

# Social Ethics in the Church of the Poor: The Cases of T. B. Barratt and Lewi Pethrus

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by

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Several experiences made me think. On a visit to South India, I was taken to visit a rest home for the elderly of an Indian denomination who had no family to care for them. The houses were simple. It was, for me, a very hot day. It was 40 degrees Celsius and the humidity hovered at 100%. The Bishop had accompanied us on the trip and the people took advantage of my presence to importune the bishop for a blanket for each person. He agreed. Then a truck arrived with about 1000 kilo of manioc roots contributed by a farmer who could not sell them and everyone who was able sat around the pile of roots peeling them so that they could be dried for the winter.

A few months later I sat in a church in Guadalajara and listened as people prayed that one of the body might receive a job, even for only one day. A few weeks later, in a slum in Sao Paolo, I sat with a family while their son's arm was repaired. He had been roughly robbed of his newly given New Testament that he had been given after learning to read at a shanty school sponsored by the congregation.

Then I returned to the USA and at my institution there was a conference on "Christian Social Ethics." I listened to well known theologians discussing the various developments in thinking about social ethics and to impassioned pleas for the churches to take seriously their responsibilities to the world about them. There were snide remarks about the eschatological escapism of the Holiness and Pentecostal churches. I sat wondering how my friends in India, Mexico and Brazil would understand these statements. After all, about nineteen million Pentecostals in the world are part of congregations and also live barely at a subsistence level. How does the church of the poor develop a social ethic?

Not being a member of such a congregation, I would not presume to tell them how or why they might develop such. After all, it is my observation that they have already done so and I will return to the stories of my friends in Kottayam, Sao Paolo and Guadalajara a little later.

So, instead of beginning with the theological or programmatic questions, I will begin with historical concerns. How did two Pentecostal church leaders in Scandinavia, Thomas Ball Barratt and Lewi Pethrus, approach social ethics during a time when the Norwegian and Pentecostal churches were not comparatively wealthy.

## **The Case of Thomas Ball Barratt**

Thomas Ball Barratt (22 July 1862-21 January 1940), the founder of Pentecostalism in Europe, began his career as a Methodist Episcopal pastor. The talented son of an expatriate British mining engineer, who had studied music with Edvard Grieg and art with O. Dahl, He experienced "sanctification" in a Methodist Episcopal Church in Bergen and entered the Methodist ministry. He quickly moved up the ecclesiastical ladder. He served as a local pastor (1886-1889), was ordained deacon (1889), pastored Third Methodist Church, Christiania [Oslo] (1889-1892), and was ordained elder (1891). From 1898-1902 he served as presiding elder of the Christiania [Oslo] district which made him even more essential to the Americans.

Each stage of his ministry was characterized by frenetic activity. Driven by his holiness theology to transform his world, he established a national youth program for the church and in his congregations. He was active nationally in the temperance movement. He created (with his sister Mary) an orphanage and a home of unwed mothers. He worked for civil rights for religious dissenters, fought for national independence from

Sweden, and was numerous elected a number of times to the city council in Kristiania/Oslo.[1] The debt ridden congregation in Oslo to which he was assigned in August 1889 had marginal chance for survival unless it became self-supporting and had little hope of becoming self supporting because of the structures of the Methodist Episcopal Church and its mission program. It was a congregation of the poor that was being forced by the structures imposed by the Methodist Episcopal system to function like a congregation with money.

It is clear that already by 1890, Barratt was troubled by the ministry paradigm established in Norway on the American model and administered by the Bishop and the Missionary Society. He wrote extensively for the Norwegian Methodist periodical, *Kristelig tidende* on two subjects: ministry models and "Christian perfection." The essays on William Taylor and James Hudson Taylor were more than historical essays![2] They reflected both the central themes of personal and social holiness, but also his appreciation for the radical ministerial styles of the two Taylors. It was also about this time that he discovered that if every church in Oslo was filled to capacity, only a small percentage of the population could be accommodated in a worship service. In a period that saw significant migration to the cities of those who were unable to survive in the rural areas, none of these churches were either welcoming or had significant success with the urban poor and working classes who had the most to lose by cutting the nominal membership in the state church. Engaging the larger non-church population in ways that they could hear the Gospel became a primary desideratum for Barratt's ministry, and made the approaches of William Taylor and James Hudson Taylor all the more interesting to the struggling pastor.

