. This overwhelmed him and he felt that the Holy Spirit ‘rushed through him ... like a stream of fire through his whole body’. He fell to his knees and screamed; ‘he was pressing into God to be cleansed in the blood’ and seemed ‘almost outside himself’. After this, ‘the joy was indescribable and unstoppable’ and the man ‘went home long after midnight with a face that was shining from happiness’.⁹²

Other testimonies were transmitted through letters published in *Byposten* as further evidence of the power of the movement, and of the fact that it extended beyond wherever Barratt happened to be working. Among the Danish ones, there was one from ‘Anine’, a member of a Lutheran pastor’s household, who seems to have been well-acquainted with the many leaders involved with the on-going Pentecostal revival in Copenhagen, and who reports

⁹⁰ *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 66; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 426, 788, n. 385; cf. Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 272.

Olesen identifies the meeting in question as being the one on the previous day at Koncertpalæet, but the sequence of Barratt’s account seems clearly to imply that it was a meeting at Golgata.

⁹¹ These were not the only international visitors at the time. The Latvian Baptist missionary Wm. Fetler wrote that ‘The Lord strengthened me at my visit in Denmark’ (*Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 66).

⁹² *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65. Barratt adds: ‘Later he told us that a voice within him had tempted him to run from us’, when they were on their way to Mollerup’s.

having been Spirit-baptised with tongues.⁹³ A letter from A.C. Nissen's daughter-in-law Mathilde Nissen was also published. She must have experienced Spirit baptism herself, and now reported on the Spirit baptism of one of their servant girls from Jutland.⁹⁴

As attendance began to pick up with larger meetings, conversions seem to have become somewhat frequent as well, not just Spirit baptisms.⁹⁵ However, Barratt was not shy to admit that 'the revival is largely, primarily *among the believers*'.⁹⁶ His expectation was that large-scale meetings would have a large-scale impact; as people began coming in from nearby towns to attend, they could in turn go home and spread the Pentecostal message, in order 'that the fire will spread from the capital and across the country, even to other countries as well'. Eventually, the existing denominations would then 'be so sensible as to throw themselves into this work; by which they would be able to inject power into themselves and hasten the revival for which they have prayed and worked for so long'.⁹⁷ The best example of an early spread to other towns is found in Lyngby and Brede, north of Copenhagen, where Pentecostal meetings were held independently after Barratt had prayed for the Spirit baptism of a young woman from there whom he met on a train on Friday 28 June, presumably both on the way back from one of his revival meetings.⁹⁸ Later, the first official Pentecostal church in Denmark would be founded there (see 2.3.1).

Barratt decided to extend his stay in Copenhagen because of the great momentum of the revival in Denmark, especially from the fourth week onwards, through local men and women

⁹³ *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 67.

⁹⁴ *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84-85 (this event seems to have taken place on Tuesday 25 August).

⁹⁵ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 64.

⁹⁶ *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80 (emphasis his).

⁹⁷ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 64, cf. 27/7/1907, 67; cf. Barratt, 'When the Fire', 149.

⁹⁸ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 66. Barratt rejoiced that now the 'fire' had fallen in Lyngby as well, *ibid.* 65. A further report indicated that meetings continued there more or less constantly for the first week (*Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 81).

sharing the Pentecostal message with strangers.⁹⁹ A few weeks later Barratt even toyed with the idea of moving his family to Copenhagen permanently, because of its strategic location.¹⁰⁰ However, with the growing impact came growing resistance as well, not so much from the press, which continued to ignore the revival,¹⁰¹ but in the form of disturbing persons at the meetings, who were sometimes interpreted as demon-possessed.¹⁰² On occasion these ‘unclean’ or ‘lying spirits’ were further identified as belonging to the ‘skyscrapers’ (Perfectionists) or Millennial Dawn (the later Jehovah’s Witnesses).¹⁰³ In addition, on a practical level, the Danes were perhaps not as used to this form of free revival meetings as the Norwegians were, leading to more disturbance from curious onlookers.¹⁰⁴ Still, Barratt wrote that he had ‘hardly, neither in Norway nor Sweden, seen such a good understanding of a powerful work of the Spirit as here in Denmark’.¹⁰⁵ Even the physical trembling of the Spirit-baptised seemed weaker than in Norway and Sweden, as if there was less resistance.¹⁰⁶

In the meantime, Barratt was under pressure to clarify his position in the Methodist Church. One of Barratt’s few friends among the bishops, William Burt, had arrived to attend the Danish and Norwegian Methodist conferences.¹⁰⁷ On 2 July, Barratt had a conversation with Burt in Copenhagen: ‘I pointed out to him that I did not intend to leave the Methodist Church or found any new party, as some had told him’.¹⁰⁸ Implicitly, one might wonder if the need for Barratt to defend himself against such allegations showed that Burt, too, had now

⁹⁹ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 64-65.

¹⁰⁰ *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80 (letter dated 24 August). This was apparently first suggested to him by A.C. Nissen and Thorvald Plum, according to Laura Barratt, *Minner* (Oslo 1946), 93, quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Mygind’, MS.

¹⁰¹ *Byposten*, 10/8/1907, 71.

¹⁰² *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 66.

¹⁰³ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65.

¹⁰⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 72; cf. Oddvar Nilsen, ... *og Herren virket med: Pinsebevegelsen gjennom 75 år* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1981), 40.

¹⁰⁵ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 64.

¹⁰⁶ *Byposten*, 10/8/1907, 73.

¹⁰⁷ Bundy, *Visions*, 162, 194–95.

¹⁰⁸ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65.

grown sceptical of Barratt's visions. Clearly, Barratt's horizon had expanded far beyond the confines of the Methodist Church. This situation now threatened the base he was standing on.

On 8 July, Barratt left Copenhagen temporarily to attend the Methodist conference in Kristiania. He described the city he was leaving as one where the Pentecostal movement was now, finally, on the lips of many, and beginning to gain support among ministers and preachers.¹⁰⁹ He would return to Copenhagen eight days later, having begun to sever his ties with the Methodist Episcopal Church. His declaration at the conference openly stated his disappointment with the US-led church, and he began to be explicit about his change of strategy – from a local to a transnational ministry, and from attachment to a denominational structure to full dependence on God in *faith mission*. Consequently, by his own request, he was released for work as an independent evangelist.¹¹⁰

Barratt now brought his whole family with him to Denmark.¹¹¹ Before continuing his campaign of revivalist meetings, they enjoyed an eight-day retreat at Nissen's country house together with friends of the Pentecostal revival, including Plum and probably many others of those mentioned above.¹¹² From this point onwards, Barratt's reports from the Copenhagen campaign become less frequent. During his first weeks in Copenhagen, Barratt had written more on his activities than there was room for in the pages of *Byposten*, and perhaps he now wanted to divert his readers with news from elsewhere as well.¹¹³ Furthermore, his level of

¹⁰⁹ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65.

¹¹⁰ *Byposten*, 27/7/1907, 67; Barratt, 'When the Fire', 148.

¹¹¹ *Byposten*, 27/7/1907, 69; cf. 13/7/1907, 64. His daughter, the young concert pianist Mary Barratt (1888-1969), provided musical entertainment at some well-attended meetings (*Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80).

¹¹² *Byposten*, 10/8/1907, 71.

¹¹³ The first entries from Copenhagen were published 15/6/1907 with 5-9 days' delay, whereas those on the intermezzo in Kristiania and return to Copenhagen were published 27/7/1907 with 11-16 days' delay. The last dated entries from Copenhagen were published with 13-14 days' delay and included this comment: 'There are many interesting things that could be related here from the Danish capital, but the space does not permit it' (*Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80).

activity was lower; he was seeking rest and guarding his health, his family was staying with Nissen's, and he himself would retreat there again in August for at least another week.¹¹⁴

Still, there were omens that the fledgling Pentecostal movement could soon begin to experience a more organised resistance in Denmark. The day before his return, Barratt had received a letter from Copenhagen which stated that, though many revivalist pastors from the state church showed 'generally good will' and were 'overwhelmed to know the power of God, which was manifested at the meetings', they were also 'afraid of the phenomena' and still undecided about their position.¹¹⁵ Across the Scandinavian countries, Barratt had encountered the objection that the Pentecostal meetings were, in his own words, 'not controlled enough'.¹¹⁶ As the news of the revival spread, so did controversies over glossolalia and Spirit baptism.

A small tract on Spirit baptism was published in Copenhagen and distributed by Barratt and his followers. His vision for the promotion of Spirit baptism was one of creating unity: 'one would think that were there one programme, which could gather Christians from all camps, then it must be this' – but the consequences would often be very different.¹¹⁷ It seems pastors and leaders might have begun to warn their flocks against the Pentecostal meetings.¹¹⁸ Barratt appealed to those leaders who opposed the movement to join in with the meetings as an opportunity for them to gain new members who were full of power but in need of much guidance and teaching.¹¹⁹ Despite the change in Barratt's relationship with the Methodist denomination, he continued to hold Pentecostal meetings in at least two of the Methodist

¹¹⁴ *Byposten*, 24/8/1907, 78; cf. Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 191. In my view, it is not necessary to conclude that 'the results in conversions were apparently minimal' (Bundy, *Visions*, 194).

¹¹⁵ *Byposten*, 27/7/1907, 69 (no author given).

¹¹⁶ *Byposten*, 24/8/1907, 76.

¹¹⁷ *Byposten*, 24/8/1907, 77; cf. Hegertun, *Det brodersind*, 41–58.

¹¹⁸ *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80.

¹¹⁹ *Byposten*, 24/8/1907, 78.

churches in Copenhagen, Bethania and Golgata,¹²⁰ but no more mention is made of St Marcus, which could suggest that its pastor, Bast, had already pulled out of the revival at this point.

Towards the end of August, Barratt did his best to consolidate the emerging Pentecostal movement in Denmark. Meetings were now held ‘especially for the children of God’, with the aim to help as many as possible of those existing believers who sympathised with the Pentecostal movement to come ‘all the way through’ and speak in tongues.¹²¹ On Thursday 29 August in the evening, a ‘large crowd’ turned up to bid Barratt farewell as he left on a boat to Newcastle, after almost 12 weeks in Copenhagen, to launch the Pentecostal revival in Sunderland.¹²² By this point, Barratt had spent more than a quarter of the time since his Spirit baptism in Denmark and led perhaps around a hundred Pentecostal revival meetings in and around Copenhagen. News of the ‘Pentecostal outburst in Copenhagen’ spread as far as to Los Angeles where *The Apostolic Faith* reported it had heard the news from *Kirkeklokken*, perhaps through its publisher, Plum.¹²³ In Germany, the revival in Copenhagen provided material for both praise and warnings.¹²⁴ To Mygind, it seemed in retrospect that there was now ‘scarcely any more resisting the message’.¹²⁵ But things would soon turn sourer for this fledgling movement in the Danish capital.

¹²⁰ *Byposten*, 10/8/1907, 74; 24/8/1907, 77; et alib. The congregation at Golgata had only been organised a year earlier, according to S.N. Gaarde, *Metodistkirken i Danmark 1858-1908*, 44-46, cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS.

¹²¹ *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80; 21/9/1907, 83.

¹²² *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 83.

¹²³ *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), October 1907–January 1908, 1. News of the Copenhagen revival also reached *The Bridegroom’s Messenger*, 15/6/1908, 4, and *The Apostolic Faith* (Houston), October 1908, 5, somewhat belatedly, with reports from Barratt.

¹²⁴ Paul Fleisch, *Die Pfingstbewegung in Deutschland: ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte in fünfzig Jahren* (Hannover: Feesche, 1957), 31.

¹²⁵ Anna Larssen Bjørner Collection (Royal Library), I., ca. 1926.

2.2.2 A local Pentecostal movement begins to take shape

The European Methodist Episcopal Congress was held in Copenhagen in early September 1907. Bundy notes: 'It has not been ascertained whether Barratt was officially discussed at the Congress'.¹²⁶ The congress is not discussed in *Byposten* beyond a mere four-line announcement.¹²⁷ The Pentecostal meetings at Rosendahl's Bethania church continued for now.¹²⁸ But the main Methodist leader in Copenhagen who became a Pentecostal was Anton Christensen.

The Pentecostal revival would for some time remain a mostly indistinguishable undercurrent in the stream of revivalism. In late September, the evangelistic revival meetings that had previously been held at Koncertpalæet were begun again, and one might wonder if the difference between these and Barratt's meetings was obvious, seen 'from below'. Those who had now become Pentecostals were, as a matter of course, revivalists as well, and participated at these meetings. Hence, as Barratt had feared,¹²⁹ these meetings would in more than one way become a battlefield for the varying understandings of Spirit baptism.

Separate public meetings were also held in Copenhagen in continuation of Barratt's from September 1907 – and were already in planning during Barratt's stay, with prayer meetings for this purpose being held at Nissen's temperance hotel as early as 6 July.¹³⁰ *Kristeligt Dagblad* permitted announcements advertising the meetings in its pages, but the editor criticised these advertisements for being unclear – *Sværmeri* was feared. Whether intentionally or not, it was difficult to distinguish the announcements of the Pentecostal meetings from the more widely endorsed revival meetings at Koncertpalæet which were

¹²⁶ Bundy, *Visions*, 195. Bundy makes some additional claims about provisions that Bundy made for this congress, which I have not been able to verify based on his stated sources.

¹²⁷ *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80.

¹²⁸ *Byposten*, 19/10/1907, 93.

¹²⁹ *Byposten*, 7/9/1907, 80.

¹³⁰ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 65.

advertised around the same time.¹³¹ The organisers of the Pentecostal meetings were a mixed group of Methodists (Christensen and Rosendahl), Lutherans (H.J. Mygind, A.C. Nissen, L.O. Faber, Philip Wittrock, and, probably, Plum), and MCC leaders (Jensen-Maar and two others).¹³² Mygind, who was very soon on his way to Syria, would apparently have preferred to remain as anonymous as Plum in the list of organisers; he issued a public statement, stating that he hoped his name would not negatively influence anyone's perception of this new movement and taking the opportunity to publicly ask for forgiveness if he had 'passed unloving judgements' or 'misled anyone'.¹³³

The meetings were held on Mondays at a (presumably) rented venue that had also been used by Barratt – *Arbejderforeningens Festsal* – the hall of the conservative Workers' Association. There was an expectation, though clearly this was not to be taken for granted since it had to be stated explicitly, that the Lord would continue working even in the absence of the great charismatic persona, Barratt.¹³⁴ There were a few troublemakers at these continuing meetings, according to Plum, but Christensen reported to Barratt that the meetings

¹³¹ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 11/9/1907, 2; cf. e.g. the large announcement of upcoming meetings at Koncertpalæet on the front page of *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 9/9/1907, and the somewhat smaller announcement of the (Pentecostal) 'Evangelical Joint Meeting' further down the page. The paper also published some of the arctic explorer Knud Rasmussen's observations on the 'Sværmeri' ('enthusiasm') of the pietistic Laestadians (*Kristeligt Dagblad*, 12/9/1907, 1-2), which Bundy reads as an indirect criticism of the Pentecostals (Bundy, *Visions*, 195). However, the article seems to take both critical and appreciative excerpts from Rasmussen's work, and ends on a note of praise for the Laestadians' abstinence from drinking and smoking, something that will have pleased many Indre Mission oriented readers of the paper. The publishing of this article could be a mere coincidence, since Rasmussen's book had come out that same week.

¹³² *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 16/9/1907, 2; cf. *Byposten*, 5/10/1907, 88. The leaders gathered at Nissen's country house (*Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/6/1913, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Nissen og Pinsemissionen', MS).

¹³³ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 18/9/1907, 2; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 426–27.

¹³⁴ *Byposten*, 29/6/1907, 66. Regarding Arbejderforeningen, it seems the organisation was dependent on income beyond membership fees during these years (Arbejderforeningen af 1860s arkiv, Bestyrelsens forhandlingsprotokoller, dates e.g. 22/2/1908, 27/4/1909).

were well-attended.¹³⁵ Another participant, ‘Anna’, reported that ‘God drove the resistance back, so we were allowed to hear what God would say to us’.¹³⁶

The widely travelling Norwegian early Pentecostal evangelists Agnes Thelle (1876-1968) and Dagmar Gregersen (1881-1984) arrived in Copenhagen on 3 September 1907, after campaigning in Germany and Switzerland.¹³⁷ The first of their meetings in Zinnsgade is described as ‘the stormiest we have had yet’ with many ‘troublemakers’ present. However, ‘the Spirit of God fell on three of them’ and their mockery was turned to praise after ‘Mygind and Sørensen laid hands on them and prayed’. It is implied that the absence of the authoritative A.C. Nissen was what let the meeting get out of hand.¹³⁸

On Friday 27 September, Thelle and Gregersen attended one of the revival meetings at Koncertpalæet, together with our witness, the soon-to-be Pentecostal leader Philip Wittrock (b. 1873), and a ‘city missionary’, as well as other friends of the Pentecostal movement. Before the evening was over, Thelle had stood up and spoken in tongues, with interpretation from Gregersen. The leaders of the meeting attempted to interrupt them, but some who were there became interested. This event prompted Wittrock’s own Spirit baptism, which happened the following day at a meeting in a private home.¹³⁹ He would immediately become one of the leaders at meetings such as those on Mondays at Arbejderforeningen.¹⁴⁰

The ministry of Thelle and Gregersen in Germany during the summer had been marred by scandal and contributed to the widespread condemnation of the Pentecostal movement

¹³⁵ *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84; 5/10/1907, 89

¹³⁶ *Byposten*, 16/11/1907, 101. ‘Anna’ may be the later missionary Anna Mollerup.

¹³⁷ *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84.

¹³⁸ Private letter, probably from Johanne Mollerup, in *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84. The identification of ‘Sørensen’ is uncertain. The later editor of the Pentecostal periodical *Korsets Budskab* (1919-21), Jørgen C. Sørensen, who was based in Roskilde west of Copenhagen, apparently first attended Pentecostal meetings in Zinnsgade in 1910 (*Korsets Budskab*, April 1920, 3).

¹³⁹ *Byposten*, 19/10/1907, 92-93. The host of this private meeting is only identified as ‘br. R.’, which could refer to several different ‘brothers’.

¹⁴⁰ *Byposten*, 16/11/1907, 101.

there.¹⁴¹ It is possible that the Norwegian pair's visit to Denmark was also part of what provoked some polemics against the Pentecostal movement in *Kristeligt Dagblad* in September and October 1907. Gender bias may have played a role here; in Germany they were found to be 'hysterical' and 'provocative' with specific reference to their sex.¹⁴² A meeting featuring them was held at Koncertpalæet in early October, and resulted in further controversy. *Kirkeklokken* defended the meetings vigorously, which reinforces the supposition that its publisher, Plum, was the financial sponsor behind the Pentecostal meetings at that venue.¹⁴³ Around this time, the Indre Mission oriented pastor P.E. Blume characterised Plum as a 'friend of all heretics, and they flock around him for the sake of his money'.¹⁴⁴

A small embryonic group of pioneers continued to meet and formed Copenhagen's main early Pentecostal assembly in Zinnsgade, where Wittrock would emerge as the main leader. Zinnsgade was not alone though. A private letter from September 1907, likely from Johanne Mollerup, confirmed that meetings were continuing at Golgata and in Gentofte and nearby in Lyngby, and that numbers were growing.¹⁴⁵ A difficulty for the early Danish Pentecostal movement was that it did not have its own organ. *Kirkeklokken* continued to waver in its position towards the movement.¹⁴⁶ Barratt recommended *Kirkeklokken*,¹⁴⁷ but also promoted subscriptions to *Byposten* as the reliable source of information on the progress of the revival for Danish readers.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 109.

¹⁴² Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 166; see also Bundy, *Visions*, 205.

¹⁴³ *Kirkeklokken*, 6/10/1907, 246; 13/10/1907, 247-48, 252; 27/10/1907, 259-60; cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 196.

¹⁴⁴ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 726, n. 54.

¹⁴⁵ *Byposten*, 21/9/1907, 84; see also letter from Anton Christensen, *Byposten*, 5/10/1907, 89.

¹⁴⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 427.

¹⁴⁷ *Byposten*, 19/10/1907, 92.

¹⁴⁸ *Byposten*, 10/8/1907, 74; 5/10/1907, 88; et alib.

2.2.3 Barratt's subsequent visits

Barratt arrived in Copenhagen again on 14 December 1907, again after meetings in Sweden. He would continue to visit the city frequently up until and including 1910. The venues during this second visit would again be the Methodist churches of Golgata and Bethania, along with Wittmack's Lokale, a secular venue which had also been used during the first visit. Barratt's first report after the meetings had begun, which presumably came in shortly before *Byposten's* deadline, simply read: 'Copenhagen: Wonderful meetings here!'.¹⁴⁹

This time, he would only stay for a week. As always, Barratt strived to bring his readers good news: 'the Lord came truly near' during the 'large gatherings' which turned up despite the Christmas rush. He concluded: 'Much progress had happened since the last visit, in every respect. The gifts of the Spirit were also much better developed'. Even so, Barratt was now on the defensive, as he experienced first-hand that 'as in other places, some of those who initially seemed to want to join in had pulled back'. Many thought the Pentecostal movement had an 'unclean spirit' and would 'lead astray' as 'the released' had done a few years earlier. Barratt believed that, on the contrary, the Pentecostal movement was leading many of those who had been among 'the released' back on the right track.¹⁵⁰ To counter the polemics, a tract was distributed in Denmark which began with the following reasons why Spirit baptism was 'not of the devil':

Because those who have received their Pentecost:

Love Christ more.

Love their Bible more.

Love everyone more.

Love to bring lost souls to Christ.

Hate all that is of the devil.

Are more on their knees, ...¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ *Byposten*, 28/12/1907, 112-13.

¹⁵⁰ *Byposten*, 11/1/1908, 3.

¹⁵¹ *Byposten*, 11/1/1908, 2 (emphasis original); translated into English in Barratt, 'In the Days', 95-99.

Even in the setback, Barratt found reason for optimism: ‘this had the result that those who were wholly gripped came even closer together’. The aim of this second visit became one of further consolidation, with another climax at a private meeting hosted by Johanne Mollerup.¹⁵² Anton Christensen thanked Barratt for his visit which ‘strengthened many in the truth which is already present among us’. This was necessary since many had come to ‘falter’ somewhat.¹⁵³

Perhaps the most severe blow for Barratt came shortly after, at the end of January when he received a letter from A.C. Nissen who had failed to participate in the December meetings. Nissen’s letter revealed that, while he had initially supported Barratt’s ministry as ‘a great blessing’, even though ‘there was something about the phenomena and the tongues that jarred on me’, he had now decided that ‘this could damage me spiritually’, and so he called off the collaboration. This break must have been tough for Nissen as well, since Barratt and his family had spent weeks at his house. Even though he warned that Barratt could end up being overcome by the ‘alien spirit’ which had ‘crept in’, he also attempted to find some way of making sense of the good fruits of Barratt’s work, stating that he believed that Barratt still had the Spirit of God. Barratt, on his part, attempted to take it in his stride. He noted in his diary, where he stuck the letter, that the Lord had given him some words from Psalm 66 as a response: ‘If I had cherished iniquity in my heart, the Lord would not have listened’.¹⁵⁴ But others pulled back along with Nissen, including the pastors Faber (Lutheran) and Jensen-Maar (of the MCC, which had experienced a severe setback because of the ‘released’ only about six years earlier). The three made their opposition to Pentecostalism public in *Kristeligt Dagblad*.

¹⁵² *Byposten*, 11/1/1908, 3.

¹⁵³ *Byposten*, 11/1/1908, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Psalm 66:18. The whole passage was 66:18-20. T.B. Barratt Papers, I.10, p. 52; letter dated 23 January 1908. The letter is also quoted in Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 198–99. Lange (Barratt’s daughter) did not identify Nissen by name as the sender, perhaps because of fond memories of the summer at Nissen’s country house.

Plum and Rasmussen had become more cautious as well, so *Kirkeklokken* did not even mention Barratt's December visit.¹⁵⁵

Johanne Mollerup's stepson, pastor H.P. Mollerup, was authorised by the local Evangelical Alliance to request that no one spoke in tongues at its meetings, in order to secure peace and unity.¹⁵⁶ Simultaneously, Barratt published advice to the Spirit-baptised to let everything proceed in an orderly fashion.¹⁵⁷ A 'leading brother' in Denmark reported to Barratt that 'the opposition gets greater and greater', but at least the Evangelical Alliance did not go all the way in condemning tongues and prophecy, as some had proposed.¹⁵⁸ In response, Bast wrote in the Methodist organ, *Kristelig Talsmand*, that Barratt's version of events in the Evangelical Alliance was 'misleading'.¹⁵⁹ Barratt responded in support of those who were seen as 'interrupting', and said that if ordered to be quiet, they must 'obey God rather than human beings'. He accused *Kristeligt Dagblad* of being behind current developments through the criticisms it published of Pentecostalism, specifically its denouncement of *missionary tongues* – the idea that tongues made proper preparation for mission work superfluous had already been discredited by the mainstream of the Pentecostal movement.¹⁶⁰ But perhaps it still stung when it was argued that 'the Pentecostal claim that this was to empower mission was proving false; there were no Pentecostal missions'.¹⁶¹ Barratt would soon begin thinking about how to get Pentecostal foreign mission organised.

¹⁵⁵ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 16/2/1908, 26 (quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS); Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 427.

¹⁵⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 427–28; cf. Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 196–97.

¹⁵⁷ *Byposten*, 11/1/1908, 3.

¹⁵⁸ *Byposten*, 8/2/1908, 12.

¹⁵⁹ *Kristelig Talsmand*, 28/2/1908, 68–69.

¹⁶⁰ *Byposten*, 7/3/1908, 19.

¹⁶¹ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 28/2/1908, 1, as paraphrased in Bundy, *Visions*, 197.

Thus, where the Pentecostal movement did manifest itself more distinctly, it sometimes repelled more than it attracted.¹⁶² The leader of the radical Holiness wing of the Indre Mission, N.P. Madsen, was outspoken in his criticism of the Pentecostals and would even travel to Germany to help in the struggle against them there.¹⁶³ Many of the leaders in the Copenhagen area who initially became involved with the Pentecostal revival had previously been contributors to Madsen's radical Holiness periodical, *Filadelfia*, but only one – Philip Wittrock – persevered in Pentecostalism beyond the first year.¹⁶⁴ He and L.P. Larsen wrote to Barratt that the meetings were going well in Copenhagen, Gentofte, and Lyngby. They continued the meetings at Arbejderforeningen which might imply that Plum was still willing to pay for renting it. Many women were experiencing calls to the mission field: Jenny Mygind's sister, Anna Mollerup (b. 1878), was preparing to leave for Syria in early April 1908, to work together with the Myginds. Two women in Lyngby had experienced a call to China, and another to Japan; it would be another year before the first missionaries were sent out from there. But the yearning for assistance is also evident in Wittrock's letter to Barratt: 'We are very much looking forward to seeing you among us'.¹⁶⁵ He was likely aware that Barratt would be travelling through Copenhagen on his way to India that spring.

That time, Barratt stayed for less than 48 hours. He arrived on 11 March 1908, in time for a packed meeting at Christensen's Golgata church. He grants that a couple of those who spoke in tongues in the meeting had a 'different spirit', but he was told they had no connection with the emerging Pentecostal movement. The next evening, a meeting was held in a more capacious venue, the concert hall Olympia. Despite the briefness of Barratt's visit, this would be the first time his meetings in Denmark made the front page of a major secular newspaper,

¹⁶² Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 561.

¹⁶³ *Filadelfia*, 2/1/1910, 2; 16/1/1910, 42; see also Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 559.

¹⁶⁴ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 489.

¹⁶⁵ *Byposten*, 7/3/1908, 20.

Politiken.¹⁶⁶ *Byposten* continued to publish messages from Copenhagen, reporting the steady progress of the revival. Perhaps this put the developments in the most optimistic possible light, but it is still clear that Barratt inspired confidence in the Danish Pentecostals.¹⁶⁷ However, in the summer of 1908 the movement in Copenhagen lost one of its main leaders when the Methodist bishop reassigned Anton Christensen to serve a congregation in Horsens.¹⁶⁸ This deliberate, sudden removal of the primary leader of the Pentecostal movement in Copenhagen would present the Pentecostals there with a long-standing problem of finding a local leader to rally around. However, during his next visit Barratt was still able to preach in the Golgata church where Christensen had served,¹⁶⁹ and Christensen would also occasionally return to Copenhagen to ‘encourage’ the Pentecostals there.¹⁷⁰

While in India, Barratt received a letter from Mygind, inviting him to stop for a visit in Lebanon on his way back.¹⁷¹ Barratt was already planning a visit to the Biblical lands. After spending time in Jerusalem, he arrived in Schweifait (Choueifat) outside Beirut around 10 September 1908. He planned to spend a week there but ended up spending two, because of a revival that sprung up at the meetings he held there. Mygind had longed for this since an earlier revival under his own leadership a decade earlier. Barratt in turn implied that this

¹⁶⁶ *Byposten*, 21/3/1908, 23; *Politiken*, 13/3/1908, 1; cf. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 78.

¹⁶⁷ *Byposten*, 27/6/1908, 52; 1/8/1908, 60 (both from Wittrock, cf. also the report from Wittrock after Barratt’s next visit (1/1/1909, 4), which seems to admit they had nearly stagnated under pressure from the resistance); 26/9/1908, 73 (anonymous, but possibly from Plum, since the same issue of *Byposten* also reported the receiving of a large quantity of new Danish books for sale (76), and at least four out of the five titles mentioned were published by *Kirkeklokken*).

¹⁶⁸ *Byposten*, 1/1/1909, 2; see also Bundy, *Visions*, 198–99. Barratt also claimed that ‘a couple’ of other Methodist preachers in Denmark were still open to the Pentecostal revival two years after his first campaign (*Byposten*, 1/11/1909, 86), but Christensen was without question the most outspoken. For his ministry in Horsens, see below (2.3.1).

¹⁶⁹ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 209.

¹⁷⁰ *Byposten*, 1/3/1909, 19.

¹⁷¹ *Byposten*, 13/6/1908, 46.

earlier revival had had strong Pentecostal characteristics.¹⁷² According to Barratt it was during his visit in Syria that he wrote to the prominent British Pentecostal leader Alexander Boddy (1854-1930) to propose the founding of what became known as the Pentecostal Missionary Union – perhaps spurred on by the possibilities he saw in the work of Pentecostal missionaries like Mygind – though Barratt had also already expressed the idea previously, in a letter to the English Pentecostal philanthropist Cecil Polhill (1860-1938) from July 1908.¹⁷³

Despite the prolonged meetings, there must have been time for Barratt and the Myginds and Anna Mollerup to exchange news about the situation in Denmark. Barratt had seen the difficulties first hand. He had even met a Danish missionary abroad, perhaps a few weeks earlier in India, who refused to speak to him because he was a ‘heretic’.¹⁷⁴ A year later, the Myginds would decide to return to Denmark, though for the moment Barratt expressed optimism for their continued work in Syria. The Myginds probably helped persuade Barratt to stop by Copenhagen again on his way back, and not make Switzerland his last stop before Norway as he had planned to.¹⁷⁵ He ended up stopping in Germany as well, for the European Pentecostal leaders’ conference in Hamburg, before visiting Copenhagen in December 1908,¹⁷⁶ during which time the Pentecostal movement in Denmark would be put on a new and surprising track.

2.2.4 The transformation of Anna Larssen

It is to them so very wonderful to see the pet-actress of gay pleasure-loving Copenhagen — the Paris of the North — converted and giving thus to those present sincerely a Holy Message.

¹⁷² *Byposten*, 24/10/1908, 84; 14/11/1908, 86-87; 28/11/1908, 89-91; *Confidence*, 15/10/1908, 20-21; T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 121, letter from Mygind dated 16/10/1908; the events are also described retrospectively in *Fra Libanon*, May 1912, 46-49; June 1912, 54-58; Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 168.

¹⁷³ *Byposten*, 1/2/1909, 9; Bundy, *Visions*, 230.

¹⁷⁴ *Byposten*, 10/10/1908, 78.

¹⁷⁵ *Byposten*, 24/10/1908, 84.

¹⁷⁶ *Byposten*, 1/1/1909, 3.

Anna Larssen, née Halberg (1875-1955), was a widely popular actress, known for her unparalleled dramatic talent, to say nothing of her scandalous private life.¹⁷⁸ She was ‘a worldling of the purest type’,¹⁷⁹ and moved in the same circles as prominent modernist authors like Holger Drachmann and Herman Bang, the latter of whom worked with her as a director and had a particularly great influence on her. All the greater was the astonishment when her conversion later became publicly known.

Both her Danish-Italian father and her Norwegian mother were connected to the theatre, which made it natural that their daughter made her debut on stage already at the age of seven. She married the writer Otto Larssen in 1894, but they were divorced in 1898. When her father died in 1888, her mother had begun to seek comfort in the church, from 1893 under the pulpit of the young, newly appointed pastor Mygind, and encouraged her daughters to come along. Later, when Mygind returned from Syria in 1901 but did not renew his pastorate in the state church, Anna Larssen would instead attend his ‘free meetings’, at least sporadically, first at Margrethevej and later at Ryesgade and elsewhere.¹⁸⁰ She was finally converted from a

¹⁷⁷ *Confidence*, October 1910, 229.

¹⁷⁸ Larssen chose not to linger on her ‘past sins’ in her published memoirs, leading to some accusations of victim playing (*Politiken*, 12-15/9/1935; *Ekstrabladet*, 14/9/1935). She seems to have been somewhat negligent with her son. She also often needed financial help (from men) when she encountered debt due to overspending. One of her lovers, her colleague Johannes Poulsen, gave her a copy of the New Testament in 1901. All this is documented in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection, Theatre Museum at the Court Theatre, Copenhagen.

¹⁷⁹ Ernest Gordon, quoted in Stanley Howard Frodsham, *With Signs Following : The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century*, Rev. ed (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1946), 73. Alongside her light-heartedness, she also had a more tender and sincere side. She was the confidante of the painters Einar and Gerda Wegener and was the first to discover the former’s transsexual alter ego, Lili Elbe (Lili Elbe, *Man into Woman: The First Sex Change, a Portrait of Lili Elbe : The True and Remarkable Transformation of the Painter Einar Wegener*, ed. Niels Hoyer (London: Blue Boat Books, 2004), 65–67, 71). However, it is possible that Larssen’s role in this story is exaggerated; I have not found any mention of it by Larssen herself. The Wegeners were far from the most prominent artists that Larssen was acquainted with.

¹⁸⁰ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 428, 789, nn. 397–398.

dormant to an active Christian faith between 1907 and 1908, at the top of her acting career, and in the middle of the Pentecostal revival in Copenhagen.

Larssen's narration of this experience forms the central point of her memoirs, published in 1935.¹⁸¹ It follows a classic Holiness-Pentecostal scheme, beginning with an initial interest in Christianity, leading her to become convinced of her own sinfulness, before she experienced a conversion, or in her own words, a 'calling'. The emphasis is on the climax, rather than on the process leading up to it. It is common that some amount of reconstruction or interpretation happens when Pentecostal believers recount their conversion stories.¹⁸² This gives an indication of the relative significance of different events and experiences for the individual.

This conversion, however, did not resolve all tension. She did not yet feel ready to confess her own newly found faith to her colleagues, though she was prepared to publicly defend Barratt's earlier meetings in Copenhagen, in response to a critical newspaper report.¹⁸³ Larssen's attendance at Pentecostal meetings had been publicly noticed at least since early November 1908.¹⁸⁴ Her own Spirit baptism came as an empowerment for witness, on the afternoon of 13 December 1908, as T.B. Barratt prayed for her at a private meeting in Johanne Mollerup's home.¹⁸⁵ Larssen then invited colleagues to hear Barratt preach later that month at her own house. Newspapers had always taken an interest in Larssen's colourful

¹⁸¹ Anna Larssen Bjørner, *Teater og tempel. Livserindringer* (Copenhagen: H. Hirschsprungs Forlag, 1935).

¹⁸² Henri Gooren, 'Conversion Narratives', in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., *The Anthropology of Christianity* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 93–112; Alvarsson, *Om Pingströrelsen*, 254–64.

¹⁸³ As also noted by Barratt, who deplored the false rumours spread by *Politiken* and other Danish papers; see *Byposten*, 28/11/1908, 91–92; cf. Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 428.

¹⁸⁴ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 481, n. 47.

¹⁸⁵ Note that Larssen did not speak in tongues on this occasion, but only some time later, a few days before she finally made the decision to leave the theatre. Instead she describes her Spirit baptism as a 'trembling' with 'warm waves' throughout her body (Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 95–96). However, the first public testimony from Larssen referred to her first experience of speaking in tongues as her Spirit baptism, conforming to a more classic Pentecostal scheme (*Glöd från Altaret*, February 1910, 12). Another public testimony from her even referred to her experience in December as her conversion (*Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1911, 151).

private life, and some printed derisive reports on this meeting. One of the actors who attended, the young Svend Cathala, wrote a response saying, ‘If Mrs Anna Larssen would once again open her house for such a sound cause, I encourage everyone who can to turn up’.¹⁸⁶

Larssen’s story is quite different from almost all other early Pentecostal leaders, because she was not already in full-time church ministry at the time of her Pentecostal experience.¹⁸⁷ Her theology was also somewhat more diffuse. Initially the popular British novelist Marie Corelli’s pantheistic *Romance of Two Worlds* made a great impression on her; later she said that ‘this was just *the beginning*’.¹⁸⁸ Still, she had the book published in her own translation in 1909.¹⁸⁹ But it should not surprise us that Larssen followed Mygind and become a Pentecostal – though her mother did not, despite encouraging her daughter to go and hear Barratt.

Her experience provoked renewed interest in the Pentecostal revival in the Danish capital, and now also within the acting profession. In April 1909, Barratt visited Copenhagen again and – apart from the usual meetings in Zinnsgade and the evening meetings, now held at Studentarhuset (‘the Student House’) – he was also hosted by Larssen at multiple private meetings for actors. Barratt expresses his admiration for these creative people and their openness to viewpoints different from their own.¹⁹⁰ He later estimated that about a hundred people from the theatrical community had been present on one occasion in Larssen’s spacious

¹⁸⁶ Clip from unknown newspaper (December 1908), T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 101; quoted in *Byposten*, 1/1/1909, 3-4; also mentioned in Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 169.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Greger Andersson, ‘To Live the Biblical Narratives: Pentecostal Autobiographies and the Baptism in the Spirit’, *PentecoStudies* 13, no. 1 (2014): 112–27.

¹⁸⁸ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 91 (emphasis original).

¹⁸⁹ In the second edition, Larssen’s preface (written February 1916) made it clear that ‘Marie Corelli’s perception of the mission of Christ’ was unbiblical and vastly different from her own; see Marie Corelli, *To Verdener, Roman*, trans. Anna Larssen Bjørner, 2nd edition (Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlagsbureau, 1919), 3.

¹⁹⁰ *Byposten*, 1/5/1909, 36; 15/5/1909, 39; see also Laura Barratt, *Minner* (Oslo 1946), 87 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Anna Larssen’, MS); Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 190.

villa.¹⁹¹ These meetings led to the more rapid conversion and Spirit baptism of her fellow actress Anna Lewini (1874-1951), who had previously mocked Larssen's involvement with the Pentecostals.¹⁹² Another actor, Cajus Bruun, was also converted, but failed to obey a 'call from God to leave the theatre', and as a consequence – according to Larssen – he did not receive the additional blessing of Spirit baptism, though instead he became a strong witness to his colleagues.¹⁹³ What Larssen perhaps did not know was that Bruun was caught between opposing pieces of advice: on the one hand, the Lutheran pastor Andreas Fibiger rejected the Pentecostal movement and advised Bruun (with H.P. Mollerup's support) to fulfil his contract with the theatre for now, and, on the other hand, Barratt, who was at a loss to understand how Fibiger as a revivalist pastor could fail to see that Bruun's conscience was suffering as long as he stayed in the theatre.¹⁹⁴

In July 1909, a few months after their Spirit baptisms, Anna Larssen and Anna Lewini both experienced a divine call to cancel their contracts and leave the theatre. Barratt had anticipated this call, and it is clear from their correspondence that he had advised Larssen to leave the theatre from the beginning, but she was originally determined to stay on until the

¹⁹¹ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 94; a similar number of people had been present at a meeting held there by Barratt in December according to *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 15/12/1908, 2.

¹⁹² Lewini wrote to Barratt only two weeks after her conversion, on the eve of experiencing her Spirit baptism, testifying among other things to the role that Johanne (and probably also Elisa) Mollerup had prayed in bringing her to conversion, and revealing the name of a well-known young actress who was also wavering around a decision of converting (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.13, p. 11, dated 12/5/1909). See also Anna Lewini, *Min Omvendelse og hvorledes jeg modtog Aandens Daab med Tungetale: personligt Vidnesbyrd* (Copenhagen: Jensen & Rønagers Bogtrykkeri, 1910).

¹⁹³ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 83–100; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 204–10; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 300–301, 426. The idea that leaving the theatre was a precondition for receiving the full blessing from God, possibly referring to the gift of tongues, is also expressed in one of Larssen's earliest letters to Barratt, whereas a slightly later (shorter) letter simply refers to her need for the 'whole blessing' without mentioning the need to leave the theatre (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 101, 143, dated 1/1/1909 and 12/4/1909 respectively).

¹⁹⁴ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 12, letters between Barratt and Fibiger, dated 19/10/1909, 22/10/1909, and 25/10/1909. Years later, Bruun's widow, Clara Bruun, who had also been an actress, gave her testimony at a Pentecostal meeting in Copenhagen (*Korsets Seir*, 10/9/1922, 5).

end of her contract.¹⁹⁵ The pressure or dissonance must have built up further over the first half of 1909.¹⁹⁶ When Larssen's decision became known, she was threatened with a steep fine of 20,000 kroner for terminating her contract. In turn, of course, her theatre was heavily financially dependent on Larssen's talent and fame.¹⁹⁷

Larssen was offered a deal: to be admitted for 'observation' in a psychiatric clinic, with the condition that if it was determined that she was sane, she would have to pay the fine. She accepted immediately, which might be surprising given the financial threat, but she herself later noted that she had had an overwhelming need for peace and rest and saw the offer as representing divine providence.¹⁹⁸ Perhaps she also suspected that the financial issue was not the main concern; the real motivation was to get her to reconsider her decision. Professor Daniel Jacobson's clinic was known as a place where 'artists could be admitted and treated for their aristocratic mental disorders',¹⁹⁹ and Jacobson himself was a great lover of the theatre – perhaps even more interested in Larssen's continuing dramatic career than her mental wellbeing. During her two months at the clinic, visits were strictly regulated, though Jacobson did permit Herman Bang and two others to visit her on her birthday, ostensibly to

¹⁹⁵ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 101, letter from Larssen dated 1/1/1909. According to Larssen's first published testimony, she had even renewed her contract during the first months of 1909, 'against my conscience' (*Glöd från altaret*, February 1910, 12; *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1910, 50).

¹⁹⁶ Olesen's claim that this happened 'after [Barratt] had exploited the conversion of the two actresses to the utmost as a publicity stunt (a summer tour around Denmark in the summer of 1909)' is a misunderstanding: Larssen and Lewini were touring with their theatre company, for whom Larssen played her signature lead role in *The Lady of the Camellias*. Thus, the *push* away from the theatre might have been felt more strongly than the *pull* from Barratt and other Pentecostals (Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 428–29; cf. Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 101–02).

¹⁹⁷ This fine is equal to about £120,000 in today's money. Lewini did not have the same high status, so her conversion did not attract the same level of attention or the same steep financial threat.

¹⁹⁸ On the day of Larssen's admission, Lewini wrote a letter to Barratt which confirmed this course of events, but also complained that her colleagues – and Larssen's mother – were giving Lewini the 'blame' for Larssen's breach of contract; perhaps Lewini had already become known as the more ardent evangelist of the two. The day before, when she had not yet been offered admission to the clinic, Larssen herself wrote to Barratt, expressing the worry that her (former) physician would declare her 'irresponsible' (if not downright insane), and how badly this would affect her witness (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.13, p. 11, dated 5/8/1909 and 4/8/1909).

¹⁹⁹ Henrik Wivel, 'Det sjælelige gennembrud – dekadence, idealisme og vitalisme i 1890'ernes kultur', in *Dansk litteraturs historie: 1870-1920* (Gyldendal, 2009), 293.

help convince her to return to the theatre.²⁰⁰ Things finally came to a head when T.B. Barratt and Johanne Mollerup were permitted a visit, which ended with a quarrel over Larssen's talent between Jacobson and Barratt:

'You obviously have no idea what Mrs Larssen means for the dramatic arts in Denmark', he finally exclaimed indignantly.

'But nor do *you* know, Mr Professor, what God will use her for in the service of *the gospel*', Pastor Barratt objected.

There were strong interests pulling at Larssen from both directions.²⁰¹ Though Anna Larssen's encounter with the psychiatric profession happened ostensibly for the practical purpose of resolving the dispute over her contract, it is worth considering why this solution suggested itself in the first place. The emergence of mental asylums and later the psychiatric profession has been seen by both progressive and revisionist historians as happening in competition with religion – moving insanity from the domain of the spiritual to that of the somatic – as a sign of secularisation from as early as around 1600, though later in the case of Denmark.²⁰² This evolved into a more direct confrontation during the early Evangelical revivals in Great Britain and the USA, where asylums were sometimes used to 'restore agency and self-discipline to people who had been swept away within the charismatic phenomena of revival', and some even saw revivalism as such as 'inimical to mental and

²⁰⁰ Daniel Jacobson, *I Kittel og Kjole: Smaatræk af et Menneskes Liv* (Copenhagen: Hirschsprung, 1932), 148–49. This and other books by Jacobson reveal his many connections with artistic and literary circles, and a strong commitment to cultural radicalism, paired with a humorous but dismissive approach to religion, see e.g. 121, 139–40. As in the case his most famous patient, the painter Edvard Munch, Jacobson was discrete enough to avoid divulging any further information about Larssen, a prominent public figure in a delicate situation; cf. Jørgen Therkelsen, 'Edvard Munch og Daniel Jacobson', *Bibliotek for læger* 185, no. 4 (December 1993): 285.

²⁰¹ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 101–18 (quote from 117; emphases original). Barratt had stopped briefly on his way to Germany, but would spend several weeks in Copenhagen on his way back, cf. below (*Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95).

²⁰² Michael MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change and Psychological Healing in England, 1600-1800', in *The Church and Healing: Papers Read at the Twentieth Summer Meeting and the Twenty-First Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History 19 (Oxford: published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Basil Blackwell, 1982), 101–25; Svend Brinkmann and Peter Triantafillou, eds., *Psykens historier i Danmark: om forståelsen og styringen af sjælelivet* (Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur, 2008), 8, 57–58.

physical health'.²⁰³ Thus, Larssen's experience is not without precedent. The new modern elite saw her conversion as a passing fancy, since the permanent regression of a celebrated *femme fatale* into the ancient faith that modernity had finally shaken off was unthinkable.²⁰⁴

The contract termination fine was finally waived; Jacobson found her mentally sound, but made an ambiguous declaration that she was going through a 'spiritual crisis' which made her unable to work as an actress – if only temporarily, as it was hoped.²⁰⁵ However, the decision to leave the theatre still led to financial difficulties for both actresses, who were now without a stable income. Larssen had accumulated a collection of hundreds of art objects, items of jewellery, etc., which were sold on an auction at her villa. It was a great spectacle: For four days, the house was open, not only to those who had money to spend but also to the many who were simply curious.²⁰⁶ Barratt reported an estimate that 'no less than 3,000 people' came through the villa at some point during the busiest day!²⁰⁷ The villa itself was sold around the same time, and Larssen moved into a flat.

The financial difficulties were partly alleviated when Larssen and Lewini each received a large lump sum from Cecil Polhill, of 1,300 and 800 Danish kroner respectively. They were notified of the payment through Johanne Mollerup, who had taken them under her wings.

²⁰³ Mark William Lee, 'Bedlam and the Soul: Madness, Care and Religious Interiority in Britain and America, 1760–1850', 2015; cf. Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 121–24.

²⁰⁴ Hedwig Wangel, a German actress who converted under inspiration from Larssen's story, was also briefly put in a mental institution as a consequence (*Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1910, 52). It falls beyond the scope of the present work to systematically apply a Foucauldian concept of 'disciplinary institutions' to the experience of these two actresses, but this would be recommendable for a future study.

²⁰⁵ Jacobson seems, like his mentor Knud Pontoppidan, to have been somewhat cautious in defining a clear line between insanity and normality; see Daniel Jacobson, *Sindssyg - ikke sindssyg?: Foredrag holdt i Studenterforeningen 16. November 1918* (Copenhagen: E. Jespersen, 1918); Brinkmann and Triantafillou, *Psykens historier*, 55–57.

²⁰⁶ The actor Robert Neiiendam's copy of the auction catalogue is held in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum). In a note he comments that it was 'uncanny' to survey this 'estate of a person who is not dead, and yet is'. The auction was widely reported: newspaper clippings from eight different papers were gathered in a collection documenting the life of the auctioneer, Hugo Carstensen (Frederiksberg Stadsarkiv, Personarkiv A15096).

²⁰⁷ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95.

Larssen however suspected that Barratt was the person who had asked Polhill for the donation.²⁰⁸ She wrote to Polhill to thank him and ask for prayers, and she records his reply:

Dear Madam,
I praise God for His great grace to you, and that you are following on to know Him, who is life eternal.
I will myself pray and ask the London Friends to pray for yourself and for your old comrades on the stage.
Believe me
yours faithfully in the Lord
Cecil Polhill²⁰⁹

It does not appear that there was any contact between the two apart from this, but it is possible that Polhill was particularly sympathetic to the plight of the two actresses because of his family's theatrical connections and his own involvement with amateur acting before his conversion.²¹⁰ The payment is not obvious in Polhill's financial records from 1909, but there is a payment to Barratt of a similar amount ('to help clear current debt'), which might confirm Larssen's suspicion that Barratt was involved.²¹¹ This would fit well with the image of Barratt having had a lot of nerve in soliciting donations, both before and after his Pentecostal experience in 1906. It would also be to Barratt's credit if he helped support the two actresses in dealing with the consequences of a difficult decision which he had urged them to make.

Larssen addressed the question of why she had left the theatre in a farewell letter to her former colleagues in March 1910. She denied that it was simply because of fatigue – that years of a demanding lifestyle on and off stage had led her to a 'nervous crisis': 'I have never suffered from any nervousness other than that natural tiredness which presents itself when

²⁰⁸ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 117–19. Larssen knew Polhill only by name (*Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1911, 152).

²⁰⁹ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 119. This letter is now kept in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Royal Library), I., dated 4/11/1909.

²¹⁰ Usher, 'For China', 27–29.

²¹¹ Cashbook 1904–1910 (Expenditure), Aug 1909, 202 (24/8/1909), in John Martin Usher, 'The Polhill Collection Online', accessed 15 February 2017, <http://www.itsee.birmingham.ac.uk/polhill/>. The total sum of 2,100 kroner would have been equivalent to approximately £115 (*MeasuringWorth*, <http://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchange/global/>, accessed 16 June 2014). Taking exchange rate fluctuations into account, this could be identical to the £100 payment found in Polhill's records.

you have had strenuous season’. She notes, laconically, that she has now had plenty of time to rest, and has not changed her decision.²¹²

An equally obvious explanation would be that she found her new faith and the theatre to be morally incompatible. According to Larssen’s own account, this tension was there already from her conversion.²¹³ However, in her farewell letter she rejects as absurd the idea that she had let herself be influenced by ‘fanatical persons’. In her memoirs, she even confesses that one of the things she wanted to get away from when she was admitted to Jacobson’s clinic was her new Christian friends and ‘their obvious joy at my break away from the art that I loved’.²¹⁴ Her farewell letter does refer to the experience of a transformation of her character which could imply that her earlier, unrestrained lifestyle was too inextricably bound up with her career. But it is unclear whether at the time of her decision she already fully shared the Holiness-Pentecostal outright rejection of worldly entertainment as morally wrong. It seems she would pay lip service to whichever side she was addressing.²¹⁵ Nonetheless, already in

²¹² Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum); dated 13/3/1910. In an interview, she mentioned that the ‘last years at the theatre were so terrible’ for her because of the manager, Martinius Nielsen, and the poor quality of the repertoire, but only when this conversation turned to her religious life did she unambiguously state her decision never to return to the stage (*Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 12/10/1909, 3).

²¹³ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 91–92. According to Neiiendam, it was only after her Spirit baptism – not after her conversion a few months earlier – that Larssen experienced the ‘shrill disharmony’ between the purification she had received and her life on the stage (Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 210). Neiiendam, who for his own part strongly disagreed with the view that the theatre and Christianity are incompatible, seems to have conflated Larssen’s position with that of other Pentecostals. However, Neiiendam treats Larssen sympathetically. Not all who loved the theatre were on friendly terms with the new Anna Larssen, as the Neiiendam family was, as seen e.g. from the letters between her and Michael Neiiendam’s uncle, the actor Robert Neiiendam (1880-1966), held at the Theatre Museum at the Court Theatre, Copenhagen (Anna Larssen Bjørner collection; see also Robert Neiiendam, *Gennem mange Aar* (Copenhagen: Branner og Korch, 1950), 195–203). Michael Neiiendam was in correspondence with Mygind and Barratt, but also politely solicited Anna Larssen Bjørner’s confirmation of some historical details for his book (Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Royal Library), I., letters dated 11/8/1926, 3/10/1926; T.B. Barratt Papers I.18, p. 55; XIII.a).

²¹⁴ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 112; see also 122–29. It was during her time in the clinic that she translated *A Romance of Two Worlds*, as mentioned above – something which her Christian friends, including Barratt, were somewhat concerned about (*Byposten*, 15/11/1909, 92). However, Barratt also regretted the ‘unkindness’ Larssen had suffered from other Christian believers on account of her hesitancy to break her contractual obligation (*Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 94).

²¹⁵ When her memoirs were published many years later on her 60th birthday, she was still concerned with reaching out to her former colleagues, without judgement (Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 181).

December 1909, in her first public testimony, at a Pentecostal meeting in Koncertpalæet, she said: ‘Many Christians have told me that theatre and Christianity can full well be combined. In my experience they cannot’.²¹⁶ For a Pentecostal to have remained in the theatre would have been socially unacceptable in Larssen’s new circle, which meant that a decision was necessary. The artistically minded Barratt briefly toyed with the idea of a Christian theatre, but then rejected it as impossible.²¹⁷

And yet Larssen also presents us with an alternative line of reasoning, the idea that she heard a call to move on to use her gifts in a different way. She did not utterly reject the idea, which Jacobson had tried on her, that it was possible to have a ‘Christian mission’ from the stage. ‘But’, she says in her letter, ‘I *know* that there is no time for this kind of indirect work for God’. These were eschatological rather than moral reservations; the Pentecostal revival was seen by her as such an overwhelming and auspicious phenomenon that there was no space to devote energy to anything else. She had got a strong sense of being caught up in something of immense significance: ‘the 20th century awakening ... which at this moment certainly numbers 100,000 followers virtually all over the world’.²¹⁸ This was ostensibly also at least part of Barratt’s reasons for his advice, as can be glimpsed from the exchange quoted above. His fundamental argument towards both actresses was that they needed to sacrifice their careers because God ‘needs you in a higher service’.²¹⁹ He promised to help Larssen to find this ‘higher platform’.²²⁰ It would be another couple of years before she found her voice as a preacher. And yet it was with this new calling in mind that she was able to resist the

²¹⁶ *Glöd från altaret*, February 1910, 12; *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1910, 50. In the same vein, a book published near the end of her life emphasises more strongly the disharmony she experienced after her Spirit baptism, and concludes that a ‘follower of Christ ... does not belong in the theatre’ (Anna Larssen Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt* (Copenhagen: Facula, 1954), 18, 116).

²¹⁷ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 129–30.

²¹⁸ Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum); dated 13/3/1910.

²¹⁹ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 104–5.

²²⁰ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 130.

continuous and often highly accommodating offers of a return to the stage (or screen) during this time.²²¹

2.2.5 The battle of Copenhagen

... this glorious victory for Jesus caused a furious attack of the devil on the meetings. But just through this stir numerous unbelievers were awakened and converted.

— H.J. Mygind²²²

The Pentecostals in Copenhagen hoped that the two actresses' courageous decision to terminate their contracts would mean a turning point for the movement. Philip Wittrock reported in July 1909 that 'we believe we will be facing an especially blessed time, where the revival will break out powerfully'.²²³ Later the same month, Barratt spent a single day in Copenhagen on his way home from the Pentecostal conference in Sunderland. He met with friends at Johanne Mollerup's.²²⁴ Whether Larssen or Lewini were there or not is uncertain, but their situation must have been mentioned, along with the beginning controversy and possible opportunities. The same issue of *Byposten* where this is mentioned includes not one but two pieces from *Kirkeklokken*, so perhaps Barratt was trying to ensure Thorvald Plum's continuing support, or perhaps he was simply reciprocating for articles in *Kirkeklokken* earlier that year which had spoken favourable of the revivals at Mukti and Azusa Street.²²⁵ Two issues of *Kirkeklokken* during November 1909 would contain articles defending Spirit baptism and spiritual gifts.²²⁶ This was hardly the most wholehearted support that Barratt

²²¹ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 138–41.

²²² Anna Larssen Bjørner Collection (Royal Library), I., ca. 1926.

²²³ *Byposten*, 15/8/1909, 66.

²²⁴ *Byposten*, 15/9/1909, 74.

²²⁵ *Byposten*, 15/9/1909, 73-74; cf. Bundy, *Visions*, 198. Later that year Barratt even printed a long piece from *Kristeligt Dagblad* all over the front page, of generically Evangelical edifying content, perhaps for a similar purpose, expecting the 'battle' to begin soon (*Byposten*, 1/11/1909, 85).

²²⁶ *Kirkeklokken*, 7/11/1909, 268-69; 21/11/1909, 280-81; cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 200.

could have hoped for, but perhaps still significant given that *Kirkeklokken* usually steered clear of controversy and current events.

A split had begun to appear between Barratt and the existing leader of the Pentecostals in Copenhagen, Wittrock, concerning the legitimacy of infant baptism, which Barratt was still in favour of. He regarded the baptism question as more of an adiaphoron but did not want the Pentecostal movement to appear uniformly Baptist, which might have pushed away powerful movements like the Indre Mission.²²⁷ The question had until now been in the background, but even as early as during one of Barratt's first meetings at the Golgata church in the summer of 1907, right as the 'fire fell', a woman had been heard to exclaim: 'Oh, dear God, make all these people into Baptists'.²²⁸ Wittrock's background was Lutheran,²²⁹ but he was baptised in water in the summer of 1908 in Norway, and the Baptist stance became a defining feature of the more tight-knit Zinnsgrade assembly, leading to some friction.²³⁰

Around the time of his brief July visit to Copenhagen, Barratt wrote to Johanne Mollerup's stepson H.P. Mollerup to ask him to consider taking on the leadership of the Pentecostal revival in Copenhagen, which had been without a permanent leader after Christensen was removed the previous summer. In his letter Barratt gave the question of infant baptism as an important reason for him to put greater trust in Mollerup than in Wittrock, and similarly in later letters to Mygind. The condition was, of course, that Mollerup would pursue Spirit baptism and put his own plans aside. Barratt no doubt saw in Mollerup a kindred spirit, someone with a great social, evangelistic, and ecumenical conscience, whose ministry could be transformed as his own had been three years earlier. However, Mollerup responded saying

²²⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/11/1911, 167. Bundy does not seem to be correct in claiming that 'Barratt, already by 1908, was becoming uneasy with the concept of "infant baptism"' (Bundy, *Visions*, 234).

²²⁸ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 24/10/1907, 168, quoted in Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 427.

²²⁹ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 16/9/1907, 2.

²³⁰ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 23/8/1908, 33; 5/6/1909; 5/11/1909, 86-87; quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

that his ecumenical openness should not be mistaken for an openness to the special doctrine of tongues as evidence of Spirit baptism, despite Barratt's pronounced flexibility on that issue. That this offer was even made demonstrates Barratt's priority of revival over uniformity. At the same time, Barratt did not believe that an effective revival in the age of the 'latter rain' was possible without the release of power intrinsic to Spirit baptism.²³¹

A newspaper interview with Larssen gives us a picture of the social makeup of the Pentecostal community in Copenhagen around this time:

It often happens that it is the poorest and the most ordinary who are most receptive to the truth of religion. The rich have a harder time of it. As yet there may be none in Copenhagen, but abroad, for example in Germany and England, many highly esteemed and capable men and women have joined the community. ... And what guarantee do we have that it was beautiful people that the apostles gathered in those days. It was after all precisely the poor, the sick, and the abandoned.²³²

The Pentecostals drew most of their following from the lower classes, but it seemed this was about to change. Barratt arrived in Copenhagen again in early October, via Hamburg, fresh from the conference in Mülheim that had been condemned so strongly in the Berlin Declaration, which stated that the Pentecostal movement was '*nicht von oben, sondern von unten*'.²³³ Barratt was in need of a victory.²³⁴ Initially he was only to planning to 'stay for a few days to hold meetings' in Copenhagen before returning to Norway, and then travelling south again for a conference in Zürich,²³⁵ but all these plans would soon be cancelled because of the opportunity that Barratt now saw for a new beginning in Copenhagen. He would end up staying there until shortly before Christmas, only interrupted by visits to other Danish towns and a few days with his family in Kristiania.

²³¹ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.13, p. 12, letters dated 28/7/1909 (Barratt to Mollerup), 9/8/1909 (Mollerup to Barratt), 13/8/1909 (Barratt to Mollerup). The grace and honesty with which these two men dealt with their differences is also seen in their continuing correspondence in the same collection (letters from during Barratt's long visit to Copenhagen, dated 3/11/1909, 4/11/1909).

²³² *Aarhuus Stiftstidende*, 12/10/1909, 3; this matches an earlier impression in *Politiken*, 7/4/1908, 4.

²³³ 'Not from on high, but from below'; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 371.

²³⁴ *Byposten*, 15/10/1909, 81-82.

²³⁵ *Byposten*, 1/11/1909, 86.

Just like near the end of Barratt's first campaign, 'separate meetings for the children of God' were held in order to consolidate and protect the still fledgling movement against outside threats, and especially to lead sympathetic believers to an experience of Spirit baptism. These were held in Zinns-gade, whereas more public meetings were held in some of the previously used venues: Studenterhuset, Wittmack's Lokale, and Koncertpalæet. Barratt initially noticed that the newspaper reports were at least partly favourable, and encouraged his readers to show tolerance towards the mistakes of unsaved journalists. He also noted that, since the awaking within the theatre, the interest of the 'well-off classes' had been aroused as well – as Larssen had hoped – but that even they were ignorant of elementary Christianity.²³⁶

Soon, however, Barratt would begin to see the press reports turn more unfavourable, and he would lament the lack of influence of Christians in the leading social strata, which led the newspapers to print stories that showed a 'scant understanding of the word of God'. But he was also impressed and encouraged that students, actors, and other members of the more secularised sectors of the upper classes were present in great numbers at these evangelistic meetings, something he was evidently not used to. He relished the opportunity of being interviewed by local newspapers, something which had helped the movement gain publicity in Norway and Sweden, but which hadn't happened in Copenhagen during his earlier visits. Meanwhile, many devout Christians were still sceptical. Barratt was now officially barred from the Methodist churches in Copenhagen, though he would continue to attract rank-and-file Methodists to his meetings. Some Christian leaders in the city were distributing a Danish translation of the Berlin declaration – according to Barratt in an even 'ruder and worse form' than the original, which at least meant that some more moderate critics avoided signing it.²³⁷

²³⁶ *Byposten*, 1/11/1909, 85-86; 15/11/1909, 92.

²³⁷ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95; the Danish version was printed by the independent periodical *For Guds Børn*, November 1911 (Elith Olesen, 'Gemeinschaftsbevægelse og tungetale', MS).

The public was confused somewhat by misinformation and false rumours – in Sweden it was reported that Barratt had been banned from speaking in Denmark, and in Denmark it was rumoured that he had been banned from Norway! Some were confusing the Pentecostals with Spiritualists; the latter in turn responded by organising protest meetings against the ‘tongues-speakers’. But the most organised, even violent resistance during this visit came from the socialist movement, more specifically the ‘Young Socialists’ (*Ungsocialister*). This was incited by some unfavourable articles published in the leading left-wing newspaper, *Social-Demokraten* (‘The Social Democrat’), during Barratt’s brief absence while he was back in Kristiania for a few days in mid-November.²³⁸ As a socialist newspaper it was critical of religion in general, and hence simply used the Pentecostal movement as the latest, weirdest example of ‘contemporary Christianity’.²³⁹

On three consecutive evenings, from Sunday 21 November to Tuesday 23 November, a public meeting led by Barratt and Wittrock in each of the three rented venues mentioned above was interrupted by yelling, chanting, and other noise-making from Young Socialists in the audience, and Barratt and others were accosted by crowds of angry young men outside after leaving the meetings, to such an extent that the intervention of the police was required. On the following two evenings, meetings were held at Zinnsgade where the socialists were not allowed entry, but on Friday 26 November during the meeting at Studenterhuset the situation escalated: a crowd of Young Socialists were gathered outside, and some threw stones through the windows. Measures were increasingly taken to prevent the disturbances; at a meeting on Wednesday 1 December admission cards were required, and ten police constables were present, against Barratt’s wishes. However, after the meeting, Barratt and his

²³⁸ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95-96; 15/12/1909, 99. Larssen wrote a private letter to a newspaper editor complaining about a covert agenda and false allegations against Barratt (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.13, p. 11, dated 4/11/1909). For more detail on the newspaper coverage, see Bundy, *Visions*, 199–201; Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 218–20; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 21.

²³⁹ *Social-Demokraten*, 29/11/1909, 1, cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 201.

collaborators were accosted in a more hostile way than before. On previous nights, there had been some element of cheerfulness in the exchanges between Barratt and his adversaries, but this time Barratt and Larssen had difficulty getting on their tram, and death threats and revolver shots were heard.²⁴⁰ Public opinion began to turn against the Young Socialists. The mainstream papers proclaimed that it was wrong for a small group of troublemakers to interrupt the proceedings of a public meeting against the wishes of the majority of those present – though they also wished the public Pentecostal meetings themselves would come to an end.²⁴¹

There may be multiple reasons why the Young Socialists had made the transition from a war of (printed) words to a live shouting match and even physical assault. They may have been concerned that some students and ‘freethinkers’ appeared to have become converted during the meetings, and also that many unemployed workers were in attendance. Barratt quite explicitly saw it as a spiritual battle, and perhaps the socialists saw it in much the same or at least equivalent terms – as a struggle for the soul of the city, part of the class struggle against the values of the privileged class.²⁴² There were factions among the Young Socialists who were ‘starkly antireligious’.²⁴³ The situation concerning Anna Larssen does not seem to have been of direct concern to them, but the interest that followed certainly forms part of the background for their actions. Barratt later reflected that the conversion of the two actresses

²⁴⁰ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 96; 15/12/1909, 98-99; *København*, 2/12/1909, 5; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 133.

²⁴¹ E.g., *København*, 25/11/1909, 5; others cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 200–201; see also Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 172–73.

²⁴² *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 96; 15/12/1909, 98; *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 5. Perhaps Barratt’s meetings for Plum’s factory workers in June 1907 and the Pentecostals’ frequent use of rooms belonging to the conservative ‘Workers’ Association’ (*Arbejderforeningen*) attracted negative reactions from labour unionists and helped fuel the socialists’ resentment. The ‘battle’ is not mentioned specifically in the labour movement’s own historiography, but it is indicated that the Social Democratic Youth saw the ‘young Right’ (the youth wing of the conservative party) and the YMCA as their main adversaries around 1910. Against these they ‘took up the battle at numerous meetings’ (*Ungdom under rødt Flag, Festskrift ved Socialdemokratisk Ungdomsforbunds 10-Aars Bestaaen* (Copenhagen, 1916), 31). The fight against the Pentecostals was undoubtedly seen as a part of the same struggle.

²⁴³ John Bech Thomsen, ‘Socialdemokratisk Ungdomsforbund, S.U.F., 1906-1921’, *Historievidenskab : Tidsskrift for historisk forskning* 8 (1976): 9.

‘was too much for them’ – the final straw that sparked the violent resistance.²⁴⁴ The reports and other historical accounts seem to indicate that the Young Socialists were a mix of students and young labourers and apprentices, and so at least some of the former may have had a background in the cultural-radical elite.²⁴⁵

Before the situation had escalated completely, Barratt had received an invitation from the Young Socialists themselves to lecture at their meeting hall, Folkets Hus. This may appear surprising, and evidently also caused some internal controversy among the socialists. But Barratt was eager to reach out to these ‘turbulent brothers’. During this meeting, on Wednesday 8 December, Barratt’s wingman Wittrock was challenged over something rash he may or may not have said to one of the Young Socialists at an earlier meeting, which led to some tumults. Barratt on his own part took pride in keeping his calm during the disturbances at all the meetings. This – along with his tenacity – may have been a great part of what finally impressed so many that this meeting, on enemy turf, became a turning point of the ‘battle’.²⁴⁶

After this, the meetings became more peaceful, not only because the venues began forcing Barratt to charge for admission, which he had never done before, but also because some of the Young Socialists who turned up actively protected the meetings from being disturbed by their comrades, and at least one or two of them were even converted. The meetings could return to a more conventional pattern with altar calls and after-meetings, instead of being a shouting contest. The two actresses themselves, in many ways the centre of the controversy, had sat silently in front of the platform at all the meetings, but on one occasion on 19 December at Koncertpalæet they nervously gave their testimony to the audience, after much convincing

²⁴⁴ Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 172.

