

Organizing Revival

The story of how the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the Norwegian Pentecostal movement sought to facilitate for growth.

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Most of our knowledge is the fruit of people who laboured to explore the depth of God and nature. We owe them and the next generation to continue exploring.

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My apologies. If you came across this paper and did not find your name on the lists, I'm truly sorry, it must have slipped my mind. Consider yourself thanked.

Abstract

Revival is God's work. I don't think we can organize for revival. However we can pray and do our best in removing possible roadblocks, but from revival history we learn that revival is God's work. My title for this paper could give an impression that my focus would be the preparing part for revival, it's not.

Revival is messy. The pastors, the preaching, the people, the phenomena makes up a mix of human involvement in the revival. In spite of all shortcomings of the human involvement, revival still happens and has contributed to an exceptional growth in the church worldwide. My paper is not looking at that either.

Revival has been the beginning for many churches and denominations. That's what this paper will look into. The Norwegian Pentecostal movement (NPM) and the International Church of the Foursquare gospel (ICFG)¹ are fruits of revival. The title "Organizing revival" indicates that I will take a closer look at how these two movements sought to facilitate for growth in the midst of and in the aftermath of revival.

My research endeavours to find the roots of how the organizations sought to organize themselves to preserve the fruits of the revival and what we might be able to learn from this.

To find answers in my research I have combined reading a lot of relevant literature covering historic documentation, theology, and organizational models related to the topic. It has also been my privilege to meet and interview key people who have been able to cast some light to how it all happened. The people mentioned in the acknowledgments have been vital in bringing pieces to the puzzle.

Both organization solved the challenge to keep the harvest in different organizational models. We know that organization is not the only way to keep the fruits of revival, but it is definitely one of the key factors in caring for people and to move them forward in discipleship.

¹ The abbreviation ICFG will sometimes be interchanged with Foursquare or FSQ.

Abbreviations

AOG Assemblies of God

DLT Discipleship Leadership Training

EPEA Echo Park Evangelistic Association

FSQ Foursquare

FSQN Foursquare Norway

ICFG The International church of the Foursquare Gospel

MELM Modified Episcopal Leadership Model.

NPM Norwegian Pentecostal movement

NT New Testament

OT Old Testament

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1 Introduction

“Organizing revival” is the story of how the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the Norwegian Pentecostal movement sought to facilitate for growth.

Through this paper, I will attempt to find what gave the inspiration to the leadership models that developed during the ongoing revival in the formation stage of the movements at hand.

1.1 Background

Revival is fascinating; it can be studied from multiple angles and directions. In my research, I will in particular focus on one area that came to the surface after the ministry of John Wesley (1703-91) and George Whitefield (1714-70). They were powerful instruments during the Great Awakening (ca 1734-1743).² Their ministries had many similarities in preaching style, message, open-air meetings and big crowds of listeners, but one thing in particular was different – the results after the dust settled. George Whitefield said towards the end of his life:

“My brother Wesley acted wisely – the souls that were awakened under his ministry he joined in classes, and thus preserved the fruits of his labour. This I neglected and my people are a rope of sand.”³

The fruits of revival can be preserved in many different ways, the classes that Wesley arranged was an obvious one. Elmer Towns in his book “*The Ten Most Influential Churches of the past Century*” mentions other ways to preserve growth;

the House church movement in China, the Cell groups in Yoido Full Gospel church (Seoul Korea), the new church culture in Calvary Chapel (Costa Mesa California), the Sunday school evangelism (First Baptist church, Dallas Texas) and most recently the Parise and worship services (Hillsong Church, Sydney Australia) as other examples of keeping the harvest.⁴

² Tracy, *The Great Awakening* (Pennsylvania, USA: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1842 and 1976). P, 1, 12.

³ Henderson, *John Wesley's class meetings* (KY, USA: Rafiki books, 1997). P, 30.

⁴ Towns, *The 10 Most Influential Churches* (Shippenburg, PA 17257-0310, USA: Destiny Image, 2014).

The two movements I endeavour to research have common background in the waves of the Azusa revival in 1906. They were influenced and united by the phenomenology, the message and the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The two movements also differ in many aspects and among them is that they found different ways of organizing themselves for the greater good of the harvest. None of this came out of a vacuum, but different circumstances played an important role in how they would organize themselves. I hope to find what were the outside-, inside- and doctrinal motives to the models they chose. In addition, I endeavour to see how the models served the purpose of preserving the growth in order to forward the church.

1.2 Statement of the problems

How did the Norwegian Pentecostal movement and Foursquare organize themselves to facilitate for growth?

What were the main factors for their models?

Have the models served its purpose?

1.3 Material

I have not been able to find one book or a person who has been able to get to the quick answer to my inquiries. It has been an elaborate jigsaw puzzle with numerous conversations and even more books to read as a follow-up after the conversation. Some books have been read from cover to cover while others have been speed read in search for answers.

The Swedish Pentecostal movement have in recent years made a considerable effort to gather and preserve the historical documents that were part of the formation of the movement. Since 2004 pastor Bertil Carlsson and his wife, Anna-Britta initiated “Insamlingsstiftelsen för Pingstforskning”.⁵ Multiple books have been published and a lot of their material is digitalized as well.

Foursquare have for many years had their Archives led presently by Steve Zeleny. Large parts of their historical documents are digitalized and available for research.⁶ Besides that Echo Park

⁵ www.pingst.se

⁶ www.foursquare.org

Evangelistic Association (EPEA) presently led by Sterling Brackett has done an outstanding effort to preserve the sermons and writings of Aimee Semple McPherson.⁷ Aimee founded EPEA in 1921 to publish all her writings and it had a central function in all her ministry throughout her life.

1.4 Methodology

Finding the answers to my statements of problem combines different methods to reach the desired outcome. It will in part include some historical research, some comparative study, to some extent a systematic theological reflection and finally organizational elaboration. These four methodological approaches will be weaved in throughout the whole paper.

1.5 Research aim

My research attempts to find the answer to how the Norwegian Pentecostal movement and Foursquare organized themselves to facilitate for growth and to identify the main factors for their models.

1.6 The paper at a glance

FSQ came about because of a revivalist that had built up a momentum of growth through her years on the road with revival meetings.⁸ Her name was Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944). She came out of the ambers of the Azusa street revival (1906-09), not that she attended the revival personally, but she was attending the William H. Durham's (1873-1912) ministry together with her husband Robert Sample (1881-1919) before they went to Hong Kong in 1910. Durham attended the meetings in Azusa in 1907, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and spoke in tongues. He also received a prophesy from William J. Seymore (1870-1922) regarding his ministry.⁹ This was Aimee's background and set the tone for her ministry. Aimee was granted ordination by three different denominations¹⁰ almost at the same time due to her popularity, but did not plan to start a new denomination. She was interdenominational in her

⁷ www.echoparkevangelicassociation.org

⁸ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). She had revival campaigns across USA from 1915-1923.

⁹ Riss, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (William H. Durham)* (eds. Burgess and Van Der Maas; Grand Rapids Michigan: Zondervan, 2002). P, 594.

¹⁰ Robeck Jr, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (eds. Burgess and Van Der Maas; Grand Rapids Michigan: Zondervan, 2002). P, 856-857.

ministry field and her outreaches. Being a woman and a minister at that time was far from easy, but we see the result that in spite of that and her shortcomings it became a significant ministry. The growth of her ministry continued and as Aimee purchased a property in Echo Park, to build what became Angelus Temple, the contours of a gathering of churches emerged. Some kind of organization had to be implemented by the necessity of the growth. The leadership model that developed over time is recognized as “modified episcopal”. More details about this model will be dealt with at a later point in this paper.

In their beginning, NPM developed a congregational model, that I will call “radical congregational”, due to its strong emphasis on the importance of the independent sovereignty of the congregation.¹¹ This is very interesting in light of the very clear apostolic leadership¹² of Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940) and Lewi Pethrus (1884-1974). I’m not sure if they would have been comfortable to be called apostolic,¹³ but in light of their historic influence as founders and our understanding of the apostolic function today, they would most likely be considered as apostolic.¹⁴ Both Barratt and Pethrus came with a background from historical denominations, Methodist and Baptist, but in light of how they understood the bible, they put the leadership in the hands of the congregation.

The presentation consists of four parts.

The first part gives some historical background about the two movements (chapter 2.1-2.1.3 (FSQ) and 2.2-2.2.3 (NPM)). The historical description of the movements will be brief since multiple writers have done that thoroughly elsewhere. My presentation intends to highlight

¹¹ An expression used by William Durham about his view of the church’s sovereignty. Nilsson, "The Development of the Church-Concept," (2011). P, 4.

¹² Ystebø Alegre, "The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt defining and defending the faith 1906-09" (Regent Univeristy, 2019). On p, 1, Rakel Ystebø Alegre in her doctoral thesis claims that Emanuel Linderholm was the first to call Barratt the “apostle of Pentecostalism to Europe”.

¹³ Selbekk, *T. B. Barratt forfulgt og etterfulgt* (Kjeller, Norway: Hermon Forlag, 2012). On p. 8, Emanuel Minos underlines that neither Barratt nor Pethrus considered themselves as apostles.

¹⁴ Much could be said about the definition of the apostolic ministry, but that is beyond this paper. I will just shortly mention that no apostolic ministry today will be on level with the original 12 and Paul, they all saw Jesus. When I use the term apostolic it is in light of their influence as more than founders, but also as exponentials for growth and the formation of a movement. Both Rakel Ystebø Alegre in her Ph.d dissertation about Barratt (abstract p. iii) and Vebjørn Selbekk in his book about Barratt (p. 23 in e-book) supports the notion of Barratt being an Apostle.

those main factors from the history that is relevant for the perspective I have for this paper. It should also be sufficient to give a good understanding of their uniqueness in church history.

The second part focuses on the development of their leadership models (chapter 2.1.4-2.1.6 (FSQ) and 2.2.4-2.2.6 (NPM)). The leadership models does not develop out of thin air, but have different backgrounds both in history, society, theology and other leadership models. With that in mind, we still find that both FSQ and the NPM were able to develop quite unique organizational leadership models.

In the third part, I will go a bit deeper in the organizational models (chapter 2.1.4-2.1.6 (FSQ) and 2.2.4-2.2.6 (NPM)). What was the historical situation and society like at that time and was it instrumental in forming the leadership models? What are the inside and outside motivations and values considered in the formation stage? Besides the biblical background, we sometimes observe that an organization carry the traits of the time and its leaders when it was formed. Can we glean anything from this aspect? It is also interesting to notice the development from when it was formed to the situation we have today. What are the adaptations for serving the church of today, or did they have to adapt at all? Maybe the biblical foundation was grounded so that change would be virtually impossible.

The final section (chapter 3) will deal with the topic in depth. This will be my analysis of the organizational models. I will try to combine what we have discovered in the previous sections and try to assemble the pieces into the pathway the organizations has travelled unto its arrival in our days. The section will focus on the statements of the problems for this paper, but in particular, on the question of historic roots and development and if the models have served its purpose. Were the models genius in its inception or did they evolve to capture the harvest? The harvest is obviously the most important, but another interesting aspect is the leadership function. The scope of evaluating all sides of leadership is beyond this paper, but we do have to take a small peek into that subject since leadership is an essential part of a leadership model. My main purpose with this paper is to find the roots of the leadership models, not to make a total evaluation of them.

Lastly, the conclusion (chapter 4) will be a summary of my findings.

2 Historical presentation of the two movements.

Through the years, volumes of books have been written about the fascinating history and development of the two movements.^{15 16 17 18} They draw their roots from the revival history at the Azusa Street, which by many is considered among the most influential events in church history.¹⁹ However, I have to narrow my focus and purpose to enhance some of the main historical factors and highlights in their early history that will be relevant to my research.

2.1 The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (ICFG)

Foursquare grew out from one church, Angelus Temple in Los Angeles and has become a worldwide movement of churches and meeting places about 100 000 strong, present in most nations of the world and with approximately 8 million members. The International headquarter is in Los Angeles, but Foursquare has for many years been operating as a conglomerate of nationalized churches.

The word “Foursquare” does not make any sense in Norwegian, but it was a very important identity marker for Aimee. She would speak about the Foursquare Gospel as “Jesus our Saviour, Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, Healer and soon coming King”.²⁰ She preached this message for many years, but it was in 1922 she coined this phrase “the Foursquare Gospel”.²¹ It was based on her understanding of Jesus ministry, the fact that the word “Foursquare” was in the Bible²² and a vision she had from Ezekiel 1:4-10 about the living beings with four faces.²³ The face of

¹⁵ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982).

¹⁶ McPherson, *This is that: The Experiences, Sermons and Writings* (USA: HJ Publishing, 2016).

¹⁷ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Oslo, London, New York: Universitets forlaget, 1964).

¹⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956).

¹⁹ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth. Pentecostalism and the transformation of World Christianity*. (USA: Oxford University Press, 2013). P, 1.

²⁰ McPherson, *The Foursquare Gospel* (ed. Cox; Los Angeles USA: Foursquare Publications, 1969). The whole book is a compilation by Raymond L. Cox and includes Aimee’s sermons and his historic description of how this Foursquare Gospel came about.

²¹ Ibid. P, 4 and 9.

²² Different English translations have this word. The King James version 10 times, The new King James two times and English Standard version once. The ESV verse is in Rev 21:16 about the “Foursquare” city a picture of the bride of Christ aka the Church.

²³ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 8.

the man was significant for Jesus our saviour, the Lion was the Baptizer with the Holy Spirit, the Ox typified the healer and the Eagle was significant for the soon coming King.²⁴

The word Foursquare was also used as a word in Aimee's time as an expression for something very solid, standing forthright, bold and balanced.²⁵ This came out of the fact that a square has four corners that gives good balance. It was a word of character as well, that you were thorough and all the way the real deal. This also from a balanced person being forthright and frank due to his solid character.

In 1890, A. B. Simpson²⁶ (1843-1919) authored a book titled "The four-fold Gospel".²⁷ Aimee was greatly inspired by many servants of God and Simpson was among them. There might be a link that she used some of the material from Simpson since three out of four points in his book are similar to Aimee's Foursquare Gospel. The one area where they differ is where Simpson talks about "Jesus the Sanctifier" and Aimee uses "Jesus the Baptizer in the Holy Spirit".²⁸ Even if Simpson mentions the Holy Spirit in his book, it is very clear that Azusa street in 1906 (16 years after his book was published) was a watershed moment in history in regards to understanding the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures.²⁹ It is definitely a before and after 1906. That had obviously to do with the baptism in the Holy Spirit. But we know that this also opened a new understanding of theology, the display of the Holy Spirit's power through the gifts and the functions of the Holy Spirit. Simpson's book carry the characteristics of a book written before 1906. It should therefore be quite obvious that Aimee brought something totally new by her Foursquare gospel. If nothing else points in that direction, history does. A. B. Simpson founded Christian Missionary Alliance (CMA) that hold a cessationists view of the gifts of the Spirit.³⁰

²⁴ McPherson, *The Foursquare Gospel* (ed. Cox; Los Angeles USA: Foursquare Publications, 1969). P, 5.

²⁵ McPherson, *The Collected Sermons and Writings of Aimee Semple McPherson* (ed. Association; 5 vols.; vol. 1; South Carolina, USA, 2015). P, viii.

²⁶ Full name Albert Benjamin Simpson

²⁷ Simpson, *The four-fold Gospel* (USA: Reprint from the collections of the University of California Libraris, 1890).

²⁸ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 75-76.

²⁹ Ibid. P, 75-76.

³⁰ Hayford and Moore, *The Charismatic Century* (NY, USA: Warner Faith, Time Warner book group, 2006). P, 135-37.

Aimee founded Foursquare that is strong in its understanding and practise of the life and gifts of the Spirit.

Foursquare describes itself as a “moderate”³¹ or “middle of the road”³² branch of the Pentecostal tree. This stems back to sister Aimee’s time in Wichita May 7-21 in 1922 where she held services. “Aimee would formulate a new theological perspective called “The Narrow line”³³ and “The middle road”³⁴ that was born out of Aimee’s dissatisfaction with both Pentecostal and the Protestant mainstream”.³⁵ The sermon “the narrow line” was first published in The Pentecostal Evangel on June 10th, 1922. To form this “narrow line” might not sound to impressive in our day, but we need to remember that Aimee’s meetings were full of physical healings and manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Also at that time, some Pentecostals went too far into emotionalism and mockingly called “holy rollers”³⁶ by the media and the mainstream churches. For Aimee nothing should take attention away from the most important mission “that people would be saved”.³⁷

2.1.1 Aimee Elisabeth Kennedy Semple McPherson (1890-1944)

Aimee’s personality, ministry and leadership set the stage for the leadership model we find in Foursquare. According to the prominent Pentecostal history scholar Vinson Synan (1934-2020),³⁸ she was among the most influential leaders in the twentieth century. “She holds a prominent rank among all religious leaders in the twentieth century regardless of their sex and may well be the most important ordained woman minister in the history of Christianity”.³⁹ “Historians consider her (along with Billy Sunday) the most significant revivalist in the early

³¹ McPherson, *Dette tror vi* (Stathelle: Kilden Media, 1986). «This we believe» is the foundational doctrine within Foursquare. Point 13 (p. 19) is about balance or moderation.

³² Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 77. It is underlined in point 17 in the Foursquare believes.

³³ McPherson, *The Collected Sermons and Writings of Aimee Semple McPherson* (ed. Association; 5 vols.; vol. 1; South Carolina, USA, 2015). Her sermon is easiest available in this volume of her collected sermons.

³⁴ McPherson, *The Holy Spirit* (Los Angeles, USA, 1931). Her sermon on “Middle of the road” is printed in this book chapter 14, p, 118-130.

³⁵ Barfoot, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the making of modern Pentecostalism 1890 - 1926* (London and Oakville: Equinox Publishing, 2011). P, 332.

³⁶ Robeck Jr, *The Azusa street Mission & Revival* (USA: Nelson Reference & Electronic a Division of Nelson Publ., 2006). P, 98.

³⁷ McPherson. "Time and Triumph in Melbourne Australia," 6, no. 11 (Nov 1922). P, 13.

³⁸ Harold Vinson Synan was a historian, author and leader within the Pentecostal movement.

³⁹ Synan, *The twentieth century pentecostal explosion* (Florida, USA: Creation House, 1987). P, 100.

twentieth century”.⁴⁰ Aimee also appeared on the 100 Woman of the year list for Time Magazine in 1926 as one of the most influential women of the past century.⁴¹ Let us get to know her.

Aimee was born October 9th 1890 on a farm near the city of Ingersoll in Ontario Canada, in a home with devoted Christian parents. Her mother Mildred (Minnie) Pearce Kennedy (1862-1947) had background from the Salvation Army and her father James Morgan Kennedy (1836-1921) had his religious background from the Methodist church. In spite of her good upbringing and holding to belief in God and the Bible, she did not consider herself “born again”. The faith she grew up with was shaken when she met “the theory of evolution” in her high school class. She describes this in details in her book “*In the service of the King*”.⁴²

During the winter 1907-08, she went to the meetings at the Pentecostal Mission where evangelist Robert James Semple (1881-1910) was ministering. Robert had been filled with the Holy Spirit in meetings with William H. Durham (1873-1912) in Chicago sometime in 1907. Durham had been a pastor in Chicago’s North Avenue Mission since 1901. When Durham heard about the revival in Azusa street he went there in February 1907⁴³. Through a series of encounters with the power of the Holy Spirit, he received a baptism of the Holy Spirit on March 2, 1907.⁴⁴ At that time, W. J. Seymour (1870-1922)⁴⁵ also prophesied over Durham in regards to his ministry, that the Holy Spirit would fall upon the people. This is the background for Robert Semple when he is holding the meetings in Ingersoll. “In the middle of his sermon this fiery young evangelist suddenly lifted his hands and began speaking as the Spirit gave him utterance”.⁴⁶ Aimee was struck by conviction, “I was absolutely miserable and stricken with my need of God and felt that if I should die at that moment I would be lost”.⁴⁷ She had to leave

⁴⁰ Galli and Olsen, *131 Christians everyone should know* (Nashville, Tennessee, USA: Holman Reference, 2000). P, 197.

⁴¹ [Aimee Semple McPherson: 100 Women of the Year | Time](#) visited 26 Nov 2020.

⁴² McPherson, *In the service of the King* (USA: Foursquare Publications, 1988). P, 70-76.

⁴³ Robeck Jr, *The Azusa street Mission & Revival* (USA: Nelson Reference & Electronic a Division of Nelson Publ., 2006). P, 91.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.179-180 Durham’s experience is used as one of three testimonies for the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

⁴⁵ William Joseph Seymour was the pastor of Apostolic Faith Mission at 312 Azusa street, Los Angeles. The epicenter of the Azusa revival. Robeck Jr, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (eds. Burgess and Van Der Maas; Grand Rapids Michigan: Zondervan, 2002).

⁴⁶ McPherson, *In the service of the King* (USA: Foursquare Publications, 1988). P, 78.

⁴⁷ Ibid. P, 78.

the meeting early, due to another appointment, but she entered three days of battle with deep conviction of sin. Then, on the third day after the meeting she was on her way home from school, the conviction was overwhelming and she cried out to the Lord and repented of her unbelief and sin.

