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A Tale of Two Movements: Spirituality as Driver of Adventist and Pentecostal Differentiation

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Abstract

Early Seventh-day Adventism and early Pentecostalism share many significant historical and theological similarities. However, over time the two movements have changed from their earlier iterations and increasingly diverged from each other. A critical survey of these complex internal and comparative changes reveals that much can be explained when examined through the lens of spirituality. Amid the changes both movements have maintained a profound continuity in their respective spiritualities and this helps explain their past and present identity.

Keywords: Spirituality, Adventism, Pentecostalism, charismatic, doctrine, movements

1. Introduction

On the genealogical family tree of denominations, Adventism and Pentecostalism are close cousins. Both are 19th century North American revivalist movements that arose out of the Second and Third Great Awakenings. Both are restorationist, have roots in Methodism, are largely Arminian, and initially held to a pre-millennial eschatology. In regard to spiritual gifts, they are continuists rather than cessationists, and are open to concepts of spirit-

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ual warfare. Both had charismatic pioneers who emerged from the 19th century North American holiness movement,[1] and both groups experienced profound and pervasive Pentecostal-charismatic phenomena at their inception. The differences both within and between the two movements today, however, are marked. Early Pentecostalism was a Protestant premillennial movement defined by glossolalia as the sign of Spirit baptism and the means to worldwide mission. The latest expression, however, no longer focuses on glossolalia, and is moving from "pre" to "post" millennialism, with some even considering themselves post-Protestant and a new stream in Christianity. For its part, Adventism has shifted from being seen as a sectarian or even cultic group to an evangelical denomination. While it has retained its pre-millennial eschatology, its initial exuberant, charismatic phenomena have largely disappeared. This article is part of a larger socio-religious research project examining the influence of a larger dominant religious culture (Pentecostalism) on a smaller sub-dominant one (Adventism). During research, it became apparent that the nature of spirituality is a key factor in understanding the relationship between the two. This article will examine the explanatory role of spirituality in the diverging historical development of two movements with similar historical contexts and significant initial theological overlap.

2. Pentecostal History

2.1 The First Wave

The experiential spirituality, which provides the historical context for Pentecostal movements, finds its roots in the Great Awakenings of the 18th and 19th centuries.[2] Religion in early America became ruggedly individualistic, democratic, and saw a change from "a gradual growth in faith through participation in a church," to treating "a one-time conversion event as the only

[1] For Ellen White's relationship to the holiness movement, see Woodrow W. Whidden II, *Ellen White on Salvation: A Chronological Study* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1995), 17. Both founders of Pentecostalism, Charles Parham and William Seymour, ascribed to second blessing theology and had roots in the movement. For the holiness-Pentecostal connection see Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

[2] Iain H. Murray, *Revival & Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750–1858* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth, 1994).

sufficient basis for claiming to be a Christian."[3] Amid the isolation of frontier life, camp-meetings brought connection to God and others, often giving rise to "uncontrolled emotionalism" and religious enthusiasm in which bodily manifestations became common.[4] Methodism grew at the expense of established churches, and Wesley's emphasis on sanctification gave rise to the Holiness movement in which some kind of tangible manifestation came to be associated as signs of a hoped-for second blessing.

Incipient Pentecostalism arose out of the holiness movement in 1901 at Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, under the leadership of Charles Parham, a holiness faith-healer and preacher.[5] Parham led an intensive study of the book of Acts to determine what might be the sign of baptism of the Holy Spirit or full sanctification. He and his students concluded that the sign was glossolalia. A 24-hour prayer vigil culminated on New Year's Day 1901 when a student broke out in ecstatic speech. Soon over half of the 40 students were engaged in ecstatic utterances they believed were 21 different languages.[6] However, the movement floundered when it became apparent that the ecstatic speech was not real languages.

It wasn't until 1906 that the movement gained traction. That year, an African-American holiness minister and student of Parham's by the name of William Seymour, took Parham's distinctive teaching of glossolalia as the sign of Holy Spirit baptism to an African-American mission in Azusa Street, Los Angeles.[7] Here African-American slave religion with its roots in African traditional religion, which featured some kind of spirit possession as a consequence of engagement with highly experiential rites and rituals, was com-

3 Nancy Peacey, *Total Truth: Liberating Christianity from its Cultural Captivity* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2004), 263.