Barratt began to examine other paradigms of ministry. He quickly realized that the established church of Norway and the mission churches that transported ecclesial and theological traditions of establishment from other nations (whether the USA, Germany or England) were not going to establish connections with people of Oslo. The onus of membership in these groups was too heavy to overcome. Therefore, the dream became the establishment of a form of the church that could allow for free voluntary association without the social problems posed by membership and that could minister among the poor. One successful ministry in Norway was the Salvation Army which eschewed the traditional trappings of church, and which was determinedly holiness in theology and praxis. He began to cooperate with the Salvation Army and to organize inter-denominational meetings.[3] However, the Salvation Army had the drawback of being too rigid in ecclesiology and membership expectations.

During a visit to England (September 1890-May 1891), at the request of Bishop John Hurst, to raise money for the struggling Third Methodist Church of Christiania (Oslo), Barratt visited Methodist Central Hall in London. It matched precisely what Barratt had been attempting to accomplish in his ministry at Third Church. It offered a structure for a Wesleyan/Holiness ministry to the poor and the exploited working classes.[4]

On returning to Christiania (Oslo), he began to explore the possibility of a "Central Mission." The concept was presented to Bishop M. Walden who ordained him elder in 1891 and Barratt reported in his journal: "it met to a certain extent with his approval. In fact he would endorse the scheme provided the means were forthcoming." [5] Barratt was not one to avoid a challenge and immediately reorganized his network of social and evangelistic ministries in Christiania (Oslo) into the Methodist Central Mission under the aegis of Central Methodist Church. Of course, being a Methodist he was soon assigned to another congregation, but refused to give up working with the mission project, and certainly no one else wanted the responsibility.

In 1902, Barratt was given one of his wishes. He was asked by Bishop McCabe to resign from First Methodist Episcopal Church in Christiania (Oslo) and become full time director of the Bymission (City Mission). This was accepted by the Conference only after an emotional appeal from the Bishop and a supportive address by his mentor Ole Olsen. However, the Conference did refuse to give him a furniture or salary! Barratt began his new ministry with neither furniture nor money to care for his family. Bishop McCabe personally took up an offering to which he himself contributed significantly in order to get Barratt started in the project.[6] The new endeavor began with Barratt renting Tivoli Theatre in central Kristiania (Oslo) where he conducted a series of meetings. These attracted considerable attention in both the religious and secular press with some writers commenting on the "American" aspects of the Bymission. Through that first year, Barratt, his family and a few volunteers used social services, classical concerts and lectures as well as more traditional evangelistic means to reach the city. It was a ministry that offered both sophisticated classical culture at a reasonable price and that offered food, clothing, legal counsel, and shelter to those who needed it. He organized and did prison ministry, organized evangelistic work among the young women who poured from the villages into the Kristiania factories. He published religious literature that offered heroes as well as advice on self-help and holiness. By the end of the first year, the Methodist Conference was ready give more willing approval, albeit not funding, to the Bymission. They accepted Barratt's analysis: "Some were afraid that the Mission would weaken the other churches, but this has not been the case. It has strengthened them." [7]

After a year of Bymission work, Barratt was still without furniture or decent housing. At the suggestion of the Bishop he wrote to the Missionary Society requesting assistance. The response from Society: "You know that it is expected on the Protestant mission field that the people will provide whatever is necessary in the way of property, parsonages and furniture?".<sup>[8]</sup> At this same time, he was reading a biography of William Taylor written by the Swedish Wesleyan/Holiness Movement leader G. A. Gustafson.<sup>[9]</sup> This biographical and missiological treatise brought the problems faced by Barratt into a larger framework.

In Byposten the range of sources cited and the perspectives offered quickly moved beyond the range of traditional Methodist sources to include Scandinavian pietism, Reformation figures and American independent Wesleyan/Holiness Movement writers. The central foci of the articles were personal holiness, radical social ministry and self-supporting ministry. He was convinced that "baptism in the Holy Spirit" and the continued pursuit of holiness would transform the individual and then motivate and empower them to transform society. The periodical achieved a circulation of about 6,000 with about 1300 regularly paid subscriptions. Barratt was able to attract advertisements for the paper from Kristiania businesses and therefore able to support the paper on a self-supporting basis. Through the contributions provoked by the paper and the reputation of the ministry, he was able, barely, to keep the entire enterprise financially solvent. <sup>[10]</sup>