“God be merciful to me a sinner; I cried. God be merciful to me! Instantly the light streamed over my soul. I had a peculiar sensation of something warm, cleansing and healing flowing over me from head to foot, and the great peace, the “peace the passeth understanding”, flooded my heart”.⁴⁸ “I consecrated my heart to Christ then and there”.⁴⁹

In a short time, she understood her calling as a soul winner.⁵⁰ To be like Ruth that gathers the barley.⁵¹ She began reading her Bible afresh with a desire to discover the secret of a soul winner’s power. She found that it was connected to the baptism of the Holy Spirit.⁵² She attended cottage prayer meetings in a home near her school and spent considerable time on her knees asking the Lord to baptize her in the Holy Spirit. She describes her baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues in details in her book “*In the service of The King*”.⁵³ According to the Foursquare historian Nathaniel M. Van Cleve (1907-2002), the greatest factor in Aimee’s success as an evangelist-pastor was her strong anointing of the Holy Spirit and her irresistible call to the ministry of soul winning.⁵⁴

Aimee found more than the Lord in the meetings with Robert Semple. She found love and they got married August 12, in 1908. In January 1909, they went to join Durham’s ministry⁵⁵ before they were sent out as missionaries to China January 6, in 1910. Six months later, they arrived in Hong Kong, on June 1, 1910. Their marriage and ministry in China would face a brutal end just a few months after they had arrived in Hong Kong. Robert became ill and died only 7 months after their mission started, and just six weeks prior to their first child, Roberta Semple

⁴⁸ Ibid. P, 79.

⁴⁹ Ibid. P, 79.

⁵⁰ Van Cleve, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 7.

⁵¹ McPherson, *In the service of the King* (USA: Foursquare Publications, 1988). P, 83.

⁵² Ibid. P, 83.

⁵³ Ibid. P. 87-89

⁵⁴ Van Cleve, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 7.

⁵⁵ Ibid. P, 6.

Salter (1910-2007) was born. Robert and Aimee had been married for just over two years. Aimee became a young widow with a new born child. She had no money, ministry or anywhere to go. By God's provision and a caring mother, she was able to give her husband a funeral and return to USA.

Aimee's return home and the next five years was filled with misery and sickness. She felt like Jonah and struggled with her calling. On her deathbed⁵⁶, she answers the call that she will go to preach the Word and do the work of an evangelist⁵⁷ and she was healed.⁵⁸ Two happenings that enlightened her life was her marriage to Harold Stewart McPherson (1890-1978) in 1912 and giving birth to her son Rolf in 1913. Aimee was deeply convinced that God had called her to preach the Word and to start revival meetings in August 1915. Her dedication to the calling to preach the Word is evident from this time and for the next eight years until the dedication of Angelus Temple in January 1923. First a brief summary of her itinerant ministry that lay the foundation for the expansion of the movement.

From 1915, she ministered across USA from East to West, North and South multiple times. In 1915-16, the travels were mostly by train. In the summer of 1917 and 1918 the travels were in the Gospel Cars (the 1917 Chevy and the 1917 Dodge). She drove across the US in fall 1918 and from 1919-1922 her US travels were almost entirely by train, although she did occasionally travel in her last Gospel Car (the 1918 Oldsmobile) in California.⁵⁹ In the beginning, her husband was part of the team, but he returned to do business on the East coast.⁶⁰ She packed her car with a tent to sleep, her two children and her mother Minnie. They lived a very simple lifestyle, but ministered nonstop from cities to villages all over US. In 1918, she came to visit the embers of revival at Azusa Street and were able to inspire some of its scattered

⁵⁶ McPherson, *The Collected Sermons and Writings of Aimee Semple McPherson* (ed. Association; 5 vols.; vol. 1; South Carolina, USA, 2015). P, 75.

⁵⁷ McPherson, *This is that: The Experiences, Sermons and Writings* (USA: HJ Publishing, 2016). Chapter 10 describes her agony and struggle.

⁵⁸ Ibid. P, 75-76.

⁵⁹ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 8. Van Cleave gives the importance of her travels. Steve Zeleny has provided the travel details by mail January 5th 2021.

⁶⁰ Hayford and Moore, *The Charismatic Century* (NY, USA: Warner Faith, Time Warner book group, 2006). P, 141-42. Harold traveled with Aimee for a period and decided it was not for him. They separated in agreement for a while and then Harold divorced her in 1921.

participants.⁶¹ Churches with diverse denominational backgrounds invited her to minister and her meetings were filled with people. Aimee was so popular that denominations offered her ordination to minister in their name.⁶² “Her ability to appeal broadly across denominational lines was rare among early Pentecostals. Her meetings were always interdenominational or ecumenical”.⁶³ What did they come to see or hear? Let’s start with the basics.

The fact that she was a female, driving her own Gospel car across USA with her mother and two children, this was not an ordinary thing back then. It’s been said that she crossed USA from East to West 8 times and both the East coast of West coast up and down multiple times.⁶⁴ Aimee also travelled internationally and visited many nations. This was very unusual in early 1900.

Aimee was a woman preacher. This does not stand out to us today, but in her time, it did. Many denominations and churches had no place for this kind of ministry. Women could go to the mission field, teach in Sunday school for children, but not preach from the pulpit.⁶⁵ The revival that started in Azusa street opened the door for women preachers, but according to Allan Heaton Anderson (1949-), Aimee was most famous and one of the pioneers that was part of changing that stereotype through her ministry.⁶⁶ Havey Cox (1929-) calls her “the principal pioneer”.⁶⁷ She gave a place for women in ministry, and Foursquare today have among the highest numbers of ordained women in ministry.⁶⁸

As quoted from Vinson Synan previously, Aimee was very influential and this was one of the areas effected by her ministry. Her influence also stems from her preaching ministry. She was an outstanding preacher and masses of people came to hear her preach.⁶⁹ Thousands upon

⁶¹ Oliver, *Pentecost to the Present* (vol. 3; FL. USA: Bridge Logos, 2017). P, 116.

⁶² Robeck Jr, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (eds. Burgess and Van Der Maas; Grand Rapids Michigan: Zondervan, 2002). P, 856-57. Aimee received ordination with William Durhams church 1909 and granted ordination or credentials by AOG in 1919-22, by C. C. Hancock Memorial Church of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1920 and with First Baptist Church in San Jose in 1922. She did not seek this herself except for the one by Durham where she and her husband went to bible school.

⁶³ Ibid. p, 857.

⁶⁴ McPherson, *Dette tror vi* (Stathelle: Kilden Media, 1986). P, 32.

⁶⁵ Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (Cambridge, Ma, USA: Da Capo Press, 1995). P, 138.

⁶⁶ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth. Pentecostalism and the transformation of World Christianity*. (USA: Oxford University Press, 2013). P, 97.

⁶⁷ Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (Cambridge, Ma, USA: Da Capo Press, 1995). P, 128.

⁶⁸ Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit. 100 Years of Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal*. (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001). P, 138.

⁶⁹ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth. Pentecostalism and the transformation of World Christianity*. (USA: Oxford University Press, 2013). P, 97.

thousands gave their life to the Lord. She was an outstanding revivalist in her time, and her influence is still being recognized as unique today.

According to her Foursquare Gospel, she did not stop at sinner's conversion, but thousands were filled with the Holy Spirit. Many of them were deeply moved by this power that changed their life direction and they became full time preachers, evangelists or pastors. This prepared the ground for the establishing of Foursquare later on.

The power of the Holy Spirit that worked through Aimee, also brought healings to scores of people. Many times doctors would confirm the healings due to the journalist's critical reports. The newspapers were an important contributor to her fame. To be fair, many journalists were devout followers of Aimee's ministry. Her ministry, the healings and miracles were so astounding and the testimonies so convincing that the most sceptical reporter had to admit that this was different.⁷⁰

In 1917, she starts to publish her revival magazine "the Bridal call" and in 1919, she publishes her biography "This is That".⁷¹ Both her revival magazine and her book documents her travels, ministry and numerous healings and salvations. The magazine became an instrument for revival, increased her reputation, and announced her meetings.

A period of three years (1923-25) were formative for her new direction in ministry. January 1, 1923 was the grand opening of Angelus Temple. This iconic building at Echo Park in Los Angeles was the largest construction in North America at that time and seated 5300 people. According to Synan, it was also the nation's largest church,⁷² America's first "superchurch".⁷³ At her most busy time Aimee had meetings three times a day, seven days a week.⁷⁴ In the first six months they had 8 000 converts. "The annual report of 1924 listed 12 000 saved, 3 000

⁷⁰ Epstein, *Sister Aimee. The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (USA: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993). P, 185-87.

⁷¹ McPherson, *This is that: The Experiences, Sermons and Writings* (USA: HJ Publishing, 2016). This is a reprint of her 1919 edition. She came out with a new edition in 1923, with almost the same content except chapter 14 about "the Bridal call".

⁷² Synan, *The twentieth century pentecostal explosion* (Florida, USA: Creation House, 1987). P, 101.

⁷³ *Ibid.* P, 102.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* P, 102.

baptized in water, 3 000 new members, 3 600 healings, thousands filled with the Spirit”.⁷⁵ Aimee’s ministry continue to skyrocket after the dedication of the temple.⁷⁶ Angelus Temple became a hub for revival and centre of attention.⁷⁷ According to Jeff Oliver, “Nearly single-handedly, Aimee Semple McPherson had propelled Pentecostalism from backwoods of the forest camp meetings to the forefront of American society”.⁷⁸

Within few months after the opening of Angelus Temple, she started a Bible institute that became LIFE Bible College on December 7, 1925. Since she already had students in her church, they needed ministry and in short time multiple churches started and ministries came about. By 1927, there were more than 100 churches connected to the ministry and the need to organize was obvious.⁷⁹ “However, like John Wesley, Mrs. McPherson had no idea of starting a new denomination. Her vision was for “interdenominational world-wide evangelization”, as the cornerstone of Angelus Temple declares”.⁸⁰ The church government was borrowed from several historical forms of church order and in December 1927, the religious corporation was formed and named “International Foursquare Gospel Lighthouses”.⁸¹ More about this later.

Space does not permit me to point out the ingenuity and the laborious work Aimee is worthy of. Her talented creative sermons⁸², musical talent, media personality, opposition to racism, crime and poverty fighting and campaign against drug trafficking is well documented.⁸³ According to Harvey Cox she was the “best known woman in America” and “she had definitely put Pentecostalism on the map”.⁸⁴ According to Ruth A. Tucker, Aimee changed the image of Pentecostalism.⁸⁵ One final ministry needs to be addressed, her foresight into the media world.

⁷⁵ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 8.

⁷⁶ Synan, *The twentieth century pentecostal explosion* (Florida, USA: Creation House, 1987). P, 102.

⁷⁷ Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (Cambridge, Ma, USA: Da Capo Press, 1995). Cox elaborates the buzz that was around Aimee with famous people from Hollywood attending services. P, 123-124.

⁷⁸ Oliver, *Pentecost to the Present* (vol. 3; FL. USA: Bridge Logos, 2017). P. 125-26.

⁷⁹ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 34.

⁸⁰ Ibid. P, 34.

⁸¹ Ibid. P, 35.

⁸² Galli and Olsen, *131 Christians everyone should know* (Nashville, Tennessee, USA: Holman Reference, 2000). P, 97.

⁸³ Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth. Pentecostalism and the transformation of World Christianity*. (USA: Oxford University Press, 2013). P, 97.

⁸⁴ Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (Cambridge, Ma, USA: Da Capo Press, 1995). P, 124.

⁸⁵ Tucker, "Parade of Faith," (Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA: Zondervan, 2011). P. 451.

According to Armstrong and Bock, “Aimee personified the new opportunities that mass media opened for ministry as well as the perils of courting show business”.⁸⁶ Very few people in her time were running or owning a radio station. Aimee’s desire to reach people with the gospel opened new venues of ministry.⁸⁷ In the midst of doing ministry in the church, training students, and conducting meetings, she also found time to start KFSG⁸⁸ radio in February 1924. KFSG became the first all-religious radio station in USA, the first major station licensed and owned by a woman and in operation only three years after the first religious broadcast ever.⁸⁹ It is incomprehensible to understand how she was able to conduct all of this at the same time.

Was it too much? In retrospect, everyone is an expert. Obviously, it was too much, but in the wind and waves of revival, you are on a speeding carousel that you cannot get off without someone being hurt.⁹⁰ Aimee did mistakes, but she was also accused of mistakes she never did. She was a target for people who wanted to profit from being for her or against her. We need to remember that she, in our terminology, was a “Hollywood star⁹¹” or a “celebrity⁹²” in her time and therefore some people slandered her for all kind of reasons. Foursquare has not tried to hide this in any way, on the contrary they are quite open about the different scenarios that played out in her life. Foursquare has done a thorough work to clarify some of “the scandals” surrounding Aimee’s life and ministry. First the book by Raymond Cox (1924-2004), “The Verdict is in”⁹³, is a gathering of the all the issues around the kidnapping 50 years after the incident. Secondly, pastor Jack W. Hayford (1934 -) addressed “the scandals” at a meeting in Angelus Temple on September 9, 1990. His sermon title was “The Unending Trial of Aimee Semple McPherson”⁹⁴. Further, over the years, the Foursquare Archives have compiled a 16-page compendium refuting

⁸⁶ Bock and Armstrong, *Virtual Reality Church* (USA: Moody Publishers, 2021). P, 68. P, 65-68 gives a detailed picture of her ingenuity in using unconventional ways to reach out.

⁸⁷ McPherson, *Aimee. Life story of Aimee Semple McPherson* (ed. Cox; USA: Foursquare Publications, 1979). P, 127.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p, 127. KFSG – Kall Four Square Gospel

⁸⁹ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 32.

⁹⁰ Epstein, *Sister Aimee. The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (USA: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993). P, 275. This page gives a short resume of Aimee’s “fairly average day”. William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925) former foreign minister in USA visited the Temple, warned Aimee, and asked her to be careful about herself.

⁹¹ Synan, *The twentieth century pentecostal explosion* (Florida, USA: Creation House, 1987). P, 103.

⁹² Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition. Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*. (USA and UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997). P, 193.

⁹³ Cox, *The verdict is in* (California: Research Publishers, 1983).

⁹⁴ Available at Foursquare Archives and also in my personal possession.

Aimee Semple McPherson legends through the years.⁹⁵ Finally, the Foursquare archives granted me full access to all the archives and I have been able to look at original papers that has been scanned for preservation and future availability and transparency.

After her death in 1944 she left behind a legacy of more than 400 churches in North America, 200 missions' stations, a 22 000 members church and had sent out more than 3 000 graduates from LIFE.⁹⁶ Pastor Jack speaks about her influence as beyond any other women minister in terms of touching the multitudes, healing the sick and establishing a globe-encompassing ministry.⁹⁷ Now let us turn to that denomination for a closer look.

2.1.2 The denomination ICFG

Two statements from Vinson Synan illustrates two out of several expansive periods in Foursquare. The first is from the formation years around 1923, "The early days of the new organization saw explosive growth as many independent Pentecostal congregations applied to join the movement".⁹⁸ The second statement is from the charismatic renewal in the 1970's and 1980's, "Of all the classical Pentecostal denominations; the Foursquare Church has been the most affected by the charismatic renewal".⁹⁹ Foursquare has been blessed with numerical growth through the years, but as most denominations, had its ups and downs in growth and church attendance.

The Foursquare denomination

Foursquare's initial challenges was how to continue after such an iconic leader as Aimee Semple McPherson, and how to fuel the fire of revival and organize for sustainable growth.

When Aimee based her ministry in Angelus Temple, that also signalled a change in her ministry focus. She still travelled both internationally and in all of USA, but she got a deeper involvement in LA as well. More and more ministers and independent churches looked at her

⁹⁵ Available at Foursquare Archives and in my personal possession as well.

⁹⁶ Robeck Jr, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements* (eds. Burgess and Van Der Maas; Grand Rapids Michigan: Zondervan, 2002). P, 794.

⁹⁷ Sermon at Angelus Temple September 9. 1990. The Unending Trial of ASM. Available at Foursquare Archives and also in my personal possession.

⁹⁸ Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit. 100 Years of Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal*. (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001). P, 136.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* P, 137.

as a leader and finally she took the steps to start organizing the vine braches. On December 30, 1927 the “International Foursquare Gospel Lighthouses” with more than 100 churches was registered in California.¹⁰⁰ The 40 points in “The creedal statements” and “The Foursquare Declaration of Faith” published as “This we Believe”¹⁰¹, became a unifying theology and basis joining the churches together. The theology had many commonalities with other Pentecostal groups that were growing up at this time and she had served in many of them as well.

“Since Mrs. McPherson had held credentials for several years with the Assemblies of God¹⁰² and was substantially influenced by the same sources as those that shaped the teachings of the General Council’s leaders, her beliefs and theirs were, for the most part, identical except on church organization”.¹⁰³

“In 1930, a new corporation was formed under the name “International Church of the Foursquare Gospel””.¹⁰⁴ According to Synan, “The new church was identical to the Assemblies of God (AOG) in doctrine, while differing in organizational structure and polity”.¹⁰⁵ Two things we notice about this new denomination, their doctrine has a lot in common with AOG and the structure is different. The doctrinal statements places Foursquare in the mainstream of the American Pentecostal movement¹⁰⁶. Synan gives more background about the structure, “Under Sister Aimee’s tight control, the denomination developed a strong centralized structure”.¹⁰⁷ Van Cleave brings further light when he states, “The form of church government, as it turned out, was borrowed from several historical forms of church order”.¹⁰⁸ Here lies some of the fundamental guidelines for the leadership model found in Foursquare. For more details about this, see point 2.1.4 “modified episcopal leadership model defined”.

¹⁰⁰ McPherson, *Dette tror vi* (Stathelle: Kilden Media, 1986). p, 36 point 24 under 60 facts about our organization in the Norwegian edition of “This we believe”.

¹⁰¹ McPherson, "Declaration of Faith," (1927).

¹⁰² Menzies, *Anointed to Serve* (vol. Volume 1; Springfield, Missouri, USA: Gospel Publishing House, 1971). She held credentials from 1919-22. The division was on “matters of ministerial discipline”. P, 170.

¹⁰³ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 23-24.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. P, 37.

¹⁰⁵ Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit. 100 Years of Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal*. (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001). P, 136.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. P, 136.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p, 136.

¹⁰⁸ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 35.

Aimee's son Dr. Rolf Potter Kennedy McPherson (1913-09) became the Vice-President in February 1944. It had been established that he would succeed his mother, as the leader of Foursquare, should something happen to her. Well, few months later September 27, she died and by their foresight and preparedness, the important steps were in place to move forward. Foursquare continued to grow both inside USA, but in particular outside USA,¹⁰⁹ it really became an international movement. Dr. McPherson made a radical decision in 1987 when he announced that he would not remain president for life. Foursquare initiated a series of meetings to nominate a person that could head up the organization. John R Holland (1933-2007) was elected by the US convention in May 1987 and moved into the ICFG headquarters in 1988 to work alongside Dr. McPherson until he retired May 31, 1988.¹¹⁰ During the successive leadership of new presidents¹¹¹ within Foursquare, there has been a stronger recognition of the larger international constituency of the church body, and in 2005, the Global Council started, with its first international leader Leslie Keegel from Sri Lanka (1952-) as the leader. This was after a process beginning in 1982 of Global Summits with National leaders from the global Foursquare to look at the future of the International Foursquare movement together. As of 2006, each of the 17 regions was formed into a single council consisting of national leaders and national pastors.

As Foursquare is an ever-increasing international network the need to consolidate became obvious. From 2011, a smaller group started an assessment process of the global needs where two areas of strengthening and work was needed. In May 2012, Foursquare had identified six distinctives for the Foursquare movement, with a clear focus on discipleship, leadership development, the power of the Holy Spirit and “doctrinal drift” as vital areas for further development.¹¹² The distinctives are thoroughly treated in the book “Identity Keystones, What

¹⁰⁹ Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit. 100 Years of Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal*. (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001). P, 137-138.

¹¹⁰ Robeck Jr, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements* (eds. Burgess and Van Der Maas; Grand Rapids Michigan: Zondervan, 2002). P, 794.

¹¹¹ *We're thankful for the men and woman who have led our movement, including Foursquare U.S. presidents Aimee Semple McPherson (1923-1944), Rolf K. McPherson (1944-1988), John Holland (1988-1997), Harold Helms (1997-1998, interim), Paul Risser (1998-2004), Jared Roth (2004, interim), Jack Hayford (2004-2009), Glenn Burris Jr. (2009-2020) and Randy Remington (2020-present). Copy from www.foursquare.org/about/history/Dec.1,2020*

¹¹² Rockwell, *Identity Keystones, What makes us Foursquare* (California, USA: The Foursquare church, 2017). The Keystones identified are: 1.) Kingdom Partnerships, 2.) Sound Doctrine, 3.) Empowering Leadership Culture, 4.) Foursquare Family Relationships, 5.) Spirit Empowered, 6.) Shared Mission.

makes us Foursquare”¹¹³ by editor Sam Rockwell and a team of contributors. Likewise, the area of Discipleship as one of the steps within one of the quadrants of the Four-stage development wheel,¹¹⁴ has initiated a global writing team to produce theological modules with discipleship as an overarching theme. This has the name Discipleship Leadership Training (DLT).¹¹⁵ The basis for this was developed by John L. Amstutz (1937-) and Don McGregor (1937-) in the 1980’s.¹¹⁶ Finally a few words about the organizational structure today.

“ICFG is a corporation that operates in the context of national, state, county and city government. The articles of incorporation and the bylaws are written declarations of the spiritual purpose, ministry goals, organizational structure, and administrative guidelines”¹¹⁷.

Foursquare in USA has an elected president with a five-year tenure and with option for re-election for another term. With him is an executive team and they serve together with the six district supervisors and board of Directors. The president candidates become nominated through a process of multiple steps before the nominees are presented to the convention for election every fifth year.

Internationally, each nation is nationalized through a process of what we call the “Four-stage wheel” as mentioned before. When a nation reaches the 3rd or 4th quadrant, a nationalization process is initiated. When a nation is nationalized, they have a temporary board that works with an international overseer to present the nominee to the elective body. Nations that are nationalized will be sending their national leader to the regional eldership. Norway is part of the European eldership (www.foursquare-europe.org). Foursquare Europe will send one representative to the Global Council.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ John L Amstutz book series about this (five volumes). **The pdf with the wheel**

¹¹⁵ The Discipleship Leadership Training (DLT) Manual has several modules developed, but is still under development.