²⁴⁵ Thomsen, ‘Socialdemokratisk Ungdomsforbund’, 54.

²⁴⁶ *Byposten*, 15/12/1909, 99-100; *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 4; *København*, 2/12/1909, 5.

from Barratt.²⁴⁷ Lewini seems to have been much more forthcoming than Larssen with offering her testimony and evangelising in the city.²⁴⁸ Her circles of activity would continue to expand. Barratt returned to Kristiania to celebrate Christmas, but was already planning new revival meetings in Copenhagen to begin in early January, to harness the new momentum of the Pentecostal revival there. The victory was one of international significance; it was reported in Swedish, British, German, and American Pentecostal periodicals, along with secular newspapers, in Germany the street protests stopped, at least for a while, and Barratt felt that the opposition weakened in Norway as well because of the respect that he had now gained.²⁴⁹

In her memoirs, Anna Larssen described this period as ‘a very rich time’ where Christians from different denominations stood together, and her longings back to the theatre were finally superseded by the experience of ‘living waters’ empowering them to overcome the resistance.²⁵⁰ She and Lewini would spend the days praying and studying the Bible with Barratt and Johanne Mollerup.²⁵¹ To Michael Neiiendam, Anna Larssen, though controversial, became the ‘uniting personality’ that the Danish Pentecostals had been missing. Larssen’s story had already begun to inspire others in a similar situation – not just Lewini, but also, for

²⁴⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 4-5; 1/4/1910, 50-52; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 135. Larssen describes the (admittedly very large) hall as having been ‘half-empty’ on this occasion. This may have been due to an increased admission charge, apparently to raise more funds to help the unemployed who had been well represented at the meetings. Larssen had attempted to testify at a meeting some weeks earlier before the ‘battle’, at the end of an evening when most people had left, but it was reported that her presentation had been a little unclear and disappointing (*Politiken*, 13/11/1909, 5).

²⁴⁸ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95. An expanded version of Lewini’s more candid and revealing testimony, as regards her inner motivations and inhibitions, was reprinted in a booklet in 1910: Lewini, *Min Omvendelse*.

²⁴⁹ *Glöd från Altaret*, February 1910, 11-13; *Confidence*, January 1910, 3-5; *The Upper Room*, March 1910, 3; *Byposten*, 15/12/1909, 99; *Aarhuus Stiftstidende*, 23/1/1910, 1; see also Bundy, *Visions*, 201. The young editor of *Glöd från Altaret*, Algot Gustafsson, from Gothenburg, had himself witnessed some of the events in Copenhagen (cf. *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95; 15/12/1909, 98), but most of his report consisted in a printing of the testimony that Anna Larssen gave on 19 December (cf. *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1910, 50-51).

²⁵⁰ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 133-34.

²⁵¹ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 131.

example, Hedwig Wangel, a German actress who became a Pentecostal and also left the theatre in 1909.²⁵² Larssen was, initially, more of a symbol than an organiser, but her conversion proved to be a potential organiser that there was still hope for a Pentecostal revival in Denmark, as we shall now see.

2.2.6 The leadership question and the return of H.J. Mygind

... there had perhaps been no future for a Pentecostal movement in Denmark at all, if no Anna Larssen case had appeared, and if Mygind had not come home at the right moment.

— Elith Olesen²⁵³

To H.J. Mygind, the news of the Pentecostal movement and Barratt's revivals in Kristiania and Copenhagen in 1907 had come as a godsend, after a dry period in his own ministry since his Perfectionist movement collapsed around 1904.²⁵⁴ It also fitted well with his expectations of a world revival.²⁵⁵ The first year after the Myginds had returned to Syria was frustrating as well.²⁵⁶ As mentioned above, Barratt's visit in September 1908 seemed to have brought some new fruit. But according to a report from Lucy Leatherman, this 'harvest time' was immediately preceded by another visit, perhaps only a matter of days before Barratt's arrival:

Our dear brother Zarub ... found Brother and Sister Mygind, who had received their baptism in Denmark, but the evil power was so strong that they had never been able to utter a word in the God-given language, but when brother Zarub told them of his baptism, the Spirit fell on them and they began talking as the Spirit gave utterance.²⁵⁷

The motivation of this report is clear – to proclaim that Pentecostal revival has begun in Syria. The rhetoric is similar to what Barratt often used as well, such as during the meeting in Gentofte where Barratt claimed the Myginds and others had received Spirit baptism.

²⁵² *Byposten*, 15/10/1909, 82; Nilsen, *og Herren virket*, 34.

²⁵³ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 428.

²⁵⁴ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 420–25.

²⁵⁵ His eschatological expectations were even more pronounced than Barratt's; see e.g. Mygind on 'The signs of the times' in *Byposten*, 14/11/1908, 87–88.

²⁵⁶ Mygind's letters to Barratt published in *Byposten* confirm this impression (31/11/1907, 105; 25/1/1908, 8; 30/5/1908, 44; 1/8/1908, 60; 15/8/1908, 64).

²⁵⁷ *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 1/11/1908, 1.

Leatherman, however, speaks not of fire falling but instead a ‘sound of abundance of rain’ and a ‘great cloud’ bursting.²⁵⁸ Speaking in tongues is distinguished from Spirit baptism, and the breakthrough in tongues is given a separate significance. Both Barratt and Leatherman claimed that Mygind had first spoken in tongues in the context of their ministry. Apparently, during September 1907, shortly before his departure for Syria, Mygind had confessed to Dagmar Gregersen and Agnes Thelle that he had had doubts about the Pentecostal revival, but now said, ‘Pray for me that I would receive the gift of the Holy Spirit’.²⁵⁹ This would corroborate Leatherman’s story – though perhaps Mygind felt he had received the gift during Barratt’s visit but lost it in the meantime. Also around this time, probably shortly before his renewed experience, Mygind expressed support for Annie Murray’s view that tongues are an important but not the only sign of Spirit baptism.²⁶⁰

On the effects of the Myginds’ and Anna Mollerup’s ministry, Bundy notes that they were significant for the ‘beginning of Pentecostal evangelism in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine that actually gave attention to the welfare of the people who lived there rather than to the historical and prophetic importance of the region’.²⁶¹ Mygind was concerned partly with reaching out to Muslims and other non-Christians, and partly with encouraging a Pentecostal awakening among existing Protestant missionaries and Eastern Catholics (Maronites), which would then give further impetus to the evangelism.²⁶² However, a few months after Barratt’s visit, it

²⁵⁸ *Bridegroom’s Messenger*, 1/11/1908, 1. On Leatherman’s travels in the Middle East, see also Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 152–53; Eric Nelson Newberg, *The Pentecostal Mission in Palestine: The Legacy of Pentecostal Zionism* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2012), 45–51, esp. 47.

²⁵⁹ Dagmar Engstrøm, *Ha tro til Gud: Alt er mulig for den som tror* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1980), 33, http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2012092108064.

²⁶⁰ *Byposten*, 26/9/1908, 75–76, citing *The Latter Rain* (Canada).

²⁶¹ Bundy, *Visions*, 218.

²⁶² Mygind’s close connections with Eastern Catholic clergy made an impression on the more strongly anti-Catholic Barratt, who then expressed a hope that the Spirit could make a way to reach even them (*Byposten*, 28/11/1908, 90–91). In a later sermon held in Copenhagen he said that he considered Catholics to be his ‘brothers’ whom ‘you must love’, along with Lutherans and others (*Korsets Seir*, 15/5/1911, 74).

seems the growth had again stifled because of persecution.²⁶³ Barratt, however, continued to hold up Mygind as an example of a Spirit-filled missionary worthy of his readers' support, alongside Norwegian missionaries like Dagmar Gregersen, Agnes Thelle, and Bernt Berntsen.²⁶⁴

The frustrations of Mygind's ministry in Syria, along with the news from home of the controversy surrounding Anna Larssen's farewell to the theatre, may have caused him to begin considering a return. In the preceding months, the focus in his reports to *Byposten* had begun to shift away from the direct results in the mission field, which may have been meagre, to issues at stake in his home context, with the reasoning that 'the soon evangelisation of the world' would come about more easily if only 'all the saints in the homeland' would take responsibility for the sending of Spirit-filled missionaries.²⁶⁵ However, his influence in Denmark had been limited to writing a handful of pieces for a small periodical, *Sandhedsvidnet* ('The Witness of Truth').²⁶⁶

Around this time, Barratt wrote a letter to Mygind, urging him to return. Barratt felt that he himself had 'so much to do' that he could not leave Copenhagen but 'must keep going until someone comes who can take over the work, *someone I have full confidence in*'. He proceeded to paint a vivid picture of forming a grand 'union assembly' in Copenhagen and told Mygind: '*you are the man*' to lead it. He then immediately launched into the one barrier that stood between Mygind and this glorious vision: despite a brief declaration from Mygind

²⁶³ *Byposten*, 1/2/1909, 12. In an earlier letter (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 121, dated 16/10/1908), Mygind reported that progress has continued after Barratt's visit: 'we have often said to one another that even if we haven't been useful in any other way here, we have still been the occasion for you to come here and get the fire lit'. But even then there were persecutions that hindered the flourishing of the work. A very different interpretation was later offered by Niels Nørgaard Pedersen in *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/11/1913, 86 (quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Mygind og Pinsebevægelsen', MS); he believed that the work had been prospering before Barratt arrived, but that the tongues and 'shakings' had scared people off.

²⁶⁴ *Byposten*, 15/3/1909, 22.

²⁶⁵ *Byposten*, 1/10/1909, 79.

²⁶⁶ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/12/1908; 20/1/1909; 20/5/1909; 5/8/1909; 5/11/1909; listed in *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/12/1911, 96, cited and verified by Elith Olesen, 'Mygind', MS.

published in *Kristeligt Dagblad* shortly before his return to Syria in September 1907, it was still widely assumed that he had not fully distanced himself from his earlier doctrinal errors. A new declaration was needed, an open letter to all Christians in Denmark, and Barratt even went so far as to suggest its wording. He firmly told Mygind that ‘you cannot honestly evade admitting that you harmed many by leading them out onto the above-mentioned wrong track. *This is the opportune moment*; I believe that now all of Denmark could lie open for you, but without this, the land will be more or less closed’. Mygind promptly wrote back and announced that he would return, saying he saw this as reflecting a divine call; he was himself uncertain of the purpose.²⁶⁷

What Mygind perhaps did not know was that, as mentioned above, Barratt had already approached Mygind’s brother-in-law, H.P. Mollerup, earlier that year, offering him the same leadership position, and so Mygind was in a sense Barratt’s second choice, probably both because he knew that Mollerup had a better reputation among the Danish revivalists – and perhaps a more stable theology as well – and because he had been hesitant to call Mygind home from an important task on the mission field. Nonetheless, perhaps the idea of finding a leader that he could ‘have full confidence in’ came partly from regrets over the long shot that approaching Mollerup had been.

Enclosed with Mygind’s response was the statement that Barratt had commissioned, though in Mygind’s own words and considerably shorter, but taking its cue from Barratt and with an added paragraph encouraging a spirit of ecumenical cooperation. However, this attempt to improve the public image of the Pentecostal movement either failed or became irrelevant, since no papers or periodicals in Denmark published it, despite the increased

²⁶⁷ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.13, p. 11 (Barratt’s letter transcribed undated, but the contents point to mid-November; Mygind’s letter dated 21/11/1909; emphases original). Barratt’s suggested declaration has many similarities with his pamphlet ‘A Spiritual Union of Fire-Baptised Saints’, later reprinted and apparently adjusted for Barratt’s theological shift from infant to believers’ baptism in Barratt, ‘In the Days’, 217–22.

attention that the Pentecostals were given at the time. Only Barratt himself published it, in the first issue of *Korsets Seir* ('Victory of the Cross', the new name of *Byposten*).²⁶⁸ Barratt and Mygind were in agreement about the Wesleyan point of view expressed in this declaration – whereas the Lutherans to whom it was directed probably found it hard to distinguish from the Perfectionist teachings it was meant to denounce, even though Mygind clearly denounced the antinomian tinge in Perfectionism, as he had already done in the past. But the reservations of the theological establishment should not be confused with that of the rank and file, and Mygind would soon be the leader of a large assembly such as the one Barratt had envisioned.

When the Myginds returned in mid-January 1910, Barratt was already in Denmark again. He had planned to start his renewed campaign on 9 January, but was informed that this was the final evening of a week of Evangelical Alliance revival meetings at the large Bethesda mission house, so Barratt found it better to join in with this meeting, which was of the sort that he found to be much needed in that 'sinful city'.²⁶⁹ He had never found occasion to gloat that the public attention given to his own meetings in the autumn had eclipsed that of H.P. Mollerup and Andreas Fibiger's revival meetings at Bethesda, which overlapped in late October.²⁷⁰

When public Pentecostal meetings were begun again that week, however, they were not as peaceful as Barratt had hoped; a few of the Young Socialists were still disturbing the meetings, provoked by the conversions of some of their members. This time Barratt took no chances – the meetings were cut short whenever they were interrupted. But once Mygind arrived on the following Sunday and began speaking at the meetings, along with Christensen who joined them from Horsens, the young men in the audience became peaceful. Two young

²⁶⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 2-3; cf. Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 429–30. Barratt had continuously published pieces by Mygind in *Byposten*, e.g. 15/7/1909, 57 (on the front page, countering anti-tongues sceptics); 15/10/1909, 84 (Mygind's translation from Seeley Kinne's 'Pentecostal backsliders').

²⁶⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1909, 19.

²⁷⁰ *Politiken*, 25/10/1909, 1, cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 199; Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 220.

men, Bruun and Jørgensen, who had been converted during the ‘battle’, were also witnessing. The movement again seemed to have a new momentum. They even began again to hold regular meetings at the Golgata church, where Christensen had served, with its new minister Rasmussen participating, so that Barratt was strongly reminded of the time of his first campaign in Copenhagen.²⁷¹ This new openness from a Methodist is also tangible evidence of the impression that Barratt had recently made on other Christians in the city.²⁷² However, while Barratt was in Horsens, Wittrock had made the rift between them public at a meeting in Zinnsgade. Wittrock had decided to follow Erik Andersen instead of Barratt when a split happened between the latter two.²⁷³ Such divisions were addressed in one of the earliest attempts to give a short but comprehensive written account of the Pentecostal experience by a Danish Pentecostal, Asmus Biehl (b. 1869), one of Thorvald Plum’s office clerks, in a distinctly punctilious style.²⁷⁴

During this revival campaign, Mygind formed an assembly, with Barratt’s support, at the *Colosseum*, beginning at the end of February 1910. Here he would be working closely with Lewini and Larssen, for whose theatre company the building had originally been erected. The Colosseum was more affordable than Koncertpalæet, which it had only been possible to rent because of a few very generous friends. The Colosseum offered the possibility of a more permanent location where public meetings could be held multiple times a day in a ‘light, inviting’ space – including lunchtime meetings for businessmen – and there were adjoining rooms which were useful for auxiliary purposes. Perhaps an additional motivation was more symbolic: to have physically taken over a worldly theatre building and claimed it for Christ. The meetings were begun on 23 February after Barratt returned from a few days away in

²⁷¹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1910, 19-20; 15/2/1910, 31-32; 1/3/1910, 39.

²⁷² Cf. also *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 67-68; 15/10/1910, 158.

²⁷³ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/1/1910, 8; 5/2/1910, 12; quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS.

²⁷⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 38 (see Appendix B). For Biehl’s employment, see *Berlingske Aften*, 24/12/1910, 2.

Gothenburg, where he had joined Larssen and Lewini who were speaking at meetings there.²⁷⁵ Initially the lease was only for a few weeks, but was later extended for over two years. Other venues such as Wittmack's Lokale, which was used much up until this time, had forced the Pentecostals to charge for admission. While Barratt was averse to this, he also began to see benefits in that it attracted the groups that he otherwise rarely saw at meetings: the higher classes, the freethinkers, etc. – without excluding the working classes. He noticed that some who came out of mere curiosity were drawn back in and converted, so the practice of charging for admission was continued at the new venue, at least initially. The attendance and number of conversions grew over the year 1910, even though a few of the friends withdrew from the meetings because of worries over the rental cost.²⁷⁶

2.2.7 The Colosseum assembly

Larssen was a great draw, but would initially restrict herself to singing and reading rather than preaching or testifying, in her work at the Colosseum and elsewhere. She would read from a wide range of fictional, factual, and devotional material, and occasionally she would preach, but from a manuscript rather than freely. Barratt perceived this as stages on Larssen's way to

²⁷⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 39; 1/4/1910, 54-55. The conquest motif is evident when Barratt and later Lewini referred to the ability to negotiate new contracts and continue the meetings as 'holding the fort' (*Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1910, 151; 1/12/1910, 183). For obvious parallels, one needs look no further than today's Pentecostal churches in cinemas and theatres in the West. Another parallel would be the earlier Copenhagen Church Building Fund which saw a great breakthrough when it was able to convert a grotty dance hall to a church in 1897 (Andersen, *Balancenestmeren*, 125-32; Andersen, 'Folkekirkens entreprenører', 50-55).

²⁷⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1910, 45; 15/4/1910, 61-62; 15/5/1910, 79; 1/10/1910, 151. The charge of 25 øre (0.25 kroner) corresponds to about £1.50 in today's prices, so would have been affordable for most. The price of renting it is given as between 1,100-1,200 kroner for the first fortnight, with the price decreasing the longer the renters could commit for. Since they held two public meetings a day on most days (excluding afternoon prayer meetings), they would have needed about 150 people in attendance per meeting to cover the cost. It is likely that they were still somewhat dependent on additional donations. By September the rent had decreased to 400 kroner a month, according to Alexander Boddy. The rate at which public meetings were held had also slowed down to about one a day, but the admission charge may have been discontinued, since Boddy does not mention it (*Confidence*, October 1910, 229).

becoming a more effective preacher, as this was how he himself had started out as well.²⁷⁷ For the time being, this less overt form of witnessing opened up ‘circles that are closed to others’, as secular groups would invite and even pay the famous actress to give readings and lectures. This way she could ‘turn the first sod’ as preparation for actual evangelism, and she soon went on a tour, giving readings across the other Nordic countries.²⁷⁸ Johanne Mollerup and her daughter Elisa (b. 1884) were also among the leaders at the Colosseum, and a majority of attendees were women as well.²⁷⁹ Elisa Mollerup had a special ministry in ‘street meetings’, literally held ‘in the public street’, together with other younger women.²⁸⁰ A Norwegian visitor, brother G. Skjellaug, described this form of outreach as ‘the meetings of the future’.²⁸¹ Among the women who were active in this work were two pairs who would be of great significance to Danish Pentecostalism: the Rønager sisters and the not actually related ‘Thomsen sisters’.

Karla and Martha Rønager (born 1896 and 1891 respectively) were from a Methodist background, and their family seems to have been relatively poor; they moved around

²⁷⁷ She would continue to take breaks from speaking, see e.g. *Korsets Seir*, 1/6/1910, 87. According to Alexander Boddy, ‘She was an accomplished actress, but she has not yet the gift of eloquence’ (*Confidence*, October 1910, 229). Among the material she would read from were translations of R.A. Torrey’s sermons, A.B. Simpson’s *The Holy Spirit, or, Power from on high*, a testimony by Aimee Semple McPherson (probably from a periodical), and T.C. Reade’s *Sketch of the life of Samuel Morris (Prince Kaboo)*. Olesen considers the last of these to be ‘a wildly overstated, naïve, and foolish propaganda story, presented as historical reality’ (Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 362; cf. 431). However, there is probably more truth to the story than Olesen thought, though the publisher of a later biography admitted that it was ‘stranger than fiction’ (Lindley J. Baldwin, *The Ebony Saint: Samuel Morris’s Miraculous Journey of Faith* (Evesham, Worcs: James, 1967), 6). Larssen would also read out a letter (to Barratt) from someone in a similar situation to her, the German actress Hedwig Wangel (*Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1910, 45).

²⁷⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1911, 47; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 142–45. Among the groups that Larssen would be invited to address was the conservative workers’ association, Arbejderforeningen (whose hall had previously been used for Pentecostal meetings); cf. H. T. Rimestad, *Foreningen af 1860 (Arbejderforeningen af 1860), Et tilbageblik over hundrede år* (Copenhagen: Foreningen af 1860, 1960), 43. In this she followed other cultural dignitaries of the age, the most famous example being Hans Christian Andersen.

²⁷⁹ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 1910, 54; 1913, 24; 1917, 16; cited in Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 430–31. The proportion of women attendees can also be inferred from the high proportion of women who later donated to mission work through Mygind’s periodical *Fra Libanon* (1912–16, as listed on the last page of each issue).

²⁸⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1911, 37; 15/7/1911, 111; 1/1/1912, 7.

²⁸¹ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1911, 47.

frequently during their childhood, presumably to wherever their father could find work as a carpenter.²⁸² They had only arrived in Copenhagen a couple of years before the Pentecostal movement, which they became part of from the beginning in 1907.²⁸³ Martha later followed a call to the foreign mission field, whereas Karla discerned gifts for healing.

Frederikke Thomsen and Frida Thomsen became known as the ‘Thomsen sisters’ after they began to tour the country as Pentecostal evangelists. Little is known of Frida Thomsen’s background though she seems to have been the slightly more widely known of the two. Frederikke Thomsen was working as a nurse at Frederiksberg Hospital at the time of her Spirit baptism, which probably happened on Christmas day 1909.²⁸⁴ She arranged for Barratt to speak to her fellow nurses at two meetings in February 1910,²⁸⁵ and soon caused a ‘stir’ at her hospital when she claimed she had received the gift of healing. Her supervisor, none other than the same Professor Jacobson who had had Anna Larssen under his care, was ‘shaken’ and threatened to dismiss her or put her in a ‘madhouse’, but Thomsen continued cheerfully, though she gave up her job to become a full-time evangelist later the same year. Anna Larssen also acknowledged that Frederikke Thomsen’s prayer for her in tongues had helped her resist the final temptation to return to the stage.²⁸⁶

Mygind and Frida Thomsen had a new songbook published for the revival meetings at Colosseum: *Evangelisk Sangbog*. Olesen observes that Mygind must have made a conscious decision to break with the past and not just republish his earlier *De helliges Sangbog* from

²⁸² *Dansk Demografisk Database (DDD)*, <http://www.ddd.dda.dk/>, Folketælling 1901 (Census of 1901), KIPnr: C1149, Lbnr: 37105, Fam.nr: 80, accessed 9 January 2017. Their original surname was Jensen, but it was changed to Rønager in 1906 (http://www.ddd.dda.dk/dddkiip/find_personkb.asp, KIPnr: K0615 Løbenr: 1851, accessed 9 January 2017. Karla’s name is also sometimes spelt Carla.

²⁸³ *Københavns Stadsarkiv (Politiets Registerblade)*, http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2517988&searchname=polit_adv & http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2517992&searchname=polit_simple, accessed 9 January 2017; *Korsets Seir*, 15/8/1911, 126.

²⁸⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 40.

²⁸⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 39.

²⁸⁶ T.B. Barratt papers, XIII.a, letter from Larssen to Barratt, dated 20/5/1910.

1901. Instead he made some theological moderations to some of the more risky, overconfident statements in the earlier work.²⁸⁷ The songbook continued to be used after Mygind left in 1911.²⁸⁸ The members of an old ‘mission choir’ which had previously been based at Nissen’s temperance hotel were reconvened. This made a great impression on many, including an anonymous Pentecostal leader from the island of Langeland.²⁸⁹

Barratt had returned to Kristiania shortly before Easter 1910, but would continue to visit Copenhagen somewhat regularly: a week in April, a few days in September and again in October 1910.²⁹⁰ After the last of these visits he commented that ‘the revival has never had such a firm grip as it has now here in Copenhagen’.²⁹¹ Perhaps he was satisfied with this, as he didn’t visit again until December 1911. Barratt believed strongly in the strategic importance of the building that the Pentecostals had managed to rent as a place where Pentecostals could get to reach out to ordinary people, but he had full confidence in Mygind as a leader.²⁹²

As suggested above, the Colosseum assembly had become increasingly independent from the one in Zinnsgade, though they existed somewhat in a symbiosis: the latter seems to have worked much like a boiler room of Pentecostal intensity, especially through its leader Wittrock’s strong emphasis on faith healing,²⁹³ whereas the Colosseum formed the more public face of early Pentecostalism, through the crowds that were drawn there because of Larssen’s name. The two assemblies held a few joint meetings in April 1910, but this seems

²⁸⁷ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/12/1913, 90 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Mygind og Pinsebevægelsen’, MS); Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 430.

²⁸⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 7

²⁸⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1911, 54; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 431.

²⁹⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 72; 15/5/1910, 79; 1/10/1910, 151; 15/10/1910, 157-58.

²⁹¹ *Korsets Seir*, 15/10/1910, 157.

²⁹² *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1910, 110-11.

²⁹³ See e.g. *Byposten* 19/10/1907, 93; 27/6/1908, 52; 15/3/1909, 24.

to have been an isolated occurrence.²⁹⁴ Soon Mygind wrote to Barratt bemoaning Wittrock's critical and uncooperative attitude towards the Colosseum assembly.²⁹⁵ Apart from the controversial question of infant baptism, Mygind and Barratt were also better aligned in their positive visions for the Pentecostal movement: for example, both focused less on healing – certainly not rejecting it, but mainly practising it when prompted²⁹⁶ – and both seem to have been more passionate about their dreams of evangelisation and unity.

In July 1910, a Sri Lankan preacher, brother Hattiarachy, who was touring Europe, visited the Colosseum assembly.²⁹⁷ In September, he was followed by Alexander Boddy, who was already in contact with Danes who visited his annual Whitsuntide conferences in his parish in Sunderland. Among these his main contacts in Denmark were Plum and Rasmussen, the publishers of *Kirkeklokken*.²⁹⁸ According to Boddy, attendance at the Colosseum meetings was between one and three hundred. He was invited to speak on multiple occasions and his name was advertised on the posters that the Pentecostals put up on the outside of the building.²⁹⁹ Boddy also mentions the Zinnsgade assembly but clearly his main connection was with the Colosseum assembly and Mygind's circle. The deepening division between Colosseum and Zinnsgade was also seen when Barratt and Erik Andersen visited Copenhagen independently of each other in September 1910, spoke at each of these assemblies respectively, and it appears their paths did not cross until they get to Gothenburg.³⁰⁰

The women who helped lead the Colosseum assembly would frequently travel around Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries to spread the Pentecostal message. Mygind

²⁹⁴ Cf. *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/5/1910, 40, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

²⁹⁵ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.14 (loose leaf), letter from Mygind dated 13/8/1910; I.14, p. 21, letter from Mygind dated 6/12/1910.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 367, 395; perhaps Mygind avoided the topic of healing because it had previously brought him controversy, see Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 207.

²⁹⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1910, 110.

²⁹⁸ *Confidence*, October 1910, 230; cf. June 1908, 9; June 1909, 136; April 1910, 95

²⁹⁹ *Confidence*, October 1910, 229-30; cf. *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1910, 55.

³⁰⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 15/10/1910, 158.

remained as the stable leader of the assembly in Copenhagen.³⁰¹ Already in February 1910, Larssen and Lewini were speaking at public meetings in Gothenburg, alongside T.B. and Laura Barratt. Lewini stayed a while longer to continue witnessing.³⁰² While Barratt was travelling in September-October 1910 and again in September 1911, Lewini filled in for him to great effect. She was much loved by the Pentecostals in both Kristiania and Copenhagen, along with Gothenburg which she visited both on the way out and the way back in 1910.³⁰³ Laura Barratt observed that Denmark was no longer simply a place that she and her husband invested in but that the country was also able to give something back, now that her husband had started to shift his focus towards Finland.³⁰⁴

Late in September 1911, Lewini was joined in Kristiania by Larssen, who would speak at what was probably her largest meeting yet, and quite a breakthrough for her personally as well: in front of up to 5,000 people at the Calmeyergate Mission House – at the time the largest hall anywhere in Scandinavia – she gave a personal, improvised testimony, rather than simply reading aloud from a book as she had planned.³⁰⁵ She had been undergoing a long transition. The readings she had been doing across Norway and other countries was a form of loophole, pointing backwards to the dramatic profession that she missed so much – but also a gateway pointing forwards to her new calling as a preacher. On this evening in Kristiania she felt she had quite literally found the ‘higher platform’ that Barratt had promised her.³⁰⁶

³⁰¹ *Korsets Seir*, 15/4/1910, 62. Some of these visits to places across Denmark are described below (2.3.1).

³⁰² *Glöd från Altaret*, March 1910, 23-24; April, 28-32; May, 34-36; *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 39; 1/4/1910, 54-55; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 136-37.

³⁰³ *Korsets Seir*, 15/10/1910, 157-58; 1/11/1910, 166; 1/9/1911, 136; 15/9/1911, 144; 15/11/1910, 171; *Glöd från Altaret*, October 1910, 80; November, 88; December, 95; cf. Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 208-9, 221 n. 5. The recently published booklet with Lewini's testimony was advertised in every issue of *Glöd från Altaret* between November 1910 and August 1911, and also in multiple issues of *Korsets Seir*.

³⁰⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1911, 150-51.

³⁰⁵ *Christiania Nyheds- og Avertissements-Blad*, 25/9/1911; *Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1911, 151-52.

³⁰⁶ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 145-46.

Lewini would also visit places in Norway outside of Kristiania – Østfold in April 1911 and West Agder in November 1911.³⁰⁷ She attended the ‘International Christian Conference’ in Kristiania in June 1911, along with some other Danish women, among them Johanne Mollerup and Cecilie Krarup.³⁰⁸ Krarup was the wife of a state church pastor in North-west Jutland and the main Danish promoter of the ‘One by One Band’, but even though she was in contact with Barratt and participated in his conference, it is doubtful whether she would have considered herself a Pentecostal.³⁰⁹

Barratt had been deeply involved in directing the earliest Danish Pentecostal movement. Even after Mygind’s return in January 1910, Barratt still stayed around for most of the next two to three months – and even toyed (as he had during his 1907 campaign) with the idea of moving to Copenhagen permanently.³¹⁰ It seems clear that Barratt’s influence was welcomed as well, at least among those with connection to the Colosseum. When Barratt advertised for new subscribers and bulk purchases in December 1910, he said that he regularly received orders from ‘our friends in Copenhagen’ for over two hundred copies of *Korsets Seir*.³¹¹ In 1911 Barratt ‘was almost on the point of issuing it in the Danish language’ – as also in Finnish and Swedish. He ‘had already sketched the title page’.³¹² Instead he would soon encourage Mygind in publishing his own periodical.

Bundy acknowledges the influence of *Korsets Seir* in Denmark but seems to see it in terms of simply filling a vacuum, since ‘Not until later do Pentecostal themes re-emerge in

³⁰⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1911, 54; 1/12/1911, 183.

³⁰⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 1/7/1911, 97-100 (cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 203); 1/10/1911, 149.

³⁰⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1911, 36-37; 1/4/1911, 49-52; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 560. The ‘One by One Band’ was founded in the UK by Thomas Hogben; for its methods and aims, see Thomas Hogben, *God’s Plan for Soul-Winning*. (London, 1906). Krarup died in 1913 (*Thisted Amts Tidende*, 5/8/1913, 2).

³¹⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 15/4/1910, 62; pace Bundy, *Visions*, 202.

³¹¹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/12/1910, 177.

³¹² Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 176.

Kirkeklokken despite Plum's continuing Pentecostal commitments and involvement'.³¹³ Plum and Rasmussen were perhaps more hesitant to alienate some readers than Barratt, whose transformation of *Byposten* followed the trajectory of his own ministry: from a Kristiania city mission initiative to the world-wide Pentecostal revival, disregarding the official views of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This is partly because *Kirkeklokken* always focused more on devotional material than news reports, but the paper had also avoided explicit references to the theological maverick Mygind since around 1899, in order to avoid controversy with the powerful Indre Mission movement to which many of its readers belonged.³¹⁴ Their most explicit reference to the Pentecostal movement was in the autumn of 1907 in connection with Gregersen and Thelle's visit – while Mygind was away in Syria – even though they probably had nothing against Mygind personally. They were connected with Mygind's Colosseum assembly as seen clearly from Boddy's account, though curiously not from Barratt's many reports, perhaps because they had asked Barratt not to mention them, again in order to avoid being connected with anything controversial.

The Danish Pentecostals could not have simply gone on under Barratt's remote leadership, which is the obvious reason why he called Mygind back. But in the summer of 1911, Barratt admitted that Mygind had 'unfortunately' persisted in talking of a return to Syria, and only the Lord would know who would take over the work, which was still more of an 'evangelistic mission' than a 'permanent assembly'.³¹⁵ So why did Mygind leave? Perhaps he felt that his attempt at leadership had been a failure. Years later, the Pentecostal leader Andreas Endersen wrote of this time that there were 'no brothers among our own who could teach the word of

³¹³ Bundy, *Visions*, 202.

³¹⁴ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 377.

³¹⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1911, 111.

God’,³¹⁶ ignoring Mygind, whose leadership was in a way only an interlude, though a highly significant one, both in terms of what it accomplished and what it did not accomplish. Mygind’s former collaborator, the independent Christian writer Niels Nørgaard Pedersen (1853-1927), believed that Mygind left because he was disappointed with the divisions within the ‘theologically blurry’ Pentecostal movement.³¹⁷ But it also seems that Mygind had always expected only to stay ‘for a short time’, as the above-mentioned public declaration had implied.³¹⁸ He seems to have continued to identify as a ‘missionary in Syria’, both when presenting himself to visitors such as Boddy,³¹⁹ and in his registration with the local authority.³²⁰

For Barratt, Finland had now become a stronger focus – and an easier target, one might add – to which he was prompted after meeting two sisters from Helsinki in Copenhagen in the spring of 1910.³²¹ Johanne Mollerup was grateful that the Norwegian friends had ‘relinquished’ Barratt for a while, but feared that when Mygind left, the Pentecostals would be like ‘sheep without a shepherd’ and the Colosseum could lose its position as ‘a centre of this revival’, unless God would send a suitable man to take over the leadership.³²²

The Myginds departed for Syria on 11 November 1911. The high esteem in which Mygind was held is seen from the fact that the first three pages of the following issue of *Korsets Seir* were devoted to statements on and by him. Barratt advertised Mygind’s new periodical, *Fra Libanon* (‘From Lebanon’), and hoped that this publication would have a ‘more far-reaching

³¹⁶ Andreas Endersen, ‘Genom kamp till seger: Några drag av Guds verks framgång i Danmark’, in *Guds ord hade framgång: en bok tillägnad Lewi Pethrus på sextioårsdagen den 11 mars 1944*, ed. Carl Kjellander (Stockholm: Filadelfia, 1944), 71.

³¹⁷ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/11/1913, cited in Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 431.

³¹⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 3.

³¹⁹ *Confidence*, October 1910, 229.

³²⁰ *Københavns Stadsarkiv (Politiets Registerblade)*, <http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=1715210> (accessed 26/6/2015).

³²¹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 71; 15/8/1911, 126.

³²² *Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1911, 149.

purpose' than simply reporting on the work in Syria. Though the future of the work in Copenhagen was uncertain, it was respected that Mygind felt he could now (again) do more for the work of world evangelisation by going forth as an example for others.³²³

2.3 The emerging Pentecostal movement in Denmark

While the Pentecostal movement in Denmark as such has received little scholarly attention, three aspects which are explored in this section have so far been particularly neglected. Firstly, all general accounts of the early history of Pentecostalism in Denmark have given almost sole attention to developments in Copenhagen, where the movement arrived first, and little or none to those places in the rest of the country where the Pentecostal movement also emerged during the pioneer stage. Secondly, Pentecostal missionaries have been ignored by Danish (Lutheran) mission historians, and many of the earliest Pentecostal missionaries have become all but forgotten by the Danish Pentecostals themselves. And thirdly, the possibility of a transatlantic connection has not been explored in any detail. To round off the chapter, I discuss the departure of many of those who had initially been involved with the Pentecostal revival.

2.3.1 The first Pentecostal groups across the country

As mentioned above, Barratt hoped that those who came from the rest of the country to hear him speak in Copenhagen would take the message back and spread it across other regions and towns. Barratt himself also preached in other towns in Denmark. Apart from this concentrated effort, it seems fewer local Pentecostal groups emerged spontaneously than in the other Nordic countries.³²⁴ The following section is ordered primarily by geography rather than chronology.

³²³ *Korsets Seir*, 15/11/1911, 169-71.

³²⁴ Cf. e.g. Holm, 'Pentecostalism in Finland'.

The group in Lyngby and Brede north of Copenhagen was probably the first, beginning in 1907, as mentioned above (2.2.1). From 1911 to 1917 this was the site of the only officially organised Pentecostal church in the Copenhagen area. The earliest Pentecostal meetings in Lyngby-Brede gathered people from both the local Baptist church and the local Indre Mission society. The leader was L.P. Larsen, but he and his wife went to China as missionaries in 1909 (see below, 2.3.2). After this, the local Indre Mission leader Carl Rasmussen took over, and from this point the meetings were held in the local mission house. However, in 1911 Rasmussen was summoned to a meeting with the leaders of the Indre Mission in Copenhagen, who forbade him from inviting Baptists to preach in Indre Mission premises. Their concern was perhaps justified: many of the local Indre Mission Pentecostals were becoming convinced that they needed believers' baptism. Meanwhile, the local Baptist church decided not to support the Pentecostal revival and even hung up a sign in its hall: 'No speaking in tongues!'. Subsequently, the Pentecostals in Lyngby-Brede formed their own congregation under Rasmussen's leadership. Its building, Eben-Ezer, was opened in October 1912, and on this occasion six more missionaries were sent out to China (see 3.4.1).³²⁵

The Pentecostal group in Lyngby made connections with Roskilde in 1909.³²⁶ There was already a group of Pentecostal-influenced Baptists there, including the later missionary to China, Dagny Pedersen (b. 1888), who had experienced Spirit baptism during Barratt's campaigns in the Copenhagen area in 1907-08. These left the local Baptist congregation in 1909 because of disagreements over the Pentecostal influence.³²⁷

Further north from Copenhagen, Barratt also held meetings in Hillerød in December 1909, on a brief break from the raging 'battle' in the capital.³²⁸ He claims the local newspaper

³²⁵ Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 26–29; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 562–64.

³²⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1910, 110.

³²⁷ According to Pedersen's testimony in *Korsets Seir*, 10/2/1922, 6.

³²⁸ *Byposten*, 15/12/1909, 99.

reports were favourable,³²⁹ and was soon able to publish a letter from there which stated that ‘All the Christians in Hillerød have been blessed by Barratt’s testimony’, even including some state church pastors.³³⁰ It seems a small group of Pentecostals was formed there, and after the Bjørners formalised their congregation in Copenhagen in 1919, the group in Hillerød quickly followed suit (4.2.2). During the 1909 visit Barratt also preached a couple of times in and around Helsingør (Shakespeare’s ‘Elsinore’) on the north-east corner of Zealand, where the amount of interest was promising.³³¹ However, it seems the movement only took off there around 1911-12 when the two YMCA workers Sigurd Bjørner (1875-1953) and Carl Næser (1875-1944) became involved (3.2.1).

The two ‘sisters’ Frida Thomsen and Frederikke Thomsen went to Slagelse in West Zealand to evangelise in October 1910, sent out from the Colosseum assembly. The local Indre Mission society gave them a cold shoulder but they instead held meetings with the Salvation Army there.³³² A few months later they had moved on elsewhere but a Norwegian brother, O. Ness, took over the work in Slagelse for a while.³³³

In the summer of 1911, after working in Fredericia (see below), the Thomsen sisters ministered in Næstved for about two months, preaching in the town’s central square. The ‘sisters’ had previously been involved with the ‘street meetings’ based out of the Colosseum (2.2.7), and had also held this form of meetings in Slagelse and Fredericia.³³⁴ They were also given the use of the local Baptist church and YMCA. Afterwards the meetings were continued in the home of their host, Chr. Jensen, with a ‘congregation’ (*menighed*) of about fifty people

³²⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 5.

³³⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1910, 21.

³³¹ *Byposten*, 1/12/1909, 95; 15/12/1909, 98; *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1910, 5; *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/12/1909, 95 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS).

³³² *Korsets Seir*, 15/10/1910, 158; T.B. Barratt papers, I.14, p. 21, letter from Mygind dated 6/12/1910.

³³³ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1911, 22.

³³⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 15/1/1911, 15.

in attendance, mainly from an Indre Mission background.³³⁵ In December 1911, Barratt visited Næstved, along with Anton Christensen and the Thomsen sisters, and they held well-attended public meetings there. Barratt's report makes it clear that this town was exceptional in that the state church had a relatively weak position and the free churches of all kinds had a stronger presence. He also notes that the local more religious-leaning newspaper was more critical of the meetings than the more secular-leaning one.³³⁶

It does not seem that the Pentecostal message initially made much impact in the most rural parts of Zealand, except for Røsnæs in the far northwest of Zealand. The spiritual horizons of rural areas were sometimes limited by those of the incumbent clergyman – and the state church authorities. The Lutheran pastor in Røsnæs, L.O. Faber (1855-1928), was reported to have experienced Spirit baptism in Copenhagen during Barratt's first campaign in 1907. He is the likely author of an anonymous letter published in *Byposten* from a Danish Lutheran pastor which described this experience. He continued: 'I could fancy coming in to be among you again; but I don't think I shall; I must stay at home in my own parish and declare what great things the Lord has done to me'.³³⁷ But Faber withdrew from the Pentecostal movement in early 1908, as mentioned above.

At the end of 1910, two Pentecostals – Asmus Biehl and Karla Rønager – visited the parish and ministered with the gift of healing. This attracted a lot of attention when it was reported that several people were healed, including a woman who had been paralysed for 16 years. The church authorities launched an official investigation into what was going on in the parish.

³³⁵ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 1911 (date uncertain), quoted in *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 2.

³³⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 7; T.B. Barratt papers, I.15, p. 8, with clips from *Næstved Avis*, 12/12/1911; *Næstved Tidende*, 12/12/1911; *Sydsjællands Venstreblad*, 12/12/1911.

³³⁷ *Byposten*, 27/7/1907, 70; cf. 13/7/1907, 64, also likely referring to Faber: 'A Lutheran pastor, who attended the meeting at Koncertpalæet, during the night became so filled with the Spirit of God that he could not fall asleep until far into the morning, but had to praise and thank his God, he told the gathering, because of the grace that had befallen him. Hallelujah!'. See also Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 426–27.

Biehl and Rønager had been received by Faber, who denied that their guests had any connection with the ‘tongues’ movement. Anna Larssen responded in the press that, on the contrary, they were well-known among the Pentecostals in Copenhagen. However, the investigation was swiftly ended, with the main reprimand against Faber being that he had let a woman speak in the church.³³⁸ Days later, a visit from Anna Larssen was announced in the local newspaper; she gave one of her public readings in the nearby town of Kalundborg the following week.³³⁹

The Thomsen sisters also visited Nykøbing on the island of Falster south of Zealand sometime in 1910 or 1911. They preached in a public square and held prayer meetings for those who became interested in their message.³⁴⁰ In Nakskov on the neighbouring island of Lolland there was ‘a number of friends’ and they were visited by the Norwegian brother G. Skjellaug in early 1911.³⁴¹ Finally, the Danish island of Bornholm in the Baltic Sea was visited separately by Plum, Larssen, and Karla Rønager in 1910, seemingly without leading to the formation of a permanent Pentecostal group at this point.³⁴²

The first Pentecostal evangelist in the country’s third-largest city, Odense, on the island of Funen, was Anders Jørgensen, one of Anton Christensen’s contacts. He is known to have evangelised there for a few days on his way home to Jutland after experiencing Spirit baptism in Copenhagen during Barratt’s campaign in August 1907.³⁴³ Nothing is known of the impact of this first contact, but Jørgensen may have helped bring news of the Pentecostal revival to a local Methodist pastor, Niels Bjarke, who was also known to Barratt and soon became a

³³⁸ *Berlingske Aften*, 24/12/1910, 2; *Kalundborg Avis*, 2/1/1911, 2; *Korsets Seir*, 15/1/1911, 15-16.

³³⁹ *Kalundborg Avis*, 3/1/1911, 2; 9/1/1911, 2.

³⁴⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/12/1911, 182-83.

³⁴¹ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1911, 47.

³⁴² *Confidence*, October 1910, 230; *Korsets Seir*, 15/1/1911, 15; 1/2/1911, 22.

³⁴³ *Byposten*, 5/10/1907, 86, 88.

supporter of the Pentecostal revival.³⁴⁴ Barratt reports meeting some Pentecostal friends in Odense on his way to Horsens in October 1909, and he stayed there a few days to preach on his way back. Soon after, in the spring of 1910, Anna Lewini was evangelising in Odense and nearby in Højby and Birkum. She held meetings together with Bjarke in April 1910 until the Methodist leaders in Copenhagen decreed that she would be excluded from the church in Odense.³⁴⁵ Frida Thomsen would take over the work in Birkum for a time over the summer of 1910 even before she went on to Slagelse and Fredericia, and it is reported that about thirty young men and twenty young women had ‘said “Yes!” to Jesus’.³⁴⁶ The Norwegian sister Marie Bagger also visited Funen and made connections there.³⁴⁷

Lewini was back on Funen again in the winter of 1910-11, and it was reported that Bjarke (along with many others) had experienced Spirit baptism, giving the Pentecostal movement added momentum on Funen – and in the Methodist Church. Lewini would support Bjarke’s revival meetings and – as a fearless evangelist – sing and preach every evening on a public square in the centre of the city. Furthermore, Christensen was invited to hold meetings in three towns on Funen (Odense, Svendborg, and Faaborg) as well as on the nearby smaller island of Langeland where Barratt’s collaborator Harvold had previously been working.³⁴⁸ Some detail of the local Pentecostal circle there is revealed in a letter from a local leader published in *Korsets Seir* in 1911. The unfortunately anonymous author writes that he has been a supporter of the Pentecostal movement since he first heard the news of it in 1907, but though Harvold’s visit brought about a strong expectation of revival, it would only be after a further quiet period of a couple of years that ‘one of our dear sisters suddenly began to speak

³⁴⁴ *Byposten*, 15/11/1909, 92, 94; 15/12/1909, 98.

³⁴⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 72; 1/6/1910, 87.

³⁴⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 1/9/1910, 136; 15/10/1910, 158.

³⁴⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1910, 110.

³⁴⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 15/12/1910, 191; 1/2/1911, 22; 1/3/1911, 37; 15/5/1911, 79; *Glöd från Altaret*, March 1911, 24; *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/2/1911, 15 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Fuldkommenhed’, MS); cf. *Byposten*, 13/6/1908, 47-48.

in tongues'. This sign however did not seem to have convinced the local critics.³⁴⁹ But in Odense, Bjarke's work seems to have brought his local church close to joining the Pentecostal movement wholesale, with the effect of the work also spilling over in the nearby mill town of Dalum, today a suburb of Odense.³⁵⁰

In western Denmark, Horsens became the first main centre. Anton Christensen was transferred there in the summer of 1908 by the Methodist authorities, preventing him from continuing to lead the early Pentecostals in Copenhagen. The congregation he served in Horsens had been founded only two years earlier.³⁵¹ He would soon gather a circle expecting Pentecostal revival in Horsens.³⁵² Two years after his visit at the revival in Kristiania, *Byposten* published a letter from Christensen in which he reflected on his experience in the intervening period. The Pentecostal revival had come as an answer to his frustrations. Previous years of success in ministry had later been followed by a sensation that 'it was as if it had been closed', and he no longer saw much fruit from his work. The Pentecostal 'purifying fire' and 'power of the Holy Spirit' had renewed his ministry and since then enabled him to stand firm in the opposition from other Christians – which may have felt especially strong in the Methodist Church.³⁵³ Nonetheless, Horsens was a viable strategic point from which to begin the spread of Pentecostalism in Jutland.

Anna Larssen and Anna Lewini visited Christensen during their last tour with the theatre in 1909; they already knew him because of his occasional visits to Copenhagen. It seems Christensen and his wife helped convince the two actresses to leave the theatre.³⁵⁴ He also exercised some national influence by sending 'friends' to help start up Barratt's new

³⁴⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1911, 53-54.

³⁵⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/12/1911, 183; Søren Udsen, *Personlige Oplevelser* (Esbjerg: Vaarbud, 1912), 67–68.

³⁵¹ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 108–9.

³⁵² *Byposten*, 1/1/1909, 2.

³⁵³ *Byposten*, 15/3/1909, 21-22.

³⁵⁴ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 102.

campaign in Copenhagen in October 1909.³⁵⁵ Barratt led small teams of Pentecostals on short preaching visits to Horsens twice during this time. Like in Copenhagen, both private meetings for believers and public meetings were held. A well-attended public meeting on 20 October revealed that the movement already had some interest there – about 150-200 were present, many of them Barratt's fellow Methodists. A local newspaper noted Barratt's 'hypnotic power over his audience' – but in relatively favourable, even flattering terms. The following day, even more were present, including a few state church pastors. One of them wrote to Barratt afterwards to thank him for his visit. The newspaper noted that this meeting had seemed more like the usual revival meetings known from various denominations, with the emphasis on salvation and no mention of Spirit baptism or tongues. At the last meeting, on 22 October, Johanne Mollerup and Anna Lewini testified, the latter also speaking in tongues. Anna Larssen, who was also present, remained silent, to the disappointment of curious local theatre-goers in the overcrowded hall.³⁵⁶

In mid-January 1910, Barratt went to Horsens with two of his fresh young converts from the battle of Copenhagen, Harry Bruun and brother Jørgensen, who would witness alongside him. Some of their local former comrades from the Young Socialists were there but the meetings went peacefully. A large group from the Indre Mission had become interested and were in the audience as well.³⁵⁷ Barratt worked closely with Christensen at this time and also published a long piece by Christensen on tongues.³⁵⁸ Other members of his assembly wrote to *Korsets Seir* to report on miraculous healings and well-attended 'sanctification meetings'.³⁵⁹ Christensen's main base of recruitment for the Pentecostal movement was the Methodist church he pastored, and healing seems to have been one of his main tools to demonstrate the

³⁵⁵ *Byposten*, 1/11/1909, 86.

³⁵⁶ *Horsens Folkeblad*, 21/10/1909, 2; 22/10/1909, 2; 23/10/1909, 2; *Byposten*, 15/11/1909, 90, 92.

³⁵⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1910, 20.

³⁵⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 15/1/1910, 10-12.

³⁵⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1910, 21; 1/5/1910, 70.

Pentecostal message. He also had a mission to the prisoners of the large Horsens State Prison.³⁶⁰

Nearby in Give, a woman named Sine Hindskov had begun subscribing to *Byposten* after hearing Barratt speak in Copenhagen in 1907. She had not been able to gather a Pentecostal circle in her town ‘because of the rumours and the resistance of the pastors’. But one of these local pastors was the one who had later written approvingly of Barratt’s in Horsens in 1909. In 1910, ‘more than a dozen’ joined Hindskov at one of Christensen’s meetings in Horsens, and she soon encouraged Barratt to pay a visit.³⁶¹ Instead it seems Christensen may have preached at a series of meetings there in 1911.³⁶²

The Thomsen sisters were also working in Fredericia in south-east Jutland during 1910-1911. Johanne Mollerup joined them for a few days and could report that they gathered large crowds, even though they met with some resistance, both from local pastors, including Frederik Zeuthen, then president of the Indre Mission movement,³⁶³ and also some ‘unruly bleaters’ which made it necessary for the local police to provide protection.³⁶⁴ A small expectant circle of Pentecostals emerged.³⁶⁵ In September 1911, more meetings were held – mainly for believers – led by Frida Thomsen, a local Bible teacher named Aksel Smith, brother Ness, and another Norwegian, Elias Aslaksen. Attendance was in the order of twenty to forty people.³⁶⁶

Two persons from the Djursland area in East Jutland are known to have experienced Spirit baptism after visiting the Pentecostal meetings in Copenhagen in 1907: the aforementioned

³⁶⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1911, 22; 1/10/1911, 149.

³⁶¹ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1910, 109-10.

³⁶² *Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1911, 149.

³⁶³ *Indre Missions Tidende*, 24/9/1911, 630-33; also 10/12/1911, quoted in *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/3/1912, 19 (in turn cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS).

³⁶⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1911, 37-38; cf. initial report, 1/2/1911, 22; see also Barratt’s response to Zeuthen’s repeated criticism, 1/11/1911, 167-68.

³⁶⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 15/8/1911, 126; 10/9/1922, 4-5.

³⁶⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 1/11/1911, 162

Anders Jørgensen from Kelstrup in South Djursland, and S.M. Larsen from Hevring in North Djursland. The latter is reported to have been witnessing at the MCC in the larger nearby town of Randers in February 1908.³⁶⁷ Whether the two men came into contact with each other is uncertain; they lived over 35 km apart.

In the spring of 1910, Anton Christensen organised two meetings in a public building in Randers, at which Anna Larssen and Johanne Mollerup spoke, along with similar meetings in Horsens.³⁶⁸ It was soon also reported that the Pentecostal message had spread further into rural East Jutland when two subscriptions were ordered from near the small village of Laven.³⁶⁹ It is not known for certain that a distinctively Pentecostal group was established in Randers at this point, but ‘friends in Randers’ would be among the most significant contributors to Mygind’s mission in Lebanon.³⁷⁰

No news of Pentecostal revival is heard around this time from the country’s second-largest city, Aarhus, midway between Randers and Horsens. The local press had already framed the ‘tongues-speakers’ with some scandalous stories from Norway, Germany, and England, but like other newspapers failed to notice that the movement had also arrived in Denmark until Anna Larssen was linked to it – after which they would report of Barratt’s ‘alarming influence’ on ‘hysterical women’.³⁷¹ The early Pentecostal movement never got a strong foothold in Aarhus. Further north and west in Jutland, the Pentecostal movement does not appear to have begun to penetrate the Baptist and Indre Mission strongholds yet, though

³⁶⁷ *Byposten*, 18/4/1908, 31

³⁶⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 72. The name Christensen was also mentioned as the leader of the 1908 meeting in Randers, but this surname is perhaps too common to make this an unlikely coincidence.

³⁶⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1911, 22.

³⁷⁰ *Fra Libanon*, 1912-1916, passim.

³⁷¹ *Jyllandsposten*, 24/8/1907, 2; 13/10/1907, 2; 12/9/1909, 4; *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 24/10/1908, 1; 9/1/1910, 5; the quotation is from *Jyllandsposten*, 7/11/1909, 2.

Christensen had a contact in Aalborg who called him there to pray for her healing.³⁷² Barratt also had a couple of contacts in the far north-west: a Methodist pastor who wrote to him in December 1907, asking for prayers,³⁷³ and the aforementioned Cecilie Krarup. It seems little came of these connections.

Among the ethnic Danes of North Schleswig (part of the German Empire until 1920), Nicolai Hansen (1864-1943) became the most prominent Pentecostal leader. He was a Baptist and worked in and around the village of Bylderup-Bov (German: Bülдерup-Bau), from circa 1908 as a Pentecostal. The movement there came under the influence of German more than Scandinavian Pentecostals.³⁷⁴ Hansen became a member of the German Pentecostal *Hauptbrüderdag*.³⁷⁵ Fleisch notes that the Pentecostal movement gained ground in particular among the ‘sinless’ in North Schleswig – as in Denmark as well, where they were known as the ‘released’ – though Olesen is critical of this identification and believes the influence of the ‘released’ was somewhat more limited in North Schleswig.³⁷⁶

The spread of the Pentecostal movement across the country happened more slowly than in Norway, Sweden, and in part Finland. Barratt remarked that the country needed ‘quite a few Spirit-filled evangelists, to bring this full gospel into every nook’.³⁷⁷ He also noted that it was perhaps God’s will to especially equip women for this task, since the men seemed so

³⁷² *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1911, 22. The event described seems to have happened sometime in 1910. Christensen’s focus on healing is also revealed in a pamphlet on the subject which he had published in 1911, reproduced in *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1911, 41; cf. 1/4/1911, 55. Neiiendam estimated in 1927 that there were 5,700 Baptists in all of Denmark. The greatest concentration was in the opposite end of the country in North Jutland. The Danish Baptist community saw considerable growth in the first decades of the 20th century (Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 51–52). For Pentecostalism among Methodists, see below (3.2.4).

³⁷³ Lange, *T.B. Barratt*, 197–98.

³⁷⁴ Christine Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv og Virke* (Rønne: Korsets Evangeliums Forlag, 1946).

³⁷⁵ ‘Leadership committee’ or, literally, ‘main brothers’ diet’. Fleisch, *Die Pfingstbewegung*, 198–99 (another non-German, Gerrit Polman, was also a member); cf. Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 109.

³⁷⁶ Fleisch, *Die Pfingstbewegung*, 248; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 411.

³⁷⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 72; also 15/5/1910, 79.

hesitant.³⁷⁸ The movement in Denmark existed as an informal network of personal relations, through visits and correspondence, with neither an organised national committee as in Germany, nor annual conferences as in England. Instead, Barratt attempted to organise the movement on the same pattern as he had in Norway, which would also become the organising principle in Sweden through Pethrus' efforts, namely centred around one large metropolitan assembly in the national capital. But as we shall see, those who finally assumed the mantle of national leadership after Mygind's attempt would first follow a different strategy, that of an itinerant ministry.

2.3.2 Foreign mission and the Pentecostal revival

Not only were the early Pentecostals burning for the missionary cause. The experience on the mission field also fed into the shaping of early Pentecostalism in the sending countries. 19th century missionaries encountered differing expressions of spirituality, and though they often regarded these as demonic or uncivilised, they were nonetheless challenged in their Western mode of operation. Moreover, some of the particular difficulties they met on the mission field led some 'radical evangelicals' to expect special providence and develop in the direction of what would later become known as Pentecostalism. Difficulties with learning a language well enough to be able to preach in it led some to understand glossolalia as 'missionary tongues'. In places where the locals believed strongly in the power of demons, the radical Evangelical missionaries' belief in exorcism was strengthened too. And when overwhelming numbers of missionaries died of local diseases after a short period in the field, many developed a belief in the power of faith healing.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 15/10/1910, 158.

³⁷⁹ McGee, *Miracles*, 3–76. McGee argued that this was not unique to North American Pentecostals and missionaries.

A typical example is that of the Danish missionary Hans R. Jørgensen, who arrived in the Congo in June 1895. He was sent out by the Evangelical Missionary Alliance (EMA), part of the later Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), whose history is closely intertwined with that of the Pentecostal movement. Though described as a healthy, strong man of a ‘phlegmatic disposition’, Jørgensen died at Kinkonzi in a violent case of malaria – ‘after only thirty hours of illness’ – in early January 1896, less than seven months after his arrival. Many missionaries suffered a similar fate. Jørgensen seems to have become a key figure for the brief time he was there, but from the CMA records we know only that his nationality was Danish, nothing of his date or place of birth. One report stated that: ‘Not a single address of friends or relatives could be found among his papers’.³⁸⁰ However, the Danish Emigrant Archive has recorded a person of the same name, a teacher from Odder in East Jutland who emigrated to New York (where the EMA’s training college was based) in 1887 when he was 29 years old.³⁸¹ This could well be the same person.

Jørgensen’s story contains many of the transnational and interdenominational characteristics of the milieu in which Pentecostalism appeared. Here was a Dane working in the Congo for a US-American organisation founded by a Canadian, whose ideal was to build an ‘alliance’ just like it was for Barratt and other early Pentecostals. Both the CMA and the Pentecostals would only gradually move towards organising as a denomination.³⁸² Furthermore, mission would happen at any costs – the EMA’s local committee in Congo spoke of ‘this deadly malarial climate’ and attempted to take appropriate measures; as a later

³⁸⁰ *Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary Weekly*, 24/4/1895, 257; 1/5/1895, 273; 27/3/1896, 301; 3/4/1896, 331; 1/5/1896, 424 (quoted); 9/10/1896, 341.

³⁸¹ *Det Danske Udvandrerarkiv*, <http://www.udvandrerarkivet.dk/soegeside/> (accessed 24/3/2015).

³⁸² Jørgensen’s profession as a teacher may have meant he was a Lutheran, or perhaps he was not and felt constrained by the close connection between state schools and the state church in Denmark, leading to his emigration.

account said it, the missionaries ‘died one by one’.³⁸³ This, perhaps compounded by a frustration with the powerful but distant mission boards which regulated the sending of missionaries and the placing of stations, sometimes against the warning of those already in the field, strengthened the felt need for divine healing, which was a feature of not just those radical groups which rejected medical treatment, but also the CMA as well as many other strands of the Holiness movement. Hence, many of the first instances of what we now identify as Pentecostalism were seen on the foreign mission field.³⁸⁴

One of the most significant events in the mission field that impacted the rise of Pentecostalism was the Christian revival in India, beginning in 1905.³⁸⁵ Reactions among foreign missionaries were mixed. German missionaries of the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission met the revival with resistance, whereas the more pietistic missionaries of the Danish Mission Society in Tamil Nadu acknowledged and promoted this revival.³⁸⁶ As one observer noted: ‘It was all the more remarkable because these people of the Danish Mission are not

³⁸³ CMA National Archives, RG 813; cf. Robert L Niklaus, John S Sawin, and Samuel J Stoesz, *All for Jesus: God at Work in the Christian and Missionary Alliance over One Hundred Years* (Camp Hill, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1986), 58–60.

³⁸⁴ Of course, some Danish missionaries of the early 20th century who might hypothetically have been open to the Pentecostal experience went to areas that were more on the margins of early Pentecostal history, such as Japan, where the Danish-Americans J.M.T. Winther (of the United Danish Evangelical-Lutheran Church) and Hjalmar Lindstrøm (CMA) worked. Even if they met Pentecostal missionaries, they might also have noticed the ‘meagre results’ of their mission in that country (Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 138).

³⁸⁵ This event also fed into the revival at Pandita Ramabai’s Mukti mission in Kedgaon. There was a Danish collaborator of Ramabai’s, Severine Methea Sørensen, around 1905-1921 (Jakob Holm, ed., *Breve hjem – fra danske udvandrere 1850-1950* (Copenhagen: Forum, 2003), 95–118). However, the connection between Mukti and Pentecostalism has recently been drawn into question; see Yan Suarsana, ‘Inventing Pentecostalism: Pandita Ramabai and the Mukti Revival from a Post-Colonial Perspective’, *PentecoStudies* 13, no. 2 (2014): 173–96.

³⁸⁶ McGee, *Miracles*, 85, 256 (n. 63). For more on how the Danish missionaries’ ‘background in the special Danish branch of Lutheran revivalism’ made them exceptional and meant that they related differently to the Indians, see Henriette Bugge, *Mission and Tamil Society: Social and Religious Change in South India (1840-1900)*, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 65 (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994), 94. The Danish missionaries (as opposed to other Protestant missionaries) would not normally accept mass movements, so something different must have happened here which meant the situation was reversed (Bugge, *Mission*, 68). Perhaps it is telling that the report in the *Bombay Guardian* below refers more to individuals than to groups, families, or tribes.

used to testimony meetings'.³⁸⁷ The leader of the mission, Johan Andersen, called it 'a time of visitation' and prayed that those who still resisted would come round.³⁸⁸ Similarly, Pentecostalism was received with more unified condemnation among Lutherans in Germany than in Denmark.

In North India, the Danish Salvation Army officer Christian Beckdahl experienced Spirit baptism around 1910 and left the Army to work with American Pentecostal missionaries. He married the Norwegian evangelist Agnes Thelle (see 2.2.2), and years later, the pair visited Pentecostal assemblies across Denmark while on furlough.³⁸⁹

When the Pentecostal revival arrived in Denmark, its adherents became involved with foreign mission from the beginning. The three assemblies in the Copenhagen area – Colosseum, Zinnsgade, and Lyngby-Brede – were central to the spread of Pentecostalism across Denmark in these early years, as well as playing a decisive role in fuelling foreign mission. During the summer of 1907, Mygind wrote a short piece for *Byposten*, detailing revelations received by young women with visions of mission among Arabs.³⁹⁰ This may have encouraged the Myginds to return to their mission work in Syria, which they did in early October 1907, followed by Jenny Mygind's sister Anna Mollerup the following spring.

³⁸⁷ *Bombay Guardian*, 16/9/1905, 11.

³⁸⁸ *Bombay Guardian*, 16/9/1905, 12. The Danish Mission Society does not directly mention the 1905 revival in its history of the Arcot mission, but does indicate that there was a marked growth in the number of conversions around that time (*100 år i Arcot*, Danske Missionselskab (Copenhagen: Lohse, 1963), 26–27). Later, in 1907, Andersen visited the Keswick Convention and in his address, perhaps somewhat disillusioned, 'emphasised the great lack of spiritual power in the work in India, as a whole, and he told how he himself had been quickened by coming into contact with a Keswick Missioner—the Rev. T. Walker of Tinnevely' (Walter B. Sloan, *These Sixty Years: The Story of the Keswick Convention* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1935), 63). Thomas Walker was a British CMS missionary; his biographer does not seem to mention Andersen (Walker was away in the north of India for the earlier part of the revival when the *Bombay Guardian* report was written), but Walker must have met with Andersen either before or after. He apparently also collaborated with a Danish missionary called Larsen (Amy Wilson-Carmichael, *Walker of Tinnevely* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1916), 390, 393), <http://archive.org/details/walkeroftinnevel00carmuoft>.

³⁸⁹ *Evangeliebladet*, no. 1 (5/10/1922), 4; Glenn W. Gohr, 'Agnes Thelle Beckdahl: A Beacon of Pentecost in Europe and India', *Assemblies of God Heritage* 17, no. 1 (1997): 13–14.

³⁹⁰ *Byposten*, 13/7/1907, 66.

After that, Karen Nilsen and the Larsens went out from Lyngby-Brede to China in March 1909;³⁹¹ later more from there were to follow them. Those who went to China took up a radical call. The Norwegian-American missionary Bernt Berntsen (1863-1933) made this clear in a report from the field: ‘Come in the name of Jesus and baptised with the Holy Spirit, and with no other purpose than to be worn out in the Lord’s service, with every bridge burnt behind you’.³⁹² When Berntsen visited Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries in 1910, the interest in China among the Pentecostals was further boosted.³⁹³ Little is known of the work of L.P. Larsen and his wife in China. By 1919 (and perhaps much sooner) they had returned to Denmark and settled in Nykøbing Falster,³⁹⁴ but others would replace them in the field.

Early on we also hear of two young men who left to work in Moscow in the spring and summer of 1909, respectively, probably sent out from the Zinnsgade assembly.³⁹⁵ The growing number of missionaries who were sent out must have highlighted the need to have their preparation properly organised – and in an environment that was sympathetic to the Pentecostal vision. Cecil Polhill had encouraged Barratt by to help find ‘a few chosen men, possibly from the Continent’ for his new training school.³⁹⁶

In the autumn of 1909, a young Dane named Hans N. Thuesen would be among the 11 original male students of the Pentecostal Missionary Union’s missionary training college at

³⁹¹ *Byposten*, 1/4/1909, 28; 15/5/1909, 39.

³⁹² *Byposten*, 15/3/1909, 23; with reference to Luke 9:62.

³⁹³ R. G. Tiedemann, ‘The Origins and Organizational Developments of the Pentecostal Missionary Enterprise in China’, *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 14, no. 1 (2011): 123. However, Berntsen may not have been the only inspiration for those who left shortly after, such as Dagny Pedersen; e.g. there was also a young Norwegian woman who was sent out to Zhili in the summer of 1910 after training in Denmark (*Confidence*, August 1910, 199-200).

³⁹⁴ *Korsets Budskab*, August 1919, 3.

³⁹⁵ *Byposten*, 15/5/1909, 39, 40; 15/8/1909, 66. Unfortunately, their names are not mentioned.

³⁹⁶ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.11, p. 121, letter dated 7/1/1909.

Paddington.³⁹⁷ Thuesen had probably also already been in contact with the Pentecostal movement in the UK through the Whitsun conference in Sunderland.³⁹⁸ However, later the same year, the PMU council told Thuesen, who was apparently in poor health, to ‘go home & follow his calling’.³⁹⁹ While there is no indication that Thuesen returned later to train for mission with the PMU, a couple of years later he had become a missionary in Egypt, as we shall see in the next chapter. Two other young men, Bruun and Jørgensen, who had become converted during the ‘battle of Copenhagen’, supposedly also left for London to train at the PMU school on Barratt’s encouragement at the end of January 1910, around the time that Thuesen was asked to remain at home – but I have found no evidence that they ever appeared there or that they were supported financially.⁴⁰⁰

In Syria, Anna Mollerup had stayed to continue the work when the Myginds left (temporarily) in 1910.⁴⁰¹ In the early summer of that year, she could report that the ‘fire flares up again’ after a visit by the US-American Pentecostal missionary Charles S. Leonard, who was based in Jerusalem.⁴⁰² Some readers of *Korsets Seir* supported Leonard financially,⁴⁰³ whereas Mollerup’s main source of funding may have been the readers of *Kirkeklokken* or members of the Colosseum assembly.