At the instruction of the Methodist Episcopal Bishops who saw the potential for this ministry Barratt continued to request funding for the Bymission. Eventually he was asked by the Bishops to raise funding in the USA,<sup>[11]</sup> but the Mission Board made it impossible for him to do so. <sup>[12]</sup> In this crisis over ministry and money, Barratt, in an African American congregation in New York, through the prayers of women, found a new religious experience of "baptism in the Holy Spirit."<sup>[13]</sup>

When Barratt returned to Kristiania, he was without money or ecclesiastical support. The newspapers of the city mocked this city councilman who spoke in tongues; the cartoonists developed classic images of anti-Pentecostal polemics. The Methodist Episcopal Church, embarrassed withdrew from Barratt. He was urged not to participate in Methodist events and was eventually "read out" of the Methodist Episcopal Church although in reality the rupture happened in January 1907.<sup>[14]</sup> The Bymission was given over to his assistant and was dismantled by the Methodists. The advertisements from Kristiania businesses disappeared. Barratt was left with his mailing list, the financially strapped periodical, Byposten and his penniless ministry to the poor.

Barratt was starting over. He could not afford the rent on the theatre but was given inexpensive room in a struggling Holiness church that also became Pentecostal. The laity of that congregation remained loyal to their own pastor, as Barratt would appear to have desired. Barratt brought a significant number of his congregants from the Bymission and others were converted. He conducted revival services every day, often at noon, and the building was consistently packed. The congregation moved to and from a number of sites. He was then provided space in a labor union hall where he ministered for several years. There, just down the street from his old Central Methodist Church, he developed a congregation and offered hospitality to hundreds of people from around the world who traveled to Kristiania to see how a Pentecostal personal spirituality, corporate worship, evangelism, and congregational care worked. By June 1907, he had named his congregation the "Filadelfia Church."<sup>[15]</sup>

Byposten reflects the financial difficulties of starting over in ministry as well as his new conviction about the centrality of the need for spiritual transformation as a prerequisite for the transformation for the rest of life. The periodical continued as a revival news bulletin. It focused on news of the Pentecostal revival in Europe and Kristiania became only one of the cities from which reports were provided. The focus was on spirituality as before. Funds were not solicited, although donations to missions were reported.

By 1910, Barratt was moving from leadership of a quite unstructured, albeit carefully guided revival movement toward a more organized congregation and denomination. He moved into his own building in the Møllergatan, and <sup>[16]</sup>instituted Sunday schools in 1910. Byposten became Korsets Seier, and during the next few years developed into Finnish, Swedish, and Russian editions. A Spanish version was at least considered. That year he published a theological manifesto entitled "Fundamental Principles that are Proclaimed in the Revival."<sup>[17]</sup> This was developed in cooperation with Jonathan Paul, the German Pentecostal leader who insisted upon the interdenominational character of the revival. It is a theological statement from a Pentecostal perspective (it does not insist on tongues at the sign, but as a "precious token") in which the only ethical statement is the necessity of love.

However, Barratt could not move very far from his Holiness Methodist activist roots. In May 1912 he published a pamphlet entitled The Evangelical Mission in 28 Møllergatan.<sup>[18]</sup> This text had two parts. The first dealt with the content of the Pentecostal message (much like the 1910 document). The second section set forth principles for the development of the Pentecostal movement. Here he insisted that a Pentecostal

congregation must be involved in both mission (at home and abroad) and in social work that takes seriously human need. Jesus is coming soon, he insisted, and it is the duty of the Pentecostal Christians to reach out with God's love to those in need. Social ministry is a form of evangelism, but ordained of God for its own sake. His own congregation became involved in ministry in ways not unlike the Bymission of earlier days. Mission giving was significant, both for support of the missionaries and for the alleviation of suffering among the people being evangelized. An important desideratum for research is to see how this concern has been transmitted in the churches in a nation that has a sophisticated social services program.