¹¹⁶ DLT p,1 point 2.

¹¹⁷ "Foursquare License Interview Process." Polity #29 p, 1.

2.1.3 Foursquare Norway

The Foursquare Norway's history is still in the making and such is the case with available sources. Pr date there are two written sources^{118 119} that dates 15 years back and some interviews from magazines¹²⁰ that stems from the 1980's. Due to the readily available material regarding the history of Foursquare Norway my presentation on this matter will be brief.

T. B. Barratt¹²¹ (1862-1940) introduced Aimee and "The Foursquare Gospel" to Norway in the 1920's through several articles in the magazine *Korsets Seier* (Victory of the Cross). These publications became two books "Søster Aimee Semple McPherson" about her life and ministry and seven of her sermons¹²² the second book was only her sermons.¹²³ Prior to his publications, he and his wife had heard Aimee minister in Des Moines on his trip to USA in October 1927.¹²⁴ He was very impressed about her ministry. At a later date he met her and even ministered in her great church Angelus Temple in Los Angeles.¹²⁵

Foursquare sent their first missionaries to Norway in 1982, Inger (1949-)¹²⁶ and Greg Bretz (1947-2002), but before we go into that let's give some background. The Bretz's got married (1969) and became pastors in USA where they pastored for several years in different churches and planted a church in Moses Lake¹²⁷. Greg did two mission trips to Norway in the 70's and visited the Methodist church in Larvik. Finally after they had been prepared for ministry by serving at "the Church on the Way", pastored by Jack W. Hayford, they were sent to Norway. When they arrived in Norway in 1982, they scouted out the country to find a place to start the work. As they travelled between Oslo and Kristiansand they stopped for a cup of coffee. Overlooking the Brevik bridge Greg had an open vision where he could see fire over the small

¹¹⁸ Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse til moderne norsk karismatikk* (Oslo: Akademia forlag, 2011). Chapter 18, p, 233-245. The information in the book is previously published in the magazine "Baptist" nr.1 in 1999, but has been slightly edited and updated. It is to date the most comprehensive historic documentation.

¹¹⁹ Hattem, "Prosjekt Norge: Å bryte isen" (Bakke Graduate University, 2006). P, 30-34 is about the history of Foursquare Norway, the rest is a Church growth and leadership strategy document.

¹²⁰ Janøy. "Hvem er de? (Who are they?)," no. 10 (October 1986 1986). P, 4-7, 12-19.

¹²¹ Thomas Ball Barratt

¹²² McPherson, *Søster Aimee Semple McPherson* (ed. Barratt; Oslo, Norway: Korsets Seier forlag, 1927).

¹²³ McPherson, *Syv prædikener av søster Aimee Semple McPherson* (ed. Barratt; Korsets Seier forlag).

¹²⁴ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 228.

¹²⁵ Ibid. P, 228.

¹²⁶ Inger was born in Norway and lived in here until her early 20's.

¹²⁷ Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse til moderne norsk karismatikk* (Oslo: Akademia forlag, 2011). P, 239.

city of Stathelle on the other side of the bridge. That settled his desire to start the work from there.

A short time after Greg's pioneering started, "the Church on the Way" sent another couple to assist the Bretz's, and Steve and Leslie Ranck came to Stathelle. Quickly it became clear that the cooperation became cumbersome and Ranck's went to Stavanger to start a church over there.¹²⁸

This was the modest beginnings of a church planting project in Norway. At this time, church planting was not on anyone's agenda in Norway. The revivals had come and gone in Norway leaving the traditional churches to establish its work. To illustrate this point, Greg mentioned that a letter was sent to Foursquare headquarter in Los Angeles to ask them to pull out the missionaries from Norway, "It was only room for one Pentecostal movement", was the argument.

Foursquare Norway had an ambitious plan and people started to come from different locations and denominations. In the 80's churches were planted in Kragerø, Grimstad, Stjørdal, Rissa, Kristiansand, Asker and Odense Denmark. John Henry Nøsen (1958-) arrived in Stathelle in 1986, worked with the Bretz for a short time, and became the main pastor due to Greg's dwindling health. In the 90's he started another church in Asker with some people who were there from the first attempt and in 2002. Later he started another church in Kristiansand together with a team from Asker church. Two other church plant attempts was also initiated. One in early 1990's in Skien and one in Porsgrunn in 2001. Lots of work, but little remains.

Out of this ambitious effort, to do pioneer church planting in Norway and starting the denomination Foursquare Norway, the situation is that in 2021, only one church is still running. The first foothold and pioneer place in Stathelle is still operating, but just as a smaller congregation. Still there are connections to a house group out of the remains from the Asker church and some contacts in Kristiansand. An obvious question would be, was it all in vain? Well, only history will tell us the final outcome from the work of Foursquare Norway.

¹²⁸ Ibid. P, 240.

2.1.4 “Modified Episcopal leadership model defined”

I have earlier¹²⁹ pointed out how Vinson Synan differentiated AOG and FSQ predominantly on issues on structure and polity for how the churches were organized. The leadership model in FSQ evolved from Aimee’s leadership to become a model that became familiar as “Modified Episcopal leadership model” (MELM).¹³⁰ The model is a balanced combination of Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational church governance. The functionality and practice of the model will be dealt with later in this presentation. To my knowledge, this is a unique model that makes Foursquare differ from other denominations. It might be that a similar leadership model is applied in other denominations, but it seems that Foursquare is the one that named it “modified episcopal”. I will now attempt to point out possible contributing factors that influenced the journey Foursquare took in the evolution of this model.

2.1.5 Contributing factors for the “modified episcopal leadership model”

Originality is rare. Our world today has been influenced and changed by time, history and diverse elements to become what we experience now. I will highlight some formative and influential elements for the leadership model under three different headings: Historical background, inside background and doctrinal background.

2.1.5.1 Historical background

For the sake of space, the historical presentation has obvious limitations. On the other hand, history is of such importance that it needs to be included even if it is brief. Since we all have history, we are history and continually make history it is by default a contributing factor in forming both our present and our future. The thesis as a whole includes two different leadership models that developed in two different nations, but also in two different continents. I have selected some events to describe how those elements of history influenced the development of the leadership models. For both models, the historical material will cover some contemporary

¹²⁹ Point at 2.1.2

¹³⁰ MELM will be used as an abbreviation for Modified Episcopal Leadership Model.

history as a backdrop for the elements that more directly contributed to the development of the leadership model.

Now let's take a closer look at USA in particular. We will in similar way, look at Norway when I deal with the NPM (see point 2.2.5.1).

USA is “the land of the free” and “the land of opportunity”. From the Vikings, via Columbus, the first settlers, to the immigration from Europe, there seems to have been a desire to explore the opportunities and to create your own fortune that united the adventurers. That the creating of your own fortune often came through the means of oppression and exploitation of the original habitants and slaves is beyond dispute. For that, we can only be shameful. It is a dark chapter of our history, but it is beyond this paper.

Despite this darker side of history, it is also true that America has been instrumental and a key contributor to our modern society. As the brave immigrants populated the land, they also brought with them their traditions from Europe and the industrial revolution.¹³¹ It is plausible that this combination of courage to conquer the many challenges in the land and the ingenuity inherited from back home formed the foundations of American leadership culture. To me it seems like the American leadership culture has more of the “divide and conquer” than for example the Asian leadership culture that is more “shame, honour and tradition (family)” based.¹³² Europeans leadership culture on the other hand seems to be more cooperative.¹³³ This understanding is based on my reading of numerous leadership books and articles through the years as well as my own experience. I have lived in Europe all my life and been working with Norwegian and European leaders since 1980. From 1986, I have been blessed to work with American leaders and since 1994 with Asian leaders. I really appreciate the different traditions

¹³¹ Niall, *The Square and the Tower* (Great Britan: Penguin Random House, 2017). P, 123. Niall Ferguson claims that “The industrial revolution-in many ways the most transformative of all revolutions”.

¹³² C, *The Leaders Greatest Return* (USA: Harper Collins, 2020). P, 38. John Maxwell points out some of this about Americans. This stereotypical image is changing a little bit every day. In today's global village, some of these stereotypical differences are being washed out due to our connectedness and conformity for profit.

¹³³ Numerous books and articles have been written about this subject. On a random search, I came up with this article from 2005 by D. Quinn Mills at Harvard Business school, “Asian and American leadership styles: How are they unique?” gives examples along this line. [Asian and American Leadership Styles: How Are They Unique? - Harvard Business School Working Knowledge \(hbs.edu\)](https://www.hbs.edu/workingknowledge/2020/12/30/asian-and-american-leadership-styles-how-are-they-unique/) December 30-2020

and think we can learn a lot from each other. On the other hand, when we have this broader picture of leadership it is clear that we also see leadership culture that needs to change.

In regards to religious freedom, it also seems plausible that many of the immigrants were running away from suppressive state religion. Norway for instance, had a law called “konventikkelplakaten” (1741-1842) that prohibited preaching outside of the state church. This among other things contributed to the immigration period, considered for about a 100-year period (1825-1920). The early immigrants (1825-60) crossed the ocean predominantly for religious reasons. From the time after the American Civil War 1865 and onwards the immigration increased, but it was a more complex background for the immigration at that time.

The puzzle pieces I bring from these short selected glimpses of history that relates to the American leadership culture are the following. Competitive thinking from chasing land and/or gold, Opportunistic exploration due to the industrial revolution and Religious freedom from state controlled church. My claim is that due to this kind of background, church structure and organization in USA has a higher acceptance for episcopal church-governance than what is common in Europe. I will get back to the European church governance later, but suffice to mention that European churches tend to be a bit more congregational. That is if they are not a state churches.

Let us expound a bit more on each of the historical outside contributors and start with competitive thinking. An African proverb says, “If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together”.¹³⁴ This can be descriptive for the first of the three components highlighted from my very brief historic review above, competitive thinking. Leadership in the corporate world has been goal oriented and result focused. Leadership in a top-down organisation are ready for fast changes. You can adapt, change course and adjust with a command from the leader. This kind of leadership we find in the military as well. From the religious arena, we find this leadership in the Catholic Church with apostolic succession at the foundation of it. Let me quickly add that, with the Catholic Church there is an electoral college by the cardinals that cast their votes to who is the one to step in line after Peter the Apostle. Two other examples could be the Salvation Army and Independent churches with apostolic

¹³⁴ Victoria, *If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.* (Independently published, 2018).

leadership. From these different worlds of leadership structure, there are some obvious advantages, but also obvious pitfalls. This will be part of a later elaboration (3.2).

The second area mentioned earlier is the opportunistic exploration due to the industrial revolution. In my notes, I quote Niall Ferguson about the influence of the industrial revolution. During the time of the industrial revolution, our society went from predominantly agricultural individually based leadership to corporate leadership in the industry and factories. The industry needed leadership and the exponential growth demanded leaders now. More leaders, more industry, more opportunities. This brought a centralization towards building cities, mobility both because of the proximity of everything and automated means. On top of that, we see that organized education comes in focus to train future leaders. Progress of development in America was quite strong partly because they were not involved in the First World War. It halted slightly during the great depression, but picked up speed during the Second World War and exploded with the baby boomer generation after the Second World War.

City building, mobility, the proximity of everything and war gave a perfect time for church growth. This seems to be contributing factors to the growth of the Pentecostal movement from 1906 and onwards. Another contributing factor was that the Pentecostals had a flying start. Most of them came from existing mainline churches, but now they were supercharged by the power of the Holy Spirit. The war also contributed in a strange way because it fit the prophetic expectation of the second coming of Christ, we were in the end of times. When revivalists were considering starting churches, they had the freedom from a suppressive state church and the mainline predominantly congregational churches in the back of their mind. They could build something very different.

2.1.5.2 Inside background for the leadership model

By inside background, I will look at the exponential church growth in the movement. As I mentioned before, originality is rare. When faced with an unfamiliar situation, we look around us for what can be useful. Like a person who has fallen into a raging river, he is looking for what is useful to help him. The revival was like a raging river, multitudes of people were being saved, what do we do? What can help us now?

From one church, Angelus Temple,¹³⁵ Foursquare branched out to a national movement within USA and then it outgrew USA and became The International Church of the Foursquare gospel. Aimee Semple McPherson was the undisputable apostolic leader¹³⁶ in the formative years of the Foursquare movement. The challenge to replace iconic leadership is very difficult. Recent years has showed this in the case of pastors as David Yonggi Cho (1936-) and Bill Hybels (1951-) or leaders like Maria Woodworth-Etter (1844-1924) and Kathryn Kuhlman (1907-1976). Since Aimee was one of the first leaders of that magnitude, there were no abundance of good examples to follow. So, what did she do?

Being a woman, Aimee was fighting an uphill battle to start with and therefore she surrounded herself with leaders. Her mother Minnie was very instrumental in the beginning,¹³⁷ but through her traveling ministry connected to men and women that could assist her. With a background from a mix of the Salvation Army, the Methodist church and Aimee's apostolic leadership, it is easy to imagine that this could lay the foundation for a leadership model that we find in Foursquare. Aimee was very busy with her revival meetings and traveling nationally and internationally and all the other areas of ministry involvement under her leadership. The ministry grew faster than they anticipated and they needed to find a way to oversee the ministry and the growing number of churches. "With a congregation growing by hundreds every week, the need for order was so urgent that she and Minnie naturally adopted the military model".¹³⁸ This is the first towards finding a leadership model. The next step due to continual growth was to create districts. Each district developed a strategy for growth that changed the pattern for growth.¹³⁹ This was followed up by appointing district supervisors,¹⁴⁰ but the continued growth necessitated more overseers and more leadership was appointed. The development came more as an answer to growth than an elaborate plan. A comparable image to illustrate would be the situation in the frontline in a war zone where the first aid people do emergency help. This they

¹³⁵ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 79.

¹³⁶ Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit. 100 Years of Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal*. (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001). Just a reminder of the quotation from Synan p, 136 mentioned earlier.

¹³⁷ Aimee and Minnie departed ways over leadership issues. This happened several times through the years, 1927 and finally in 1930.

¹³⁸ Epstein, *Sister Aimee. The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (USA: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993). P, 275

¹³⁹ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 79

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. P, 79.

do out of the obvious needs they are facing and what they were trained to do. Similarly, the church leaders acted to the need, with their theological training, experience and denominational background. The steps they took in dividing into districts, the appointing of district supervisors and general supervisors point in a direction of episcopal leadership for the management of the corporation. They needed quick solutions to an immediate need.

On the local level, we observe a different development. In the years from the first registration of the denomination in 1927, to the new corporation in 1930, and subsequent bylaw adjustments through 1934 and until 1936, the leadership model comes into shape. Two crucial areas were developing and adjusted. The first area was in regards to how property should be registered and owned.¹⁴¹ The second area, and more relevant for this paper and my focus, was the election of pastors. In their first bylaws, the pastors were elected from and by the congregation and then to become annually confirmed by the congregation.¹⁴² In other words, pastors had a one-year tenure, but could be re-elected as many years as it served the local church. The change that developed in this crucial area of leadership and pastoral oversight was that the bylaws required “the pastors be appointed by the President and the Board of Directors on recommendation of the District Supervisor”.¹⁴³ The background for this appointive system had four foundations. 1.) Aimee’s denominational history that also was the history and theological foundation shared with many of the founding leaders. 2.) Problems related to an electoral process where numerous and challenges surfaced: a.) Due to the one-year tenure, the pastoral change became to frequent. For the churches, it became too unstable. For the pastors it resulted in insecurity in regards to tenure and undesired local politics. b.) At some points, it almost became a competition between churches to acquire a desired pastor. On the other side, if you as a pastor lost your tenure in one church, it could be difficult to find a new tenure with another church. c.) In the local church, the pastor could easily loose his focus of ministering and leading the church, and start to cater to the members preferences to remain in their favour.¹⁴⁴ 3.) The biblical persuasion of the founders was that ministerial leadership did not base itself on popularity, but guided by the

¹⁴¹ The topic of property was much contested from its beginning and has been a persistent topic through the years. From the original thoughts and the necessary development adjustments to function in our time has been formidable. *The Vine and the Branches*. P, 38.

¹⁴² Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 37.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* P, 37.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* P, 38.

Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁵ 4.) Finally, due to this appointee model the pastor was allowed more freedom in presenting an uncompromised message to the church.¹⁴⁶ The modifying element to the appointee model is that Foursquare formed a hybrid leadership model that includes elements of Presbyterian and Congregational leadership in their structure as well.¹⁴⁷ Their argument is that in the Bible they do not find just one model spelled out, but a combination of all three types of leadership depending on the situation.

The chart illustrates the principal elements of the structure.¹⁴⁸

	Episcopal (individual)	Presbyterian (committees)	Congregational (collective members)
International	President	Board	Annual Convention
Nations/Regions	District Supervisor	District Council	District Conference
Church	Pastor	Church Council	Annual Congregation

The episcopal leadership underlines that: “1.) Foursquare believes that God will call individuals to lead areas of His church, 2.) Many of these individuals are prayerfully appointed rather than elected, 3.) Authority is generally delegated downward through a hierarchical structure”.¹⁴⁹

The Presbyterian leadership underlines: 1.) The need for team work based on the gifts of the Holy Spirit. 2.) Accountability.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. P, 38.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. P, 38.

¹⁴⁷ Gospel, "Foursquare Licence process guide for the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel," (Los Angeles USA, 2008). P, 2-3.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. P, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. P, 2.

The Congregational participation is of high value since all of us are called according to 1Pet 2:9, a royal priesthood. If a leader is walking and nobody is following, he is just out for a walk. The necessity and participation of the congregation is undisputable.

2.1.5.3 Doctrinal background for the leadership model

From Aimee's "Creedal statements" and "The Foursquare declaration of Faith", it is clear that the Bible was the foundation for early Foursquare leadership. The prevailing view within Foursquare in regards to the Bible was and still is inerrancy.¹⁵⁰ When the organization of churches was springing forth, the Bible would play a key role. In support of a structure and organization, several scriptures were mentioned.¹⁵¹ An example from the Old Testament (OT) of organization would be when Jethro came to visit Moses in Ex 18:13-23 and leaders on different levels were inaugurated. A second example from the OT is Numb 11:16-17 when God told Moses to choose seventy elders. From the New Testament (NT) the obvious scripture examples are when Jesus choose his twelve disciples among the seventy and the three among the twelve. On the other hand, the scriptural basis for the organization of the first church in the book of Acts is not as clear as most people would like it to be. The book of Acts, Timothy and Titus clearly shows structure, but is it clear? Below is a quote from two prominent Foursquare scholars.

The amount of scriptural material relative to the organization and leadership of the apostolic church is not so large. The titles used by New Testament church leaders were more descriptive of their ministries than of their office or rank.¹⁵²

Another issue is that the first believers were mostly from Jewish background. The synagogue carried the most familiar kind of gathering. The Foursquare leaders searched the scriptures and found that there is scriptural basis for the most common church governances.

¹⁵⁰ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 24.

¹⁵¹ This is due to numerous independent groups who opposed some form of organization at that time.

¹⁵² Duffield and Van Cleave, *Foundations of Pentecostal Theology Vol 2* (Los Angeles California: Foursquare Media, 2016). P, 69.

Leaders can sit down together and choose whether they want the church government to be episcopal, congregational or Presbyterian.¹⁵³ But the Foursquare organizational structure was not planned in advance.¹⁵⁴

The result became a blending of the historical forms of church order with an emphasis on the appointee system. This is due to Jesus appointing leaders (Lk 6:13), multiple times in the book of Acts leaders are appointed for different missions (Acts 6:3, 13:2-3) and Paul asked Titus to appoint leaders in Crete (Tit 1:5). This seemingly has similarities to the Roman Catholic, Orthodox or Episcopal polity, but one of Foursquare's modification elements is the rejection of apostolic succession. Further modification is the inclusion of Presbyterian governance in the district and national oversight. The congregational side is included by voting on matters of property purchase, budget and confirming choice of church board at the annual church meetings. In addition, the Foursquare convention body serves as the highest authority of the church and includes ministers (episcopal) and laypeople (presbyterian). In this regard, none of the three historical polities are pure, but are applied functionally to different areas of the church governance.

2.1.5.4 Who coined the phrase "modified episcopal"?

I have through the help of Steve Zeleny¹⁵⁵, Sterling Brackett¹⁵⁶, El Clark¹⁵⁷ and multiple interviews with all the prominent leaders in FSQ searched every inch to discover who coined that phrase, but without any success. In my acknowledgements, I give credit to a number of FSQ leaders who contributed. They have all been going through their files and memory banks to retrieve who it could have been that coined the word, but we are still looking for answers.

¹⁵³ Scriptures to argue for the three historical views. Episcopal leadership (Multiple scriptures support a form of appointee leadership, from Adam, Abraham and onwards. Acts 13:1-4, shows the combination of the Holy Spirits calling, the elders appointing and the people affirming). Congregational leadership (there seems to be no scriptural support to a purely Congregational governance, it looks like it was in a combination with the leaders. Acts 15 is an example for where the leaders in Jerusalem listened to the people before they made their decision. Presbyterian leadership (there are plenty of scriptures in support of some kind of eldership leadership. (Acts 16:4 mentions two groups of elders. In 1Pet 5:1, the elders are being encouraged by Peter). Kreider, *The Biblical role of Elders for today's church* (Pennsylvania, USA: House to House publications, 2004). Chapter 7.

¹⁵⁴ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 33.

¹⁵⁵ Steve Zeleny works at the FSQ archives.

¹⁵⁶ Sterling Breckett was the vice president of FSQ and president at the Echo Park Evangelistic Association who handles the legacy after Aimee.

¹⁵⁷ El Clark served as the FSQ attorney and have access to especially protected files in FSQ.