The PMU council’s minute book also gives hints of the stories of hopeful candidates who were not successful in their applications. In the autumn of 1910, a Miss Mary Hansgaard from Zealand enquired about the possibility of being trained by the PMU, in particular to learn

³⁹⁷ *Confidence*, October 1909, 227; for further information on the college, see Usher, ‘For China’, 208–11.

³⁹⁸ The various English-language sources that mention Thuesen show some inconsistency as to the spelling of his surname. At the 1908 Whitsun Conference in Sunderland, one of the participants was a Scandinavian ‘Bro. Thoussen’ or ‘Thousson’, and we know there was at least one Danish person there (*Confidence*, June 1908, 8-10), so this is most likely the same Thuesen.

³⁹⁹ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 21.

⁴⁰⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 15/2/1910, 31.

⁴⁰¹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1910, 21. See also above, 2.2.6.

⁴⁰² *Korsets Seir*, 1/7/1910, 103-04; see also Leonard’s companion James Roughhead’s account in *Confidence*, July 1910, 172 (this does not mention Mollerup by name, but does mention ‘teachers’ which probably include her); cf. Newberg, *The Pentecostal Mission*, 56.

⁴⁰³ *Korsets Seir*, 15/1/1911, 16; 1/9/1911, 136; 1/11/1911, 168.

English.⁴⁰⁴ The council was favourably disposed towards her, but when her candidate's schedule was received the following year, it was decided that she would not be admitted, 'owing to her being over 36 years of age'.⁴⁰⁵ By 1915, perhaps the council had grown weary of applicants who were not already proficient in the English language. It was reported that 'three Danish young women now in a Y.W.C.A. at Chelsea' desired admittance to the PMU women's training home.⁴⁰⁶ But after interviews, it transpired that 'they were not decided about going out as P.M.U. Missionaries but were chiefly desirous of acquiring the English language', and it was thus decided they could not be admitted.⁴⁰⁷

While these are stories that did not end as the applicants had hoped, they do testify to the enthusiasm that those individuals who were captivated by the Pentecostal revival exhibited for foreign mission work. Another way of showing this enthusiasm was of course through giving financially. For example, one issue of *Byposten* from October 1909 listed thirty mostly anonymous donors from Denmark. Of these, nineteen directed their gifts to the two young men in Russia, eight to the Larsens in China, two to Mygind, and one to a 'Brother Samuel'.⁴⁰⁸

2.3.3 Developments among Danish immigrants in the US

... there is an instrument, of which we must make use above all else; that is prayer, a persevering prayer for a wind of Pentecost, a fire of Pentecost, a Pentecostal revival among our people.

— G.B. Christiansen, Danish-American Lutheran pastor⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴ Minute book no. 1, PMU, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁰⁵ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 107.

⁴⁰⁶ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 391.

⁴⁰⁷ Minute book no. 1, PMU, pp. 397-98.

⁴⁰⁸ *Byposten*, 15/10/1909, 84. The support was also not restricted to Danish missionaries; Berntsen's work in China was a particular favourite: *Byposten*, 27/6/1908, 52 (from 'P.J.', Gentofte); 15/8/1908, 64 (from an anonymous brother in Denmark); *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1911, 40 (from a 'sister at the Colosseum').

⁴⁰⁹ *Dannevirke*, 23/1/1918, 4; *Danskeren*, 23/1/1918, 4; Dan. '... et Pinsevejr, en Pinseild, en Pinsevækkelse iblandt vort Folk'.

This study investigates the strategies of Pentecostals who were up against the challenge of a dominant state church establishment. There was, however, a large group of Danes who lived in a very different environment – those who had emigrated abroad. As mentioned above (1.3.2), many scholars believe that immigrants to the USA who became Pentecostals significantly influenced their country of origin, leading to a correlation of emigration and early Pentecostal growth. Denmark and the other Nordic countries all had relatively large diasporas in the USA, compared to those of other European countries, so the rate of emigration alone cannot explain the disparity in Pentecostal growth among the Nordic countries (see Appendix A).

Pentecostal archivist Darrin Rodgers has demonstrated the significance of Pentecostal and proto-Pentecostal groups among Scandinavian (mainly Swedish and Norwegian) immigrants in the Northern and Midwestern USA.⁴¹⁰ The migrants often stuck together in local communities according to their country of origin,⁴¹¹ and also typically stayed in close contact with the homeland.⁴¹² Many spoke their native languages at home rather than English well into the 20th century. The ethnic churches, which were key rallying points for US residents of the same national origin, also reflected this – the Danish Lutheran churches being a case in point.⁴¹³ Even the more-or-less secular US-based Danish-language newspapers and magazines

⁴¹⁰ Darrin J. Rodgers, *Northern Harvest: Pentecostalism in North Dakota* (Bismarck: North Dakota District Council of the Assemblies of God, 2003); Darrin J. Rodgers, 'Pentecostal Origins in Scandinavian Pietism in Minnesota and the Dakotas' (33rd Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Milwaukee, 2004); Darrin J. Rodgers, 'Rediscovering Pentecostalism's Diverse Roots', *Refleks* 5, no. 2 (2006): 50–64.

⁴¹¹ The conventional view is that Scandinavian immigrants often joined forces and established shared institutions such as churches, but when each nationality became numerous enough in a local community it split off from the others. Pan-Scandinavian cooperation continued around some pursuits such as political party clubs. (David C. Mauk, 'The Basis for Pan-Scandinavian Cooperation in Minneapolis–St. Paul: Nordic Involvement in American Politics Prior to 1930', in *Norwegians and Swedes in the United States: Friends and Neighbors*, ed. Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012), 275–94.)

⁴¹² Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 183–94.

⁴¹³ Paul C. Nyholm, *The Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Churches in America: A Study in Immigrant History*. (Copenhagen: Institute for Danish Church History; distributed by Augsburg,

stood in close connection with the churches and the communities surrounding them. However, the majority of Danish immigrants in the USA did not join any of the major Danish-speaking church denominations. Without the support of a strong state church, the Danish Lutheran congregations failed to attract more than about 10% of Danish immigrants as members (compared to about 99% at home).⁴¹⁴ The minority of Danes who did join came mostly from the two main factions of revivalists, the Grundtvigians and the Indre Mission, which in their American setting split into separate denominations from 1896.⁴¹⁵ Some of course joined non-Lutheran Danish-speaking churches such as the *Danish Baptists of America*, which was a significant group since many Baptists had emigrated to the US due to persecution and discrimination in Denmark during the 19th century.⁴¹⁶ But many others joined English-speaking churches or remained unaffiliated.

The best-known example of a migrant who significantly influenced the Pentecostal movement in Scandinavia is Andrew Johnson-Ek (1878-1965), who emigrated from Sweden in 1902, encountered the Pentecostal revival in Los Angeles in 1906, and subsequently re-migrated and became instrumental to the early spread of Pentecostalism in Sweden.⁴¹⁷ The same could have happened in the case of Denmark: the first Danish emigrant who is reported to have ‘received his Pentecost’ already in 1906 was a 22-year-old man called Aage Sulger, in

Minneapolis, 1963); Marianne Sletten Paasch, ‘Religion and Integration Among the Danish Immigrants in the US 1848-1914’, *The Bridge: Journal of the Danish American Heritage Society* 34, no. 2 (2011): 38–41.

⁴¹⁴ This proportion is low compared to similar immigrant groups like Norwegians and Swedes, even though their countries of origin were more religiously diverse (Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 169; Frederick Hale, *Norwegian Religious Pluralism: A Trans-Atlantic Comparison* (Lewiston ; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992); A. M. Andersen, *Hvor Danskerne i Amerika findes: Statistisk Oversigt over danskfødte i United States’ Stater, Countyer og Storbyer samt statistisk Oversigt over danske Kirkeforhold i Amerika* (Blair: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1907), 32).

⁴¹⁵ Thorvald Hansen, *Church Divided: Lutheranism Among the Danish Immigrants* (Des Moines: Grand View College, 1992). The tendency of immigrant churches to ‘Americanize’ through denominational reorganisation was noted in Niebuhr, *The Social Sources*, 200–208.

⁴¹⁶ Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 146–48.

⁴¹⁷ Alvarsson, *Om Pingströrelsen*, 23–37; Bundy, *Visions*, 247–55; Roland Gäreskog, *Andrew Ek: Några skeden i hans liv som missionär, predikant och nödhjälpsarbetare*, Skrifter utgivna av Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning 17 (Stockholm: Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning, 2015).

Chicago, the son of a Lutheran preacher. *The Apostolic Faith* tells us, ‘He expects to be on his way east soon, and, as the Lord opens the way, will go to Denmark where the Lord is calling him to preach the Gospel’.⁴¹⁸ But unlike Johnson-Ek, it seems he only got as far east as New York, where he worked briefly as a pastor, before returning to Chicago and secular work.⁴¹⁹

Others also felt called to become missionaries – but not to their own countrymen. Paul Andreasen was a self-described ‘wandering Jew’ from his arrival in the US until he entered the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, probably in the early years of the 20th century. While there, he seems to have been warned about the Pentecostals, but afterwards when he moved on to Winnipeg, Canada, he was caught up in the Pentecostal revival there nonetheless, perhaps as early as 1907. However, rather than returning to promote Pentecostalism in his homeland, he decided to evangelise the unreached on the Canadian Prairies and later in India as an Assemblies of God missionary from 1919.⁴²⁰ He married a fellow missionary and

⁴¹⁸ *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles), December 1906, 1.

⁴¹⁹ *DDD Udvandrerdatabasen*, http://ddd.dda.dk/udvander/udvandr_soeg.asp?navn=sulger%2C+aage (accessed 3/9/2015); *Webtrees*, <http://www.gornitzka.net/webtrees/individual.php?pid=I17464&ged=NexoeSlaegter> (accessed 19/3/2015). Aage Sulger’s father Karl Vilhelm Sulger was a pastor in an independent Lutheran congregation on Bornholm, part of the movement which was influenced by the Danish-American preacher P.C. Trandberg (1832-96) Coincidentally or not, Trandberg had been a seminary professor in Chicago until 1893. There were also Scandinavian Pentecostal assemblies in Chicago, but these seem to have been dominated by Swedes and Norwegians (*Apostolic Faith* (Portland), January 1909, 1; *Pentecostal Herald*, March 1917, 4; cf. Anderson, *Vision*, 129; David W Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 235).

⁴²⁰ *Latter Rain Evangel*, December 1919, 21-22; cf. *Minutes of the Seventh General Council of the Assemblies of God: Held at the Stone Church in Chicago, Ill. Sept. 25th to Sept. 30th 1919*. (Springfield, Missouri: Office of the General Council), 44, accessed 3 August 2015, <http://ifphc.org/DigitalPublications/USA/Assemblies%20of%20God%20USA/Minutes%20General%20Council/Unregistered/1919/FPHC/1919.pdf>. I have received scans of his archive file from Gloria Robinett, Assemblies of God World Missions (September 2015), which confirm this. It is difficult to establish the dates of Andreasen’s life before he was sent out to India. There are three records of emigrants from Denmark named ‘Poul Andreasen’ (rather than the anglicised spelling, ‘Paul’), all of whom came to the US as children between 1888 and 1895 (*DDD Udvandrerdatabasen*, http://ddd.dda.dk/udvander/udvandr_soeg.asp?navn=andreasen%2C+poul ; accessed 18/9/2015). Moody Bible Institute has no record of Andreasen as a student, meaning that he may only have taken a few classes there without registering formally as a student (Corie Zylstra, Crowell Library Archives, personal correspondence, September 2015). It seems that Pentecostalism was condemned at Moody Bible Institute from the beginning (Gerald W. King, *Disfellowshipped: Pentecostal Responses to*

remained in Lucknow, India until 1930.⁴²¹ They seem to have been unknown to Danish Pentecostals until shortly before they visited Denmark on furlough in 1923.⁴²²

Another Danish emigrant who encountered Pentecostalism in the Winnipeg revival and later travelled out as a missionary was Anna Sanders (1869-1955), who is now recognised as one of the founders of the Assemblies of God in Mexico. She emigrated to Canada in 1896 after divorcing her first husband, who had apparently been unfaithful to her. In 1907, she experienced miraculous healing from cancer and kidney failure at Wesley Pentecostal Church, Winnipeg, and began to experience a call to foreign mission. However, her new American husband did not share her convictions. Instead she ministered as a local evangelist and developed a connection with the Scandinavian Independent Assemblies of God. This body ordained her as a missionary in 1919, after which she finally moved to Dallas, Texas, to prepare for her mission work. She never returned to Denmark and is not known to have influenced anyone at home.⁴²³

As early as 1909 there was apparently a Danish or mixed Scandinavian assembly of at least 15 Pentecostals in the Los Angeles area, many of whom may not have spoken much English yet. They were hosted by a family from Aalborg who had arrived three years earlier. The son of this family planned to become a missionary to the Hindus, after he believed the Holy Spirit had given him the gift of Hindi.⁴²⁴

Fundamentalism in the United States, 1906-1943, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 164 (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011), 49). The 'three years' revival' in Winnipeg that Andreasen's testimony mentions must have been the one between 1907 and 1910 (Gloria Grace Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), 139–41).

⁴²¹ *Pentecostal Evangel*, 6/9/1930, 10; *Pentecostal Testimony*, June 1930, 2-3; October 1931, 14.

⁴²² *Evangeliebladet*, 22/2/1923, 6; 22/11/1923, 7.

⁴²³ Donna Bustos and Joshua R. Ziefle, 'Anna Sanders: An Unlikely Pioneer of the Assemblies of God in Mexico', *Assemblies of God Heritage* 35 (2016 2015): 46–55; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 1037. She acquired her surname from her second husband; her Danish maiden name is uncertain.

⁴²⁴ 'Hverdagsfolk' by Georg Axen, *Den Danske Pioneer*, 29/4/1909, 3.

In New York City, a Norwegian-Danish couple was in contact with both Barratt and the Danish Pentecostals.⁴²⁵ But the only Danish emigrant who is known to have returned to his native country as a Pentecostal minister – though after several decades – is Victor Greisen. He was a young teenager when he emigrated in 1909 and, like Andreasen, led a vagrant life until he was converted in 1922. His mother back in Denmark had prayed for this; unlike the previous examples, Greisen was in continuous contact with his relatives at home. Soon after, he experienced Spirit baptism, followed later by a calling to preaching ministry. Eventually he became superintendent of the Kansas district of the Assemblies of God. He finally returned to Denmark in the 1950s to teach at the newly founded Pentecostal Bible college in Mariager.⁴²⁶ Key elements of Greisen's story fit with Bloch-Hoell's theory; however, his influence on Pentecostalism in Denmark only began long after the early period.

There is less immediate evidence that Pentecostal developments happened within the Danish-American churches, as among Swedes and Norwegians in some places. Among the Danish Lutherans, the Indre Mission-oriented *United Church* was dominated by a broadly revivalist Evangelical wing during the presidency of G.B. Christiansen, from 1896 to 1921,⁴²⁷ but there is no evidence that the Pentecostal movement made significant inroads among its leaders or members, despite the openness to interdenominational alliances on the part of

⁴²⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1910, 71.

⁴²⁶ V. G. Greisen, *Fra skibsdreng til biskop* (Randers: N. Rasmussen, 1952).

⁴²⁷ The United Church (United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, in full) also had a more confessional or orthodox Lutheran wing, mainly led by P.S. Vig, a prolific writer and president of the United Church's theological seminary in Blair, Nebraska until his resignation and return to parish ministry in 1905 when he felt the church had 'developed in a fanatical methodistic (sic) and un-Lutheran direction' (Einar Vig, *A Biography of P.S. Vig* (Lincoln, 1944), 144). It is illustrative of their differences in approach that Christiansen and others had left the *Norwegian-Danish Conference* because they thought that in this way they could more effectively reach religiously unaffiliated Danish immigrants, whereas Vig and others had left the *Danish Church* over doctrinal differences (Hansen, *Church Divided*, 45–46, 77–79). The smaller, mainly Grundtvigian *Danish Church* is of less interest here, since it was very isolated from US-American church life and so would have come less into contact with revival movements like the Pentecostal movement (Hansen, *Church Divided*; Paasch, 'Religion and Integration', 44).

leaders such as Christiansen and the prominent lay evangelist Jens Dixen,⁴²⁸ and despite an openness to the broader idea of Spirit baptism among some.⁴²⁹ The Azusa Street revival was reported in its weekly magazine, but the editor, J. Pedersen, questioned whether there was anything genuinely new behind the ‘stilted and unbiblical phrases with which this is now spiced up’.⁴³⁰

Danish-American newspapers also passed on reports and comments – usually critical and often caricatured – about the Pentecostal movement in Denmark and Norway, but seemed to consider it more of a Scandinavian than an American phenomenon.⁴³¹ For example, neither of the two Nebraska-based Danish papers mentioned the December 1906 instance of glossolalia in Lincoln, Nebraska, which was reported as far away as Los Angeles.⁴³² Even so, a Danish public lecture in Omaha on ‘tongues’ – also probably critical – was advertised in July 1908.⁴³³ Later, at the United Church’s convention in 1916, Rev. M.R. Andreasen of Neenah, Wisconsin warned the audience against those who promote ‘Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues’.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁸ As evidenced by their papers held at DAAL, e.g. CHR-974, Box 4, Packet 2, Item 16, notebook pp. 4–5, and inside cover; DIX-978, Box 1, No 4, journal entry for 10 August 1921.

⁴²⁹ *Danskeren*, 8/6/1899, 4; 11/3/1914, 2-3; 20/1/1915, 4.

⁴³⁰ *Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad*, 16/1/1907, 44-45; cf. 6/3/1907, 153-56.

⁴³¹ *Dannevirke*, 6/2/1907, 7; 2/12/1908, 7; 3/11/1909, 2; 26/1/1910, 3; 21/9/1910, 2; 21/10/1910, 2; 23/10/1918, 2; *Danskeren*, 12/4/1907, 4; 1/10/1909, 2; 18/10/1910, 1; 17/9/1913, 2; 28/4/1920, 3; *Bien*, 7/6/1907, 7; 14/6/1907, 1; 27/3/1908, 1; 4/12/1908, 1; 11/12/1908, 1; 18/12/1908, 6; 25/12/1908, 7; 1/1/1909, 7; 5/2/1909, 7; 18/2/1910, 3; 25/2/1910, 7; 11/3/1910, 7; 16/9/1910, 3; 6/1/1911, 3; *Den Danske Pioneer*, 3/12/1908, 10; 19/11/1908, 3; 10/12/1908, 3; 8/4/1909, 5; 4/11/1909, 5; 11/11/1909, 6; 18/11/1909, 5; 25/11/1909, 5; 23/12/1909, 6; 29/9/1910; 20/10/1910, 6; 15/12/1910, 6; 26/1/1911, 6; 15/8/1912, 5; 19/12/1912, 10. The earliest exception I have found, apart from the reference to Azusa Street in *Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad*, is from *Den Danske Pioneer*, 14/10/1909, 7, which (briefly and incidentally) mentions that there were Pentecostal tent meetings in Chicago.

⁴³² Elisabeth James Lemp and Glenn W. Gohr, *Nebraska’s Living Water: 20th-Century Assemblies of God* (Grand Island: The Nebraska District Council of the Assemblies of God, 2010), 9.

⁴³³ *Den Danske Pioneer*, 16/7/1908, 8.

⁴³⁴ *Danskeren*, 6/9/1916, 2.

Pentecostalism does not appear to have had a great impact on the Danish-American Baptists either, as it had on Swedish-American Baptists (and on Baptists in Sweden).⁴³⁵ However, the most significant Danish-born American Pentecostal, P.C. Nelson (born Peder Kristoffer Nielsen; 1868-1942), a leading evangelist of the Assemblies of God and founder of Southwestern Bible School, was from a Baptist background and ministered for three decades as a Baptist evangelist before turning Pentecostal in 1920.⁴³⁶ Crucially, though, by the time he became a Pentecostal he was already fully integrated into the English-speaking Baptist churches, and he probably had no influence on developments in Denmark, though he was likely still in contact with Danish Baptists in the US.⁴³⁷

These more centrally organised Danish-American denominations seem to have been at least as impenetrable to the Pentecostal movement as the corresponding churches at home. An exception is the Rasmus Rasmussen family who came into contact with the CMA around 1912, and organised a 'Free Mission' in Egeland, North Dakota in 1914. They turned Pentecostal in 1915 when Lena Rasmussen and others experienced healing during a visit by Pentecostal evangelists.⁴³⁸ But the Rasmussen family and Lena Rasmussen, née Paulsen's family were probably both already revivalist (as well as Lutheran) Christians when they

⁴³⁵ Adolf Olson, *A Centenary History* (Chicago: Baptist Conference Press, 1952), 588–91, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015062282911>.

⁴³⁶ Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 927–28; cf. 1123.

⁴³⁷ Stanley R. Nelson (grandson of P.C. Nelson), personal correspondence, November 2014. P.C. Nelson held a series of revival meetings in 1916 at the opening of a new Danish Baptist church in Clarks Grove, Minnesota (Danish Baptist General Conference of America, *Seventy-Five Years of Danish Baptist Missionary Work in America* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1931), 109; see also Ann Regan, 'The Danes', in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*, ed. June Drenning Holmquist, Publications of the Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), 279). He was on the list of licensed preachers published by the Danish Baptist conference in 1915, but not in 1917 (DAAL, 277.3 D22b). Nelson's two unpublished autobiographies reveal that most of his ministry took place in English-speaking contexts already from the beginning in 1889 (Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, 3/7/3: 'Personal Papers-- Nelson, P. C.').

⁴³⁸ *Pentecostal Evangel*, 24/6/1922, 10; Rodgers, *Northern Harvest*, 131–32; Larry Smith and Lloyd Smith, 'Rasmussen Family History' (Jacksonville, 2005), 1:40-44, Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center. Several family members became Assemblies of God ministers and founded churches across the northern USA.

emigrated, and – crucially – both families had previously been living in Albert Lea, Minnesota, during the time when the aforementioned G.B. Christiansen was pastoring the Danish community there.⁴³⁹ The high point of Christiansen’s early ministry in Albert Lea had been a long and successful series of revival meetings there in 1886, with an intensity of enthusiasm that made some ‘scorners’ claim that ‘fire accompanied them wherever they went’, presumably referring to the account of Pentecost in the Book of Acts.⁴⁴⁰ Lena Paulsen lived in Albert Lea as a child during the 1886 revival, whereas the Rasmussens only arrived in 1889, the year that Christiansen left the town.

This example hardly shows that a direct turn from Lutheranism to Pentecostalism was likely in a situation where Danish Lutherans constituted a distinctive, bounded ethno-religious minority, but instead a gradual assimilation into American religious life (in the Rasmussens’ case through the CMA) enabled them to become Pentecostals and thus re-appropriate aspects of their spiritual heritage – including, perhaps, Christiansen’s enthusiastic revivalism. However, it does not seem that they influenced relatives or other contacts in Denmark.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Larry Smith, family historian, personal correspondence, November 2014. This assumption is substantiated by the fact that Ringe parish, Funen, where both families came from, had already been affected by early Evangelical revivals in the 1830s, possibly with Rasmus Rasmussen’s father of the same name as a significant supporter. The identification of Rasmus Rasmussen’s father is uncertain because of the naming conventions of the time, but not unlikely, according to family historian Kenneth Vejgaard Jørgensen (personal correspondence, January 2015). From 1849 onwards the revivalist impulse in the area was strengthened with the arrival of the famous Grundtvigian pastor Vilhelm Birkedal in the neighbouring parish of Ryslinge (Thyssen, *Vækkelsernes frembrud*, vol. 3:2:249, 273-74, 416).

⁴⁴⁰ Gottlieb Bender Christiansen, *Recollections of Our Church Work* (Blair: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1930), 113–115 (115); cf. P. C. Jensen, ‘En Biskop af Guds Naade’, *Dansk Nytaar*, 1958, 66. During his time in Albert Lea, Christiansen taught his congregation on 1 Corinthians, and in connection with chapters 12-14 spoke elaborately of the gifts of the Spirit, including speaking in tongues, but it is not known whether the more extraordinary gifts were actually put into practice at the time (DAAL, CHR-974, Box 2, Packet 6, Item 40); cf. also Gottlieb Bender Christiansen, *En Nytaarsgave* (Blair, 1895), 10–21.

⁴⁴¹ According to family historian Larry Smith, the Rasmussen family ‘basically all came over’ and ‘did not look back’ (personal correspondence, November 2014). Cf. also below, 3.4.3. I will return to the emigrant factor as this study begins to draw to a close (5.1.1).

Instead, international influence on the early Pentecostal movement in Denmark came primarily from its closest neighbours.

2.4 Summary: the end of the beginning – another impasse?

Some Lutheran pastors and leaders in Denmark showed a great but mostly passing interest in Pentecostal revival early on, somewhat like in Kristiania where the local association of Lutheran clergy discussed the Pentecostal revival in generally favourable terms as early as January 1907.⁴⁴² Soon the situation in Denmark would come to resemble that in Germany more. Some of the original, tentative supporters of the Pentecostal revival had begun to vocally distance themselves from the movement after or even during Barratt's campaign in the summer of 1907. These include the evangelist and temperance hotel proprietor A.C. Nissen and the parish priest L.O. Faber. Ravens, the Indre Mission evangelist who supposedly experienced Spirit baptism in June 1907, was almost immediately put under pressure by his employer, the movement's president Frederik Zeuthen, to withdraw from the Pentecostal meetings. He retained some contact with the Pentecostals, but more discreetly. However, when he was discharged due to his ecumenical practice in 1922, he instead joined the Moravians, not the Pentecostals.⁴⁴³

Others, it seems, would also withdraw, but we can only infer this from the fact that their names stop cropping up: Mygind's friend Waldemar Thrane who had visited the revival in Kristiania; the unidentified brothers Lange and Justussen who also visited Kristiania and later made an appearance during the first campaign; the various Salvation Army officers who had hosted and participated in Barratt's meetings; Ernst Kjærsgaard from *Kristeligt Dagblad* who had seemed to be more curious about the Pentecostal movement than his editor; Cajus Bruun, the actor who received conflicting advice and could not bring himself to leave the stage; the

⁴⁴² Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 66; Hegertun, *Det brodersind*, 36.

⁴⁴³ Olesen, *De frigiorte*, 543–44, 839.

two recently converted young men who were on their way to the PMU school in London but it seems never turned up; all these and perhaps many others seem to have quietly changed their mind about the Pentecostal message.⁴⁴⁴

Their departures were mostly un-dramatic, perhaps only gradual and hardly noticed at all since others replaced them. Still, the momentum that was created in the summer of 1907 was partly undone over the course of the next year. Likewise, the momentum that was created through much struggle in late 1909 and early 1910 seems to have been undone by fresh doctrinal disputes in 1910-11, despite the efforts by the strongly interdenominational Mygind. The Pentecostal movement had missed its chance to spread throughout the country on the back of the Holiness movement. Even Philip Wittrock would soon be on his way out of the Pentecostal movement altogether. Olesen notes: 'The question of re-baptism split up the Pentecostal movement', and though it may be an overstatement to say that the Pentecostal movement was 'atomised',⁴⁴⁵ the questions surrounding baptism had begun to be crucially important, and would loom as a shadow over the fledgling Pentecostal movement until the end of the period to which we now turn our attention. Unlike in some other contexts, division does not seem to have led to multiplication, only confusion (see 5.4). The Pentecostal movement in Denmark needed a fresh start and new leadership, and as we will see in the following chapter, once again the person at the centre would be Anna Larssen.

⁴⁴⁴ Ellen Hansen may or may not have remained part of the Pentecostal movement; see below (3.2.3).

⁴⁴⁵ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 428, 430.

CHAPTER 3: MOVEMENT, 1911-19

3.1 Situation: in the shadow of the Great War

After the pioneer days of 1907 to 1911 followed a period on which the existing accounts of Danish Pentecostalism have little to say.¹ The initial growth of the Pentecostal revival had slowed down somewhat, not just in Denmark but internationally, even in the United States where renewed growth would only happen from around 1930.²

Though Denmark was spared direct involvement in WWI, it constitutes the major turning point during this period. The war disrupted international cooperation in Europe, including also international Pentecostal cooperation. An informal network of European Pentecostal leaders had been developing, formalised in May 1912 as the International Pentecostal Council.³ The Danish Pentecostals were on the side-lines of these efforts but nonetheless benefitted from them. Even though it brought the early period of pan-European Pentecostalism to a definitive end, the war itself had not come unexpected for them. T.B. Barratt was aware that the nations of Europe felt a lack of ‘elbowroom’.⁴ He could not reconcile the nationalism of the British and German Pentecostal leaders with his own vision of an alliance of Spirit-baptised believers across boundaries and denominations, and he did not participate in the International Pentecostal Council after December 1912.⁵ He gradually saw that an international alliance was not possible, which – along with the war – meant that he became less involved outside

¹ E.g., an almost complete gap is left between 1911 and 1919 by the two main sections on Denmark in Bundy, *Visions*, 189–204, 417–21.

² Anderson, *Vision*, 137.

³ Bundy, *Visions*, 230–34; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 798; Cornelis van der Laan, ‘The Proceedings of the Leaders’ Meetings (1908-1911) and of the International Pentecostal Council (1912-1914)’, *EPTA Bulletin* 6, no. 3 (1987): 76–96; Plüss, ‘Pentecostalism in Europe’, 96.

⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1913, 47.

⁵ Bundy, *Visions*, 245; van der Laan, ‘Proceedings’, 87–89.

Norway; instead he focused more on forming a 'homogenous grouping' in Norway and at his base in Kristiania.⁶

At the outbreak of WWI on 1 August 1914, thousands of young men in Denmark were called up to man the ramparts in Copenhagen and the border with Germany in Jutland. One of their fathers, a teacher and local politician in Copenhagen, wrote to his brother in North Dakota a few days later, describing the conditions as he experienced them:

As regards the war, we are all from the King and downward without consideration of parties endeavouring at all costs to preserve the peace and our neutrality, and we hope our neighbours will spare us; but these days are full of surprises, so that we can know nothing for certain. I hope we will be able to hit back so forcefully that it will be a tad too costly to tackle us. But even if we do not get involved in the war, the defensive provisions are still causing work stoppage and high prices. To regulate and limit the rise in food prices, the government is meant to set maximum prices on food and other necessities.

This war will probably bring some of the most terrible things the world has seen, and we pray that God will preserve us and all our dear ones and all the blessed young men who are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives for our dear, old fatherland. The smiles and the phrases are muffled here in Copenhagen, everyone is serious right down to the dregs who don't have it in them, and thus it is no doubt all over the country.⁷

WWI interrupted the progressive optimism of the preceding years. Socially, economically, and politically, the war brought great upheaval, even in neutral countries like Denmark.⁸

Among Pentecostals around the world, some saw the war as a sign of the imminent Second Coming.⁹ The Danish Pentecostals were spared the conflicts over pacifism and military service that elsewhere crippled the leadership of some of the early Pentecostals.¹⁰

⁶ Martin Ski, *T.B. Barratt: døpt i ånd og ild* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1979), 158.

⁷ DAAL, HAN-988, 53-3-19, letter dated 6 August 1914.

⁸ Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen, *Mellem skøn og ret*, 40–52.

⁹ *Pentecostal Truths*, November 1914 (issue 37); G. F. Taylor, *The Second Coming of Jesus* (Falcon, NC: The Falcon Publishing Co., 1916); Leigh Goodwin, 'The Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU), a Case Study Exploring the Missiological Roots of Early British Pentecostalism (1909-1925)' (University of Chester, 2013), 192–97, <http://chesterrep.openrepository.com/cdr/handle/10034/314921>; James E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain : With a Breviate of Its Early Missionary Endeavours* (Wellington: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), 134–36.

¹⁰ See e.g. Cho, 'Move to Independence', 159–60.

Nonetheless, a division had emerged within the Danish Pentecostal movement, which was only resolved in 1919.

3.2 Ventures in interdenominational Pentecostalism

Neiiendam claims that the Danish Pentecostal movement was ‘at a standstill’, lying dormant until 1919.¹¹ This chapter will show that in fact a slow and steady spread was still happening during this period, and there were theological and organisational developments under way, which would shape the Pentecostal movement in the years to follow. This and the following section make a distinction between denominational and interdenominational Pentecostalism, which is somewhat artificial. In fact, there was plenty of crosspollination and overlap between the two. The goal is not to present them as two different movements, but rather as two different strategies, sometimes adopted successively by the same leaders.

The period in question here marks the slow end of interdenominational Pentecostalism and the beginnings of a Pentecostal denomination in Denmark. As we have seen in the previous chapter, once the dust had settled after the enthusiasm of the first Pentecostal revival campaigns, old theological differences re-emerged – in particular the question of believers’ baptism – and resulted in a separation of the Pentecostal ministries that were formed. To be clear, I refer to the work of leaders such as Barratt and those connected with the Colosseum assembly as *interdenominational* not because they had no position of their own on the divisive issues, but because they were still willing to work with those who differed from them: their efforts did not aim at forming a new denomination but an alliance across denominations.

¹¹ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 213.

3.2.1 Colosseum after Mygind

When H.J. Mygind and his family departed for Syria in late 1911, the leadership at the Colosseum assembly was taken over partly by Johanne Mollerup and partly by Asmus Biehl.¹² Around the same time, an international Pentecostal conference was held south of the border in the town of Tønder (German: Tondern), North Schleswig, where both Danish and German was spoken.¹³ On his way home from the conference, Barratt stopped by Copenhagen for a few days. It had been over a year since his last visit. He was joined by Anton Christensen who could now travel freely since he had been dismissed by the Methodist leadership. The ecumenical spirit that the Pentecostals had enjoyed after the ‘battle’ in 1909 had again subsided. However, the two men found that the Pentecostal community in Copenhagen, which they had both helped to found, was still thriving. The meetings at the Colosseum were well-attended and continued to attract people from all social classes – even the state church clergy – not least because of the enduring draw of Anna Larssen’s name.¹⁴ The renewed respect that surrounded her name was demonstrated when the Salvation Army invited her to read a couple of edifying tales at its enormous Christmas party for the poor, to which none other than *Politiken*, the chief organ of cultural radicalism, responded with a glowing report.¹⁵

In the early summer of 1912, Barratt arranged for the American Holiness-Pentecostal preacher J.H. King (1869-1946) to visit Copenhagen as part of the European leg of his world tour. He preached for about two weeks at the Colosseum and was hosted in Plum’s home. Larssen’s testimony made a great impression on him. However, his main contact in

¹² *Korsets Seir*, 1/12/1911, 183; 1/1/1912, 6.

¹³ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 5-6; Bundy, *Visions*, 203.

¹⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 6-7. Later that year, Barratt noted that the state church clergy in England and Finland had been much more friendly towards the Pentecostal movement than in any of the three Scandinavian countries (*Korsets Seir*, 15/6/1912, 91). Larssen’s fame stimulated curiosity but not necessarily support.

¹⁵ *Politiken*, 24/12/1911, 5.

Copenhagen seems to have been brother Andersen, a Danish journalist and preacher who was working as an assistant to Barratt in Norway and whom King had already met there.¹⁶ The meetings at the Colosseum continued through the summer, but began to be marked by some lapses among the converted. The spontaneous prayer meetings of the early revival began to be replaced by what some saw as unnecessary theological arguments.¹⁷

After that summer, the owner of the Colosseum hall found a more profitable renter and the Pentecostal assembly there became homeless. The loss of the Colosseum hall resulted in a rapprochement with the Zinnsgade assembly. Barratt himself encouraged this, in his correspondence with Johanne Mollerup. He assured her that he was not imagining ‘a permanent collaboration’, but believed that there was probably less personal ill will between Mollerup and Wittrock than between himself and Erik Andersen, the comparable example in Norway. Barratt still believed strongly in forging alliances – but at the same time he was also moving towards a more restorationist view of the organisation of the local church – along the pattern of the first Christians – as he also mentioned in the letter.¹⁸ J.H. King’s visit may likewise have given an impulse towards a more formal organisation of the Pentecostals, as it seems it did in Norway.¹⁹ This would become a challenge for Mollerup and the other Colosseum leaders, who were still in the state church. But the rapprochement also meant that Zinnsgade with its strong missionary contacts was now open to Barratt again.

During his December 1912 visit to Copenhagen, Barratt held meetings at both Zinnsgade and Wittmack’s Lokale. He thought back to the difficult times during the ‘battle’ and seems to

¹⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1912, 68; 1/8/1912, 117; Joseph Hillary King and Blanche L. King, *Yet Speaketh: Memoirs of the Late Bishop Joseph H. King* (Franklin Springs: Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1949), 287–88; Bundy, *Visions*, 208; Harold D. Hunter, ‘J.H. King and the International Pentecostal Council’, *IPHC Experience*, April 2009, 18–19.

¹⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1912, 108.

¹⁸ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.15, p. 24, dated 23/9/1912. Earlier that year, some level of reconciliation between Barratt, Andersen, and Wittrock seems to have happened at a joint meeting in Kristiania (*Korsets Seir*, 15/6/1912, 95, quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS).

¹⁹ Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 176; Barratt, *Erindringer*, 197.

have begun to regret his shift of focus towards Finland instead of Denmark, since there were ‘quite a lot of open doors across the country’. He also took a trip south to Nykøbing and Næstved. In the former town, where the ‘Thomsen sisters’ had also ministered, we get a rare admission from Barratt that his meetings were poorly attended – but he rejoiced that the clergy and other prominent people of the town had at least been represented. As we saw in the previous chapter, Barratt was eager to attract the attention of the upper middle-class and the cultural elite, and he seems to have had greater results in this respect in Denmark than in Norway. In Næstved, where Barratt had also been the previous December, he had the opportunity to speak together with Frida Thomsen at four meetings on a single day.²⁰

In February-March 1913, Barratt visited the Copenhagen area again, for just over a week. His 16-year-old daughter Solveig was already there to greet him. She was, at the time, living in Copenhagen in the house of a German diplomat and his Norwegian-born wife, and working as a private tutor. The mother of the house was in sympathy with the now displaced Colosseum assembly.²¹ Barratt preached at Zinnsgade and at Wittmack’s Lokale, but apart from these familiar venues also at the Good Templars Hall and, notably, at the luxurious Palace Hotel, which is reported to have been ‘crowded to overflowing’. Thus, the strategy of using prominent venues had continued. Again, the financial sponsorship behind this is uncertain, but evidently the loss of the Colosseum meant that financial resources were instead available for expensive one-off meetings like this. Colosseum friends were participating in all these meetings, including the ones at Zinnsgade, but still looking for a more permanent hall of their own. Regarding the external pressures, Barratt sensed that things had definitively calmed

²⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1913, 5-6. It is uncertain what Barratt would have considered a disappointing turnout, but during his next visit to Denmark he wrote of a meeting in Helsingør with ‘not as many people assembled as I had expected, about 300’ (*Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1913, 46).

²¹ T.B. Barratt papers, I.15, p. 33, letter dated 23/1/1913.

down somewhat, and some were even expressing regret for their earlier resistance against the Pentecostal revival.²²

The Colosseum friends were living on borrowed time; gradually most of their followers would either become integrated into the Zinnsgade assembly or leave the Pentecostal movement altogether.²³ Many were not prepared to wait for the Pentecostal movement to find its way and moved on to pastures new, such as the Salvation Army or H.P. Mollerup's newly founded 'Church Army' (*Kirkens Korshær*, literally 'the Church's Cross Army'). But even when it seemed people were being drawn away from the Pentecostal movement, Barratt rejoiced that while many of them had only briefly been among the Pentecostal friends, it seemed they had become more open to the power of God.²⁴ This marked the beginning of the end for interdenominational Pentecostalism in Denmark, but a significant pair of leaders would first attempt a new strategy to try and keep it alive and evaded formal leadership until the end.

3.2.2 The Bjørners and the Gospel Wagon

Like his future wife, Sigurd Bjørner was born in 1875, but in the opposite end of the country, as the son of a teacher at the training college at Ranum, in rural Himmerland. His father died when he was young, but his mother gave him a godly upbringing.²⁵ Bjørner himself retrospectively outlined his spiritual development like this: awakened to the burden of sin at the age of 7, saved at the age of 19 during his time at the Indre Mission's school in Haslev, then heard news of the Pentecostal movement in 1910-11, around the age of 35, but he only experienced Spirit baptism in 1919, shortly after his water baptism. He had served in the army

²² *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1913, 45.

²³ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 562.

²⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1913, 45.

²⁵ Kristian Jensen, *Mindeskraft: Sigurd Bjørner 28.7.1875 - 18.2.1953* (Copenhagen: Vanløse Evangelieforsamlings Forlag, 1954), 25.

after his conversion and became an officer, but then experienced a call to minister to the youth in Helsingør through the YMCA, where he formed a close and lasting friendship with his colleague, the theological graduate Carl Næser.²⁶

Bjørner's own brief testimony leaves out the influence of his wife altogether, perhaps to emphasise the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit. However, there is no doubt that this had great influence on his ministry, and Larssen herself puts a strong emphasis on spiritual guidance, describing the first time she knelt and prayed with Bjørner before a meeting as the first time she heard the voice of God directly: 'Here is the man I have chosen for you'.²⁷ The pair first met in 1910 at the Colosseum after the first public reading that Larssen gave there.²⁸ Soon after, Bjørner and Næser had invited Larssen to come and do a reading in Helsingør as part of her countrywide tour.²⁹ Whether there were any thoughts of nuptials already at this point is not clear.

Bjørner and Næser had been loyal supporters of the Indre Mission,³⁰ but were also longing for 'more from God' than what they could find there or in the YMCA.³¹ They had both previously participated in the Keswick conferences in England.³² They also worked closely with the legendary Lutheran preacher and leader of the Copenhagen branch of the YMCA, Olfert Ricard (1872-1929), who gathered hundreds of young people around him. Ricard was from the same Holiness-revivalist root as many of the Pentecostals, and he had been on good terms with Bjørner and other later Pentecostals such as Mygind.³³ However, he was critical of

²⁶ Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 11–13, 26–27.

²⁷ 'Anna Larssen-Bjørners Omvendelseshistorie', transcribed by Johannes Rasmussen, held in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum); also recounted in Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 14–15.

²⁸ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 143.

²⁹ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 567.

³⁰ 'Fru Anna Larssen Bjørners Liv og Levned', MS by Johannes Rasmussen, held in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), p. 5.

³¹ Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 27.

³² Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 567.

³³ Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 12; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 301.

Barratt, and his theology tended more towards the liberalism also current at the time than towards Pentecostal renewal.³⁴ It seems Bjørner and Næser harboured a lasting dissatisfaction with this approach.³⁵

Meanwhile, Anna Larssen had been developing international contacts in the Spanish-, English- and German-speaking world.³⁶ She would take over from Mygind and Plum as the most cosmopolitan of the Danish Pentecostals. In early 1912, she was once again touring Norway. She notified Barratt of her plans, but exerted a large amount of independence, both of Barratt and of other parties such as the Norwegian Indre Mission, who she feared might attempt to prevent her free testimony at any meetings held in their premises. Barratt lent her his platform in Kristiania and large numbers were drawn to hear her. A noted theatre critic, Hans Wiers-Jensen, was in attendance; he was an admirer of Barratt's preaching – though perhaps mainly for stylistic reasons – but wrote privately to Barratt to express his disappointment with what he saw as the commercialisation of Larssen's departure from the theatre, with unnecessary swipes at the dramatic arts.³⁷ However, while Larssen did not care anymore for the opinions of the cultural establishment, like Barratt she had not lost her artistic sensibilities. She found a useful companion in Barratt's daughter, the pianist Mary Barratt (1888-1969), with whom she travelled around Norway, going as far Tromsø, then the largest city anywhere north of the Arctic Circle. It should be noted that Larssen's tour did not solely have a purpose of pre-evangelism, but also of providing a livelihood for herself.³⁸ However,

³⁴ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 2/3/1908 (cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS); Bech, Engelstoft, and Dahl, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 12:196-197.

³⁵ This is not without parallel, cf. Martin, *On Secularization*, 97–98. Later, Bjørner lamented that those in the YMCA are 'only rarely consciously saved'; *Korsets Seir*, 30/11/1921, 4.

³⁶ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.14, p. 24, postcard from Anna Larssen dated 21/4/1911.

³⁷ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.15, p. 13, letters from Anna Larssen, dated 5/1/1912, and Hans Wiers-Jensen, dated 18/3/1912, also including a newspaper article by Wiers-Jensen; see also *Korsets Seir*, 15/2/1912, 31 (cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS).

³⁸ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.15, p. 29; 'Anna Larssen-Bjørners Omvendelseshistorie', transcribed by Johannes Rasmussen, held in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), p. 4.

she also spent time relaxing and skiing at the mountain resort of Finse in Western Norway, where she was joined by Bjørner. Shortly after this, they were engaged.³⁹

The newly engaged couple visited Johanne Mollerup soon after; this was apparently the first time Sigurd Bjørner experienced an inner calling to take on the role of being the main leader of the Danish Pentecostals. He was initially hesitant; according to his wife's perspective when writing her memoirs, he only fully accepted the call when they encountered the Apostolic Church in 1923.⁴⁰ In practice, however, he took on the mantle of leadership with the formation of the Gospel Assembly in 1919, as we shall see below.

The Bjørners' marriage in July 1912 was performed by the Lutheran pastor H.P. Mollerup, the stepson of Johanne Mollerup.⁴¹ Though he had previously publicly distanced himself from the movement that other members of his family had become involved with,⁴² he now seemed to have become more open, perhaps because he trusted that Bjørner's leadership would have a moderating influence. According to one newspaper report, Mollerup spoke of Larssen's departure from the stage as a 'great deed', much to the dismay of the reporter who saw her marriage as the end to any hope that she might return to the stage.⁴³

Anna Bjørner moved to Helsingør to live with her husband. The two soon found ways to combine her reading ministry and his more explicitly evangelistic ministry. For example, during a stay in Stockholm in late October 1912, the Bjørners were holding evangelistic meetings, 'reading and singing at the Temple together with the Salvation Army', reaching out to poor children as well as actors.⁴⁴ It should be noted that Anna Bjørner makes no mention of Swedish Pentecostal leaders such as Pethrus, and that even though she addresses Barratt as

³⁹ Håkon Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner: Skuespillerinnen som valgte Kristus* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1950), 49–50.

⁴⁰ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 159–60.

⁴¹ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 568.

⁴² Most recently in *Berlingske Tidende*, 26/11/1910, 2.

⁴³ *Jyllandsposten*, 1/8/1912, 1.

⁴⁴ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.19, p. 54, letter from Anna Bjørner dated 28/10/1912.

her spiritual father, evidently the Bjørners prioritised their independent trip to Stockholm over the Pentecostal conference in Kristiania, also held at the end of October 1912.⁴⁵ This could be seen as perhaps the first indication that in marrying Sigurd Bjørner, Anna Larssen had found a way to assert her independence from external leadership.

When Barratt visited Helsingør in early 1913, en route to Gothenburg, he seems to have been left to hold public meetings separately from the Bjørners, though he was afforded the opportunity to speak to a gathering of Christian leaders in the town. Around this time, the Bjørners and Næser concentrated their efforts on joining together different Christian groups in the work for a revival – notably the YMCA, YWCA, the Salvation Army, and the Lutheran church, represented by H.P. Mollerup and the naval officer Victor Lorck (1871-1940), the latter of whom would soon himself become a Pentecostal preacher.⁴⁶ According to Anna Bjørner, the revival meetings at the Apollo theatre in Helsingør were a success, but led to a backlash in the relations with the Danish YMCA. In the end, Bjørner and Næser felt pressured to resign, but were happy to put their loyalty to interdenominational cooperation first.⁴⁷ However, Sigurd Bjørner's specific commitment to the Pentecostal revival was perhaps more questionable; he had not yet received the sign of tongues, which would later cause some friction.⁴⁸

Barratt and many others continued to see great potential in Anna Bjørner as a powerful symbol of the success of the Pentecostal movement. Barratt even considered opening a special mission to the theatre, but Anna Bjørner's own vision for her and her husband's ministry extended far beyond her former circle. She continued to alternate between reading tours

⁴⁵ Announced in *Korsets Seir*, 1/10/1912, 150

⁴⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1913, 45-46.

⁴⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 30/11/1921, 4; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 147-48.

⁴⁸ Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 61.

throughout the country and beyond and ministry at her new base with Sigurd Bjørner in Helsingør.⁴⁹

In July 1913, the Bjørners attended the Keswick convention together. Anna Bjørner delighted in the strong holiness teaching, but she missed the teachings of a personal Pentecost and healing. She was offered the opportunity to give her testimony, but was by chance interrupted before she could say anything too controversial. The overall impression was one of a spirit of Christian unity, which the Bjørners would attempt to perpetuate at home. They held weekly alliance meetings at their house, with up to sixty in attendance.⁵⁰ A highlight of this period was on 18 October 1913 when Anna Bjørner lectured to a gathering of seven hundred students.⁵¹ This created a stir, and to capitalise on this, Barratt encouraged those former Colosseum friends who were not happy with the Zinns-gade assembly to form their own permanent congregation.⁵² Furthermore, in May 1914, the Bjørners participated in an international Pentecostal conference in Kristiania, where they would have been able to witness first-hand how Pethrus – though a guest – began to eclipse Barratt in influence.⁵³ With this the denominational turn would eventually become inevitable – but it would be another half a decade before the Bjørners dared take such a step.

The beginnings of the Bjørners' itinerant ministry happened in the summer of 1914, in the seaside resort of Hornbæk just outside Helsingør. They borrowed a tent from the YWCA secretary, Emilie Hækkerup, who was still happy to cooperate, despite Bjørner's departure

⁴⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 15/3/1913, 44; 15/5/1913, 77; Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), letter to Marie Wulff dated 13/9/1913. Among the places she would visit were larger towns in Jutland such as Aarhus (*Aarhuus Stiftstidende*, 15/12/1912; *Jyllandsposten*, 17/12/1912), Holstebro (*Aarhuus Stiftstidende*, 4/5/1913, 3), and Horsens (*Horsens Folkeblad*, 24/11/1913, 5).

⁵⁰ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 148–51.

⁵¹ *Korsets Budskab*, November 1913 (cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS); *Korsets Seir*, 15/11/1913, 171–73 (cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 203); Barratt, 'When the Fire', 184; Barratt, *Erindringer*, 202.

⁵² *Korsets Seir*, 1/2/1914, 19, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

⁵³ Nilsen, *og Herren virket*, 54.

from the sister organisation.⁵⁴ The tent had a capacity of about 150, which soon turned out to be insufficient to accommodate the audiences. A collection was conducted in order to raise money for a larger tent, which would have a capacity of about seven hundred. However, the bulk of the funds for the new tent and eventually also for the purchase of a horse-drawn wagon for the Bjørners to live in during their travels were supplied by a donation from a single wealthy individual, who must have asked to be anonymous, but is identified as a factory owner and the same person who sponsored the meetings at Koncertpalæet. This means it is most likely that this was Thorvald Plum, who still preferred to keep his involvement with the Pentecostal movement discreet, out of consideration for his many Holiness contacts who were not all in sympathy with the Pentecostals.⁵⁵

For Anna Bjørner, this was a move towards more explicitly evangelistic ministry, and involved an attempt to thrust her husband – the more experienced preacher of the two – into the foreground. Up until now, in her readings, she had maintained some continuity with her thespian past, and had benefitted from a celebrity effect that drew in crowds – but transitioning from that into more explicit evangelism had been a struggle. Their friend, the Baptist pastor F. Bredahl Petersen later wrote that, ‘Sigurd Bjørner surely had his church connections through his YMCA work, but his wife carried the main contribution and gave him the open doors and her name’.⁵⁶ For Sigurd Bjørner, this was an enlargement of his ministry, and he seems to have enjoyed his new freedom and avoided coming too directly under the influence of any international Pentecostal leaders.

⁵⁴ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 151, cf. 147-48.

⁵⁵ ‘Anna Larssen-Bjørners Omvendelseshistorie’, transcribed by Johannes Rasmussen, held in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), p. 4; *Evangelii Härold*, 11/11/1920, 178; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 151–52; Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 64–65. Alternatively, the benefactor could have been C.W. Obel, cf. below.

⁵⁶ Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 22.

Apart from serving as living quarters, the small ‘Gospel Wagon’ (*Evangelievognen*) was also a useful place to withdraw for pastoral conversations, as well as for reading and writing.⁵⁷ During this time, Anna Bjørner published her translation of A.B. Simpson’s book *The Gospel of Healing*,⁵⁸ a choice of material which might have been part of an attempt to show that the concerns of the Pentecostal movement were shared by other related movements as well. The Bjørners were not yet convinced that they were destined to found a Pentecostal congregation, despite rapid moves in that direction in Norway and Sweden. She also translated T.W. Moore’s critique of the Millennium Dawn movement, probably wishing to ensure that there could be no confusion between this and the Pentecostal movement.⁵⁹

Plum was not the Bjørners’ only wealthy benefactor. A large donation from the tobacco manufacturer and philanthropist C.W. Obel enabled them to purchase a villa in Helsingør, which they renamed *Libanon*. This became a main base for the Bjørners’ ministry, eventually – probably from 1919 – as the venue for an annual summer conference. At first they mainly stayed there during the winters, when they would also go on shorter trips when invited to speak at parish churches, free churches, and mission houses throughout the country.⁶⁰ One particularly widely reported visit was to Sæby in North Jutland, where the Bjørners apparently healed a young woman of tuberculosis in December 1916.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 153–54.

⁵⁸ A.B. Simpson, *Guddommelig Helbredelse som en Del af Evangeliet*, trans. Anna Larssen Bjørner (Helsingør, 1915).

⁵⁹ T. W. Moore, *Milleniets Daggry eller International Forening for Bibelstudium’s Lære: undersøgt i Lyset af Guds Ord*, trans. Anna Larssen Bjørner (Copenhagen, 1915). The Millennium Dawn later became known as Jehovah’s Witnesses.

⁶⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 10/11/1921, 4; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 568; Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 30; Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 61–62, 65–66.

⁶¹ *Evangelii Härold*, 28/12/1916, 212; *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/1/1917, 3 (cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS); *Berlingske Tidende*, 10/9/1950 (cited in ‘Fru Anna Larssen Bjørners Liv og Levned’, MS by Johannes Rasmussen, held in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), p. 3).

By 1918, Anna Bjørner had definitively put her readings behind her in favour of a direct preaching ministry, which also made her – for a time – more independent of her husband.⁶² Already in 1917, she felt able to comment on the typical preaching style of state church pastors, whom she likened to unctuous ‘ham’ actors. She noted that the first principle she had learnt on stage should also apply to preaching: to ‘speak with the same voice that you speak in every day’ – but she reasoned that state church pastors were not able to do this since they did not practise a ‘full gospel’ on the other six days of the week.⁶³

It is difficult to chronicle this period of the Bjørner’s ministry in much detail, since no comprehensive record of their travels has survived. Even the chapter about the Gospel Wagon years in Anna Bjørner’s memoirs is remarkably short and appears romanticised.⁶⁴ According to Jens Jensen’s account, the Bjørners’ itinerant ministry was a period of ‘abundant blessing for Danish Christendom’, where many were converted,⁶⁵ but this may be an overstatement, given the lack of direct evidence. The Gospel Tent never left the eastern corner of the country around Copenhagen and North Zealand, which was still the main focus of the Bjørners’ ministry.⁶⁶ However, it is likely that at least a few small groups of Pentecostals were formed in various places throughout the country as a result of the Bjørners’ activities, slowly preparing the way for the emergence of Pentecostalism as a fully-fledged separate denomination.⁶⁷

⁶² Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), letter to ‘H.P.’ dated 14/9/1918; cf. contemporary reports, e.g. *Evangelii Härold*, 8/2/1917, 27.

⁶³ *Evangelii Härold*, 1/3/1917, 38, quoting from *Svenska Morgonbladet*.

⁶⁴ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 153–56. As the available collection of digitised local and national newspapers grows (see <http://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream>), it may become possible to fill in more of the gaps using in-text search.

⁶⁵ Jensen, *Mindeskrikt*, 27–28; see also Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 568.

⁶⁶ *Evangelii Härold*, 11/11/1920, 178.

⁶⁷ Cf. Axel Grove, *Pinsevækkelsen i Danmark: et Alvorsord i en Alvorsstund* (Copenhagen: Hebrons Forlag, 1931), 6.

The Bjørners' itinerant strategy stood in stark contrast to the successful centralised strategy of Barratt and Pethrus in Kristiania and Stockholm respectively, the pattern which Barratt had also attempted – with limited success – to establish in Copenhagen with the Colosseum assembly. The strategy of focusing on a single strong local congregation⁶⁸ had not hindered Pethrus or Barratt from taking up invitations to speak elsewhere, but seems to have amplified their ministry through getting a larger group of participants involved, something that the Bjørners did not manage – or perhaps avoided – until 1919 when they reverted to the centralised model, as we shall see below. It would perhaps not be frivolous to consider how close the Bjørners were to leaving the orbit of Pentecostalism in favour of an entirely free ministry. The existent collections of letters indicate that their correspondence with other Pentecostal leaders such as Barratt was much more infrequent than before and after these years. This may of course to some extent have been due to constraints during WWI – but though the Bjørners included physical healing as part of their ministry during this time, distinctively Pentecostal doctrines on tongues and Spirit baptism were almost certainly not emphasised, since Sigurd Bjørner's own experience had not yet come to match this pattern.

3.2.3 Pentecostal rallying points

Some of them are angry with me because I have changed my stance on the question of baptism. But they shouldn't be. I am not angry with them.

— T.B. Barratt, writing from Copenhagen, 1915⁶⁹

The Bjørners were not alone on the interdenominational Pentecostal scene in Denmark during 1911 to 1919, even though these were quiet years. Across the world, periodical publications were an important way of rallying the Pentecostals. Barratt had previously attempted to get Danish Pentecostals to subscribe to his periodical, but two editors of Danish periodicals at the

⁶⁸ On which see especially Davidsson, 'Lewi Pethrus'.

⁶⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1-15/12/1915, 188; quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

time also unquestionably supported an interdenominational vision of Pentecostalism: H.J. Mygind and Thorvald Plum.

As previously noted, Plum was always hesitant to display his commitment to Pentecostalism, out of respect for his diverse Holiness readership.⁷⁰ The contents of his periodical, *Kirkeklokken*, were mainly intended for edification and, as a rule, the persons mentioned in testimonies etc. were made anonymous.⁷¹ This is the case even for Martha Rønager, a young Pentecostal who had been sent out to China with financial sponsorship from Plum and *Kirkeklokken*'s readers.⁷² Nonetheless, Barratt commended it as one of the best religious magazines in the country.⁷³ If we consider Plum's and Mygind's periodicals as attempts at the difficult balance of intra- and inter-denominational Pentecostalism, it is clear that Plum erred on the side of caution with his generic content.

By contrast, when Mygind began publishing the more idiosyncratic *Fra Libanon* in January 1912, the Colosseum assembly was explicitly at the centre of his intended audience. At the same time, he made it clear that the purpose of the periodical was primarily to keep up the connection between the sending communities at home and the independent missionaries in Lebanon ('and other regions', as stated in the periodical's full title), and then only secondarily to make the readers aware of 'what is happening all the world over, not least in these days'.⁷⁴ For the purposes of providing news from Pentecostal circles in Denmark as well, it had been planned that Anton Christensen would join Mygind as co-editor, but he was hindered continuously by his ill health.⁷⁵ After Christensen died later that year, *Fra Libanon*'s status as

⁷⁰ Bundy notes that Thorvald Plum 'remained a committed Pentecostal believer' during this period but was still ambiguous about this commitment in the materials he published; Bundy, *Visions*, 418.

⁷¹ This can be verified by skimming through any annual volume of *Kirkeklokken*. Kurt E. Larsen confirms my impression (personal communication, April 2015).

⁷² *Kirkeklokken*, 21/7/1912, 190.

⁷³ *Korsets Seir*, 15/4/1915, 61, cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

⁷⁴ *Fra Libanon*, January 1912, 2-3.

⁷⁵ *Fra Libanon*, March 1912, 21-22. Barratt reprinted Mygind's report in *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1912, 53-54.

purely a missionary magazine was set to continue, much to Barratt's disappointment.⁷⁶ Mygind also published reports from Rønager in *Fra Libanon* and conveyed gifts for her work.⁷⁷ The publication was supported by Johanne Mollerup who took over the distribution of the periodical from 1914.⁷⁸

Mygind's periodical probably came closer than Plum's to fulfilling the role of a rallying point for Danish Pentecostals. It did not get as many subscribers as some of the more established religious periodicals, but it had a small devoted following, much of it consisting of former members of the Colosseum assembly who donated through it to the mission work in Lebanon and Rønager's work in China.⁷⁹ It also seems that parts of its contents were occasionally reprinted in other periodicals.⁸⁰ However, a couple of years after it first came out, its shaky status as a unifying periodical for Danish Pentecostals would be rivalled by *Korsets Budskab*, which Plum chose to sponsor separately,⁸¹ and which also aimed to unite Pentecostals from across the different denominations – but ended up promoting the turn towards a single Pentecostal denomination (see 3.3.1).

In March 1915, Barratt returned to Copenhagen after a two-year absence. A series of meetings were arranged at Koncertpalæet, this time in its smaller hall. Many Pentecostal veterans came together: the Bjørners, Anna Lewini, both Rønager sisters (Martha was home from China on furlough), Thorvald Plum, Johanne Mollerup, and Asmus Biehl. The attendance is reported to have been in the hundreds, presumably including those interested

⁷⁶ *Fra Libanon*, October 1912, 103.

⁷⁷ Mygind originally believed it would be more practical if the letters from Rønager were not sent via Lebanon but directly to the periodical's agent in Copenhagen, Miss Møller (*Fra Libanon*, July 1912, 68). It seems Rønager sent her letters via Mygind anyway, resulting in a considerable delay in their publication, as her letters could take up to two months to reach him in Syria (*Fra Libanon*, October 1913, 273). When the periodical ceased, those interested in her reports were instead referred to *Kirkeklokken* (*Fra Libanon*, June 1917, 48).

⁷⁸ *Fra Libanon*, December 1913, 302.

⁷⁹ *Fra Libanon*, 1912-1916 (circa 100 unique donors found).

⁸⁰ *Fra Libanon*, September 1913, 256. Below I will return to both Mygind and Rønager and their experience in the mission field (3.4.1-2).

⁸¹ *Korsets Budskab*, 17/2/1914; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

members of the public who were eager to once again see Anna Bjørner appear on something resembling a stage. Barratt noted that a permanent premises and leadership were needed. The movement had already lost many members to various other groups: the Church Army, Salvation Army, Indre Mission, Lutheran Mission, Methodists, Baptists, etc.⁸²

In the absence of a fully-fledged Pentecostal alliance assembly in the Copenhagen area, or any other permanent local Pentecostal rallying point, Sigurd Bjørner's friend Carl Næser had begun to hold more informal gatherings. Like both of the Bjørners, Næser was born in 1875. He studied theology but his family's wealth and social standing made him financially independent and he did not follow the conventional route of becoming ordained in the state church. Upon his father's death in 1913, he took over his seat on the board of the family-owned newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende* (sometimes described as the *Times* of Denmark). Little is known of his religious development before he met Sigurd Bjørner; other family members seem to have been committed Christians but not necessarily of the revivalist sort. The rupture with the YMCA did not mean an end to his collaboration with the Bjørners; Håkon Hanssen's biography of Anna Bjørner describes Næser as the soul of their work in Helsingør, and he also helped with the tent meetings.⁸³

Carl Næser's private guestbook confirms that, at least around 1915-1917, when the Bjørners began to travel more extensively, his home was an important meeting place for the interdenominational Pentecostals in and around Copenhagen – the remnants of the Colosseum assembly.⁸⁴ Asmus Biehl, who had been made a leader after Mygind, was among his frequent guests. Sometimes Næser's sister-in-law Johanne Næser would also be present at these gatherings, occasionally with her husband Vincent, Carl Næser's younger brother, and more

⁸² *Korsets Seir*, 1/4/1915, 51-52; 15/4/1915, 61; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MSS.

⁸³ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/7/1916, 55 (quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS); *Evangelii Härold*, 21/9/1916, 156; *The Danish Newspapers*, <http://dedanskeaviser.dk/newspapers/1-30> (accessed 4/11/2015); Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 39–40.

⁸⁴ Vincent Næser archive, III.D.2.

rarely their cousin, the journalist Svenn Poulsen.⁸⁵ Næser also hosted many international guests, including the Norwegian evangelists Hakon Storm and Ludvig Monsen, the Salvation Army commander Lucy Booth Hellberg, and many visitors from France. However, the nearest we find to an international Pentecostal leader is Alma Doering (1878-1959) in June 1915. She was an American interdenominational missionary to the Congo who had been temporarily based in Switzerland. Her adoptive daughter, the Swedish-American missionary Bertha Doering, is also known to have ministered briefly in Copenhagen in early 1915, and soon after travelled through the city again, followed later by her adoptive mother.⁸⁶

Næser also hosted meetings for local church leaders in the Evangelical Alliance, and even meetings for YMCA and related groups. Plum seems only to have visited him in the context of the annual Evangelical Alliance meetings. Most importantly, during 1915-1916, Næser hosted at least four meetings in continuation of the Bjørners' summer meetings in Hornbæk, with more than fifty present at the first one, and at least thirty at the following meetings. Relatives of the Pentecostal preacher and naval officer Victor Lorck would visit him, as would the young Grundtvigian pastor and later bishop Hans Øllgaard – and on at least one occasion the ageing Pentecostal pioneer Johanne Mollerup. A woman by the name of Ellen Hansen also appears; since this is a common name, it is difficult to confirm whether she is the same as the woman who had briefly been a central figure in the Danish Pentecostal movement around the beginning in 1907. Captain Lorck himself was stationed in Korsør in West Zealand during WWI, and pioneered a Pentecostal work there.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Poulsen was the brother of Anna Bjørner's friends, the actors Johannes and Adam Poulsen; see Bech, Engelstof, and Dahl, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 11:496 (s.v. Poulsen, Svenn).

⁸⁶ *Latter Rain Evangel*, June 1920, 10-11. For further information on Alma Doering, see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum in association with Lynx Communications, 1994), 48, 52, 64, 132-34, 222; Bundy, *Visions*, 329-31 (esp. n. 53).

⁸⁷ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 570; Bech, Engelstof, and Dahl, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 9:116 (s.v. Lorck, Victor).

Regarding the family newspaper, Carl Næser did not become as directly involved as his brother later did, and he does not seem to have attempted to get the paper to provide publicity for the Pentecostal movement. Instead, in one of the paper's relatively rare mentions of the Pentecostal movement, it echoed the Indre Mission's president Zeuthen's pronouncements on the Baptist Pentecostals around the Danish-German border and described them as a 'sværmerisk' ('enthusiastic') movement, an 'unpleasant, aggressive sect', and 'false prophets'.⁸⁸

In May 1917, a humanitarian effort was begun to transfer wounded Russian prisoners of war from Germany and Austria-Hungary to a camp at Horserød just west of Helsingør. Carl Næser received permission to minister to them, but in September 1917, this permission was withdrawn by a Danish government commission, which – despite the prisoners' appreciation for Næser – believed that the Russian church would 'sooner or later' raise objections to his religious influence on the prisoners.⁸⁹ After the end of WWI, when Allied prisoners of war had to be temporarily interned in Denmark, Næser arranged for a temporary home to be established for them at Charlottenborg in central Copenhagen. Simultaneously, Næser also took an interest in supporting students' unions and welfare. In 1919, he departed for Paris – on the same boat as the last of the French prisoners of war – to help support Scandinavian students there, with support from the rest of his Francophile family.⁹⁰ That year also marked the end of non-denominational Pentecostalism among Lutherans in Denmark. All over Europe, the Pentecostals were moving from a model of holding separate Pentecostal meetings *in addition to* their regular services in the established church or other churches – like during

⁸⁸ *Berlingske Tidende*, 3/5/1914, 13.

⁸⁹ Vincent Næser archive, III.D.1, letter to Carl Næser from a 'sister' dated 28/9/1917.

⁹⁰ Vincent Næser archive, I.A.3, letters from VN to Hedvig Næser (their mother) and to CN dated 16/10/1919 and 30/10/1919 respectively; III.B.1, letters from VN to HN dated 24/2/1919, 25/3/1919; *Evangelii Härold*, 26/2/1920, 30; Worsfold, *Origins*, 236, 239–40; Kurt Mortensen, Jens Peter Larsen, and Leif Mortensen, eds., *Apostolsk Kirke i Danmark 1924-1974* (Roskilde: Apostolsk Kirke i Danmark, 1974), 158.

the later Charismatic movement – to one where Pentecostals formed their own congregations and denominations. But before moving on to discuss the rise of this form of organisation, it is important to note that not all non-denominational Pentecostals in Denmark were Lutherans.



Carl Næser (back, second from left) and Anna Bjørner (standing) with Allied prisoners of war at Charlottenborg, circa 1919. ('Allierede krigsfanger i København', photograph by Holger Damgaard. Det Kongelige Biblioteks billedsamling; <http://www.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object154113/en/>, accessed 10/11/2015. Reproduced under Creative Commons BY-NC-ND 3.0 licence.)