## **Lewi Pethrus and the Filadelfia Church, Stockholm**

When the Evangelii Härold began publication in 1915, the Filadelfia Church in Stockholm already had a series of ministries that related in diverse ways to the congregation with varying degrees of control. Social ministry by the churches in Swedish society was not new, although most of it had been done by people like Elsa Borg, the Holiness woman who more than anyone else was responsible for starting the Holiness revival in Sweden that went from 1878 to 1906. Pethrus knew of her ministry and owned a copy of her periodical, Trons Hvila. En fridskelsning från Hvita Bergen. The ministries that Pethrus developed at the Filadelfia Church were quite like those fostered by Barratt in the context of the Bymission, and administered exactly like Barratt administered his projects. The documentation for the beginning of these ministries appears not to exist, but one can get a sense of them from the pages of Evangelii Härold. There was a Orphanage (Barnhem),<sup>[19]</sup> a Rescue Mission (Räddningsmission), as well as ministries to women and other exploited persons in the Stockholm area. These were written about in Evangelii Härold and the lists of donations from 1916 onward indicate a steady flow of contributions of monies and goods in kind.<sup>[20]</sup>

One contribution from Lewi Pethrus to the early Pentecostal Baptist Holiness periodical Brudgummons Röst provides a sense of the scope of the activity of the Rescue Mission. Pethrus laments the economic conditions that plague the country, because of which multitudes are left destitute. The situation was complicated by hard winter of 1915. Writing in October, Pethrus notes that the Filadelfia Church Räddningsmission had already served 3,669 persons a warm breakfast of warm milk and bread. For others they provided meals of sandwiches and coffee. Hot meals had been served, including 5,441 liters of potatoes and ?untold tons of other food stuffs.? The article is pleading with the readers to contribute money or food. The Evangelii Härold faithfully reports the arrival of individual loaves of bread and single kilos of meat as well as larger donations of food and funds. Donations are primarily from members of the congregation, and sometimes from workplaces in which the members work. It was argued that this was not only a service opportunity given by God, but also an evangelistic tool for reaching the people of Stockholm.<sup>[21]</sup>

An effort to replicate this experience in Stockholm in Vienna during the dark days following World War I is worthy of attention.

## **The Swedish Pentecostal Mission to Austria**

By late 1919, as news of the terrible social conditions in Vienna had permeated Europe. These were due to a convergence of factors: (1) the immigrants and refugees from the East who came to Vienna because of the partitioning of the Austrian Empire after World War I; (2) a flood of the Danube which had destroyed crops and farms in some of the most fertile areas of the country; and, (3) the general social disintegration that developed as the old Hapsburg establishment was swept away after the War. Into this situation came three Swedish Pentecostals who surveyed the situation with a combination of horror and hope: Andrew Ek, Edvin Tallbacka and Alwin Christenson.<sup>[22]</sup>

These visitors had interesting histories with the Swedish Pentecostal movement. Andrew Ek had visited the Azusa Street Mission in 1906, experienced Pentecostal baptism with the Holy Spirit, and returned to Skövde, Sweden, where he became involved with a small Pentecostal group.<sup>[23]</sup> He was then called by Lewi Pethrus to the Filadelfia Church in Stockholm to head up the mission program of the Stockholm Filadelfia Swedish Pentecostal church (and by extension that of the other fledgling Pentecostal congregations) during the ?open years of 1914-1915.<sup>[24]</sup> Edvin Tallbacka was an important assistant to Lewi Pethrus. He was the business manager for the Swedish Pentecostal periodical Evangelii Härold, and it appears, for most of the enterprises of the Filadelfia Church. Alwin Christenson was the son of a German mother and a Swedish father. His family

was well connected in the early Swedish Pentecostal movement.

Ek, Tallbacka and Christenson went to Vienna via Berlin where they consulted with German and Swiss Pentecostal leaders as to the physical and spiritual needs of the Austrians. Nothing however prepared them for what they encountered. As they walked through the crowded desperate city, they were horrified at the scene of human suffering, deprivation and degradation. Here they reckoned were a people in need of both the saving Gospel of God, but also of the basics of human existence.[25]

In addition, there was the encounter with the pervasive influence of the Catholic Church in Austrian government and society. No doubt this perception was reinforced by a visit to a Lutheran Church in Vienna. They spoke to the Sunday School and gave their testimonies in the service. Without doubt, there must have been culture shock on all sides! In a second missive to Stockholm published in Evangelii Härold they told of this visit with the Lutherans, the repression by the Catholic church, the poverty, the low state of public morals, and the lack of care for the children.[26] There were no resources, they reported, to care for the invalids, the homeless and the children.[27]