Through this extensive research, we believe we have found the place where the phrase was mentioned for the first time. It is from a cabinet meeting April 13th in 1989, where John Holland, the newly elected president at that time, says; “We call ourselves a modified Episcopal form of church government”.¹⁵⁸ The usage in the quote shows that the term “modified episcopal” has deeper roots. From our research, people also could remember the terminology and application of the model from times further back.¹⁵⁹ Pastor Jack in his mail of December 4th 2015 is clear “I know it wasn’t Dr. McP”.¹⁶⁰ Presently from the feedback about who coined “the phrase” it is leaning towards Dr. Courtney. He is the most likely person, pointed out by Dr. Sterling Brackett¹⁶¹, Dr. Steve Schell¹⁶² and Steve Zeleny.¹⁶³

2.1.6 Leadership developments in Foursquare today.

Everything that is alive will evolve. Since denominations are organized structures that involve people to a large extent they therefore evolve over time. FSQ has made changes from its early beginnings through the years, but they have generally held on to their basic conviction of leadership structure. I will not spend much space on this subject since it is my focus to look at their roots and not so much at the development. When I do mention this lightly, it is just to highlight a few areas that stand out.

2.2 The Norwegian Pentecostal Movement (NPM)

This movement has about 40 000 members and some 340 churches and a wide arrange of nations where they do missions work.¹⁶⁴ Until recently, all their churches have been registered individually and independently as a separate entity with the authorities. In 2019, the NPM and

¹⁵⁸ Quote from Cabinet meeting April 13 1989 sent from Steve Zeleny September 3, 2020. Privately owned.

¹⁵⁹ Sterling Brackett (President of Echo Park Evangelistic Association) in mail September 21, 2020. “I can say that I recall the term being used in the seventies”.

Jim J. Adams Ed.D. (Executive Director at Center for Global Learning & Engagement. Professor of Leadership at Azusa Pacific Univeristy) in mail June 20, 2011. “I clearly recall the use of the term «modified episcopal» in describing our church polity as far back as my days at LIFE (the 70’s)”.

¹⁶⁰ Dr. McP would be Dr. Rolf McPherson

¹⁶¹ Mail dated September 21st 2020. Dr. Sterling Bracket – Corporate Secretary, Vice President, Board of Directors, President of LIFE Bible College East, President of Echo Park Evangelistic Association, Pastor, now retired

¹⁶² Mail dated September 21st 2020. Dr. Steve Schell – Board of Directors, Faculty of LIFE Bible College, Pastor, District Supervisor, Divisional Superintendent, now Pastor Emeritus.

¹⁶³ Mail dated December 30th 2020. ”that sounds exactly like something Dr. Courtney would have said. I can even hear his voice saying it in my head”. Steve Zeleny is Director of Archives and Data management and Manager of the Foursquare Heritage Archives.

¹⁶⁴ Information about the Norwegian Pentecostal movement; www.pinsebevegelsen.no

another group of independent churches called “Frie Venner” started a process of unifying over a three-year trial period. In later years, we notice that the NPM has become an umbrella organization where different church networks with various affiliation have found a belonging. This would be some of the so-called “Faith movement” churches established in the 80’s and 90’s. Also newer establishments as “United”, “Hillsong churches” and “SALT” has come under the umbrella.

In its conception, the NPM and the Swedish Pentecostal movement (SPM) established almost simultaneously. The Norwegian founder T. B. Barratt (1862-1940) and the Swedish founder Lewi Pethrus (1884-1974) worked very close together in the formation process of this movement. More details about this at point 2.2.3 and 2.2.4

This movement is unique in its organizational structure. The founder’s background from traditional evangelical denominations should give some pointers at where they naturally would drift. I will try to paint the picture of how they drifted from their positions to develop a new organizational model. This will be the focus of point 2.2.4 and 2.2.5.

2.2.1 Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940)

T. B. Barratt¹⁶⁵ was born July 22, 1862 in a little town called Albaston in the area of Devonshire and Cornwall in England.¹⁶⁶ This area is known for its beautiful landscape and its revivals under John Wesley and George Whitfield.¹⁶⁷ His parents (Alexander and Mary) were Wesleyan Methodists and his grandfather (Captain George Ball) was a renowned Wesleyan preacher. His father was in the mining industry and was offered a job as a manager of a mine in Norway. At about five years of age, his whole family moved to Varaldsøy in Hardanger by one of the beautiful fjords in Norway. Barratt grew up in an affluent home and was home schooled in his early years.¹⁶⁸ As a nine year old, he had his first personal encounter with the Lord. When he

¹⁶⁵ Barratt wrote several books, both about his life and his doctrines. In English, his works “*In the Days of the Latter Rain*” and “*When the fire fell and an outline of my life*” are collected in the book “*The work of T. B. Barratt*”. In Norwegian, the previous titles are easily available. Besides that, he wrote extensively and became according to Ystebø’s findings an apologist for the Pentecostal revival. Ystebø Alegre, “The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt defining and defending the faith 1906-09” (Regent Univeristy, 2019). On p. 5, she is referencing to Jan-Åke Alvarsson and his book “*Pingstrørelsen*”, where he summarizes the findings of several historians and theologians.

¹⁶⁶ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 10.

¹⁶⁷ Barratt, *Erindringer* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1941). P, 9.

¹⁶⁸ Selbekk, *T. B. Barratt forfulgt og etterfulgt* (Kjeller, Norway: Hermon Forlag, 2012). P, 32-33.

was eleven his parents sent him to a boarding school and he entered the Methodist Wesleyan College in Taunton, in Somersetshire to study for five years. This is where his classmate Thomas D. Burns led Barratt to the Lord.¹⁶⁹ Due to the prevailing prayer revival at the school, Barratt frequented in the local Methodist church and became a member. Short time after he came back to Norway from his school in the UK a revival broke out in the local Methodist church. After the circuit preacher left, Barratt as a sixteen year old succeeded the preacher by reading sermons by D. L. Moody (1837-99) and John Wesley.¹⁷⁰ People were saved and Barratt got more invitations to speak other places, his ministry was beginning to form. In his own biography “*Erindringer*”¹⁷¹ he describes that from June 8th, 1881 he was convinced about the Lord’s direction for his life. In his book he describes his life between 1881 and 89 as a growing and fruitful ministry as well as his marriage to his wife (Laura Jakobsen (1866-1951)) and their first child (Mary) before they entered their ministry appointment as an elder in Oslo (Christiania in those days) 3rd Methodist church (Central Kirken today). In Oslo Barratt enters a busy time in his life¹⁷² where he also is introduced to influential and recognised ministers from Norway and abroad. In addition to this, he also ministers in the UK and Sweden. In September 1902, there is another significant shift in Barratt’s ministry, the beginning of Christiania Bymisjon. It was only one small hitch, no salary.¹⁷³ God provided and the ministry continued. Through his knowledge of English, he became an interpreter for visiting speakers and it also enabled him to read English literature. This gave him an international connection on an early stage that would serve him in the ministry. In R. A. Torrey’s (1856-1928) book “*How to bring men to Christ*”, he was refreshed and strengthened in his understanding and necessity of the Baptism in the Holy Ghost.¹⁷⁴ The fruitful ministry continued in Christiania Bymisjon,¹⁷⁵ but to his dismay, opposition against his work prevailed. With the state church claiming most of people in Norway as members, and being a Methodist with foreign roots and only fifty years presence in Norway

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. P, 37.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. P, 43-44.

¹⁷¹ Barratt, *Erindringer* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 40. The English title is “*When the fire fell and an outline of my life*”.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. 71, According to his book he had in mid July 1893, held 2460 meetings. It does not say if that is the total of his ministry or only since arriving Oslo (most likely, it’s the last).

¹⁷³ Ibid. P, 80.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. P, 82-83.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. P, 89, he had 7661 meetings from when he started to have meetings, so it must be beyond the meetings just in Oslo. Still from his last count 11 years earlier, he has done 5200 meetings.

it was an uphill battle all the way.¹⁷⁶ When Albert Lunde (1877-1939) came to Oslo in February 1905, a considerable revival broke loose in Oslo. Lunde did not form a network or denomination until 1910 of the newly converted people,¹⁷⁷ so the new believers from the revival joined existing churches. The Albert Lunde revival lasted for over a year and is by Ingulf Diesen considered to have been the largest in Oslo.¹⁷⁸ It is interesting that Barratt seemingly pays little attention to this in his book, he goes from a short report about the meetings to lament his challenges that I noticed above. Not only that, but he fills his Magazine with material about the revival in Wales under the leadership of Evan Roberts (1878-1951).¹⁷⁹ In the midst of the revival in Oslo, Barratt decides to go to USA for a collection tour to build his mission. After a short meeting tour in Norway, he went by boat to USA in late September 1905.

With good recommendation letters Barratt enters USA and makes every effort to have meetings, but with very little fruit.¹⁸⁰ A further burden was a letter from home that told about his mother's death. After more than six months in USA, he prepares to go back to Norway. A last minute urgent call from his American leaders convince him to stay a little bit longer. This was a crucial decision worth more than money according to himself.¹⁸¹ Barratt encounters the very first edition of a magazine called "*The Apostolic Faith*" from the revival at Azusa Street 312.¹⁸² This initiates a letter exchange with the leaders of the revival.¹⁸³ His hunger for the Holy Spirit rises like never before.¹⁸⁴ He enters an encounter that evolves over several days starting on September 30th,¹⁸⁵ via October the 7th¹⁸⁶ and reaches its climax on November the 15th¹⁸⁷. This whole encounter over several days is described in details in his book "*When the fire fell*".¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁶ Diesen, *Norges vekkeseshistorie gjennom 100 år*. (Hovet: Hermon Forlag, 1994). First Methodist churches in Norway Fredrikstad, Sarpsborg and Halden in 1856/57. P, 74.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. P, 112.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. P, 111.

¹⁷⁹ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 91.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. P, 98-99, in his letter home in September 11 1906 he admits that his trip has been very challenging.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. P, 98.

¹⁸² Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009). P, 167.

¹⁸³ Ibid. P, 168.

¹⁸⁴ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 99.

¹⁸⁵ Selbekk, *T. B. Barratt forfulgt og etterfulgt* (Kjeller, Norway: Hermon Forlag, 2012). P, 136 (digital book).

¹⁸⁶ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 101.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. P, 120.

¹⁸⁸ Barratt, "The Work of T. B. Barratt," (New York and London: Routledge Library, 2018). "*When the fire Fell*" Chapters IX and X in digital edition. In the Norwegian "*Erindinger*" it's found from page 101-120.

Barratt arrived back in Oslo on December 18th, 1906.¹⁸⁹ According to Martin Ski's description, Barratt had a vision on the deck of the boat as it came through the fjord and closed in on the city lights from Oslo. The vision was concerning his ministry from now on. "That the whole Norwegian Christianity would have the same blessing as himself! The Baptism in the Spirit with signs following".¹⁹⁰ The very next day, December 19th, Barratt was announced to speak at a gathering with "Kristiania bymisjons Hjælpeforening".¹⁹¹ Attending the meeting was Erik Andersen Nordquelle (1858-1938) who lead a movement of churches that opened up for Barratt and became part in the preparation for the Pentecostal revival.¹⁹² More about him later.

The tiny sparks of the Pentecostal movement starts on December 23rd, and continues with meetings throughout the holyday.¹⁹³ From all the meetings during the final days of December, the sparks of revival were flying everywhere. From now on there was no need to advertise the meetings.¹⁹⁴ People came from everywhere, the fire of revival was burning.

Barratt's importance in forming and laying the foundations of the Pentecostal movement in Norway, Scandinavia and beyond is undisputed.¹⁹⁵ I will shortly highlight some of the areas he influenced. The areas I have chosen to highlight are those that are somewhat relevant for this paper. They will not be covered to the point where honour is due, his contribution goes further and other able people have described the highlighted areas very well.

Barratt the Revivalist. From his early beginning, we have already noticed his fruitful ministry. A great example of that is his ministry in the Methodist movement in his early years. According to Rakel Ystebø Alegre's Ph.d dissertation, quoting Arne Hasting, Barratt was "the Methodist

¹⁸⁹ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 140.

¹⁹⁰ Ski, T. B. *Barratt - døpt i Ånd og Ild*. (Oslo, Norway: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1979). P, 99. My translation from Norwegian.

¹⁹¹ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 140.

¹⁹² Valton, *De Norske Vekkelsers Historie* (Oslo: Filadelfia Forlaget, 1942). P, 201. Diesen, *Norges vekkeseshistorie gjennom 100 år*. (Hovet: Hermon Forlag, 1994). P, 113.

¹⁹³ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 135 gives the itinerary. The 23rd, meetings at 10:30 and 16:00. The 25th, meetings at 07:00, at 11:00 and 18:00, The 26th, meetings at 11:00 and 18:00 Christmas celebration at City mission (in particular a breakthrough meeting), The 28th, another Christmas celebration, but for children. After the children left the place, it erupted in a breakthrough meeting. The 29th, the meeting started at 10:30, but lasted until midnight. The 30th, meeting morning and evening. The 31st, at 20:00 where the police was called in. And 1st, of January at 16:00. Some of the dates are combined with dates from Bloch-Hoell's "*Pinsebevegelsen*", P, 140-143.

¹⁹⁴ Valton, *De Norske Vekkelsers Historie* (Oslo: Filadelfia Forlaget, 1942). P, 200.

¹⁹⁵ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 267, speaks about Barratt as The Pentecostal apostle in Europe. The whole chapter VII, P, 267-279 speaks about this in detail.

church's most outstanding pastor in Norway from 1890-1906".¹⁹⁶ In his first years after his baptism in the Holy Spirit, he continued as a Methodist, since his ministry focus was for all Christians to enjoy what he had experienced.¹⁹⁷ His heroes of faith were the early revivalists as mentioned before and revival was his desire. Revival spreads predominantly through the work of the Holy Spirit, but also through people who have been moved by the Spirit. Barratt indeed became one of the messengers and quickly became a prominent Pentecostal leader in Europe.¹⁹⁸ Already in 1907 in the early days of the revival, he spent considerable time in Sweden, Denmark and the UK.

It is time to introduce one of Barratt's coconspirators in spreading the revival, Lewi Pethrus.¹⁹⁹ To give a fair presentation of this man in the right perspective, we would need a whole book. I hesitate to bring him into the picture since I cannot do him justice, but his importance and brilliance cannot go unnoticed. In agreements and disagreements, Barratt and Pethrus influenced each other as fuel to fire to a fruitful cooperation that would lay the foundation for the early days of the Pentecostal movement in Europe.²⁰⁰ Pethrus was the Swedish equivalent to Barratt in many ways. From his background as a Baptist pastor, he was instrumental in helping his church to become the largest church in Europe at that time. The two areas of relevance for this thesis is the Baptist church with a congregational organization and pastoring a large church. These two elements will become important for the leadership development.

Barratt and the International ministry. Barratt had an outstanding international ministry.²⁰¹ He travelled frequently in the Nordic nations and visited larger parts of Europe.²⁰² When we take into consideration that this is still in the early days of commuting, traveling so extensively was an anomaly back then. The takeaway from this is his tireless desire to bring the message and experience of Pentecost to new destinations. He became the key person to promote the

¹⁹⁶ Ystebø Alegre, "The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt defining and defending the faith 1906-09" (Regent University, 2019). P, 41.

¹⁹⁷ Selbekk, *T. B. Barratt forfulgt og etterfulgt* (Kjeller, Norway: Hermon Forlag, 2012). P, 156.-57, digital book.

¹⁹⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 267.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 422-423. The pages has very comprehensive bio of Lewi Pethrus. Pethrus, *Ett Sagolikt Liv* (Uppsala, Sweden: Livets Ord Førlag, 1995). This is his autobiography.

²⁰⁰ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 17, 42.

²⁰¹ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). Chapter VII, P, 267-279.

²⁰² Ski, *Fram til urkristendommen* (3vols.; vol. 1; Oslo, Norway: Filadelfia forlaget, 1956). P, 206.

Pentecostal experience and doctrines thought out Western Europe.²⁰³ In addition, it was a sign from the church at large that they were hungry for what the Holy Spirit could bring.

Barratt the writer. His memoirs, his books, but mostly his magazine *Byposten* (in English-the *City Post*)²⁰⁴ starting 1904, became an important vehicle for the message and revival.²⁰⁵ Due to his ability to handle English and Norwegian, he became an important communicator from the big world out there and the testimonies about God's work. Language connected him to key people, and in these early days of the telegraph, he could enlighten the general population about world events. The news about the revival spread like a wild fire, but the sound of the opponents also spread widely. Due to his writing abilities, he could respond and refute his accusers through his magazine. This brings us to the next highlight.

Barratt the Apologist. Rakel Ystebø Alegre's Ph.d dissertation "*The Pentecostal Apologetics of T. B. Barratt: Defining and Defending the faith 1906-09*", deserves mentioning at this point. She is able to address a topic that until now and for the most part has been overlooked, the apologetic work of Barratt.²⁰⁶ Due to substantial opposition and ridicule from the press²⁰⁷ and the priest's, a well-formulated reply from the new Pentecostals was in demand. Barratt became the voice that answered the critics, but maybe more important, through his reply's formed the theological framework for the Pentecostal movement that would emerge. In her paper, she leans heavily on Bundy²⁰⁸ and Bloch-Hoell's²⁰⁹ well-documented books. They base their findings on a wide range of letter correspondence, newspaper articles and other unpublished material. The harassments from the press²¹⁰ and the priest's²¹¹ makes our modern media look like saints. To address this topic is brilliantly done by the authors just mentioned, but is too cumbersome for this paper. My point is to highlight the tremendous courage and a stoutness to stand up against

²⁰³ Lie, *Fra amerikansk hellighetsbevegelse til moderne norsk karismatikk* (Oslo: Akademia forlag, 2011). P, 104. With the exception of Netherlands and Italy the Pentecostal message was brought by Barratt or his disciples.

²⁰⁴ The magazine was called *Byposten* from 1904-09 and changed to *Korsets Seier* from 1910- present.

²⁰⁵ Nilsen, *Pinsens Århundre* (Oslo, Norway: Rex Forlag, 2000). P, 23.

²⁰⁶ Besides giving a thorough treatment of Barratt's contribution as an apologist, she also mentions the key resources that also contributes to the topic.

²⁰⁷ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 145-149.

²⁰⁸ Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009).

²⁰⁹ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956).

²¹⁰ Selbekk, *T. B. Barratt forfulgt og etterfulgt* (Kjeller, Norway: Hermon Forlag, 2012). Selbekk has dedicated a whole chapter in his book to this situation. Chapter 10, p, 105-120 in the printed edition.

²¹¹ Rakel Ystebø Alegre's dissertation and Nils Bloch-Hoell's book about the Pentecostals both cover the challenges from the clergy in details.

such opposition. Barratt's leadership and initiative at the early stages of Pentecostalism cannot be overstated. However, to me another issue becomes evident through the criticism; the opposition often came from the church clergy with diverse denominational backgrounds. This kind of opposition can easily lead you to a place where you despise this kind of leadership and its structures. This transitions us to the next highlight, Barratt's vision that the message of the Holy Spirit baptism was for every Christian.

Barratt the Ecumenist. Early 1900 has a relatively simple church presence in Norway. According to Bloch-Hoell it was about 60 000 members outside the Norwegian state church when Pentecostalism came to Norway.²¹² Only a very few denominations²¹³ were established due to the Konventikkelplakat (1741-1842)²¹⁴ that had been removed just sixty years prior to this. This law was replaced by the "Dissenterloven of 1845"²¹⁵ and ratified 1891 and 1896. In 1969, the word "dissenter" was removed and exchanged with "faith community" and that became the term for all denominations from then on. From the meagre start of the independent prayer houses and Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824)²¹⁶ to the beginning of the Methodists²¹⁷ and Baptists²¹⁸ to Barratt they all suffered under the consequences of this law. Even years after its abolishment it was engraved into the Norwegian religious identity. Barratt's ministry initiative with the abstinence movement, the Christiania Bymisjon and his magazine, came from the very start through the Methodist platform, but it still was a big challenge to get acceptance among the other churches.²¹⁹ On the front deck of the boat at his arrival in Oslo, Barratt had a vision to share this experience with all believers as well. His ecumenical endeavours was a vital

²¹² Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 120.

²¹³ Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Oslo, London, New York: Universitets forlaget, 1964). P, 113-121, Bloch-Hoell gives a short history about the 8-10 predominant denominations in Norway when the Pentecostal experience arrives in Norway via Barratt.

²¹⁴ Konventikkel comes from Latin and means a small private meeting with religious content; today's house church or home groups.

²¹⁵ It was a law that gave permission for other churches to establish in Norway. Dissenter is a very degrading word that by its definition made everyone outside the Lutheran church a false teacher.

²¹⁶ Diesen, *Norges vekkeseshistorie gjennom 100 år*. (Hovet: Hermon Forlag, 1994). P, 55, Hans Nielsen Hauge is according to Ingulf Diesen the most contributing factor to abolish the Konventikkelplakat. He is worth a separate study on his own. Several books has been written to honor his work and ministry.

²¹⁷ Westin, *Frikirkenes Historie* (Norge: Ansgar Forlag, 1989). p. 314, the Methodists were the first denomination to be established in Norway. The meager beginnings are from 1849 until they establish the first church in 1856. Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 113.

²¹⁸ Westin, *Frikirkenes Historie* (Norge: Ansgar Forlag, 1989). P, 315, the Baptist were the second denomination to establish in Norway. In Sweden it was the other way around.