3.2.4 Pentecostalism among Methodists

Many of the strongest critics of Pentecostalism were to be found in the Methodist Church, which had been the most directly challenged by the new movement. What may at first have looked like – and perhaps still could have been – an opportunity for attracting new members to their church, was instead soon deemed a threat, and the Methodist-cum-Pentecostal pastor Anton Christensen was removed from his post in Copenhagen.

However, Christensen's colleague Niels Bjarke did not initially run into the same difficulties after joining the Pentecostals. Instead, the district superintendent's report for 1911 noted that Bjarke's congregation in Odense had received an influx of members from the Pentecostal movement. There was also an influx of members in Christensen's congregation, but the superintendent for Jutland neglected to mention any connection with the Pentecostal movement.⁹¹ Instead, Christensen was reprimanded for his connections with the Pentecostals. Later that year, he and Bjarke both travelled to Copenhagen to attend the autumn meeting of Methodist preachers there. They were invited to speak at the Colosseum, but the leaders of the Methodist Church warned them against it. After lengthy negotiations, Christensen, Bjarke, and their local supporter in Copenhagen, pastor Rosendahl, tendered their resignations. However, after further negotiations, a solution was found where the latter two could remain in the Methodist Church with greater freedom. Christensen, who had refused to obey a command not to speak at the Colosseum, was dismissed.⁹² Barratt lamented that the Danish Methodist leaders were 'at a loss regarding the work that God is doing in these days'.⁹³

Problems began again when a greater number of existing members came under the influence of Pentecostalism and wanted the Methodist Church as a whole to adopt Pentecostalism. The conference report from July 1912 reveals that the denomination had been on the verge of dividing in two over differing visions for the church. The centre of the conflict was on Funen, where Bjarke served, though it seems the frictions were stronger in Svendborg than in Odense. This had led to an 'extraordinarily energetic revision of the lists of members'. Christensen had already been dismissed and so was not present to help defend the Pentecostal movement. In the end, after much discussion, a schism was avoided and Bjarke was again

⁹¹ Metodistkirken, *Vor Aarbog. 1905-1924* (Esbjerg: Kristelig Bogforenings Forlag, 1905), 1911: 26, 29.

⁹² *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 4-5. All this happened in late November 1911, according to *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/12/1911, 92 (quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS).

⁹³ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 7.

reconciled with his Methodist brethren, whereas at the same time it was also decided to refuse to return Christensen's certificate of ordination to him.⁹⁴ He had hoped to return to Copenhagen where the struggling Colosseum assembly was eager to have him as a leader. Instead he died later that summer after suffering for years from gastric cancer.⁹⁵

After this, things seemed to become quieter for a time, but soon conflicts on Funen arose again.⁹⁶ By 1915, Bjarke was no longer the pastor of St. Jacob's. Anton Bast's district report spoke of the 'grievous conditions' that it turned out had prevailed there during Bjarke's tenure, which seems to be in reference to problems at an orphanage that was run by this church but had been shut down a few months earlier.⁹⁷ The report also reveals that the congregation had lost eighty members along with its pastor, so the natural assumption might be that these together had formed a new, distinctly Pentecostal congregation, but I have not been able to affirm this conjecture. However, it coincides in time with Barratt's final exit from the Methodist Church in Norway.⁹⁸ Bast also accused the Pentecostals of being judgemental and causing divisions among the Evangelical Alliance in Copenhagen.⁹⁹ The MCC seems to have largely followed the same trajectory as the Danish Methodists in their relations with the Pentecostal movement: scepticism gradually conquered any initial interest.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Metodistkirken, *Vor Aarbog*, 1912: 7, 9, 16, 19-20, 30-31, 37; this conflict is also mentioned in Ski, *T.B. Barratt*, 163.

⁹⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 15/8/1912, 122-23.

⁹⁶ Metodistkirken, *Vor Aarbog*, 1914: 33.

⁹⁷ Metodistkirken, *Vor Aarbog*, 1915: 10, 21, 25, 29; cf. Karen Anette Nielsen, 'Selvstændiggørelse og sociale initiativer', in *Den danske Metodistkirkes historie*, ed. Finn Bræstrup Karlsen (Højbjerg: Kurérforlaget, 2000), 58.

⁹⁸ Hegertun, 'Thomas Ball Barratt'; Peder Borgen, 'Der Methodismus und die Anfänge der Pfingstbewegung in Norwegen: Eine auf Thomas Ball Barratt konzentrierte Studie mit einem kurzen Hinweis auf Erik Andersen Nordquelle', in *Der europäische Methodismus um die Wende vom 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Referate der historischen Konferenz der EmK in Europa vom 10. bis 15. August 2004 in Tallinn, Estland*, ed. Patrick Philipp Streiff, EmK Geschichte 52 (Stuttgart: Medienwerk der Evangelisch-methodistischen Kirche, 2005), 237-57.

⁹⁹ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/5/1915, 30, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS.

¹⁰⁰ Elith Olesen, 'Frimission og pinsebevægelse', MS.

Since an orphanage was involved in the dispute between Bjarke and the Methodists, it might be reasonable to assume that there was a disagreement over the priority of social work – as opposed to evangelism and revival. The Danish Methodists were remarkably active in social work, spearheaded by Bast.¹⁰¹ And while it is true that in most parts of the world the Pentecostal movement was born among the poor and served them, it was also born amidst the ‘bifurcation’ of evangelism and social work.¹⁰² Perhaps Bjarke, like Barratt, had begun to drift away from the social vision of their fellow Methodists.¹⁰³ The district report from the following year is clear in its focus on the social side,¹⁰⁴ and later that year a Central Mission was opened in Odense on Bast’s initiative, with the newly installed pastor C. Thaarup as leader.¹⁰⁵

Among the Danish Pentecostals, it seems that a heart for social work only ‘awakened’ some decades later.¹⁰⁶ However, the two movements continued a somewhat parallel course for another decade. Bast went on to become the first European-born Methodist bishop in Europe in 1920, but was arrested on charges of embezzlement in 1924, leading to a mass-exodus of Methodists. Some of these would instead join the Pentecostal churches and – as we shall see at the end of the next chapter – perhaps save the remainder of the Pentecostal movement from almost complete oblivion after the schism with the Apostolic Church.

3.3 Beginnings of denominational Pentecostalism

A shift was underway in the global Pentecostal movement, one that Pentecostals in other countries were perhaps quicker to grasp. According to Peder Borgen, Barratt ‘observed that

¹⁰¹ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 253–54; Charles Yrigoyen, ed., *T & T Clark Companion to Methodism*, T & T Clark Companions (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 179, 403.

¹⁰² Johan Mostert, ‘Ministry of Mercy and Justice’, in *Pentecostal Mission and Global Christianity*, ed. Ma Wonsuk, Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (Oxford: Regnum, 2014), 162–81.

¹⁰³ There were strong parallels between Bast’s and Barratt’s ministries – before Barratt’s Pentecostal turn – as suggested in Thaarup, ‘Methodismus’.

¹⁰⁴ Metodistkirken, *Vor Aarbog*, 1916: 35; cf. the report from the committee on social work, 37–38.

¹⁰⁵ Metodistkirken, *Vor Aarbog*, 1917: 27.

¹⁰⁶ Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 54.

the apostles organised the believers in congregations. History, as well as the Bible, confirmed that the influence of those who do not organise disappears after a while. They cut themselves off from providing lasting influence'.¹⁰⁷ The gradual shift towards a dominant denominational or organisational strategy among Danish Pentecostals reflected both the changed views of Barratt and his followers in Norway and the increased influence of Swedish Pentecostals – which had also influenced Barratt – resulting in the eventual eclipse of Barratt by Pethrus as the most prominent European Pentecostal leader.



Figure: Known Pentecostal activities in Denmark before 1919: o Meetings. • Permanent group .

¹⁰⁷ Borgen, 'Methodismus', 253.

3.3.1 Pioneering assemblies across the country

As we have seen above, the organisational impulse was not strong in the capital. Here it seems plausible to say that free church tendencies had largely been contained and swallowed up by the state church through the Copenhagen Church Building Fund a few years earlier.¹⁰⁸ Instead, denominational Pentecostalism emerged first in other parts of the country, whereas it lived in relative obscurity in Copenhagen until the Bjørners' denominational turn in 1919. Often the local groups only developed gradually into fully-fledged churches, so in this section I refer to most of them simply as assemblies (the Danish equivalent would be *forsamlinger*), rather than congregations (*menigheder*).

However, as mentioned in the last chapter, we only need to venture as far away from Copenhagen as the satellite towns of Lyngby-Brede to see an early formal congregational development. Characteristic of this church was its zeal for global mission; it relinquished many of its leaders to the mission field, particularly China (see below, 3.4.1). The church had activities for all age groups, and during 1915-18 it had about seventy members.¹⁰⁹

Another assembly that was 'born as a missionary congregation' was the one in Roskilde, from which Dagny Pedersen, Annina Kjelstrup, and others missionaries were sent.¹¹⁰ Pedersen had arrived there from Lyngby to take up a position as a nurse, and had perhaps taken the missionary enthusiasm with her. Some of her colleagues joined the Pentecostal movement and became the basis for a local assembly, which later began renting a local

¹⁰⁸ See above, 1.3.3.

¹⁰⁹ Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 27–29; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 564. The rest of North Zealand was dominated by the Bjørners, who concentrated their efforts there and in the capital itself, and who were not yet ready to permit denominational developments.

¹¹⁰ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 46–47. See also below 3.4.1; 3.4.3.

‘barracks’ for their meetings.¹¹¹ From at least the later 1910s, Roskilde hosted a small annual Easter convention which attracted Pentecostals from across Zealand.¹¹²

Further south, the main centre was Næstved. After multiple visits from Barratt and the Thomsen sisters, a revival had begun, with the main leader being H. Clausen, a printer. The Danish-American pastor J. Pedersen visited the town in 1912 and reported that the local branch of the Indre Mission was ‘sharply divided in two camps’ over whether to support the Pentecostal revival.¹¹³ The standoff must have been resolved in favour of the opponents, because Clausen soon became ‘one of the first to make the case for organised congregations’. He published a revised and expanded version of Mygind’s songbook and founded a periodical, *Korsets Budskab* (‘Message of the Cross’), published from 1913 to 1916.¹¹⁴

According to its first issue, the prospect of such a periodical had been maturing over several years among ‘brothers and sisters from various regions’. It was intended as a ‘link between all of God’s children within the different parties and denominations’, and promised to be open to content from all Pentecostals. Like other periodicals, it would also publish letters from missionaries and help supporters send funds back to them.¹¹⁵ It succeeded in attracting a wide circle of Danish contributors, and also signalled its ecumenical openness by including pieces from a wide range of foreign authors.¹¹⁶ Barratt announced that he would – again – abandon an attempt to publish a Danish version of *Korsets Seir* now that the movement in Denmark had its own organ.¹¹⁷ However, the periodical never reached more than about 250 subscribers. An ambitious relaunch of the periodical for early 1917 as *Det*

¹¹¹ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 564–65.

¹¹² *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 4.

¹¹³ *Danskeren*, 1/11/1912, 3.

¹¹⁴ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 566.

¹¹⁵ *Korsets Budskab*, November 1913, 1, quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS.

¹¹⁶ Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS.

¹¹⁷ *Korsets Budskab*, 30/1/1914; cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS. From 1/1/1914 the footer of *Korsets Budskab* stated its claim to be ‘The official organ of the Pentecostal movement in Denmark’.

glade Budskab ('The Glad Tidings') was announced, but instead the publication simply ceased at that point.¹¹⁸ A group of Pentecostals decided to revive the periodical in 1919 under the editorship of Jørgen Sørensen, a Pentecostal pioneer from Roskilde.¹¹⁹ Further south again in Nykøbing, there is less evidence that Barratt's and the Thomsen sisters' visits bore much fruit, but Pentecostals from Næstved seem to have managed to get Pentecostal meetings going there as well. They also supported meetings in the village of Overvindinge in the far south of Zealand.¹²⁰

Across the Belt on Funen, as mentioned above there is some evidence of an exodus of Pentecostals from the Methodist churches. These would have presumably formed independent assemblies, though their relationship with later Pentecostal congregations remains unclear, as does whether they were influenced by previous Pentecostal work on the island, apart from Bjarke's, as described in the last chapter. During 1916, a younger male preacher from Copenhagen, Wilhelm Christiansen, had worked in Odense alongside a married woman, Lizzie Andersen, which had caused some consternation.¹²¹

In Jutland, the Pentecostal influence came not just from the other Scandinavian countries but also from south of the border in Imperial Germany. On 8-10 December 1912, a second international Pentecostal conference was held in Tønder, Schleswig, this time followed by another conference on the Danish side of the border, in Vejle, also with Jonathan Paul and Barratt speaking. They had come straight from the international Pentecostal leaders'

¹¹⁸ *Korsets Budskab*, Christmas 1916; *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/2/1917, 12; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MSS.

¹¹⁹ See below (4.2.2) and Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 565. Sørensen is also described here as one of the first travelling evangelists of the Danish Pentecostal movement, however it is possible that he is being confused with the Norwegian independent Pentecostal evangelist Harald Sørensen who ministered in Denmark for several years from about 1914; see above (3.3.2) and *Korsets Seir*, 30/12/1921, 4. The former editor, Clausen, died in 1919, probably before the periodical was relaunched (*Korsets Budskab*, March 1920, 2).

¹²⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, 30/1/1914; 15/2/1916; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

¹²¹ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/7/1916, 55-56; 20/9/1916, 72; 5/10/1916, 73; 20/10/1916, 79; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS.

conference in Amsterdam, at which Barratt was the only Scandinavian representative. The conference in Tønder was a smaller affair than the previous year, with only Paul, Barratt and a preacher from Hamburg speaking. The meetings in Vejle were meant to have lasted only two days, but seem to have been extended to a whole week; they were well-attended not least because of the prior work of the Thomsen sisters there. The meetings probably resembled classic Holiness meetings more than a ‘conference’. From Vejle, Paul returned to Germany, and while Barratt had considered going to Aarhus and other places in Denmark, he now went straight to Copenhagen instead in order to get back to Kristiania for Christmas.¹²²

Nicolai Hansen of Bylderup-Bov, in the Danish-speaking hinterland east of Tønder, had helped to organise the Pentecostal conferences in 1911-12, along with J.C. Rasmussen, an engine dealer in Tønder. Hansen had now been pushed out of his local Baptist church and became a leader for the local ‘free Pentecostal friends’. The assembly that was formed practised open-air baptisms by immersion and healing of the sick, often with anointing.¹²³ One of those who had experienced Spirit baptism, the farmer Knud Thomsen, moved to Seest near Kolding around 1910 and came to influence developments among Indre Mission adherents in the area.¹²⁴ These had been part of the radical Holiness wing as a stronghold of the ‘Madsen movement’ around this time.¹²⁵ In 1912 Nicolai Hansen visited at least twice from North Schleswig, followed by a visit from the Thomsen sisters.¹²⁶ In December 1912, Paul and Barratt stopped by en route to Vejle and held two meetings. Barratt was able to

¹²² *Korsets Seir*, 1/12/1912, 184; 1/1/1913, 5; 15/2/1913, 31.

¹²³ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 32–36.

¹²⁴ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 21–22, 78–79. According to one account, Knud Thomsen began to preach in Seest as early as 1908 (Tage Juhl Lassen, *Tunger af ild. Exstatisk religiøsitet i Den Apostolske Kirke og Pinsemissionen* (Copenhagen: Credo, 1964), 72).

¹²⁵ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 554, 557.

¹²⁶ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/4/1912, 27; 5/7/1912, 52; 5/9/1912, 68; cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Fuldkommenhed’, MS. Hansen should not be confused with another Schleswigian also named Nicolai Hansen (from Nolde), who travelled with him on these occasions, and also held meetings alongside the Thomsen sisters.

report that there were ‘already multiple Pentecostals’ in Kolding.¹²⁷ Attendees travelled from a wide area; a woman from Bramminge, more than 50 km west of Kolding, was prayed for and healed, according to a letter from her husband.¹²⁸ Bramminge had recently been visited by the Pentecostal preacher Knud Thomsen from Kolding, and seems to have been the hometown of the missionary Hans Thuesen, who was then home from the UK and about to depart for Egypt.¹²⁹

Among the Pentecostals in Kolding were Hans and Beate Beck, who along with their son, Sigfrid Beck, would become important leaders in the Pentecostal movement and later in the Apostolic Church.¹³⁰ In 1915 the Thomsen sisters visited again, bringing with them a German-Russian Pentecostal pioneer, the Baroness Margarethe von Brasch.¹³¹ They attempted to start a mission school there, and a short book by von Brasch was published in Danish.¹³² However, it seems they all soon moved on. In 1916, Frederikke Thomsen led Pentecostal meetings in some villages in Thy (North-west Jutland).¹³³

In Vejle, Barratt’s visit had been preceded by the Thomsen sisters and was followed in 1913 by a visit from P.A. Hagemann (b. 1869), a preacher and former Salvation Army officer and missionary from the Zinnsgade assembly in Copenhagen.¹³⁴ This experience must have

¹²⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1913, 5; cf. *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/11/1912, 84; 20/8/1914, 61 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’ and ‘Seest’, MSS).

¹²⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 15/2/1913, 31.

¹²⁹ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/12/1912, 92, quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS.

¹³⁰ The earliest mention of the Becks was as donors to the work of Martha Rønager (Fullerton) in *Fra Libanon*, February 1913, 160. Like many other Pentecostals in the area, their background was in the Indre Mission (Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 64).

¹³¹ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/4/1915, 30, 32; *Korsets Budskab* (date uncertain); cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MSS.

¹³² M. von Brasch, *Fuld Forløsning i Kristus. Hefte Nr. 1. Opgaaende Lys*, trans. Chr. Jensen (Copenhagen, 1915). (Original title: *Völlige Erlösung in Christo!*) The Baroness also visited the Zinnsgade assembly in Copenhagen in June 1915 (*Korsets Budskab*, 15/6/1915; *Shv* 20/6/1915, 48 cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MSS).

¹³³ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/9/1916, 67; 20/9/1916 72; cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS.

¹³⁴ Hagemann became a Pentecostal sometime during 1908 under Barratt’s influence (Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, III:07.557). He shifted from the Colosseum to the Zinnsgade assembly in the autumn of 1910 (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.14, p. 21, letter from Mygind dated 6/12/1910).

been at least somewhat encouraging for Hagemann, since the following year he decided to settle in Vejle and begin a more permanent Pentecostal work there. He may also partly have been motivated by the fact that his wife was born in Vejle. Hagemann also ministered in Horsens and so may have provided some direction for the Pentecostals there after Christensen's death.¹³⁵ In March 1914, the German Pentecostal preacher Emil Meyer held meetings in Vejle.¹³⁶

In the south-west, another group of Pentecostals was centred in Grindsted around 1918. Since around 1907, Grindsted had been marked by a radical Holiness revival, independent but loosely connected with the MCC, which may also have fed into the Pentecostal movement. There were also about twenty baptised adherents in Esbjerg, mainly drawn from the existing churches in the town, but these were led by Wilhelm Christiansen, who had now married his collaborator. The 'confusion' they had caused in Odense also followed them to Esbjerg, and they later ministered in Cuba and the US – apparently without much success – before returning to Denmark where the Pentecostals were warned against them.¹³⁷

Further north in Jutland, there is little direct evidence of Pentecostal congregations developing during this period, apart from a few isolated cases. In the West Jutland 'Bible belt' (roughly corresponding to Ringkøbing County), the radical Holiness 'released' movement had likewise been conspicuously unsuccessful. One might contrast the radical Evangelical developments in Grindsted with the conservative Lutheran revivalist epicentre of Skjern, less than 40 km to the north-west, a stronghold for both the Indre Mission and Luthersk

¹³⁵ *Københavns Stadsarkiv (Politiets Registerblade)*, <http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2030170> (accessed 26/11/2015); 'Vejle ...: Evangeliemenigheden, Vejle, 25 år', *Korsets Evangelium*, 1 April 1974.

¹³⁶ Announced in *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/2/1914, 15; quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS.

¹³⁷ *Dannevirke*, 23/1/1918, 2; *Korsets Seir*, 30/4/1922, 5; *Evangeliebladet*, 2/11/1922, 4; Mogens Jensen, 'Missionshuse i Grindsted sogn i 100 år', *Egnsbogen: Grindsted/Billund/Give*, 1991, 4–5; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 554.

Missionsforening. Perhaps more surprising is the relative lack of success for the Pentecostals in the northern and eastern parts of Jutland, where the ‘released’ had achieved great successes, as also in the southern part.¹³⁸ An additional factor might be the distance from Copenhagen, not least the cultural distance, in terms of regional rivalry or rural-urban distrust. At least in the public perception – if not in actual practice – Copenhagen was the epicentre of Pentecostalism in Denmark. Pentecostal growth in Copenhagen could have provided an additional reason for people in large parts of Jutland to be sceptical of it.¹³⁹

However, a problem here might be our sporadic sources. In the next chapter we will see that Pentecostals in North Jutland had an influence during the Apostolic schism in 1924. It may be that since there were already relatively many Baptists and Methodists in this area, such denominational developments might happen more rapidly.¹⁴⁰ But it is at least equally likely that earlier developments simply did not become widely known, since before 1919 there was no viable national publication or focal congregation to unite local developments in different parts of the country. Some further evidence might exist in more obscure sources such as parish reports held in diocesan archives; for example, it is known that on Jegindø, a small island in the already religiously diverse far north-west, Pentecostals were added to the many different groups around 1915.¹⁴¹ But extracting this form of information from more than 2,000 parishes would be an almost insurmountable task.

¹³⁸ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 411–12.

¹³⁹ David Martin writes of ‘the defensive enclave of regional piety pressured by “the center” in Britain ... or in Scandinavia (e.g. Jutland). In that context the appearance of Neo-Pentecostal movements in metropolitan areas like Helsinki may be a portent. The older rural revival is very different from the urban megachurch’ (Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 32).

¹⁴⁰ Thaarup, ‘Methodismus’, 266.

¹⁴¹ Frans Ole Overgaard, ‘En egn og en ø - Jegindø: 200 års kirkeliv og vækkelse’, *Historisk Årbog for Thy og Vester Han Herred*, 1983, <http://www.thistedmuseum.dk/historisk%20%C3%A5rbog/%C3%85rgang%201983/Overgaard,%20Frans%20Ole%20-%20En%20egn%20og%20en%20%C3%B8-%20Jegind%C3%B8.pdf>.

Finally, towards the end of this period, a Pentecostal assembly sprang up on Bornholm, which had been the focus of multiple efforts by Pentecostal evangelists.¹⁴² Jens Folkertsen, who would later become a significant leader in Copenhagen, led the establishment of an independent congregation in Rønne around 1918, with the adherents mainly coming from the Indre Mission.¹⁴³ Like West Jutland, Bornholm had a history of strong revivalist activity, but with the diversity mainly confined to various conservative Lutheran groups – and here the ‘released’ had also not had much success. This confirms that the quantity of previous revivalist activity alone may not be the best predictor of Pentecostal success; it took a specific, theologically compatible kind of prepared soil for the Pentecostal movement to flourish. At the same time, the Pentecostal movement was not uniformly successful in those areas where the ‘released’ or the later, more Keswickian ‘Madsen movement’ had previously found supporters. The geographical overlap on Zealand is ambiguous at best.¹⁴⁴ In some areas the Pentecostals may have been negatively affected by the backlash against the earlier movements.

3.3.2 Copenhagen: from Zinnsgrade to Filadelfia

In the earliest days of the Pentecostal movement in Copenhagen, Zinnsgrade had been a rallying point for all Pentecostals, before the leaders there began to focus on issues such as believers’ baptism, which led to the formation of the Colosseum assembly. But gradually, other Pentecostals in Copenhagen began to adopt Zinnsgrade’s points of view.

Anna Bjørner’s former colleague Anna Lewini had continued to minister across Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In April 1911, during an extended trip to Norway, she was baptised in a

¹⁴² Most recently, Anna Lewini had toured Bornholm in the summer of 1914 (*Bornholms Tidende*, 30/6/1914, 3; 4/7/1914, 3; 7/7/1914, 3; 8/7/1914, 3). The Bjørners may also have visited in 1918 or 1919, according to a letter in the Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), dated 14/9/1918.

¹⁴³ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 566–67; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 44–45.

¹⁴⁴ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 406–13, 508, 552–57.

Baptist chapel in Frederikshald (present-day Halden).¹⁴⁵ It is likely that Lewini was influenced in this decision by the pastor there, Severin Larsen, a Pentecostal leader and life-long Baptist, who may also have influenced Pethrus during the latter's stay in Frederikshald in 1901.¹⁴⁶ Larsen had ministered in Copenhagen during the Pentecostal revival in 1909.¹⁴⁷ In the winter of 1916, he travelled around Denmark and saw revival 'in several places'.¹⁴⁸ In the spring of 1917 he was in Copenhagen again, leading meetings which had been organised by 'a committee formed for this purpose' with 'members from most different denominations'.¹⁴⁹

Lewini's baptism did not initially pose a problem for her collaboration with Barratt and Larssen, but from this point onwards she must have begun to gravitate more towards the Zinns-gade assembly as her base in Copenhagen. To Lewini is owed the most glowing description of the Zinns-gade ministry that we have, perhaps with a slight element of hyperbole:

Yes, – Zinns-gade! – Almost twenty years ago this name was on the lips of thousands in Copenhagen and elsewhere, yes, even in other countries. What was it about then? Well, from there the sound of praise was heard, hearts were filled with both joy and sorrow. Some laughed, others wept etc. Yes, to outsiders it looked like a singular commotion and disorder, but the chief of salvation used his chosen instrument, Pastor T.B. Barratt. Souls were saved, God's children were baptised in the Holy Spirit like on the day of Pentecost. ... In Zinns-gade singing in the Spirit was often heard, and also words of prophecy as well as speaking in tongues with interpretation. ... Many of us, who were saved in Zinns-gade, were sent out by God as evangelists and missionaries. Some received the light through us in Africa, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, yes even that sunny, palm-encircled island, Ceylon, and many other parts of the world.¹⁵⁰

Lewini hints here at Zinns-gade's significance as a centre from which missionaries were sent out, though this part of its legacy may be overstated (see below, 3.4). She seems not to have

¹⁴⁵ *Aalborg Stiftstidende*, 1/5/1911, 1.

¹⁴⁶ Lie, *Norsk pinsekristendom*, 97–98; Terje Engmo, *Sannelig, Herren er paa dette sted: Halden Baptistmenighets historie fra 1884 til 2009* (Stabekk: Norsk litteraturselskap, 2010).

¹⁴⁷ *Byposten*, 1/5/1909, 36;

¹⁴⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 8/6/1916, 96.

¹⁴⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 5/4/1917, 60.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 23.

seen any clear break between the early pioneer days when Barratt would often speak at Zinnsgade and the later period when for a while the ministry became more divided between the denominational and interdenominational strategies. She simply gravitated towards Zinnsgade when the split happened.

There were later rumours that Lewini had distanced herself from Barratt and his movement, but she herself strongly denied this. However, she confessed to Barratt that she had considered laying down her work because of certain difficulties, both because of rumours and because of an illness that she was recovering from.¹⁵¹ Soon after, in September 1913, Barratt met her in Örebro, one of the hubs of the Pentecostal revival in Sweden, where she witnessed to the humiliation, restoration, and liberation she had by then experienced.¹⁵²

As mentioned above, when the Colosseum assembly had its lease terminated in 1912, many of the Pentecostals from there instead joined the Zinnsgade assembly. Shortly after, the original leader of the Zinnsgade group, Philip Wittrock, seems to have disappeared from the stage. It may be that this influx of interdenominationally oriented members made his position as leader untenable, since he had been the main proponent of the opposing view. As we saw in the last chapter, Wittrock had held firmly to the practice of believers' baptism since 1909, but some of the new members may not have been ready to accept this, at least not yet.

It seems that the Zinnsgade assembly remained relatively insignificant, since it lacked leaders who could connect it with the synergies of the international Pentecostal network. Lewini was dynamic but perhaps not seen as an obvious choice for a leader, whether because of her gender or her incessant travelling. Thus, the American Pentecostal evangelist Frank Bartleman (1871-1936) travelled through Copenhagen multiple times en route to and from

¹⁵¹ T.B. Barratt Papers, I.15, p. 29, letter from Anna Lewini dated 24/5/1913.

¹⁵² *Korsets Seir*, 15/10/1913, 157, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

Norway and Sweden around 1913-1914, but though his account is hard to follow chronologically, it does not seem he formed any contacts during his brief visits.¹⁵³

As mentioned above, P.A. Hagemann was sent out from Zinnsgade to Vejle first in 1913 and permanently from 1914. This is perhaps the only example of the denominational or congregational impulse successfully spreading out from Copenhagen during this period. This was partly due to priorities varying between different participants. For example, Lewini was not concerned with founding congregations. Despite her association with the denominational wing of Scandinavian Pentecostalism, she herself worked on an interdenominational basis until as late as 1921, even in Sweden where denominationalism was the strongest and where ‘Many have found fault with my working method, but I *know* that I have acted in accordance and harmony with God’s plan’.¹⁵⁴

The Zinnsgade assembly originally had a loose organisation without registered members. By 1913, the informal leader of the Zinnsgade assembly was called Nielsen Boltvig, formerly a leader within the MCC and then an associate of A.C. Nissen. However, in December of 1914, a small group of prominent members decided to break away, apparently out of nostalgia for the freedom of the original Pentecostal revival. For a time, there were two small Pentecostal assemblies in Copenhagen. After a few months, Boltvig gave up the work at Zinnsgade and rented premises in Ravnsborg Tværgade, also in central Copenhagen. As during Wittrock’s leadership, this group remained under Erik Andersen’s influence, as opposed to Barratt’s. The hall in Zinnsgade was taken over by the breakaway group, which also attracted many former ‘Colosseum friends’. It was similarly under strong Norwegian influence, first from the missionary Agnes Larsen (on furlough from China) and later under

¹⁵³ Frank Bartleman, ‘Two Years Mission Work in Europe: Just Before the World War’, in *Witness to Pentecost: The Life of Frank Bartleman*, ed. Donald W. Dayton, Higher Christian Life 5 (New York: Garland, 1985), 14, 18, 21, 26, 34–35; cf. Gäreskog, *Andrew Ek*, 119.

¹⁵⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 24/11/1921, 215; emphasis original.

the leadership of Harald Sørensen, an independent evangelist who had arrived from Norway the previous year. It also received a visit from the missionary Gunnerius Tollefsen (1888-1966).¹⁵⁵ Most reports regretted the division, but the most optimistic claimed that both halls were ‘filled to the brim’.¹⁵⁶

Later that year, an official leadership was first appointed for the congregation in Zinnsgade, with a single leader and a number of elders whose names have unfortunately been lost.¹⁵⁷ But the assembly was not yet fully organised; its membership was still informal and the requirement of believers’ baptism not enforced. In a report from the summer of 1916, the Swedish evangelist Alfred Gustafsson described how during his visit to Copenhagen the Pentecostals at Zinnsgade had expressed their ‘need’ for ‘an organised congregation according to the Biblical pattern and not just a so-called “mission”’. On that basis, Gustafsson concluded that ‘a believing and baptised congregation’ would soon be brought about.¹⁵⁸ However, it would still be almost a year before this happened. On Ascension Day 1917, while the Norwegian Pentecostal Baptist pastor Anton Taranger was a visiting preacher at Zinnsgade and holding revival meetings in the city, a congregation with seventy baptised members was formed, with about a further thirty requesting membership, some of whom would have to be baptised first.¹⁵⁹ The Zinnsgade assembly also began hosting a small annual

¹⁵⁵ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/3/1913, 22; 5/12/1914, 90-91; 5/5/1915, 31; 5/7/1916, 50; *Korsets Seir*, 1/5/1914, 70; 15/4/1915, 62; 15/6/1915, 95; 1-15/12/1915, 188; *Korsets Budskab*, 15/5/1915; cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Nissen’, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, and ‘Pinsemission’, MSS. Tollefsen had also ministered in Denmark in 1912, shortly after he became a Pentecostal, before training in Scotland from 1912 to 1915 (*Korsets Seir*, 1/8/1915, 116, cited in Bundy, *Visions*, 328).

¹⁵⁶ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/11/1915; quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS.

¹⁵⁷ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 214; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 561; Laurids Stampe, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, in *Illustreret religionsleksikon*, ed. Aage Bentzen, Søren Holm f. 1901, and N. H. Søre, vol. 3 (Skandinavisk Bogforlag, 1949), 126; Thaarup, ‘Methodismus’. One of the leaders, perhaps the main one, seems to have been J. Hansen, a gardener from the suburb of Charlottenlund (*Korsets Seir*, 1/11/1915, 167, cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS); later mentioned in *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 4; September 1919, 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 27/7/1916, 123.

¹⁵⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 24/5/1917, 88 (cf. 3/5/1917, 76). Taranger also uses the formulaic phrase, ‘a believing and baptised congregation’.

Pentecost (Whitsun) convention, joint with the Lyngby-Brede church, which attracted Pentecostals from across the country, though especially from Zealand.¹⁶⁰

When the so-called ‘free assembly’ was reorganised, it took the name *Filadelfia*, the same name used by the congregations in the other two Scandinavian capitals, which were led by Barratt and Pethrus respectively. However, it is likely that by this point in time the more important influence was Pethrus and his church in Stockholm. Filadelfia may also have had a strong contingent of former Baptists, as there was among the Swedish Pentecostals as well. Baptist historians have noted that Pentecostalism ‘caused a number of troubles’ within the Danish Baptist churches.¹⁶¹ Soon Pethrus’ newly founded weekly magazine, *Evangelii Härold* (‘Herald of the Gospel’), began to obtain subscribers in Denmark.¹⁶² One of these, a woman in Lyngby, wrote a letter of thanks and noted that each copy she received was shared with many friends in the Copenhagen and North Zealand area.¹⁶³

The Scandinavian links of the denominational Pentecostals in Copenhagen and elsewhere were also strengthened by Danish Pentecostals travelling to the other Scandinavian countries. Lewini had much of her ministry in Sweden, especially in Norrköping where she stayed multiple times between 1916 and 1919. She also visited Vreta Kloster (near Linköping, spring of 1916, likely en route to or from Norrköping), Åtvidaberg (early 1918), Laholm (March 1918), Nyköping (August 1918), Stockholm (December 1918), Falun (January 1919), and probably other towns.¹⁶⁴ Towards the end of her first stay in Norrköping, she wrote to her ‘spiritual father’, Barratt, describing how she and others had been labouring ‘almost all

¹⁶⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 4; July 1919, 2.

¹⁶¹ Bent Hylleberg and Bjarne Møller Jørgensen, *Et kirkesamfund bliver til: Danske baptisters historie gennem 150 år* (Copenhagen: Føltveds Forlag, 1989), 163.

¹⁶² *Evangelii Härold*, 15/6/1916, 99.

¹⁶³ *Evangelii Härold*, 30/8/1917, 143.

¹⁶⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 31/5/1916, 92; 24/1/1918, 16; 14/3/1918, 44; 28/3/1918, 51; 11/4/1918, 59; 29/8/1918, 139; Roland Gäreskog, *Pingstväckelsen inom Metodistkyrkan i Sverige åren 1907–1922*, Skrifter utgivna av Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning 16 (Stockholm: Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning, 2013), 121–22, 165–67.

winter' for a revival. She could report that a few hundred had been converted, and many of these had 'come gloriously through' and experienced Spirit baptism, along with 'many children of God'. They were still waiting for 'the great breakthrough' though, but soon it was decided to end the campaign and Lewini moved on, probably back to Denmark. She returned to Norrköping in September 1917, where a Pentecostal prayer group had been formed after her last visit.¹⁶⁵ Later she was again in Örebro where, 'worn out with long unbroken service in the Lord's work', she encountered the British evangelist and faith healer Smith Wigglesworth (1859-1947) and experienced healing at one of his meetings. Following that she accompanied him in his work in Scandinavia, culminating in Copenhagen in the summer of 1921.¹⁶⁶

3.3.3 The universalism controversy

Another Danish Pentecostal ministering in Sweden was Niels Christian Nielsen (1887-1960), from 1916. His name was soon naturalised to 'Kristian Nielsén'.¹⁶⁷ In October 1917 he was appointed as pastor of a Pentecostal congregation in the Östermalm district of Stockholm, when the local group of Pentecostals broke away from the Baptist church,¹⁶⁸ but he remained an itinerant preacher as well.¹⁶⁹ Though born in Ringkøbing on the west coast of Denmark,¹⁷⁰ he seems also to have been previously based in Brede near Copenhagen. He tried a few times

¹⁶⁵ T.B. Barratt papers, I.16, p. 30, letters from Lewini dated 27/4/1916 and 4/5/1916; cf. Gäreskog, *Pingstväckelsen inom Metodistkyrkan*, 121.

¹⁶⁶ *Confidence*, April-June 1922, 22; reprinted in *Pentecostal Evangel*, 27/5/1922, 10, and Stanley Howard Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth: Apostle of Faith* (London: Elim Publishing Co, 1949), 69. See also below, 4.2.4.

¹⁶⁷ First mentioned in *Evangelii Härold* as preaching in Gothenburg (15/6/1916, 100), Nielsen soon travelled to Stockholm to minister at the Filadelfia church (3/8/1916, 128). He quickly became a close associate of Pethrus and moved to the Stockholm area more permanently (5/10/1916, 163-64). He was a student at the (Baptist) Betel Seminary in Stockholm during 1916-17 (*Institutet för pentekostala studier*, <https://pingst.sharepoint.com/teams/ips/IPS%20Wiki/PingstWiki.aspx>, accessed 29/9/2016). The spelling 'Kristian Nielsén' and variations thereof (e.g. 'K. Nielsen') were first used the following summer (14/6/1917, 100), but the Danish spelling 'N. C. Nielsen' was still used in some announcements until a few months later (6/9/1917, 148).

¹⁶⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 25/10/1917, 174.

¹⁶⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 7/3/1918, 40; 28/3/1918, 51-52; 2/5/1918, 72; 4/7/1918, 107; et alib.

¹⁷⁰ *Evangelii Härold*, 1/4/1920, 52.

to visit Copenhagen and Lyngby-Brede to further the Pentecostal movement there, and finally succeeded in this in the summer of 1918, having previously found ‘closed doors’. It seems that he was sent with a special charge to ensure that ‘no unsound conceptions of salvation may be allowed to disturb God’s work’.¹⁷¹ This may be referring to a theological controversy which, apart from the question of organisation, had become a main point of contention in Denmark and elsewhere in Europe, namely the question whether every human being would in the end be reconciled to God and saved, as the universalist position stated. The controversies prevalent in the US, over Oneness and over the differentiation of Spirit baptism from other stages of the Christian life, did not make as great an impact in Europe, though the point of view that the second birth was the same as Spirit baptism gained some currency in Norway, much to Barratt’s annoyance.¹⁷²

Pentecostal universalism emerged earlier in Denmark than in England, where universalism (or *Ultimate Reconciliation* as its proponents referred to it) became an important impetus for the organisation of Pentecostalism in the early 1920s, when the Assemblies of God in Great Britain was formed in order to counter such doctrinal errors, among other purposes.¹⁷³ It had a similar effect in Denmark in the late 1910s, as we shall see. Later Pentecostals have rarely acknowledged the extent of this controversy; it was probably too embarrassing to be remembered.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ *Evangelii Härold*, 11/7/1918, 112.

¹⁷² Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 191; Arthur Sundstedt, *Pingstväckelsen* (Stockholm: Norman, 1969), 3:222; see also Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 282.

¹⁷³ Richard Dan. 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’ (Thesis PhD - University of Birmingham, Dept of Theology, 1987), 19–20, 276–79; Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 125; Timothy Bernard Walsh, *To Meet and Satisfy a Very Hungry People’: the Origins and Fortunes of English Pentecostalism, 1907-1925*, Studies in Evangelical History and Thought (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2012), 215–16.

¹⁷⁴ Universalism also appeared among a small group of Scandinavian-American Pentecostals in Minnesota, the *Assembly of God Missionary Fellowship* (not affiliated with the Assemblies of God), though there is no evident connection; for further information see Rodgers, *Northern Harvest*, 58–62.

To some, this controversial doctrine will have seemed like a ghost from the past: the Norwegian perfectionist preacher S.V. Ulness had been accused of the same thing around the turn of the century,¹⁷⁵ and the Ulness-influenced ‘released’ movement had also been tainted by it.¹⁷⁶ In the MCC, the same doctrine had been part of what led to a major schism in 1902.¹⁷⁷

It is difficult to establish when universalism first became a burning question for the Pentecostals. It was reported in early 1915 that a few Pentecostals in Denmark had adopted the doctrine of universal salvation. Chief among them was Asmus Biehl, who gathered a small number of Pentecostals in private meetings and also published a book promoting his stance. Barratt travelled to Copenhagen in November to fight against the spread of this doctrine. He was pleased to note that the main Pentecostal groups there had rejected it.¹⁷⁸ However, the doctrine began to spread across the country – for example, to Kolding.¹⁷⁹ The publication of *Korsets Budskab* may also have ceased in part because of this controversy. In the summer of 1916, three members of the editorial committee were dismissed over their universalist leanings, including Lauritz Knudsen, a former prominent member of the ‘Madsen movement’. In the heat of the moment, the editor, Clausen, indicated his belief that there were in fact two different movements that both claimed the name of Pentecostal – one of which was from God, the other, disorderly one from Satan. And yet, in its last issue it included an

¹⁷⁵ Bundy, *Visions*, 93.

¹⁷⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 417–18, 423–24.

¹⁷⁷ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 441.

¹⁷⁸ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/2/1915, 14–15; 5/8/1915, 59; 20/12/1915, 94; *Korsets Seir*, 15/4/1915, 61; 1–15/12/1915, 188; all cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’ and ‘Pinsemission’, MSS; A. Biehl, *Guds Ild, dens Aarsag og Virkning, Tanker vedrørende Jesu Kristi Dag, alle Tings Genoprettelse og andre bibelske Sandheder, fremsatte i ubunden Samtaleform* (Copenhagen, 1915).

¹⁷⁹ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/8/1916; cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MSS.

article by the Asmus Biehl.¹⁸⁰ It also seems the periodical had itself begun to promote Oneness Pentecostalism, which was not widely accepted among Danish Pentecostals either.¹⁸¹

Swedish Pentecostal periodicals included some polemics against universalism from about 1915. However, the casual references in *Brudgummens Röst* ('The Bridegroom's Voice') do not reveal an understanding that universalism was appearing within Pentecostalism, but rather referred to the kind connected with Unitarianism and theological Liberalism – whereas the Pentecostal universalists were coming at it from a biblicist (eschatological) rather than a modernist point of view.¹⁸² From January 1916, Pethrus' *Evangelii Härold* reported concern about the spread of what in Swedish was referred to as 'Russelianism' among Pentecostals in the United States, referring to Charles Taze Russell, the founder of what later came to be known as Jehovah's Witnesses, and specifically his rejection of an eternal hell.¹⁸³ In a September 1916 issue, the front page and most of the second page was devoted to a sermon specifically against universalism, which might be an indication that such tendencies had begun to be noticed among the Pentecostals in Sweden as well.¹⁸⁴

Nonetheless, it seems the Swedes were diplomatic and patient in their attempts to intervene. The problem was that universalism went straight to the top; it had been embraced by the most promising Danish Pentecostal leaders, the Bjørners, along with other leaders such as Frederikke Thomsen and Jens Folkertsen. When Frederikke Thomsen embraced universalism, her collaboration with Frida Thomsen ended, possibly while they were still ministering in

¹⁸⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/8/1916; Christmas 1916; *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/8/1916, 64; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission' and 'Pinsemission. L. Knudsen', MSS.

¹⁸¹ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 847, n. 211.

¹⁸² *Brudgummens Röst*, July 1915, 111; February 1918, 18; March 1918, 38.

¹⁸³ *Evangelii Härold*, 20/1/1916, 11; 31/5/1916, 92; 14/12/1916, 203. Russell's doctrine was sometimes conflated with the possibility of conversion after death; e.g. *Evangelii Härold*, 31/1/1924, 50.

¹⁸⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 21/9/1916, 153-54. This piece entitled 'Finnes det ett helvete?' ('Is there a hell?') is a translation from a sermon by a 'Dr Talmage', most likely Thomas De Witt Talmage (1832-1902). Another sermon against universalism, this time by Pethrus, appeared on the front page on 3/1/1918, continued 10/1/1918, 1-2.

south-east Jutland. Frida Thomsen instead began an open-air ministry in the Frederiksberg borough of Copenhagen.¹⁸⁵ Jens Folkertsen arrived from Bornholm in 1919 to assist the Bjørners in their work in the Copenhagen area.¹⁸⁶

It seems that organised Pentecostal churches such as the ones in Lyngby and in Zinnsgade were less affected by the universalist doctrine; Kristian Nielsén may simply have been sent there as a preventative measure.¹⁸⁷ They must have felt under pressure: when Nielsén visited Copenhagen and Lyngby again during Christmas 1918, he found that ‘a devastating spirit was prevailing’, though they had ‘good meetings under the circumstances’. He sensed that ‘The Lord surely has a great work, which he will carry out in Denmark’.¹⁸⁸ Danish Pentecostal history could have looked very different if the leaders who had embraced universalism, such as the Bjørners, had simply been ostracised by their peers abroad.¹⁸⁹ Still, the ability of Pentecostal congregations to avoid what was perceived as doctrinal slides probably helps explain why the non-denominational Pentecostals were eventually mostly pulled into this form of organising as well, as we shall now see.

3.3.4 The Gospel Assembly

Leaving the doctrinal question of universal salvation aside for a moment, in 1919 the Bjørners also faced a dilemma in terms of their model of ministry: on the one hand, they had experienced an openness towards their Pentecostal message in certain sectors of the existing

¹⁸⁵ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 566.

¹⁸⁶ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 215; Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 130; Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse*, 111.

¹⁸⁷ From N.P. Rasmussen’s visit in December 1917, nothing of concern was mentioned about the two churches (*Evangelii Härold*, 3/1/1918, 4).

¹⁸⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 6/2/1919, 24. NB! There is an error in the message from Nielsén (see correction, 13/2/1919, 28): he refers to a ‘great hunger for full liberation’ (*frigörelse*), not full ‘destruction’ (*förgörelse*).

¹⁸⁹ By contrast, in the UK (which had a greater variety of Pentecostal leaders) the universalism issue led to a schism; Donald Gee notes: ‘The pity of it was that such speculative questions ... came to absorb all the powers of some who had been, and could yet have been, so greatly used by God in connection with the central message of the Pentecostal Revival’ (Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 124).

churches, including the state church where they had upheld their membership; on the other hand, Pentecostals in Norway and Sweden (as well as some places in Denmark) had moved towards a denominational model of organisation and seemed to see more fruit from their work than the Bjørners.¹⁹⁰ When the Bjørners ultimately decided to be baptised and soon after to form a congregation in Copenhagen, it was in a sense a reversal to the centralised pattern that Barratt had attempted to establish with the Colosseum assembly during 1910-12. But it was also a decisive end to the interdenominational strategy.

The Bjørners themselves had not exclusively ministered in Denmark but also across the Sound in Helsingborg.¹⁹¹ In early 1919, they met the Swedish evangelist Albin Holmgren there; he describes their visit as a ‘great blessing’ and adds: ‘Many prejudices have tumbled and a number of Christians from the different denominations seem to be taking up a more understanding attitude towards the work of the Spirit’, which could be an allusion to the fact that the Bjørners were still members of the Lutheran church.¹⁹² They were announced as preachers again at a campaign in Helsingborg, 25 May–1 June 1919, alongside Lewi Pethrus, Anton Taranger and others.¹⁹³ On the last day of the meetings, they were baptised in the Sound by Taranger.¹⁹⁴ The openness that had been afforded them as Lutherans (and universalists) had ended up becoming the occasion for their definitive move towards denominational Pentecostalism.

This was followed by the Bjørners’ apparently most successful summer revival campaign so far, with the Gospel Wagon in the Gilleleje and Hellerup areas along the North Zealand coast. They were assisted by Jens Folkertsen from Bornholm, Albin Holmgren from Sweden, and for a while also Anton Taranger. Jørgen Sørensen from Roskilde also visited the meetings

¹⁹⁰ Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 70.

¹⁹¹ *Evangelii Härold*, 13/3/1919, 43; Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 63.

¹⁹² *Evangelii Härold*, 13/3/1919, 43.

¹⁹³ *Evangelii Härold*, 15/5/1919, 80; 22/5/1919, 86.

¹⁹⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 19/6/1919, 101.

and wrote a favourable report in *Korsets Budskab*. Around seventy were baptised as a result of this summer campaign. On Holmgren's encouragement, a 'Gospel Assembly' (*Evangelieforsamlingen*) was founded in September 1919, with 102 members in total. Services were initially held at the Technological Institute in central Copenhagen (Vester Farimagsgade); only in 1922 would the congregation inaugurate its own building. The Bjørners' motivation for founding the congregation was, ostensibly, the pastoral care of their converts, and so Sigurd Bjørner hesitantly had to take on the role of shepherd in addition to evangelist.¹⁹⁵

The existing Pentecostal church in Copenhagen, Filadelfia (Zinnsgade), had about two hundred members by this point, circa three quarters of whom now decided to join the Gospel Assembly. The remaining group lived in relative obscurity until it was again joined by a breakaway faction from the Gospel Assembly after the Apostolic schism in 1924.¹⁹⁶ Denominational Pentecostals elsewhere in the country also became more open to the Bjørners. They were invited to be the main speakers, along with Taranger, at a conference in Aalborg in October 1919, possibly organised as part of an attempt to start a congregation there.¹⁹⁷

The Bjørners spent much of November 1919 in Stockholm, attending Filadelfia's Bible school, presumably leaving Folkertsen and Holmgren in charge of their newly founded congregation. The Bjørners seem to have been both participants and contributors to the Bible

¹⁹⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 23/10/1919, 165; *Korsets Budskab*, October 1919, 3; *Evangeliebladet*, 6-13/12/1923, 10; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 568–69; Jensen, *Mindeskriфт*, 32–34; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 157. Anna Bjørner's memoirs, which have an apologetic aim, make no mention of the controversial topic of adult baptisms – neither her and her husband's nor their converts'. In a later work, she reflected on their decision to be baptised: 'God had long by his Spirit and through his word spoken to my husband and me about the fact that we had not been baptised with the baptism that Jesus had commanded and the apostles practised' (Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 19).

¹⁹⁶ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 214–15; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 569.

¹⁹⁷ *Korsets Budskab*, October 1919, 3; November 1919, 3. The Pentecostal missionary N.P. Rasmussen had also visited Aalborg when he was on furlough from China in 1917 (*Evangelii Härold*, 12/7/1917, 115).

school; Anna Bjørner at least described herself as a ‘student’ (*elev*) in an interview published in the national Swedish *Dagens Nyheter* paper while they were in Stockholm. The same interview is a good example of the erstwhile actress’ continuing ability to raise publicity for the Pentecostal movement, ‘the religious movement that Mrs Larsen [sic] nowadays belongs to, and which to the general public is probably quite unknown’.¹⁹⁸ At the same time Anna Bjørner also contributed with singing and preaching at public services, and her husband preached multiple times as well, including on the first Sunday after their arrival.¹⁹⁹

Shortly after, the Bjørners hosted a Scandinavian Pentecostal conference in Copenhagen, 9-11 December 1919, with support from Pethrus and Barratt. The public evening meetings were again held at the iconic venue that the early Pentecostal revival had used, *Koncertpalæet*. The daytime meetings were held in a smaller hall and the attendees were mainly preachers.²⁰⁰ Though the first meeting was opened by Sigurd Bjørner, the driving forces during the discussions were Barratt and Pethrus, along with several other Norwegian and Swedish ‘brothers’, to the extent that Jørgen Sørensen’s report complained that not enough Danes had been heard from.²⁰¹

A variety of topics were discussed, but there were two main outcomes: the Scandinavian congregational model of Pentecostal organisation was affirmed, and universalism was condemned. Both points were controversial, and some followers left mainstream

¹⁹⁸ *Dagens Nyheter*, 12/11/1919, reprinted in *Evangelii Härold*, 27/11/1919, 184. See also Sundstedt, *Pingstväckelsen*, 2:202-05.

¹⁹⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 6/11/1919, 174; 13/11/1919, 178; 20/11/1919, 182; 27/11/1919, 186.

²⁰⁰ *Evangelii Härold*, 31/12/1919, 205; *Korsets Budskab*, December 1919, 3. *Koncertpalæet* had also been used by the Bjørners for a few meetings during the spring of 1919 (*Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 4). The conference seems to have been planned in a hurry, possible without consulting Barratt first (the first announcement appeared in *Evangelii Härold*, 6/11/1919, 174, shortly after the Bjørners’ arrival in Stockholm, with the Bjørners as the named inviters).

²⁰¹ *Korsets Budskab*, January 1920, 1-2; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 569.

Pentecostalism because of them.²⁰² Nevertheless, the first brief report in *Evangelii Härold* stated that ‘We hope to God that these days have been of great significance for the Lord’s work in Denmark’.²⁰³ The controversy of universalism had become the occasion for an intervention in favour of organising the Pentecostals in congregations, parallel to the developments soon after in the UK as noted above.

3.4 Danish Pentecostal foreign mission until and during WWI

The question of organisation that the 1919 conference in Copenhagen addressed was ultimately closely linked to the question of how to organise the Pentecostal movement’s foreign mission efforts, a central focus for many early Pentecostals. As David Bundy has shown in his major work, it was the question of the organisation of mission that led to the emergence of national Pentecostal denominations in Scandinavia, rather than just local Pentecostal congregations. However, the question was answered in two different ways: on the one hand, Barratt had promoted a Pentecostal umbrella organisation to pool the resources for mission, whereas Pethrus on the other hand believed the mission work would be more effective – as well as more biblical – if each missionary was sent out by a single local church, and under his leadership the Swedish Pentecostal movement became, at least initially, more of a spiritual union or an organic network than a formalised denomination.²⁰⁴

The Danish Pentecostal movement leaned more towards the Swedish model, though this interpretation might make a virtue of necessity: the Danish Pentecostals were still too few and too spread out to organise effectively on a national scale. Foreign mission seems at this point

²⁰² Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 215. It seems there were still a few who argued for the universalist position at least as late as 1922, prompting Anna Bjørner to refute their arguments (*Korsets Seir*, 20/2/1922, 4-5; 30/2/1922, 5).

²⁰³ *Evangelii Härold*, 23/12/1919, 201. Whereas unsurprisingly Pethrus took the lead in the discussions on ecclesiology, it was mainly Barratt who addressed the soteriological issue (*Korsets Budskab*, January 1920, 1-2).

²⁰⁴ Bundy, *Visions*, 315–415; see also Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 199–203; Davidsson, ‘Lewi Pethrus’, 108–18.

to have chiefly been the province of Pentecostal assemblies within a small radius of Copenhagen – extending as far as Roskilde (30 km) but perhaps no further. However, though the Free Assembly in Zinnsgade had sent out some of the first Danish Pentecostal missionaries before 1911, it does not seem to have been particularly involved with foreign mission during the 1910s; instead Colosseum, Lyngby-Brede, and Roskilde were the most active in promoting foreign mission.

If Pentecostal groups elsewhere in the country sent any missionaries abroad, the records of this may have been lost. The exception is Hans Thuesen, who was already mentioned in the last chapter: little is known of his background, but he was likely from the southern part of Jutland, though it is not clear that there was a Pentecostal group there to send him out.²⁰⁵

3.4.1 China

China occupied a special place in the consciousness of early Danish Pentecostals. After the first Danish Pentecostal missionaries were sent there in 1909, the next would be Dagny Pedersen in April 1911, at the age of 22. She was sent out from the assembly in Roskilde, on encouragement from Bernt Berntsen, to Lincheng, in the Hebei province (until 1928 Zhili) of North China, where Berntsen was based.²⁰⁶ She was soon joined by a team of six from Lyngby who left for southern Zhili in 1912, including Niels Peter Rasmussen with his family and two Swedish women, Nelly Olsson and Anna Larsson, who had also been Spirit-baptised in Denmark; the Lyngby assembly and Filadelfia in Stockholm both contributed to financing the venture.²⁰⁷ In 1913, the Rasmussens settled in Zhengding, Zhili, about 90 km north from

²⁰⁵ The examples to follow are not exhaustive, e.g. there was also Karl Rasmussen in Kenya, sent out along with his family via Oslo by Erik Andersen's 'Free Friends' in September 1912 (*Fra Libanon*, October 1912, 111; February 1913, 156-57; May 1913, 192-93).

²⁰⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 10/2/1922, 6; Tiedemann, 'Pentecostal Missionary Enterprise', 123; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 565, 584; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 152-53.

²⁰⁷ Bundy, *Visions*, 310, 394-95; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 27-28.

Pedersen's station.²⁰⁸ But by 1916 the Rasmussens had moved to Shih Chia Chuang, Zhili, where it seems they were working together.²⁰⁹

N.P. Rasmussen's brother Thorkild Rasmussen and Miss Ida Lorentzen arrived in Zhili in the spring of 1916, after first travelling and gathering support in Sweden, where they were joined by the Norwegian missionary Agnes Larsen. She had been on furlough from China for an extended period of time and also spent much time in the Copenhagen area.²¹⁰ Thorkild Rasmussen was a former athlete and had initially been a troublemaker at the Pentecostal meetings in Lyngby, but was eventually converted.²¹¹ Soon after his arrival, he became engaged to Agnes Larsen, and they were married by September.²¹² Thorkild Rasmussen made good progress in acquiring the language and saw great fruit from his and his wife's evangelism.²¹³ This seems to have continued, but later they admitted that their work in Huailai, northwest Zhili, was not as fruitful as they had hoped.²¹⁴ Lorentzen worked at N.P. Rasmussen's station along with another Danish woman, Marie Poulsen.²¹⁵ But around Thorkild and Agnes Rasmussen was established a mixed community of Scandinavian Pentecostal missionaries. In 1917, a 'sister Hansson' from Copenhagen joined them.²¹⁶

N.P. Rasmussen and his family were home on furlough in 1917-19. During this time, they were mainly based in Lyngby-Brede, but Rasmussen also visited and preached elsewhere in Denmark and Sweden. He was in connection with both the Filadelfia church in Stockholm

²⁰⁸ Tiedemann, 'Pentecostal Missionary Enterprise', 123.

²⁰⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 17/8/1916, 134.

²¹⁰ *Evangelii Härold*, 3/2/1916, 19; 24/2/1916, 33; 9/3/1916, 44; 22/6/1916, 101.

²¹¹ *Evangelii Härold*, 10/2/1916, 22; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 28.

²¹² *Evangelii Härold*, 15/6/1916, 100; 14/9/1916, 152.

²¹³ *Evangelii Härold*, 1/3/1917, 39.

²¹⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 8/5/1918, 75; 22/5/1919, 85.

²¹⁵ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 584.

²¹⁶ *Evangelii Härold*, 29/3/1917, 54. The name could be a corruption of Hansen, which could be another indication that Ellen Hansen was still involved with the Pentecostal movement – now as a missionary.

and its namesake in Copenhagen.²¹⁷ *Evangelii Härold* noted with approval that he was a successful independent faith missionary: ‘Brother Rasmussen does not have any society (*samfund*) or any mission committee behind him, but has gone out on faith in God, who has also shown himself to be faithful towards his servant’.²¹⁸ His visits to Sweden also helped bring in funds for the mission, which were directed to his brother and sister-in-law.²¹⁹ The Rasmussens planned to return to China in November 1918, after evangelising in Jutland,²²⁰ but extended their stay in Jutland for a few months before making an appearance at the Pentecost (Whitsun) conference held by the denominational-leaning Pentecostals in Copenhagen in 1919.²²¹ Further invitations to preach in various places in Zealand meant that they were only able to leave in mid-August. By the end of October, they were back in China.²²² Meanwhile, it seems Thorkild Rasmussen had taken over the work in Shih Chia Chuang, and Nelly Olsson and Anna Larsson had moved on to nearby Luan Ching-hsien, where N.P. Rasmussen and family would rejoin them.²²³

But perhaps the most remarkable early Danish Pentecostal missionary to China was Martha Sørine Rønager in the Yunnan province of south-west China.²²⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter, she and her sister Karla had been involved with the Pentecostal revival in and around Copenhagen as part of the Colosseum assembly. She had experienced Spirit baptism already in 1907, and both she and her sister already then felt called to the mission field – specifically China. In July 1911, she applied to serve with the Pentecostal Missionary

²¹⁷ *Evangelii Härold*, 12/7/1917, 115; 16/8/1917, 135; 30/8/1917, 143; 3/1/1918, 4; 18/10/1917, 171.

²¹⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 16/5/1917, 84.

²¹⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 22/11/1917, 191; 13/12/1917, 203.

²²⁰ *Evangelii Härold*, 28/11/1918, 191.

²²¹ *Korsets Budskab*, July 1919, 2.

²²² *Korsets Budskab*, August 1919, 1; September 1919, 1-2; November 1919, 2.

²²³ *Korsets Budskab*, January 1920, 2-3; March 1920, 2.

²²⁴ At least this is the judgement expressed in Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 585. Rønager herself noted that the Yunnan province was much less well-served with missionaries than coastal provinces like Zhili (*Fra Libanon*, December 1912, 130).

Union (PMU), with recommendations from both T.B. Barratt and Thorvald Plum. It was decided that she would be accepted on probation after her 21st birthday the following year.²²⁵ But already a few days before this birthday, on 13 March 1912, a letter from Plum was again discussed, this time ‘asking for Miss Rønager to be sent out as a Missionary to China’, and also recommending names of two other young female candidates of the PMU as suitable companions.²²⁶ An interview with Alfred K. Jensen, the son of two of Rønager’s later Danish co-workers in China, confirms that Plum’s periodical *Kirkeklokken*, not the PMU, took the chief financial responsibility for sending out Rønager.²²⁷

The recommendation from Plum seems to have sped things along for Rønager and her two companions, Elizabeth Biggs from Scotland and Elize Scharten from the Netherlands. Already on 3 May 1912, the three women went out on a ship bound for Hong Kong.²²⁸ Originally Rønager had hoped to work in Tibet, in line with the stated aims of the PMU, but

²²⁵ Minute book no. 1, PMU, pp. 121-22. Rønager had been known to Barratt personally since at least 1909, as can be inferred from a passing mention of her in a letter from Anna Lewini from circa November 1909, (T.B. Barratt Papers, I.13, p. 11; p. 5 of the letter). Developments up until her July 1911 application are unclear: according to her own testimony published in 1922, she moved to England around 1908-09 and spent almost three years at the PMU training school (Martha Fullerton and John Fullerton, *Herrens Gerning i Syd Yunnan* (Copenhagen: ‘Kirkeklokken’s Forlag, 1922), 18–19). She only officially changed her address to London in May 1911 (*Københavns Stadsarkiv (Politiets Registerblade)*, <http://www.politetsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2517992>, accessed 20 June 2014). Contemporary sources mention a farewell meeting at the Colosseum with no indication that she had already studied at the PMU’s school previously (*Korsets Seir*, 15/8/1911, 126; *Fra Libanon*, July 1912, 68). Why Karla Rønager did not accompany her sister to London and later China is uncertain; her calling was public knowledge (*Plovfuren*, 15/1/1911, 51-52; quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS), and the understanding at the time was that the two sisters would be training together at the PMU school (*Fra Libanon*, July 1912, 68).

²²⁶ Minute book no. 1, PMU, pp. 164-65. Rønager had also been back in Copenhagen for a visit in late 1911, according to *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 7.

²²⁷ Hans P. Pedersen, ‘Kinas danske missionærer’, *Missions-Nyt*, no. 3 (2007), <http://www.missionsfonden.dk/data/files/bladhtml/mnyt0703.htm>. In an early report en route to China, Rønager confirmed that ‘God himself has provided’ so that she would not be a burden to the PMU (*Korsets Seir*, 1/6/1912, 86). As mentioned above (3.2.3), *Kirkeklokken*’s reports from Rønager seem to have been made anonymous, in line with the general style of the publication.

²²⁸ Minute book no. 1, PMU, pp. 170, 173; Usher, ‘For China’, 275; Cornelis van der Laan, ‘Beyond the Clouds: Eliza Scharten (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China’, in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies*, ed. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies, Journal of Pentecostal Theology. Supplement Series 11 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 342.

when political tensions made it impossible to go to Tibet proper, she instead remained in the neighbouring Chinese province of Yunnan, initially in the capital of Yunnan-Fu (present day Kunming) where other PMU missionaries, the Koks and the McLeans, had set up a station earlier that year.²²⁹ Later she worked in the southern part of Yunnan, and by early 1914, she ran her own station and was hoping to welcome more young missionaries from Denmark.²³⁰

In Yunnan-Fu, one of her fellow language students had been an Australian missionary, John Fullerton, of the China Inland Mission (CIM). The two became engaged in the spring of 1914.²³¹ The PMU's leader Cecil Polhill, who had visited the Yunnan missionaries in person earlier that year,²³² reported to the PMU council on 19 November 1914 that he had corresponded with Fullerton who after his engagement had become 'desirous of being accepted as one of the P.M.U. Missionaries'.²³³ It was decided that 'Mr. Polhill will write to Mr. Hoste of the C.I.M. residing in Yunnan respecting this case'.²³⁴ But already before that, Rønager had applied to join Fullerton in the CIM and been rejected by its Shanghai council.²³⁵

At the next meeting of the PMU council on 10 December 1914, Polhill reported that he had telegraphed to ask Rønager and Fullerton to postpone their marriage. The council was awaiting a reply from Hoste.²³⁶ The urgency of this matter is seen from the fact that Rønager

²²⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/6/1912, 86; *Confidence*, August 1912, 191-92; September 1912, 213-14; *Fra Libanon*, November 1912, 120; April 1913, 182. See also Usher, 'For China', 73-76; Wim van Spengen, 'Early Pentecostal Missionary Activity along the Sino-Tibetan Border: The P.M.U. 1912-1924', in *Studies in the History of Eastern Tibet: PIATS 2006, Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, ed. Wim van Spengen and Lama Jabb, *Beiträge Zur Zentralasienforschung* 17 (Halle Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009), 148, 151-52, 158-59, 168.

²³⁰ *Fra Libanon*, March 1914, 36.

²³¹ Fullerton and Fullerton, *Herrens Gerning*, 21-22.

²³² Usher, 'For China', 315.

²³³ Many CIM missionaries were led to 'migrate to the Pentecostal cause' following certain 'changes of theological perspective in the China Inland Mission after the death of James Hudson Taylor' (Bundy, *Visions*, 227).

²³⁴ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 369. Hoste had been one of the 'Cambridge Seven' missionaries to China along with Polhill.

²³⁵ Usher, 'For China', 334.

²³⁶ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 377.

and Fullerton were consistently discussed as the first point on the PMU council's agenda. The engagement seems to have prompted a souring of the relationship between the PMU and the CIM, ending with the CIM forbidding collaboration with Pentecostals.²³⁷ This made the PMU council less favourably inclined towards the pair, and Rønager in particular. Her missionary certificate came up for renewal around this time as it was only valid for three years from 1 May 1912.²³⁸ On 28 June 1915, the PMU council 'decided that they could not confidently agree to accept Miss Ronager [sic], but if Mr Fullerton was willing to apply unconditionally and apart from Miss Ronager the Council would be prepared to accept him'.²³⁹

Fullerton did not accept the invitation to apply apart from his fiancée. On 20 July 1915, the PMU council decided on a firm but amicable parting of ways, noting that according to a letter from Rønager she was about to receive both funds and co-workers, which in the council's interpretation meant they would be able to work independently of the PMU.²⁴⁰ Rønager and the few Dutch missionaries also present in the area had been the only non-British PMU missionaries. The neutral status of the Netherlands during WWI would soon result in tensions when Polhill received a letter from the UK Foreign Office in 1917, instructing him to limit the role of foreigners in the Yunnan mission.²⁴¹ However it is possible that some level of 'English ethnocentrism' was a contributing factor already when Rønager was dismissed in 1915.²⁴²

²³⁷ Usher, 'For China', 333–35; Goodwin, 'Pentecostal Missionary Union', 214–15. Usher further suggest that it was 'no coincidence' that Miss Eleanor Pilson, a CIM colleague of the 'hitherto eligible' John Fullerton, began to raise complaints about the Pentecostals at this exact time.

²³⁸ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 173.

²³⁹ Minute book no. 1, PMU, pp. 419–20.

²⁴⁰ Minute book no. 1, PMU, p. 427.

²⁴¹ van Spengen, 'Early Pentecostal', 156–57; see also Usher, 'For China', 325; van der Laan, 'Beyond the Clouds', 348.

²⁴² Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 127–28. I am grateful to John Usher for further information on the PMU's relationship with its foreign members (personal communication, March 2016).