The Swedish Pentecostal team observed that the Red Cross was undertaking relief efforts, but had no doubt that the crisis was greater than could be solved by that organization. Help from the USA, Switzerland and the Netherlands was useful, but there were still groups of people in dire need. On the return trip to Stockholm, Tallbacka and Ek decided to attempt to provide relief for 1,000 families. This social service, it was argued, would be a way to reach people with the Gospel. It was the logic that energized the Stockholm rescue mission.[28]

Acceptance of the idea was slow in Sweden. Most of the converts to Pentecostalism in Sweden came from backgrounds that did not understand social ministry as mission. The funds were slow to come in, however, for support of the people of Vienna. Tallbacka argued in an article in Evangelii Härold that this was indeed 'the Lord's work.' 'The Lord,' he averred, 'has laid the needy of Vienna on the heart of Andrew Ek.' He explained that even a modest contribution could make a significant difference in the desperate situations in Vienna.[29]

Back in Vienna, Ek saw the situation in Sweden clearly. He appears to have understood the hesitancy of the Swedish Pentecostals to support relief work as missionary work in Vienna. Therefore, he weighed in with an article that did not mention Vienna, but asked for prayer for unsaved and needy people. Everything in the essay was supported by arguments of eschatological urgency. We are working, he argued, in end times and must use whatever means possible to communicate the Gospel to those who do not know Christ. He sought to motivate people to action by the assertion that 'Jesus is coming soon.'[30]

It is clear that support for the project grew over the summer, although it is unclear how many resources were available. The new crops and warmer weather in Vienna were not enough to solve the vast human need, however and more support was needed. Ek worked to provide Bibles and Bible portions for distribution in Vienna and received some funds in Sweden in support of that effort. In a contribution to Evangelii Härold he lamented that the price of a regular meal was now prohibitively expensive due to the prices caused by shortages in Vienna and that this human need made evangelistic work difficult. He asked for prayer.[31] In another letter published in Evangelii Härold, Ek noted that meeting rooms were hard to find and expensive. They had been able to rent rooms in which to live and from which to operate the ministry. What was required was a place to host Bible studies and to organized worship. While there is no evidence that hospitality for Pentecostal worship services was extended to them by Lutherans, he suggested that it was important to find such places for worship because the Lutheran services did not have 'freedom in the Spirit.' They needed their own space. He repeated the observation that food was exorbitantly priced, and observed that even obtaining scriptures for distribution were very expensive in Vienna as compared with what was available in Sweden.[32]

For seven months there had been no public statement on the mission in Vienna from either the mission leaders of the Pentecostal churches, including Tallbacka, or from Lewi Pethrus. From extant sources it is impossible to ascertain the discussions of mission theory and praxis during this period. There is no doubt that the situation in Vienna was different from that encountered by Swedish Pentecostal missionaries in other countries. Finally in December 1920, came a firm endorsement by Lewi Pethrus of the initiative of Ek and Tallbacka. After discussing the biblical model of care for the poor and downtrodden, he exclaimed, 'Let us send strong and powerful assistance to the hungry in Vienna!' There was no doubt where the undisputed leader of the Swedish Pentecostal churches stood on the matter! He had bought into the vision of social ministry providing an entrée for evangelism within a mission context.[33]

Andrew Ek confirmed the argument in an article published in the following fascicle of Evangelii Härold. After citing Matthew 25:40, 'What ever you do to the least of these, you do it unto me,' Ek again pointed out the pressing human need in Vienna. He reported the prices of basic commodities and told the readers that fuel for

cooking and heating was as prohibitively expensive as food. He and Christensen, with the help of converts, were doing what they could to assist those in need. However, this need for basic goods and services was not the only need of the residents of Vienna. He allowed as how there was also a pressing spiritual need that was related to the physical needs: "Only God can save them." He recognized that the problems of daily survival were not unrelated to human sinfulness. He made it clear that the primary goal of the team was to minister to the spiritual needs of the Viennese and that any social services provided were merely a means toward an end, not an end in themselves.[34] Edvin Tallbacka followed this up with a long article in the Christmas annual of the Filadelfia Church related Pentecostal Churches. This article was complete with graphic photographs of starving children and other horrifying images of the traumas of everyday life in post-war Vienna.[35]