²¹⁹ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 92.

part of his intended ministry and this new experience followed in the same pattern as described in detail by the book by Terje Hegertun “*The brotherly mind-set that the Pentecostal Spirit by necessity will birth forth*”.²²⁰ The book has a much wider function and ambition in becoming a bridge builder between the Pentecostals and the traditional churches through identifying Pentecostal reflection and pointing to common fields with the rest of the body. In his book, he points to the fact that now 100 years after the modest beginning of the Pentecostal movement it is high time to bridge the gap. His view finds common ground with authorities within the Pentecostal understanding such as Walter J. Hollenweger (1927-2016) and Cecil M. Robeck (1945-). The reason to highlight this is that from its very beginning the Pentecostal movement had an ecumenical nature and Barratt carried the same DNA. With the best intentions and desires to become a blessing to the whole church body they still faced substantial resistance from the established churches. The traditional established churches were the place where Barratt and what would become the Pentecostal movement had its roots. The intention was to be a renewal movement to inspire the church, but little by little, it became evident that a separation was unavoidable.²²¹ This is not new in church history, but has been there from the beginning when the majority Jewish first church became aware of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the non-Jewish gathering in the house of Cornelius (Acts 10). The leaders in Jerusalem attempted to breach the gap between the two groups by removing the Jewish ceremonial and legal requirements (Acts 15), but from the book of Acts and Paul's letters, we can see that the division remained.

Our Lord, clearly included unity in his prayer (John 17) and that he desires ecumenical work. Paul in his letters makes it clear that multiple factors are involved in uniting the church (Eph 4:3-6). My point to mention this is to show that the best intentions and biblical support is no guarantee for acquiring the ultimate goal of unity in the body of Christ. The task is still before us to be solved in the days ahead. The question is what does unity look like? How do we practically function in unity? Interesting questions, but beyond this paper.

²²⁰ My translation from the book title. Hegertun, *Det brodersind som pinseaanden nødvendigvis maa føde*. (Trondheim, Norway: Tapir akademisk forlag, 2009).

²²¹ Selbekk, *T. B. Barratt forfulgt og etterfulgt* (Kjeller, Norway: Hermon Forlag, 2012). P, 270-271, digital book.

Barratt the Church planter and movement builder. I will briefly digress over some introductory statements that will be treated in detail under the heading of the Pentecostal movement in Norway (point 2.2.3). From the point above, we see that the best intentions were not enough to become a renewal movement within the traditional churches. It was more as a result of being locked out by the traditional churches than a plan that Barratt was cornered to take steps toward establishing Pentecostal churches.²²² He was not the first to take this initiative. In the aftermath of Barratt's meetings in Skien in February 1907, pastor C. M. Seehuus (1864-1951)²²³ established the first Pentecostal church in Skien and most likely the first Pentecostal church in Europe (1908).²²⁴ Barratt started his church Filadelfia in Oslo 1916.²²⁵ The church in Skien was most likely the first orderly arranged Pentecostal church in the Nordic nations possibly even in Europe.²²⁶ Barratt's meetings in Skien also sparked the revival in Telemark, according to Janøy, and it became the strongest foothold for the Pentecostal movement in Norway.²²⁷ That brings me into the movement that grew up around Barratt, it is almost time to take closer look at the movement, but we need to add one more piece of the Barratt puzzle to understand its rapid growth in its initial phase.

Barratt the Humanitarian. It seems to me that Barratt's humanitarian work has the deepest roots. From a very young age, he involved himself in the abstinence movement. Most likely, he had seen the situation with the miners working in the mines his father supervised. They would waste their hard-earned money in their drunkenness, ruining their life and family. Most of the places where he ministered it was his heart's desire to bring change to destitute people. Early in his ministry, the work of William Booth (1829-1912) and the Salvation Army deeply impressed and influenced him.²²⁸ When he arrived in Oslo, he started the Christiania Bymisjon in 1902, to reach out to the troubled people in the capital.²²⁹ To me it seems like this was the predominate

²²² Ibid. P, 234.

²²³ Pastor Seehuus was pastoring a Baptist church and after the meetings with Barratt the church with Seehuus leadership reorganized themselves, but more according to Baptist pattern than what Barratt would do in 1916.

²²⁴ Alvarsson, *Pentekostale Perspektiver* (Bergen Norway: Fagbokforlaget, 2015). P, 35. The church started May 18 in 1908.

²²⁵ Hagen, *Smak av himmel, Filadelfiakirken 100 år* (Oslo, Norway: Filadelfiakirken, Oslo, 2016). P, 26.

²²⁶ Janøy, "Tabernaklet i Skien," in *100 år i Pinsens tegn* (Skien: Erik Tanche Nilssen, 2008). p.14. The pioneer status of the church in Skien is the words of Rolf Erik Janøy. My opinion is that it is not unlikely that there were meeting places of Pentecostal tradition prior to the date of the church in Skien, but this could have very well be the first to organize according to Pentecostal tradition.

²²⁷ Ibid. P, 11.

²²⁸ Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009). P, 77.

²²⁹ Nilsen, *Pinsens Århundre* (Oslo, Norway: Rex Forlag, 2000). P, 23.

plan he had in his mind, the other points above came more as a surprise to him. Barratt in spite of his more aristocrat background stayed true all his life in ministering the people struggling in the labour class in society.²³⁰ When the Pentecostal revival broke out in Oslo it is interesting to note that the working class had a greater openness to the Pentecostal experience compared to the revival under the Albert Lunde revival. According to Martin Ski, the Lunde revival moved mostly in the middle class of society and the Pentecostal revival started with mostly the working class.²³¹ The inheritance after Barratt is that to this day the work among struggling people and abuse related issues is a high priority within the Pentecostal movement. There are numerous testimonies about people who have come from the street and been in contact with this kind of ministry and has risen to recover their life and functions in responsible positions today.

2.2.2 Preparing the ground for a new movement in Norway

We have already mentioned how Barratt is the obvious change agent in preparation for the movement. In addition I will point to a few other change agents preparing the ground, they will be mentioned lightly as an introduction to this part of the presentation.

The abolition of Konventikkel plakaten and establishment of Dissenterloven.

Norway's constitution in 1814 gave us independence from 400 years of Danish suppression and on June 7 1905, the union with Sweden finished. This becomes a golden age of national romantic- and industrial development. To further build national independence, we saw that through the 1800, the educational, political and religious system was established. The abolition of the prohibition from religious meetings outside the Lutheran church (State church) in 1842²³² and the new law that opened up for this in 1845, made way for free churches to grow forth.²³³ However, the challenges to work outside Lutheran confession did not cease to exist. The religious groups that initially fought for the change to happen became the new bulwark against non-Lutheran movements. Atle Buanes in a recent article in the Christian magazine Dagen mentions that Indremisjon (Innermission) sometimes was called Hindremisjon (Hinder

²³⁰ It is just worth noting that problems with alcohol is not limited to any class in our society. It is a problem transcending all classes.

²³¹ Ski, T. B. *Barratt - døpt i Ånd og Ild*. (Oslo, Norway: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1979). P, 100.

²³² Gjerde, *Norsk Kirkehistorie. De siste 200 årene*. (Oslo; Norway: Lunde Forlag, 2002). P, 12.

²³³ Ibid. P, 12.

mission).²³⁴ Another example is from the founding documents of Tromsø Indremisjon from 1858 that had the following purpose “counteract free church revival and free church movements in the city”.²³⁵

The name of the new law further complicated the matter by calling all non-Lutheran denominations “Decentre”, meaning outside of centre and thereby heretics.²³⁶ This monopoly church had a strong hold on the whole population and made it very difficult for other groups to establish their work. But at least it was now legal to do church outside the state church in Norway.

Breaking the monopoly.

The church monopoly started to break due to some other factors as well. First, we will look at the factors that came from inside the church (1a+1b) and then those from outside the church (2a+2b). From these two steps, the new churches could get a foothold. Then we will take a brief look at the trailblazers who opened up a path for the Pentecostal movement in Norway.

Two change-agents from inside the church. 1a.) Norway had its first²³⁷ taste of transformative national revival²³⁸ during Hans Nielsen Hauge’s (1771-1824) ministry and from the inspiration brought by the Pietism and subsequent Brethren movement on the continent.²³⁹ This opened the door for subsequent revivals in the years to come.²⁴⁰ The revivals led by Gisle Johnson (1822-94), Gustav Adolf Lammers (1802-78) and Lars Levi Læstadius (1800-61) played an important role in opening the people for a new kind of ministry and establishing free churches.²⁴¹ The revivals by the Johnson, Lammers and Læstadius had similar doctrinal

²³⁴ This is a play on words in Norwegian. The point is that this organization from its beginning would hinder other evangelical works that are outside the Lutheran confession from establishing in Norway. The situation today has improved tremendously and they are part of ecumenical meetings in Norway.

²³⁵ Dagen; Wednesday January 20, 2021 by Atle Buanes

²³⁶ Wisløff, *Norsk Kirkehistorie. Bind 3* (Oslo, Norway: Lutherstiftelsen, 1971). P, 11. From before reformation it was said «Every person shall be a Christian under the kings rule”. With Christians, they meant Lutherans.

²³⁷ Rudvin, *Indremisjonsselskapets historie* (Oslo, Norway: Lutherstiftelsens forlag, 1967). Hauge’s revival is not the first in Norway, but first to have such an impact. P, 77-78.

²³⁸ Magnus, *Hans Nielsen Hauge. Mannen som forandret Norge* (Ottestad Norway: Proklamedia, 2020). The book is a thorough book documenting the transformation that followed Hauge’s ministry.

²³⁹ April 3 2021 marks the 250-year jubilee after Hauge’s birth and the importance of his life and ministry is brought back to our common memory.

²⁴⁰ Aarflot, *Norsk Kirkehistorie 2* (Oslo, Norge: Lutherstiftelsen, 1967). P, 231 ff. Aarflot calls the revivals around Hauge (ca. 1800-30) «The peoles revival” since it prepared the ground for a revival among common people.

²⁴¹ Gjerde, *Norsk Kirkehistorie. De siste 200 årene.* (Oslo; Norway: Lunde Forlag, 2002). P, 27-31.

foundation as the Hauge revival, but had a different impact. They broke out in different parts of the nation and reached very different parts of the population, but they all undoubtedly further prepared the ground for the free-church movements to get a foothold.²⁴² In addition, the Brethren movement, that laid a foundation for the Hauge revival, directly influenced Lammers and probably were one of the main contributors for the free-church thinking.²⁴³ 1b.) The Missions organisations started to establish their work in Norway in the late 1850's and into early 1900.²⁴⁴ Most of them came from outside off Norway inspired by the winds of revival where England and Germany were among the most important contributors.²⁴⁵ This became the beginning for many of the "prayer houses" (Bedehus)²⁴⁶ under the Lutheran umbrella.²⁴⁷ They were all marked by devoted believers who put a high value on personal relationship to the Lord through prayer and bible.²⁴⁸ However, they were also sceptical to Pentecostalism when it came to Norway.

Two change-agents that came from outside the church, but also from outside Norway. 2a). The historical and philosophical direction of positivism inspired by August Comte (1798-1857) and Charles Darwin's (1809-82) theory of evolution, both came on a collision course with the church doctrines of man's sinfulness and a breaking away from God's involvement with His creation.²⁴⁹ 2b). Some of the famous Norwegian authors that strengthened Norwegian nationalism were influenced by the winds from Europe and either backslid from a Christian upbringing or simply strongly opposed the Christian tradition in Norway.²⁵⁰ The separation of

²⁴² Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). p. 111. Bloch-Hoell says that the Movement around Lammers was the most important door opener for the "Free churches" (outside Lutheran church) to establish.

²⁴³ Diesen, *Veiryddere* (Oslo, Norway: Ansgar Forlag, 1980). P, 23.

²⁴⁴ Gjerde, *Norsk Kirkehistorie. De siste 200 årene*. (Oslo; Norway: Lunde Forlag, 2002). P, 20-23, 40-44.

²⁴⁵ Rudvin, *Indremisjonsselskapets historie* (Oslo, Norway: Lutherstiftelsens forlag, 1967). Rudvin points out on p, 77 in his book that NLM was influenced by the winds of revival in Germany, but had its own uniqueness in Norway.

²⁴⁶ Lie, *Tro og Tanke - før og nå* (Oslo, Norge: Akademia forlag, 2020). P, 99, 101. Under Hauge the friends of Hauge gathered and some of them developed to the layman's meetings that contributed to open the doors for layman's devotions in meetings.

²⁴⁷ Det Norske Misjons selskap (NMS) started in 1842 and started a missionary training fram 1843. Valton, *De Norske Vekkelsers Historie* (Oslo: Filadelfia Forlaget, 1942). P, 93. The first Indremisjons forening in Skien 1853, Santalmisjon 1867, Det Norske Lutherske Indremisjonsselskap (NLM) 1868. All of these groups had their missions gatherings in prayer houses.

²⁴⁸ Diesen, *Veiryddere* (Oslo, Norway: Ansgar Forlag, 1980). P, 35.

²⁴⁹ Wisløff, *Norsk Kirkehistorie. Bind 3* (Oslo, Norway: Lutherstiftelsen, 1971). P, 13.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. P, 13-14. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), Arne Garborg (1851-1924), Alexander Kielland (1948-1906) and Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) were all inspired by the Danish author Georg Brandes (1842-1927).

the cultural elite and the church signalled to the general population that the winds of change was blowing over Norway. The change was not in favour of Christianity, but was critical to the formalized liturgical church and condemning Christianity as dark and restrictive to the life without morals. Free love became the new ideal.²⁵¹ The collective influence of change agents prepared the ground for another alternative church to step into the arena.

The arrival of the new church movements. The small creeks that breaks the mould holding back the free-churches took almost 100 years. Here we will suffice to mention three trailblazers making the establishment of the Pentecostal movement slightly easier.

The Methodists. After several years of eager missions work in Norway, faced with fierce opposition from the clergy in the state church, the Methodist church became the first denomination to embrace this newfound freedom and established their movement in Norway. In 1856, they started two churches, one in Fredrikshald and one in Sarpsborg.²⁵² The same year on July 4, Lammers establishes his church “Skien free Apostolic Christian church” in Skien.²⁵³ Bloch-Hoell credits the Methodists for their contribution in regards to the new church life. This would be in areas like revivalism, emotional meetings, subjectivism and holiness theology.²⁵⁴ Even more important according to Bloch-Hoell is their main contribution, fostering the future apostle of the Pentecostal movement in Norway and Europe.²⁵⁵

The Baptists. The first Baptist minister, the Dane Fredrik Rymker, started his ministry in Porsgrunn (close to Skien) in 1857, but moved to Skien a bit later to establish the church there.²⁵⁶ His ministry was in the initial face among independent groups and Methodists. There is also a connection between Lammers church and Rymker.²⁵⁷ The first baptism happened

²⁵¹ Ibid. P, 15.

²⁵² Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 113. Today some of the mission's organizations that established at the end of 1800 have become or function like denominations, but from the very start, they were only mission's organizations.

²⁵³ Diesen, *Veiryddere* (Oslo, Norway: Ansgar Forlag, 1980). P, 48-49. Lammers church, after his resignation, later invited Fredrik Franson to have revival meetings. He came in 1883 and they had revival and subsequently changed name and became “Freemission” and then became one of the first churches within “Misjonsforbundet” from 1882-84. Ibid. P, 62-62, 192.

²⁵⁴ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 113-114.

²⁵⁵ Ibid. P, 113.

²⁵⁶ Westin, *Frikirkenes Historie* (Norge: Ansgar Forlag, 1989). P, 315.

²⁵⁷ Norway, *Baptist history in Norway to their 150-year jubilee in 2010* (2021 [cited]); available from <https://baptist.no/om-oss/historie>. P, 2.

December 25 1858 strongly opposed by the clergy in the State church.²⁵⁸ In its simplicity and smallness, this still became a door opener for baptism in Norway.²⁵⁹ Baptism became important for some of the people in Lammers church²⁶⁰ and other smaller groups as well and a Baptist church established in Skien 1860 and another in Larvik.²⁶¹ Baptism became a dividing factor and some of the members from Lammers church became part of establishing yet another church in Skien by the name of “The Christian Dissenter Church” in 1860.²⁶²

De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlinger or for short Frie Venner (Free-Free group). All of these subsequent revivals worked as a wedge to open Norway. More could have been said, but we need to address one more decisive door opener and that is band of independent churches united as Frie Venner under the leadership of Erik Andersen Nordquelle²⁶³. He was a minister and board member in Misjonsforbundet in 1891²⁶⁴ and became the leader of the network of churches called “Frie Venner”.²⁶⁵ Frie Venner traces its history back to about 1859,²⁶⁶ but it is challenging to trace them due to their church polity that enhances non-registered churches without protocols or pastors. The best historic documentation seems to be the establishment of the two house churches from 1887 that united 1894.²⁶⁷ Historically and in part theologically, they are connected to the Lammers churches, but also grew out of Plymouth brethren and Kristi Menighet.²⁶⁸ Some of these local churches together with the Lammers churches became part of Misjonsforbundet in 1884.²⁶⁹

Nordquelle comes from Misjonsforbundet where he had been since its beginning in 1884. In a meeting on November 2 in 1891, Nordquelle had an experience with the Holy Spirit that radically changed him. It was so life transforming that his magazine frequently published this

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Iversen and Liland, *Norges Baptister 150 år* (Norge: Norsk Litteraturselskap, 2010). P, 106.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. After some time Lammers and most of his group distanced themselves from the Baptists and Lammers went back to the Statechurch. P, 106.

²⁶¹ Ibid. P, 107. April 22. 1860 they started a Baptist church in Rymkers home in Porsgrunn with eight members and a child and moves to Skien the following year. This is today Skien Baptist church.

²⁶² Diesen, *Veiryddere* (Oslo, Norway: Ansgar Forlag, 1980). P, 58.

²⁶³ mentioned in brief earlier in cap 2.2.1.

²⁶⁴ see note 226.

²⁶⁵ Diesen, *Veiryddere* (Oslo, Norway: Ansgar Forlag, 1980). P, 255.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. P, 255.

²⁶⁷ Lie, *Tro og Tanke - før og nå* (Oslo, Norge: Akademia forlag, 2020). P, 112.

²⁶⁸ Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle* (Moss, Norway: Eget Forlag, 1981). P, 66-81.

²⁶⁹ Diesen, *Veiryddere* (Oslo, Norway: Ansgar Forlag, 1980). P, 201-202, 255.

story.²⁷⁰ By this Nordquelle brings in another chapter in to Norwegian revivalism that had a strong connection to the Holiness movement.²⁷¹ His newfound joy in the Lord and freedom in his walk with Jesus started out very well and was received by the house churches, but it changed to closed door in not too long.²⁷² He published numerous articles in different Christian magazines and recommended books to support his experience, but opposition to his message became more and more frequent. Finally, late in 1893 he leaves Misjonsforbundet over doctrinal issues related to his experience and sanctification.²⁷³ Now let me return to the problem to pin down a starting point for Frie Venner's movement. Nordquelle's ministry seems to be based in a combination of elements. First, he initiates his ministry within existing churches. He is also given a platform through publication of his articles in Christian magazines before he the publication of his own magazine "Det gode Budskap" from 1904.²⁷⁴ Next is the songbook "Schibboleth" from 1897²⁷⁵ that becomes like an identity marker for groups associated with Nordquelle. Finally, he frequented in churches or groups of believers who shared his form of church life and theology. Nordquelle's very loose church structure, revivalist meetings, holiness inspired and spirit filled experience is undoubtedly one of the most influential factors in preparing the ground for Pentecostalism in Norway.²⁷⁶ Barratt has been called the father of the Pentecostal movement, many would say that Frie Venner became the mother of the Pentecostal movement.²⁷⁷ When Barratt came back to Norway, Nordquelle welcomed him with open arms²⁷⁸ and it looked like they were going to lead this new movement together.²⁷⁹ Nordquelle was renting "Torvgaten 7" in Oslo to facilitate his church.²⁸⁰ The Frie Venner constituency nationally could be up to 4 000 people at that time.²⁸¹ Nordquelle opened the doors for Barratt at the end of December 1906 and they began having services together at Torvgaten.²⁸² Their

²⁷⁰ Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle* (Moss, Norway: Eget Forlag, 1981). P, 33-34.

²⁷¹ Ibid. P, 36.

²⁷² Ibid. P, 37.

²⁷³ Ibid. P, 40-44.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. P, 94.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. P, 74.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. P, 102-104.

²⁷⁷ Sjøgaard, *100 år med Betel i Ski* (Ski, Norway: DFEF Ski and Frank Sjøgaard, 2008). P, 29.

²⁷⁸ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). Nordquelle attended the first meeting Barratt had the day after he arrived from USA, the meeting was a Christmas party on December 19 in 1906. P, 140.

²⁷⁹ Sjøgaard, *100 år med Betel i Ski* (Ski, Norway: DFEF Ski and Frank Sjøgaard, 2008). P, 29.

²⁸⁰ Lie, *Tro og Tanke - før og nå* (Oslo, Norge: Akademia forlag, 2020). p. 112-113. Nordquelle moved to Oslo in 1899 and after some time became the leader of the church.

²⁸¹ Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen* (Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1956). P, 117.

²⁸² Ibid. P, 143.

ministry started with a full house right from the start, but soon hit some difficulties, but continued until 1910 when Barratt rented his own facilities in Møllergaten 38.²⁸³ Barratt's baptism in 1913 by Levi Pethrus caused extra strain to the relationship since they differed on this issue on baptism and membership in the local church.²⁸⁴ The decisive end of their cooperation happened when Barratt registered his own church in 1916.²⁸⁵ The separation process would turn out to be very cumbersome and lasted until 1935.²⁸⁶ As a final note to this, I need to mention that presently as of 2021, a process is ongoing to unite the two movements again.

We recognize that many small creeks eventually forms a mighty river. This becomes a recurring theme for the presentation of the movement.