Later that year, Rønager married John Fullerton.²⁴³ After their marriage, the Fullertons continued to work for 35 years as independent missionaries in China.²⁴⁴ In 1919, Polhill struck a more conciliatory tone in speaking of the Fullertons who had now received further reinforcements from Denmark; he was clearly impressed with the more than 1,000 families who had been converted.²⁴⁵

3.4.2 Middle East

When the Mygind family left for Lebanon again in late 1911, they were joined by two women: Betty Lavard and Johanne Groth.²⁴⁶ The party of four adults re-joined Anna Mollerup, who had been working in Schweifait continuously for nearly four years at the Arab school there. H.J. Mygind felt convinced that ‘the Lord has special plans for this little town, ... the only place in Syria where there have previously been signs of revival’. He hoped that their example would inspire many others to enter the mission field: ‘Thousands have gone out; but tens of thousands are needed’.²⁴⁷ The task at hand was urgent; Mygind saw the evangelisation of the world in strongly eschatological terms.²⁴⁸

Betty Lavard was a recent convert (a former anarchist) and still rejoicing in her conversion which had happened only a few months earlier – but also still waiting for her Spirit baptism, as well as for an outpouring of revival on the country she had been sent to.²⁴⁹ Anna Mollerup had been kept busy with her work at the school and was glad to have Mygind back to follow up on her contacts and ‘attend to the individual’.²⁵⁰ Later in 1912, Mollerup began teaching at the English girls’ school rather than the Arab school. This gave her more time to take on the

²⁴³ Fullerton and Fullerton, *Herrens Gerning*, 23.

²⁴⁴ Pedersen, ‘Kinas danske missionærer’. This interview makes no mention of the missionary societies or their conflict.

²⁴⁵ *Confidence*, October-December 1919, 65.

²⁴⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 15/11/1911, 171; *Fra Libanon*, January 1912, 4.

²⁴⁷ *Fra Libanon*, January 1912, 7; see also *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1912, 109-10.

²⁴⁸ *Fra Libanon*, July 1912, 70-71; see also *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1912, 105-06; 15/1/1913, 12-13.

²⁴⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1912, 7; 15/7/1912, 108-09.

²⁵⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1912, 109.

evangelistic work that she felt called to prioritise, though her teaching work still took up more time than she had first expected when she was sent out, and the prevalent teaching methods seemed out-dated to her.²⁵¹

A difficulty for the Pentecostal mission in Lebanon was the lack of a larger community of like-minded missionaries; the largest contingent of missionaries in Schweifait were Americans with an apparently more modernist tendency.²⁵² Mygind had previously seen a few people in Schweifait become ‘really converted and saved, in the same way as we speak about it in Denmark’, so he would not be satisfied with them simply getting ‘a little European or American veneer on top of the old-fashioned ways’.²⁵³ The native Christian community was in fact Mygind’s greatest challenge: the young men from Christian families were much greater troublemakers at their meetings than the Druze. Anna Mollerup seemed to have greater success with the girls at her school, and again not least with the Druze, though the social circumstances made it difficult to progress from an initial interest to actual conversion, not least for the girls.²⁵⁴

As WWI wore on and Ottoman-ruled Syria became politically unstable, the Danish missionaries decided to leave the country. They escaped during the winter of 1916-17. By the end, the conditions in Syria were terrible. Mygind feared that the Lebanese Christians would suffer the same fate under the Ottomans as the Armenians had in 1915 and was cautious in

²⁵¹ *Fra Libanon*, July 1912, 69; November 1912, 118; November 1913, 289-90; *Korsets Seir*, 1/6/1913, 87.

²⁵² In *Fra Libanon*, February 1912, 11-12, Mygind contrasts his own prayer meetings with those he had attended in the American mission, consisting mainly in vaguely edifying or even political lectures but little of ‘what in Denmark is understood by a prayer meeting’. He had experienced a similar contrast before, as related retrospectively in *Fra Libanon*, March 1912, 24-25.

²⁵³ *Fra Libanon*, February 1913, 151-52.

²⁵⁴ *Fra Libanon*, March 1913, 164-65; April 1913, 178-79; May 1913, 188-89; July 1913, 228-31; November 1913, 289.

publicising the names of his local collaborators, lest the periodical should fall into the wrong hands.²⁵⁵

On his return, Mygind returned to parish ministry in the state church, something he had abandoned two decades earlier. His periodical *Fra Libanon* was renamed as *Fra Livets Kilde* ('From the Source of Life') and published as a Holiness periodical rather than a distinctively Pentecostal one, from July 1917 until 1930.²⁵⁶ In *Fra Libanon*, the Pentecostal agenda had been evident though often only implicitly, so the change to a Holiness focus was significant, both because it confirms that for Mygind the Pentecostal experience had not replaced but only supplanted his prior experience of sanctification,²⁵⁷ and because it indicates that he had noticed the way things were moving in the wider Pentecostal movement. After the view that infant baptism was invalid became dominant only a couple of years later, he would leave the Pentecostal movement for good.

However, Mygind's crew were not the only Danish Pentecostal missionaries to the Middle East. In the last chapter, we noted that one of the first Danish Pentecostals to enter training for the mission field was Hans Thuesen. After his rejection by the PMU in 1909, he was led to seek his luck with US-American missionaries instead, though he may also have trained in Scotland in the meantime.²⁵⁸ He worked as a missionary in Cairo, Egypt from early 1913.²⁵⁹ His call to the Middle East was perhaps inspired by Mygind's dispatches, or even directly

²⁵⁵ *Fra Libanon*, June 1917, 43-44; see also *Evangelii Härold*, 22/2/1917, 36.

²⁵⁶ *Fra Libanon*, May 1917, 40; June 1917, 48; Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 431-32.

²⁵⁷ There were still strong hints of Mygind's earlier Perfectionism in the pieces he wrote for *Fra Libanon* (e.g. March 1912, 21-23). Controversies were glossed over, though he admits – also for the revival in 1907 – that 'many human things sneaked in as well' (April 1912, 35).

²⁵⁸ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/12/1912, 92, quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsebevægelsen', MS.

²⁵⁹ Mentioned in John Crouch's report in *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 1/7/1913, 2; also printed in abridged form in *Confidence*, July 1913, 146.

influenced by him.²⁶⁰ A report from the spring of 1914 offers a small vignette of Thuesen's work:

God has been sending a very gracious revival in Deir el Jarnous ... Some of our workers have visited them. Brothers Theusen [sic] and Randall and Leonard, and they report a wonderful work done there. Many saved. Over thirty women alone have the baptism and don't know how many saved. They could not count the men. Some nights they would not preach or do anything but sit still and see God work. People who went to curse and break up the meetings would be convinced and cry out for God to save them.²⁶¹

Thuesen was also among the 'special callers' who signed the invitation to the convention in Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1914, where the US Assemblies of God was founded,²⁶² though there is no evidence that he actually attended the convention himself.²⁶³ However, he would soon return home, after the outbreak of WWI, like almost all other foreign Pentecostal missionaries in Egypt. He evangelised for a while in Rømø, Schleswig, but then spent eight months as a German prisoner of war; he was suspected of being a spy because he could speak English. This did not put him off travelling or take away his identity as a missionary. In February 1917, he preached at a Pentecostal conference in Örebro, Sweden, alongside Gunnar Vingren, the co-founder of the Assembleias de Deus (Brazil). Later in the spring he ministered for a while at the Filadelfia church in Stockholm, and in October he was in Sweden again, preaching at a conference in Gothenburg and inland at 'Frejasalen' in Trollhättan.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Mygind already subscribed to the periodical published by the Pentecostal missionaries in Egypt; see *Fra Libanon*, May 1912, 49. Another possible connection was the American missionary Charles Leonard who had previously visited Mollerup in Lebanon (see previous chapter, 2.3.2) and then relocated from Jerusalem to Cairo in 1911: *Confidence*, January 1912, 18; Newberg, *The Pentecostal Mission*, 61.

²⁶¹ *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 15/5/1914, 1.

²⁶² *Word and Witness*, 20/3/1914, 1.

²⁶³ Cf. Glenn W. Gohr, 'Who's Who at Hot Springs', *Assemblies of God Heritage* 34 (2014): 26–35, 79–80.

²⁶⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 22/2/1917, 35; 8/3/1917, 41–42; 18/10/1917, 172; 25/10/1917, 175; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 606; cf. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 156.

3.4.3 Argentina and Bolivia

Nordic Pentecostals have shown a particular interest in South America, not seen among traditional Nordic missionary societies.²⁶⁵ David Martin notes on Pentecostal missionaries: ‘Not being weighed down by sponsorship of a social or ecclesiastical hierarchy or the relation of faith to territorial identity, they could treat the world as their parish. Frontiers meant little, whether they were the catchment areas established by missionary societies or the implicit catchment areas of long-established Christian civilization, such as Latin America’.²⁶⁶ This would also explain the early interest in Russia.²⁶⁷ However, Danes seem to have been less well represented among the Pentecostals in Latin America than in China and the Middle East, and the few who went concentrated their efforts on the Southern Cone.

The first two Danish Pentecostals to arrive in Argentina were Annina Kjelstrup, who was sent out from Roskilde, and the Danish-speaking Schleswigian emigrant Niels Sørensen from Hartford, Connecticut. The church that sent out Sørensen was one of two Danish churches in the state which were loosely affiliated to the CMA, and a rare exception to the impregnability of Danish-American churches towards the Pentecostal movement.²⁶⁸ In the winter of 1908-09, the two Norwegian Pentecostal evangelists Dagmar Gregersen and Agnes Thelle visited the church in Hartford. It was soon reported that the pastor, Nilsen, had experienced Spirit baptism, and the church supported the two women financially during their preparations for

²⁶⁵ Westman et al., *Nordisk Missionshistorie*, 371, 418; see also Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 1040–41.

²⁶⁶ Martin, *On Secularization*, 27.

²⁶⁷ See 2.3.2. There is unfortunately only indirect evidence of a continuing presence of Danish Pentecostal missionaries in Russia. Lewini alluded to it in the panegyric quoted above (3.3.2), and in 1919 news was heard in Copenhagen of a revival in St Petersburg (*Evangelii Härold*, 15/5/1919, 79).

²⁶⁸ Cf, above, 2.3.3. The two churches in Hartford and New Haven were occasionally mentioned in the *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, and were variously described as Danish or more broadly as Scandinavian (12/12/1903, 26; 12/11/1904, 380; 17/12/1904, 460); see also *Annual Report of the Christian and Missionary Alliance*, 1908-09 (transcribed by the CMA National Archives), 55.

mission work in India.²⁶⁹ The Hartford church as such probably did not become Pentecostal,²⁷⁰ but it seems that a Pentecostal church split off from it. In 1914 a convention of Scandinavian-American Pentecostals was held in Hartford. Mapes Anderson notes, in that connection: ‘Many, perhaps most, Scandinavians, however, steadfastly resisted “organisation,” making it difficult to estimate even remotely the real dimension of the work among them’.²⁷¹ In this they were probably influenced by their Pentecostal brethren in Scandinavia.

Sørensen and Kjelstrup both arrived in Argentina in 1913, and were married soon after. Early on, they collaborated with the Norwegian missionary Berger N. Johnsen and the American missionary Alice Wood at various stations.²⁷² They also stayed in contact with Pentecostals back in Roskilde,²⁷³ and were home on furlough in Denmark in late 1920.²⁷⁴ The Sørensens remained in Argentina for decades and later affiliated with the mission work of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada; Niels Sørensen ended up as superintendent of their work in Argentina.²⁷⁵

The Pentecostal assembly in Roskilde also sent another missionary to Argentina, Anita Kildegaard, who arrived circa 1914. She seems to have worked more permanently with Alice Wood and had a particular passion for work among children.²⁷⁶ In 1920, Johnsen was joined by a group of seven missionaries from Sweden, including one Dane, Kristian Nielsén, who

²⁶⁹ *Byposten* 24/10/1908, 81-82; 15/3/1909, 23; Agnes N. T. Beckdahl, *A Witness of God's Faithfulness* (Lucknow, India: Lucknow Pub. House), 26; Gohr, ‘Agnes Thelle Beckdahl’, 12.

²⁷⁰ It continued cooperating with the CMA; see *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, 23/3/1912, 399; 26/10/1912, 63; 17/5/1913, 110; 13/2/1915, 317.

²⁷¹ Anderson, *Vision*, 127.

²⁷² *Korsets Seir*, 1/6/1913, 86; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 200–201.

²⁷³ *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 3-4; August 1919, 3-4; et alib.

²⁷⁴ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/12/1920, 2.

²⁷⁵ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 585; Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, 210–11; Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought*, 223–24; Endersen, ‘Genom kamp’, 76.

²⁷⁶ *Bridegroom's Messenger*, 1/6/1917, 3; 1/9/1918, 2; *Pentecostal Evangel*, 16/3/1918, 10; *Korsets Budskab*, September 1919, 3; 15/11/1920, 3; *Evangeliebladet*, No. 11 (13/3/1924), 7; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 200; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 565. Her first name is sometimes given as Anna.

had most recently planted a church in Västerås in central Sweden, and married a Swedish woman, Ruth Isakson.²⁷⁷ They and many of their companions mainly worked in Bolivia.²⁷⁸

3.5 Summary: freedom or disorder

Histories of early Pentecostalism have often focused on describing the beginnings of the denominational Pentecostal churches. This chapter sheds some light on the often-overlooked interdenominational strand of Pentecostalism. The situation in Denmark resembled that in many other European countries, in contrast to the more pluralistic United States (as well as relatively pluralistic Norway and Sweden) where the Pentecostals were much quicker to separate out and form independent congregations.

Again, the question of whether there was already a breeding ground for Pentecostalism presents itself as a strong explanatory parameter for the question of why Denmark was so much less receptive than its Nordic neighbours. It seems that the established churches of countries like Denmark and England already had a defined spectrum of churchmanships that had emerged in the 19th century, among which the Pentecostal movement was not a good fit. Nonetheless it would be reasonable to see the early Pentecostals, interdenominational and otherwise, as having paved the way for an increased acceptance of plurality within the established churches which later enabled the emergence of the Charismatic renewal movement.

Apart from the question of diversity, another factor to consider is whether different forms of organisation enabled effective leadership to different degrees. Pethrus concluded after the 1919 conference in Copenhagen that a ‘lack of leadership’ among the Danish Pentecostals,

²⁷⁷ *Evangelii Härold*, 11/3/1920, 39; 18/3/1920, 41; 1/4/1920, 52; 13/5/1920, 73; 27/5/1920, 83; 17/8/1920, 131; 26/8/1920, 135; see also Bundy, *Visions*, 349. Nielsén had first moved to Västerås from Stockholm in the autumn of 1918, and became the pastor of a newly established church there in early 1919 (*Evangelii Härold*, 19/12/1918, 204; 6/2/1919, 24). For more on Nielsén, see above (3.3.3).

²⁷⁸ *Evangeliebladet*, 30/11/1922, 1-3; Alvarsson, ‘Some Notes’, 388; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 34.

especially in Copenhagen, had ‘let spiritual freedom degenerate into disorder, and as a consequence of this, the souls that so needed pastoral care (*församlingsvård*) came to lack this benefit’. He continued, ‘In Denmark the teaching that one should not have an ordered congregation has been preached. ... We believe that our Danish brothers and sisters have now seen enough of the fruits of that doctrine’.²⁷⁹ It seems that the slow growth of Danish Pentecostalism vindicates Pethrus’ ecclesiology, at least from a pragmatic point of view. The Bjørners’ itinerant strategy, though much romanticised by themselves and others, proved less effective than Barratt’s and Pethrus’ strategy of nurturing strong Pentecostal communities in capital cities. The Bjørners themselves had now realised this: ‘as the years have passed, experience has taught us to take a more thorough approach, and not crisscross the country but stay long in a place when God shows us that there is something to be done’.²⁸⁰

Incidentally, it was not uncommon in early Pentecostalism that husbands and wives were working together – but unusual that they received equal billing like the Bjørners usually did. It is important to consider what some have called the ‘gender paradox’ in Pentecostalism – the tendency that the movement attracts more women but is mainly led by men.²⁸¹ But women played a somewhat prominent role in early Pentecostalism, especially in foreign mission, and few early Pentecostals explicitly rejected female leadership. Perhaps the best parallel to Anna Bjørner is Aimee Semple McPherson.²⁸² However, this would change as the new Pentecostal denominations began to assume some of the attitudes of the existing churches.

²⁷⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 31/12/1919, 205.

²⁸⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/9/1920, 2.

²⁸¹ Elizabeth Brusco, ‘Gender and Power’, in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et al., *The Anthropology of Christianity* 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 74–92.

²⁸² Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 179–81. Yet, one should not assume that Larssen’s personality was similar to McPherson’s, whose dramatic style became world-famous. Larssen, by contrast, was renowned for her subtlety, and though she had been a star on the stage, was a shy and delicate personality in private – as if holding up her dramatic roles as a shield to protect her intense inner life.

CHAPTER 4: INSTITUTION, 1919-24

4.1 Context: Denmark in the early 1920s

The time between what I have called the denominational turn of 1919 and the Apostolic schism in 1924 was a decisive period. It helps us understand how the hitherto fluid Pentecostal movement came to adopt patterns of organisation which to this day determine the shape of Pentecostalism in Denmark.

The dominant political issue in Denmark in the immediate post-war years was the reunification of Denmark and parts of Schleswig, which Germany had been forced to cede in the Treaty of Versailles. There was widespread nationalist dissatisfaction with the results of a referendum which showed that most voters in the central and southern parts of Schleswig wanted to remain part of Germany. The government refused to make any territorial claims beyond North Schleswig, but in response – and believing he had public opinion on his side – the King dismissed Prime Minister Zahle and his cabinet in March 1920. This immediately led to accusations of a ‘coup’ and large demonstrations headed by the ascending Social Democrats. In the end, only North Schleswig was incorporated into Denmark in the summer of 1920.¹

Culturally WWI had led to pessimism and despair, though also to a renewed interest in Christianity among some, usually in a more politically conservative form than the liberal Christian activism that had dominated groups such as the YMCA. Soon, however, a new generation of trendsetting, secular ‘cultural radicals’ would emerge.² Economically the early 1920s were difficult years across Europe, with heightened inflation and unemployment, and

¹ Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen, *Mellem skøn og ret*, 52–55.

² Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen, *Mellem skøn og ret*, 57–59.

Denmark was affected by this as well. However, the socioeconomic status of women and domestic servants was on the rise, after both groups had been granted suffrage in 1915.³

The welfare state was still only in the making, and social work was a central activity for many Christian groups, both within the established church and among free churches such as the Methodists and the Salvation Army. Those factions that otherwise had most in common with the Pentecostals were also the most active in this area,⁴ whereas the Pentecostals stood out with their more exclusive focus on evangelistic work.

4.2 From informal groups to congregations

I ended the last chapter with the founding of the Gospel Assembly in Copenhagen, which can be considered the decisive turning point towards Pentecostalism as a loosely knit denomination rather than an inter-denominational movement. Across Europe the adoption of believers' baptism was becoming an important symbol for Pentecostals.⁵ In this section we will explore the developments that resulted from this change of course. It is important to note that the Danish Pentecostals were not so much *pushed* out of their existing churches as they were *pulled* towards a new model of organization, one that was pragmatically more effective, even if it was also clothed in biblical arguments.⁶ The first attempt at realizing the Pentecostal ideal in a Danish context had failed, so that a fresh translation was required, one that leaned more closely towards realizations of Pentecostalism that had proved more successful, resulting in a more effective but in a sense a less contextual adaptation. But a critical backlash ensued, mainly from outside the Pentecostal movement, which reinforced the new distinction between Pentecostalism and other denominations.

³ Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen, *Mellem skøn og ret*, 63–67. A large part of the latter group were farm servants.

⁴ Larsen, *Fra Christensen til Krarup*, 325–32.

⁵ E.g., Cho, 'Move to Independence', 239–49.

⁶ Ulrik Josefsson, *Liv och över nog* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2005), 178, cited in Davidsson, 'Lewi Pethrus', 159.

4.2.1 Critical reactions to the denominational turn

The move from cautious appreciation to renewed resistance against the Pentecostals in 1919 mirrors the developments in Norway where the Pentecostals also encountered resistance from former friends, especially after the transition towards denominational Pentecostalism in 1913-16.⁷ In the case of Denmark, as late as 1917 when H.J. Mygind returned from Lebanon and was appointed to a post in the state church, his association with the Pentecostal movement was not held against him. The bishop responsible only remarked on his past among the ‘sinless’, fifteen years earlier.⁸ In early 1919, there was no strong resistance towards the Pentecostal movement in the Danish churches, more often only polite indifference. There were occasional examples of mild curiosity, even from the more liberal wing of the church.⁹ Only occasionally would the Indre Mission take it upon itself to warn its adherents against ‘specialities’ such as an exaggerated emphasis on ‘being baptised with the Spirit’.¹⁰ The tumultuous revival campaigns of 1907-1909 seemed like a distant memory. But one single event changed this and brought the Pentecostals back in the spotlight, namely the Bjørners’ decision to be baptised, on 1 June 1919.

An important reason for the great significance of this event is the place that the practice of infant baptism has had not only in the Danish Lutheran church, but even in Danish national identity. Infant baptism is an ingrained ritual in the Danish psyche.¹¹ Furthermore, in contrast

⁷ Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 181–89.

⁸ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 791, n. 420.

⁹ In 1913, Anna Bjørner reported that the famous professor of theology Valdemar Ammundsen had stated that ‘The tongues we have heard in Zinnsgt., and Colosseum of late years, are surely the same as those heard in the days of the apostles’; Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 184. The same year, her husband’s former colleague Olfert Ricard wrote to her that he himself ‘would like to possess the gift of tongues’; Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 54. As late as 1927, to her surprise, she heard an unnamed Lutheran pastor in Silkeborg offer a cautious but positive appraisal of the Bjørners from his pulpit; Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 55–56.

¹⁰ *Indre Missions Tidende: Annekset*, 4/7/1915, 331-33. The author appears to be N.P. Madsen.

¹¹ Hans Raun Iversen, ‘Dåben som optagelse i kirken og/eller samfundet’, in *Dåb og medlemskab i folkekirken*, ed. Hans Raun Iversen (Frederiksberg: Anis, 2000), 72–86; see also Uffe Østergaard, ‘Lutheranism, Nationalism and the Universal Welfare State’, in *Europäisches Und Globales*

to the situation in, for example, the Church of England, Evangelical factions in the Church of Denmark have also traditionally had a high view of infant baptism, not least due to the views of Vilhelm Beck, the *de facto* founder of the Indre Mission, who believed strongly in unconditional baptismal regeneration. Indiscriminate infant baptism was the very foundation of his revival movement, since universal baptism allowed him to see the nation as consisting of dormant Christians who simply needed to be awoken.¹²

Thus, the initial reaction to the Bjørners' decision to effectively invalidate their previous baptism was one of a shock. Even Mygind left the Pentecostal movement at this point, though amicably.¹³ The newspapers met the Bjørners' baptism with ridicule, and so ensured that it became widely known and criticised.¹⁴ The chief medium of the criticisms was *Kristeligt Dagblad* which had also led the charges against the Pentecostals a decade earlier. According to Anna Bjørner, it was the baptism itself that became controversial and then forced them towards the denominational turn, noting about their baptism: 'When this step was made and had become known among our great circle of friends in Helsingør, this enthusiastic crowd was scattered with one stroke – apart from a few faithful ones – and those mission houses and churches that had after all been open to us were now closed with a bang'.¹⁵ In spite of this description, we should probably not go so far as to assume that the Bjørners really did not know what they were unleashing when they were baptised. Rather, Anna Bjørner's account

Christentum: Herausforderungen Und Transformationen Im 20. Jahrhundert = European and Global Christianity: Challenges and Transformations in the 20th Century, ed. Katharina Kunter and Jens Holger Schjørring, *Arbeiten Zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B, Darstellungen 54* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 78–101.

¹² Kurt E. Larsen, *Vilhelm Beck: missionspræsten* (Fredericia: Lohse, 2001), 80–110; cf. David F. Wright, *What Has Infant Baptism Done to Baptism?: An Enquiry at the End of Christendom*, Didsbury Lectures (Milton Keynes: Patternoster Press, 2005), 83–102.

¹³ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 207, 213–14. As noted in the last chapter (3.4.2), Mygind had perhaps already begun to drift away from the Pentecostal movement by the time he returned to Denmark.

¹⁴ Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 71–73.

¹⁵ Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 19. This is confirmed by Nørgaard Pedersen's third-party perspective in *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/9/1919; 20/9/1919; cited in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS.

frames the events in such a way that instead of the Bjørners it is their critics who are made to look like schismatics for not recognising the validity of their decision.

According to Anna Bjørner, the success of the ensuing revival campaign in the summer of 1919 further angered the critics, leading to the publication of Emil Steenvinkel's pamphlet *Vær på Vagt!* ('Be on guard!') later the same year.¹⁶ However, according to Steenvinkel's own preface the pamphlet was published as a response to the 'new harsh accusations and quite unamiable judgements' which Sigurd Bjørner put forward 'every single evening' during the campaign. The worst thing was that Bjørner was not only attacking 'the great Babel' (meaning the state church, a slur that Steenvinkel found bad enough), but also 'the grace of our infant baptism'.¹⁷ The truth may of course be a combination of the two explanations.¹⁸ We get a taste of Sigurd Bjørner's attacks on the state church in a small pamphlet published a few months later: 'To such "congregations" or societies I could never return and would never send any human being there; for honour, dignity and esteem notwithstanding, the system is rotten, because the gates of hell have prevailed there'.¹⁹

It is surprising that Sigurd Bjørner used such severe language about the state church, since at least until 1916 he and Anna Bjørner had not had any problem stating the state church as their affiliation in interdenominational gatherings.²⁰ Steenvinkel also conceded that the

¹⁶ Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 19–20.

¹⁷ Emil Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt! En Redegørelse om de kristelige Livstegn i Anledning af den Bjørnerske Gendøber- og Syndfrihedslære* (Copenhagen: Christian F. Rømer, 1919), 2.

¹⁸ Another significant attack, in a *Kristeligt Dagblad* leader (24/8/1919), seems to concede that the Bjørners' success made the criticism necessary: 'The present time is a time of decay in all areas, including the religious area. ... It is only a small number of weeks ago that the Bjørners were rebaptised, and they have already succeeded in baptising quite a few' (quoted in Anna Larssen Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror og lærer. En kort redegørelse til kristenheden i Danmark* (Copenhagen: V. Pios Boghandel, 1920), 5).

¹⁹ *Frihedstrang og Menighedstvang*, special issue of *Korsets Budskab*, 1920; cf. *Korsets Budskab*, May 1920, 2-3, 15/7/1920, 4. 'Societies' (*Foreninger*) must refer to the Indre Mission and related organisations such as the YMCA.

²⁰ Vincent Næser archive, III.D.2; entry for 29/5/1916 ('Evangelical Alliance "Picnic"') in Carl Næser's guestbook. On the same occasion, the ecumenically minded Thorvald Plum (who never left the state church) stated his affiliation as 'the Church of God'. By contrast to Bjørner's view, e.g. Lewi Pethrus

Bjørners had until recently propagated ‘a true preaching of conversion’; only after their ‘rebaptism’ in Sweden had their message become problematic.²¹ He regards Sigurd Bjørner’s statements about baptism as sacrilegious,²² and the main part of his pamphlet is a classic Lutheran defence of infant baptism, with a few nationalistic overtones.²³ Steenvinkel furthermore claimed that the Bjørners were rejecting the gospel of grace and preaching ‘sinlessness’, though this accusation is given less weight and substance.²⁴

Speaking in tongues is not mentioned at all, but instead there is a critique of the Bjørners’ faith healing practices.²⁵ Healing had also been part of their ministry before 1919, as noted in the previous chapter (3.2.2), so it is again clear that the baptism question is the motivation for Steenvinkel’s vitriol. The thrust of Steenvinkel’s criticism of the Bjørners’ healing practice is his claim that orthodox Christianity has always valued the ‘inner signs of life’ whereas ‘enthusiasts’ (*Sværmeraander*) focus on the ‘outer signs’.²⁶ This is an astounding claim, since historically Lutherans have branded ‘enthusiasts’ as overly subjective, relying on special revelations rather than the objective means of grace found in the word and the sacraments.²⁷ Steenvinkel’s argument seems inconsistent with his objective view of baptism; his underdeveloped Pietism puts him on thin ice.

Anna Bjørner responded to this and other attacks with her first book, *Hvad vi tror og lærer* (‘What we believe and teach’). She rejected the notion that she and her husband would ever ‘neglect the message of sin and grace, repentance and the forgiveness of sins, in favour of a

believed the existence of the Swedish state church served the interest of the Pentecostal revival; see Davidsson, ‘Lewi Pethrus’, 184–90.

²¹ Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 2.

²² Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 8–9.

²³ ‘I am a Danish, infant-baptised soul’ is the foundation of Steenvinkel’s assurance of grace, over against the claim that ‘Infant baptism is a curse which we will remove from the Danish people’ (it is unclear whether he means to ascribe this statement to the Bjørners); Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 8, 10.

²⁴ Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 9, 16.

²⁵ Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 14–16.

²⁶ Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 14.

²⁷ Zahl, *Pneumatology*, 2–7.

new speciality every year'.²⁸ On the contrary, she asserted that the first and only thing she had added to her message during the preceding decade was believers' baptism, and that the preaching of repentance would always take precedence.²⁹ Nonetheless it becomes abundantly clear that the differences are very real, perhaps without Anna Bjørner fully realising it. As with the radical Holiness movements around the turn of the century, there was a disagreement over the words from Luther's Small Catechism: 'we sin greatly each day'.³⁰ Bjørner refused to believe that her Lutheran opponents believed this literally, though from encounters in the past she was well aware that it was what they preached.³¹ At the same time, the Bjørners also made sure to distance themselves from the extremes of the radical 'sinless' movement; Sigurd Bjørner even referred to them as 'demonic' and 'followers of falsehood'.³²

Anna Bjørner also defended the original 'speciality' of Pentecostalism – Spirit baptism – on Biblical grounds, seeking to show that it is no speciality at all, but also used arguments from experience which are perhaps easily debatable when defending against that particular charge.³³ Her defence of divine healing does not contest Steenvinkel's claim that the Pentecostals attach great importance to the outward signs, instead she attacks the Lutherans back for their lack of church discipline.³⁴ She defends their belief in the second coming of Christ with a barrage of Bible verses, but perhaps misses the point by not addressing the

²⁸ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 6, paraphrasing the criticism in *Kristeligt Dagblad*.

²⁹ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 7.

³⁰ From the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, fifth petition; see Martin Luther, *Luther's Primary Works : Together with His Shorter and Larger Catechisms*, ed. C. A. Buchheim and Henry Wace (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896), 12; for the controversy surrounding the same phrase within the Holiness movement, see Olesen, *De frigjorte*, e.g. 489.

³¹ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 7–10. Bjørner also rejects Steenvinkel's classic Lutheran reading of Romans 7; Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 10–12; cf. Steenvinkel-Svendsen, *Vær paa Vagt*, 16.

³² *Evangelii Härold*, 29/7/1920, 118. In a later piece, Anna Bjørner emphasised that though it was possible to achieve 'perfection' in a certain sense (namely through Spirit baptism), this did not take away the need for a 'daily struggle of faith and death to self' (*Korsets Seir*, 10/3/1922, 4), as some of 'the released' had previously believed, resulting in antinomianism.

³³ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 13–17.

³⁴ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 17–23.

actual charge which was that the Pentecostals were proclaiming the *imminent* return of Christ.³⁵

However, by far the longest section, as also in Steenvinkel's pamphlet, concerns the question of believers' baptism. Bjørner first claims that she had 'for multiple years realised that infant baptism was not Biblical' but had only recently been prompted by the Holy Spirit not to 'put off obeying' in any matter.³⁶ Her defence of believers' baptism is based on a book by the Icelandic theologian Magnús Eiríksson from 1844 (*Om Baptister og Barnedaab*), of which the Bjørners were only made aware after their baptism. The basic arguments are: the Biblical order is teaching, then faith, then baptism; infants are not mentioned in Biblical texts on baptism; infant baptism was not part of the early church's practice until later; indiscriminate infant baptism is indefensible; and not to forget, adult baptism had been a great blessing to Anna Bjørner herself, which she wanted others to partake in as well.³⁷ The 'sectarianism' of the Pentecostals was only a result of the state church's and its associated voluntary organisations' lack of openness towards a Pentecostal revival 'outside your own camp'.³⁸

Bjørner finished her book with a summary, a ten-point doctrinal statement, which gives a good indication of what the Danish Pentecostals at this time found essential to their beliefs: salvation; healing; believers' baptism; freedom from sin; Spirit baptism; the gifts of the Spirit; the Biblical pattern of church organisation; communion only for the saved; the second coming of Christ; and the eternal judgement.³⁹ It should be noted that there is no mention of tongues as initial evidence of Spirit baptism; instead Spirit baptism is what enables resistance against evil (with reference to Ephesians 6:13). This point is immediately followed up with an

³⁵ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 23–25.

³⁶ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 25.

³⁷ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 26–55.

³⁸ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 56–57.

³⁹ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 57–59. For full text, see Appendix C.

emphasis on ‘all the gifts of the Spirit’ (1 Corinthians 12:7-10). Only this way could Sigurd Bjørner, who had not yet spoken in tongues, claim to be Spirit-baptised. Nonetheless, this understanding of Spirit baptism also shows that the Bjørners’ preaching was in strong continuity with a pre-Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism as enabling holiness – a fire that purifies just as much as it supplies power.

It is unclear whether Anna Bjørner based her doctrinal statement on any specific source, but it shows strong similarities to a more condensed doctrinal proclamation under the same title, ‘What we believe and teach’, published by W.O. Hutchinson of the Apostolic Faith Church (Bournemouth, UK) in 1910.⁴⁰ Hutchinson’s doctrine of the five-fold ministry of apostles, prophets, etc. was not yet as fully developed or as central as it would later become. The main differences between the two statements are that Bjørner includes the gifts of the Spirit as a separate point, as well as the prescription (inspired by a Swedish formula) that those who are ‘saved and baptised ... should belong to a congregation ordered according to the Biblical pattern’ (cf. above, 3.3.2), and finally the possibility of eternal damnation, which could be seen as an explicit rejection of her earlier universalism. Bjørner also places divine healing as high up as second place, which could confirm that this practice had held a central position in the Bjørners’ ministry during the 1910s.

If the similarities are more than a coincidence then this could indicate an earlier contact with the Apostolic Church (AC) than previously believed, though it could also simply mean that Bjørner happened to be in possession a years-old issue of *Showers of Blessing*.⁴¹ The AC had already split from Hutchinson in 1916, but if Bjørner drew on his doctrinal statement then

⁴⁰ *Showers of Blessing*, No. 1 (January 1910), 5; repeated with slight variation in every issue until No. 11 (undated, ca. 1913). The doctrinal statement was later revised and expanded. For the comparison, see Appendix C.

⁴¹ The Bjørners could have picked up a copy of the publication, which was distributed freely and usually undated, during their visit to England for the Keswick conference in 1913. I have found no indication of any contact with Denmark or Scandinavia in *Showers of Blessing* or the available literature on the Apostolic Faith Church; the closest would be a letter from Finland in *Showers of Blessing*, No. 14, 8.

it could at least confirm that she was consciously taking a step away from the interdenominational strategy (including its air of respectability due to state church connections), since Hutchinson had been condemned by Boddy and Polhill a few years earlier.⁴² There is a certain irony in the fact that Anna – not Sigurd – Bjørner authored this doctrinal statement if it was based on one formulated by Hutchinson, who was an outspoken opponent of letting women ‘teach doctrines’,⁴³ though this also foreshadows the humbler role that Anna Bjørner would assume when they joined the AC four years later. Whether there were outside influences or not at this point, the central point to note is that the criticisms that the Pentecostals encountered had now prompted them to clarify what they believed, making the new divide even sharper.

The critical reactions to the Bjørners’ baptism had made the denominational turn a point of no return. And while it was baptism that made Pentecostalism especially controversial at this time, other elements came under scrutiny as well, as we have already seen. Soon this would also include tongues, criticism of which was perhaps easier to grasp for a wider audience than the finer points of sanctification and the sacraments.⁴⁴

An important factor was the stance of the Indre Mission, the largest popular Evangelical (and Lutheran) organisation in the country. The much stronger condemnation of the Pentecostal movement when the denominational strategy came to dominate in 1919 had been foreshadowed in 1914, when the Indre Mission’s then-president Frederik Zeuthen issued warnings against German-influenced Pentecostals who rejected infant baptism. These may have had a stronger influence in the south of Jutland around Fredericia where he was based,

⁴² Walsh, *To Meet*, 194–98.

⁴³ *Showers of Blessing*, No. 14 (ca. 1914), 12; see also Kent White, *The Word of God Coming Again: Return of Apostolic Faith and Works Now Due on the Earth. With a Sketch of the Life of Pastor W. Oliver Hutchinson*. (Bournemouth: Apostolic Faith Church, 1919), 148–50.

⁴⁴ E.g. in early 1920 the bishop of Aalborg, Christian Ludwigs, publicly criticised the ‘tongues-speakers’ as the Pentecostals were sometimes known (*Danskeren*, 28/4/1920, 3).

including through ethnically Danish Schleswigan preachers such as Nicolai Hansen and Knud Thomsen.⁴⁵ Zeuthen had been dismissive of the Pentecostals from at least 1911 (see 2.3.1), but does not seem to have pushed for any strict ban on cooperation with them. This aligns well with Olesen's general characterisation of Zeuthen as a conservative, capable theologian, on the one hand cautious and even impressionable, but on the other hand 'oddly undiplomatic' once his verdict was made.⁴⁶ Kurt Larsen notes that Zeuthen was favourably disposed towards ideas of Spirit baptism and the gifts of the Spirit, which made him fairly even-handed in his dealings with the Pentecostals.⁴⁷

The negative reactions did not just come from the Lutherans; ironically the Bjørners had often preached in Baptist churches before 1919, but this ended when they adopted the Baptist practice of baptism. Suddenly the Pentecostals had become serious competitors; during the 1920s they were accused of proselytising in Baptist congregations.⁴⁸ The motivation of religious critics was the same whether they were defending a quasi-monopoly (the state church) or protecting their share of the remainder of the market (the free churches): to hinder the Pentecostals from pinching their members.

However, there were also negative reactions to the developments from inside the Pentecostal movement itself. Here it seems however that those who insisted on infant baptism were relatively few by 1919; some may have already realised which way the wind was blowing and left quietly, like Mygind. An interesting case is Thorvald Plum who was less theologically rigorist than Mygind, but had also remained somewhat on the edges of the

⁴⁵ Berlingske Tidende, 3/5/1914, 13; cf. Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, III:07.575.001; Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 72.

⁴⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 453, 799, n. 10.

⁴⁷ Kurt E. Larsen, *Christian Bartholdy, vækkelseskristendom og dansk kirkeliv: studier i Indre Missions historie, ca. 1930-1960*, 1st ed. (Fredericia: Kolon, 2014), 589–91; see also Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 496. Other significant figures in the Indre Mission similarly promoted ideas about knowing and experiencing the Holy Spirit, without any direct reservation against the Pentecostals (e.g., Chr. Sørensen in *Indre Missions Tidende*, 4/6/1911, 364–73).

⁴⁸ Hylleberg and Jørgensen, *Et kirkesamfund*, 276–77.

Pentecostal movement – a definite supporter but too ecumenical to throw his lot in with the Pentecostals entirely. He remained a Lutheran but continued to support the work of Pentecostals, especially the Fullertons in China.⁴⁹ Around the same time, the situation of his English Pentecostal contacts Boddy and Polhill came to resemble Plum's.⁵⁰ However, because Plum's role in the Pentecostal movement up until then had been less overt than theirs, there was no strong need for other Pentecostal leaders to confront his influence, which continued to exert itself quietly, perhaps also strengthening the influence of the global Evangelical movement on the Scandinavian Pentecostals.⁵¹ Another exception was the Lutheran pastor H.P. Mollerup, a friend and relative of numerous Pentecostals in Copenhagen. His relationship with the movement had been somewhat ambiguous. However, in December 1921 he is reported to have received Spirit baptism and spoken in tongues, but like Plum he remained in the state church. Infant baptism was the main question that separated him from the Pentecostal movement.⁵²

But while the Pentecostals seem in general to have been ready to accept the new baptismal practice (which many local groups had already adopted years earlier), two other issues were controversial enough that they had to be discussed at the December 1919 conference in Copenhagen, as mentioned in the last chapter: universalism and freedom of organisation. The

⁴⁹ He had their book published in 1922: Fullerton and Fullerton, *Herrens Gerning*; see especially p. 9 which states that the book is published on the request of 'friends of the South Yunnan mission'. As we will see below (4.2.6), Plum took responsibility for the sending of missionaries to assist the Fullertons in Yunnan. Bundy notes that Plum's periodical *Kirkeklokken* also published material by American and British Pentecostals around 1918-21, but always with some ambiguity, apparently hoping to satisfy both Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals (Bundy, *Visions*, 418-19).

⁵⁰ Plum remained in correspondence with Boddy (*Confidence*, April-June 1921, 23, which also reveals that Plum attended Smith Wigglesworth's Pentecostal revival campaign in Sweden). He also supported Boddy's periodical financially, even as it was close to winding down (*Confidence*, April-June 1921, 18; October-December 1923, 102).

⁵¹ E.g. Plum published multiple impressions of a pamphlet, *Sofies "Prædiken"* (1907, 1915, 1919, etc.), originally published by the UK-based 'One by One' Working Band. This was then later translated again into Swedish and sold by the Filadelfia publishing house in Stockholm (*Evangelii Härold*, 15/9/1921, 172; 22/9/1921, 176; et alib.).

⁵² *Korssets Seir*, 30/12/1922, 4; Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 23-24; Hans Jacob Mygind, *H.P. Mollerup: Kirkens Korshær Stifter* (Copenhagen: Lohse, 1944), 67-68, 106-12.

universalists broke away and formed a small organisation of their own, which soon faded into obscurity, though it seems in the area around Vejle this doctrine retained an influence among the Pentecostals at least until 1920. Those who advocated ‘free’ congregations more in line with the spontaneous, enthusiastic nature of the early Pentecostal revival seem to have tolerated the changes for now, but a crisis was brewing.⁵³

The main difference is that in Norway the baptism of the main leader (Barratt, in 1913) marked the beginning of the events, which then unfolded more gradually. In Denmark, where the shift happened later, it also happened more quickly. Perhaps the controversy would have lasted longer, as it did in Norway, if it had not been for the now decisive influence of the Swedish Pentecostals.

4.2.2 New stability and growth

... whatever doors were shut here, the floodgates of Heaven were opened even more abundantly over them.

— Jens Jensen, in his commemoration of Sigurd Bjørner⁵⁴

Because of the negative reactions to their denominational turn, the Bjørners’ wider influence had been restricted; instead they were now fully integrated into the Swedish-dominated Scandinavian Pentecostal movement, which provided new opportunities. Both the Bjørners were advertised as speaker at a Pentecostal conference in Örebro, February 1920.⁵⁵ Later that year Anna Bjørner contributed with her singing at the Kölingared ‘Bible study week’ in Sweden,⁵⁶ as she also did in Amsterdam when Pentecostals from across northern Europe met again after WWI at an international conference in January 1921.⁵⁷ In the first quarter of 1920, about fifty more new members were baptised into the Gospel Assembly, in addition to an

⁵³ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/8/1920, 2; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 215.

⁵⁴ Jensen, *Mindeskrift*, 28.

⁵⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 11/12/1919, 194; 15/1/1920, 8; 22/1/1920, 12; 29/1/1920, 16.

⁵⁶ *Evangelii Härold*, 8/7/1920, 106.

⁵⁷ *Confidence*, April-June 1921, 21.

undisclosed number who joined but had already received believers' baptism.⁵⁸ For now, the Bjørners' leadership position was undisputed, and it seems to have given Danish Pentecostals a new sense of direction. The Bjørners also published a new songbook for their movement, *Evangelie-Sangbogen*, which was sold as far away as Stockholm.⁵⁹ It was sold out during 1921 and a new edition was in print by the end of the year.⁶⁰

The summer of 1920 saw another Gospel Wagon campaign. From mid-July, the Bjørners set up their tent on an empty plot next to the busy Trianglen junction, immediately north of central Copenhagen. Here they could reach out to a range of social groups, including both working-class and upper middle-class families in the Østerbro residential district as well as the homeless and unemployed who often slept in the neighbouring park, Fælleden. This campaign was even more well-attended than the turbulent one of the previous summer. The Bjørners were assisted by Jens Folkertsen and his successor as leader of the congregation in Rønne, G.W. Moegreen, as well as the Swedes Albin Holmgren and Alma Nordahl. The intensely public location at Trianglen also provided for a few troublemakers who mocked and occasionally disrupted the meetings.⁶¹ Later the tent would be replaced with the first permanent church building of the Gospel Assembly in the same location. Before that, from the autumn of 1920 the Gospel Assembly began to hold its meetings in the hall in Zinnsgade. Only occasionally would they hold joint meetings with the remaining members of the

⁵⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 1/4/1920, 55.

⁵⁹ 'The Gospel Songbook', advertised in *Evangelii Härold*, 9/1/1920, 4; 15/1/1920, 8; 22/1/1920, 12; etc.

⁶⁰ Sigurd Bjørner and Anna Bjørner, *Evangelie-Sangbogen, til Brug ved Vækkelses- og Helliggørelsesmøder* (Copenhagen, 1919). First published 1919 with a second, expanded edition in 1921; see also *Korsets Seir*, 10/1/1922, 6; 30/3/1922, 5.

⁶¹ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/7/1920, 4; 1/9/1920, 2-3; 15/10/1920, 2-4; *Evangelii Härold*, 26/8/1920, 135; 23/9/1920, 151; 11/11/1920, 178; *Korsets Seir*, 10/1/1922, 5-6; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 155-56; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 215. The Bjørners may have been in Runhällen, Sweden (near Uppsala), on 18 July, where they were announced as possible attendees at a baptismal service. This would mean their campaign may have begun shortly after that (*Evangelii Härold*, 15/7/1920, 111).

Filadelfia congregation who also still held their own meetings there.⁶² Their home in Helsingør, *Libanon*, was officially opened up to ‘Christian friends’ from 1 March 1920.⁶³

The new stability in the capital was reflected in growth across the country. The Danish Pentecostal leader Andreas Endersen (b. 1889) described the previous period from 1907 to 1919 as ‘a very difficult time for the Pentecostal movement in this country’, with ‘many blunders and derailments’, so that ‘the work of God lay in ruins, and the few who took part were lowly and despised’.⁶⁴ This then contrasts to the period of growth that followed, after the Danish Pentecostals adopted the Swedish model of organisation. It is probably no coincidence that Endersen’s bleak description is found in a book dedicated to Lewi Pethrus on his 60th birthday. In the previous chapter I have shown that there were in fact developments around the country which anticipated this denominational turn, but which Endersen did not experience first-hand since he only became a Pentecostal in 1919. Endersen describes the influence of the Gospel Assembly as extending in concentric circles, across Zealand and further afield to Bornholm and Jutland. But the developments in Copenhagen were themselves the result of an influence extending from centres such as Stockholm, Kristiania, and Hamburg, from which they first reached smaller towns such as Roskilde and Vejle with their various outposts, and then only later Copenhagen.

As mentioned in the last chapter, Jørgen Sørensen and other Pentecostal leaders on Zealand had revived the periodical *Korsets Budskab* in June 1919 as ‘a free Evangelical paper, which shall have as its aim to gather all of God’s dispersed children into one’.⁶⁵ As with its predecessor, this goal of uniting Pentecostals in different locations was – from the outset – combined with a reservation against denominationalism: ‘the main point is not where

⁶² Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 215–16.

⁶³ Advertised in *Evangelii Härold*, 5/2/1920, 20; 4/3/1920, 36; et alib.; *Korsets Budskab*, March 1920, 4; April 1920, 4; et alib.

⁶⁴ Endersen, ‘Genom kamp’, 71–72.

⁶⁵ *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 1.

we belong, but what we are in the eyes of God'.⁶⁶ However, the periodical also aimed to unify Pentecostals behind a common set of doctrines in order to avoid 'strange teachings'. As noted in the previous chapter (3.3.3-4), perceived doctrinal errors – such as universalism, though not explicitly mentioned – were an important impetus for the move towards a denominational or congregational form of organisation. Hence, in the autumn of 1919, *Korsets Budskab* devoted two front pages to reprinting T.B. Barratt's 19-point statement of faith.⁶⁷

The aims of uniting Pentecostals across denominations as well as uniting them behind a shared doctrine soon turned out to be incompatible, and the denominational strategy was cemented. Pentecostals from across the country began to send reports to be published in *Korsets Budskab*, more congregations had their meeting schedules published in its pages as well, and the frequency of issues was increased to twice a month from July 1920.⁶⁸ Anna Bjørner enlisted the artist Gudmund Hentze in designing a new masthead for *Korsets Budskab*, which first appeared on the front page in October 1920.⁶⁹

At the end of 1919, Jørgen Sørensen reported that 'God has released me from my secular work',⁷⁰ and he was able to do more travelling to support the Pentecostal work in various places, beginning with the Copenhagen area.⁷¹ During the summer, he travelled to southern Jutland to form stronger connections with the Pentecostals there.⁷²

However, the Gospel Assembly in Copenhagen wanted to be seen as the uncontested centre of the Danish Pentecostal movement. Several new Pentecostal congregations were added during 1920-1923, and it is likely that at least the ones on Zealand – in Hillerød,

⁶⁶ *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 2.

⁶⁷ *Korsets Budskab*, October 1919, 1-2; November 1919, 1-2; reproduced from *Korsets Seir*, 1/9/1919.

⁶⁸ *Korsets Budskab*, December 1919, 3-4; 15/7/1920, 4.

⁶⁹ Anna Larssen Bjørner collection (Theatre Museum), letter from Bjørner to Hentze dated 18/5/1920; *Korsets Budskab*, 1/10/1920, 1.

⁷⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, January 1920, 1.

⁷¹ *Korsets Budskab*, February 1920, 2-3.

⁷² *Korsets Budskab*, 1/8/1920, 2.

Helsingør, Gilleleje, Fredensborg, and Korsør – were directly encouraged towards a formalised organisation by the developments in Copenhagen. But at least some (and more likely all) of these new churches were derived from existing Pentecostals groups.⁷³ Something similar was the case in Jutland, where existing Pentecostal congregations began to be more tightly knit together in the emerging informal national network of churches, and new organised congregations were formed in towns such as Fredericia and Horsens where there had previously been some Pentecostal work. This area in south-east Jutland, which also includes Vejle and Kolding, was becoming a crucial centre of Danish Pentecostalism. The churches in these four towns held occasional joint meetings which also drew in scattered Pentecostals from smaller towns such as Brørup and Lunderskov, and were visited by itinerant preachers like Hans Thuesen and Frederikke Thomsen.⁷⁴ From at least November 1921, these joint meetings were held on a regular, monthly basis.⁷⁵ The Bjørners ministered at a conference in Fredericia in 1920 with Nicolai Hansen, and alongside the Norwegian evangelist Josef Ystrøm in and around Vejle in 1921.⁷⁶ Sadly, few if any records from the early years of these churches have survived.⁷⁷ Further west in Esbjerg, the original Pentecostal assembly in the late 1910s had collapsed, but a new work was begun by Ole and Magdalene Nielsen around 1921.⁷⁸

Congregations were also formed in the far north of Jutland to serve Hjørring, Løkken, and soon even the village of Ingstrup south of Løkken. As I speculated in the last chapter (3.3.1), these might have been derived from pre-existing groups.⁷⁹ In Grenaa on the easternmost tip of

⁷³ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 571.

⁷⁴ *Korsets Budskab*, September 1919, 2.

⁷⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 30/11/1921, 4.

⁷⁶ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/10/1920, 4; 1/11/1920, 3; *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 4; 30/10/1921, 5.

⁷⁷ Jakob Engberg, personal communication, August 2015.

⁷⁸ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 85–86; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 611.

⁷⁹ Norwegians Inga Johnson and Signe Thoresen went to Pandrup near Løkken in late 1919 (*Korsets Budskab*, March 1920, 1-2), and Jørgen Sørensen visited ‘the friends’ there in 1920 (*Korsets Budskab*,

Jutland's coast, a Pentecostal congregation was established from scratch through the efforts of H.P. Rosenvinge, the son of a local weaving mill owner, who had travelled extensively and possibly came into contact with the Pentecostal movement this way, before being baptised at the Gospel Assembly in Copenhagen and returning to his home town to evangelise there.⁸⁰ However, in Jutland's largest cities – Aarhus, Aalborg, and Randers – it had still not been possible for the Pentecostals to get a firm foothold. In Randers there was apparently only one single Pentecostal in 1919; perhaps the many 'friends' there who had supported Mygind's mission had also followed him in rejecting the denominational turn.⁸¹ In Aarhus and Aalborg there were a few more, but 'not many' according to a brief report from two Norwegian visitors.⁸²

Nonetheless, a Pentecostal congregation in Aalborg was eventually established in October 1920 and another conference was held there the following month.⁸³ The experience of unity among those present at this conference, along with the perception of variation in opinions among Pentecostals nationwide, led the circle around *Korsets Budskab* to formulate its own statement of faith, which was also published as a pamphlet,⁸⁴ barely a year after two front pages had been devoted to Barratt's statement, and even though Anna Bjørner had in the meantime published her statement of faith, as mentioned above, which continued to be advertised in *Korsets Budskab*. The new statement was meant to provoke discussion, and may have contributed towards the conflict that would soon erupt in Copenhagen, even though it

15/10/1920, 2); see also *Korsets Budskab*, 15/1/1921, 3; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 571. The congregation in Ingstrup was first listed in *Korsets Budskab*, 1/6/1921, 4.

⁸⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 30/9/1922, 4; *Evangeliebladet*, 19/10/1922, 4; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 572.

⁸¹ *Korsets Budskab*, November 1919, 3.

⁸² *Korsets Budskab*, March 1920, 1; cf. 3-4.

⁸³ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/11/1920, 4; 1/12/1920, 2; 1/1/1921, 3.

⁸⁴ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/1/1921, 1-2; *Bibelsk Kristendom. (Hovedpunkter i Læren)*, special issue of *Korsets Budskab*, 1921.

only implicitly connected Spirit baptism and tongues.⁸⁵ The congregation in Aalborg opened a convalescence home in February 1921.⁸⁶ Many of its members came from the Salvation Army and the MCC.⁸⁷ But the congregation did not survive the schism three years later.

On Funen, the Pentecostal work in Odense and elsewhere which had grown out of the Methodist Church (see 3.2.4) seems to have died out as well, though instead it seems a new, small but more permanent group had formed by 1920.⁸⁸ Soon various itinerant evangelists would turn their focus to Funen, and two Norwegians, Harald Sørensen and Gustav Iversen, also evangelised on the neighbouring island of Langeland.⁸⁹ One possible reason the Pentecostals had problems in the largest cities of the country (apart from Copenhagen) is that the competition was sharper there. For example, Aalborg was the scene of a five-week revival campaign featuring the CMA pastor Morris C. Johnson from Wisconsin in the summer of 1922.⁹⁰

The numerical growth was probably a mix of transfer growth from existing churches, such as the Baptist Church (perhaps especially in its strongholds in Copenhagen and North Jutland),⁹¹ and to a lesser extent – but always more prominent in the Pentecostals' own narration – growth through conversion of the unaffiliated and the religiously passive. Sometimes these lines were blurred; the aforementioned Andreas Endersen's experience is a good example of this. His childhood in a working-class home had had a certain Christian influence, but when he started work at a factory aged only 14, he was 'soon led into swearing, drinking and stealing'. His faith was only renewed through his encounter with the Pentecostal movement when he was about thirty years old, in 1919, but in the intervening years he had

⁸⁵ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/2/1921, 3; see also below, 4.2.3.

⁸⁶ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/3/1921, 3; 1-15/4/1921, 3.

⁸⁷ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/10/1921, 2.

⁸⁸ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/8/1920, 2.

⁸⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 20/8/1922, 2; 30/3/1923, 8.

⁹⁰ *Christian and Missionary Alliance Weekly*, 30/12/1922, 658.

⁹¹ Hylleberg and Jørgensen, *Et kirkesamfund*, 276–77.

prayed ‘every day’ and also confided in a representative of the Blue Cross temperance organisation.⁹² His conversion seems to have been influenced by a visit to Korsør by the Bjørners, and by 1920 he had begun to gather an informal circle of baptised Pentecostal friends.⁹³

4.2.3 Leadership crisis

The Pentecostal movement in Denmark seemed to have finally begun to grow in earnest. But in the midst of this, an internal dispute broke out in the new nerve centre in Copenhagen, resulting in a split (albeit mostly temporary) over the necessity of tongues as initial evidence of Spirit baptism. The Bjørners had been able to weather internal storms so far. Shortly after the Scandinavian conference in Copenhagen at the end of 1919, which had seemingly settled the question of organisation along the lines of the Swedish model, the longstanding Pentecostal leader Asmus Biehl had gone further and put forward some extreme proposals, demanding a highly structured, ‘patriarchal’ organisation based directly on the Old Testament. He gained some support, which raised concerns with Barratt, but the issue seems to have been solved without a direct intervention from him. At stake was, among other things, the ministry of women, which was a particular priority for Barratt, and one that the Danish Pentecostals would continue to share for a little while yet.⁹⁴ Biehl may have left the Pentecostal movement at this point; nothing is heard of him after this. But while he may have been one of the few who had been part of the Pentecostal revival in Copenhagen almost from the beginning, there were others who also had a deep concern to preserve what I believe they saw as the original essence of Pentecostalism – though in practice their vision was quite different from Biehl’s.

⁹² Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 478–79; see also Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, III:07.411.

⁹³ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 570–72; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 29–33.

⁹⁴ Bundy, *Visions*, 418.

As mentioned above (4.2.1), a deeper form of discontent had been brewing ever since the attempt to set a firm party line at the 1919 conference. The last straw seems to have been Victor Lorck's appointment as a full-time co-elder in December 1920.⁹⁵ When the Bjørners returned from the international Pentecostal conference in Amsterdam in January 1921, the conflict erupted. The confrontation was spearheaded by Albin Holmgren and Jens Folkertsen, hitherto close collaborators of the Bjørners. The marginalised, primitivist faction, as we might call them, directly challenged Sigurd Bjørner's leadership on two points. Firstly, they asserted the familiar Pentecostal doctrine of tongues as necessary initial evidence of Spirit baptism. Neither Sigurd Bjørner nor Victor Lorck had spoken in tongues yet, and the primitivists demanded that the Pentecostal churches get rid of such leaders. Secondly, they asserted the supremacy of spontaneous divine prophecy, often given through women, over against appointed human leaders.⁹⁶ They felt that the original, spontaneous manifestations of gifts and signs in the Pentecostal revival had been marginalised, and perhaps that the movement had been co-opted by an opportunistic newcomer who was no genuine Pentecostal. This was the opposite end of the spectrum from Biehl's proposals, though both were in a sense 'enthusiastic' in that they rejected pragmatic forms of organisation in favour of what they thought had been prophetically revealed to them. The primitivists had not been happy with the move to a more structured organisation a year earlier, and it probably did not help that the congregation was now headed by two retired military officers. The more formal organisation

⁹⁵ Lorck resigned his commission in the navy at the end of 1920 to devote himself to Pentecostal ministry, according to Bech, Engelstoft, and Dahl, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 9:116, v. Lorck, Victor Lorentz.

⁹⁶ *Evangeliebladet*, 6-13/12/1923, 10-12; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 216–17; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 569; Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 78–79. This conflict is discussed at some length by Neiiendam, whereas it is entirely to be expected that Anna Bjørner would omit this in *Teater og Tempel*. The account in *Danmarks Frikirker*, to its credit, does not leave it out, though it changes the chronology (probably to make a smoother narrative) by placing it before the 1920 summer campaign rather than the one in 1921.

also resulted in the paradoxical situation that water baptism had suddenly been made a more important criterion of membership than Spirit baptism.

Sigurd Bjørner's first reaction was to accept the humiliation and immediately withdraw from his public role. He returned to his villa, *Libanon*, in Helsingør, while some 'stormy' meetings ensued. Holmgren and Folkertsen attempted a complete 'purge', with little result. Sigurd Bjørner returned one evening soon after, probably on the encouragement of his wife and possibly others. He quoted Psalm 32 ('While I kept silence, my body wasted away') and took the daring step of demanding that those who were not satisfied with his leadership should leave, and that Holmgren should return to Sweden. A minority of about sixty members left, including Folkertsen, Holmgren, and – surprisingly – Lorck. A later Pentecostal chronicler describes Bjørner's intervention as 'an embarrassing interlude'.⁹⁷ Those who had left now began to hold prayer meetings in private homes. They were initially led by Lorck, though this does not necessarily mean that Lorck had in the meantime had a breakthrough in the gift of tongues, rather his motivation for the prayer meetings was to seek a 'real biblical Spirit baptism' and then re-join the Gospel Assembly to bring new life to it. Soon, however, the breakaway group was divided over the influence of an anonymous 'female prophet' and was reduced to about ten members before dissolving in the summer of 1921.⁹⁸

Most of those who had left re-joined the Gospel Assembly, but Folkertsen formed a separate 'Gospel Congregation' (*Evangelimenigheden*) and would continue to stay in contact with the Swedish Pentecostals independently.⁹⁹ Lorck remained a life-long Pentecostal (later Apostolic) but gave up his full-time ministry in 1923.¹⁰⁰ Following the crisis, the primacy of

⁹⁷ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 569. Bjørner's opponents were never given a voice in *Korsets Budskab*, which instead published Bjørner's account after the crisis was over (*Korsets Budskab*, 15/5/1921, 1-2).

By May 1921, Holmgren had returned to Trelleborg, Sweden (*Evangelii Härold*, 19/5/1921, 96).

⁹⁸ *Evangeliebladet*, 6-13/12/1923, 12.

⁹⁹ *Evangelii Härold*, 23/6/1921, 113; 18/8/1921, 151; Stampe, 'Pinsebevægelsen', 126.

¹⁰⁰ Bech, Engelstoft, and Dahl, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 9:116, v. Lorck, Victor Lorentz.

Copenhagen was again in doubt, and once again national conferences were convened in the opposite end of the country, in Aalborg during Pentecost in May 1921 and again in Løkken two months later.¹⁰¹ Coinciding with the former, a group of leaders in Løkken (45 km from Aalborg) published a 10-point statement of faith which included ‘The baptism of the Holy Spirit with new tongues as the sign’.¹⁰² This newly founded association, the ‘Evangelist Mission’ (*Evangelist-Missionen*), had also already published its own songbook.¹⁰³ Jørgen Sørensen and the young Løkken-based Norwegian evangelist Ragnvald Johnsen argued against those who believed that such an organisation would lead to ‘servitude’ like the ‘staid so-called societies’; the local congregation was to be independent of this association.¹⁰⁴

Sigurd Bjørner went to Stockholm during Pentecost instead of Aalborg. There he finally spoke in tongues while praying with Smith Wigglesworth, which should have put any remaining doubts about his legitimacy as leader to rest.¹⁰⁵ But a competition was brewing between the Gospel Assembly in Copenhagen and the congregations in North Jutland.

4.2.4 The 1921 Gospel Tent campaign

The work of the Gospel Assembly had been interrupted, but now its tent was again erected at Trianglen. A great boost to this campaign came from its guest preacher, Wigglesworth, who had spent the spring of 1921 in Norway and Sweden. In Stockholm his healing meetings had

¹⁰¹ *Korsets Budskab*, 1-15/4/1921, 4; 1/5/1921, 4; 15/6/1921, 3-4; 1/7/1921, 4; 15/8/1921, 1-2.

¹⁰² *Korsets Budskab*, 15/5/1921, 1; see also p. 2. The evangelist Gotfred Olsen, Aalborg, believed that ‘we must have revival, yea, nationwide revival, but first we must have purity in our teaching’ (*Korsets Budskab*, 1/7/1921, 4).

¹⁰³ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/5/1921, 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/6/1921, 3-4; see also 1/7/1921, 3. For more on the Norwegian background of this controversial group, see Bundy, *Visions*, 420–21.

¹⁰⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 19/5/1921, 95; *Pentecostal Evangel*, 8/9/1923, 9; *Evangeliebladet*, 6-13/12/1923, 12. Some AC sources claim that Bjørner did not experience Spirit baptism until 1923 at the Apostolic convention in Penygroes, immediately before his appointment as apostle (Worsfold, *Origins*, 234). This is probably a misunderstanding of the ‘spiritual empowering’ that he experienced at that point. Several years later, Sigurd Bjørner referred to an experience in June 1919 (shortly after his water baptism) as his Spirit baptism, i.e. without tongues (Jensen, *Mindeskraft*, 13). This seems also to have been Anna Bjørner’s mature position (see above, 2.2.4).

been met with huge interest from the public, but also strong opposition from most of the press, along with a large part of the state church clergy and the medical profession. Consequently, Wigglesworth and Pethrus were taken in for interrogation by the police, and though they were not found to have done anything illegal, Wigglesworth's visa was not renewed. It was recommended that Wigglesworth leave the country voluntarily to preserve the option of returning for another visit later.¹⁰⁶

Wigglesworth arrived in Helsingør on 20 May after being escorted onto the ferry by the Swedish police, to avoid further commotion. The Bjørners immediately took him in to stay at their villa.¹⁰⁷ There was already a renewed interest in divine healing among the general public in Copenhagen after an occurrence during the winter of 1920-21 when it had been reported that a small girl had been healed of scarlet fever. The healing was independently attested by a doctor, to the great disbelief of his colleague who had examined the girl before Anna Bjørner prayed for her. The public discussions that arose from this had the result that many more hopeful visitors came to the Gospel Wagon, the Bjørners' temporary home in Copenhagen, and later to Wigglesworth's meetings.¹⁰⁸ Anna Lewini, who had also accompanied Wigglesworth in Sweden, wrote:

During three weeks thousands daily attended the meetings. Each morning two or three hundred were ministered to for healing. Each evening the platform was surrounded. Again and

¹⁰⁶ Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *Pingströrelsen och tidningen Dagen: från sekt till kristet samhälle 1907-1963* (Flemingsberg: Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning, 2009), 57; Desmond Cartwright, *The Real Smith Wigglesworth: The Man, the Myth, the Message / Desmond Cartwright*. (Sovereign World, 2000), 103-4; Sandra Anne Carp, 'A Pentecostal "Legend": A Reinterpretation of the Life and Legacy of Smith Wigglesworth' (MPhil, University of Birmingham, 2015), 117-18, <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/6538/>; Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth*, 71-72.

¹⁰⁷ *Evangelii Härold*, 2/6/1921, 103; 23/6/1919, 115, 118; *Korsets Budskab*, 15/6/1921, 3. Wigglesworth already planned to visit Denmark, though the problems in Sweden may have advanced his visit by up to a couple of weeks (*Confidence*, April-June 1921, 23; *Korsets Budskab*, 1-15/4/1921, 3; 1/5/1921, 2; 1/6/1921, 4).

¹⁰⁸ Anna Larssen Bjørner Collection (Royal Library), II., see documents dated 5/3/1921; *Evangelii Härold*, 10/3/1921, 42-43; Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*, 51-53; Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 68. Members of the Gospel Assembly also did their best to spread the belief in divine healing; some of them visited hospitals to sing and speak to patients (*Korsets Seir*, 20/12/1921, 4-5).

again, as each throng retired, another company came forward seeking salvation. Here many were baptized in the Holy Ghost.¹⁰⁹

The 1921 campaign at Trianglen with Wigglesworth as guest preacher was described by the aforementioned Pentecostal chronicler as ‘the absolute pinnacle of the revival’. He reports that there were over 2,000 in attendance, but the total number of people who came through the tent could well be higher.¹¹⁰ This seems to have continued after Wigglesworth left in mid-July;¹¹¹ the Bjørners themselves reported that from May to September there had consistently been about 1,000 people present daily.¹¹²

In August 1921, the Norwegian preacher Ludvig Bratlie was asked to act as interim preacher while the Bjørners were ministering elsewhere in the country. His report states that with standing room the capacity of the tent was doubled to 1,400, and adds that many of the members that had been added during the summer were ‘a fruit of the evangelistic work here’; in other words, they were ‘newly saved’ rather than longstanding Evangelical Christians.¹¹³ The campaign lasted until late September when the tent had to be taken down because of the weather. During the latter part of the campaign, Bratlie established a children’s ministry which continued after the tent was taken down.¹¹⁴ The campaign format probably also inspired others; a group of Pentecostals in Småland, southern Sweden, purchased a tent ‘from br. Bjørner’s tentmaker in Helsingør’ for its evangelistic summer meetings.¹¹⁵

In addition to the Bjørners, five men had been elected as elders ‘for a probation period’. According to Bratlie, not all of the five had experienced Spirit baptism with tongues, but they

¹⁰⁹ *Confidence*, April-June 1922, 23, 26 (22-23, 26-27); reprinted in *Pentecostal Evangel*, 27/5/1922, 10; Frodsham, *With Signs Following*, 74; Frodsham, *Smith Wigglesworth*, 71.

¹¹⁰ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 570. According to a Swedish visitor, ‘The spirit of revival was poured out over the meetings’ (*Evangelii Härold*, 1/12/1921, 219).

¹¹¹ Carp, ‘A Pentecostal “Legend”’, 175.

¹¹² *Korsets Seir*, 20/10/1921, 4.

¹¹³ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 3.

¹¹⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 3-4; 30/12/1921, 4; 30/7/1922, 7.

¹¹⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 14/7/1921, 131

were ‘seeking with all their heart after this’, and Bratlie trusted that ‘God will meet them’.¹¹⁶

It might be puzzling that the Bjørners could not find enough leaders in their congregation who had spoken in tongues, but this probably shows that it was still not their strongest priority.