Thus began the first mission project in Europe officially supported by the Filadelfia Church in Stockholm. It is important to remember that only a year earlier, the first missionaries actually sent from the Filadelfia Church, the Samuel Nystrom family, had gone to Brazil. The Pentecostals had been supporting foreign mission for most of the previous decade, beginning with the work of Daniel Berg in Brazil. However these earlier mission projects had been quite different, but still combining social and evangelistic ministry as they understood it. They had also been quite successful in soliciting nominally Catholic converts and in establishing a Pentecostal culture among the converts. The situation in Vienna was different. It was after all not the capital of an exploited colonial power. It was arguably a city that had been arguably the most cultured city of Europe. They were not seeking to evangelize their cultural inferiors, but their cultural equals or superiors. The fact of food and fuel shortages in Vienna did not detract from this fact. Many countries in Europe, including Sweden, had within recent memory suffered famine.

What was new was the combining of relief mission with evangelistic mission with the expectation that the people who came for assistance would hear the Gospel, might be converted and then disciplined within a Pentecostal framework, and that from that basis, a new religious tradition in Austria could be born. To appreciate the significance of this approach on a more global scale, one has to look at the narrative provided by William Hutchinson about North American mission theory during this same period. There the tendency was to separate the relief work from evangelistic work. The "conservatives" generally avoided the relief work; the "liberals" generally embraced relief work and educational mission.[36] The Swedish Pentecostals embraced the relief work both as a biblically founded imperative and as a tool for evangelism. It was an entrepreneurial decision, which sought to make the most of a difficult situation.

Support for the mission in Vienna began to pour into the Filadelfia Church in Stockholm. Lewi Pethrus expressed his gratitude for the generosity of the Swedish Pentecostal churches. Their response to the solicitation promoted in the Evangelii Härold was clearly gratifying to him. He was certain, he said, that the efforts of the American relief agencies and the Red Cross would not be sufficient to get people through the hard winter.[37] Without doubt his personal approbation of the effort was instrumental in the response of the churches. Once he went on record as being in favor of the project, it received the support of the Pentecostal churches.

As the first officially supported Swedish Pentecostal mission effort in Europe, a lot was riding on the outcome of this project. It would either add to or seriously detract from the stature of its instigators and supporters. Leaving nothing to chance, Lewi Pethrus decided to visit Vienna to examine the situation for himself. After the Pentecostal Leader's conference in Amsterdam, Pethrus crossed Germany to visit Austria. In an important contribution to Evangelii Härold, Pethrus reported back on both the economic and missional issues. He commented that the prices in Vienna for the basic necessities of life made it impossible to feed a family and that therefore even Andrew Ek needed more help than he was currently receiving. He argued that relief work was good in and of itself. The New Testament commanded Christians to minister to the poor and downtrodden. He expressed hope that a "New Testament" style assistance that might be given to the needy, especially the families, of Vienna. He maintained the conviction that with such assistance they might more easily consider conversion. Relief ministry was good and biblical, but it was not the only goal of missionary work.[38]

Help poured forth from the Swedish Pentecostal churches. Andrew Ek wrote to Evangelii Härold thanking the churches for the 2000 packets containing "wheat-flour, oil, grain, and other things were distributed." He and the other missionaries gave their testimonies before the waiting crowds. In the same letter, he pleaded for more assistance, "Help us? Jesus comes soon." He affirmed: "there is only one who can help people out of this need which is both spiritual and material, and that is the Lord alone." [39]

After the harvests in 1922, the people stopped coming to the Pentecostal mission in Vienna. Most of the converts that had filled Sunday School classes were forced to leave Austria for Argentina, Uruguay, Canada, Australia and the USA because of persecution by the Catholic Church. The Pentecostal church in Austria

remained small; the one in Brazil grew to be comprised of millions of believers. The mission to Austria is never discussed in Swedish Pentecostal sources, probably because of the ambiguities about mission and the desire not to allow a failure at church building detract from the efforts of the church to do relief work. Certainly there was no second-guessing of the decision or blaming of the missionaries as far as can be ascertained from the extant sources.