2.2.3 The Pentecostal movement in Norway

Revival is beyond our control and as often is the case, there is always more than one reason why it starts. With all the factors and change-agents we have looked at, Norway was fertile ground and ripe for the Pentecostal movement. The small fires of revival from around the nation we have looked at begins to unite and increases in its influence. Barratt's meetings in Oslo late 1906 and subsequent travel to different locations spreads the impact of the revival. Oddvar Nilsen in his book "Pinsens Århundre 1900-99" describes the rapid move of the revival and its impact in many denominations.²⁸⁷ At this early point, many denominations were still open to the revival, but that will soon change. The emotionalism, revivalist, tongues-speaking services became too much for the leadership around the country. Order, structure and theology came under scrutiny and fell short in the eyes of many. Barratt's dream about a blessing for all Christians was crumbling.²⁸⁸ Barratt had no intention in starting a church of his own (even further from his mind a denomination), but the opposition from the established churches and the responsibility for the fresh harvest of souls made him take the necessary steps.²⁸⁹ Through an intense travel and ministry schedule in Norway as well as internationally, changing the name

²⁸³ Lie, *Tro og Tanke - før og nå* (Oslo, Norge: Akademia forlag, 2020). P, 115.

²⁸⁴ Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle* (Moss, Norway: Eget Forlag, 1981). P, 122.

²⁸⁵ Lie, *Tro og Tanke - før og nå* (Oslo, Norge: Akademia forlag, 2020). P, 115.

²⁸⁶ Borgen and Haraldsø, *Kristne kirker og Trossamfunn* (Trondheim, Norway: Tapir Forlag, 1993). P, 62-63.

²⁸⁷ Nilsen, *Pinsens Århundre* (Oslo, Norway: Rex Forlag, 2000).

²⁸⁸ See note 170.

²⁸⁹ Tangen, "Global Renewal Christianity," (ed. Synan and Yong; vol. 4 Europe and North America of; Florida Usa: Charisma House, 2017). P, 197.

of his magazine from “Byposten” to “Korsets Seier” in 1910 to better reflect the revival, they were able to spread the message and keep in step with the revival.²⁹⁰ As I mentioned dark clouds started to fill the sky. In September 1910, Barratt started to rent their own meeting place at Møllergata 38 in Oslo.²⁹¹ The good relationship with Nordquelle had derailed over multiple issues. The most divisive and final step was Barratt’s baptism in September 1913 by his friend Pethrus in the Filadelfia church in Stockholm.²⁹²

Pastor Levi Pethrus had become the pastor of Stockholm’s seventh Baptist church in 1910. All 29 members were filled with the Spirit and they were content to be in both camps. In 1912, a conflict caused by the question of open or closed communion became a point of contention.²⁹³ During the spring district conference 1913, it was a unanimous vote among the Baptists present to exclude the Stockholm church from the denomination.²⁹⁴ According to Nils-Olov Nilson this episode became the most prominent reason for the establishment of a free and independent local church in Sweden.²⁹⁵

Barratt is content with the development in his own church in October 1913,²⁹⁶ but he waits until 1916 to establish the Filadelfia church in Oslo.²⁹⁷ It becomes the beacon for the movement.²⁹⁸ The friendship and collaboration between Pethrus and Barratt, with their church background, becomes the starting point for the formation of the leadership and the church model they developed.²⁹⁹ The desire was to identify the New Testament church.³⁰⁰

Since the focus of my paper is on the leadership side, I will simply refer to Karl Inge Tangen that has covered the development of the Pentecostal movement in a succinct way in volume 4

²⁹⁰ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 196.

²⁹¹ Ibid. P, 196.

²⁹² Ibid. P, 200-201.

²⁹³ Nilsen, *Pinsens Århundre* (Oslo, Norway: Rex Forlag, 2000). Open or closed communion was a question of membership. The Baptist pointed out that membership was required, Levi Pethrus on the other hand pointed to baptism as sufficient. P, 48.

²⁹⁴ Pethrus, *Ett Sagolikt Liv* (Uppsala, Sweden: Livets Ord Førlag, 1995). P, 111.

²⁹⁵ Nilsson, "The Development of the Church-Concept," (2011). P, 1-2.

²⁹⁶ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 201.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 204. They founded the church according to NT pattern April 5. 1916.

²⁹⁸ Aronson, *Guds eld øver Sverige* (Uppsala, Sverige: Førlaget Trons Værlid, 1990). P, 17.

²⁹⁹ Aronson, *Väckelsesrörelser i Sverige* (Stockholm: Areopagos, 2014). P, 38-39.

³⁰⁰ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen fö pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 85, 94.

of the “*Global Renewal Christianity*”.³⁰¹ More details about the development of the church governance will be handled under point 2.2.5 and onwards.

2.2.4 The Scandinavian leadership model defined

As we have seen, many contributing factors assembled to create the foundation for the Pentecostal movement, but there are other aspects as well to consider creating the unique Scandinavian leadership model.

In Norway, three different church leadership models are most familiar. That would be the Congregational democratic model, the Presbyterian model and the Episcopal model. The book “*Perspectives on church government*” adds two more models into the picture, the Elder-led congregational model and the Plural Elder-led congregational model.³⁰² In his book about the New Testament church, Lars Råmunddal places the Pentecostal model under the Independent congregational label.³⁰³ In spite of the perspectives defined by these learned authorities, I would still suggest that there is a uniqueness to the leadership model within the Pentecostal movement that needs to be addressed. I would like to suggest a model I would call: “Radical Congregational model”.^{304 305} This is due to the emphasis on the congregational participation in decision-making processes.

The reason it has not been addressed by the “*Perspectives book*” is that American authors wrote it and they would most likely be unfamiliar with the Norwegian model. Råmunddal’s definition as “Independent” would be right because they are “independent” as churches related to one another. The Pentecostal movement was from the start independent churches united as a movement, not in a denominational structure.³⁰⁶ He rightly recognises that the church members

³⁰¹ Tangen, "Global Renewal Christianity," (ed. Synan and Yong; vol. 4 Europe and North America of; Florida Usa: Charisma House, 2017). P, 196-212.

³⁰² Akin, et al., *Perspectives on church government* (eds. Brand and Norman; Nashville Tennessee USA: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2004). Several other models could be mentioned, but they would tend to be variations of the main models.

³⁰³ Råmunddal, *Etter nytestamentlig mønster* (Oslo: Ansgar, 1991). P, 145.

³⁰⁴ Alvarsson, *Om Pingströrelsen* (Skellefteå, Sverige: Artos & Norma Bokförlag, 2014). P, 13. Alvarsson claims that the exclusion from the Baptist denomination were an influential factor that led to a radicalized congregationalism.

³⁰⁵ Nilsson, *Anden och vi har beslutat* (Örebro: Evangeliipress, 2011). P, 124. Nilsson uses the term «radical congregationalism».

³⁰⁶ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen fö pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 23.

meeting is the highest authority and that they vote to have a group of elders.³⁰⁷ He also points out that the elders will be considered the spiritual and administrative governance.³⁰⁸ My impression is that this will not sufficiently underscore that the Pentecostal movement traditionally has been a grass root driven movement. The elders will lead on behalf of the membership meeting within their given mandate, but the power remains with the congregation. This is the reason I have suggested that their model should be considered “radical congregational”. This grass root driven model opens a pipeline for leaders to develop and move into ministry. This had clear similarities to the Wesleyan revival, but I will get back to this later.

2.2.5 Contributing factors to the Scandinavian leadership model

Neither Barratt nor Pethrus had plans to organize their respective church into a larger network or affiliation of any kind.³⁰⁹ They both were gifted leaders and ministered where they were invited. In Sweden, the Baptist churches that had relationship to Pethrus sought to continue this after the Filadelfia Stockholm church was excluded. Many of them left the Baptist denomination and wanted a more independent network of churches.³¹⁰ Similarly, in Norway, Barratt’s ministry started with open doors across the different churches, but then they started to close and churches who identified with Barratt wanted independent churches as well. There is no doubt that Barratt and Pethrus desired to build the church according to patterns found in the New Testament (NT).^{311 312} Their focus was from the start the local church, not an organization or a denomination. Their collaboration, background and international inspiration became vital parts in their search for a significant model.³¹³ The relevant question is; is there one or several models found in NT? Another relevant issue relates to what they had inherited from their denominational background and what they denounced. Similarly, since they were people of

³⁰⁷ Råmunddal, *Etter nytestamentlig mønster* (Oslo: Ansgar, 1991). P, 115.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. P, 115.

³⁰⁹ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen fö pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 44-45.

³¹⁰ Ibid. P, 49.

³¹¹ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 206-207.

³¹² Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen fö pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 74.

³¹³ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 17, 42.

their time how did the changes that happens in society affect their priorities? I will try to address these factors below.

2.2.5.1 Historical background

We have covered some of the ground breaking historical elements that prepared for the emergence of the independent church in Norway (2.2.2). Now I will circle in some of the historical events that was developing as the Pentecostal movement finds its foothold.

The ending of several hundred years of suppression of various kinds laid the ground open for a shift to “the power of the people” or Democracy. The founding of the labour union³¹⁴ from 1899 symbolizes the development of people power and revolution against the leadership.³¹⁵ The labour movement became a fertile ground for the Pentecostal movement.³¹⁶

Due to the industrialisation happening at about the same time, people moved from predominantly farming and fishing all over Norway to the populations centres where the industry developed. The multi generation family dissolved and new relationships developed. The church became a natural place to seek new relationships.

2.2.5.2 Inside background for the leadership model

Due to Norway’s state-church situation, all other branches of the church will have to relate to this system. From the history, we know that Norway became Christened predominantly by royal decree, but also through missionaries. When the reformation came, it was again done by royal decree. This easily leads the people in to nominalism and traditionalism. It also causes a tense situation towards leadership. The tension towards leadership has numerous causes. The main thing probably came from the fact that the people had little or no involvement in the election. The leaders were forced on the people. A second issue could be that some of the leading clergy used their position for personal gain. Some of them considered their position as a job, but had

³¹⁴ Landsorganisasjonen i Norge (LO) was founded in 1899.

³¹⁵ The development of the Communist movement in Russia and Europe at this time is another indication on the strong opposition against the leadership. This came as an aftereffect of the French revolution (1789-99) that was the ultimate revolution against the royalty and leadership. The political ideas from the revolution spread around Europe like a wildfire.

³¹⁶ Dahl and Rudolph, *Fra seier til nederlag*. (Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1978). P, 43.

little or no personal conviction or personal faith. On top of that, when the non-state churches attempted to establish themselves they were met with harsh opposition from the clergy. I have addressed this previously, but it is of most importance when we look at inside backgrounds for leadership. The issue of leadership and structure follows closely the conversion of people. Where will we grow disciples, what kind of structure will emphasize the discipleship culture, how can we best care for the new believers? Every revival is faced with this predicament, do we stay within the existing structure or do we need new wineskins for the new wine? As often is the case, the new wineskin stands in contrast or opposition to the existing paradigm of leadership. Sometime it can build on elements of the existing paradigm or it will deviate from it. How did he and colleges solve this?

Barratt taught in the bible school in Filadelfia in 1933 about the church and the biblical basis for the local church. Many people showed interest in his lectures and they published a book the same year.³¹⁷ Through the first 30+ pages, Barratt goes through one church polity after another and dismisses them on biblical background according to his conviction of the scriptures teaching on the NT church.

Quite naturally, he starts to deal with the state-church. From his presentation, it is a clear rejection and contempt for many issues within the state church. Anything from nominalism and infant baptism is addressed,³¹⁸ but the main issue concerns leadership, structure and church polity. He goes back to Constantine the great, via Luther and Melancton and other reformers, but concludes they all deviated from the teaching of the apostles according to Barratt.³¹⁹

Next on his list are the non-state churches. They are dismissed in just a few pages based on diverse backgrounds. In short summary: The church that came from the revival of Lammers is praised for numerous things, but to connected to the state-church. The Methodists also receives praise for an important influence in Norway, but in Norway the Methodists came from the American strand of the revival and had a hierarchical structure that did not sit well with Barratt. The Free-mission (Misjons forbundet) mixes infant baptism and full emersion on the same level for membership and that was unacceptable for Barratt. In spite of this, he did consider their

³¹⁷ Barratt, *De kristne menigheter* (Norway: kristenbloggen.net, 1933 and 1950 and 2014).

³¹⁸ Ibid. P, 13.

³¹⁹ Ibid. P, 12-28, the first paragraph on p. 12 gives a synopsis of Barratt's view and then he shares the details.

polity and adopted selected parts of it.³²⁰ The Baptists were ok on baptism and church polity, but they differed on who could partake in the communion and they resisted the Pentecostal experience. Finally, the Free-free (Frie Venner) direction led by the very open Erik Andersen Nordquelle had most of their church thinking in order. It seems like their close friendship and Nordquelle's receptiveness to the revival knitted their hearts together. His dissent with the other denominations and structures came because of theological differences, but his biggest challenge was the separation with Nordquelle's group.³²¹ The point of contention focused on the baptism with the Spirit as an immediate gift when you became a child of God (Nordquelle) or as a separate experience (Barratt). The other point of contention involved how to register the church members (Barratt) or not to register (Nordquelle).^{322 323}

At the very end of his presentation, he mentions Foursquare and Assemblies of God as other Pentecostal directions, but he also dissents from them due to the organizational systems even when he declares that their doctrine is very close to each other. Since Barratt was a well-travelled man and well connected to the movements outside Norway it is not surprising if he gleaned inspiration from different sources.³²⁴ Lewi Pethrus came from Baptist background with a congregational background gave his input on several levels. Barratt with his Methodist background had a hierarchical structure, but not so strong local church focus. Barratt wanted the Pentecostal experience to be a blessing for all denominations so his view in the beginning according to Struble was over-confessional.³²⁵ After Pethrus had been expelled from the Baptists he looked for a more radical version of an independent local church, with the focus on local. Pethrus learned a lot from William Durham.^{326 327} We know that Durham "strongly advocated congregationalism and opposed any efforts to organize Pentecostals into formal

³²⁰ Barratt, *Minneutgave 1* (8vols.; vol. 1; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1949). P, 265.

³²¹ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 16.

³²² Ibid. P, 16.

³²³ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 29-33.

³²⁴ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 148-181. Here Barratt gives an overview of many nations, leaders and doctrines that he was connected to. It is impressive considering the technological limitations in those days.

³²⁵ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen fö pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 73.

³²⁶ Nilsson, *Anden och vi har beslutat* (Örebro: Evangelii press, 2011). P, 124-127.

³²⁷ Josefson, *Liv och över nog*. (Sweden: Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2005). P, 97.

associations or denominations”.^{328 329} According to Bundy in his elaborate book on the theology and missiology of the early leaders of the Scandinavian Pentecostalism, Durham brings possibly the most influential arguments to establish Barratt’s view on the church.³³⁰ He states, “Barratt provided the definitive interpretation on Durham and confirmed the pattern of the Scandinavian Pentecostal congregational approach”.³³¹ Bundy suggests that Barratt had a “radically Congregationalist ecclesiology” supported by theological sources among the Plymouth Brethren.^{332 333} It looks like Barratt’s view was influenced by opposing what he dissented from on one side and confirmed by the view he could find common ground with on the other side. I would suggest that this is a normal way of formulating opinions. We disagree with one thing, agree on another thing, and find our own footing in the middle. For the Pentecostal founders this would still not be sufficient, they sought a biblical approach to the way to organize themselves. What did the NT say about the church? As one of Barratt’s famous sayings, “Forward to the original Christianity” (Fram til Urkristendommen).^{334 335} We will now take a closer look at the biblical sources that laid the foundation for their church polity.³³⁶

2.2.5.3 Doctrinal background for the leadership model

Before I go into the details there needs to be a clarification and specification to what areas of leadership we will consider. The words doctrine and leadership are comprehensive concepts and it is therefore imperative to narrow it down to the essential details for this thesis.

Barratt and Pethrus pioneered a different approach to three areas in particular that relates to the larger topic at hand for this thesis. The areas are ecclesiology, missionaries and denominations. The three of them directly relates to leadership and some of them are deeply rooted in doctrine. They are also intertwined in each other and effects each other.

³²⁸ Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson - Everybody's Sister* (Grand Rapids Michigan: Eerdmans, 1993). P, 72.

³²⁹ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 95.

³³⁰ Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009). P, 395.

³³¹ Ibid. P, 395.

³³² Ibid. P, 421.

³³³ Nilsson, "The Development of the Church-Concept," (2011). P, 4.

³³⁴ Ekornes, *Fra Buskerud til Bushen, en bok om Osvald Orlien* (Norway: ES-Grafiske, 1995). P, 59.

³³⁵ Barratt, *Et ord til alle - noe for vår tid* (Oslo, Norway: Filadelfia forlaget, 1940). This is his opening sermon in the book. P, 5-19.

³³⁶ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 204.

Ecclesiology is often understood as the doctrine of the church, of its origin, existence and function. It can also cover areas like structure, ministry and sacraments. My focus will be on the structure of the leadership thinking in the church and how that affects the harvest from the revival. As mentioned above under point 2.2.5.2 it seems clear that Barratt adopted Durham's ecclesiology about the radical congregational view of the church. Barratt describes this in details in his book.³³⁷ Pethrus had the same convictions according to Bundy.³³⁸

Missionaries. When I spoke to Emanuel Minos³³⁹ about my topic for this thesis, he directly pointed me to Barratt's time at Mesnalien. Minos underscored the importance of Barratt's experience at that place. When I looked deeper into this event in Mesnalien it became clear to me that, yes it was important, but for another matter. It dealt with missionaries.³⁴⁰ More to the point, would it be fruitful with a united effort across the Pentecostal churches to send out and care for the missionaries? Barratt explains this in his book "Erindringer".³⁴¹ He found that "a united organization for the whole nation to bind together and control the church ministry at home or abroad, did not find its ground in NT".³⁴² This made it very clear for him and together with his wife resigned from "Norges Frie Evangeliske Hedingemisjon". The interesting point here is that Barratt founded this organization in 1915. His Mesnalien trip was in 1929 and the mission closed in 1931.³⁴³ It was a very dramatic decision. This new conviction "Barratt's new view" stirred a lot of controversy.³⁴⁴ The churches throughout the nation would care for their own missionaries or if they were too small, they could cooperate with other churches.³⁴⁵ This decision also confirms that the church was independent in all matters. There is no supervision from any "bishops" or organizational leaders, but the church was lead internally.

This idea did not come from biblical persuasion alone, but also had connections to a Methodist missionary bishop by the name of William Taylor (1821-1902). Taylor's missionary strategy consisted of them being self-supported, self-propagating and self-governing.³⁴⁶ Scandinavian

³³⁷ Ibid. P, 214.

³³⁸ Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009). P, 395.

³³⁹ Phone interview September 9 in 2014.

³⁴⁰ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 66-85.

³⁴¹ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 233.

³⁴² Ibid. P, 233.

³⁴³ Ibid. P, 234.

³⁴⁴ Ibid. P, 233.

³⁴⁵ Ibid. P, 234.

³⁴⁶ Aronson, "Spirit and Church in the Ecclesiology of Lewi Pethrus," no. 11.2 (2012). P, 200-201.

mission work were familiar with Taylor and Barratt wrote about him already in 1889.³⁴⁷ According to Bundy, “Taylor’s experience and theory of mission are essential for understanding the beginnings of Pentecostal mission”.³⁴⁸

Denomination. The decision from Mesnalien and the inspiration from Taylor also put any idea of forming a denomination to rest permanently. Barratt insisted for the longest time to promote “Alliansetanken” (the idea of an allegiance) between the Pentecostals, but gave it up eventually.³⁴⁹ Both Barratt and Pethrus had mixed emotions with their previous denominational experiences. They had an even more strenuous relationship to the state-church.³⁵⁰ For Barratt it seems clear that his first priority became the local church. That set the precedence for the function of the local church, mission and the relationship between the churches in the Pentecostal movement.³⁵¹

Now it is time to go to the Bible to see Barratt’s scriptural arguments for his model. He readily admits that there is no place in the Bible where the organization of the church is laid out in details.³⁵² At the same place, he points out that the state-church did not organized itself according to a biblical pattern either, rather on the contrary. When he considered other denominational structures, they also came short according to his understanding of the biblical pattern. “The Bible alone is our guideline”, was his frequent quote.³⁵³ The book of Acts became central for the early Pentecostals when they searched for a biblical foundation for their church function. Most churches wants to have a structure as close to the first church as possible.³⁵⁴ This is also the case with Barratt “the closer to the original the better it is”.³⁵⁵ The first church in Jerusalem came out of the Jewish synagogue and inherited some of its structure from that background. There was a natural development from that background, but as interests would conflict new development would set new directions (Acts 6:1-6, 15:1-35).

³⁴⁷ Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009). P, 72.

³⁴⁸ Ibid. P, 72.

³⁴⁹ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 209-211.

³⁵⁰ Barratt, *De kristne menigheter* (Norway: kristenbloggen.net, 1933 and 1950 and 2014). P, 68.

³⁵¹ Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Univeristy, 2009). P, 420.

³⁵² Barratt, *De kristne menigheter* (Norway: kristenbloggen.net, 1933 and 1950 and 2014). P, 157.

³⁵³ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 206-207.

³⁵⁴ Barratt, *De kristne menigheter* (Norway: kristenbloggen.net, 1933 and 1950 and 2014). P, 42-43.

³⁵⁵ Ibid. P, 39.

In the book's "*Fram til Urkristendommen 2*" (Forward to the original Christianity) and "*De Kristne Menigheter*" (The Christian churches), he describes some of that development and how he after years of biblical studies concluded regarding the church order.