Though the membership counts during this time were sporadic, they can confirm that 1921 did indeed start out bleak for the Gospel Assembly – it may have lost more than a few members during its crisis. But the congregation experienced explosive growth in the last eight months of the year, with about 7% growth *per month* on average. Bratlie noted that that ‘since April this year and until the beginning of August more than 1 per day has been admitted and baptised’.¹¹⁷ It was first reported that the church had reached ‘circa 500’ members in September. A significant number of these soon changed their minds and left again, but new members were admitted at a similar rate.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 3. The probationary period was ended in March 1922. The five men, now styled ‘deacons’, were Hans Andersen (first mentioned in *Korsets Budskab*, September 1919, 2), Nielsen Boltvig (cf. 3.3.2), Jens Jensen, Lichtenstein, and A. Wulff (*Korsets Seir*, 30/3/1922, 5; *Evangeliebladet*, 6-13/12/1923, 12).

¹¹⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 3

¹¹⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 20/10/1921, 4; 30/11/1921, 4.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Estimated number of members</i>	<i>Reference</i>
October 1919	250	119
March 1920	300	120
January 1921	300	121
April 1921	250	122
August 1921	400	123
December 1921	500	124

Thus, it was with their position reaffirmed that both of the Bjørners participated in the inauguration of the new hall for the Filadelfia church in Stockholm in September 1921 and spoke at multiple services while there.¹²⁵ Links with Sweden were strengthened as the Bjørners visited Sweden again in November for a conference in Gothenburg.¹²⁶ In the past year, Pentecostals in Copenhagen had also given considerable amounts of money to Swedish-led Pentecostal missionary work in South America.¹²⁷ Other Danish Pentecostal evangelists like Hans Thuesen continued to occasionally minister in Sweden as well.¹²⁸

¹¹⁹ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 569.

¹²⁰ *Evangelii Härold*, 1/4/1920, 55.

¹²¹ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/5/1921, 2.

¹²² *Korsets Budskab*, 15/5/1921, 2; cf. Bratlie's statement quoted above. The growth from April to August probably also included many former members who had left the Gospel Congregation during the crisis.

¹²³ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 3.

¹²⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 8/12/1921, 223.

¹²⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 8/9/1921, 164-65; cf. announcements of the Bjørners' participation, 11/8/1921, 147; 18/8/1921, 152; 25/8/1921, 156; 1/9/1921, 160; also mentioned in Sundstedt, *Pingstväckelsen*, 3:46-50.

¹²⁶ *Evangelii Härold*, 22/12/1921, 235. The Bjørners also invited Swedish Pentecostals to their own conference at *Libanon* in October 1921 (*Evangelii Härold*, 13/10/1921, 188; 20/10/1921, 192).

¹²⁷ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/12/1920, 4; *Evangelii Härold*, 22/9/1921, 176. On the latter page, Sigurd Bjørner also advertised on behalf of his niece who wanted a position as a maid in a Pentecostal home in Sweden.

¹²⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 25/8/1921, 155.

4.2.5 Towards a national denomination

May God lay it on the hearts of many of his children that the collection might gain speed, so that there will be no stop to this work that is so strongly needed in this great city, which in numbers is greater than Stockholm and Kristiania put together. They need a suitable house with capacity for at least 1,000 people if they too are going to succeed in becoming a centre from which the word is preached over the whole country. *Jesus is coming soon.*

– Ludvig Bratlie, autumn 1921, on the plans for a ‘Gospel House’ in Copenhagen¹²⁹

While there had been some obstacles in Copenhagen, the Pentecostal work had continued steadily elsewhere in the country. For the Danish Pentecostals in Schleswig, the end of WWI made an enormous difference. During the war, there had been multiple difficulties – as everywhere in the German Empire – the worst being that some of the young men were called up to fight in the war. But ‘the Lord kept the good seed, and when the war was over, the revival began to flourish again’.¹³⁰ Nicolai Hansen and his family participated in the Pentecostal conference in Mülheim in 1919 – but more importantly, in 1920 the Danish-German border was moved south and Hansen could now travel freely among his countrymen, along with his eldest daughter Christine. They ministered across the southern part of Jutland – at least as far north as Ølgod where a Pentecostal revival began around 1921 – and on Funen, often preferring the rural and less affluent areas of the country which were often neglected by other evangelists. During their travels they also formed connections with the existing Pentecostal congregations in south-east Jutland.¹³¹ This form of trans-local ministry by Hansen and others, such as the Norwegian evangelist Harald Sørensen who ministered in Denmark from around 1915,¹³² and the former missionary Hans Thuesen who settled in

¹²⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 3 (emphasis original). It is a slight overstatement to claim that the population of Copenhagen was larger than the two other Scandinavian capitals combined, but it was certainly the larger of the three by some margin.

¹³⁰ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 41.

¹³¹ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 40–46, 76, 81; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 572.

¹³² *Korsets Seir*, 30/12/1921, 4.

Bramminge around 1919,¹³³ helped to bring together Pentecostals in a countrywide network. Hansen had become an important agent of the permeation of 'biblical' organisation throughout the Pentecostal movement in Denmark.¹³⁴

The flagship congregation in Copenhagen had emerged from its initial difficulties stronger than before. The leaders of the Gospel Assembly were planning to construct a permanent building at Trianglen, to replace the tent. The thought of a permanent building had first occurred to the Bjørners in 1917, initially as an 'Alliance House', but the idea changed shape as – according to themselves – 'the thought of an alliance quite naturally evaporated'. They had also accumulated some funds for this purpose through donations since 1917, 'without having done anything significant for it'.¹³⁵ The building work was planned to begin already on 1 October 1921, the same week that the tent was taken down,¹³⁶ but seems to have been delayed by a few weeks. By December 1921, the congregation had reached five hundred members, and construction on the 'Gospel House' had begun, though they were still trusting in the Lord for the remainder of the funds required for the building project.¹³⁷ Though built out of wood – presumably to keep costs down – the construction ended up costing almost twice as much as first planned. The Bjørners had to be diligent in their fundraising, which probably helped to strengthen their leadership.¹³⁸ In the meantime, meetings were held at the old hall in Zinnsgade.¹³⁹

¹³³ *Evangelii Härold*, 26/2/1920, 30; *Evangeliebladet*, 7/12/1922, 3.

¹³⁴ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 49–50.

¹³⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 20/10/1921, 4.

¹³⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 8/10/1921, 4.

¹³⁷ *Evangelii Härold*, 8/12/1921, 223.

¹³⁸ The cost of the construction was initially expected to be 50-60,000 kroner (*Korsets Seir*, 20/10/1921, 4), but by February 1922 it was clear that this was not nearly enough (*Korsets Seir*, 28/2/1922, 4). It ended up costing 110,000 kroner, corresponding to around £350,000 today (*Evangeliebladet*, 2/11/1922, 4; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 158). The original plan was to have the building finished during February, but this was delayed by a few months as well (*Korsets Seir*, 10/12/1921, 4).

¹³⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 10/12/1921, 4.

From August 1921, *Korsets Budskab* was published from Hjørring as the official organ of the 'Evangelist Mission', and it seems the Bjørners were now denied access to its pages.¹⁴⁰ The congregation in Aalborg was also divided over the alleged 'self-deception' of its original leader, Thomsen, who presumably supported the Bjørners and questioned the new organisation.¹⁴¹ From October 1921, the Bjørners instead assumed complete editorial control of approximately two pages in every issue of Barratt's periodical, *Korsets Seir* (3 issues per month), and set up a separate office for the periodical in Copenhagen. Though the Swedish Pentecostals had taken the lead in shaping the structure of Scandinavian Pentecostalism, the stronger linguistic links between Denmark and Norway meant that joint ventures in publishing were a more obvious possibility between Pentecostals in these two countries. Barratt had suggested the collaboration to the Bjørners at the inauguration of the new hall for the Filadelfia church in Stockholm, in September 1921. The idea was realised only a month later – a snap decision, meant from the beginning as a temporary measure, in preparation for an independent Danish periodical. The benefits for Barratt were obvious: the Bjørners now acted as his agents in Denmark, promoting the periodical throughout the country. The Bjørners claimed in the first issue of the new format of *Korsets Seir* that there had not been such a 'link between the faithful' in Denmark up until then – though in fact *Korsets Budskab* was published until Christmas 1921.¹⁴² Perhaps an additional motive for the Bjørners was the need to raise funds for the Gospel Assembly's building project, but this was not pressed strongly; they only sometimes mentioned the progress of the project, and occasionally published translated pieces on tithing.¹⁴³ Their Q and A column also answered questions on

¹⁴⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, 15/8/1921, 1, 3-4.

¹⁴¹ *Korsets Budskab*, Christmas 1921, 12; see also *Evangeliebladet*, 18/1/1923, 6.

¹⁴² *Korsets Seir*, 20/10/1921, 4; 30/10/1921, 5; 30/11/1921, 4.

¹⁴³ *Korsets Seir*, 10/1/1922, 5; 20/1/1922, 4-5.

tithing, not advocating gross tithing (a tenth of all income before tax) but instead simply an expanded net tithing.¹⁴⁴

On 22-24 October 1921, a conference was again held at *Libanon* in Helsingør, two years after the last one. The main speakers were the Bjørners along with their two Norwegian collaborators at the time, Bratlie and Ystrøm. The sessions resulted in ‘a great desire for the baptism of the Spirit’, with a few receiving it after prayer. As mentioned, more Spirit baptisms were needed in order to get qualified leaders. A new conference was planned for 3-5 December.¹⁴⁵ The central topic for this conference was prophecy, encouraging ‘more attention to the prophetic messages, since otherwise we will end up becoming deaf to the voice of the Spirit’. The authority and importance of the ‘prophetic office’ and other offices (*Embeder*) was also discussed. However, the main response from the participants seems to have been that many of them received a call to foreign mission fields.¹⁴⁶ The Bjørners had made it clear that prophecy and interpretation of tongues could lead astray if they were not in accordance with the word of God.¹⁴⁷

The Gospel Assembly and its collaborators, including Ystrøm, continued to support the evangelistic work in the satellite towns of Helsingør, Roskilde, Hillerød, and Gilleleje.¹⁴⁸ The assembly of ‘free friends’ in Næstved appointed a baptised leader in 1921. After further visits from the Gospel Assembly, it was established as a congregation in full conformity to the new pattern of organisation in the autumn of 1922. Among its leaders were Jensen and Johansen

¹⁴⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 10/2/1922, 6.

¹⁴⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 20/11/1921, 4; see also announcement p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 20/12/1921, 4; cf. 5-6 with a sermon on the ministry of prophets from the Mülheim conference.

¹⁴⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 20/11/1921, 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 30/11/1921, 4; 10/12/1921, 4; 30/3/1922, 5; *Evangeliebladet*, ‘Prøvenummer’ (‘Sample issue’, September 1922), 3.

who had also hosted visiting Pentecostal preachers in 1911.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the congregation in Roskilde joined the Gospel Assembly directly, becoming a recipient of its ‘service’ until a ‘satisfactory leadership’ could be established there.¹⁵⁰ The Pentecostals there had been connected to the ‘Evangelist Mission’, but it seems this organisation was too dependent on inexperienced, itinerant Norwegian evangelists to survive,¹⁵¹ and towards the end in December 1921 its periodical, *Korsets Budskab*, had little news to report from Denmark.

The Gospel Assembly also expanded its work further west to Holbæk in early 1922.¹⁵² By September, there were 12 baptised members.¹⁵³ A ‘Gospel Assembly’ was formed in Helsingør 1922 under the patronage of its namesake in nearby Copenhagen.¹⁵⁴ The belief in freedom from any organisation was still in existence, but no longer dominant.¹⁵⁵ The assembly in Korsør also attached itself to the Copenhagen assembly after a visit by the Bjørners.¹⁵⁶ It grew rapidly and was formalised as a Pentecostal congregation by January 1923.¹⁵⁷ The Gospel Assembly even sent evangelists as far away as Hals in North Jutland.¹⁵⁸

Sigurd Bjørner was still tired after the struggles in early 1921 and according to his own testimony he had considered returning to the side-lines again. However, he ‘experienced God’s grace anew’ when he and Anna Bjørner visited the joint meetings of the four Pentecostal churches around Horsens in February 1922, where, while praying with the Pentecostal friends there, he ‘came under the power and began to speak in tongues and sing in the Spirit as tremendously as I have never before experienced it’. On this occasion, the

¹⁴⁹ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/11/1920, 4; *Korsets Seir*, 30/11/1921, 4; 30/12/1921, 4; *Evangeliebladet*, 26/10/1922, 3-4; 16/11/1922, 3; see also above, 2.3.1.

¹⁵⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 10/12/1921, 4

¹⁵¹ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/10/1921, 1; see also *Evangeliebladet*, 1/2/1923, 7-8.

¹⁵² *Korsets Seir*, 10/3/1922, 6; 20/4/1922, 6.

¹⁵³ *Evangeliebladet*, 26/10/1922, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 29–30.

¹⁵⁵ *Korsets Seir*, 28/2/1922, 4-5.

¹⁵⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 10/5/1922, 4; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 217.

¹⁵⁷ *Evangeliebladet*, 28/12/1922, 4; 11/1/1923, 8; 7/6/1923, 7; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 572.

¹⁵⁸ *Korsets Seir*, 20/9/1922, 4-5; *Evangeliebladet*, 12/10/1922, 2; 7/12/1922, 3.

meeting lasted multiple days. Among those present were also the evangelists Nicolai Hansen and Harald Sørensen, the latter of whom was now working on Funen.¹⁵⁹ The Bjørners attended the joint meetings again the following month and received support towards the last of their construction costs.¹⁶⁰

The new building for the Gospel Assembly was inaugurated on Pentecost Sunday 1922, with great festivity. T.B. Barratt from Norway and Sven Lidman and Hugo Wuerster from Sweden were among the well-wishers.¹⁶¹ This seems to have been Barratt's only visit to Copenhagen between 1919 and 1928.¹⁶² Wuerster afterwards travelled to Bornholm to lead the local Gospel Assembly in Rønne, initially only temporarily.¹⁶³ Most of those who had contributed towards the building funds were women.¹⁶⁴ It proved to be a timely investment: by early 1924 the membership of the Gospel Assembly had nearly reached one thousand.¹⁶⁵ To better organise the members of the large assembly and prevent the individuals from 'disappearing in the crowd', smaller districts or wards had been formed throughout the city, perhaps imitating the Class structure found among the Methodists. These also organised public evangelistic meetings throughout the city.¹⁶⁶

In September 1922, the Bjørners had enough momentum that they could end their collaboration with *Korsets Seir*, which had reached about 400 subscriptions in Denmark, and begin to publish their own weekly periodical, *Evangeliebladet* ('The Gospel Magazine'), with

¹⁵⁹ *Korsets Seir*, 10/3/1922, 5-6; see also 10/6/1922, 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 30/3/1922, 6.

¹⁶¹ *Korsets Seir*, 20/5/1922, 6; 30/5/1922, 4; 20/6/1922, 4; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 157–58; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 570–71.

¹⁶² Barratt, *Erindringer*, 238. Bloch-Hoell considers the developments in 1919 a result of Barratt's 'apostolic' influence, but note that Neiiendam, whom he cites, actually concurs with the interpretation that the main impulses at the time came from Sweden (Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 79; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 213). The fact that the Bjørners were baptised by a Norwegian (in Sweden) is also not enough to stipulate a strong Norwegian influence at the time.

¹⁶³ *Korsets Seir*, 10/8/1922, 4.

¹⁶⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 10/3/1922, 6; 30/4/1922, 5.

¹⁶⁵ *Evangeliebladet*, 31/1/1924, 7.

¹⁶⁶ *Evangeliebladet*, 18/10/1923, 8; 6-13/12/1923, 12; see also Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 218.

1,500 copies per issue.¹⁶⁷ By the end of the year, this had increased to 5,000, as other congregations also began to advertise their meetings in the periodical.¹⁶⁸

4.2.6 Foreign mission efforts

Above I have noted that the influence from the Swedish Pentecostal movement was strong throughout the period 1919 to 1924. The Danish Pentecostals also continued to lean towards the Swedish Pentecostal model when it came to organising its foreign mission efforts – with independent missionaries supported by local churches, rather than by a missionary society. This is not only in contrast to Norway but also, for example, the Netherlands, where a Pentecostal missionary society was founded in 1920 in response to problems with collaborating with the PMU.¹⁶⁹ As mentioned above (3.4.1), this type of problem may also have affected Danish Pentecostal missionaries, yet their response to this was not to form a missionary society of their own but to follow the Swedish Pentecostals in rejecting such societies altogether. An additional aim of publishing a Pentecostal periodical such as *Korsets Budskab* was then to raise financial support for independent Pentecostal missionaries abroad, such as the Sørensens in Argentina and others.¹⁷⁰ The Rasmussens left with a gift of 8,700 kroner when they returned to China in 1919.¹⁷¹

China continued to be the greatest focus of the Danish Pentecostal mission efforts. The interest in going to this mission field and supporting missionaries there was further energised by missionaries returning on furlough. These would often tour both Denmark and other

¹⁶⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 30/7/1922, 3-4, 7; 30/9/1922, 4; 10/10/1922, 4; *Evangeliebladet*, 'Prøvenummer' ('Sample issue', September 1922), followed by no. 1, 5/10/1922.

¹⁶⁸ *Evangeliebladet*, 4/1/1923, 8; cf. 7/12/1922, 3-4.

¹⁶⁹ van der Laan, 'Beyond the Clouds', 338; van Spengen, 'Early Pentecostal', 157; cf. Bundy, *Visions*, 350-51.

¹⁷⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, August 1919, 2-4.

¹⁷¹ *Korsets Budskab*, September 1919, 2. This corresponds to about 227,000 kroner in today's money, or 26,000 GBP (*Danmarks Statistik: Forbrugerprisindeks*, <http://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/emner/forbrugerpriser/forbrugerprisindeks>, accessed 30 November 2016).

countries, stirring up support, as Bernt Berntsen had done as early as 1910, and later N.P. Rasmussen during 1917-19. Sometimes, missionaries stayed at home for so long that it must have seemed doubtful whether they were ever to return to the foreign field. Dagny Pedersen returned to China in 1922 after spending about five to six years ministering in and around her hometown of Roskilde – approximately the same amount of time she had spent in China in the first place. When she did return, it was with financial support from the Gospel Assembly in Copenhagen, which had also recently assumed responsibility for the Pentecostal work in Roskilde.¹⁷² The following year, she was joined by Viola Hagemann.¹⁷³

Martha (née Rønager) and John Fullerton returned to Denmark on a relatively short furlough in the summer of 1921. During this time, they held meetings all over the country and helped energise the nationwide Pentecostal movement. In Copenhagen they met with Smith Wigglesworth and encouraged him to hold revival campaigns in New Zealand and John Fullerton's native Australia. The Fullertons returned to China via the US, New Zealand, and possibly Australia. They participated in one of Aimee Semple McPherson's revival campaigns in Ohio, and also met with some 'young Danish friends' who were going to join them in Yunnan after training at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. Apart from these, they were also expecting further reinforcement from three young people who were training in London. In New Zealand, the Fullertons led the preparations for Wigglesworth's campaign, though they left the country in May 1922 before Wigglesworth's arrival.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² *Korsets Seir*, 30/12/1921, 4; 10/2/1922, 6; 10/8/1922, 4-5; 20/8/1922, 5-6; *Evangeliebladet*, 25/1/1923, 7-8.

¹⁷³ *Evangeliebladet*, 15/2/1923, 6; 20/9/1923, 6-7; 25/10/1923, 6-7; 6-13/12/1923, 12. Viola Hagemann was the daughter of P.A. Hagemann who had been a member of the Zinnsgade assembly until he moved to Vejle in 1914 (Worsfold, *Origins*, 241).

¹⁷⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 28/2/1922, 2-3; 10/3/1922, 2-3; Carp, 'A Pentecostal "Legend"', 134-36. It seems Denmark was their main financial base, though it would be surprising if they did not also visit Australia when they passed by on the way from New Zealand to China.

Some of the Danish Pentecostal missionaries in China also maintained strong links with Sweden – especially the Rasmussen brothers. Both sent reports to of *Evangelii Härold* and were supported by its readers.¹⁷⁵ One of them even reciprocated by giving a modest amount of money back to Pentecostal social work in Sweden.¹⁷⁶ At the same time, N.P. Rasmussen also corresponded with the Bjørners, his ‘beloved siblings’, and even tried to get them to pay the work in China a visit.¹⁷⁷ Rasmussen’s collaborator Ida Lorentzen survived a serious illness and returned to Denmark at the end of 1922.¹⁷⁸

Two of Nicolai Hansen’s daughters from the South Jutland border region, Minna and Christine, were also sent out, to Java and China respectively. Minna Hansen (later married Abell) had met the Dutch Pentecostal pioneer Gerrit Polman and decided to train in the Netherlands around 1918-19 for work in what was then the Dutch East Indies. She left for the mission field a couple of years later in July 1922, after also completing a nursing course in Germany and a shorter stay in England. Christine Hansen (later married Jensen) had read about the work of the Fullertons in *Kirkeklokken* and later encountered them in person when they were preaching in Sønder Omme during their 1921 furlough. On the Fullertons’ recommendation, she trained with the PMU in London from October 1921, alongside another young Dane, Hans Peter Thomsen. She went out to join the Fullertons in Yunnan in January 1923, after travelling around Denmark with her father to share the testimony of her call and raise funds.¹⁷⁹ However, the PMU had not become entirely favourably disposed towards the Fullertons (cf. 3.4.1 above). After they returned to China, Thorvald Plum had resumed

¹⁷⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 4/11/1920, 174; 8/9/1921, 168; 6/10/1921, 182; 10/11/1921, 205.

¹⁷⁶ *Evangelii Härold*, 30/12/1920, 220.

¹⁷⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 20/2/1922, 6.

¹⁷⁸ *Evangeliebladet*, 11/1/1923, 7.

¹⁷⁹ Minute book no. 2, PMU, pp. 383, 388-89, 413; Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 41-48. Thomsen would have similarly intended to depart for Yunnan, but I have not been able to confirm this part of his story, though it is likely he did. Initially, a further (unnamed) young woman was mentioned as a potential candidate as well, but seems to have pulled out by September.

responsibility for the sending of missionaries to their station. In May 1923, he announced that another two young Danish people were coming, along with a married couple from Australia. The PMU council then found it necessary to impress on him that the many students who were sent to Yunnan were too great a burden on the PMU training home in Yunnan-Fu – even with payment – and so this collaboration was called off.¹⁸⁰

By contrast, the most widely known Danish Pentecostal foreign missionary, Anna Lewini, had a better experience with the PMU. After evangelising in Scandinavia for more than a decade, in 1921 she was encouraged by Smith Wigglesworth to finally pursue the calling she had felt for a long time and travel to London to begin preparing for foreign mission. She went there already in June or July of that year, after officially joining the Gospel Assembly. She led revival meetings and also acted as pro tem superintendent of the PMU's Women's Training Home from February to June 1922 before embarking on a world tour. She had originally planned to travel via Denmark and the United States during April-May 1922, but this was postponed and abandoned, respectively, due to her appointment at the PMU home.¹⁸¹

During Lewini's 'world-wide evangelistic tour', she visited the Mukti Mission in India in 1923 and led meetings there. From there, she went on to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and quickly realised that she was to stay there. She became one of the first foreign Pentecostal missionaries to be based in Sri Lanka, though there had already been a Pentecostal movement in the country led by local evangelists for over a decade. She was on good terms with the Assemblies of God but remained independent. In the late 1940s when she was about seventy

¹⁸⁰ Minute book no. 3, PMU, pp. 148-49, 159-60.

¹⁸¹ *Evangelii Härold*, 24/11/1921, 215; *Korsets Seir*, 10/2/1922, 5; 10/4/1922, 3; 10/9/1922, 5; 30/9/1922, 6; Minute book no. 2, PMU, pp. 467, 473, 512; see also the Correspondence of Eleanor Crisp, 1920-1923, available digitally from the Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Archive, University of Southern California (<http://digitalibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll14/id/35925>, accessed 20/4/2017).

years old, she left locals in charge of the work and returned to Denmark where she died in 1951.¹⁸²

The above were the most prominent examples of new missionaries who went out – but not all Danish Pentecostal missionaries went to Asia. In November 1921, two young women, Marie Hansen (b. 1889) and Signe Kristensen (b. 1894), were sent out by the Gospel Assembly to work among the Elgeyo people in Kenya.¹⁸³ Another woman named Johanne Elsøe Larsen took up mission work in Komatipoort, South Africa, around the same time.¹⁸⁴

Finally, there was the Bjørners' co-worker Carl Næser who had gone to Paris in 1919. A complicating matter here is that Næser's sense of calling was more ambiguous. He had left Denmark before the Bjørners were baptised in water, and had not yet become convinced of the necessity of this. His work among Scandinavian students does not seem to have been explicitly evangelistic, and he only came into contact with the existing Pentecostals in the city after a few months when he was prompted to it by Sigurd Bjørner, who had heard the name of a Pentecostal leader there by the name of Mast. They then worked together to establish a more significant Pentecostal presence in the city, beginning with evangelistic meetings held at Næser's *Foyer Franco-Scandinave*. Næser took an interest in the Gospel House building project in Copenhagen and informed visitors of it. He also advertised in *Evangeliebladet* for

¹⁸² *Evangeliebladet*, 4/1/1923, 6-7; 22/2/1923, 7; *Pentecostal Evangel*, 9/6/1923, 8; 8/9/1923, 9; *Familien Carl Sigurd Lomholt/Anna Lewini*, <http://www.agerbaeks.dk/slaegt/html/fam001xx/fam00179.htm> (accessed 22/6/2016); G. P. V. Somaratna, *Walter H. Clifford: The Apostle of Pentecostalism in Sri Lanka* (Nugegoda: Margaya, 1995), 10–23; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 585; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 103. For early references to the Pentecostal movement in Sri Lanka before the arrival of foreign missionaries, see e.g. *Byposten*, 1/7/1909, 54; *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1911, 7; *Confidence*, November 1910, 270-71.

¹⁸³ *Korsets Seir*, 10/12/1921, 4. According to that report, Hansen may have been born in Norway (Lisleby), though she returned to Denmark when she retired (Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 585).

¹⁸⁴ *Korsets Budskab*, April 1920, 2; *Evangeliebladet*, 30/11/1922, 4; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 585.

two Danes to come and open an eating house in Paris. The manager of the *Foyer*, Jules Corrihon, was baptised in 1924 during a visit to Denmark.¹⁸⁵

In November 1922, the Pentecostal congregations in and around Copenhagen agreed to join together in supporting their foreign missionaries.¹⁸⁶ This foreshadowed a new form of organisation which most of the Danish Pentecostal movement was about to adopt.

4.3 The Apostolic schism

The Apostolic Church came into being in Wales in 1916 when nineteen Welsh assemblies severed their ties with W.O. Hutchinson in Bournemouth and his Apostolic Faith Church. Tensions of national identity had strengthened their disapproval of Hutchinson's autocratic conduct as a leader. The main thing that set the AC apart from other Pentecostals was their ecclesiastical polity, with the leadership of apostles and prophets. This was derived from Hutchinson's teachings, which were in turn influenced by the Catholic Apostolic Church (the Irvingites), whose ideas had been kept alive by some important pre-Pentecostal figures such as John Alexander Dowie.¹⁸⁷ This meant a much more formalised, hierarchical structure than the congregational polity promoted by mainstream Pentecostal leaders – at the time most prominently Lewi Pethrus.

The main founder and leader was D.P. Williams who served as apostle, along with his brother Jones Williams who as the chief prophet had a great influence on the appointment of additional apostles and prophets. Along with many of their adherents, both brothers had been converted during the Welsh Revival a decade earlier. From 1919, with some hesitation, the

¹⁸⁵ *Evangelii Härold*, 26/2/1920, 30; 24/2/1921, 34; *Korsets Seir*, 20/2/1922, 5; *Evangeliebladet*, 19/10/1922, 4; No. 27 (3/7/1924), 6; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 158. Mast is probably identical to the leader whom Bartleman had met there in 1912, named Michael (or Michel) Mast; see Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 105; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 167.

¹⁸⁶ *Evangeliebladet*, 16/11/1922, 3; see also 7/12/1922, 4.

¹⁸⁷ Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 133–34. Hutchinson had met Dowie's Zionists in South Africa, where he had served in the British army during the Anglo-Boer War (Allan Anderson, personal communication, April 2017).

AC began again to form links with groups elsewhere in the UK, notably Bradford which became a new hub for the AC from 1922. English was gradually becoming the working language of the denomination, which further opened it up to the rest of the world, and international mission became a high priority. Denmark would become its beachhead in continental Europe.¹⁸⁸

4.3.1 Beginnings of Apostolic influence

Though the challenges to Sigurd Bjørner's leadership in Copenhagen seem to have calmed down, his church was still something of an anarchy, and organising the Pentecostal movement on a national scale presented a new obstacle. Growth was good but also meant chaos. As Neiiendam puts it, there was a need for a form of organisation that both seemed biblical and at the same time could provide a 'fixed framework for a community of modern people'. It needed to both accommodate the spontaneity and individuality of Pentecostal expression and also 'feed the community feeling'.¹⁸⁹ This dilemma led the Bjørners and other Danish Pentecostals to the AC which seemed to provide both a basis in the Bible, mediated through prophecy, and also a more rigorous form of organisation than the one promoted by Pethrus which depended more on the charisma (at least in the broadest Weberian sense) of the individual leader at the head of the organisation.

In addition to that, Wales had a reputation for revivals. Already a few years before the 1904-05 revival, the Welsh Evangelical leader Jessie Penn-Lewis held meetings in Copenhagen and some of her writings were published in Danish during 1898-99.¹⁹⁰ The impression of Welsh revivalism was solidified when, for example, Mygind reported

¹⁸⁸ Worsfold, *Origins*; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 322–23.

¹⁸⁹ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 218.

¹⁹⁰ Olesen, *De friggjorte*, 348–49.

favourably on the ‘new Welsh revival’ led by George Jeffreys.¹⁹¹ The AC was only a small wing of this wider movement, but nonetheless was able to capitalise on the connection.¹⁹² Moreover, the AC was indeed seeing considerable progress during these years, and it was not obvious at the time that this was to be a temporary phenomenon. Donald Gee notes, with reference to Great Britain: ‘Their rapid growth for a time was largely due to the fact that their vision of church government came at a time when the need of something of the sort was being desperately realised among many Pentecostal people, and little in the way of constructive alternatives was in sight’.¹⁹³ The Danish Pentecostals were in a similar situation to their British counterparts.

The first known contact¹⁹⁴ between Denmark and the AC was in 1922 when an evangelist from the Gospel Assembly, Kirstine Møller, arrived in Pontypridd, having travelled to Great Britain to learn English. She reported to the Bjørners, who, though uncertain at the notion of apostles and prophets, decided to attend the international convention the following summer to see for themselves.¹⁹⁵

Already in early 1923, the Bjørners had articles published in *Evangeliebladet* on the ministry of prophets and apostles. These articles had originally been published by German Pentecostals, who had some of the same problems with a lack of leadership structures, but had

¹⁹¹ *Fra Libanon*, April 1913, 183-84.

¹⁹² In the official history of the Danish Apostolic Church, the AC is described as ‘a direct continuation of the great revival in Wales 1904 to 1905 under Evan Roberts’ (Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 19).

¹⁹³ Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 106.

¹⁹⁴ As mentioned above, it is possible but not certain that Anna Bjørner’s doctrinal summary from 1920 was directly inspired by Hutchinson (4.2.1; see also Appendix C).

¹⁹⁵ *Evangeliebladet*, 6-13/12/1923, 14; 28/2/1924, 4-5; Worsfold, *Origins*, 233–34. Kirstine Møller may be identical to ‘sister Møller’ who is mentioned as a Pentecostal evangelist in Copenhagen around 1911 and who handled the distribution of Mygind’s periodical *Fra Libanon* from 1912 to 1913 (*Korsets Seir*, 15/7/1911, 111; 15/11/1911, 171; *Fra Libanon*, January 1912, 8; December 1913, 302). During that time, a similarly named person, ‘Christine Sofie Møller’, was living on the address given for *Fra Libanon* (*Københavns Stadsarkiv*, http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=1830999&searchname=polit_adv, accessed 1/7/2016).

also been translated into Swedish with the endorsement of Lewi Pethrus.¹⁹⁶ Around the same time, they published the first report mentioning the Apostolic Church in Great Britain.¹⁹⁷ Similar and more radical ideas were also brewing elsewhere in the country. Valdemar Nielsen, the leader of the Pentecostals in Løkken-Hjørring, North Jutland, had ‘often spoken of the ministry of apostles for the Christian congregations, including for our time, as something we should expect’.¹⁹⁸ However, there was also a perceived need for ‘control of the use of the gifts’; for example, two women were expelled from the Gospel Assembly in December 1922 since they would not submit to the congregation’s judgement of their interpretations of tongues.¹⁹⁹

In July 1923, shortly before the convention in Penygroes, a ‘Bible study week’ for leaders from across the country was held at *Libanon* in Helsingør, called by Sigurd Bjørner. Here, there was much discussion of Spiritual gifts, congregational order, and especially the offices mentioned in Ephesians 4 (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers), which were also central to the ecclesiology of the AC.²⁰⁰ Still, it seems what was said was mainstream enough to avoid alarm bells going off; the gathering was attended by Arthur F. Johnson, an American evangelist in Sweden, who reported that it was ‘much on the lines of the [Assemblies of God] Council meeting. ... Some very knotty problems have been solved as to the carrying on of the future work, ... All agree that it is the best convention ever held in this country’.²⁰¹

In early August 1923, the Bjørners travelled to the Apostolic convention in Penygroes. They were joined by Carl Næser from Paris, who was baptised in a river during the

¹⁹⁶ *Evangeliebladet*, 15/2/1923, 2-5; 1/3/1923, 6-7; see also No. 24 (12/6/1924), 5-6.

¹⁹⁷ *Evangeliebladet*, 22/2/1923, 3-4.

¹⁹⁸ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 59. See also *Evangeliebladet*, 18/10/1923, 7.

¹⁹⁹ *Evangeliebladet*, 28/12/1922, 4.

²⁰⁰ *Evangeliebladet*, 17/5/1923, 1, 7; 12/7/1923, 8; 19/7/1923, 4-6; 26/7/1923, 3-5; 6-13/12/1923, 12; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 19.

²⁰¹ *Pentecostal Evangel*, 8/9/1923, 8-9 (quotes from p. 9); see also *Evangelii Härold*, 2/8/1923, 370.

convention. They would stay in Wales for nearly a month, and became convinced of the message that the full gospel and ecclesiological order had not been completed with the restoration of Spirit baptism and the gifts of tongues, healing, etc. (the 1 Corinthians 12 gifts) but that the full restoration of the early (apostolic) church would only happen with the restoration of all the biblical offices (the Ephesians 4 gifts).²⁰² Sigurd Bjørner had written in a pamphlet already three years previously that the Pentecostal movement had a ‘duty to cut away all the progress of church history and return to a *biblical* order’, but here also argued against the belief in freedom from all structures, with inspiration from W.H. Durham.²⁰³

All early Pentecostals were eager to return to a primitive, ‘apostolic’ form of Christianity,²⁰⁴ but it was not always obvious exactly what this would look like. The AC seemed to provide simple, compelling answers to this problem. Thus, Bjørner readily accepted the message that was soon delivered through prophecy by Jones Williams, on 12 August, that Bjørner himself was to be appointed as apostle for Denmark, to carry out God’s plans for the nation.²⁰⁵ While still in Wales, Sigurd Bjørner reported in *Evangeliebladet* on the success and growth of the AC under the supreme authority of the Holy Spirit.²⁰⁶ He saw his own appointment to the apostleship as the climax of his calling – but would wait until his return to Copenhagen to announce this to the congregation.

²⁰² *Evangeliebladet*, 20/9/1923, 6.

²⁰³ *Frihedstrang og Menighedstvang* (‘The urge of freedom and the constraint of a congregation’), special issue of *Korsets Budskab*, 1920 (emphasis original); see also shorter pieces by Bjørner in *Korsets Budskab*, 1/10/1920, 3; 1/11/1920, 3; and a piece on ‘Unity’ by A. Wulff (deacon in the Gospel Assembly), *Korsets Seir*, 20/5/1922, 6-7. As mentioned above (3.3.3), Durham’s view of sanctification had also gained some influence in Scandinavia, but this more notorious aspect of his thinking does not seem to have been as important to the Bjørners. He was simply a convenient example from outside Scandinavia of the (classically US-American) denominational form of organisation.

²⁰⁴ In the USA, the earliest Pentecostals such as William Seymour and Charles Parham referred to their movement as the ‘Apostolic Faith’. Except for at the height of the Apostolic controversy in 1924, Pentecostal periodicals like *Evangelii Härold* most often used the adjective ‘apostolisk’ favourably, to refer to apostolic times as a model for the Pentecostal church without any reference to the AC; see e.g. *Evangelii Härold*, 8/11/1923, 534; 15/11/1923, 549; 13/12/1923, 594; 17/1/1924, 30.

²⁰⁵ *Evangeliebladet*, 20/9/1923, 7; 6-13/12/1923, 12-14; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 19–20, 158; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 218–19; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 572, 604.

²⁰⁶ *Evangeliebladet*, 16/8/1923, 6; 30/8/1923, 5-7.

Simultaneously, Lewi Pethrus was speaking out against the AC and the notion of appointing modern-day apostles, which he believed were ‘nothing other than district superintendents’. Like in the old denominations, their role would be to limit the freedom of true Spirit-baptised congregations: ‘The Enemy cannot bear to let those souls who have been made free through the Spirit remain free’.²⁰⁷ Still, a vacuum had been left after T.B. Barratt no longer exerted a strong uniting international influence.²⁰⁸ Critical comments on the AC and its ‘unbiblical’ practices had been published in *Evangelii Härold* before this time,²⁰⁹ but as with the earlier universalism controversy, the Swedish Pentecostals seem to have noticed too late that the AC was about to establish a presence right on their doorstep. An earlier and more direct intervention from mainstream Pentecostal leaders might have been more effective.

4.3.2 The founding of the Danish Apostolic Church

On 9 September 1923, the first Sunday after their return from Wales, the Bjørners told the gathered members of the Gospel Assembly of Sigurd Bjørner’s new calling. The reactions in the congregation were reportedly divided, but most agreed that a firmer organisation was necessary. A few critics disagreed with the supremacy of the apostle and the emphasis on an external, prophetic calling of individuals to specific offices rather than the internal, spiritual leading of the individual. They were also uncertain about the calling of Sigurd Bjørner

²⁰⁷ *Evangelii Härold*, 30/8/1923, 411-12 (412); see also Davidsson, ‘Lewi Pethrus’, 113–14. Pethrus later referred to the AC and its eventual Danish offshoot – perhaps not entirely fairly – as one ‘sad example’ among many of how a small circle of people could come to think that they alone were the true apostolic church (*Evangelii Härold*, 22/4/1926, 200; see also 8/4/1926, 176-77). This later critique was first delivered in a speech at a meeting in Copenhagen in 1925 or 1926 and was also published in Danish: Lewi Pethrus, *Apostelembedets Betydning: oversat fra Svensk* (Korsør: Evangelieforsamlingens Forlag, 1926). I am grateful to Jan-Åke Alvarsson for sending me a scanned copy of this booklet. For further context, see Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 574; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 33–34.

²⁰⁸ As noted previously, Anna Bjørner described Barratt as her ‘spiritual father’. Though by this point in time Pethrus’ influence was greater all over Scandinavia, it was still ascending and perhaps not yet as strong and widespread as Barratt’s had once been.

²⁰⁹ E.g., *Evangelii Härold*, 18/1/1923, 32.

specifically. Old grievances from the controversy in 1921 were about to resurface.²¹⁰ Meanwhile, both Anna and Sigurd Bjørner defended the role of prophets and apostles.²¹¹ Jens Folkertsen supported them, and when his smaller congregation in Copenhagen became homeless, it merged into the Gospel Assembly.²¹²

The first published denunciation of the AC by a Pentecostal in Denmark came from the Swedish preacher Hugo Wuerster, who saw it as ‘an unbiblical system clothed in biblical names’. He echoed Pethrus in finding it wrong that apostles were appointed and anointed before they had shown the signs of true apostleship. Having a unifying organisational and financial structure was ‘Catholic’ and ‘against the word of God’; local congregations should only be bound together by the ‘glorious bond of love and the word of God’. Furthermore, the reliance on the prophetic office for guidance was leading to ‘deviations’ and ‘servitude’ when elevated to the same status as the Bible. His chief example of ‘servitude’ was the new worship ‘system’ that had been introduced, in which ‘the members must stand up during the singing and sing over and over again in order to get into a certain mood’. Consequently, the Apostolic prophets were to be regarded as ‘false prophets’, as foretold in Matthew 24. These on their part regarded their opponents as ‘unclean or defiled’ and in need of a renewed ‘cleansing in the blood of Jesus’; a power play which for Wuerster was further evidence of their aberrancy.²¹³ Soon after, an article appeared on the front page of *Evangelii Härold*, penned by Rikard Fris who denounced the AC as ‘the strictest denominational organisation that I know

²¹⁰ *Evangeliebladet*, 20/9/1923, 6-7; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 21–22; Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 219–20.

²¹¹ *Evangeliebladet*, 27/9/1923, 4-5, 7-8; 4/10/1923, 7-8. This was followed by a lengthy article by D.P. Williams in *Evangeliebladet*, 25/10/1923, 3-6.

²¹² *Evangeliebladet*, 4/10/1923, 8; 11/10/1923, 8; 6-13/12/1923, 14. The Bjørners had drawn Folkertsen gradually closer after the split between them; see e.g., *Korsets Seir*, 30/11/1921, 4; 20/2/1922, 5-6.

²¹³ *Evangelii Härold*, 4/10/1923, 470-71.

of apart from the papist church’ and described its apostles as ‘false apostles’ like the ones encountered by St Paul.²¹⁴

In January 1924, an attempt was made to negotiate between the parties with the Bjørners’ old friend H.P. Mollerup as mediator, but with little result.²¹⁵ The hour of decision was fast approaching. A visit by D.P. Williams and others to Denmark had been prophesied and discussed during the summer convention, and the Bjørners had hoped this would come to fruition already in November 1923.²¹⁶ This turned out to be impossible, but in late January 1924, a delegation of five British Apostolic leaders, led by the two Williams brothers, arrived in Copenhagen. Kirstine Møller was now in Pontypridd, Wales, and joined the delegation to serve as interpreter. A conference was held in the Gospel House from 27 January to 10 February, at which the British delegates presented the teachings of the AC through a mix of Bible studies and prophetic messages, beginning with the common ground – the need to identify and strengthen the spiritual gifts and ministries – before getting on to the Apostolic solution to this problem, a more controversial topic. Critics, including a handful of visiting Swedish Pentecostals, were supposed to be permitted to speak as well, but complained that they were not given sufficient time to voice their objections.²¹⁷

Carl Næser also returned to Copenhagen briefly and hosted a ‘special reception’ where several prominent Copenhageners were able to meet with D.P. Williams and his delegation. The guests included members of the nobility and leaders within various professions, alongside religious leaders from the Lutheran, Baptist, and Pentecostal churches and the Salvation

²¹⁴ *Evangelii Härold*, 25/10/1923, 505-06 (505).

²¹⁵ *Evangeliebladet*, 14/2/1924, 2; No. 48-49 (Christmas 1924), 12.

²¹⁶ *Evangeliebladet*, 25/10/1923, 8; Worsfold, *Origins*, 234.

²¹⁷ *Evangeliebladet*, 8/11/1923, 6, 8; 20/12/1923, 4; 3/1/1924, 1, 7; 17/1/1924, 7; 31/1/1924, 1-2, 6; 7/2/1924, 1-3, 7; *Evangelii Härold*, 14/2/1924, 79; Worsfold, *Origins*, 234; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 23; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 605.

Army.²¹⁸ Næser had many contacts in the higher circles of society, and there is some overlap with those who had attended the more-or-less Pentecostal interdenominational gatherings that he had hosted around 1915-17, and also with a meeting that he seems to have likewise returned from Paris to host in September 1921, with a YMCA secretary from Iceland, Friðriksson, as speaker.²¹⁹

On 2 February, at a separate meeting of preachers, pastors, and elders from the Danish Pentecostal churches, the majority declared their support for the Apostolic doctrine. Consequently, the Bjørners moved forward and invited all members of the Gospel Assembly to a general meeting on 6 February 1924. It is reported that about seven hundred attended. There were questions over such things as the hierarchical Apostolic ecclesiology, the handling of finances, the necessity of doctrinal formulas beyond the Bible itself, and especially the doctrine of separation from other churches. Despite these concerns, a clear majority gave their assent to the tenets of the AC as presented by the apostles (Williams and Bjørner) and the elders of the Gospel Assembly. If there were any objectors, they remained silent. Instead a female member of the congregation stood up to speak in tongues, and another interpreted it as a confirmation of what had been decided. Finally, the elders of the Gospel Assembly were

²¹⁸ Worsfold, *Origins*, 234–35. Apart from D.P. and Jones Williams, the other three members of the delegation were the two Welshmen W.T. Evans and Thomas Davies and the Englishman H. Cousen from Bradford. Not all the named guests at Næser's reception mentioned by Worsfold are easily identifiable, but they include: Baroness Marie Bille-Brahe (daughter of Count Adam Moltke); Siegfriede Frederikke Bille (née Lady Siegfriede Raben-Levetzau; along with Marie Bille Brahe an honorary attendant at the royal court); Ingeborg Gamél, widow of the merchant and councillor of state Arnold Gamél; Commander (and Pentecostal preacher) Victor Lorck and family; Christian Gulmann, chief editor of the *Berlingske Tidende*, with 'a number of his chief sub-editors' (probably including Næser's cousin Sverre Poulsen); Drs Vincent and Johanne Næser, Carl Næser's brother and sister-in-law, the former of whom had recently been given Carl Næser's seat on the *Berlingske Tidende*'s board; Ingeborg Marie Sick, one of the most widely read religious authors at the time; the Bjørners; Anna Poulsen (née Næser; mother of Sverre Poulsen), educator; H.P. Mollerup, Lutheran pastor; L. Jørgensen, Baptist pastor and president of the Baptist Churches in Denmark; along with leaders from the military, engineering, and commerce.

²¹⁹ Vincent Næser archive, III.D.2, guestbook entry dated 22/9/1921.

ordained anew.²²⁰ Thus, the Gospel Assembly had turned Apostolic, and representatives of other congregations who were present at the meeting had followed them, including those from Kolding, Roskilde, Helsingør, Hillerød, Horsens, Løkken-Hjørring, and Brønderslev.²²¹

In a matter of weeks, these local congregations had confirmed the decision, and the AC had become the dominant Pentecostal denomination in Denmark. The church in Kolding seems to have been the first to adopt the name of Apostolic Church, and became significant under the leadership of the apostles Hans and Sigfrid Beck, father and son, first as hosts of the annual national conference from 1929, and later when schools and other permanent Apostolic institutions began to accumulate there.²²²

From Easter 1924, the announcements of meetings in *Evangeliebladet* began to distinguish between those assemblies that had joined the AC and those who had ‘not yet been admitted’.²²³ Soon, the church in Esbjerg joined as well.²²⁴ But in a few places the Pentecostals were divided. In Lyngby, Rønne, Vejle, and Fredericia some joined the AC whereas others did not.²²⁵ Other congregations waited a while but joined later, such as the Pentecostal church in Næstved which became Apostolic in 1926.²²⁶ Hans Thuesen took over the running of *Libanon* in Helsingør in the summer of 1924 to relieve the Bjørners, and also became pastor of the church there.²²⁷ He later pastored the church in Næstved.²²⁸

²²⁰ *Evangeliebladet*, 7/2/1924, 6; 14/2/1924, 1-4; 28/2/1924, 6-7; Worsfold, *Origins*, 235; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 23.

²²¹ *Evangeliebladet*, No. 48-49 (Christmas 1924), 12; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 23-24, 59-60; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 605-6.

²²² *Evangeliebladet*, No. 11 (13/3/1924), 7; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 617; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 89.

²²³ *Evangeliebladet*, No. 15-16 (10/4/1924), 7-8.

²²⁴ *Evangeliebladet*, No. 45 (6/11/1924), 7; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 611.

²²⁵ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 32, 45; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 33; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 573, 611.

²²⁶ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 48-49; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 610.

²²⁷ *Evangeliebladet*, 15/5/1924, 7; No. 48-49 (Christmas 1924), 13-14.

²²⁸ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 608, 610.

Næser had returned to Paris from Copenhagen in February 1924, accompanied by the British Apostolic delegation. Though they were on their way home, they decided to hold some meetings, which laid the foundation for an Apostolic Church in France. Næser was appointed as its superintendent in 1926, but stepped down in 1928 to devote himself to a more itinerant, pioneering ministry. He and the Bjørners would also become instrumental in the spread of the AC to other countries, including Italy where a local leader, Alfredo Del Rosso, came to receive direct financial sponsorship from the AC in Denmark.²²⁹

D.P. Williams visited Denmark again in June 1924 to speak at two summer conferences.²³⁰ And in August, a Danish delegation including Sigurd Bjørner, Carl Næser, and the young Sigfrid Beck participated again in the international Apostolic convention in Wales. This confirmed them in their momentous decision: they now felt they had truly become part of something bigger, of international scope.²³¹ This is perhaps surprising, as they had also maintained international contacts earlier, especially with the prolific Scandinavian Pentecostal movements – ties which had now been severed. But as noted above, the AC was one of the fastest-growing Pentecostal denominations in Europe, if only for a brief time during these years. The timing was exactly right for it to seem the obvious solution to the lack of organisation that the Danish Pentecostals had been experiencing. Moreover, since the Bjørners and many other Danish Pentecostals were from a Lutheran background, they were perhaps more open to the idea of an institutionalised church, despite all their misgivings about the state church apparatus.²³² In the next chapter, I will argue that this institutional structure

²²⁹ *Evangeliebladet*, 6/3/1924, 7; Worsfold, *Origins*, 239–40, 244–45; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 155–60; Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 163–74.

²³⁰ *Evangeliebladet*, 19/6/1924, 6; No. 26 (26/6/1924), 5-6; No. 27 (3/7/1924), 6; 10/7/1924, 3-5; 17/7/1924, 2-4; 24/7/1924, 4-6.

²³¹ *Evangeliebladet*, 21/8/1924, 6-7; No. 35 (28/8/1924), 7; 4/9/1924, 5-7; No. 39 (25/9/1924), 3-4; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 24–25.

²³² Similarly, the earlier Catholic Apostolic Church had also had greater success in Denmark than in Norway and Sweden (Tim Grass, personal communication, August 2015).

was used to provide an authority that made up for Sigurd Bjørner's lack of natural charisma (in the Weberian sense, if not also in the religious sense).

4.3.3 The remaining Pentecostals

Though from an academic point of view it is entirely appropriate to describe the AC as Pentecostal, it should be noted that this is not a term it actively used in describing itself – at least not in Denmark – even though it saw the Pentecostal movement as part of its origin story. Correspondingly, those Pentecostals who did not join the AC but instead remained as a more informal network of independent Pentecostal churches generally only referred to themselves and not the AC as 'Pentecostal'. In the following, for the sake of simplicity, I will recognise these self-descriptions and refer to the non-Apostolic group as the *remaining Pentecostals*, or simply *Pentecostals*.

Initially the situation was unclear. The joint meetings in south-eastern Jutland continued as before, and the characteristically itinerant Nicolai Hansen expressed his support for the developments in Copenhagen.²³³ However, he would soon choose to side against the AC. The remaining Pentecostals were left with eight congregations, most of them at least partly affected by defections to the AC. These were located in Copenhagen (where the hall in Zinnsgade had once again become home to a dissenting, independent group of Pentecostals), Lyngby-Brede, Korsør, Fredericia, Vejle, Grenaa, the former North Schleswig (Bylderup-Bov), and Rønne, with the centrally located church in Korsør and its talented leader Endersen as a hub. In addition, a new monthly periodical, *Maran atha*, was begun in September 1924 by Hugo Wuerster, who led the congregation in Rønne.²³⁴ Its main focus was on edification and on news from the mission field, not polemics with the AC. Other significant leaders were

²³³ *Evangeliebladet*, 6/3/1924, 6-7; see also 29/11/1923, 2-3.

²³⁴ The title of the periodical, interpreted as 'The Lord is coming', was borrowed from 1 Corinthians 16:22.

P.A. Hagemann in Vejle, P. Jespersen in Fredericia, and H.P. Rosenvinge in Grenaa.²³⁵ In the former hub in south-east Jutland, only parts of the congregations in Fredericia and Vejle remained Pentecostal. Furthermore, budding Pentecostal groups across the country seem to have disappeared off the map and joined neither group: from Grindsted and Ølgod in the west to Fredensborg and Gilleleje in the east.²³⁶ Aalborg temporarily lost its Pentecostal church, though an Apostolic congregation was formed already in 1925.²³⁷ But seen from the remaining Pentecostals' point of view, the Copenhagen area was hit the hardest by the schism, with only a rudimentary congregation remaining, and no obvious leader. Fresh growth only began when Endersen was called there in 1926 to found the 'Elim Assembly' (*Elimforsamlingen*).²³⁸ The AC would remain stronger in the cities and towns, whereas the Pentecostal churches seem to have had a greater following in more rural areas.²³⁹

Those who dissented from the AC had a strong support in Lewi Pethrus and the Swedish Pentecostal movement. During the conference in Copenhagen, a letter from Pethrus had been published in *Evangelii Härold* in which he denounced those who 'portray themselves as apostles and ... elevate themselves to become leaders over the local congregations'; he believed the AC would wither away like the earlier Catholic Apostolic Church.²⁴⁰ The Swedish participants at the conference were impressed with recent developments in the Gospel Assembly, but critical of the role of prophets and prophecy within the AC, and the

²³⁵ *Evangeliebladet*, No. 48-49 (Christmas 1924), 13; *Maran atha*, Nos. 1-4, 1924; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 573. Some further attempts at reconciliation between the free Pentecostal leaders and the AC may have occurred but were abandoned no later than 1925 (Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 80).

²³⁶ An Apostolic outpost from Hillerød was later created in Fredensborg, and a small congregation from 1944 (Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 608; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 30).

²³⁷ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 613; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 53-55.

²³⁸ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 574; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 34.

²³⁹ Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 65.

²⁴⁰ *Evangelii Härold*, 31/1/1924, 50. The letters from Pethrus en route to the US via the UK continued in the following issues, informing those who believed that this form of apostleship was 'not so dangerous' that the fruits of the work in the UK (or lack thereof) were highly concerning, and declaring that 'the so-called Apostolic Church's and our own beliefs regarding the spiritual offices are as far apart as heaven and earth' (7/2/1924, 61-62; 14/2/1924, 73-75).

ordination of ministers through prophecy and with anointing. They believed that only free assemblies would be able to stand firm on the truth of Scripture and the essentials of the Pentecostal movement.²⁴¹

The Scandinavian Pentecostals would only become more critical of the AC.²⁴² To Barratt, this was ‘One of the saddest divisions’ he had experienced,²⁴³ but his international influence had been reduced so that he was incapable of counteracting it. However, during the next few years, the Swedish Pentecostals took the Danes under their wings even more than before. This happened even though the remaining Pentecostal leaders in Denmark were not all personally acquainted with their Swedish counterparts.²⁴⁴

But in one area, the remaining Pentecostals had a better footing than the AC from the outset. Nearly all the Danish Pentecostal missionaries decided not to join the AC. The only ones who did were Dagny Pedersen and her assistant Viola Hagemann in China.²⁴⁵ The missionaries were physically distant and thus unable to get caught up in the moment. Furthermore, Danish Pentecostal foreign mission had been organised on the pattern of the Swedish Pentecostals, and many of them had much contact with the Swedish Pentecostal movement. Perhaps this also led the missionaries to be stronger in their rejection of the Apostolic model. Here it was the AC that had to begin almost from scratch.

Finally, under sad circumstances, the remaining Pentecostals also saw some growth during the 1920s due to an influx of Methodists, who – like those who decided not to join the AC –

²⁴¹ *Evangelii Härold*, 14/2/1924, 79-80; 20/3/1924, 135-37. The Swedish Pentecostals did not deny the ‘apostolic and prophetic offices’ as contemporary realities, but were wary of literally designating specific people as ‘apostles’ and ‘prophets’, preferring to speak of, e.g., ‘apostolic men’ (*Evangelii Härold*, 19/7/1923, 339). The anointing with oil was a particular stumbling block, mentioned in nearly all critiques (see also the passing mention in *Evangelii Härold*, 17/7/1924, 337).

²⁴² Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse*, 112–13.

²⁴³ Barratt, ‘When the Fire’, 193.

²⁴⁴ Endersen, ‘Genom kamp’, 73.

²⁴⁵ *Evangeliebladet*, 10/7/1924, 5-6; Endersen, ‘Genom kamp’, 72; Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 152–54; Worsfold, *Origins*, 241. Pedersen had originally been sent out from the congregation in Roskilde, which joined the AC seemingly without any local division. She held the Bjørners in high regard (*Korsets Seir*, 20/8/1922, 6).

had also had enough of authoritarian leaders.²⁴⁶ The widely known bishop of the Danish Methodist Church, Anton Bast, was convicted of embezzlement in a highly publicised trial in 1926. Suspicions that he was abusing money collected to support the poor had been growing since the early 1920s. And even though Bast was eventually suspended from the Methodist Church, many were apparently not satisfied that it had addressed the structural issues that had let so much power accumulate into the hands of one man.²⁴⁷ Instead, many joined what seemed to be the closest equivalent. In Randers, a whole Methodist congregation decided to instead become an independent Pentecostal church around this time.²⁴⁸ It has been estimated that the Danish Methodist Church lost as many as a quarter of its members over the years to the Pentecostal movement.²⁴⁹ The Pentecostal Elim Assembly in Copenhagen grew rapidly from only 29 members in 1926 to 307 by 1930, or 80% per year on average. By 1940 the membership was 779. But the greatest leap happened during 1927, the year after Bast was convicted.²⁵⁰

4.4 Summary: from success to schism

The denominational turn at the end of the 1910s meant that the Pentecostal movement lost a few of its prominent supporters, but more than made up for this with a rapid increase in the number of rank and file members. The Pentecostal movement had become more well-organised and therefore both more visible and more interconnected on a national level. The move away from the established church may have meant a loss of respectability in some sense, though it might be asked how widely respected it is possible to be for a movement that

²⁴⁶ Jørgen Thaarup, 'Mellemløstiden. Bast-sagen', in *Den danske Metodistkirkes historie*, ed. Finn Bræstrup Karlsen (Højbjerg: Kurér-forlaget, 2000), 69, 87, 90–91.

²⁴⁷ Streiff, *Methodism in Europe*, 165–66; Bech, Engelstoft, and Dahl, *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 1:487–88, v. Bast, Anton; Thaarup, 'Mellemløstiden', 70–85.

²⁴⁸ Jørgen Thaarup, personal communication, September 2015.

²⁴⁹ Thaarup, 'Methodismus'.

²⁵⁰ Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, II:1350; Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 574.

is simultaneously nearly anonymous. Moreover, any loss of respectability was not unambiguous – the well-regarded pastor H.P. Mollerup was finally drawn closer to the Pentecostal movement, and the denominational turn also gave a more visible role to prominent citizens like Victor Lorck and Carl Næser.

However, the denominational turn also unleashed chaos and tumult. Even though it had been decided that the Pentecostal movement should organise itself, there was still a more or less constant struggle over *how* to organise and *to what extent*. A unifying solution to this problem was never found. The crisis in Copenhagen in early 1921 was not to be the last controversy over prophecy. A couple of years later the Bjørners were themselves using prophetic guidance to underpin their move towards the AC, over against the doubts of certain other Pentecostal leaders.²⁵³ It was perhaps not so much the role of prophets as the role of women that came into question following that conflict; even Anna Bjørner's role would soon be diminishing.²⁵⁴

The 1921 controversy had given some an insight into Sigurd Bjørner's strong need for a formal authority of his own. In a certain sense, the Danish Pentecostals were finally divided over their different views of Sigurd Bjørner's leadership. On the one hand, there were those who were loyal to the Bjørners who had been the most visible representatives of Pentecostalism in Denmark for years and had recently seen great growth in their own church in Copenhagen. On the other hand, many had been uneasy for a while and were not prepared to accept all of Bjørner's snap decisions – and perhaps also not prepared to accept his increasing dominance at the expense of his wife.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ This parallel is noted in Bundy, *Visions*, 420.

²⁵⁴ For now, she still had an independent role, e.g. she was advertised as a speaker at a Pentecostal conference in Huskvarna, Sweden, in August 1921 – under her maiden name (21/7/1921, 136). By early 1923, it was argued in *Evangeliebladet* (22/2/1923, 4-5) that women could speak as prophets and evangelists, but not as teachers of doctrine.

²⁵⁵ Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 573.

The Welsh Apostolic leaders had themselves originally feared that ‘Hutchinson would institutionalize their spiritual movement and turn it into a denomination’,²⁵⁶ but they in turn became objects of the same fear on the part of many Danish Pentecostals and their like-minded friends across Scandinavia. To them, the Apostolic shift seemed like a predatory takeover by a foreign power who had had no stake in the Scandinavian Pentecostal movement up until then. Notwithstanding all intentions of returning to a primitive, apostolic form of Christianity, the Apostolic Church was taking those Pentecostals who embraced it in a direction that was contrary to the ideals of the earliest Pentecostal revivals, where members of different denominations had come together and men had collaborated with women as equals.

The schism cut short the most dynamic period of Danish Pentecostal history. The reasons for these fiascos are multifarious; David Martin notes that ‘deaths are due to multiple diseases’.²⁵⁷ In the following chapter, I analyse the trajectory of early Danish Pentecostalism through the lens of six different themes all contributing towards an explanation.

²⁵⁶ Worsfold, *Origins*, 155.

²⁵⁷ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 56.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

The Apostolic Church in Denmark experienced further schisms in 1931 and again in 1936, when the Bjørners and Næser and ‘some 250 followers’ who had become disillusioned with the AC left and founded an independent Pentecostal congregation of their own in Copenhagen.¹ By the middle of the century, the membership of Pentecostal churches was overtaking the AC.² The tensions between the two groups were softened during the 1950s.³ Both groups were again only growing slowly, but from the 1970s a revitalisation happened through the Charismatic renewal and related movements. By the 1990s, the divisions within Danish Pentecostalism had become meaningless and the two groups reconciled completely, though the AC remains as a separate entity to this day.⁴ However, the Pentecostal movement has remained on the margins of society and church life.

In the US, the Azusa Street revival famously came to the public’s attention already a few days after its inception in April 1906, when a newspaper reporter stopped by to observe the ‘weird babel of tongues’ at the meeting.⁵ Imagine that instead a sociologist had walked by, preferably one with an encyclopaedic knowledge of Western culture, society, and religion. Could she have predicted in which countries this emerging movement would see the greatest growth, and conversely, where it would meet the greatest obstacles? Would she perhaps even have been able to predict that there would be significant differences between the Pentecostal movements in the otherwise similar Nordic countries? In other words, are there specific conditions which were present in those contexts where the Pentecostal movement saw the greatest growth and lacking in those that saw the least? And conversely, were there conditions

¹ Worsfold, *Origins*, 237; see also Petersen, *Danmarks Frikirker*, 606; Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 80–81.

² Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, II:1346, 1350.

³ Alvarsson, ‘Development of Pentecostalism’, 30.

⁴ Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 80–81.

⁵ Robeck, *Azusa Street*, 75.

that generally impeded Pentecostal growth only in those contexts where such impediments were present to a significant degree?

The Pentecostal movement in Denmark did not take off to the same degree as in the other Nordic countries – whereas, statistically speaking, Denmark did become a typical example of many other European countries. In this chapter I present a detailed look at the historical conditions of Danish Pentecostalism, which reveals several resonances with circumstances of the present day. Each of the following themes describe a particular obstacle and employ a particular methodical approach to understanding it. The first three themes look mainly at the context, and the last three then consider how the particular shape of the early Danish Pentecostal movement resulted from this. Since I am not a sociologist, I should hope that this discussion be taken not as an attempt at the final word on Pentecostal stagnation, but as a series of theoretical suggestions and questions.

5.1 Suboptimal socio-economic conditions

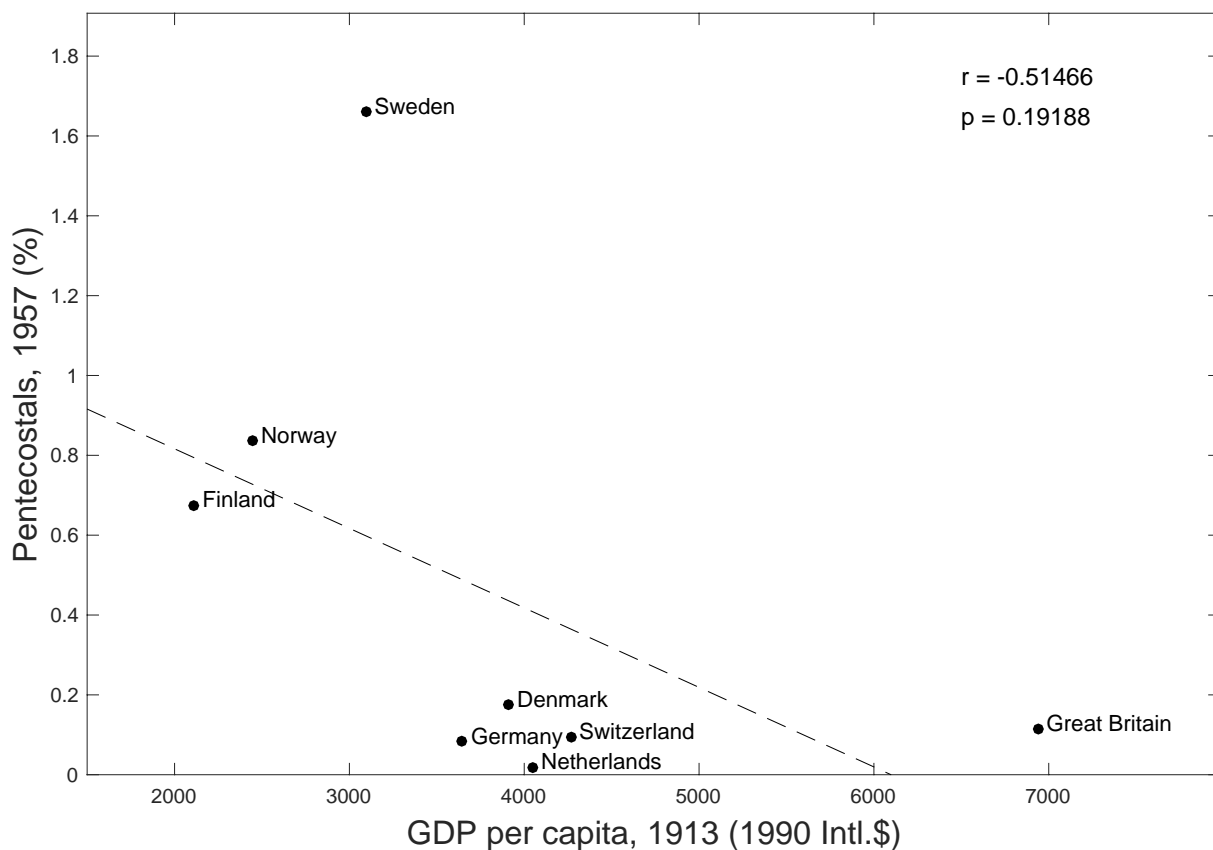
Denmark is a hard field in which to work, harder than both Sweden and Norway.

– Thora P. Christiansen, Portland, Maine⁶

When T.B. Barratt attempted to transplant the emerging Pentecostal revival to Denmark in 1907, he faced a tangibly different context simply in terms of the material wealth of Norway and Denmark respectively. Norway may have been marked by optimism following its recent independence, but its GDP per capita was still 37% lower than Denmark's in 1913.⁷ However, there does not seem to be a significant correlation between GDP and Pentecostal growth across European countries (see Appendix A). The correlation appears slightly stronger if we only consider countries with a strong Protestant presence (see figure below).

⁶ *Korsets Seir*, 20/2/1922, 6.

⁷ Maddison, *Contours*, 382 (table A.7).



Still, the three countries where a lower GDP per capita in the early 20th century seems to be linked with higher subsequent Pentecostal growth are all Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, and Finland), so it should be considered whether the cultural and geographic proximity of these countries offers any more convincing explanation of the Pentecostal growth there than simple economic data. Still, it may be significant that Denmark had by some margin the highest GDP per capita of the Nordic countries and saw clearly the lowest rate of Pentecostal growth. In that case, the more significant outlier is Sweden with the second-highest GDP per capita.

It has been proposed that levels of religiosity on an individual level within Western societies are negatively linked with comparative differences in per capita income and

associated degrees of overall personal security.⁸ If the Scandinavian countries are viewed as one unit due to their longstanding cultural and economic links, then the GDP per capita in the early 20th century would indicate that the wealthiest (and therefore, according to the theory, statistically most secular) groups were disproportionately located in Denmark, which may in turn have resulted in less interest in the Pentecostal movement.