## Conclusion

From these case studies, it is clear that from before the beginning, these Scandinavian European Pentecostal leaders were concerned to develop a social ethic. In both Barratt and Pethrus, this was one aspect of Christian responsibility that continued from their Holiness pasts. For each theologian, the missional argument had to do with a combining of the Gospel imperatives to minister to the poor, and the eschatological drive to proclaim salvation to the world before the return of Christ. These case studies would suggest that the churches of the poor were willing to follow the advice of their leaders, pool resources and aid the poor. They would also suggest that eschatology functioned did not provide an escape from social responsibility, but rather gave it more energy. The disciplined generosity of the myriad Swedish Pentecostals bringing packets of food and clothing and then collecting funds to transport the contributions across Europe would be impressive today, especially given that the Rescue Mission effort in Stockholm continued unabated. Certainly there is enough evidence to question theories of eschatological escapism and to warrant a thorough study of the philanthropy of Scandinavian Pentecostalism.

And, to return to the experiences narrated at the beginning of this paper. My impression is that these churches in Kottayam, Guadalajara and Sao Paulo are doing what Barratt and Pethrus did. They are combining social services and evangelism, giving often of their own poverty, but pooling resources to make a significant difference in the suffering of people. And, yes, they are doing it because the Bible tells them to, and because they are convinced that Jesus is coming soon.

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[1] The chronology and documentation are established in D. Bundy, "Thomas Ball Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal," EPTA Bulletin 13(1994), 19-49.

[2] T. B. Barratt, "Pintseloftet," Kristelig tidende 18,23 (7 Juni 1889), 177-178 [about William Taylor and self-supporting missions]; idem, "Biskop William Taylor," Kristelig tidende 18,23 (7 Juni 1889), 179; idem, "Uddrag af Hudson Taylors Foredrag," Kristelig tidende 18,49 (6 December 1889), 390.

[3] T. B. Barratt, When the Fire Fell and An Outline of My Life (Oslo: Alfons Hansen & Sonner) reprinted in The Work of T. B. Barratt ed. D.W. Dayton (New York: Garland, 1985). See also, idem, Erindringer ed. Solveig Barratt Lange (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1941).

[4] Barratt, When the Fire Fell, 67.

[5] Barratt, When the Fire Fell, 65.

[6] On the Bymission (City Mission) see D. Bundy, "T. B. Barratt's Christiania (Oslo) City Mission: A Study in the Intercultural Adaptation of American and British Voluntary Association Structures," in Crossing Borders ed. J. D. Plüss (Zurich: n.p., 1991), 1-15. See also Barratt, When the Fire Fell, 78-80; and, Bundy, "Thomas Ball Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal," 33.

[7] Barratt, When the Fire Fell, 87.

[8] H. K. Carroll to T. B. Barratt, 20 March 1903, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Drew University, 73-74 1263-1-2:09 Letterbook 193 #483.

[9] G. A. Gustafson, En Apostlagestalt på missionsfält? eller Biskop William Taylors lif och värksamhet (Falun: Författarens förlag, 1898).

[10] Much of the information about this period is to be found in Byposten, a periodical designed to inform his constituency and to raise money. There were also articles in numerous Oslo newspapers. The Methodist press was silent! On Byposten, see D. Bundy, "Thomas B. Barratt and Byposten: An Early European Pentecostal Leader and His Periodical," in Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology. Festschrift in Honor of Professor Walter J. Hollenweger (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, 75; Frankfurt am Main, et al.: Peter Lang, 1992), 115-121.

[11] Barratt, When the Fire Fell, 98-99. The letters from the Bishops are preserved in the T. B. Barratt Collection, Universitetsbiblioteket, Oslo, Etterlatte Papirer Ms. 4o 3341, I: Dagboker 9,37. See the analysis of this struggle in Bundy, "Thomas Ball Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal."

[12] Bundy, "Thomas Ball Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal," 36-37.

[13] Bundy, "Thomas Ball Barratt: From Methodist to Pentecostal," 37.

[14] T. B. Barratt, "Min stilling til methodistkirkens aarskonference," Byposten 4,16 (27 juli 1907), 1[76].

[15] See Byposten 4,13 (15 juni 1907), 1[61].

[16] T. B. Barratt, "De regelmessige møder i Kristiania," Korsets Seier (5 Juni 1910), 96.

[17] T. B. Barratt, "Grundlæggende sanheder, som forkyndes i denne vækkelse," Korsets Seier 8,1 (1 January 1911), 5.

[18] T. B. Barratt, Den evangeliske mission i Møllergatan (Kristiania: n.p., 1912. This was also printed in the May fascicle of Korsets Seier.