The church consists of born again people filled with the Spirit and baptized by immersion in water (Acts 2:1-4, 17, 38-47, Mk 16:16).³⁵⁶ All members were expected to be part of a local church, the "universal church" was not sufficient (Rom 16:4, 5, 16).³⁵⁷ "The church is not submitted to another church or supervision by anyone, but is free to act according to the leadership of the Spirit of Christ" (my paraphrase and translation).³⁵⁸ The scriptures provided to support this independent local church came from 1Cor 16:19 "the church in their house" and Acts 2:47 "The Lord added to their number" and Acts 14:23 "in every church".³⁵⁹ From my elaboration earlier, I proposed that Barratt's view on the government of the church was radical congregationalism inspired by Durham and Pethrus. This model goes further than regular congregational models in that it gives total leadership to the voting members in the membership meeting.³⁶⁰ The local church became the highest form of authority and even became of doctrinal importance.³⁶¹ Barratt practised this in his church and insisted that the elders were leading the church. He brought all matter before the members meeting that at times could be very tumultuous.³⁶² It really became a grassroots movement, church from below. The church elects ministers of various functions by vote, prayer and the leadership of the Holy Spirit (Acts 6:3-5, 13:2-4). A detailed plan is further given for the different minister's function.³⁶³ In regards to organizing the church, he uses several pages in the book "*De Kristne menigheter*" (The Christian churches) to give details about the different ministries and functions in the church.³⁶⁴ Numerous scriptures provided a basis for every single point. On this foundation, the Filadelfia church was established and ordered accordingly in 1916. Since this church is considered "The

³⁵⁶ Ibid. P, 40, 130.

³⁵⁷ Ibid. P, 11, 96.

³⁵⁸ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 8.

³⁵⁹ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 83. (Struble has written 1Cor 1:19, but his has to be wrong and the right scripture should be 1Cor 16:19).

³⁶⁰ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 12-13.

³⁶¹ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen för pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). P, 92-93, 95.

³⁶² Ekornes, *Fra Buskerud til Bushen, en bok om Osvold Orlien* (Norway: ES-Grafiske, 1995). P, 61.

³⁶³ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 8-10.

³⁶⁴ Barratt, *De kristne menigheter* (Norway: kristenbloggen.net, 1933 and 1950 and 2014). P, 51-86.

Mother church” in the nation, it made a precedence of how the church should be organized in the future.^{365 366}

2.2.6 Leadership developments in NPM today.

Changes within the revival is very difficult. The revival movement moves freely with little structure in the beginning. The Baptist, Methodist and other organizations that came to Norway could lean on their history from back home. The Pentecostal revival had no predecessors or examples to observe, they had to pioneer a new system.³⁶⁷ New wineskins for the new wine. The NPM has made changes through the years, but they have generally held on to their basic conviction of leadership structure.³⁶⁸ In later years, the most obvious new elements within the NPM have been in the form of new churches with a different leadership structure than the main church. Since the NPM consider itself as a movement with likeminded churches, they can function as an umbrella organizations to serve various needs within the movement. I will not dedicate much space on this subject since it is my focus to look at their roots and not so much at the development. In brief let me just comment on some of recent developments that would have made Barratt react.

Theological seminar. The Pentecostal movement have been involved with theological education since 2008. It is in cooperation with the Baptist who had their theological training since 1910. The schools name is “Høyskolen for Ledelse og Teologi” (HLT).³⁶⁹ We know that Barratt was familiar with theology of his time. In fact, I have some of his personal books in my library. He also had a bible school and trained evangelists, but also showed some scepticism to theological study. He idealises the simple doctrine and untrained disciples. The hesitance to the theological education must be understood in the light of the theological climate at the time when Barratt ministered. The “historical-critical method”, liberal theology and the cessationism among many of the traditional denominations made a strong input during the time when the Pentecostal movement developed.

³⁶⁵ Barratt, *Erindinger* (ed. Larsen: www.kristenbloggen.nett, 2011). P, 213.

³⁶⁶ Ski, *Fram til Urkristendommen* (eds. Strand, et al.; 3 vols.; vol. 2; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956). P, 10.

³⁶⁷ Ibid. P, 14-15.

³⁶⁸ Ibid. P, 10. In later years, Barratt argued for women in leadership and later they made another change where only the elders were part of the leadership in Filadelfia. P, 11.

³⁶⁹ Høyskolen for ledelse og teologi (www.hlt.no)

«Struktur og Tilsyn i Pinsebevegelsen» (STIP)³⁷⁰ Structure and supervision in the Pentecostal movement (my translation). The STIP document was introduced to the preacher's conference in 2006. The document confirms many of the values that were important for the early founders, but it also shifts away from a movement where supervision almost became a bad word. Barratt underlines time and again the importance of the autonomous church.³⁷¹

Fred Håberg wrote a document based on a survey about reactions to the STIP document (2013).³⁷² The desire is to investigate how theories regarding transformational leadership applies to understand what forces are at work both for and against this kind of change. It also analyses what areas with the transformation process has caused most or least resistance.

Churches with pastoral leadership. Hillsong (formerly Intro), Salt, Jesus Church, United and some "Faith churches" are all newer churches in the Pentecostal movement in Norway. Even if they have slightly different organizational models between themselves where the pastor has more or less restrictions in his mandate to lead, none of them follows along with the guidelines and model that Barratt and Pethrus pointed out.

3 Organizing revival?

First a short summary and introductory remarks to my finding. Up to this point, revival itself has not been in focus since the first and main part of my thesis intended to find the background for the unique leadership models in this study. Sub point 3.1 will deal with the organizational part during revival. Sub point 3.2 will take the organizational part one more step and evaluate this in light of some factors in leadership models before the final sub point 3.3 will endeavor to evaluate if this worked. My purpose so far has been to see the connection between the historic situations in the nation together with the founding leader's personalities and gifts, then to see how this combination becomes ingredients for a new move forward.

This far we have looked at the historical and social background in Norway and USA for the movements. We have also considered the most influential people and leaders involved for the

³⁷⁰ https://pinsebevegelsen.no/_service/400418/download/id/485514/name/Grunnlagsdokument+2020_v01.pdf

³⁷¹ Barratt, *De kristne menigheter* (Norway: kristenbloggen.net, 1933 and 1950 and 2014). P. 147, 155.

³⁷² The analysis by Fred Håberg can be sent by request from the author by mail: fred.haberg@gmail.com (only in Norwegian)

development of their leadership models. Finally, we have defined the origin and uniqueness of the two leadership models that developed.

The two nations we have looked at had very different historic and social composition. Other nation's authorities and state-religion had suppressed Norway for generations that prepared a breeding place for some kind of rebellion. Through history, we see different scenarios of this, for instance France and the UK. The French Revolution (1789-99) became a violent rebellion as a reaction to suppression. It became very destructive and brutal. Before the Great awakening (1734-43) in UK, we know that large parts of the population were under the suppression of "upper class" as well as alcohol, poverty and crime. With the awakening, the whole nation changed for the better. In Norway, it is very likely that the arrival of the free churches had a similar redeeming function. The free churches had its biggest influence among the farmers and common people. Due to this David against Goliath struggle, the heroes in Norway were "the people" who stood up against the authorities. In USA, on the other hand we see during the American Revolution (1774-83) that a different outcome can be traced. It was "the land of the free" fighting the English authorities. The nation itself was founded on a Christian foundation³⁷³ written by believing men³⁷⁴ and heroic people who conquered the surroundings and became the leaders. They were not born into leadership (as royalty and leaders in Europe), but fought their way to the top. The heroism opens the door for a "top down leadership". People look up the achievers, the people who have made a difference. They want to work close to successful people and together we can win. In this kind of environment where heroism is appreciated and admired, they still have a strong understanding of working together. The Americans are great team players "We The People". Together they built the nation.³⁷⁵ My conclusion from my study in regards to history and leadership is that a nation's history and social structure can be a contributing factor to the kind of leadership that evolves.

With this is mind let me digress lightly over my findings in regards to the leaders and in what way they had been marked by their experience within their existing denominational backgrounds before they gave directions for something new and different. We have found that

³⁷³ the United States Constitution 1787

³⁷⁴ 52 of 55 were active members in a church (Carman – "America Again")

³⁷⁵ The development in USA in recent years seems to indicate drastic change is on the way.

both Aimee and Barratt had many things in common in regards to denominational background. The Salvation Army and Methodism for Aimee and Methodism for Barratt, but he had great admiration for William Booth and the work of the Salvation Army. In Aimee's case she seems to have adopted what served her organizational mindset and the harvest of souls. Barratt on the other hand distanced himself from the episcopal leadership model from his denomination. Their leadership models carries both historical baggage, inside elements from their experience with existing leadership models and a desire to capture a biblical model to care for the congregants. Revival is God's work. We simply have to relate to it one way or another. Neutrality to revival is a difficult path, so the option is reject it or accept it. If you do the latter, you have to be flexible enough to adjust to the move of the revival and order your life for growth. Both Barratt and Aimee had to pioneer new wineskins to accommodate to the revival and came up with their respective models. This is how they organized themselves to facilitate for growth. My research attempts to find the answer to how the Norwegian Pentecostal movement and Foursquare organized themselves to facilitate for growth and to identify the main factors for their models. These are necessary elements to keep with us when we continue. In the next chapters, I intend to go gradually deeper to analyze three areas related to my aim for this study (1.5). The areas are "Organization", "Factors in leadership models" and "Facilitation for growth". At the end, I intend to consider how this serves us today and possibly in the future.

3.1 Organization

I have spent considerable time so far to identify the historical situation and society at that time and how it was instrumental in forming the leadership models. That background is essential in the thinking and formation of the new models. Now let us take a closer look at the organizational part. There seems to me to be a kind of development from "Organic" via "Organizing" to "Organization". Let me digress shortly. Most people readily admits that Revival is God's work, it's organic and cannot be manufactured by human effort.³⁷⁶ At some point, the revival goes from organic to some kind of organizing effort. It is usually with best intentions, but it often slows down the momentum of the revival. Furthermore, due to different transitions during and

³⁷⁶ Tormod Engelsviken, The Christian newspaper "Dagen" July 9, 2021 on p, 22. In his article, he covers different developmental steps in and after the revival.

after revival, we further move into organization. Revival is tiring and we need some kind of organization, predictability and continuation.

Organic growth. Since the garden of Eden, mankind have been looking for growth, it was part of our mandate and responsibility. We are searching for the factors involved for growth so that we can move forward in continued expansion. When people asked Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-92) about the background for the revival, he quickly took people to the prayer room in the basement of the church. Some years ago, I visited Pastor Cho's (1936-) church and people asked him about the growth, he immediately took us to the prayer mountain. It is possible that the epic book by Donald A. McGavran (1897-1990) in 1970, made the first attempt to make an empirical study to "*Understanding Church growth*".³⁷⁷ The book brings awareness to possible organic elements for church growth. McGavran became for many the "father" of the church growth movement.³⁷⁸ Through his work and ministry, together with "the Fuller School of World Missions and Institute of Church Growth", the matter of church growth was thoroughly studied and came to the awareness of the church at large. Christian Schwartz and his book *Natural Church development*³⁷⁹ brought another level to the understanding when he made a careful empirical study of more than one thousand churches in thirty-two nations to find organic church growth principles.³⁸⁰ In recent years, another area of organic growth has come to our knowledge through the exceptional growth in the Chinese house church movement. The movement is growing in the most difficult conditions where persecution is normal.³⁸¹ A similar development is happening in Nepal, India and various Muslim countries under the name of "Church Planting Movements"³⁸² or "Disciple Making Movement"³⁸³.³⁸⁴ The organic expansion of the church is often spontaneous and happens without human intervention. In China and many Muslim nations, it is the direst conditions for the church, but it still continues to grow. I happen to know

³⁷⁷ McGavran, "Understanding Church growth," (USA: Eerdmans Publishing, 1990).

³⁷⁸ Wagner, *Church Growth, State of the art* (USA: Tyndale House Publishers, 1986). P, 15.

³⁷⁹ Schwartz, *Naturlig kirke vekst* (Norge: K-vekst, 1996).

³⁸⁰ Schwartz identified eight key areas for growth. In Norway, they have their own representatives for this work, at <https://namunorge.no/>.

³⁸¹ Books regarding growth in the underground church in China look for Eugene Bach's books or the series "China Chronicles" by Paul Hattaway.

³⁸² Parks and Coles, *24:14-A Testimony to all peoples* (USA: 24:14, 2019). P, 2.

³⁸³ Robertson and Watson, *The Father glorified* (USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2013). P, 11.

³⁸⁴ Comiskey, *2000 years of small groups. A history of cell ministry in the church.* (Moreno Valley CA 92557 USA: CCS Publishing, 2015). Roland Allan served as a forbearer and a prophet to the house church movements. P, 199.

that even in a nation like North Korea the church is growing.³⁸⁵ With a history of revivals through the years, it remains a mystery. Why it happens, how it happens is a well-kept secret with the Lord. What we do know is that when the revival starts we need to be flexible and ready for work. To ride the waves of revival is like sitting on a wild stallion before it is broken in. You never know which way it will go and you are in for a longer ride than you expected, but you need to hold on for your life. I deeply admire both Aimee and Barratt for their commitment to God's work and intense workload. It is unfathomable that people are able to endure under such pressure. The organic part seems to be a symbiosis of the right conditions in the world at that time plus the right people involved and the foresight of the Lord. The time was right, the harvest was ripe, and revival broke loose.

Even with the best research and programs in our churches, we can only become healthier churches and that will attract people, but I still believe that Revival is organic and it is God's work. At some point, the organic expansion of the revival will be harnessed by attempts to care for and follow up the fruit of the revival. After all, our mission is not just to convert people, but to disciple them. In this initial organic part, the Lord moved on Aimee and Barratt and they became the tools the Lord used. In the next part where the organizing begins, they will play a different role and give directions for the further development.

Organizing revival growth. Early on in my thesis, I mention a quote by George Whitfield in regards to the outcome of the revival that followed in their steps during the Great Awakening. With very similar ministries and results, Whitfield commended Wesley on his way to organize the revival. Through Wesley's system of Interlocking Groups, he was able to keep the harvest from the revival.³⁸⁶ In Henderson's book about this, he describes five groups that were interlocking and complementing each other. Without going in details about this, they had "The Society: The cognitive mode", "Class Meetings: The behavioural mode", and "Band: The affective mode". This constituted the core structure and gave room for personal growth, transparency and advancement. Further, they had the "Select Society: The training mode" and

³⁸⁵ Bach and Martin, *Back to the Jerusalem of the East. The underground House Church of North Korea.* (USA: Back to Jerusalem, 2011).

³⁸⁶ Henderson, *John Wesley's class meetings* (KY, USA: Rafiki books, 1997). P, 81-124.

“Penitent bands: The rehabilitative mode” covering the very select leaders of the movement and also caring for the people who struggled to live up to the standard. Joel Comiskey,³⁸⁷ Winfield Bevins³⁸⁸ and the Exponential movement³⁸⁹ are embracing this ingenious system whole-heartedly.

There are similarities with Wesleyan revival in regards to both Aimee and Barratt. That should not surprise us since they both came from Methodist roots. More importantly. They all experienced revival that altered their lives. God’s sudden intervention brought a new dimension to their ministry. Humans could not produce an organic growth that came through the revival.

Wesley had a “hands on” approach to implementing the “System of interlocking groups”.³⁹⁰ He was personally involved, his presence had a conserving function, and the structure of the system remained almost unchanged for the first fifty years. From my study, it is evident that the personal presence of Aimee and Barratt over extended time were important factors for stability and growth.

Several commonalities becomes evident. God qualifies and equips his chosen vessels. Aimee and Barratt were not perfect people, but God seems to be more interested in a willing and humble heart than perfection. The Bible is full of imperfect leaders. You will be hard pressed to find a flawless leader in the Bible. That should be an encouragement to us all. Aimee and Barratt were undoubtedly gifted people, but it seems that from the moment they experienced the fullness of the Holy Spirit it magnified their gifting’s. I will get back to their personal abilities later under point 3.2, for here, I will just focus on their organizational skills. We need to remember that they are more or less caught by surprise by the scope of the revival. None of them had experienced this before. Well, Aimee had a step by step introduction to it having met with Durham shortly after the outbreak of the revival in Azusa Street. She also had an itinerant ministry and she could see the crowds growing. On the other hand, she always did ministry in others churches to their benefit and growth. Her heart was dedicated to “Inter denominational worldwide evangelism”. Even when she opened Angelus Temple, the cornerstone has that

³⁸⁷ www.joelcomiskeygroup.com, Joel Comiskey Group – Resourcing the Worldwide Cell Church.

³⁸⁸ Bevins, *Marks of a Movement* (USA: Zondervan Reflective, 2019).

³⁸⁹ <https://exponential.org>. Church Planting and Multiplication Resources | Exponential.

³⁹⁰ Henderson, *John Wesley's class meetings* (KY, USA: Rafiki books, 1997). P, 81.

inscription.³⁹¹ She did not consider starting anything of her own as I have mentioned earlier. Similarly, with Barratt, he grew a ministry, but did not have a huge crowd or any signs of awakening. His desire from the start was that the Spirits outpouring would be a blessing for all believers. In the beginning, he ministered in all kind of churches, but gradually opposition grew and he finally gave up the idea of an allegiance. Up to this point, he had not come up with a plan for organizing anything.

They both became aware of the change about to happen when they went from “organizing to have a crowd” to try to “organize the crowd that came to them”. It was like the turning tides, all of a sudden they were flooded. It was sink or swim. The first steps were a fighting for survival, then they started to understand how it works and before they knew it, they were swimming. The parallel to the way they related to the revival is clear. The first steps are messy, arms and legs are not working together. This is the initial face of the organizing effort. The messiness comes due to lack of examples and models to follow. It is like the Israelites entering the Promised Land, “for you haven’t travelled this way before” (Jos 3:4).³⁹² For Aimee and Barratt this can parallel with the emotionalism in the early Pentecostal circles. The emotional part had an attractive side since it was deeply personal. People’s lives changed, not by the emotion, but by the Spirit and the emotions became the ventilator. On the other side. The emotional part became the first area of attack both from other leaders and from the media. Aimee’s remedy was methodological and possibly theological: she chose what she called the “middle of the road” and moderation. For Barratt it looks like he found footing because of his close friendship with Pethrus. His solution was relational.

The second phase is when they start to understand how things work and they implement the first steps to organize the harvest. Wesley organized the “system of interlocking groups”. Since neither Aimee³⁹³ nor Barratt had any intention to start their own work and the fact that they ministered in churches led by others the thought of this kind of organizing did not happen early on. It came in at a later point as a bare necessity. For Aimee and Barratt their respective

³⁹¹ The text of the cornerstone at Angelus Temple: “Dedicated unto the cause of Inter-Denominational and worldwide evangelism”.

³⁹² Messianic Jewish Family Bible, Tree of Life Version, 2014.

³⁹³ Van Cleave, *The Vine and the Branches* (ed. Williams; Los Angeles California: International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, 1982). P, 34. «like John Wesley, Mrs. McPherson had no idea of starting a new denomination”.

magazines probably became their most important tool. Their magazines had played a central role as a door opener in the early part of their ministry. There they could announce their scheduled meetings, location and time, but even more important were the testimonies from the revival meetings. When opposition became stronger, they now had their own uncensored arena where they could refute their adversaries. Another side effect from the opposition were the fact that their convictions were sharpened and grounded to reply to their challenges. The opposition they both faced from other church leaders forced them to implement ways to organize. It almost became a do or die issue. This leads us to the next phase.

The third phase deals with building the functional framework. All the three phases depend on the leader's person and apostolic anointing. With Wesley, his personal involvement and presence were imperative. The same is true for this phase for the two new movements. They are looking into new territory where clear leadership is important. For Aimee this became more natural than for Barratt. She had gradually grown into her increased ministry and been assisted by her mother in the early phase. She also had adopted a bit of a military style from the Salvation Army. Since nobody around Aimee had the slightest doubt that she was the centre of attention it was easy to tell people what to do. This is probably one of the most challenging situations for a leader, but also for the people around you. The leader is the key to success; therefore do as I tell you. The people being led do not want to challenge a successful leader in fear of rocking the boat or losing favour. More about this in point 3.2. In regards to the first signs of organizing people around her cause it starts about 1919 when she publishes a poem in her magazine about "The Temple" i.e. Angelus Temple and the gathering of funds for building it.³⁹⁴ During her revival meetings from 1919-22 she got the necessary funds. The next step is possibly the founding of EPEA³⁹⁵ in 1921 and finally the pivotal sermon in Oakland 1922 where she coined the phrase "The Foursquare Gospel". Now she had three pillars to build on, a purpose "The Temple", an organization EPEA to manage her funds and a message the Foursquare Gospel. Barratt travels a different route to building a functional framework. Two circumstantial situations causes this different route. First, he did not have the kind of fame that surrounded Aimee. Two, he was in Norway not in LA or USA. The momentum around Aimee was

³⁹⁴ Epstein, *Sister Aimee. The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (USA: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993). P, 154-55.

³⁹⁵ Echo Park Evangelistic Association.

exceptional. She had national attention, during the 1920s she was as much a celebrity in LA as anyone in Hollywood.³⁹⁶ Barratt worked in the newly established nation that just few years earlier had been independent from the Swedes. Norway were behind Sweden and Denmark in many areas at this time. When I grew up in Sweden, during the 60s, 70s, and commuting to Norway every holyday, it was still a big difference between the nations. Another challenge that have been pointed out earlier came from the religious suppression. The Konventikkel Plakat (ended 1842), the state-church and the established traditional cessationists denominations did not give Barratt the easiest task. He went through the open doors he could find to spread the Pentecostal blessing to all believers until the doors started to close. When they closed, he also confirmed his biblical persuasion of theological doctrine that validated his establishment of Pentecostal churches. He wanted to order the church according to the pattern fount in the NT. At the point where he finally orders his church Filadelfia in 1916, other Pentecostal churches had already started their ministry.

The biggest challenge and most critical move is the transition from founders to the next generation. This is the step from organizing to organizations.