4 Keith J. Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 130–35. See also Murray, *Revival & Revivalism*, 149–56. The Cane Ridge camp-meeting of 1801 became legendary for phenomena such as falling to the ground, crying, hysterical laughter, barking, and jerking.

5 James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, London: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 25.

6 Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 79.

7 Vinson Synan and Charles R. Jr. Fox, *William J. Seymour: Pioneer of the Azusa Street Revival* (Alachua, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2012). Steven Land states that "it was the confluence of African-American and Wesleyan spiritualities within the broader context of North American revivalism which precipitated [Pentecostalism]" (Steven J. Land, "A Passion for the Kingdom: Revisioning Pentecostal Spirituality," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 1 [1992]: 23).

bined with the holiness doctrine of instant sanctification and Parham's doctrine of glossolalia.[8] Historian Rufus Sanders argues that there has been a failure to recognize this due to the movement arising in the era of Jim Crow and the marginalization of African-Americans who gave rise to the movement. Yet "every ritual and practice of Pentecostalism had a precedent in African-American traditional religion."[9] An appreciation of the African traditional religious roots of the movement is important as it helps to understand the highly experiential spirituality witnessed at Azusa.[10] These supernatural phenomena acted as a magnet that drew people from across the country and around the world. Many of the largest Pentecostal denominations sprang from Azusa Street in the years 1906–1914.

2.2 Transition to the Second Wave

Initially such ecstatic phenomena were confined to Pentecostal churches and denominations. Two events prepared the way for Pentecostalism to enter mainstream Protestant churches. The first was the Healing Revivals of North America which occurred in the years 1947–1958.[11] In these revivals a message of salvation was preached "but, whatever the intention of the evangelists, it was never the central theme of their meetings…. The common heartbeat of every service was the miracle—the hypnotic moment when the

8 For more about slave religion see Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For the likely impact of slave religion on Seymour see Cecil M. Robeck Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 2006), 21–24. Robeck also notes the similarity in phenomena that occurred in hoodooism and at Azusa Street.

9 Rufus G. W. Sanders, *William Joseph Seymour: Black Father of the 20th Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement* (Sandusky, OH: Xulon, 2003), 7.

10 Evidences at Azusa Street included glossolalia, healings, slaying in the Spirit, jerking, barking, holy laughter, jumping, dancing, rolling, singing in the Spirit, prophecy, trances, and the appearance of angels. For more information see Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, 12. Also Robert Owens, "The Azusa Street Revival: The Pentecostal Movement Begins in America," in *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901–2001*, ed. Vinson Synan (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 2001); Larry Martin, *William J. Seymour: Pentecostal Trailbrazer and Revered Pastor of the Azusa Street Revival* (New Kensington, PA: Whitaker House, 2024), 142–44.

11 The most comprehensive account of the healing revivals is David Edwin Jr. Harrell, *All Things are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 1975).

Spirit moved to heal the sick and raise the dead."[12] This movement was spearheaded by controversial healing revivalist William Branham, but due to his extreme beliefs and practices he was repudiated by Pentecostal denominations.[13] Even with such resistance hundreds of thousands of Americans were impacted. Several historians have recognized in hindsight that the opposition was in fact a dispersing and reseeding, with many of the beliefs and practices entering the mainstream Pentecostal movement over the next 50 years from Latter Rain ministries and leaders within the revivals.[14] Two shifts within this revival would have a later long-term impact on the mainstream movement. First, a shift in church governance from congregationalism to an apostle-led hierarchical structure;[15] and second, a shift from pre-millennialism to post-millennialism.[16] Both of these re-emerged in the Third Wave, only to become core beliefs of the New Apostolic Reformation in the Fourth Wave.

The second pivotal event in the mainstreaming of Pentecostalism was the innovative use of the emerging media of television by evangelists such as Kathryn Kuhlman and Oral Roberts. Historian Kate Bowler remarks, "It was Kuhlman's cleverly crafted persona and appealing middle-class respectability that helped to turn low-life 'Pentecostalism' into 'charismatic

[12] Harrell, *All Things are Possible*, 15–16.

[13] A hagiographic account of his life appears in Dean Merrill, *50 Pentecostal and Charismatic Leaders Every Christian Should Know* (Bloomington, MN: Chosen, 2021). For a more comprehensive treatment of his life and teachings see the work of former Branhamite John Andrew Collins, *Preacher Behind the White Hoods: A Critical Examination of William Branham and His Message* (n.p.: Dark Mystery Publications, 2020).