[19] Lewi Pethrus, "Oskarsbergs barnhem, Rönninge," Julens Härold. Illustrerad Kalender red. Lewi Pethrus and Alfred Gustafsson, 1(1916), 84-90.

[20] For example, these are the relevant articles from Evangelii Härold for the year 1916: "Stockholm Räddningsmission," Evangelii Härold 5(3 feb. 1916), 20; "Barnhemmet vid Rönninge," Evangelii Härold 8(24 feb. 1916), 36; Long lists of gifts for the Barnhem and Räddningsmission recorded in Evangelii Härold 18(4 maj 1916), 76; "Ada Johannesson, Oskarsbergs barnhem vid Rönninge," Evangelii Härold 22(31 Maj 1916), 91 [photo]; "Redovisning för gåvor, inkomma till Barnhemmet Oskarsberg Rönninge," Evangelii Härold 39(28 sept. 1916), 160; "Barnhemmet vid Rönninge [Filadelfiaförsamlingens Barnhem]," Evangelii Härold 41(19 sept. 1916), 172 [no money indicated, but the relationship of the orphanage is clarified in the title of the small news note]; "Redovisning för inkomna medel till Oskarsbergs barnhem Rönninge," Evangelii Härold 43(26 oct. 1916), 176; "För räddningsmissionen influtna medel," Evangelii Härold 43(26 oct. 1916), 176; "Redovisning för influtna medel till missionen i Brasilien," Evangelii Härold 44(2 nov. 1916), 180; "Gåvor till Filadelfiaförsamlingens i Stockholm räddningsmission," Evangelii Härold 47(23 nov. 1916), 192; and, "Influtna medel till fria missionen i Brasilien," Evangelii Härold 52(28 dec. 1916), 212.



[21] Axel Hammar, "Församlingens och räddningsmissionens betydelse för varandra," Julens Härold. Illustrerad Kalender red. Lewi Pethrus and Alfred Gustafsson, 1(1916), 113-127.

[22] There is some confusion about the spelling of Christensson's name in the sources.

[23] Arthur Sundstedt, Pingstväckelsen (Stockholm: Normans Förlag, 1969), I, 197-199. The history of the early developments of Pentecostalism in Skövde are quite complex and it seems a bit uncertain as to the role of Ek.

[24] Filadelfiaförsamlingens Tioårsberättelse, 63, cited in Arthur Sundstedt, Pingstväckelsen (Stockholm: Normans Förlag, 1971), III, 84.

[25] Edvin Tallbacka, "På resor till Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,7(19 febr. 1920), 26.

[26] Edvin Tallbacka, "En söndag i Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,9(4 mars 1920), 4-5.

[27] Edvin Tallbacka, "En arbetsdag bland de nödlidande i Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,10 (11 mars 1920), 38-39.

[28] Edvin Tallbacka, "Filadelfiaförsamlingens nödhjälpsarbete i Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,11 (18 mars 1920), 42.

[29] Edvin Tallbacka, "Herrens verk i Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,19 (13 maj 1920), 74-75 [quote, p. 74].

[30] Andrew Ek, "Bedjen utan återvändo!" EH 5,25 (24 juni 1920), 97.

[31] Andrew Ek, "Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,36 (9 sept. 1920), 143.

[32] Andrew Ek, "Från Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,39 (30 sept. 1920), 154-155.

[33] Lewi Pethrus, "Till de nödlidande i Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,50(16 dec. 1920), 208 [emphasis in original].

[34] Andrew Ek, "Wien," Evangelii Härold 5,51(23 dec. 1920), 214-215.

[35] Edvin Tallbacka, "Det hungrande Wien," Julens Härold. Illustrerad Kalender red. Lewi Pethrus, Alfred Gustafsson, and Edvin Tallbacka 5(1920), 43-70.

[36] William Hutchinson, Errand to the World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[37] Lewi Pethrus, "Insamlingen till de nödlidande i Wien," Evangelii Härold 6,1(6 jan. 1921), 6.

[38] Lewi Pethrus, "Det svältande och frysende Wien," Evangelii Härold 6,6(19 Feb. 1921), 21-22. In this article, he again praised

the work of the Red Cross.

[39] Andrew Ek, ?Wien,? Evangelii Härold 6,12(24 mars 1921), 56.