Though analyses based on Marxist-inspired deprivation theory have faced some criticism in recent studies, some of these studies have also been able to transform the approach into one that recognises the Pentecostal movement's special appeal to the poor with a less disapproving judgement (1.3.2). Some Pentecostals have themselves used this type of explanation. The Danish Pentecostal Axel Grove, writing in 1931, believed that material wealth and a comfortable lifestyle were leading to 'indifference, apathy, and contempt of God's great love and grace and his holy word'.⁹ However, I have found some evidence that, as well as attracting working-class and unemployed individuals to the point of provoking violence from young socialists, Pentecostalism in Denmark seems to have adapted itself to attract the more affluent and influential strata of society.

In the lead-up to the 'battle of Copenhagen' in 1909, Barratt noted that in Copenhagen the Pentecostal revival had appeal to the rich as well as the poor (2.2.5). In 1912, he noted a similar thing in Nykøbing Falster (3.2.1). Many Danish Pentecostal leaders were privileged people with connections to the aristocracy (Carl Næser), culture (Anna Larssen Bjørner and Anna Lewini), industry (Thorvald Plum), the state church (Johanne Møllerup), and the

⁸ Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, 'Uneven Secularization in the United States and Western Europe', in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas F. Banchoff (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 31–57.

⁹ Grove, *Pinsevækkelsen i Danmark*, 12. He also connects material wealth with 'this our special Danish making fun of everything that is not frothing and roaring on the surface'. Two Norwegian (former) Pentecostal writers similarly believed that Pentecostalism stagnated when local leadership began to be handed over to the most bourgeois members with little regard for working class appeal (Dahl and Rudolph, *Fra seier til nederlag*, 87).

military (Victor Lorck and Sigurd Bjørner). Others were middle-class citizens in mundane professions: an accounts clerk (Asmus Biehl), a tax inspector (Philip Wittrock), and a debt collector (P.A. Hagemann).¹⁰ Years previously, Wittrock had stated his opposition to secular labour unions.¹¹ Perhaps more of their followers were from a lower social class – but when Anna Bjørner travelled to Civitavecchia near Rome in 1926, she noted that the Pentecostals there ‘were all extremely poor’. The difference between Danish and Italian Pentecostals must have been obvious.¹² According to Bjørner, the poor in Copenhagen had a greater faith because ‘The others have so much that fill them up’ – and yet somehow these poor were able to collect enough money to fund the Gospel Assembly’s building project in 1922.¹³

The question can be turned on its head to ask not how Pentecostalism managed to appeal to the well-off in Denmark, but how it failed to appeal to more of the destitute. Perhaps part of the problem for Danish Pentecostals was that they were too individualistic and rarely became involved with compassionate social work – something which seemed to have already been taken care of by other Christian and secular groups. It does not seem to have occurred to the Pentecostals to do the sort of work that would ‘allow skeptics to “try on” what life might be like if the movement’s ideology and agendas were put into practice’.¹⁴ In other words, Danish Pentecostalism did not become enough of a ‘public religion’ – it kept its focus on the

¹⁰ *Københavns Stadsarkiv (Politiets Registerblade)*, http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2152035&searchname=polit_adv, http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/component/sfup/?controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2483056&searchname=polit_adv, http://www.politietsregisterblade.dk/index.php?option=com_sfup&controller=politregisterblade&task=viewRegisterblad&id=2030170&backside=0&searchname=polit_adv, accessed 12/1/2017; see also Ski, *T.B. Barratt*, 126.

¹¹ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 15/8/1898, cited in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission’, MS.

¹² Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 164.

¹³ *Korsets Seir*, 30/5/1922, 4-5.

¹⁴ Nancy Jean Davis and Robert V. Robinson, *Claiming Society for God: Religious Movements and Social Welfare in Egypt, Israel, Italy, and the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 3; pace Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 92. There is some similarity between this and Alberoni’s notion of the effervescence-preserving core group of any successfully institutionalising movement – see below (5.6).

individual experience of the Spirit.¹⁵ This contrasts with the vision of many other, more successful early Pentecostals. Obvious results of this include the many institutions founded by Swedish Pentecostals – Bible school, magazine, newspaper, bank, radio station, political party, etc. – often with the direct involvement of Lewi Pethrus himself.¹⁶

5.1.1 A perspective on migration and Pentecostalism

As noted in Appendix A, it appears there is a stronger correlation between emigration to the United States and Pentecostal growth – but this possible indirect link between economic deprivation and Pentecostalism is then undermined by a weaker link between GDP per capita and emigration. However, if we again consider only the Nordic countries, the latter link might be a little clearer.¹⁷ Bloch-Hoell and others have proposed that rootless, disconnected, religiously unaffiliated migrants were more likely to become Pentecostal (see 1.3.2), and there are a few examples of this among unaffiliated Danish emigrants (2.3.3). But Darrin Rodgers' work along with my example of the Danish church in Hartford (3.4.3) suggest that an opposite dynamic was also at work: a certain level of organisation could help Pentecostalism to spread into a community.

It must not be assumed that immigrants would automatically come into contact with Pentecostalism. As Alexander Boddy learned when meeting two returning emigrants on a train journey in Denmark in 1910, even those who lived in Los Angeles had not necessarily

¹⁵ Davis and Robinson, *Claiming Society*, 19–20; drawing on the thought of José Casanova. British Pentecostals have been similar to Danish Pentecostals in this regard; see Andrew Davies, 'The Spirit of Freedom: Pentecostals, The Bible and Social Justice', *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 31, no. 1 (April 2011): 53–64, doi:10.1179/jep.2011.31.1.005. Both largely only paid attention to socio-political developments insofar as they were either a hindrance to Pentecostal activities (e.g., *Korsets Budskab*, May 1920, 2) or could be interpreted as fulfilling Biblical prophecies (e.g., *Korsets Seir*, 10/11/1921, 4–5).

¹⁶ Davidsson, 'Lewi Pethrus', 134–40; Alvarsson, 'Research on Pentecostalism', 21–22; see also e.g. Cecil M. Robeck, 'The Social Concern of Early American Pentecostalism', in *Pentecost, Mission, and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology: Festschrift in Honour of Professor Walter J. Hollenweger*, ed. J. A. B Jongeneel (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1992), 97–106, <http://books.google.com/books?id=RHnYAAAAMAAJ>.

¹⁷ See also Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 118–22.

heard of the Azusa Street revival.¹⁸ The content of the Danish-American newspapers indicates that the more centrally organised groups of immigrants retained a strong interest in the goings-on of the homeland, and the possibility of this group to influence developments in the homeland (and vice-versa) would have been greater. But the ethnic churches did not only guard ethnicity but also traditional orthodoxy, and thus may have been inimical to Pentecostalism.¹⁹ Conversely, more loosely organised (and less segregated) groups may have been more likely to become Pentecostals but less likely to influence their fellow countrymen. Perhaps a larger immigrant community such as that of Swedish- or Italian-Americans would allow for more diversity within itself, and thus a higher probability of the spread of Pentecostalism. From the pages of *Byposten*, we can see that an exchange of information about the Pentecostal revival between migrants and their contacts in the home country happened early on in the case of Norway: migrants subscribed to Barratt's periodical and in turn wrote back with encouraging news from the United States, which might have given a feeling of synergy.²⁰

In the case of Denmark, we lack such an obvious source of evidence to show that there was contact between Pentecostals in Denmark and the US early on. It seems any Pentecostals among the smaller community of Danish immigrants had only sporadic contact with their homeland. It was only in the early 1920s, when *Korsets Seir*, the successor to *Byposten*, began to reserve a few pages for the Pentecostals in Denmark, that Thora P. Christiansen from Portland, Maine, who had been a Pentecostal since around 1908, finally wrote to ask for help in reaching her relatives in Vejle, Fredericia, and Copenhagen.²¹ Thus, the lack of a widely

¹⁸ *Confidence*, October 1910, 229.

¹⁹ Cf. Paasch, 'Religion and Integration', 41.

²⁰ *Byposten*, e.g. 9/2/1907, 19-20; 23/3/1907, 38; 6/4/1907, 43; 18/5/1907, 56; 1/6/1907, 60; 10/8/1907, 73; 25/1/1908, 8; et alib. One of Barratt's main contacts in the US was the editor of a Norwegian-American Christian periodical called *Sandhedens Tolk*; see *Byposten*, 1/10/1909, 79.

²¹ *Korsets Seir*, 20/2/1922, 6; see also *Evangeliebladet*, 24/5/1923, 6.

read, distinctively Pentecostal periodical in Denmark had also resulted in a lack of news about relatives and acquaintances in the US who had become Pentecostals.

However, perhaps the simple fact of early Pentecostals in a given context having free access to a widely distributed periodical was in itself more significant for the creation of a sense of synergy among Pentecostals there than whether this periodical was also able to testify specifically to the Pentecostal experiences of emigrants. The lack of clear evidence should in itself – and along with attention to the ‘polygenesis’ theory of Pentecostal origins – present a caveat that migration dynamics can only ever be one of several significant factors that influenced religious developments in the emigrants’ homelands. It seems that the apparent link between Denmark’s wealth and its lack of Pentecostal growth might as well be a mere coincidence. We should look elsewhere for a more convincing explanation.

5.2 The wrong sort of secularisation

This same young man who feels no need of religion feels the need of being...paterfamilias. He marries, then he has a child, he is...presumptive father. And then what happens?

Well, our young man is, as they say, in hot water about this child; in the capacity of...presumptive father he is compelled to have a religion. And it turns out that he has the Evangelical Lutheran religion.

— Søren Kierkegaard, ‘The sort of person they call a Christian’, 1855²²

Viable religious movements such as the Pentecostal movement have shown themselves able to withstand the change of circumstances brought about by modernisation and secularisation – much as a well-built train can easily overcome common obstacles such as snow or leaves on the tracks. However, as English users of public transport like to point out, sometimes trains do get delayed, whether because of ‘the wrong sort of snow’ or perhaps ‘the wrong sort of

²² *The Instant* (‘Øieblikket’), no. 7; translated in Søren Kierkegaard, *Kierkegaard’s Attack upon ‘Christendom’, 1854-1855*, trans. Walter Lowrie, Princeton Paperbacks ; 116 (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1968), 205.

leaves’.²³ In the same way, Pentecostalism is well-adapted to secularisation in the sense of religion becoming a choice rather than just a given.²⁴ But secularisation is not simply a mysterious impersonal force. It is intimately linked with deliberate human decisions, and therefore comes in different forms.

I follow here two complementary definitions of secularisation. On the one hand, David Martin uses a sociological definition of secularisation as *social differentiation*, defined as ‘the increasing autonomy of the various spheres of human activity’ and ‘a break-up of all kinds of monopoly, whether it was of a political ideology or a religion’.²⁵ He describes it as a ‘dialectical’ development, rather than a ‘steady supersession’ of the secular over religion in ‘uninterrupted increments’.²⁶ On the other hand, Charles Taylor’s philosophical definition of secularisation in Western society is that religion or specifically belief in God has become ‘one option among others’. Like Martin, he uses his definition over against a simplistic definition of secularisation as simply consisting in the decline in religious practice, belief, or adherence among a population. Instead, Taylor contends, the rate of attendance at religious services may be as high in a secular country such as the United States or Communist Poland as in non-secularised countries such as Jordan or Pakistan – and indeed, as high or higher now than in centuries past. But secularisation still does change ‘what it is to believe’: it becomes a choice,

²³ Kate Fox, *Watching the English* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2014), 222.

²⁴ A situation that the Pentecostals’ Evangelical antecedents arguably helped bring about; see Hanne Sanders, ‘Bondevækkelse og sekularisering: en protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark og Sverige 1820-1850’ (Stads- och kommunhistoriska institutet, Historiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, 1995); Joel Halldorf, *Av denna världen? Emil Gustafson, moderniteten och den evangelikala väckelsen*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Kyrkohistoriska Föreningen, N.F., 67 (Skellefteå: Artos, 2012). Both groups protested at the idea of secularisation, especially inner secularisation in the state church (see e.g. 4.2.1), but at the same time only furthered the notion that each individual must choose to believe the gospel for themselves.

²⁵ Martin, *On Secularization*, 123, 21. The concept of differentiation is derived from the work of theorists such as Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, and Niklas Luhmann. Within the sociology of religion, this theory has also been further developed by e.g. José Casanova.

²⁶ Martin, *On Secularization*, 8.

‘even for the staunchest believer’ – while to others it seems hardly a possibility.²⁷ Non-believers increasingly have the home field advantage; unbelief becomes the default option and religious believers are increasingly seen as ‘afraid of uncertainty, the unknown; ... weak in the head, crippled by guilt, etc.’.²⁸

These two definitions of secularisation are complementary in that the former makes the latter possible: religion can become a matter of personal choice when it is disentangled from other spheres of public life – politics, law, education, welfare, etc. Religious conformity is no longer required for the cohesion of modern Western societies since instead we have put our trust in the experts in each of the differentiated spheres or fields. When the church is one *voice* among others, the Christian faith becomes one *choice* among others.²⁹

5.2.1 Pluralism and hegemony

Though the process of secularisation is largely organic, it still contains important milestones in the form of certain political decisions. The granting of religious liberty or the separation of church and state are political choices, and what concrete form these choices take are also a matter to be decided. Some policies of secularisation may be more helpful or harmful to Pentecostal growth prospects than others. In a given context, secularisation may have been implemented with a motivation that was basically affirming towards religion (or religious

²⁷ Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 3; cf. José Casanova, ‘Rethinking Secularization: A Global Comparative Perspective’, *The Hedgehog Review* 8 (2006): 12–13. According to Peter Berger, the view ‘that modernity brings about a decline of religion ... has been empirically falsified’ (Peter L. Berger, ‘Pluralism, Protestantization, and the Voluntary Principle’, in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas F. Banchoff (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 20). Berger has his own term for the type of secularity that Taylor describes: the ‘heretical imperative’, a process by which ‘religion loses its taken-for-granted status in consciousness’, which he equates with pluralism rather than secularisation (Berger, ‘Pluralism’, 23).

²⁸ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 12.

²⁹ Mark Chaves’ version of differentiation theory suggests that while religion may not have declined due to secularisation, the position of *religious authority* in society has declined, from an all-encompassing mandate for the cohesion of society to a specialised, narrow religious sphere; see Mark Chaves, ‘Secularization as Declining Religious Authority’, *Social Forces* 72, no. 3 (March 1994): esp. 760–66, doi:10.2307/2579779.

pluralism³⁰) or instead through a conflict with religion in general or – more likely – one particular form of religion.³¹

The archetypal example of a religiously pluralistic state is the United States. An important part of its self-perception is its history of being a haven for those who in Europe had been persecuted for their dissenting religious beliefs. To protect this legacy, the First Amendment to the US constitution guarantees that ‘Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof’. Similarly, though the separation of church and state was never as strict to the north in Canada, nonetheless disestablishment and pluralism were increasingly embraced there during the 19th century. These ideals were gradually adopted by European countries as well, though in different ways and to various more limited degrees. This form of secularisation, resulting in the ‘democratization’ and ‘commercialization’ of religion – including in the emerging economies of the global South – is conducive to the growth of new spiritualities such as those offered by Pentecostalism.³²

³⁰ I define pluralism as any attitude or policy that affirms or accommodates diversity, understood as the coexistence of diverse groups and attitudes. Defining *religious* pluralism or *religious* diversity is somewhat trickier due to the difficulties inherent in defining ‘religion’ in the abstract, but for the purposes of this study it is sufficient to say that religious pluralism entails an affirmation of the rights of those whose beliefs and practices are at variance with those of a historically hegemonic group. I am mainly concerned here with the attitudes of the government and ‘the public’ vis-à-vis religious groups, so we can leave aside the question of increased interaction between these diverse groups, which may be considered an additional component of pluralism (Thomas F. Banchoff, ed., *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7).

³¹ José Casanova derives the term ‘multiple secularizations’ from S.N. Eisenstadt’s ‘multiple modernities’ in order to describe these variations among different countries and localities; see Casanova, ‘Rethinking Secularization’, 11–15. He notes: ‘The internal variations within Europe ... can be explained better in terms of historical patterns of church-state and church-nation relations, ... than in terms of levels of modernization’ (15).

³² Bryan S. Turner, ‘Post-Secular Society: Consumerism and the Democratization of Religion’, in *The Post-Secular in Question: Religion in Contemporary Society*, ed. Philip S. Gorski (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 135–58; see also Coleman, *Globalisation*. However, there is a risk that Pentecostal believers are seen as mere passive consumers, so this point of view needs to be balanced with the ‘demand-side’ perspective that I discuss below (5.3).

However, in certain European countries where the Pentecostal movement faced great obstacles to growth early on, a more hegemonic, exclusive policy of secularisation has been exercised. Though the French Republic with its anti-clerical notion of *laïcité* (culminating in 1905) might seem to be utterly incomparable to the intimately entangled church-state connection seen in Denmark, there are some telling parallels. As David Martin notes, while in France the church-state relationship is seen in terms of ‘a model of conflict, and of the attempted supersession of one form of the sacred by another’, what this has in common with Scandinavia is ‘absolutism’ and the ‘secular mutation’ of the church’s ‘state monopoly’.³³ In Scandinavia, the state did not attempt to replace the church but simply to subsume it under the aegis of a comprehensive welfare state – with Denmark as the country where this configuration has been the most persistent. Equally, ‘Lutheran religion has permeated almost all aspects of society’, but often in implicit ways.³⁴

It should also be noted that the French state has historically embraced and even directly supported religious minorities such as Protestants, though as ‘religion within the limits of the Republic’.³⁵ But this support for minorities could be seen as a by-product of anti-Catholicism, suspecting ‘papism’ of being uniquely disloyal to the secular state – a stance that has also had an impact on the history of religious intolerance in Denmark, where the Lutheran monopoly became an essential part of national identity.³⁶ Something similar was in play in Imperial Germany with its alliance of liberals and Protestant conservatives in the *Kulturkampf* against

³³ Martin, *On Secularization*, 79–80; see also Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 30–31; Grace Davie, ‘Pluralism, Tolerance, and Democracy: Theory and Practice in Europe’, in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas F. Banchoff (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 225–27.

³⁴ Østergaard, ‘Danish National Identity’, 50; see also Østergaard, ‘Lutheranism’; Thorleif Pettersson, ‘Religion in Contemporary Society: Eroded by Human Well-Being, Supported by Cultural Diversity’, *Comparative Sociology* 5, no. 2 (2006): 231–257.

³⁵ Danièle Hervieu-Léger, ‘Islam and the Republic: The French Case’, in *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, ed. Thomas F. Banchoff (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 208.

³⁶ Jes Fabricius Møller and Uffe Østergaard, ‘Lutheran Orthodoxy and Anti-Catholicism in Denmark – 1536-2011’, in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard, *European Studies* 31 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 165–89.

the Roman Catholic Church in the late 19th century, and its equivalents in other countries. As Manuel Borutta has pointed out, ‘Even moderate liberals proved themselves to be intolerant and irrational in the culture war; they were not prepared to recognise cultural difference’.³⁷ Both in France and Germany attempts were made to expressly limit the influence of religion on culture and the public sphere, and thereby on individuals, in order to protect the state from religious influence.³⁸ Furthermore, in Germany the churches eventually came to occupy a space similar to that in Scandinavia, as ‘service stations’ and ‘staid bulwarks of declining establishments’.³⁹

In the case of contemporary Denmark, it has been argued that the existence of a non-differentiated state church (or ‘a low level of structural differentiation’) actually serves to strengthen popular views of religious practices as belonging in the private rather than the public sphere, which in turn inhibits the capacity to embrace religious diversity. The Danish sociologist Anne Mark Nielsen notes that ‘Denmark stands out as being highly secular and highly nonsecular at the same time’ because of the close entanglement of the church with the otherwise secular state and the high level of relatively passive support for the state church among the population.⁴⁰ The other Nordic countries have increasingly held their traditional

³⁷ Manuel Borutta, ‘Settembrini’s World: German and Italian Anti-Catholicism in the Age of the Culture Wars’, in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, ed. Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard, *European Studies* 31 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 60.

³⁸ For the distinction between ‘political’, ‘public’, and ‘cultural secularism’ along with ‘personal secularity’ etc., see e.g. Zuckerman, Galen, and Pasquale, *The Nonreligious*, 22–25.

³⁹ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 59.

⁴⁰ Anne Mark Nielsen, ‘Accommodating Religious Pluralism in Denmark’, *European Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 2 (August 2014): 251, doi:10.1017/S0003975614000113. Similar observations with regard to Denmark are made in Zuckerman, Galen, and Pasquale, *The Nonreligious*, 77–78; Jørgen Thorgaard, ‘Denmark’, in *Western Religion: A Country by Country Sociological Inquiry*, ed. Hans Mol, *Religion and Reason* 2 (The Hague ; Paris: Mouton, 1972), 137; Viggo Mortensen, ‘Mapping, Analyzing and Interpreting Religious Pluralism in Denmark, Europe and Beyond’, in *Religion & Society: Crossdisciplinary European Perspectives*, ed. Viggo Mortensen, *Occasional Papers* 9 (Aarhus: Univ, 2006), 49. This is an extreme example of José Casanova’s observation that “‘secular’ and ‘Christian’ cultural identities are intertwined in complex and rarely verbalized modes among most Europeans’ (Casanova, ‘Rethinking Secularization’, 14).

state churches at more of an arm's length, especially in the case of Sweden.⁴¹ The national church in Denmark also retains the highest rate of membership among the historic Nordic national churches.

For Danes, church membership might be part of an ethnic identity, but does not shape identity on an individual level; according to Nielsen, 'Danes are less likely to favour an active accommodation of religious diversity because they consider themselves to be highly secular. They consider religion to be a private matter that should not be explicitly or publicly accommodated beyond the legal right to practise one's religion'.⁴² The governments of countries such as Sweden, Norway, and Finland have embraced a slightly more pluralistic or inclusive approach to religious minorities than their neighbour, Denmark. For example, *tolerance* has become more of a keyword in Sweden, which could be contrasted with the more exclusive Danish concept of *sammenhængskraften* ('social cohesion'). The latter lends itself more to a way of speaking about religion that construes it as problematic.⁴³

Another way to state Nielsen's paradox would be to say that the Church of Denmark is both non-differentiated and highly differentiated at the same time. That is, from the perspective of the government and of individuals, it is differentiated – church or religion is now only a small compartment of life, or a small department of the state, with little impact on other spheres⁴⁴ – but from the point of view of the church, it is highly integrated or non-differentiated, even subservient to the state and the needs of individuals. The dominance of religion over society is replaced with the dominance of society over religion, reversing the relationship such that the church is no longer the conscience of the state, but the state the

⁴¹ For historical background, see Carl Arvid Gunnar Hessler, *Statskyrkodebatten*, Skrifter utgivna av Statsvetenskapliga föreningen i Uppsala 44 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964).

⁴² Nielsen, 'Accommodating Religious Pluralism', 263.

⁴³ Henrik Reintoft Christensen, 'Religion and Authority in the Public Sphere: Representations of Religion in Scandinavian Parliaments and Media' (The Graduate School of Theology and the Study of Religion, University of Aarhus, 2010).

⁴⁴ Nielsen, 'Accommodating Religious Pluralism', 270–71.

conscience of the church. The Danish state church is unable to have any authority; it might be a strong symbol but it is unable to define its own meaning – in which case it might have promoted religious inclusivity, as the national churches in England and Sweden have done.⁴⁵ The church tacitly accepts, or even applauds, the general public's non-committal way of being religious, which then becomes the default form of religion, to the exclusion of any other more intense and expressive forms. The welfare state's church itself becomes an instrument of cultural secularisation, even as the fact of maintaining a state church, largely unchanged since the time of absolutism, is also in a sense a reflection of the pretence that secularisation is not real (in Taylor's sense). In José Casanova's words, 'Europeans continue to be implicit members of their national churches' and therefore 'do not bother to look for alternative salvation religions'.⁴⁶

5.2.2 Secular responses to Pentecostalism

On a spectrum between aggressive and pluralistic secularism, France, Germany, and Denmark fall at one end, the United States and Canada at the other, whereas other European countries can be harder to place.⁴⁷ In all the three former cases, the repression seems to have worked, at

⁴⁵ Davie, 'Pluralism', 233; J. Christopher Soper, Kevin R. den Dulk, and Stephen V. Monsma, *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Six Democracies*, 2017, 168–69; Kristina Helgesson Kjellin, *En bra plats att vara på: en antropologisk studie av mångfaldsarbete och identitetsskapande inom Svenska kyrkan* (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma, 2016).

⁴⁶ Casanova, 'Rethinking Secularization', 15–16; see also Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 56.

⁴⁷ England has a broad state church similar to Denmark but also many 'dissenting' churches. Peter Berger notes that 'there occurred a more ample flourishing of diverse religious groups—the wide spectrum of so-called Nonconformity—but, as already indicated by this name, it did so under the shadow of the Anglican state church' (Berger, 'Pluralism', 24–25; drawing on Martin, *On Secularization*, 80). Likewise, the Netherlands is seemingly pluralistic – in principle the most similar to North America in Europe during the period in question here – but in practice the strict pillarisation of Dutch society enabled hegemonies that may have made it hard for Pentecostalism to prosper (Soper, Dulk, and Monsma, *Challenge of Pluralism*, 92–94). In the case of Finland, there is a dual establishment of religion – Lutheranism and Eastern Orthodoxy – similar to Germany or the Netherlands, but a further complicating factor is the role that both of these faiths have played in ensuring a distinctive Finnish national identity separate from Russia (Steve Bruce, 'The Supply-Side Model of Religion: The Nordic and Baltic States', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39, no. 1 (2000): 40). For further comparison of England, France, and Germany, see Hugh McLeod, *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

least in limiting classical Pentecostalism. In Denmark, this hegemonic, exclusive policy had already led to the direct persecution of Baptists during the absolutist period, and later after religious liberty the rejection on trivial grounds of applications for official status from the Baptist and other free churches.⁴⁸ The government made an example of these and thus discouraged other active religious movements from developing outside the state church. The relatively high number of Baptists and Mormons who emigrated from Denmark, at least in the Baptists' case largely because of this harassment, probably also meant that there were fewer potential adherents of the Pentecostal message left in the population by the early 20th century.⁴⁹ The state church later undermined the Pentecostals by for example refusing to let them bury their members if they had also still been registered members of the state church when they died.⁵⁰

The Pentecostal movement had its own taste of aggressive secularism already before it became a separate denomination. David Martin writes of 1870-1910 as an 'episode of particular interest' for the study of 'the Western intelligentsia in its struggle for ideological power with rival groups, including the clergy'.⁵¹ Since the emergence of the Pentecostal movement happened at the culmination of this period of secularisation, it should not surprise us that when progressive newspapers finally discovered the movement, they would print caricatures that showed Pentecostal practices as regressive, animalistic, and even exhibiting certain racial stereotypes.⁵² An early report in *Politiken* explained the Pentecostal expressions as the result of 'hysteria', 'epilepsy', and 'muddled eroticism'.⁵³ Such reports rarely rose to a

⁴⁸ Hylleberg and Jørgensen, *Et kirkesamfund*, 230–31.

⁴⁹ The persecution of Baptists is a good historical example of Nielsen's claim that the general public in Denmark backs the government's hegemonic policy towards religious minorities, since 'an equally disturbing sabotage was practiced by the local population' (Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 147).

⁵⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 20/8/1922, 4.

⁵¹ Martin, *On Secularization*, 9.

⁵² Bundy, *Visions*, 199–200.

⁵³ *Politiken*, 7/4/1908, 4.

more sophisticated level than simple curiosity and ridicule, as in the first weeks of the Azusa Street revival in 1906. But they were soon followed by two quite tangible examples of secular modernist interventions against Pentecostalism, both from 1909: Larssen's admission into a mental clinic and the subsequent 'battle of Copenhagen'. The former could be described as a textbook example of Michel Foucault's critique of the emerging psychiatric profession as a form of social control and an instrument of aggressive modernisation and secularisation.⁵⁴ But even though this happened at a climax of the power struggle between enlightened intellectuals and traditional authorities, the medical profession was not monolithic, and occasionally prominent doctors would challenge the notion connecting religion with insanity, something which the Pentecostals were always quick to latch on to.⁵⁵

The succeeding violent socialist attacks on Pentecostal meetings also hint that this was a time of social upheaval and of a struggle between ancient authorities and a new secular modernism, a counterculture much like that of the 1960s whose values subsequently became mainstream. This type of violent confrontation between Pentecostals and socialists seems to have been rare, but comparable instances occurred in Germany and the US.⁵⁶ The physical assaults were initially provoked by the ridicule in *Social-Demokraten*, but the Pentecostals' 'victory' in December 1909 seems to have improved their standing in the press in general; they would occasionally spread rumours of Larssen's imminent return to the stage, but this must have seemed harmless or even beneficial. However, Barratt again noticed *Social-Demokraten* raging against the Pentecostals almost a year after the 'battle' when 'one of their well-known speakers' had been converted.⁵⁷ Thus, the aims behind the secular attacks on

⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 251–78. This dynamic also manifests itself in the history of psychiatry in Denmark; see Brinkmann and Triantafillou, *Psyakens historier*, 7–15 et alib.

⁵⁵ See e.g. *Glöd från Altaret*, September 1910, 72.

⁵⁶ *Confidence*, October 1910, 234–35; Anderson, *Vision*, 149–50.

⁵⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 1/11/1910, 166. The convert in question is not identified.

Pentecostalism were not so different from those behind religious attacks: to hinder the Pentecostals from capturing the imagination of the masses – and capturing their members!

Later, when the Danish Pentecostals became visible as a denomination of their own and hosted the 1919 Scandinavian Pentecostal conference in Copenhagen, the progressive Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Thorvald Povlsen, told a newspaper that he found the meetings ‘awful’ but that his department could ‘unfortunately not do anything. After all we have freedom of religion in this country’.⁵⁸ This remark, which comes close to disparaging freedom of religion, would certainly have been out of place in those contexts where religion has not been construed as a problem vis-à-vis modernisation.

There is also anecdotal evidence to support the notion that a more-or-less nominal Christianity was a hindrance for the Pentecostal message. Nicolai Hansen’s daughter describes how her father once met an old sea captain and his daughter on a train and attempted to share the gospel with them, but the daughter protested: ‘Are you a priest then?’ The captain tried to dodge the situation: ‘I am not so occupied with these things, but I also pray to the good Lord and I often go to Communion. I think it is so magnificent’.⁵⁹ Larssen was also not the only early Danish Pentecostal to have a confrontation with medical authorities: Hansen was sent to court after he failed to take his grandson to the hospital when he had a bad fall from a haystack; instead of course he had prayed for him and, according to Hansen’s daughter’s account, the pain had gone away. The police had taken the boy away to the hospital but the physician who attended to him reported to the court that he had not suffered any mistreatment. Even so, during the ensuing trial, the judge attempted to stop

⁵⁸ Article in a Copenhagen newspaper, quoted in *Evangelii Härold*, 9/1/1920, 3. Povlsen was a member of the Radikale Venstre party. The liberal commissioner of police Theodor Dybdal (of the Venstre party) was more dismissive of the paper’s call to stop the meetings: ‘at these meetings nothing is taking place that is plainly contrary to order and good manners’, and ‘There is not sufficient evidence that the meetings are causing [mass insanity]’ (ibid.).

⁵⁹ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 58–62. Unfortunately this event is undated, but given the context in the book probably happened in the 1920s or ’30s.

Hansen from carrying his Bible while testifying – even though, as Hansen rebutted, it was ‘authorised by the king’. The prosecutor required a mental examination of Hansen before dropping the case.⁶⁰ These accounts may of course be somewhat embellished and it also should be acknowledged that Hansen had a particular style that made some inimical towards him.⁶¹ Nonetheless, his experiences provide clear examples of an aggressive structural differentiation (or privatisation): preaching should be left to the professionals; religion has its place, but it is a private matter and should have nothing to do with medicine or the justice system; and when push comes to shove, the psychiatric profession is the arbiter of whether a religious person is of sound mind.

There is more to this than a simple reduction of religious influence; something else takes its place. José Casanova proposed that secularisation (in the sense of supposed ‘rationalisation’) became a ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’ in Western Europe which sanctioned the ascendant hegemony of a secular elite and made intolerance towards religious believers a necessity.⁶² In his own words there were ‘general theories of modernity that postulate secular differentiation as a normative project or global requirement for all “modern” societies’.⁶³ He concludes: ‘The secularization of Western European societies can be explained better in terms of the triumph of the knowledge regime of secularism, than in terms of structural processes of socio-economic development’.⁶⁴ At least, simple structural differentiation can’t stand alone. On the one hand, religion was pushed to the margins, and, on the other hand, it was preserved and firmly held – held in its place, we might say – in its most tepid form. This climate, as I will continue to explore below, did not give rise to a good soil for the Pentecostal movement and similar movements.

⁶⁰ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 64–67. This likewise happened around 1930.

⁶¹ Jensen, *Nicolai Hansens Liv*, 83.

⁶² Casanova, ‘Immigration’, 63; see also Borutta, ‘Settembrini’s World’, 61–63.

⁶³ Casanova, ‘Rethinking Secularization’, 10.

⁶⁴ Casanova, ‘Rethinking Secularization’, 15.

5.3 The lack of fertile soil

Christianity – that is the Bishop
and Parson and King and Police.

— From a satirical poem written after the controversy over healings at Røsnæs⁶⁵

Three decades ago, the American sociologists Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge proposed a ‘theory of religion’. They posit a strong link between religious diversity and religious fervour: ‘When a single church has a nearly absolute monopoly through a firm alliance with a coercive state, many people will be prevented from finding the kind of religion which would best meet their need for efficacious compensators’.⁶⁶ It might seem self-evident that a pluralistic policy enables the flourishing of minority religious movements, but what Stark and Bainbridge are proposing in addition to that is that pluralism increases religiosity as such. The reason for this, according to the theory, is that the ultimate demand is a constant: ‘humans greatly desire rewards which are not to be found in this material world of scarcity, frustration and death’.⁶⁷ In other words, we all desire eternity – the question is only whether there is a sufficiently varied supply of it! This ‘supply-side’ market theory has been criticised by some.⁶⁸ It has even been argued that religious diversity makes a context *less* religious, since exposure to a wider range of views might make it harder to accept a single truth as absolute.⁶⁹

But it is possible that both sides are missing the point. The ‘supply-side’ model in particular takes a view of religious people as more-or-less passive consumers. In what I will

⁶⁵ *Klods-Hans*, 1911, reprinted in *Sandhedsvidnet*, 20/9/1917, 72 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsemission. Helbredelse’, MS), here in my adaptation into English.

⁶⁶ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, Toronto Studies in Religion 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 148.

⁶⁷ Stark and Bainbridge, *Theory of Religion*, 312.

⁶⁸ Bruce, ‘The Supply-Side Model’; Zuckerman, Galen, and Pasquale, *The Nonreligious*, 61–62; Norris and Inglehart, ‘Uneven Secularization’, 41–45.

⁶⁹ Referred to as ‘Classical Modernization-Secularization theory’ in Zuckerman, Galen, and Pasquale, *The Nonreligious*, 56, 61.

instead call the ‘demand-side’ model, members of religious movements can be seen as actively engaged in creating what they are consuming. This takes into account what Bernice Martin has described as the ‘limits of the market metaphor’.⁷⁰ I would propose that religious activism is more important than religious diversity for growth, but activism typically gives rise to diversity as well as growth, whereas attempts to limit diversity also limit activism, as noted above. According to Stark and Bainbridge’s theory, supply begets demand, whereas in my ‘demand-side’ proposal, demand begets supply through the voluntary propagation of the faith by the faithful.⁷¹ A parallel difference is that their theory assumes religious liberty precedes diversity, rather than diversity creating a demand for liberty, which history seems to suggest is the case – though of course there may be top-down effects as well.⁷² Accordingly, in this section I will look more closely at the religious context, proposing that a relatively low degree of religious activism in Denmark gave rise to low need for diversity or variety.

5.3.1 Pentecostal adaptation to a Lutheran context

Historically and theologically, the Pentecostal movement grew out of pre-existing Evangelical revival movements, especially Methodism and the Holiness movement.⁷³ In Scandinavia, the Holiness movement existed both outside and inside the established churches. Methodists and other ‘dissenters’ did not have nearly as long a history in Scandinavia as in the USA or the UK, since free churches had until recently been illegal and were still treated more or less unfavourably by the government and legislation. Nonetheless, the Methodist Church had

⁷⁰ Bernice Martin, ‘Pentecostal Conversion and the Limits of the Market Metaphor’, *Exchange* 35, no. 1 (2006): 61.

⁷¹ As also suggested in Bruce, ‘The Supply-Side Model’, 40. The perspective of voluntarism is also essential to David Martin’s interpretation of Pentecostalism; see Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 1–2; David Martin, *The Future of Christianity: Reflections on Violence and Democracy, Religion and Secularization* (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 63–83. My proposal attempts to nuance those that equate ‘demand-side’ theory with the ‘secularization hypothesis’; e.g. Sriya Iyer, ‘The New Economics of Religion’, *Journal of Economic Literature* 54, no. 2 (2016): 395–441.

⁷² Bruce, ‘The Supply-Side Model’, 34.

⁷³ Dayton, *Theological Roots*; Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 182–89; Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 7–9.

grown relatively larger in Norway and Sweden than in Denmark by the time the Pentecostal movement emerged, as was also the case for the MCC and the Baptists.⁷⁴

On the Lutheran side, Bloch-Hoell mentions as one of the most important preconditions to the spread of Pentecostalism in Norway that translated literature by English-speaking Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists was popular there around 1900.⁷⁵ However, as documented by Elith Olesen, there was a parallel influence in Denmark of many of the same authors: D.L. Moody, C.H. Spurgeon, Ira Sankey, F.B. Meyer, and others.⁷⁶ But more broadly, the relatively high number of Pentecostals in 20th century Norway is correlated with a comparatively high number of revivalist Lutherans in the 19th century. Perhaps the most tangible legacy of the 19th century revivals is the Evangelical meeting houses found in settlements of all sizes in both countries – but whereas there are still about 3,000 of these in Norway,⁷⁷ there have never been more than just over 1,000 in Denmark.⁷⁸ This is a clear testimony to the relative strengths of 19th century Evangelical movements in two countries with similar-sized populations.

The situation in Sweden was a little more complex, with a greater variety of terms being used to describe the places of assembly ('prayer house', 'mission hut', 'chapel'),⁷⁹ but also with an even greater presence of other denominations. By 1900, the four largest free churches in Sweden already made up 2.8% of the population – a proportion that has never been reached in Denmark.⁸⁰ Probably no other circumstance helped trigger the explosive rise of

⁷⁴ Streiff, *Methodism in Europe*, 64.

⁷⁵ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 65–66.

⁷⁶ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 235–37.

⁷⁷ Tarald Rasmussen, ed., 'bedehus', *Store norske leksikon*, accessed 10 March 2014, <http://snl.no/bedehus>.

⁷⁸ Kurt E. Larsen, 'Missionshusene – om baggrunden for deres opførelse', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 2005, 95–133.

⁷⁹ Dick Harrison, 'Bönhusen – ett hotat kulturarv', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 16 July 2015, <http://www.svd.se/bonhusen--ett-hotat-kulturarv>.

⁸⁰ Berndt Gustafsson, 'Sweden', in *Western Religion: A Country by Country Sociological Inquiry*, ed. Hans Mol, Religion and Reason 2 (The Hague ; Paris: Mouton, 1972), 483.

denominational Pentecostalism in Sweden to the same extent.⁸¹ A study of late 20th century Sweden has shown that local diversity or ‘competition’ is correlated with higher rates of religious activity and affiliation, though in the authors’ own words this does ‘not prove that denominational pluralism and a diversified supply of religious services *cause* higher rates of religious participation. In principle, the results are equally well compatible with the assumption that a high demand for “religious goods” leads to a rich supply’.⁸² It seems that, though generally Sweden tended in a secular direction much to the same extent as Denmark, there were more local pockets of resistance, or in other words, a greater diversity both in terms of denominations and in terms of the level of religious activity.

In addition to the bare numbers – but not without connection to them – there were also theological differences between the particular brands of Lutheranism and revivalism that existed in Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia, which may have made the former context less receptive to Pentecostalism. T.B. Barratt noted that Denmark was ‘consistently more churchly’ (*kirkelig*) than Norway, whereas there was more ‘free enterprise’ in the religious life of the latter country.⁸³ In Denmark, revivalism within the state church had adapted to a carefully limited form of pluralism and voluntarism. This allowed ‘voluntary and free congregations ... as a safety valve, preventing the National Church from dividing into different independent churches’.⁸⁴ This regulated liberty or ‘internal differentiation’⁸⁵ has done more to limit religious fervour than to stimulate it.

⁸¹ This conclusion was also reached in 1925 by Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige*, 11–12, cf. 63.

⁸² Eva M. Hamberg and Thorleif Pettersson, ‘The Religious Market: Denominational Competition and Religious Participation in Contemporary Sweden’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33, no. 3 (September 1994): 213, doi:10.2307/1386686. Emphasis theirs.

⁸³ *Korsets Seir*, 15/4/1915, 62, quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS.

⁸⁴ Ahlin et al., ‘Religious Diversity’, 407. According to Peter Berger, ‘under conditions of pluralism all religious institutions, sooner or later, become voluntary associations—and they become so whether they like it or not. ... Not surprisingly, some of them will perceive pluralism as a lethal threat and will mobilize all available resources to resist it’ (Berger, ‘Pluralism’, 23–24).

⁸⁵ Ahlin et al., ‘Religious Diversity’, 408.

The more extreme example of this is the Grundtvigian movement which readily adapted to providing an ideological foundation for the Danish state and abandoned its earlier emphasis on the distinction between those of living faith and the rest of the population. But while this distinction was firmly upheld by the other main revivalist movement – the Indre Mission – it also let itself be subjected to clerical authority and developed a correspondingly high view of the institutional church, in particular with a high view of the sacraments administered by the parish clergy: holy communion and (infant, indiscriminate) baptism. Somehow the Indre Mission accepted the common people’s religious practice, even while relegating them to second-tier Christians. The fallout that the Bjørners experienced from Lutheran revivalists following their decision to be baptised in water in 1919 was hardly a surprise. These revivalists willingly helped police the boundaries of the state church, even if this separated them from believers they arguably had more in common with than with the ordinary Lutheran.

These theological differences meant that in some cases a strong influence of revivalism in a local area made it less receptive to Pentecostalism. The best examples here are western Jutland and the island of Bornholm, where the strong presence of the Indre Mission movement probably prevented Pentecostal growth (3.3.1). These are comparable to certain other relatively religious but not religiously diverse regions of Europe, such as Poland and Russia (relative to more diverse Ukraine and Romania), or at least until recently the Republic of Ireland (relative to Northern Ireland or the UK as a whole).⁸⁶ A religious hegemony can stamp out religious enterprise. The existence of such active hegemonies pose a problem to the ‘supply-side’ model which postulates that monopolies tend to become lazy and ineffectual.

⁸⁶ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 45–46, 58–65.

However, the basic message of the early Pentecostals in Denmark seems in many ways to have been similar enough to that of the revival movements that preceded them. A vision of ‘Jesus on the cross’ was central to the first, effervescent private meetings in the summer of 1907.⁸⁷ A classic Evangelical message of cleansing ‘in the blood’ was united without any tension with Pentecostal enthusiasm (2.2.1). The experience of having one’s own sinfulness and shortcomings revealed is prominent: ‘at that moment it was shown to me, how bad I was’, said the early leader Philip Wittrock of his Spirit baptism.⁸⁸ Mygind emphasised in a letter to Anna Bjørner that only faith is required – only empty hands and a childish receiving faith, which was one of the reasons he could not follow those Pentecostals who rejected infant baptism.⁸⁹ According to Nørgaard Pedersen, Anton Christensen’s preaching of the finished work of Christ was even clearer than Barratt’s.⁹⁰ The early Pentecostals were Christocentric: Anna Bjørner recounts an Italian officer’s reaction to a Pentecostal (Apostolic) meeting in 1926: ‘To think that they only spoke of Jesus Christ all evening’.⁹¹ In Sweden, Lewi Pethrus stated that the centre of Pentecostalism was not a specific doctrine but ‘the living Christ’.⁹² A strong emphasis on Christ’s work on the cross was not unique to Scandinavian Pentecostalism either – it could be found among Pentecostals across the world.⁹³ So why was the Pentecostal revival not considered compatible enough to be assimilated into the existing revival movements in Denmark?

An early attempt at summarising the Pentecostal message and experience in theological terms, written by the Pentecostal leader Asmus Biehl in January 1910, gives us strong hints of

⁸⁷ *Byposten*, 15/6/1907, 63.

⁸⁸ *Byposten*, 19/10/1907, 93.

⁸⁹ Anna Larssen Bjørner Collection (Royal Library), I., dated 17/9/1913.

⁹⁰ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 16/2/1908, 26 (quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS).

⁹¹ Bjørner, *Teater og tempel*, 167.

⁹² Sundstedt, *Pingstväckelsen*, 3:220.

⁹³ See e.g. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 265–66.

the problems that the Pentecostals set out to settle.⁹⁴ He and other early Pentecostals saw themselves as continuing the work of the Reformation and the Evangelical revivals in restoring Christianity to its roots. But they gave this a new slant – ‘power’ – though not only through external signs, wonders, and supernatural gifts; instead Biehl emphasised that the word of God ‘shatters’ and ‘heals’ the hearts of people to prepare them to be filled with the Spirit. After this, however, comes a more controversial step in his Pentecostal *ordo salutis*: the death of Jesus not only justifies but sanctifies and sets the believer apart for service, through the gifts. But Biehl makes it clear that this new state in the life of a Christian should not lead to selfish pride. The individual experience is absorbed into the collective, leading to true unity. Despite Biehl’s emphasis on perfection received in Spirit baptism, he was still aware of his own shortcomings and hoped that other Christians would also heed this call to prayer and repentance.

For Biehl, grace and power – or cross and glory – are held together in tension, the key being that both should glorify Christ. The Christocentrism and crucicentrism of this account, its biblical language and its emphasis on the individual experience might all have appealed to Evangelicals such as some in the Indre Mission,⁹⁵ whereas his emphasis on divine power – especially in sanctification – and on God’s judgement on Christian believers might still have been too much to stomach.⁹⁶ There seems to be no evidence that the critics explicitly used, for example, Luther’s classic dichotomy between the theology of the cross and the theology of

⁹⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 38 (for full text see Appendix B).

⁹⁵ I am borrowing David Bebbington’s ‘quadrilateral’ of Evangelical characteristics, as set out in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 2–17. I have included Christocentrism as a variant of crucicentrism, not to distinguish Pentecostalism from classical Evangelicalism, but instead to further emphasise the similarity and to prevent any notion that the Pentecostals focused on the work of the Spirit over the work of Christ, which is not the case.

⁹⁶ In this it seems the Swedish Pentecostal leader Georg Gustafsson may have been more able to combine Pentecostal and Lutheran emphases, as concluded in Stävare, *Georg Gustafsson*.

glory to refute the Pentecostal message, if they were even aware of such concepts.⁹⁷ Instead, the criticisms mostly stayed at a somewhat more superficial level. In Emil Steenvinkel's pamphlet against the Bjørners from 1919, the Magisterial Reformation's distinction between orthodox Christianity and 'enthusiasm' seems to be turned on its head, suggesting perhaps a shaky grasp of historical theology (see 4.2.1). If anything, Biehl seems to have been more aware of a form of theology of the cross, though based more directly on the letters of Paul than on Luther.

The humility he showed in praying for further personal growth also suggests that there can be some leeway for individuals to experience their spiritual development differently. This permits, for example, a remarkably candid testimony from another Pentecostal in Copenhagen, Anna Osmundsen, who became part of the movement at a similar time as Biehl but waited four years for even a sporadic experience of being filled with the Spirit, followed two years later by what she describes as her full Spirit baptism.⁹⁸ This could again be contrasted with Anna Lewini's rapid journey from nonbeliever to Spirit-baptised Pentecostal in the space of a couple of weeks. Further variety in experience is provided by Anna Bjørner who framed her story in various different ways, seemingly only gradually conforming it to what emerged as the standard Pentecostal *ordo salutis* (see 2.2.4). There are also similarities between Biehl's awareness of a room for growth and Rasmus Hansen's (Lou) later testimony on his own 'imperfections',⁹⁹ as well as C. Johansen's (Næstved) attempt to formulate how the perfect 'essence' and the sinful 'flesh' could coexist.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Maren Pedersen (Fredericia) testified that even her desire for sin had been completely removed.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ See e.g. Alister E. McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); Zahl, *Pneumatology*.

⁹⁸ *Evangelii Härold*, 1/2/1917, 19 (originally published in *Korsets Seir*).

⁹⁹ *Korsets Budskab*, June 1919, 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Korsets Budskab*, August 1919, 1-2.

¹⁰¹ *Korsets Budskab*, 1/10/1920, 4.

Biehl's statement is not the only way the Pentecostal message can be described – for example, Faupel concluded that 'this Gospel of the Kingdom of the latter rain was stated in sharp *contrast* to the gospel of grace of the former rain'.¹⁰² It should not surprise us if there are deep differences between the expression of Pentecostalism in different contexts. However, Biehl's Pentecostal vision, which echoed Barratt's, strongly incorporates the eschatological theme of judgement emphasised by Faupel, but to use Faupel's term, the 'dynamic interaction' between the motifs of judgement and grace was balanced differently in Biehl's statement; that is, in a way that (consciously or not) creatively accommodated the Pentecostal message to a Lutheran context – though bridging that gap entirely was evidently not possible at the time. However the message is framed, the spiritual gifts – especially tongues – play a significant role, but though this was the distinctive mark by which the Pentecostals became known, it was never the most central to their belief system as such. The Pentecostals cannot be accused of simply seeking an experience for its own sake – they were constantly turning their focus to Christ. 'Christ is all and in all', as the Pentecostal leader A. Schönbech proclaimed, citing Colossians 3:11.¹⁰³

5.3.2 Problematic antecedents

The reason why the Pentecostal message could not be adapted sufficiently to be acceptable to Lutheran Evangelical leaders may have less to do with Pentecostalism as such than with what Pentecostalism reminded these leaders of. Past and contemporary experiences with other radical forms of revivalism may have coloured their opinion of the Pentecostals. There are clear parallels between the controversy over Fredrik Franson's campaign of healing ministry in Mørkøv in Northwest Zealand 1885 and the events 26 years later when two Pentecostals from Copenhagen ministered in Røsnæs, about 35 km west of Mørkøv. Franson ended up

¹⁰² Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 42. Emphasis original.

¹⁰³ *Korsets Budskab*, September 1919, 3.

being deported from the country, and the Pentecostal healings likewise caused consternation in the local press and caused the authorities to become involved.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, in Copenhagen Franson's meetings had not caused controversy in the same way, and it seems the storms surrounding the Pentecostal meetings there were also dying down at this point (1910-11), allowing the Pentecostal movement to get a foothold, whereas Northwest Zealand (Holbæk county) seems to have become its weakest region in that part of the country. This suggests that problematic past experiences could indeed be a hindrance for local Pentecostal growth.

The strongest religious critics of the Pentecostals were those who were closest to them in theology and practice, as they were in the most direct competition with them. The earliest example is Matthiesen, the revivalistic but highly conservative editor of *Kristeligt Dagblad*, who was critical of Barratt from the beginning of the Pentecostal revival in Kristiania. After Barratt's campaign in Copenhagen in the summer of 1907, when meetings were advertised in continuation hereof, Matthiesen concluded that Barratt's name was 'the opposite of a recommendation'.¹⁰⁵ Many were reminded of problems that they had had only a few years earlier with the 'released', the group led by the later Pentecostal H.J. Mygind. It did not help when the Pentecostals attempted to blend in and opaquely brand their meetings as ordinary interdenominational Evangelical meetings, though in many ways they were.

Soon the similarities with the 'released' led some such as A.C. Nissen to accuse the Pentecostals of having an 'unclean spirit', foreshadowing the stark condemnation of the Pentecostals by the Berlin declaration in 1909. Sometimes religious critics would publish their critiques in mainstream newspapers, drawing on a mix of secular (psychologising) and

¹⁰⁴ See 2.3.1. On Franson's campaign, see Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 243–48.

¹⁰⁵ *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 16/9/1907, 2.

theological arguments.¹⁰⁶ But unlike in Germany, there was no sustained, coordinated effort by the national church or any organisations within it – such as the Indre Mission – to stop the Pentecostal revival.

There are also parallels to the resistance that Mormon missionaries had met from some quarters in Denmark. Their activities early on had centred on Copenhagen, Aalborg, Falster, and Bornholm, and – apart from Copenhagen which is a more complex case – it might not be a coincidence that the Pentecostals also experienced more resistance than receptivity when they attempted to spread their movement to these places. In particular, the fact that Mormon missionaries had had great success in proselytising among Baptists in Denmark, to the Baptist leaders' chagrin, might be another reason why Danish Baptists were less receptive to Pentecostalism than Swedish Baptists, apart from the leadership question which will be explored below.¹⁰⁷

However, it seems that Pentecostals were rarely compared to Mormons by the Danish critics of Pentecostalism – instead they were compared to groups as different as the Millennial Dawn (which became Jehovah's Witnesses) and Spiritualists. The most obvious similarity with the Mormons (or Franson, for that matter), namely the promotion of supernatural gifts, does not seem to have been the main point of criticism against the Pentecostals. Explicitly, it seems to have been suspicions of 'sinlessness' teachings that took precedence for the critics, with the 'phenomena' merely confirming that something was amiss. Pentecostal ideas about sanctification were at the centre of the conflict, on the one hand because these were indeed

¹⁰⁶ E.g., *Dansk Kirketidende*, 21/4/1907, 253-54 (quoted in Elith Olesen, 'Pinsemission', MS); *Aarhuus Stiftstidende*, 9/1/1910, 5.

¹⁰⁷ Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 149-50. Furthermore, the number of Baptists was much greater in Sweden – especially after many Danish Baptists had emigrated to the USA. Hence, even though the leading Baptists in Sweden opposed the Pentecostal movement, the minority who became affected by Pentecostalism were still too numerous and too widely spread out to be effectively curbed.

central to the Pentecostals themselves, and on the other hand because these ideas reminded their opponents in the Indre Mission of other groups that they had rejected.

When the Pentecostal movement arrived, the Indre Mission was already in the middle of a showdown with the so-called ‘Madsen movement’, the kind of radical Holiness movement that would make a distinction between Spirit-filled and non-Spirit-filled Christians. This was in effect an extension of the storms surrounding the ‘released’.¹⁰⁸ It seems that the Indre Mission and the ‘Madsen movement’ combined to drown out Pentecostalism: they were not divergent enough to provide a situation of pluralism, but instead exerted a joint hegemony. With lots of other things going on, the Pentecostal movement may have simply seemed irrelevant. The main question which I will return to in the next section is why the latter did not embrace the opportunities afforded by Pentecostalism when they were rejected by the powerful Indre Mission movement. I will only add here that it is tempting to only look at the state church as an institution and be puzzled how a broad church like this could be an obstacle to anything – and indeed, the institutional, Lutheran church in Denmark paid little attention to the Pentecostal movement – but the real power lay with the Indre Mission, an unusually well-organised Evangelical movement, even though already past its dynamic peak of influence.¹⁰⁹

The equivalent movement in, for example, Norway was even stronger, but also more ‘low church’, and perhaps it had not yet become institutionalised to the same extent.¹¹⁰ This seems to me much more plausible than Bloch-Hoell’s notion that the other Nordic countries (and the American frontier) were lacking the kind of dynamic, spiritual Christianity that (implicitly) was represented in Denmark and Germany (1.3.3). There is much material for further research

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 534–35.

¹⁰⁹ A similar analysis was offered in 1931 by a Danish Pentecostal writer (Grove, *Pinsevækkelsen i Danmark*, 15, 21–22).

¹¹⁰ Frederick Hale, ‘Insights from Norwegian “Revivalism,” 1875-1914’, in *Modern Christian revivals*, ed. Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer and Randall Herbert Balmer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993). Cf. Francesco Alberoni’s distinction between ‘movement’ and ‘institution’, discussed below.

here, including for a comparison of how Evangelicals in other traditionally Protestant countries received Pentecostalism, and how they were able to enforce their view. However, the state church should not be ignored entirely, much as the early Pentecostals were unable to ignore it. Perhaps the state churches of countries such as Denmark and England were simply a highly inviting quicksand where the Pentecostals eventually became stuck, or where they met a sluggish resistance when they attempted to move forward but a more aggressive one when they attempted to pull out.

State-sponsored Lutheranism was for most Danes the default form of religion – often, as mentioned above, to the exclusion of more actively involving forms. The widespread use of Bishop C.F. Balslev’s Lutheran-Pietist catechism may have made the wider Danish population more sceptical towards the Pentecostal movement, relative to the other Nordic countries.¹¹¹ Furthermore, it seems that pre-existing religious movements may have already conditioned them to the idea that some people were ‘pious’, whereas others – like themselves – were not. In other words, the Indre Mission and similar groups had functioned – to some – as an inoculation against later movements such as the Pentecostal movement.¹¹² It is possible that in less densely populated countries such as Sweden such an effect was not yet felt on a national level, but that instead the Pentecostal movement came to fulfil that role, creating secularisation by establishing a strong distinction between Christian and non-Christian, leading to the lowest rate of support for the established church among any of the Nordic

¹¹¹ Kurt E. Larsen, personal communication, October 2016. By contrast, Emanuel Linderholm and other modernist theologians believed that the teaching of traditional catechisms and the defence of miracles (in Biblical times) made the common people more susceptible to Pentecostalism (Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige*, 338–39). However, this presupposes a view of ‘popular enlightenment’ (*‘allmän upplysning’*) which must now be characterised as naïve and condescending.

¹¹² Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 52, 68.

countries.¹¹³ But it seems unlikely that pre-existing groups had a greater overall negative than positive effect for Pentecostal growth.

To recap, then, it seems that a lower overall level of religious activity was the most important pre-existing factor in determining the growth of Pentecostalism; this is what I have referred to as the ‘demand-side’ view. Moreover, there were qualitative aspects of existing movements that made them less receptive towards Pentecostalism, namely close links to the state church and the consequential attitudes toward sanctification.

5.4 The failure to attract leaders and gatekeepers

Oh God have mercy on the “leaders!”, What a responsibility they have!

— T.B. Barratt, on the resistance to Pentecostalism in Sweden¹¹⁴

One important ramification of the failure to connect with existing movements, as well as the relative lack of such movements in the first place, was the diminished pool from which the Pentecostal movement could draw its leaders. However, I have already noted above that the early Pentecostal movement in Denmark was somewhat capable of appealing to the most well-connected layers of Danish society – so why did this not result in the attracting of one or a few individuals who could prove to be competent leaders of the movement? Here the situation contrasts with the UK, where the Pentecostal movement found a couple of notable Anglican spokesmen in Alexander Boddy and Cecil Polhill. The British Pentecostal movement ran into other problems which hindered its growth – but were there no equivalent potential leaders in Denmark? The relative sparsity of free churches (compared to both the UK and the rest of Scandinavia) naturally meant that there was less of a potential to recruit leaders there – but should this not mean that there was all the more potential to attract leaders in the dominant Lutheran church? In fact, there were of course some significant Lutheran

¹¹³ As suggested to me by Mika Vähäkangas, June 2016.

¹¹⁴ *Korsets Seir*, 15/2/1910, 32.

figures who embraced Pentecostalism, if only for a short time. Pentecostalism received a chilly reception from the Indre Mission. This swayed even some who were otherwise often more independently minded.

5.4.1 Examples

Those who remained each had their problems: Thorvald Plum could have been useful as a magazine publisher and gatekeeper in the Holiness community, but seems to have been too timid to wield his influence; though he supported the Pentecostals financially, he was reluctant to put his name behind them as well. As for H.J. Mygind, his lack of a permanent parish base and his tarnished record from his time in the ‘released’ movement were both problematic, and his missionary streak prevented him from putting a determined effort behind the Pentecostal movement in his homeland. Anna and Sigurd Bjørner were somewhat fluttering in their leadership, in the latter’s case heavy-handedly so, seeming to push people away without necessity. Carl Næser was perhaps too much of a loner, even too awkward to be an effective leader; at least this is how his own brother characterised him.¹¹⁵ Finally, Victor Lorck, though a high-ranking naval officer in his professional life, seems to have been more submissive in matters of faith, as his conduct during the leadership crisis of 1921 illustrates (see 4.2.3); moreover, when he attempted to lead more independently at one stage during this crisis, the group he gathered quickly dispersed. That the Danish Pentecostal movement failed to attract great leaders does not validate the ‘Great Man’ theory (see 1.3.1), but rather demonstrates the negative form of the dictum that great leaders do not make great movements but vice versa. Had the Pentecostal movement been on track for rapid growth in Denmark, more leaders might have been tempted to spearhead it.

¹¹⁵ Vincent Næser archive, III.B.1; undated letter (c. 1920) from VN to his and CN’s mother, Hedvig.

To illustrate this, we can consider two cases of leaders who have appeared on the periphery of this story, who were both clearly offered a role in the Pentecostal movement and rejected it. On the one hand, the country's most prominent free church leader, Anton Bast, was among the group of Methodist leaders who invited Barratt to Copenhagen in 1907. Bast was a dynamic and widely known figure and could probably have led some Methodists, as well as some of the poor that he served, into the Pentecostal movement if he wished to.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, several family members of another prominent Copenhagen pastor, Lutheran H.P. Mollerup, became involved in the Pentecostal movement, and this study has revealed that Barratt attempted to recruit Mollerup himself as a leader for the Pentecostal work in Copenhagen (2.2.5). Mollerup turned down the offer, ostensibly on doctrinal grounds as he was not yet ready to accept a Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism, though a few years later it was reported that he himself was speaking in tongues. By that point in time the question of infant baptism had instead come between him and the Pentecostals (4.2.1). His openness to the Pentecostal experience *per se* might suggest that he had had other considerations in mind as well, such as the negative reception of the Pentecostal movement by other Evangelical leaders which did not bode well for its chances.

As for gatekeepers, there were others beside Plum which could have been obvious, specifically editors of the more radical Holiness magazines: Nørgaard Pedersen of *Sandhedsvidnet* rejected the Pentecostal movement, ostensibly because he predicted that its ideals of an interdenominational alliance would fail, but perhaps also because he was not convinced by Mygind's apologies for his past.¹¹⁷ Likewise, most of the leaders around *Filadelfia*, the aforementioned 'Madsen movement' distanced themselves from

¹¹⁶ Of course, Bast also had a more problematic side to his character, as revealed during the court cases in the 1920s, which could have damaged the Pentecostal movement as it did the Methodist Church, had he joined the former.

¹¹⁷ Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 424–27.

Pentecostalism (2.2.3), even though it had arrived at an opportune moment, just as the Indre Mission had distanced itself from them. It is a testament to the power of the Indre Mission that Pentecostalism seems to have largely gone down with the other dismissed radicals, rather than the latter two joining together. As in Germany, the main Evangelical leaders in Denmark decided that any potential opportunities in the Pentecostal revival were not worth the risk – or as the German Pentecostal writer Albert Goetz concluded: ‘The latter rain fell, but the leaders ... rejected it’.¹¹⁸ Since there were not enough existing leaders to draw from, it is no coincidence that new converts – Larssen and Lewini – became among the main leaders, unlike virtually all other early Pentecostal leaders worldwide.

5.4.2 Consequences

I will return to organisational difficulties below, but leaving those aside for now, given that the Pentecostal movement in Denmark had failed to attract the most competent leaders, it seems it was also destined for a tendency towards residual theological obscurities. There was a certain lack of the sort of flexibility that has otherwise been a hallmark of international Pentecostalism, such as when, faced with the evidence, the fledgling movement was able to swiftly give up the idea of ‘missionary tongues’ so seemingly central to the movement’s inception.¹¹⁹ By contrast, an inflexibility among Danish Pentecostals can be noticed in the continuing emphasis on perfection in sanctification, as mentioned above. The Bjørners also had a strong interest in millenarian eschatology, which could be construed as a distraction, though it became stronger later in their lives than during the period in question here.¹²⁰ Before

¹¹⁸ Albert Goetz, *Haben unsere Führer versagt?*, Erweckungen in aller Welt 3 (Hamburg: ‘Mehr Licht’-Verlag, 1934), 23.

¹¹⁹ McGee, *Miracles*, 104–5, cf. 61–76.

¹²⁰ E.g., *Korsets Seir*, 20/10/1921, 4–5; 30/10/1921, 4–5; 20/11/1921, 4–5; 30/11/1921, 5; 20/2/1922, 4–5; cf. Hanssen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner*, 82–83; Chris Jørgensen, *Anna Larssen Bjørner: verdens dejligste rose* (Struer: Forlaget Lindhardt, 1988), 74–80; Bjørner, *Hørt, tænkt og talt*.

that there were others who, according to the Pentecostal pastor Haakon Jacobsen (Horsens), were ‘busier calculating the future events than loving the brothers’.¹²¹

The question of water baptism caused friction multiple times, first around 1909 in the Zinnsgade assembly when Wittrock began to insist on it (2.2.6), and then again a decade later when the Bjørners were persuaded to do the same. Even more clearly, the Bjørners’ universalism in the late 1910s turned out to be a blind alley.¹²² They had been led down this route by Asmus Biehl – perhaps the most brilliant mind among the Danish Pentecostals – who later seems to have fallen off the map when he made proposals for the organisation of Pentecostal congregations that had more than a little in common with the *Täuferreich* of Reformation-era Münster (3.3.3; 4.2.3).

Conversely, the rigorism of other Danish Pentecostals concerning the ‘initial evidence’ doctrine – the preservation of the original Pentecostal experience – created problems for Sigurd Bjørner’s leadership in the early 1920s (4.2.3). His vengeance, as it were, came with the adoption of the Apostolic doctrine of ministry, which must be described as some way off the mainstream of Pentecostalism. This was the climax of the cutting away of all church history that Bjørner had announced (4.3.1). But such things were claimed by all Pentecostals, each for their own form of organisation.¹²³ Donald Gee notes: ‘The Apostolic Church has never made any headway in proselytising where, as in America or Sweden, the Pentecostal assemblies have been well organised and capably governed by strong spiritual leaders’.¹²⁴

¹²¹ As paraphrased by Sigurd Bjørner in *Evangeliebladet*, 18/1/1923, 6.

¹²² Larsen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, 163.

¹²³ The early Danish Pentecostals ‘emphasised the discontinuity in the history of Protestantism, which was seen as a progressive return to primitive Christianity. In this analysis, the restoration of the church had reached its potential climax with the emergence of the Pentecostal movement, which was now the exponent of “the full gospel” and the spiritual vitality that characterised the church in Acts’ (Kenneth Kühn, ‘Dansk pinsetro i spændingen mellem tradition og nye horisonter’, *Ny Mission* 19 (2010): 104).

¹²⁴ Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 106. Worsfold notes that ‘leaders from Sweden and Norway were present and eager to hear the ministry’ when the British Apostolic delegation visited Copenhagen in early 1924 (Worsfold, *Origins*, 234). But the AC was never able to establish a significant presence in those

Pethrus' prediction that the AC would wither away like the Catholic Apostolic Church before it has been vindicated to some extent – and to the extent that it has not withered away, it has instead, at least in the Danish case, gradually given up on much of the Apostolic doctrine of leadership.

I believe that Bjørner was so receptive to the Apostolic doctrine specifically, rather than, for example, the forms of organisation found in the other main British Pentecostal denominations (Elim and the Assemblies of God) or the way the Swedish or Norwegian Pentecostals had organised themselves, because he believed he could gain greater control over the chaotic Danish Pentecostal movement through the formal authority of the apostleship – compensating for his lack of natural or spiritual charismatic authority (4.3.2). Ironically, power with authority may turn out to be *less than* power on its own; that is, power on its own entails a greater amount of discretion than power with a specific authority, even though presenting oneself as having legitimate authority, derived from a greater power, is naturally tempting.¹²⁵ The Bjørners were seeking independence, both around 1912-19 and again in 1923-24. Before 1919, during their itinerant period, they had great discretion but little power to direct others. After that, they briefly had power with some amount of discretion, though not unchallenged, and as a consequence, in the end they turned the power over to the remote control of the Welsh Apostolic leaders, in return for apostolic authority. It is possible that Sigurd Bjørner's military training made him more likely to believe that only a hierarchical, well-ordered form of organisation with a clear chain of command could be reliable and

countries, even though the 1924 delegation had apparently planned to found an AC in Sweden as well (*Evangelii Härold*, 14/2/1924, 73), and also despite attempts in the 1940s by the AC in Denmark to begin work in Norway (Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse*, 115–18).

¹²⁵ Barry Barnes, 'On Authority and Its Relationship to Power', in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. John Law, Sociological Review Monograph 32 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 180–95.

effective.¹²⁶ But though in the end this resulted in a somewhat calmer situation, it only did so after initially bringing the conflicts to a climax and splitting the movement in half. Pentecostal Villy Hagstrøm later described the AC as a ‘cunningly devised system of religion’, whereas Apostolic leaders like Svend Aage Facius accused the Pentecostals of ‘resisting the full counsel of God’.¹²⁷ Each stood for one of the two competing forms of primitivism: freedom versus order, or originalism versus restorationism.¹²⁸

Elsewhere, schisms do not seem to have hindered Pentecostal growth, but rather added to its spread. However, in Denmark it hindered a broader international cooperation, such as when the Bjørners were unable (or unwilling) to lure Wigglesworth back in 1929 when he visited Norway and Sweden again,¹²⁹ though he did reportedly visit Denmark in 1931 and 1932.¹³⁰ From a non-Apostolic Pentecostal point of view, Axel Grove perceived in the early 1930s that visible disunity was bad for growth.¹³¹ It may be that sometimes breakaway factions come into existence because of the unique quality of a leader or group of leaders who will not let themselves be confined to following the directives of leaders currently in authority over them. In such cases, schism may well lead to multiplication.