[14] For a more complete analysis see Michael G. Moriarty, *The New Charismatics: A Concerned Voice Responds to Dangerous New Trends* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 44–62.

[15] This occurred through a book authored by two of the leaders, George R. Hawtin and Ernest E. Hawtin, *Church Government*, 1949, cited in D. William Faupel, "The New Order of the Latter Rain: Restoration or Renewal?," ed. Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2010),10:251.

[16] This occurred through a book authored by one of the leaders, George H. Warnock, *The Feast of the Tabernacles: A Type of the Glorious Church* (n.p.: Self-published, 1951). Teigen states that Warnock "reinterpreted the classical belief that Jesus would return as an individual. Instead he argued that the return of Jesus would be manifested collectively through the end-time church" (Arne Helge Teigen, "Charismatic Prototype Christology: Examining and Evaluating the Evolution of Charismatic Doctrine Regarding Christians' Ability to Perform Miracles like Jesus," *Theofilos* 14.1–2 [2022], 65).

Christianity,' a spiritual approach that transcended denominational borders."[17] Kuhlman gave hundreds of thousands of Christians the opportunity to explore Pentecostal spirituality in the comfort of their own homes and away from the confines of their more cautious churches. John Sherrill speaks of this as "the underground Pentecostal Movement that was quietly racing through so many churches in America."[18]

2.3 The Second Wave

The Second Wave, also known as the Charismatic movement, moved the Pentecostal experiences of Azusa Street into mainline Protestantism and Catholicism. The experiential nature of Pentecostal spirituality appeared to have allowed it to bypass existing denominational and doctrinal barriers. Dennis Bennett, the Episcopalian priest now credited with the commencement of the Second Wave, sought the experience in the wake of his own spiritual dryness.[19] By 1962, charismatic phenomena started to appear in Lutheran and Presbyterian churches.[20] Even more significant was the beginning of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement in 1967 at Duquesne University when a student Ralph Keifer and history professor William Storey experienced glossolalia and began to "impart" it to others. The renewal quickly spread to the University of Notre Dame and beyond. The initial wariness of church leaders gave way, between 1973 and 1975, to acceptance as Pope Paul VI began welcoming Catholic charismatics as a part of the wider Catholic church.[21]

Interestingly, the charismatic renewal spread but did not impact evangelical churches. Developments in the late 1970s would lay the foundations for a third wave to break out in evangelical churches when the waning hippie movement intersected with Pentecostalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The hippie movement itself was a search for spirituality in the form

17 Kate Bowler, forword in Amy Collier Artman, *The Miracle Lady: Kathryn Kuhlman and the Transformation of Charismatic Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2019), viii.

18 John Sherrill, forword in Dennis J. Bennett, *Nine O'Clock in the Morning* (London: Coverdale House, 1971).

19 Bennett, *Nine O'Clock in the Morning*, 11–12.

20 P. D. Hocken, "Charismatic Movement," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 479–81.

21 See Valentina Ciciliot, "The Origins of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States: Early Developments in Indiana and Michigan and the Reactions of the Ecclesiastical Authorities," *Studies in World Christianity* 25.3 (2019): 250–73.

of an experience, most notably through recreational drugs and New Age spirituality, in the environment of free-love and rock 'n' roll. As disillusioned hippies encountered Pentecostalism, thousands made a switch to another type of experience, one that became known as the Jesus People Movement, one of the largest revivals to occur in North America.

2.4 The Third Wave

The Third Wave, or neo-charismatic movement, was defined by a shift from a focus on the experience of glossolalia as the sole evidence of Holy Spirit baptism to broader evidences of Holy Spirit baptism, along with the rise of the contemporary Christian music movement. A significant social factor which precipitated the Third Wave was the influx of hippies in the Jesus People movement, which provided the impetus for both revitalized worship music and the need for churches in which inclusion of a counter-cultural demographic was not a barrier. These needs were met by new church networks that became renowned for contemporary Christian music and worship renewal.