Organization must happen, it is almost unavoidable. Due to the need for replacement of the founders, a new generation must be prepared and ready to step up. At best, our ceiling will become their floor. At best, our furthest achievements can be the starting point for the next generation. The challenge is that many transitions after significant leaders are very complex. In the Bible, we find several leadership transitions, Moses to Joshua, Saul to David to Salomon just to mention just a few. The challenge is obvious, how can you replace Moses. God confirmed his leadership with outstanding miracles in Egypt an exceptional exodus and a face-to-face relationship with God. In recent years there has challenges to replace exceptional ministries like David Yonggi Cho, Jack Hayford, Bill Hybels³⁹⁷ and Rick Warren,³⁹⁸ again just to mention a few. Two areas are significantly challenging to replace, personality and anointing. You cannot

³⁹⁶ Hayford and Moore, *The Charismatic Century* (NY, USA: Warner Faith, Time Warner book group, 2006). P, 149.

³⁹⁷ Bill Hybels (1951-) has been the senior pastor for Willow Creek church since its start in the 70s. He stepped down recently due to accusations in regards to misconduct. The replacement process had started before the case came up and they were looking for a person that could fit the church. It was very difficult to find such a person.

³⁹⁸ Rick Warren (1954-) is still the pastor of Saddleback Church, but they are in a transition process and again it proves challenging to find a fitting replacement.

inherit personality or apostolic³⁹⁹ anointing. I think it is beyond dispute that Aimee and Barratt were outstanding people, not flawless, but gifted in multiple areas. With this kind of gifting, they also realised that they would not be available forever, some kind of organization would have to be implemented. We have already dealt with their early steps to organize. Over time due to continual growth, a more rigorous system became necessary. It is as Jethro recommended Moses to enable leaders on different level while he could continue to deal with the more intricate issues.

This is the point where the solutions of Aimee and Barratt really differ from each other. Aimee had already taken the initial steps towards organization as mentioned. She had a considerable following at this point and a momentum in her favour forward. Her ministry up to this point had been a family business, but the considerable growth necessitated an expansion of the administration and teaching resources. Even with many people around her, it was a challenge to find not just willing people, but dependable and skilful people. With her popularity, the crowd that surrounded her had all kind of intentions. She adopted an appointee system. This is an acceptable way of thinking in USA, not so much in Norway. Probably it comes back to culture as I have pointed out earlier. Due to her personality and success, who should question her judgement? In Norway on the other hand, we have been influenced by the Danish poem “Janteloven”.⁴⁰⁰ The basic idea behind the poem is that “don’t you think you are any better than the rest of us”. This thinking is deeply ingrained in the mind-set of the Norwegian people. It is almost contrary to the American achievement culture. I have tried to argue how this developed earlier in my thesis. The biggest benefit with the appointee system is speed. As long as you have a sufficient crowd with able people, you can grow an organization relatively fast. Aimee continues her trajectory towards organization building. In 1923, there is the grand opening of Angelus Temple. Shortly after, she opens LIFE Bible College. The church and her ministry functions as a funnel, making sure that new people are entering the organisation. The school qualifies people for further expansion and a steady source of qualified leaders. When they finally starts the denomination Foursquare in 1927, it is already more than a hundred churches in relationship. The appointee system continues also after they had founded the denomination.

³⁹⁹ I use the word apostolic without giving definition due to quite an intricate process to identify the best meaning. The way I use it here is to signify that some people seem to have a gifting beyond most of us in regards to pioneer work or starting a ministry that proves to very successful over time.

⁴⁰⁰ Aksel Sanderose wrote this poem in his book, “*En flyktning krysser sitt spor*” 1933.

I have earlier described this development how Foursquare borrowed structure from different existing denomination to keep the best from each one to form their unique modified episcopal leadership model. I will get back to a closer look at this model in the next section. To me the final settling of the organization is when Aimee tragically passes away and her son Rolf McPherson becomes the president. He had been groomed for this function since he was young, so there were no surprise to anyone and a consensus that he became the successor. The only person with some hesitation, Rolf McPherson. He was not a copy of Aimee in any way. Michael Larkin in his dissertation refers to this moment when Rolf within a week after he took over the leadership signalled that the task were too big for one person.⁴⁰¹ Larkin further writes that McPherson began the “Institution era during 1944-88”.⁴⁰²

Over to Barratt in Norway. His road to organization is very different from Aimee simply because he wanted anything but an organization. Organization were the furthest of his interests, he almost despised it. This has been mentioned earlier so no point at digressing over this. The interesting thing to me is that the desire not to have an organization almost determines a kind of organization, just of a different kind, non-organization. Let me also add that Barratt did initiate a form of organization where all the churches were independently connected. Congregationalism were already operating in the existing denominations, but Barratt and Pethrus had tasted the bitter end of that kind of relationship and control and wanted none of that. From their studies in the NT, they could only support the sovereignty of the local church. The importance of the local church became the pivotal point. Barratt’s gradual steps from revival via organizing to “organization” came through a careful step by step away from the relationship he had with Nordquelle. Since they had meetings together for some time in Nordquelle’s facilities, the growth benefitted them both. Dissention on important matters surfaced one after another as mentioned before. Finally, Barratt took his first step in 1910 when he started to establish “his” congregants in their own rented facility in Møllergaten 38 with a seating capacity of about 700 people. In 1916, they ordered the church according to NT pattern, a significant step towards organizing. In 1921, they took the name Filadelfia that became another identity marker and step towards organizing. The building soon became too crowded

⁴⁰¹ Larkin, "Pentecostal Mission structure: with special refernce to the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel" (Asia Life University, 2009). P, 174.

⁴⁰² Ibid. P, 174.

and they moved to their present location in 1924. The organization became the ordered church and the building. In that regard, their organizational model was only in small scale. On the larger scale, the question that comes to the surface was how to you lead a group of independent churches. Barratt continued to build a collegial “band of brothers” with the affiliated church leaders in Norway, Sweden and beyond. They organized pastor’s conferences where they shared testimonies about the progress of the revival, but also doctrinal issues and church polity matters as well. It is a bit difficult to pinpoint an exact date for the beginning of this arrangement. This due to a gradual move from personal relationship between some leaders via informal gathering to regional meetings and finally to the more established annual meeting.⁴⁰³ To this day, this meeting that in later years⁴⁰⁴ includes a larger group where children’s, youth work and other ministries in the church are encouraged to participate are the most significant identity marker for the movement. Barratt went to be with the Lord in January 29 1940. The church had an interim pastor for about a year and then a church meeting with an election between three candidates. Two of them got about the same amount of votes and they decided to share to function as pastor for the Filadelfia church. The pastors elected were, Knut Petersen⁴⁰⁵ and Osvald Orlie (1912-98). This is a definitive step to become an organization.

I have now sketched out the development from organic revival via the steps to organize the fruits of the revival to how the organization starts to take shape. This leads naturally to the next area, factors in leadership models.

3.2 Factors in Leadership models

The scope of evaluating all sides of leadership is beyond this paper.⁴⁰⁶ Another area beyond this paper will be evaluate different organizational models for the church. Even if I focused on the

⁴⁰³ Struble, *Den samfundsfria församlingen och de karismatiska gåvorna och tjänsterna. Den Svenska pingströrelsens församlingssyn 1907-47* (vol. 6; Sverige: Insamlingsstiftelsen fö pingstforskning., 1977 and 2009). This is how it developed in Sweden from 1935 that is considered the first gathering. P, 196. In the book “og Herren virket med”. Pinsebevegelsen gjennom 75 år, there is a picture on P, 133 from a gathering in Norway in 1929.

⁴⁰⁴ Since 2011.

⁴⁰⁵ Not able to obtain data.

⁴⁰⁶ Bass and Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership* (USA: Free Press. A Division of Simon & Schuster, 2008). P, 15. According to “*The Bass Handbook of Leadership*” they found 221 definitions of leadership in 587 publications (Rost 1993). By now it is probably even more definitions.

most common models: Episcopal, Presbyterian or Congregational it would be almost impossible since most church related organizations have a variation of one of them.

We will have to take a small peek into that subject of leadership since that is the essential part of a leadership model. My main purpose with this paper has been to find the roots of the leadership models, not to make a total evaluation of them.

Through my thesis, I have given the historic and social background for the development of the two models in this presentation. Further, I have pointed out the importance of the person in leadership, how their personality and anointing has influenced the characteristics of the model. We have pointed out some benefits and weaknesses in the two models as well. Now the leading person that in many ways carried the substance of the model is gone, does the model carry its original purpose?

Modified episcopal model. To be fair, this model did not originate with Aimee, but it carries important elements from her leadership. The appointee system did not originate from her either, but was common in the corporate world in the US at that time. “*The Bass Handbook of leadership*” points out that in the 1920s, the definition of leadership “was impressing the will of the leader on those led”.⁴⁰⁷ In the 1930s, it was a process to move the organized in a direction by the leader. It is indeed a leadership style with a strong leader focus. It does have some benefits, but ohh does it have serious pitfalls as well. In recent years, media has uncovered one leader after another who have misused their power, position or their trust. It will be complex to deal with this here, but due to the seriousness of the matter, I must recommend two books I read this summer.⁴⁰⁸ Foursquare are implementing steps to avoid problems along this line, more transparency, mentoring and collegial openness. Their “modified” part of the leadership model opens up for a greater participation from the congregation and more people involved for important decisions. With that said as precautions, they still maintain a strong leadership led movement. They recognize people’s unique anointing and gifting and that it merits seeing a breakthrough where they minister. FSQ experiences a significant growth in Africa, Asia and further towards Australia and in Latin America. In all of these continents, a patriarchal model

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. P, 15.

⁴⁰⁸ Langberg, *Redeeming power understanding authority and abuse in the church.* (USA: Brazos Press, 2020). DeGroat, *When Narcissism comes to church.* (USA: InterVarsity Press, 2020).

comes very naturally since that is the foundation in many of their nations. Since I minister very frequently, I have considered more than once if the people from the west has all the answers. When Norwegians are looking for keys to church growth, we turn our heads to the West. It is very natural since we have many things in common with the Americans, but they do not have a significant revival now. On the other hand if we turn our eyes to the East, they have revival, why not learn from them?

According to FSQ the leadership model they adhere to finds support in the NT. They also readily admits that there is not one model of leadership in the NT, but many. They try to apply different biblical models for different purposes.

Radical congregational model. This model has a lot of merit. High degree of ownership and participation, a grassroots movement with plenty of opportunities for continued growth and development. It falls very natural for the Norwegian culture where the individual is valued for who they are and not what they do. Almost anyone can involved, a willing hart to partake is almost better than your ability. Let me quickly add that this has changed a lot in recent years. The quality has increased on every level. It seems reasonable to think that the open and available system coupled with a qualitative ministry has been important contributors to make the Pentecostal movement that largest in Norway. In spite of this, diverse scandalous episodes appears in the media on regular basis. Fortunately not as serious as the Knutby tragedy in Sweden in 2004. Evil will find its way regardless how much we try to protect us. Even when God put humankind in Paradise in the garden of Eden, the snake appeared and got his way. Having said this does not mean that we should give up, we need to implement systems to help us discover the possible danger before it gets hold in us. I think the Pentecostal model can help us on that road to safety. However, there are weaknesses that I would like to address. Let me use a biblical illustration of two problematic areas to start with. Moses and the Israelites were on the verge to enter the promised land of Canaan (Num 13). Scouts are sent out, one from each tribe, twelve in all. When they return and give report, they had been to the same place, but two of the ten had a different opinion to what they had seen. Democracy, majority wins. Prize, forty years in the desert. We all favour democracy over dictatorship or other abusive leadership styles. But that is mostly in peace time, when you go to war, if the soldiers should vote before battle? Or if there is an emergency, road accident. Do we take a vote before we take care of the wounded? My point is this, democracy is good in many situation, but not all the time. Both of

my examples are from situations where clear leadership is imperative. It is a matter of life and death. Democracy limits leadership. On the same matter, it does not always recognize leadership. Like in my example from the scouts. The ten and the people did not recognize the leadership of Joshua and Caleb. The two were also right, but were voted out by a majority that were wrong. A third point from the same situation, democracy opens up for manipulation. The most able presenter or with most contacts (or family) can easily sway the congregants in their favour. It is a system rigged for manipulation. The manipulation can be a direct up front “stick or candy” kind or indirectly due to your prominence as a person. In the case of Barratt, I would never accuse him of this, but the fact that he was such a prominent leader could make opposition redundant. In the book about Osvald Orlien is a line where it says, “that Barratt was a unifying factor for the movement was clear to everyone”.⁴⁰⁹ Barratt’s influential leadership became very evident in his view of missions. In 1915, he started the association of groups that would send out missionaries, after his Mesnalien experience he argued to close it down and did so in 1931.

Another area where Barrett’s leadership became evident were in the development of the structure for the Pentecostal movement. We sometimes observe that an organization carry the traits of the time and its leaders when it was formed. Barratt’s background from Methodism and Pethrus exclusion from the Baptist had made its mark in both of them. Probably more Pethrus than Barratt had been burned by his former denomination. When you have been burned, you do not return to the fire, you go the opposite way. For Barratt and Pethrus it was foundational to build the church close to the biblical pattern. They were insistent about this even when they admitted that there is no biblical pattern in the Bible for the church. It seems like they formed their ecclesiology just as much out of opposition from the existing as from the NT. With FSQ it seemed to be as natural step by step development? With Barratt, he broke away from one denominational model after another. The opposition helped him to break away from the existing paradigms of leadership and bring new wineskins for the new Pentecostal wine.

Back to the leadership transition after Barratt. Leadership transitions is challenging regardless what leadership model you might have. Within a democratic system, you can have a clear calling from the Lord, but be voted out in a membership meeting with one vote. Frankly, to do

⁴⁰⁹ Ekornes, *Fra Buskerud til Bushen, en bok om Osvald Orlien* (Norway: ES-Grafiske, 1995). P, 6. (My translation)

like the first apostles did, to cast lots would be better. In the OT casting lots was a common way to make decisions. Maybe we should consider that again. As mentioned earlier the movement is changing and churches with a different leadership structure has been accepted under the Pentecostal umbrella, which is a promising step forward.

3.3 Facilitation for growth

Have the models served its purpose? The outcome of revival must be discipleship and church planting, not just conversion. Our good fortune is that we have the answer. Yes, they served its purpose. Both movements are alive and well today. To probe a little deeper, have the models been instrumental and facilitated for growth. I believe we can say yes to this as well. The model developed during and after Aimee's leadership has proven sustainable. The leadership-based model within Foursquare has proven very effective many places around the world. In recent national revivals like Papua New Guinea and Cambodia, the Foursquare movement has national influence. Some aspects can be noticed. The appointee system readily pinpoints leadership potential and releases that to function in the movement. This way gives a flexibility to move where the need is biggest. It also gives fluency to connect people that will complement each other. Due to the appointee system there is always a supervision or discipleship happening in both directions within the modified episcopal model.

Within the congregation-based model, the strong grassroots focus gives ample possibilities for everyone to move into ministry. It has proven over time and with the results in Scandinavia, that is a durable and functional model. After the pastors conferenced changed structure to include other ministries in its fold there has been a more collective effort towards church planting. The challenge within this model is a lack of leadership. That sounds contradictory in light of the strong leadership from Barratt and Pethrus. It also sounds a bit contradictory in light of today's leadership. That is not my intention with my remark. I highly respect and honour the leadership within the movement. The lack I address has to do with the radical congregational model where, as with the two spies, were right on target, but voted down by a frightened majority. The recent development within the Pentecostal churches that has emerged lately almost all have a model leaning towards a stronger focus on leadership. It looks like the new wineskin is forming within the movement and that it is able to adjust to include this.

Were the models genius in its inception or did they evolve to capture the harvest? We have seen that they evolved over time. The harvest is obviously the most important and we have to strive to peruse ways of implementing discipleship models that help people to excel in their walk with the Lord.

Were the models a conscious choice? This is very clear in particular in Barratt's case where he discarded existing models on his way to formulate his understanding of leadership based on the NT. With Foursquare, it became a conglomerate of the different models.

It is interesting to notice the development from when something is formed and into where it is today. What are the adaptations for serving the church of today, or did they have to adapt at all? To a large degree, the models have remained the same through the years. In NPM we see a different leadership style in the newer churches, but according to their recent documents (STIP) they basically adhere to the traditional autonomous church.

To be a leader in the western world is becoming increasingly more difficult by the day. The culture and society distances itself more and more from Christian values. The values of the modern world challenge the church in new dimensions all the time.

4 Conclusion

The task has been to follow the story of Foursquare and the Norwegian Pentecostal movement through their development and history with a special attention to their leadership models. Since their leadership models are unique in the church landscape, they are of special interest in regards to who or what inspired them. How they came about and functions. They were both born during revival, so in that regard they are looked upon with that in mind. The title of the thesis "Organizing Revival" captures that angle. The subtitle, "The story of how the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the Norwegian Pentecostal movement sought to facilitate for growth" covers the details that will be in focus.

A long journey has taken us through almost two hundred years of history. We have worked in parallel steps following Norwegian and American history to trace how a nation's history

intertwines with the development and formation of the leadership structures at the centre for this study.

The Norwegian agrarian and fisherman communities, scattered around the nation, hidden behind mountains and fjords had deep egalitarian roots. A nation coming out of hundreds of years of suppression from Danish and Swedish dominance were ready to embrace the freedom that had been given them as well as the newfound religious freedom. The free churches in contrast to the state-church slowly worked its way through the nation. The Pentecostal fire, under the leadership of T. B. Barratt, first as a blessing to all believers spread from Oslo and Telemark to the rest of the nation. The emotional expressions were the first area that faced opposition, next the doctrinal parts and one church after another closed their doors so Barratt who also closed doors had to break away from the leadership paradigm of that day and prepare new wineskins for a new movement that sprang forth. The leadership model he and Pethrus pioneered in Norway and Scandinavia, with the initial inspiration from William Durham and the NT, carries the name radical congregationalism. This was a timely step in harmony with the nation's newfound freedom. This liberty to the people also became noticeable through the growth of the Labour Unions and the Labour party as well. This was fertile ground for the Pentecostal movement. Power to the people. It was a timely leadership model for the Norwegian people.

The other leadership model we have studied had its origin in USA. The history of the establishment of western civilization in that nation is far younger than Norway's. On the other hand, USA was founded on religious freedom and an achiever culture where anything is possible. The land of the free. The corporate culture in the "Roaring 20s" were clearly leadership minded. This favoured a leadership culture with an appointee system. Due to Aimee Semple McPherson's personality, apostolic anointing and successful ministry, the denomination that grew out of the revival was outstanding. The model that developed were also unique since it were a blend of the three commonly accepted leadership models. Even if we could not 100 % pinpoint who coined the phrase "modified episcopal", we have come as close as the sources we had available were able to help us. When this model entered Norway in the 1980s through the Foursquare missionaries it had a moderate start. No fanfare or revival, but being connected and reaching out one by one. A new phenomenon on the church directory will catch some attention in the beginning, but when the first "romantic" time was over, Foursquare Norway with its modified

leadership model, has yet to blossom. The future will show us. Foursquare as an International denomination is growing strongly in many continents of the world, so we look forward to where the future leads.

During chapter 3, I have focused on the leadership models in light of the different developmental stages of a revival. This is not justified by an empirical or scientific evaluation, but on the pure fact of history. Revival is an act of God, we act or react in regards to this to respond or reject the outcome from this revival. Through history, we see that revivals often cut new channels in the church landscape. The harvest has to be taken care of one way or another. The traditional wineskins often come short in preserving the fruit and new wineskins will form to take care of it. They go through stages I call organic for its initial face. Soon they will look for ways to organize and this is the point where new leadership models will emerge. The last step settles the organisation due to the change in momentum and leadership. The founders are gone and we have to implement a new set of rules to continue.

This chapter has also attempted to give some insight to factors of leadership that is considered potential weaknesses or possible strengths. The leadership based model is prone to excess in the use of influence and power. With some modifying factors, it is a model that recognizes leadership and can build very fast to see a great progress. The congregation based model is in danger of manipulation and lack of leadership. On the other hand is this a grassroots movement that will give open the doors for potential leaders. The floor is yours.

Finally, have the leadership models served its purpose? Time and history is on our side in this evaluation and it is a clear and obvious yes. Both Foursquare International and the Norwegian Pentecostal movement are growing movements. Time will show if they are able to adjust to future revivals or if the revival will cut through their structures on its way to form another wineskin.

5 Attachments

5.1 Foursquare Timeline quick glance

- Nov. 1910 — Our founder, Aimee Semple McPherson, returns from a mission in China as a 20-year-old widow and single mother.
- Oct. 1918 — Aimee starts cross-country evangelism, traveling by car.
- Dec. 1918 — Aimee establishes Los Angeles as her home base.
- Aug. 1921 — Aimee’s prayers to God lead to many miraculous healings, verified by an American Medical Association report.
- Jan. 1923 — First Foursquare church, Angelus Temple, opens its doors in Los Angeles, and soon hosts services in five languages.
- Feb. 1923 — First Foursquare Bible institute (known today as Life Pacific University) opens to train men and women alike and send them out as ministers.
- Oct. 1923 — The first Foursquare church plant kickstarts in Long Beach, Calif.
- Feb. 1924 — Aimee becomes the first woman to own a major radio station and uses it to preach the gospel.
- Feb. 1924 — The first Foursquare missionaries are sent to India to reach people who’ve never before heard about Jesus.
- Dec. 1927 — After Foursquare established 100 churches, steps are taken to incorporate what would become the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (ICFG).
- Aug. 1928 — Angelus Temple commissary opens, which would feed and clothe more than 1.5 million people during the Great Depression.
- Fast Forward to Today – ICFG, known casually as Foursquare, has over 8.8 million members in over 90,000 churches across 146 nations.

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