In the Danish case, the schism happened more due to the overextension of the existing leadership. The Apostolic schism only further diluted an already scant talent pool, turning the stagnation of the Pentecostal movement in Denmark into a vicious circle. But there may also have been another, very different reason why this pool had been depleted.

¹²⁶ Mortensen, Larsen, and Mortensen, *Apostolsk Kirke*, 36. Similar notions have been suggested by e.g. Michel Foucault and William McNeill; see John Law, ‘On the Methods of Long-Distance Control: Vessels, Navigation and the Portuguese Route to India’, in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. John Law, Sociological Review Monograph 32 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 256.

¹²⁷ Both quoted in Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 63.

¹²⁸ This tension will be developed further below in section 5.6.

¹²⁹ Grove, *Pinsevækkelsen i Danmark*, 12. Wigglesworth’s other main contact, Lewini, had left for the mission field.

¹³⁰ Carp, ‘A Pentecostal “Legend”’, 117, 179.

¹³¹ Grove, *Pinsevækkelsen i Danmark*, 8–9.

5.5 The missionary priority

If you, dear brother, had only her as the fruit of your work in Denmark, it more than makes up for everything you had to go through there for Jesus' sake.

— A Pentecostal in Flekkefjord, Norway, to T.B. Barratt, on Anna Lewini¹³²

It would be difficult to point to one single facet as the original top priority of the early Pentecostal vision. In no particular order, eschatology, Christian unity, tongues and other gifts of the Spirit, miracles and healing, prophecy, holiness, experiential spirituality and personal crises, fundamentalism, restorationism, soul-saving, social work, etc. all play a role. This is amply illustrated by the wide variety of histories of Pentecostalism in the US, each teasing out one or two aspects of Pentecostalism in particular.¹³³ However, mission or evangelism is certainly near the centre of this nexus, whether in the case of North American, European, or any other regional manifestation of early Pentecostalism. This is an important reason for the unprecedentedly rapid spread of the movement.¹³⁴ The early Pentecostals immediately began to see what was happening as fulfillment of prophecy, both Biblical and more recent prophecies by such iconic figures as Charles Spurgeon and Hudson Taylor.¹³⁵ As opposed to more theologically liberal mission movements, the urgency of Pentecostal evangelisation was strongly linked with an eschatology that emphasised the imminent Parousia of Christ.¹³⁶

¹³² *Korsets Seir*, 1/12/1911, 183.

¹³³ E.g., McGee, *Miracles*, focuses on miracles and healing, as well as mission; Dayton, *Theological Roots*, on the link with Wesleyan Perfectionism; King, *Disfellowshipped*, on the relationship with Fundamentalism; Grant Wacker, *Heaven below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), on restorationism (or primitivism as he calls it); Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, on eschatology; he draws in turn on Anderson, *Vision*, which specifically views Pentecostalism from a social perspective. There are even further aspects which lack a parallel in Danish Pentecostalism, such as – for obvious reasons – racial unity (and disunity), for which see e.g. Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988). For a similar list, see Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 16.

¹³⁴ Allan Anderson, 'The Emergence of a Multidimensional Global Missionary Movement: A Historical Review', in *Pentecostal Mission and Global Christianity*, ed. Ma Wonsuk, Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (Oxford: Regnum, 2014), 10–25.

¹³⁵ *Byposten* 24/8/1907, 75; 7/9/1907, 79.

¹³⁶ McGee, *Miracles*, 89; Pierson, *The Dynamics*, 311.

Furthermore, it is widely thought that Pentecostalism has helped people worldwide to adapt their existing identities to the new reality of globalisation.¹³⁷ The early Pentecostals had found themselves in a new world where long-distance, cross-border interaction and travel was a far more available possibility than previously. Through their Pentecostal experience they felt that they had become part of something significant that made sense of this – a truly global movement. Anna Larssen’s citing of numbers – ‘100,000 followers virtually all over the world’ – in her 1910 letter to former colleagues is a typical example (2.2.4). A natural outcome of this is that Danish Pentecostals were active in mission early on, and many converts were sent out as missionaries. The most internationally famous example is Anna Lewini in Sri Lanka, while the most prominent example of a Danish foreign missionary who became a Pentecostal was H.J. Mygind. In addition, dozens of missionaries were sent to China, and the Pentecostals were the only group in Denmark to send missionaries to South America. The urgency of Pentecostal evangelisation is evidenced in the concrete priorities of people who became Pentecostal and interpreted their Spirit baptism as a call to mission, often though not always foreign mission.¹³⁸ The early Pentecostal movement in Denmark offers plenty of examples of this, among them notably many women: Anna Larssen Bjørner, Anna Lewini, Anna and Elisa Mollerup, Johanne Groth, Betty Lavard, the Rønager sisters, the Thomsen ‘sisters’, Dagny Pedersen, and others, just from the earliest revivals in Copenhagen. Many of them engaged in evangelism both at home and abroad – but for most of them the latter became their primary calling.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Droogers, ‘Globalisation’, 53–57; Coleman, *Globalisation*, 49–65.

¹³⁸ ‘The theological link between Spirit baptism and missions has always been made in the Pentecostal movement. ... just as Spirit baptism is Pentecostalism’s central, most distinctive doctrine, so mission is Pentecostalism’s central, most important activity’ (Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 65).

¹³⁹ Of course, from a global point of view there was little unusual about the prominent place of women within the Danish Pentecostal movement; see e.g. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 273–76.

This part of the heritage of Danish Pentecostals has, however, been almost completely forgotten. The Pentecostals have been ignored by classic writers of Danish mission history, like Harald Madsen in *Nordisk Missionshistorie* (in contrast to the accounts of mission from the other Nordic countries in the same book¹⁴⁰) and Axel Malmstrøm.¹⁴¹ The Danish third-generation Pentecostal pastor Kenneth Kühn writes of the first Danish Pentecostals as ‘typical of the period, born in a context of positively forward-looking modernity with an ingrained belief in progress’, in that they had a clear ‘vision of the reforming role that the movement should play in its age and for the future’.¹⁴² One area which Kühn misses out (or perhaps assumes), but in which the Pentecostals can also be seen as very much of their time, was their emphasis on international mission. But though the early Pentecostals’ zeal for world evangelisation should be given proper recognition on its own terms, it might also provide a supplementary approach to explaining the lack of Pentecostal growth in Denmark.

5.5.1 The path of least resistance

I have argued above that the Pentecostal movement in Denmark had difficulty in attracting competent leaders. Compounding this problem, many of the leaders the movement actually had were quickly sent abroad. Many names could be mentioned – H.J. Mygind is an obvious if ambiguous case given his problematic background – but the Pentecostal church in Lyngby is perhaps the best example: it repeatedly sent out leaders to China, beginning in 1909 with its first main leader, L.P. Larsen (2.3.2), followed in 1912 by N.P. Rasmussen and in 1916 by Rasmussen’s brother, Thorkild (3.4.1). Each of these took additional members with them. It

¹⁴⁰ Westman et al., *Nordisk Missionshistorie*, 186–94, 221–23, 251, 256–58, 269–70, 289–90, 294–96, 370–74, cf. Madsen’s very brief account of non-Lutheran mission, 111–112.

¹⁴¹ Axel Malmstrøm, *Evangeliet til alverden. Den nyere missions baggrund og historie* (Copenhagen: O. Lohse, 1948), 3 vols.

¹⁴² Kühn, ‘Dansk pinsetro’, 103–4. The link between Pentecostalism and modernity is certainly a valid interpretation, though not the only one – the eschatological beliefs of the Pentecostals on which their view of history hinged could also be seen as radically anti-modern (Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 75).

was also from Lyngby-Brede that N.C. Nielsen (soon known as Kristian Nielsén) left for Sweden, from where he would later go on to Bolivia and the US. Furthermore, there was a *pull* factor in that, for example, the Fullertons were successful in attracting a number of young missionaries to China.

For comparison, we can note that the first Finnish Pentecostal missionary abroad, Emil A. Danielsson, was allegedly very unsuccessful, leading the Finnish Pentecostals to focus on mission at home instead for the remainder of the period in question here.¹⁴³ Conversely, Pentecostals in the Netherlands were famously eager to send out their most able leaders as missionaries – and stagnated at home even more than in Denmark. This of course only goes some way towards explaining the difference in Pentecostal growth in these countries; by contrast, the Norwegian and Swedish Pentecostals were active in foreign mission *and* successful at home.¹⁴⁴ But whereas the Norwegian and Swedish Pentecostal movements can be said to have had a surplus of dynamic leaders, some of whom they then exported abroad as missionaries, the Danish Pentecostals did not have this luxury; they chose to relinquish some of their best instead. Some of these, notably Anna Lewini and Kristian Nielsén, even spent considerable time ministering in Sweden before going further afield. In this way, the Danish Pentecostals may well have surpassed other movements which were punching above their weight in this way, such as the Plymouth Brethren in 19th century England who are believed

¹⁴³ Westman et al., *Nordisk Missionshistorie*, 186–87. A more generous spin on this story is offered by Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, who bases his account in part on the aforementioned work (Kärkkäinen, ‘From the Ends’, 122). The fact remains that seemingly no Finnish Pentecostals were sent to other mission fields between 1912 and 1923

¹⁴⁴ Westman et al., *Nordisk Missionshistorie*, 221–23, 370; Bundy, *Visions*.

to have sent as many as one in one hundred believers out as missionaries.¹⁴⁵ Pentecostals made up a substantial proportion of Danish foreign missionaries.¹⁴⁶

It has been argued that the early Pentecostals ‘viewed themselves as members of a new *avant-garde* within the missionary field’, which perhaps made them overstate their distinctive identity.¹⁴⁷ The goal of mission – world evangelisation – was something they had in common with countless other contemporary groups. What marked them out were the additional means they used, in the form of gifts and miracles. That is not to say that they always remembered that the experience of being filled with the Spirit was not only for the personal edification of the individual, or that the outward manifestation of tongues was not just meant to be a criterion by which to judge who was a proper Pentecostal and who was not. But at the core of the original Pentecostal message, miracles and gifts were subordinate to the urgent task of mission.¹⁴⁸ And the eschatological urgency of the mission may have made Danish Pentecostals more likely to travel out as missionaries when they experienced stagnation and a lack of receptivity at home. The sentiment seems to have been that of Jesus’ earliest commission to the apostles: ‘If anyone will not welcome you or listen to your words, shake off the dust from your feet as you leave that house or town ... for truly I tell you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes’.¹⁴⁹ This took further energy out of the Pentecostal movement in Denmark, even if enthusiastic reports sent home from the mission field may have done something to make up for this. The Pentecostals who were left at home were struggling, because of a lack of competent leadership as described

¹⁴⁵ Allan McKinnon, ‘Historical Tensions in Brethren Mission in Tanzania’, 2, accessed 22 November 2016, https://www.academia.edu/10289046/Historical_Tensions_in_Brethren_Mission_in_Tanzania.

¹⁴⁶ In 1905, on the eve of the Pentecostal revival, it was estimated that there were a total of 25 Danish foreign missionaries (Olesen, *De frigjorte*, 560).

¹⁴⁷ Suarsana, ‘Inventing Pentecostalism’, 175.

¹⁴⁸ McGee, *Miracles*, xiii–xiv.

¹⁴⁹ Matthew 10:14, 23.

above, but also due to a refusal to move on from the embryonic, unorganised stage of the movement.

5.6 The rejection of organisation

... no ideal can be incorporated without the loss of some of its ideal character.

— H. Richard Niebuhr¹⁵⁰

The interaction between movements and institutions has been described by Italian sociologist Francesco Alberoni, building on and refining concepts from the fathers of sociology such as Weber and Durkheim. Alberoni develops a dichotomy of ‘regularly recurring patterns’ within which there are basically only ‘two states of the social’.¹⁵¹ A movement begins with a nascent state, and gradually runs its course until its members are again subsumed into the institutional state – but, if the movement has been successful, this will be a *new* institution, rather than simply a return to the old ones:

The group of people within which a nascent state has arisen invariably tries to introduce a way of life completely different from everyday customs and institutions. But in doing this, precisely in order to explore this possibility, it is obliged to assume a form, to acquire a structure. That is, at a certain point it must become a concrete and historical project and collide with the contingent concrete and historical forces, thus becoming, itself, an institution and a part of everyday life.¹⁵²

It is impossible for a movement to remain in the nascent state; it must either institutionalise – that is, attempt to transmit its ideal to an institution – or gradually die out.¹⁵³ But if we apply this model to early Danish Pentecostals, it is clear that many of them were unwilling to let go of the ‘free’, spontaneous, unorganised state in which the movement had begun – and precisely this unwillingness meant that for a long time few serious attempts to ‘prolong the

¹⁵⁰ Niebuhr, *The Social Sources*, 4.

¹⁵¹ Francesco Alberoni, *Movement and Institution*, trans. Patricia C. Arden Delmoro (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 3.

¹⁵² Alberoni, *Movement and Institution*, 21.

¹⁵³ Alberoni, *Movement and Institution*, 166–71.

nascent-state experience' were made. In Alberoni's terms, the 'internal tensions' remained unsolved and the 'external obstacles' unchallenged.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, as previously discussed, the leaders who attempted to take steps towards institutionalisation did not possess the necessary charismatic authority to carry it to completion.¹⁵⁵ This was not just the case for Sigurd Bjørner, but also for Philip Wittrock, H.J. Mygind, Asmus Biehl, and Victor Lorck. There was also no strong pressure from either church or state authorities to form a separate entity.¹⁵⁶

5.6.1 The unorganised state

An 'acephalous, reticulate organization' is good for Pentecostal growth – as concluded in Gerlach and Hine's sociological study. But a near-complete lack of organisation leads, among other problems, to a lack of visibility, leading in turn to a lack of 'real or perceived opposition'. The Danish Pentecostal movement missed out on this typical impetus for stronger dedication during the 1910s. There is some connection between this and the relative lack of emphasis on 'commitment experiences' or 'bridge-burning, power-generating acts', whether in the form of speaking in tongues or baptism in water, and the accompanying lack of 'dogmatic quality' or 'certitude', as described above.¹⁵⁷

As a result, it quickly began to be difficult to tell the Pentecostal movement apart from other, already institutionalised movements. Already in 1910 after Barratt left the leadership of the Colosseum assembly in Copenhagen to Mygind, Larssen, and Lewini, it was felt that the meetings had begun to resemble Methodism and put less focus on the distinctive practice of

¹⁵⁴ Alberoni, *Movement and Institution*, 171.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Alberoni, *Movement and Institution*, 185–95.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Plüss, 'Pentecostalism in Europe', 101.

¹⁵⁷ Gerlach and Hine, 'Five Factors'. It is more difficult to say anything predictive about the last factor mentioned herein: 'recruitment along lines of pre-existing significant social relationships'.

tongues.¹⁵⁸ The movement had become exposed to both apathy among its adherents and invisibility to outsiders. Without an effective, tight-knit organisation, it also became more susceptible to theological controversies such as the one over universalism, and to other quirks of its leaders, including unpredictable elements like problems in interpersonal relationships, such as between Mygind and Wittrock. By the late 1910s, Danish Pentecostals felt the survival of the movement was threatened, since prayer resulted in fewer miraculous experiences.¹⁵⁹

Institutionalisation – whether in the form of new institutions or conformity to the old ones – entails adaptation to the movement’s surroundings. For the Nordic Pentecostal movements, this specifically meant adaptation to the Lutheran church, leading also to more moderate views of sanctification,¹⁶⁰ as we have already seen above in the case of Asmus Biehl’s statement (5.3.1). It is possible that the rejection that the Pentecostals experienced early on from Evangelical and Holiness leaders could have made them even more eager to conform and become acceptable to these movements.¹⁶¹ Eventually the Pentecostals themselves would begin to reject the ecstatic enthusiasm typical of the nascent period.¹⁶²

One of the precursors to Alberoni’s dichotomy is the church-sect typology devised by Ernst Troeltsch, also on the basis of Weber’s thought. In his pioneering work on the Danish Pentecostal movement, Michael Neiiendam observed that the Pentecostals occupied an ambiguous space in between these two ideal types. Two years later, H. Richard Niebuhr gave

¹⁵⁸ *Sandhedsvidnet*, 5/4/1910, 28, quoted in Elith Olesen, ‘Pinsebevægelsen’, MS.

¹⁵⁹ *Korsets Budskab*, December 1919, 4.

¹⁶⁰ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement*, 116.

¹⁶¹ This is, mutatis mutandis, the central thesis of King, *Disfellowshipped*.

¹⁶² As seen e.g. from H. Clausen’s rejection of what he saw as a diabolical undercurrent within Pentecostalism (see 3.3.1), cf. a similar but later development in Norway, as described in Dahl and Rudolph, *Fra seier til nederlag*, 81–82.

a name to that intermediate type: the denomination.¹⁶³ But this halfway position is not equally easy to maintain in every context. William Kay has observed that ‘in those countries where there was a large Free Church sector (i.e. separate from the state), it was much easier for Pentecostals to become socially and religiously accepted. Here they might aspire to the *denominational* acceptance which Baptists and Methodists had eventually gained’. As already noted above, the existence of a wider variety of denominations in Sweden, Norway, and the United States, for example, had paved the way for the Pentecostal movement there. But since the Danish Pentecostals were also not subjected to much direct contempt in the period leading up to their denominational (or perhaps we should say: sectarian) turn, they did not feel ‘forced into *sectarian* stances’ to the same extent as in some other countries.¹⁶⁴ The Lutheran church in Denmark had a more absolute hegemony, and so it was harder to imagine leaving its orbit – most previous revival movements had not found this necessary. Conversely, the official church institutions were used to going to some lengths to accommodate such movements. The result was the prolonged – but unsustainable – unorganised state.¹⁶⁵

One aspect of nascent-state Pentecostalism that the early Danish Pentecostals found it especially hard to let go of was what I have described as the interdenominational strategy. Even those who were clearly pulling in a more denominational direction often paid lip service to this ideal, as late as 1919.¹⁶⁶ As discussed in the introduction to this study, this proto-ecumenical stance is widely seen as central to the early Pentecostal movement. But the ideal

¹⁶³ Neiiendam, *Frikirker og Sekter*, 3; Niebuhr, *The Social Sources*, 17–25. Niebuhr’s modified typology and its reliance on deprivation theory has also not gone unchallenged; see e.g. Albert G Miller, ‘Pentecostalism as a Social Movement: Beyond the Theory of Deprivation’, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 4, no. 9 (October 1996): 97–114; Gerlach and Hine, ‘Five Factors’.

¹⁶⁴ Both quotes from Kay, ‘A Sociological Perspective’, 389. Emphases original.

¹⁶⁵ Aspects of this line of argument have been presented in my contribution to the 9th GloPent Conference: Nikolaj Christensen, ‘The Early Pentecostal Movement in Denmark, 1907-1919’ (9th GloPent Conference, University of Uppsala, 2016), https://www.academia.edu/29591188/The_Early_Pentecostal_Movement_in_Denmark_1907-1919.

¹⁶⁶ As seen from the first issues of each run of the periodical *Korsets Budskab*, in 1913 and 1919 respectively (see 3.3.1; 4.2.2).

of creating a spiritual alliance across denominations largely faded as Pentecostalism emerged as a denomination of its own.

Nonetheless, it is possible to distinguish between these two processes. Interdenominationalism by itself did not hinder Pentecostal growth. Through his central assembly in Oslo, Barratt was able to organise the Pentecostal movement in Norway more effectively than the Danish Pentecostals did, even during his interdenominational period, though arguably this organising was part of what eventually led him away from the earlier ideal. By contrast, when Barratt began to shift his focus elsewhere around 1911, the interdenominational assembly that he had put great efforts into setting up in Copenhagen soon ceased to exist, without too much resistance (3.2.1). The most widely known personalities of Danish Pentecostalism by that point, Anna and Sigurd Bjørner, decided instead to manifest the interdenominational ideal through an itinerant ministry, visiting churches and meeting houses of a range of denominations, with little attempt at bringing those who responded to their message into any form of network or organisation. Even those local groups of Pentecostals who met regularly throughout the country often put great emphasis on being ‘free assemblies’, rejecting any formal organisation.

5.6.2 The institutional state

Pentecostal leaders in Sweden laboured patiently to bring the Danes round to their point of view, which seemed to have been vindicated by a stronger rate of growth and fewer doctrinal disputes (3.3; 3.5). After deciding to follow them, the Danish Pentecostals were confirmed in their decision by hearing reports from England, where there was not yet a ‘biblical pattern’ to guard against ‘false teachings’. According to Anna Lewini herself, such a pattern had to exclude the leadership of women, which was widespread there.¹⁶⁷ In England,

¹⁶⁷ *Korsets Seir*, 10/2/1922, 5.

interdenominational Pentecostalism had begun to unravel years earlier, in large part due to tensions over militarism and pacifism during WWI, but today's large national Pentecostal denominations had yet to be formed.¹⁶⁸

Much of the Pentecostal movement in Denmark soon went even further than the Swedes had intended and adopted the hierarchical, patriarchal, Apostolic model of organisation. Swedish Pentecostal leaders such as Lewi Pethrus were also not against *de facto* hierarchical structures, as long as they were centred on the leadership of a local (mega)church and its pastor.¹⁶⁹ In Pethrus' case, this meant his own leadership in Stockholm with a sphere of influence extending wider and wider until he became the world's most prominent Pentecostal, without any need for a formal apostolate. However, as already mentioned, Alberoni's theoretical framework demonstrates how charismatic authority continues to be important as a movement transitions towards an institution, or a hybrid movement-institution, preserving – at least on the surface – Pethrus' interpretation of Biblical (i.e., congregational) ecclesiology.

By contrast, the Apostolic wing of Pentecostalism, which relied on formal authority, had a track record of being schismatic, leading to infighting instead of growth. Under this I also include W.O. Hutchinson's church and others that split off from it separately from the AC. These may have been an even earlier influence on Denmark (see 4.2.1). Hutchinson was in the same vein as John Alexander Dowie – the 'high priest' and 'Elijah, the Restorer' of Zion City, Illinois – whose legacy, though important for early Pentecostalism, was problematic.¹⁷⁰ The AC has not been very successful elsewhere, including in the UK. According to William Kay, 'committees and procedures tended to multiply, and spiritual and numerical growth

¹⁶⁸ Cho, 'Move to Independence'; Walsh, *To Meet*; Massey, 'Sound and Scriptural', (279-86); Usher, 'For China', 262–63, 324–25; Gee, *Wind and Flame*, 125–30.

¹⁶⁹ Davidsson, 'Lewi Pethrus', 160.

¹⁷⁰ Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 586–87; Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 121–35; Wacker, *Heaven below*, 155–56.

slowed down'.¹⁷¹ Putting a more theological spin on this, Arnold Hitzer, a German Pentecostal pastor and former Lutheran, concluded: 'The system of ministries in the Apostolic Church hinders the true power of ministries truly instituted by God, and its false badges of office are an obstacle to them'.¹⁷² So the fact that a majority of Danish Pentecostal congregations chose this form of organisation helps explain why there was also no rapid Pentecostal-Apostolic growth in Denmark after 1924.

There are good reasons to challenge the simplistic, supposedly Weberian notion that religious movements sooner or later 'become mired in bureaucratic entanglements'.¹⁷³ Formal organisation has strengths as well – though especially, it seems, when combined with informal, organic, charismatic elements. The Norwegian writers Dahl and Rudolph write that, for the Pentecostal movement, an 'ordered congregational life' was 'the price they had had to pay' to avoid turbulence and 'deviations'. It was only then, they claim, that 'the fire began to flicker'.¹⁷⁴ This perception is also typical of early Danish Pentecostals who refused to organise. But at least in the latter case, the flames had begun to flicker long before that, and a formal organisation was the only way to keep the fire going, albeit in a changed form.

But, lastly, what about the later Charismatic renewalists? It seems they did not need to become denominational to be successful. However, perhaps they were more indebted to the classical Pentecostals than their own historiography admits. The concentration of Pentecostal spirituality in separate congregations may have been necessary before the discharge of this spirituality into the traditional churches. Much like the Charismatic movement, the classical Pentecostal movement began in an ambiguous relationship with the institutional church; in

¹⁷¹ Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 323.

¹⁷² A. Hitzer, *Die (sogenannte) Apostolische Kirche*, 7; translated and quoted in Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 193.

¹⁷³ Kay, 'A Sociological Perspective', 398.

¹⁷⁴ Dahl and Rudolph, *Fra seier til nederlag*, 81.

neither case was it a given that the movement would end up outside or inside the established church respectively.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ E.g., Jakob Thorsen has shown, drawing on Alberoni, that the Charismatic renewal in Guatemala was at first 'marked by its unclarified position vis-à-vis the church institution'. Only later was there a 'process of maturation and integration into the Church' (Jakob Egeris Thorsen, 'Charismatic Practice and Catholic Parish Life: A Qualitative and Theological Study of the Incipient Pentecostalization of the Church in Guatemala' 2012, 66).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

This study has contributed to multiple conversations: it has uncovered new ground in Pentecostal history, questioned widespread assumptions on the causes behind the lack of success for the so-called free churches in Denmark, and demonstrated that the dismissive attitudes towards religious minorities, which underlie these assumptions, are a deep-seated undercurrent in the European psyche – in this case, the Danish psyche – as argued by some recent theorists of secularisation. The study has also opened up several questions for further research, which I will outline at the end of this summary.

Historians of the Pentecostal movement, whether sympathetic or critical, have often focused on those areas where the Pentecostal movement was most successful. The early history of the Pentecostal movement in the United States, in particular, has been recounted in numerous historical works, from a wide variety of angles. The spread of the Pentecostal movement in the ‘third world’ or the ‘mission field’ has also been of great interest, not least to the Pentecostal movement’s own chroniclers, and later to ethnographers and anthropologists. Most historians of Pentecostalism speak English as their first or second language, which also means that the UK has been covered disproportionately well. Within continental Europe, the areas that have attracted the most attention are Sweden and to a lesser extent Norway and Finland, where the Pentecostal movement has been relatively successful.¹ However, it is important for a full understanding of Pentecostal history to also go beyond the success stories. Denmark is a useful case study for this purpose.

In many recent studies of early Pentecostalism, the traditional Azusa Street origin story of the movement has been overshadowed by theories of multiple origins. This study provides

¹ An important exception is Paul Fleisch who wrote on the Pentecostal movement in Germany as early as 1912-1914, with a revised history in 1957 in which he also showed willingness to recant some of his earlier critical judgements on the Pentecostal movement (Fleisch, *Die Pfingstbewegung*, see e.g. 273).

some evidence for the validity of both approaches. On the one hand, Danish Pentecostalism can clearly trace its origins to Azusa Street, in particular via the Norwegian Methodist minister T.B. Barratt's encounter with the Pentecostal message in New York. On the other hand, the Pentecostal movement was also part of a local genealogy of revival and renewal movements. There was historical continuity for good and bad: the connections with the earlier, radical fraction of the Holiness movement known as 'the released' soon put off many initial supporters.

The USA was of little significance to Danish Pentecostalism apart from indirectly at its inception. This is in great contrast to the Methodist Episcopal Church in Europe whose origins was closely linked to transatlantic migration, and which was under the oversight of American bishops until 1920. Despite purposefully searching this out, I have found little evidence that migration had any direct effect on early Danish Pentecostalism. American immigrants from other countries may have encouraged the growth of Pentecostalism in their home country in those cases where both the proportion of people who emigrated and the proportion of people who became Pentecostal were high – such as Sweden, Norway, or parts of southern Italy – but emigration alone does not guarantee Pentecostal growth, as the cases of Denmark and, emphatically, Ireland show. This should challenge any notion that Pentecostalism is simply an American export.

There was still a large transnational impact on the Pentecostal movement in Denmark, but this was principally from the neighbouring countries: Norway, Sweden, Germany, and Great Britain. This study has shown that Barratt's interest in Denmark and Copenhagen in particular was even stronger early on than previously thought. His authority over the earliest Pentecostal movement in Copenhagen was unchallenged: support for the Pentecostal movement hinged on whether or not someone favoured Barratt's ministry. But despite Barratt's undeniable

charisma, he was unable to singlehandedly propel the Pentecostal movement into success in Denmark. The local religious soil was simply not prepared for the Pentecostal experience in the same way as Norway and Sweden.

Some significant later developments that had been forgotten, even by the few history-writers, also highlight the transnational influence: Pentecostals in Germany influenced the separate emergence of Pentecostal groups in the southern third of Jutland with little or no connection to Copenhagen, but the early resistance to Pentecostalism in Germany also inspired some in Denmark. In the 1910s, Swedish Pentecostals wielded a great influence on those groups of Pentecostals in eastern Denmark who disregarded the most prominent leaders of the wider movement there and began to form independent churches. Such an assembly existed in central Copenhagen from as early as 1909, though it was only formally reorganised as a Pentecostal church in 1917 after several visits from Swedish Pentecostals. As a formally organised church, it was preceded by the congregation in suburban Lyngby, which likewise had strong Swedish connections, as well as other congregations in towns throughout the country. It was also a Swedish intervention that finally pushed the inter-denominational Pentecostals to embrace the denominational strategy, not least after the controversy over universal salvation during the late 1910s.

As for British influence on early Danish Pentecostalism, the most obvious example is the introduction of the Apostolic Church in Denmark during 1923-24, which resulted in a painful schism. The notion among the remaining Pentecostals that the AC was taking the Pentecostal movement in the wrong direction is understandable. However, there was also an earlier British influence in different forms, not least through the use of the Pentecostal Missionary Union's training college in London for the preparation of Danish foreign mission candidates. Even more importantly, the tent meetings held during Smith Wigglesworth's visit to

Copenhagen in 1921 may have been the most well-attended and successful Pentecostal meetings in Denmark ever. Danish Pentecostal and Apostolic leaders in turn influenced developments in France and Italy.

Through careful examination of the available evidence, I have been able to reconcile the two contradictory fragments of an origin story that have been promoted in the few historical accounts that have previously been published: one focusing almost exclusively on the Bjørners, another describing P.A. Hagemann and Jørgen Sørensen as the two first Pentecostal preachers in Denmark. Both of these are only a corner of the whole picture. On the one hand, the Bjørners certainly had a great symbolic significance, but they were also overtaken by developments beyond their control before they finally gave in and accepted the denominational form of organisation. The movement towards denominational Pentecostalism did not simply emanate from Copenhagen to the rest of the country. However, though Pentecostal groups elsewhere in the country were more tightly organised early on, even they were not necessarily uniform in their ecclesiology. The Bjørners became a symbol of unity for the Pentecostals with their baptism in 1919 – and a symbol of schism to former collaborators in the Lutheran and other churches. On the other hand, Sørensen and Hagemann may have been two of the first travelling *denominational* Pentecostal preachers – though later writers may also have confused Jørgen Sørensen with the Norwegian evangelist Harald Sørensen. But the actions of other individuals should not be written out of the story simply because they had not conformed to what classical Pentecostals have retrospectively seen as the authentic, denominational form of organisation, or the accepted view of water baptism or Spirit baptism.

The impetus to forget the pre-denominational stage of early Pentecostalism has not only come from Pentecostals themselves: their impact on other churches has been ignored by later historians. For example, the near-break up of the Danish Methodist Church over Pentecostal

influence during 1911-12 was perhaps too embarrassing to remember.² Even the later Charismatic movement among Danish Lutherans has tended to ignore its connection backwards in time, despite the clear parallels, and instead emphasised its transnational connections with Charismatic movements in other countries, not least the English-speaking world.

Since the details of this history had largely been obscured, there are also several largely forgotten pioneers whose slide into oblivion I have done my best to forestall. Among them are: Johanne Mollerup, the ‘mother’ of the early Danish Pentecostals; Anton Christensen, the first leader of the Pentecostal movement in Copenhagen; his successor, H.J. Mygind, and other missionaries from before 1912 who went to Syria, Russia, China, and Egypt;³ the Thomsen ‘sisters’, Frederikke and Frida, who brought the Pentecostal message to towns all over Denmark; the evangelist Kristian Nielsén, admittedly a greater part of Swedish than Danish Pentecostal history, but almost forgotten in the former as well; and other personalities who have mostly been forgotten, such as Philip Wittrock, Thorvald Plum, Carl Næser, Asmus Biehl, Nicolai Hansen, H. Clausen, and Victor Lorck. Furthermore, the impressive efforts of Danish Pentecostals in foreign mission have been ignored by historians of mission. Even the remarkable Anna Lewini is not a household name in such circles, and would be an obvious candidate for a biographical study, if more material on her work in Scandinavia and Sri Lanka can be uncovered.

This study offers a corrective to global Pentecostal history in that the early Pentecostal movement in Denmark – especially Copenhagen – was perhaps not primarily based on the lower socio-economic classes. Writing a genuine ‘history from below’ has turned out to be

² Something similar has been found for Swedish Methodist historiography; see Gäreskog, *Pingstväckelsen inom Metodistkyrkan*, 8.

³ To Syria (Lebanon) from Copenhagen, 1907/1911: the Mygind family along with Anna Mollerup, Betty Lavard, and Johanne Groth. To China from Lyngby, 1909: Karen Nilsen and the Larsens. To Moscow from Copenhagen, 1909: two unnamed young men. To Egypt via London, 1909/1913: Hans Thuesen.

almost impossible due to the limitations of the sources, so that most of the time only indirect inferences have been made. What can be stated with certainty is that Pentecostalism made an impression far beyond the working class, and that the leaders were not primarily from that class. The notion that Pentecostal growth was dependent on the material deprivation of its followers has been considered but is ultimately not sufficient to explain the differences in receptivity.

However, this study is not simply critical of theory-based approaches. It has been an express aim to avoid the pitfalls often present in works on Danish church history, which often use either no theory at all, resulting in less wider applicability,⁴ or imply a theoretical framework without acknowledging it, perhaps in an attempt to avoid scrutiny.⁵ A lack of methodology can result in various forms of determinism by default. Among these, both providential approaches and ‘Great Man’ theories should instead remind us to look for the historical roots of events. Is revival God’s sovereign response to prayer, or is that same outpouring of prayer a manifestation of a local concentration of those conditions that naturally enable an increase in religious enthusiasm? Perhaps this is a false dichotomy. Similarly, if we honour the achievements of exceptional individuals in history, we should remember to also honour those on whose shoulders they are standing.

Some types of explanations I have had to ignore, most notably the one sometimes used by Pentecostals themselves: that the lack of a breakthrough was due to moral failings on the part of their members or leaders.⁶ Since such statements are usually opaque regarding the details, I have not been able to verify or refute them. Consequently, I have not wished to propagate this

⁴ E.g. Olesen, *De frigjorte*, see p. 16 for his aversion to ‘pretentious theses’.

⁵ E.g. Lindhardt, *Vækkelse*.

⁶ E.g., Grove, *Pinsevækkelsen i Danmark*, 15–20; Due-Christensen, *Liv*, 29 (quoting Villy Hagstrøm).

idea without a sound basis. In any case, the most significant failings may only have occurred after the period in question here.⁷

Instead, due to its prevalence, I have had to grapple seriously with the conception that revivalism in one form exhausts the potential for revivalism in other forms. I must conclude that the idea is only useful in a mutated form: the earlier forms of revivalism let themselves be reined in and used as tools of the dominant church to suppress dissenters. This includes activist groups such as the Copenhagen Church Building Fund. The Danish alliance of state and church has for centuries done everything in its power to stall pluralism and voluntarism – since the mid-19th century not just with oppression but also with liberty, resulting in a limited form of pluralism and voluntarism within the state church. Without this qualification, the notion of market saturation is not only simplistic but the opposite of the truth. The fanciful notion that Grundtvigianism filled the gap that Pentecostalism filled elsewhere lacks any factual basis. David Martin notes that Evangelical movements survived separately from Pentecostalism in areas where the latter was preceded by other revivals, but this only explains the persistence of traditional Evangelicalism in Western countries – including Denmark – not the stagnation of the early Pentecostal movement.⁸

Instead, revivals give rise to more revivals, as happened in Norway, Sweden, and the United States. This is what I have called the ‘demand-side’ theory – acknowledging the role of individual believers as not only consumers of religious goods but producers and promoters. In this view, there is no need for free church movements to arrive out of thin air, or from the Anglo-American world. The ‘demand-side’ model is equivalent to the ‘historical roots’ approach. As this study has shown, the Pentecostal church in Denmark grew out of movements in the existing churches – albeit with the help of outside catalysts – and was itself

⁷ Lassen, *Tunger af ild*, 83.

⁸ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 40–42.

such a movement for a prolonged period before its denominational turn. But the Danish Pentecostals were caught between two loyalties. On the one hand, the Pentecostals' dependence on leadership from other countries meant that the long-term existence of an interdenominational Pentecostal movement – in particular contrast to Sweden and Norway – may have been impossible. On the other hand, the existing churches were not prepared to contain such a transnational and interdenominational movement, a movement whose final aim was to completely transform the face of the traditional churches.

The nation of Denmark has a longstanding difficulty with accommodating religious diversity. The fate of the early Pentecostal movement is a significant chapter in that story. 'Free churches' are looked on with suspicion – including by the authorities, the supposed guardians of religious freedom. They have often been described as 'sects' – a word which in Danish carries the same connotations as the English word 'cult'. In practice, the Pentecostals did not have complete freedom to organise in the most effective way, which hampered their growth. Instead, many of them tried to be 'salt and light' in the existing church institutions – but the notion that they could have a wider impact through the state church was probably illusory. Modernist radicals had already realised that the state church could be an instrument of secularism through the suppression of active piety. Far from King Christian IV's post-reformation motto, *regna firmat pietas*,⁹ the purpose of the modern state church is to validate the peculiar Scandinavian, secularised form of religion. Modern Lutheranism means justification by lack of faith. This inner secularisation is built on a foundation of worldly contentment – but more deeply on one of cultural and religious homogeneity, which underpins the solidarity of the welfare state. Accommodating diversity in society becomes a

⁹ 'Piety strengthens the realms'.

problem – especially when it comes to diversity of customs and beliefs. How can those who have no lack of faith be justified?

One might even begin to wonder whether secularisation in the sense of social differentiation is real – or whether we have just replaced the priests of medieval Christianity with the secular priests of modernity. ‘Rationalisation’ has already turned out to be a naïve prediction. Yes, a specialisation of authority has happened, at least when it comes to factual and technical matters. But society still looks to certain groups who have an overarching authority to be mediators of its destiny and agents of progress: politicians, artists of all kinds, and (other) celebrities.¹⁰ A suitably well-behaved ecclesiastic might even be allowed to take part too, as might a suitably eccentric scientist. Though the so-called Enlightenment purportedly relegated ‘values’ to the private sphere, it seems nonetheless that deviance from the currently accepted, modern values has become a much more frequent cause of outrage in Western ‘post-truth’ societies than the careless handling of facts. ‘Danish’, ‘British’, or some other Western ‘values’ all seem to stand for the same content. Their necessity for the cohesion of society has become apparent in the face of recent waves of immigrants, often with very different values, who are made to conform to ensure the continued cohesion of society.

However, diversity in Europe did not begin with non-Western immigration, as is often at least implicitly assumed. A better story needs to be told – not one of until recently uninterrupted homogeneity and conformity, but one of diverse popular movements. Denmark was already diverse when Pentecostalism arrived: the Evangelical Indre Mission, the nationalist Grundtvigians, and the secular radicals and socialists each had support from a considerable portion of the population and had very different visions for the nation. In each town, members of the four political parties each read different news in their different papers.

¹⁰ Note Barry Barnes’ distinction between ‘authorities-on’ (i.e., recognised experts on specific topics) and the more general authority to ‘require or perform an action’ (Barnes, ‘On Authority’, 185–87).

But these divisions were ameliorated through conformity with fundamental institutions such as the Lutheran church, which each faction had their own use for. By contrast, the religious diversity of Sweden, which included diversity of institutions and came to include Pentecostalism as a significant factor, may also after all have helped push the Swedish state towards a relatively more pluralistic policy towards religious minorities. This has in turn benefitted the religious immigrant communities of today.¹¹

If the view of total secularisation as the end point of all human development was misguided, instead the transition towards a genuinely pluralistic society becomes urgent. Recognising that religious diversity – and suppression of such diversity – is part of Europe’s own story would be a first step towards expanding our imagination for what the future of faith might look like. An increase of religious literacy at all levels of society is required.¹²

It is likely that the old established churches in Europe will play a decisive role in this transition towards greater toleration of religious differences.¹³ This will not simply mean more interfaith dialogue with, for example, the Muslim community. Many immigrants to Europe bring with them a Pentecostal or Charismatic faith. The promotion of mutual understanding between Pentecostal and other churches is already under way in some places – and of course, the existing Pentecostal churches have a responsibility to help bridge the gap between cultures.¹⁴ This adaptation to pluralism and learning from new churches is also in the interest of the old churches’ own survival, as noted by Peter Berger: ‘the capacity of a

¹¹ Davie, ‘Pluralism’, 225.

¹² Adam Dinham, ‘Grace Davie and Religious Literacy: Undoing a Lamentable Quality of Conversation’, in *Modernities, Memory, and Mutations: Grace Davie and the Study of Religion*, ed. Abby Day and Mia Lövhelm (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 45–58.

¹³ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Household of God: Lectures on the Nature of the Church* (London: SCM Press, 1953); Nils E. Bloch-Hoell, ‘Den lutherske kirke og pinsebevegelsen’, *Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke* 41, no. 2 (1970): 114–21; Jan-Åke Alvarsson, ‘Christianity in the South as a Challenge for Theology’, *Swedish Missiological Themes* 102, no. 2 (2014): 199–208; Christensen, ‘Pentecost for Others’.

¹⁴ Plüss, ‘Pentecostalism in Europe’, 99, 103, 106.

religious institution to adapt successfully to a pluralist environment will be closely linked to its capacity to take on the social form of the voluntary association'.¹⁵

To these ends, further scholarly work is required as well. Among the questions that might be suggested are: At what point did the Nordic states diverge in their approach to religious pluralism? Did variations in religious diversity mostly precede or follow from this? How does this compare to the contemporary encounter with Pentecostal and Charismatic immigrants?

Some questions surround the role of a dominant religious movement: Has the Danish Indre Mission been aware of its role as the unavoidable arbiter of incoming renewal movements? How did the movement's leaders understand their relationship with the government and state church authorities, and how does their approach compare with Evangelical groups in other countries?¹⁶ Did the leaders of the Indre Mission and associated Evangelical organisations in Copenhagen differ from national leaders, as they did in their emphasis on social work? Or were they aware of the potential of their work to reinforce the state church hegemony by drowning out the work of exogenous movements?

There are also questions more specific to the Pentecostal movement: Could actor-network theory help us understand the role of Barratt and other Pentecostal initiators as they attempted to spread the movement from a few hubs to all of Scandinavia, Europe, and the world?¹⁷ How did Pentecostals in northern Germany attempt to influence developments in southern Jutland, and how were these attempts received? How much did Danish Pentecostal missionaries in turn contribute to the spread of Pentecostalism globally? What could be learnt from comparative and transnational studies of European Pentecostalism? This study has raised

¹⁵ Berger, 'Pluralism', 24; see also Anderson, *Vision*, 236–37; Østergaard, 'Lutheranism', 93.

¹⁶ The period concerned in this study falls in a gap of the Indre Mission's history between Kurt E. Larsen's monographs on presidents Beck and Bartholdy. There is a need to bridge this gap and continue Elith Olesen's work charting the clash of home-grown revivals and foreign influences.

¹⁷ Dieter Quick's forthcoming work on power-relations in Pentecostal ministry could provide theoretical background for such a study.

several issues that might be compared across national borders: the influence of immigrants in the US on their former countrymen; the importance of Pentecostal publishing; encounters with secular authorities and professions, such as law and medicine; views of Spirit baptism, tongues, worship, or the role of women that differed from US-American Pentecostals; the link between the interdenominational strategy and a lack of existing free churches; the link between believers' baptism and separation from traditional churches; and the link between controversies over universalism and the development towards denominationalism. What lessons does the story of early European Pentecostalism hold for sociologists as well as for Christian ecumenists and missiologists?

Furthermore, the later Charismatic renewal movement also developed differently in Denmark compared to the other Nordic countries, but in the opposite direction compared to early Pentecostalism, resulting in numerous distinctively Charismatic (though often still Lutheran) congregations in Denmark, whereas the 'renewal' is more closely integrated within traditional movements and parish churches in, for example, Norway. Which approach has resulted in the greater impact? And how has the reaction of other church leaders to the Charismatic movement influenced the choice of approach? Did the existing Pentecostal movement enable the Charismatic movement to flourish in some way, and did the Charismatics deliberately hide their Pentecostal connections and legacy?

This study has laid a foundation from which scholars can draw, should they choose to pursue these unanswered questions. It has also answered the main question it set out to address: the Pentecostal movement in Denmark stagnated so quickly after the flame was lit, despite repeated attempts to make it flare up, because the fire had not been prepared by sufficiently compatible pre-existing religious movements, and because the space it found

itself in did not leave it enough air for it to burn within the hearts of its adherents in an all-consuming, all-transforming, uncompromising, undifferentiating, and self-perpetuating blaze.

Appendix A: Correlation of emigration and Pentecostal growth

In the following table I compare US census data from 1910 on country of birth¹ with David du Plessis's estimates of the number of Pentecostals by country in Europe around 1957, on the eve of the Charismatic renewal, at which point any long-term effects should be manifest.²

<i>Country</i>	<i>Emigrants in US, 1910</i>	<i>Emigrant ratio</i>	<i>Pentecostals, 1957</i>	<i>Pentecostal ratio</i>
Austria	626,341	2.2%	2,000	0.03%
Belgium	49,400	0.7%	3,500	0.04%
Bulgaria	22,108	0.5%	7,000	0.09%
Czechoslovakia	219,214	1.6%	700	0.01%
Denmark	181,649	6.6%	8,000	0.17%
Finland	129,680	4.4%	30,000	0.67%
France	117,418	0.3%	25,000	0.06%
Germany	2,311,237	3.6%	60,000	0.08%
Great Britain	1,221,283	3.0%	60,000	0.11%
Greece	101,282	3.8%	1,000	0.01%
Hungary	495,609	2.4%	5,000	0.05%
Iceland	3,000	3.5%	1,000	0.56%
Ireland	1,352,251	30.8%	1,000	0.03%
Italy	1,343,125	3.9%	100,000	0.20%
Luxembourg	3,071	1.2%	0	0.00%
Netherlands	120,063	2.0%	2,000	0.02%
Norway	403,877	16.9%	30,000	0.84%
Poland	937,884	3.6%	20,000	0.07%
Portugal	59,360	1.0%	2,000	0.02%
Romania	65,923	0.9%	50,000	0.29%
Russia/USSR	1,184,412	0.9%	600,000	0.29%
Spain	22,108	0.1%	300	0.00%
Sweden	665,207	12.0%	120,000	1.66%
Switzerland	124,848	3.3%	5,000	0.09%
<i>All countries</i>	11,760,350	2.4%	1,133,500	0.19%

¹ US Census Bureau. *Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population, With Geographic Detail Shown in Decennial Census Publications of 1930 or Earlier*, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html> (accessed 10/9/2015).

² Published in Ski, *Fram til urkristendommen*, II:194. Slightly updated and in some cases more generous estimates from du Plessis were published the following year in Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought*, 361. In a few cases, Hollenweger provides some more cautious estimates (e.g. Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, I:27, II:1820, 1972, 2005); however, du Plessis's estimates form the earliest comprehensive statistic of which I am aware. Both sets of ratios in the table are calculated by dividing the numbers in the preceding column with the nearest census data for each country as found in Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, ed., 'A1 EUROPE: POPULATION OF COUNTRIES AT CENSUSES', in *International Historical Statistics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9781137305688.0582>.

These numbers are represented graphically in figure (a) below, with a zoomed-in version in figure (b). There is a noticeable correlation between the rates of emigration and Pentecostalism, as shown with a dashed line, ignoring the extreme outlier of Ireland.³ Mathematically speaking, the Pearson correlation coefficient (ρ) is 0.75 (where 1 indicates complete positive correlation and 0 indicates no correlation) with a p -value of less than 1%, suggesting that the correlation is unlikely to be coincidental.

Correlation does not, of course, require causation or offer any definite proof. In this case, correlation could also simply indicate that both rates are determined by the same factor, such as relative economic strength or lack thereof. It seems, however, that GDP per capita⁴ is less strongly correlated with either of emigration and Pentecostalism – as seen in figures (c) and (d) – than the two are with each other. For emigration, I use a simplified version of Lewer and Van den Berg’s ‘gravity model’,⁵ ignoring factors such as population size, geographical distance, and the ‘pull factor’ of compatriots already present in the destination country. This results in the following equation:

$$\log(\text{emigration ratio}) = a_0 + a_1 \log(\text{GDP per capita})$$

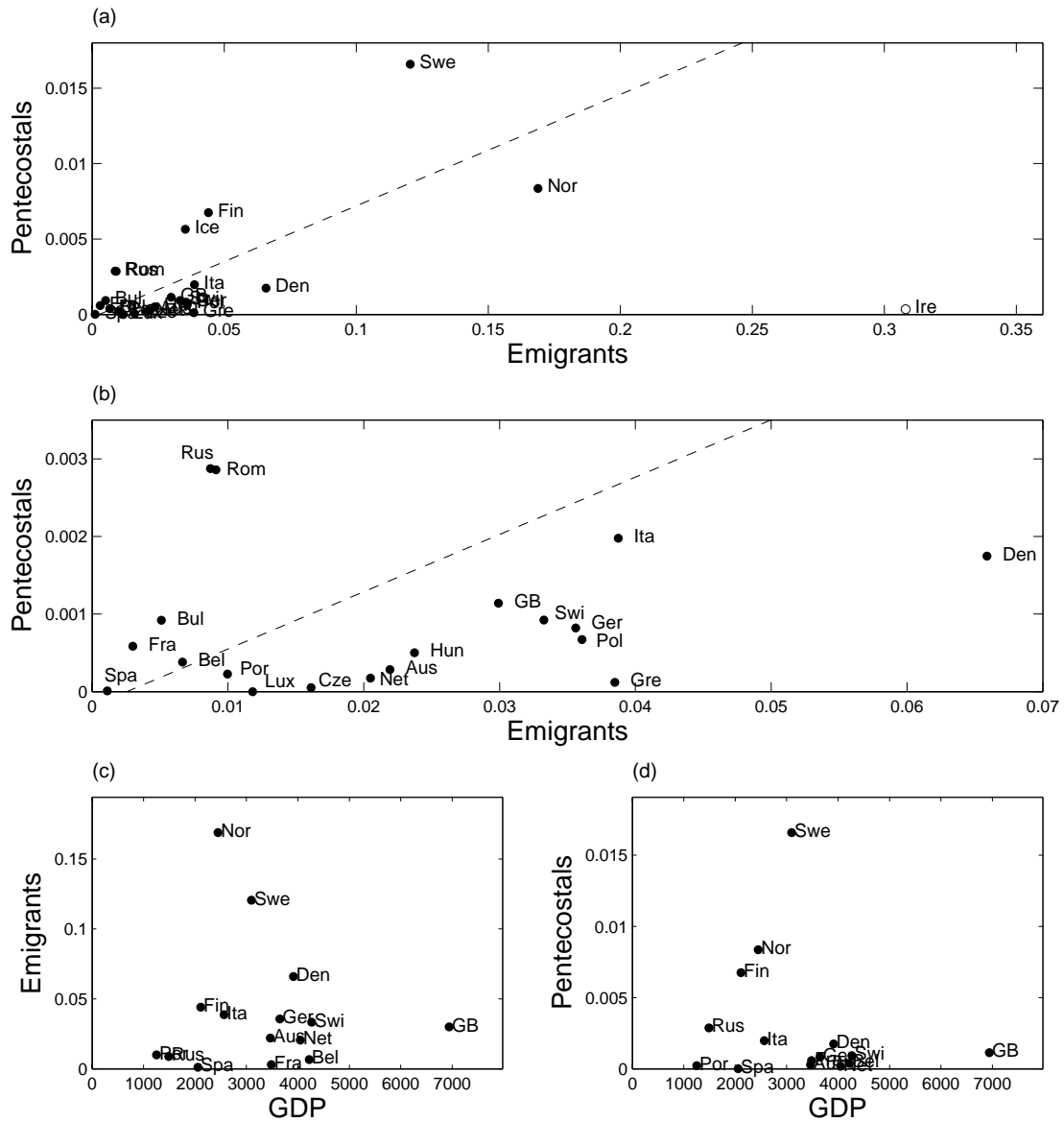
This gives a correlation between emigration and GDP of $\rho = 0.22$ with a p -value of 43%. For Pentecostalism and GDP, the coefficient is $\rho = -0.19$ (indicating a relatively weak negative correlation) with a p -value of 49%. For comparison, using only the countries for which GDP data is also available, the correlation of emigration and Pentecostalism is even stronger than for the longer list of countries, with $\rho = 0.78$ and still a p -value of $< 1\%$. Even if

³ Catholicism in Ireland has historically been closely allied to a strong but embattled ‘peripheral’ nationalism. This ‘impacted solidarity’ should not be expected to be ‘at all sympathetic to religious pluralism and evangelical or Pentecostal incursion’ (Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 32). A comparative study of religion among the large communities of Irish, Italian, German, and Polish Catholics in the US could be highly stimulating.

⁴ Using the GDP per capita in 1913 for 15 mainly Western European countries (which do not include Ireland as a separate country) found in Maddison, *Contours*, 382.

⁵ Joshua J. Lewer and Hendrik Van den Berg, ‘A Gravity Model of Immigration’, *Economics Letters* 99, no. 1 (April 2008): 164–67, doi:10.1016/j.econlet.2007.06.019.

including Ireland in the larger group, the correlation between emigration and Pentecostalism is the strongest: $\rho = 0.33$ with a p -value of 11%.



Moreover, economic strength also entails more international trade, and therefore more contact across the Atlantic and elsewhere, which could have stimulated Pentecostal growth. For example, the contacts that Thorvald Plum formed through the butter trade gave him a network in the UK and other countries which constitutes an important part of his significance as a Pentecostal figure in Denmark.

All in all, these statistics indicate that it is somewhat likely that emigration was a factor for the growth of Pentecostalism. However, note that in figure (a), the proportions of Pentecostals in Sweden, Finland, and even Iceland are some way above the trend line, whereas Denmark is well below the trend, with Norway also below but relatively closer to the line. Looking at the proportional distance from the trend line, this limited set of data might suggest that Danish emigrants were relatively less likely to become Pentecostal than other Scandinavian or indeed Italian emigrants, or at least less likely to influence developments in the homeland. The numbers are, of course, somewhat uncertain, and it should be noted that du Plessis may not have included the Apostolic Church in his statistic for e.g. Denmark. Counting this in might as much as double the number of Danish Pentecostals, which would then put Denmark closer to the trend line, but still below.⁶

It has also been claimed that Evangelicals of all kinds are more mobile and likely to migrate than other people.⁷ Others have been satisfied to state that most emigration was not directly determined by religion, which does not contradict the observation that strongly religious people may have been more likely to emigrate for ostensibly secular reasons.⁸ A more developed theory might state that 19th century Evangelicalism was a factor in determining both the growth of emigration and Pentecostalism (see 1.4; 5.3), and emigration in turn strengthened the effect on Pentecostal growth by creating transatlantic contacts.

⁶ Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, II:1346, 1350.

⁷ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 23–24, 36–37, 47.

⁸ Hvidt, *Flight to America*, 146.

Appendix B: 'A Testimony' by Asmus Biehl, 1910

Since the making of a personal testimony to one's position is invited in 'Korsets Seir', I will request br. Barratt to make room for the following:

I am convinced that the so-called 'Pentecostal movement' is from God, and despite the allegation that it is causing divisions among God's children, I believe that it is as it were a signal to gather, not under a party, but under the banner of Jesus alone. That the proclamation of the word of God is accompanied by more or less resistance, and division in proportion to whether it is proclaimed with the proof of Spirit and power, of that is testified after all in the progress of the kingdom of God all over the earth and at all times.

My eye has certainly not been closed to the misconduct that has taken place within the movement, yet this can in my opinion not be held against the movement, but there the individual must recognise his or her responsibility. And that the enemy especially seeks to disturb this work of God cannot surprise anyone, for it will be an end of his kingdom, as the cover of partiality and human doctrines is torn away, and the old treasures are brought out into the light by the gospel.

For exactly this has been a proof for me that the movement is from God, that the word of God comes out and proves its power, and thereby becomes a hammer that shatters, but also a balm that heals. And we are in need of such a message. God must first tear up the plants that are not planted by Him; the heart must be prepared for the filling of the Holy Spirit, and there is much that must be laid on the altar before God can reveal his glory. (Is. 40:3-5) The human heart is after all in itself a desert, until the Spirit is released from on high, (Is. 32:14-18).

I personally have reaped great blessing from this rousing voice from God, and more than ever before it has become clear to me that in Christ is given a complete and full restoration to live a victorious and fruitful life by the power of the Holy Spirit, and that the baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire is the answer to a complete surrender to God. I have previously known the blessing of the finished work of Jesus, and the God's Spirit had shown me that one cannot under one's own power reach attain the status of a child, where there is no condemnation, but where one finds oneself cleansed by the blood of Jesus Christ and liberated through God's living Spirit; but I saw in addition that God had a fuller blessing, an all-conquering power to resist all temptations by faith, and to live a life in the love of Christ and constant communion with the Father and the Son, and where it is no longer I who live, but He who has died and risen again for us.

Jesus has, after all, not only given himself as a sin-offering to wipe out our sins, (Exod. 29:14); — I praise God that my sins were wiped out by His sacrifice on Golgotha, — but He has also given himself to me as a burnt-offering, (v. 18), so that I have been *sanctified* by His sacrifice (Hebr. 10:10). This had become my realisation; but in addition I have seen that if this burnt-offering should benefit me, then I must — as the priests in the old covenant laid their hands on the sacrificial animal's head thereby to express their part in the sacrifice — also lay myself on the altar as a burnt-offering, before God could answer with his fire. The blood was put on the priest's earlobe and on his thumb and on his big toe, and his vestments were sprinkled with the blood and the anointing-oil, to sanctify him through that for the service of Jehovah (v. 20, 21), and he stretched out his hand to receive the different gifts, (v. 24), and use them before the face of the Lord.

In my understanding the meaning of this model was that we give ourselves up to God by faith, experience the cleansing power of the blood, and receive the Holy Spirit and the gifts that God has

intended for us, and in this way I have also reached out by faith to receive the gift of God's Spirit and the accompanying signs, and I will thank Him that He has answered me.

There was another glorious side to the burnt-offering. After v. 24 and 25 the priest had to give all that he had received back, so that it could be sanctified and used according to God's will, and this sacrifice is mentioned in v. 22 as a ram of filling or consecration. And here lies a precious secret. It became clear to me that we can only use the gifts in the right way by again laying them on the altar, in order to have nothing in ourselves, but all fullness in *Jesus* alone, and to be consecrated to Him, in order to be guided by His Spirit. Then we receive *with Jesus* the eternal rights (v. 28), that are granted us on Golgotha, and there will be thank-offering (v. 28) in our life to Him, in whom God has granted us everything, and it becomes precious to stand with open hands and open hearts as those who receive all by grace. And He who did not spare his only begotten Son, but gave Him up for us, how should He not grant us all things with him? I am glad that now I can stand on the foundation of God's word, and all promises that are true in Jesus will also be true in us, (1 John 2:8), provided that we go the way that God in his word has shown us. And then the same will happen to us as to the first churches, that God will give us the gifts of grace thereby to glorify Christ and serve one another.

I will thank my God, because He let the same signs follow as on the feast of Pentecost, and because I can praise Him in new tongues. I have known a deep blessing in my life through speaking in tongues. It has for me been just as a bell with a pure and heavenly sound that has constantly directed me to Jesus and to have all my springs in Him, and also to expect a greater filling of His Spirit and more gifts of grace, in order to be a blessing through that as his Spirit leads me. And it is my conviction that where the gifts of the Spirit are used according to God's will, that is in the love of Christ, there the streams of grace will flow.

We have this treasure (the Spirit of the Lord) — 2 Cor. 3:17 and 4:7 — in clay jars, that the extraordinary power shall not be from us, but from God, and we shall realise that all abundance in Christ. And it is therefore the work of the Holy Spirit to exalt and glorify Him as our life and our all. May all God's people come to the realisation that this is the way to unity, for here we are bound together with a bond of perfection, the love of Christ, which seeks not its own but which forgives and bears with others' weaknesses, which never ceases but stays firm through all the storms and temptations of life, because it only wishes to do the good and acceptable and perfect will of God. And despite the different positions and tasks it connects all those who have received the same Spirit, and breaks down all dividing walls that the flesh has built, to build us up in Jesus Christ to be a temple to God that He can fill with his glory.

My longing and prayer is that God may gain more room in my life by his Spirit, so that I may be rooted and established in His love, (John 15:9).

The world waits for the revealing of the sons of God (Rom. 8:19), and the time has come that judgement must begin from the house of God. Many children of God understand that God in our days has let a call go out to his people to wake up and put on its strength and its beautiful garments, to shake itself from the dust, loose the bonds from its neck and receive the redemption that is granted us without money and payment, freely and undeservedly, (Is. 52:1-3).

Brotherly greetings from

A. Biehl.

Copenhagen 26-1-1910.¹

¹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/3/1910, 38. Emphases original. For my analysis, see 5.3.1.

Appendix C: ‘What We Believe and Teach’ by Anna Bjørner, 1920

Anna Larssen Bjørner, 1920¹

W.O. Hutchinson, W.O. Hutchinson, W.O. Hutchinson,
1910² ~1913³ ~1914⁴

I gather together what we believe and teach
in the following points:

WHAT WE
BELIEVE AND
TEACH.

WHAT WE
BELIEVE AND
TEACH.

What the Apostolic
Faith Church
Believe and Teach.
THE APOSTLE’S
DOCTRINE.
(ACTS II. 42)

Firstly:

Teaching:—

Teaching:—

Repentance,
Confession and
Restitution;

Repentance,
Confession and
Restitution;

CONVICTION OF
SIN, REPENTANCE,
RESTITUTION AND
CONFESSION.

...

1. We believe and teach that we are saved
solely by the blood of Jesus Christ, the
Son of God, poured out for our sins.
(Acts 4:12; Matt. 26:28; 1 Pet. 1:18-
19.)

Justification
by faith in
the Lord
Jesus;

Justification
and
Sanctificati
on by faith
in the Lord
Jesus (*i.e.*
Death
Union with
Christ at
Calvary);

JUSTIFICATION
AND
SANCTIFICATI
ON.
Through faith
in the finished
work of our
Lord Jesus
Christ on
Calvary ...

Secondly:

2. That by the same blood we have
healing, when we are sick.
(Isa. 53:4; Matt. 8:18; 1 Pet 2:24.)

3. That we as those who are dead with
Christ must be buried in the water of
baptism in the name of the Father, the
Son and the Holy Spirit, as our pledge
of a clear conscience towards God and
our confession before the world.
(Rom. 6:4; Matt. 28:19; 1 Pet. 3:21.)

Water Baptism
by Immersion;

Water Baptism
by Immersion;

¹ Bjørner, *Hvad vi tror*, 57–59. Translation my own.

² *Showers of Blessing*, No. 1 (January 1910), 5.

³ *Showers of Blessing*, No. 11 (undated, ca. 1913), 9.

⁴ *Showers of Blessing*, No. 12 (undated, ca. 1914), 9-10, repeated in No. 13 and 15.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 4. That by the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus we have been made free from serving under the yoke of sin, and that He is mighty to 'keep us from falling', when we are walking in the light and the blood of Jesus is allowed to purify us from all sin and unrighteousness.
(Rom. 8:2; Jude 24; 1 John 1:7-9.) | Sanctification,
that act of Grace
through which
the Blood of
Jesus cleanses us
from all sin and
makes holy; | | |
| 5. That the baptism of the Holy Spirit, in the same way as we read that the first Christians experienced it, is for us and should be desired and received if we are to be able to put on the full armour of God and 'withstand in the evil day, having done all'.
(Acts 2:4; Eph. 5:18, 6:10-18.) | the Baptism
of the Holy
Ghost as
received on
the day of
Pentecost
(Acts ii. 4), | the Baptism
of the Holy
Ghost as
received on
the day of
Pentecost
(Acts ii. 4), | THE BAPTISM
OF THE HOLY
GHOST, |
| 6. That all the gifts of the Spirit, as they are mentioned in 1 Cor. 12:7-10, should continually be found in the churches according to the word of Jesus Christ and the Apostle Paul.
(Mark 16:17-20; John 14:12; 1 Cor. 14:1; 13:8-12.) | with signs
following (Mark
xvi. 17); | with signs
following (Mark
xvi. 18); | WITH THE SIGN OF
NEW TONGUES.
... |
| 7. That as saved and baptised one should belong to a congregation ordered according to the Biblical pattern.
(Acts 2:41; 14:24; 1 Tim. 3:2, 8, 15; Eph. 4:18.) | Divine
Healing; ⁵ | Divine
Healing; | DIVINE
HEALING—
FOR THE
BODY.
... |
| 8. That communion or the breaking of bread is a congregational meal: that is, only for those who are saved and baptised.
(Acts 2:41-42; 20:7.) | the Lord's
Supper; | the Lord's
Supper; | THE BLOOD OF
JESUS. <i>Pleading
and Sprinkling.</i>
...
THE GIFTS OF THE
HOLY GHOST.
...
ETERNAL
PUNISHMENT, <i>for</i> |

⁵ Cf. item number 2 of Bjørner's statement.

			<i>the Unbelieving.</i> ⁶
			...
9. That the second coming of Jesus Christ is near according to the prophecies of Scripture, and in line with what the Holy Spirit is testifying in the churches throughout the world through prophecy and the interpretation of tongues. (Rev. 3:11; 22:12, 17, 20; 1 Thess. 5:6.)	the soon coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.	the soon coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.	THE SOON COMING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. ...
10. And that there is an 'eternal judgement', an eternal separation from God for all those who do not receive Jesus Christ as their saviour. (Heb. 6:2; 9:27; Rev. 14:11; 20:15; 22:15.)			THE MILLENNIUM REIGN. ... TITHES AND OFFERINGS. ... ORDINANCES. <i>Water Baptism by Immersion.—</i> ... THE LORD'S SUPPER. <i>Fellowship and Breaking of Bread.</i> ... <i>We believe also, in ...</i>

What follows in Hutchinson's longer statement seems more like a separate, appended statement that may have been a contribution of the Welsh members (it reads in part like an early version of their 'Eleven Tenets'), listing Holy Scripture, the Trinity, the depravity of human nature, the incarnation, the atonement, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection,

⁶ Cf. item number 10 of Bjørner's statement; Hutchinson's longer statement here does not contain any particular similarities to Bjørner's.

and (again) the ‘coming of our Lord Jesus Christ to judge the quick and the dead; the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked’. Hutchinson’s statement was later developed into a separate booklet in 1916 around the time that the Welsh congregations broke away. Elements of the appended statement were still incorporated into Hutchinson’s after the split.⁷

In my judgement, Bjørner’s statement shows stronger similarities with the earliest form of Hutchinson’s statement. All but the first of Hutchinson’s eight points have a direct equivalent in Bjørner’s statement, in almost the same order – and she would hardly have rejected his first point of ‘Repentance, Confession and Restitution’ either. Both emphasised the blood of Christ, including with reference to sanctification.⁸ In the later statements sanctification and water baptism no longer appear in the same order.

Bjørner’s statement has no equally obvious overlap with the ‘Eleven Tenets’ of the AC, which were only available in Welsh (in their complete form) until 1920.⁹ There is also not a strong similarity to T.B. Barratt’s statement of faith from 1911,¹⁰ nor to his later version from 1919, which was instead reproduced in the Danish Pentecostal periodical *Korsets Budskab*.¹¹ For further discussion of the possible link between Hutchinson and Bjørner, see 4.2.1.

⁷ *Showers of Blessing*, No. 22, 1917, 9; White, *Word of God*, 287–88.

⁸ See also Cho, ‘Move to Independence’, 119–20.

⁹ Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, II:1730–32; Burgess and van der Maas, *New International Dictionary*, 322–23.

For an analysis of the Welsh Apostolic leader D.P. Williams’ departures from Hutchinson’s original formulation, see Worsfold, *Origins*, 102–7; and for background, see 91–95, 188–90.

¹⁰ *Korsets Seir*, 1/1/1911, 1, also reprinted in Hollenweger, *Handbuch*, II:1964.

¹¹ *Korsets Seir*, 1/9/1919; *Korsets Budskab*, October 1919, 1–2; continued November 1919, 1–2.

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¹ Available digitally from the Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Archive, University of Southern California (<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll14>, accessed 25/6/2016).

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