One such network was Calvary Chapel, started in the mid-1960s by Foursquare Pastor Chuck Smith.[22] It focused on expository preaching, featured new forms of worship music, and rejected glossolalia and other supernatural phenomena in the worship service but did permit them elsewhere.[23] Smith's concern for the disillusioned hippies led him to mentor and partner with the charismatic "hippie" evangelist Lonnie Frisbee, but the incompatibility of their competing spiritualities led to a fracture between the two as Frisbee persisted in practicing an uninhibited supernaturalism within the worship services despite Smith's admonition not to.[24]

Eventually Frisbee partnered with another Calvary Chapel pastor, John Wimber. This new partnership led to the Mother's Day service of 1980, during which Frisbee invoked the Holy Spirit causing pandemonium to break out with young people falling to the floor and speaking in tongues. An angry Wimber initially rejected the phenomena but in a defining illustration

[22] Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 36.

[23] Calvary Chapel would found one of the first Christian rock labels, Maranatha Music, in 1971.

[24] Lonnie Frisbee and Roger Sachs, *Not by Might, Nor by Power: The Jesus Revolution*, 2nd ed. (n.p.: Freedom Publications, 2017), 99–119. Also Lonnie Frisbee and Roger Sachs, *Not by Might, Nor By Power: The Great Commission* (n.p.: Freedom Publications, 2016).

of experiential spirituality at work, he received a telephone call from another Calvary Chapel minister early the next morning telling him, "I don't know what is happening, but God has told me to call you and tell you whatever it is, it is from him." Wimber took this as divine confirmation and transitioned to a signs and wonders ministry. As a result, Wimber's church was removed from the Calvary network and joined the Vineyard network, with Wimber quickly assuming leadership of the entire Vineyard network.[25]

It was within a Vineyard church in 1994 that the pivotal "Toronto Blessing" occurred. This highly experiential event featured glossolalia, holy laughter, slaying in the Spirit, Spirit drunkenness, animal sounds, and much more. Planeloads of Christians from around the world flocked to Toronto, Canada, and took the manifestations back to their own churches. The style of worship, music, and ministry in Vineyard churches and the Toronto Blessing saw charismatic phenomena influence many evangelical churches.[26] Some of the most influential ministries and churches in North America today were birthed out of the Toronto Blessing, such as Iris Global (Heidi and Rolland Baker), Bethel in Redding, California (Bill Johnson), Harvest International Ministries (Che Ahn) and Catch the Fire Ministries (John and Carol Arnott).[27] It also gave birth to several large revivals, such as Pensacola in Brownsville, Florida in 1995 which had an attendance of over 700,000 persons.[28] These Toronto-inspired revivals, replete with what was often bizarre supernaturalism, helped propel forward a highly experiential spirituality that has come to characterise the fourth wave.[29]

[25] Bill Jackson, *The Quest for the Radical Middle: A History of the Vineyard* (Cape Town, South Africa: Vineyard International, 1999), 72–86.

[26] Pentecostal sociologist, Margaret Paloma, studied the Toronto Blessing and observed that the extended time of worship "is catalytic for a sense of close communion with the divine" (Margaret M. Poloma, *Main Street Mystics: The Toronto Blessing and Reviving Pentecostalism* [Lanham, MD: Alta Mira, 2003], 38). The music helps produce altered states of consciousness (characterized by inhibition/loss of control, heightened feelings of joy, profundity, the ineffable, hypersuggestibility, and physical responses such as falling to the ground, intense weeping, laughter, and even animal sounds) so central to intense forms of emotional-experiential spirituality (Poloma, *Main Street Mystics*, 43).

[27] Brad Christerson and Richard Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity: How Independent Leaders are Changing the Religious Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 32–35. See also https://globalawakening.com/touched-by-god-the-story-of-rolland-and-heidi-baker/.

[28] Jackson, *The Quest for the Radical Middle*, 298–99.

[29] A further Toronto-inspired revival was the Lakeland Revival in Florida in 2008.

2.5 The Fourth Wave

Most commentators consider the current era an extension of the Third Wave. Despite this, others have distinguished it from earlier periods, variously naming it as a new era of the INC (Independent Network Charismatic churches),[30] post-denominationalism, or the New Apostolic Reformation.[31] With its sharp divergences from Protestantism there are compelling reasons to differentiate it as a new fifth stream in Christianity, alongside Protestantism, Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Orthodoxy.[32] Its oft-used moniker, the New Apostolic Reformation, describes well its nature and ambition—first, that of a new, worldwide move of God; second, apostolic in nature due to the rise of modern-day apostles in the order of Christ's apostles, and also representative of a shift in the style of governance of churches; and third, a reformation of the Christian church that rivals that of the Protestant Reformation.[33] True to its experiential roots, however, this reformation is not one of doctrine but governed by the experiential nature of its spirituality. One of the factors that gave rise to the fourth wave was "the freedom to experiment with alternative religious beliefs and practices without constraints imposed by a governing authority."[34] This experimentation has led to supernatural manifestations that are increasingly bizarre in nature. The belief that signs and wonders will bring about a worldwide revival and usher in an age of Christian dominion has led to the global rise of Supernatural Schools of Ministry in which supernatural power can be experimented with, including "dead-raising" teams.[35]

30 Christerson and Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity*, 2.

31 It was named the New Apostolic Reformation (NAR) by Wagner, who spent the last 15 years of his life engineering the movement and training its leaders, although the negative publicity that the movement has generated has led to those leaders repudiating the label. See Matthew Taylor, *Charismatic Revival Fury, Ep 1: January 6th and the New Apostolic Reformation*, podcast audio, Straight White American Jesus 2022.

32 For more information on the rise of this stream see Christerson and Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity*. Christerson distinguish Anglicanism as a stream separate from Protestantism.

33 For an analysis of this movement from an Adventist eschatological perspective, see Trevor O'Reggio, "The Rise of the New Apostolic Reformation and its Implications for Adventist Eschatology," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 23.2 (2012), 131–60.

34 Christerson and Flory, *The Rise of Network Christianity*, 65.

35 For a popular text arising from a church within the fourth wave (Bethel, Redding, California) which parallels New Age attempts to integrate science and spirituality, see Judy Franklin and Ellyn Davis, *The Physics of Heaven: Exploring God's Mysteries of*

The roots of the fourth wave are broad and deep, drawing from both within Pentecostalism and without. Roots within include the first wave Latter Rain movement of 1948, and the third wave movements of spiritual warfare, worship renewal, prophets and apostles, and signs and wonders.[36] Roots apart from Pentecostalism include the Christian identity, Word of Faith,[37] and North American church growth movements, along with Christian reconstructionism. Many of these elements have given the fourth wave a strong here-and-now focus and have led to several shifts; one of the most dramatic is the change in eschatology from pre-millennialism to post-millennialism. Post-millennialism has in turn led to a theology of dominionism and a transition from a formerly apolitical movement to an increasingly political one. Since 2008, North American election cycles have become increasingly dominated by leaders affiliated with the NAR,[38] including the 2021 US Capital January 6 insurrection.[39] Dominionism has also meshed neatly with a shift away from denominationalism to an apostolic-style church governance system, where churches and ministries are affiliated together into apostolic networks and alliances.[40] Overall, the flexible structure and ability

Sound, Light, Energy, Vibrations and Quantum Physics (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 2012).

36 For a more comprehensive treatment of the New Apostolic Reformation and its roots see John Weaver, *The New Apostolic Reformation: History of a Modern Charismatic Movement* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016); Yvie Ruth Baker, "From Peter Wagner to Bill Johnson: The History and Epistemology of the 'New Apostolic Reformation'" (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2021); and Douglas R. Geivett and Holly Pivec, *A New Apostolic Reformation? A Biblical Response to a Worldwide Movement* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2014). For its links with the Christian identity movement see John Andrew Collins, *Weaponized Religion: From Christian Identity to the NAR* (Jeffersonville, IN: Dark Mystery Publications, 2024).

37 The Word of Faith movement finds its roots in the New Thought Movement of the late 1800s, which was an attempt to lend scientific credibility to the occult. For a history of the movement see Kate Bowler, *Blessed: A History of the American Prosperity Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). For an appraisal of the theology and theological impact of the movement see D. R. McConnell, *A Different Gospel*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995).

38 Weaver, *The New Apostolic Reformation*, Introduction, 5-18. See also Andre Gagne, *American Evangelicals for Trump: Dominion, Spiritual Warfare and the End Times*, trans. Linda Shanahan (New York: Routledge, 2024). Along with Taylor, *Charismatic Revival Fury*. Gagne points out the overlap between dominionism and the objectives of the MAGA movement.

39 Taylor, *Charismatic Revival Fury*.

40 For popular titles espousing dominionism and apostolic governance, see Bill Hamon, *Apostles Prophets and the Coming Moves of God: God's End-Time Plans for His Church and*

to culturally adapt have led to this latest expression of Pentecostalism being the fastest growing sector in Christianity today, with a massive international reach, particularly in the global south where the concepts of Word of Faith are particularly appealing. Additionally, the locus of experiential spirituality with its tendency to syncretism meshes easily with indigenous and traditional religions, further facilitating its reach.

3. Pentecostal Spirituality

A stunning realization that doesn't appear in a brief historical survey like this is the complete absence of any doctrinal uniformity within the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. Early Pentecostalism was defined by the practice of glossolalia and was staunchly pre-millennial but now neither is the case. This turns out to be a feature and not a bug of the movement. The amorphous nature of Pentecostal belief has made it difficult to define. But what does meet with consensus, however, both amongst those who study and those who participate in the movement, is that the essential nature of Pentecostal spirituality is experiential. "Central to pentecostal worship," Harvey Cox declares, "is the experience of being possessed by the Spirit, receiving the Spirit's gifts, and breaking out of the constraints and limitations of everyday life."[41] Phylis Tickle argues that Pentecostalism with its direct encounter with God through the Holy Spirit, "assumes that ultimate authority is experiential rather than canonical."[42] Walter Hollenwegger, after wrestling with what might be a suitable definition of Pentecostalism says

Planet Earth (Santa Rosa Beach, FL: Christian International, 1997); Bill Johnson, *When Heaven Invades Earth: A Practical Guide to the Life of Miracles* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 2003); C. Peter Wagner, *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008); Cindy Jacobs, *The Reformation Manifesto: Your Part in God's Plan to Change Nations Today* (Bloomington, MN: Bethany House, 2008). For works that critically assess the apostolic movement see Holly Pivec and Douglas R. Geivett, *Reckless Christianity: The Destructive New Teachings and Practices of Bill Johnson, Bethel Church, and the Global Movement of Apostles and Prophets* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2023); Geivett and Pivec, *A New Apostolic Reformation?*; Weaver, *The New Apostolic Reformation*; and Richard P. Moore, *Divergent Theology: An Inquiry into the Theological Characteristics of the Word of Faith, Third Wave Movement & the New Apostolic Reformation* (N.p.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2017). For a scholarly historical analysis of the development of the movement, see Baker, "From Peter Wagner to Bill Johnson."

41 Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the 21st Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), 200.

42 Phyllis Tickle, *The Great Emergence: How Christianity is Changing and Why* (Grand Ra-

this, "I believe there is something unifying in the Pentecostal movement, but it is probably not at the level of doctrine. It is a way of doing theology: experience-related, open to oral forms, ecumenical (by virtue of its many worldwide forms), and expressing itself in categories of pneumatology."[43] Theologian Amos Yong observes that the largely oral spirituality of "renewal Christianity" embraces the "emotional and kinaesthetic dimensions of the Christian life," and "that there is a shift in understanding theology not only as 'predominantly cerebral,'" but "also an embodied activity."[44] Daniel Albrecht says the core foundation of Pentecostal spirituality is "the human experience of God."[45]

This experiential spirituality has been core to each wave of Pentecostalism, while doctrinally the movement has remained fluid, flexible, and diverse. Furthermore, each succeeding wave has tended to amplify the experiential nature of the previous wave, and in several cases, what was seen as extreme in one wave has become normative in the next. Pentecostalism's relentless dynamism, its constant innovations, amazing diversity, extraordinary growth regularly punctuated by "waves" or massive new evolutions, and surprising doctrinal ambiguity, stem from the one unchanging feature common to all its manifestations—the centrality and authority of experiential spirituality.

4. Adventist History and Spirituality

In contrast, Adventist history reveals a spirituality intimately intertwined with the simultaneous development of tightly interconnected theology, identity, and mission. Seventh-day Adventism grew indirectly out of the restorationist impulse that understood itself to be restoring either neglected,

pids: Baker, 2008), 85.

43 Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 329. The task of determining Pentecostal "is made even more difficult and elusive by the fact that early Pentecostal theology was developed in oral and other non-discursive forms, such as experience" (Corneliu Constantineau and Christopher Scobie, "Introduction: Pentecostal Identity, Spirituality and Theology," in *Pentecostals in the 21st Century*, ed. Corneliu Constantineau and Christopher Scobie [Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2018], 3).

44 Amos Yong, "Improvisation, Indigenization, and Inspiration: Theological Reflections on the Sound and Spirit of Global Renewal," in *The Spirit of Praise: Music and Worship in Global Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Monique M. Ingalls and Amos Yong (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 281.

45 Daniel E. Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

forgotten, or rejected New Testament truths.[46] The more direct and immediate originating source was Millerite Adventism with its pre-millennial belief in the imminent return of Jesus in contrast to the prevailing post-millennialism. For Millerites, the premillennial return of Jesus was linked to the year 1843/44. This conviction was built on an historicist approach to interpreting the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation.

The failure of Jesus to return on October 22, 1844, was known as the "Great Disappointment." In its wake, most Millerites returned to their old churches. Those who didn't were plunged into great confusion. Three groups emerged from the wreckage. The "spiritualizers" spiritualized the second coming into a non-literal coming of Christ into the hearts of His followers.[47] This group exhibited lots of fanaticism in belief and practice. The second group known as the "Albany Adventists" after a conference in Albany, New York, in May 1845, was initially the largest and organized along congregational lines.[48] The third and smallest group, was the embryonic form of the future Seventh-day Adventist church and would go on to become the largest.[49] Interestingly, the first and third groups experienced numerous Pentecostal-charismatic phenomena, including people falling down under the power of the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues, having dreams and visions, receiving healings, and more.

How did this third group not only survive the "Great Disappointment" but also become the largest? And why did the phenomena of charismatic spirituality not remain as a defining feature of the group's resulting spirituality? Knight suggests that both Millerism and Seventh-day Adventism successfully navigated the tension between its inherent rationalism and emotionalism. Knight notes that apocalyptic movements attract two personality types. Rational types are drawn to unpacking biblical prophecy and developing an "apocalyptic scheme of events" while the emotional types "gravitate toward the excitement of the apocalyptic expectancy and often run into fanatical, irrational extremism."[50] He argues that a "movement disintegrates

46 George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2000), 33–34.

47 George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 245–66. This branch disappeared into history and left no enduring organization.

48 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 267–94. The Albany Adventists would give birth to a further four denominations. The American Evangelical Conference (1858), Advent Christians (1860), the Church of God in Oregon, Illinois (in the 1850's), and the Life and Advent Union (1863).

49 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 295–326.

50 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 331.

whenever the rational forces are not strong enough to stem the centrifugal forces of irrationalism or emotionalism."[51] Millerism managed to contain its emotionalism within the bounds of its rationalism and this gave rise to an emotionally vibrant but rationally controlled spirituality. The Adventist descendants of Millerism were able to achieve this same configuration.[52]

Zoltán Szalos-Farkas in his book, *A Search for God: Understanding Apocalyptic Spirituality*, comes to a similar conclusion in his study of Adventist spirituality. He sees Adventism as the culmination of two competing spiritualities, Miller's apocalyptic spirituality and the Wesleyan Methodism of the time.[53] The former focused on biblical exposition and the latter on a higher spiritual experience. Like Knight, Szalos-Farkas argues that the two are in real tension with each other. Millerism placed an extreme emphasis on reason and the Methodism of the time placed greater emphasis on heart-religion and room for emotion. Szalos-Farkas credits "a process of formative interplay" between Millerism and Wesleyan Methodism as resulting in the form of spirituality that became foundational to Adventism.[54] One element of this interplay was that Miller's exposition of prophecy "tended to engage primarily the 'mind' and secondarily the 'heart'" and the "overtly intellectual bent of this new spirituality appears to have increasingly become of considerable importance for [Ellen] White."[55] Central to this spirituality was "the ideal of acquiring an intellectual grasp of biblical truth before an affective appropriation of that truth by the heart." And this order "maintained the primacy of the intellectual cognition of truth [and] tended to subordinate affections to correct doctrines."[56] Thus Millerism brought a strong doctrinal-rational-orientation and a commitment to historicism with its apocalyptic/millennial focus. Methodism brought with it a vibrant heartfelt focus on "experimental religion" centered on a personal conversion encounter

51 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 332. This was the fate of the "spiritualizers."

52 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, 332. Although Knight warns that this rational prioritization means the group is more naturally in danger of rationalism.

53 For a connection between Ellen White and the Methodist shouting tradition, see Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Jonathan Edwards to William James* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 156–59. Taves (p. 330) also links the shouting tradition with strongly influencing Pentecostalism.

54 Zoltán Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God: Understanding Apocalyptic Spirituality* (Ilfov, Romania: Zoltán Szalos-Farkas, 2010), 48.

55 Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 53. Ellen White, considered by Adventists as a "prophet," is one of its formative founders.

56 Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 53.

with Jesus and an ongoing life of sanctification, as opposed to a purely formal, nominal, or theoretical religion.[57] Hence, there was a sense in which Millerism collided with Methodism, but a creative fusion of the two resulted.

Seventh-day Adventism, however, was more than a fusion. It was something new. It developed a new identity, mission, and purpose, based on new doctrinal discoveries. In intensive Bible studies after the Great Disappointment, Adventists concluded that Miller was partially right and partially wrong; right to view the Advent as near, right to believe that Daniel 8:14's 2300 years had culminated in 1844, but wrong to think it was a prediction of the Second Coming. Instead, in 1844 God had inaugurated His final judgment, beginning in the heavenly Sanctuary before He would later come to earth. This meant the world had entered the final phase of history and with this was a special work for God's people to do. This special work was summarized in the "Three Angels Messages" in Revelation 14:6–12. These post-disappointment studies "led to the crystallization of the Adventist concept of 'message', and of its correlate, the Adventist 'mission'. The 'message' comprised four basic Sabbatarian articles of faith: the matrix of Seventh-day Adventist spirituality."[58] The four basic articles of faith, were "the Second Coming, the Investigative Judgement in the heavenly Sanctuary, the Sabbath within the Ten Commandments, and Conditional Immortality."[59] Szalos-Farkas concludes that Adventist "spirituality is the personal and collect-

[57] See Ellen White's continued affirmation of experimental religion in Ellen White, *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948), 5:221. See A. Gregory Schneider, "The Methodist Connection to Adventism," *Spectrum* 25.5 (1996): 26–37; Woodrow W. Whidden II, "Ellen White and John Wesley," *Spectrum* 25.5 (1996): 48–54; Woodrow W. Whidden II, "The Wesleyan Connection and Discipleship," *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 12 (2016): 53–59. See these references for additional Methodist influences such as the use of "methods" in discipleship, church organization, Arminianism and prevenient grace, and social engagement.

[58] Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 112–13.

[59] Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 118. These distinctive doctrines are also known variously as "pillars" or "landmarks" or "waymarks." Ellen White gives a slightly different list than Szalos-Farkas, she mentions the Sanctuary, the Three Angels Messages, the Sabbath and Law of God, and the non-immorality of the wicked (Ellen G. White, "Standing by the Landmarks, Ms. 13. 1889," *The Ellen G. White 1888 Materials* [Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1987], 87). See also Ellen G. White, *Counsels to Writers and Editors* [Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1946], 31). The difference is that the Three Angels Messages can be viewed as a summary of the others or as a landmark itself, and the Second Coming can be included as part of the Three Angels or its own stand alone.

ive pursuit and heralding of God's End-Time will and purposes."[60] These distinctive doctrines themselves emerge out of a more foundational commitment to Sola Scriptura which has characterized Adventism since the beginning.[61] Ellen White was emphatic of the "need of a return to the great Protestant principle—the Bible, and the Bible only, as the rule of faith and duty."[62] Adventism is a very Protestant and dynamic spirituality. Adventists also developed the concept of "present truth." This refers to new discoveries of God's truth that were unknown to previous generations but are now particularly relevant. This encompassed the newly discovered pillars or landmarks but generated an expectation that they would continue to find new truth, although any new truth would not contradict previous truth.[63] The church's understanding of biblical truth was seen as dynamic, developing, and progressive. More light was yet to come.

When Adventist historian George Knight wanted to trace and understand the heart of Adventism, he described it as a search for identity in four stages, with theology and doctrine playing the central role. Knight begins with the "Millerite Theological Foundation" (chapter 3) and then describes the first state stage from 1844 to 1885 as a quest to find out "What is Adventist in Adventism?" (chapter 4).[64] The answer was agreement on the four basic articles, pillars, or landmarks mentioned earlier.[65] During the second stage from 1886 to 1919 the church wrestled with the new question of "What is Christian in Adventism?" During this time, Adventism's mental energy

60 Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 138.

61 "A fundamental principle set forth by Scripture concerning itself is that the Bible alone (*sola scriptura*) is the final norm of truth" (Richard M. Davidson, "Biblical Interpretation," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen [Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2001], 12:60).

62 Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911), vii, 204–5. See also pages vii and 595.

63 Ellen Whites mentions that "in every age there is a new development of truth, a message of God to the people of that generation" (Ellen G. White, *Christ's Object Lessons* [Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1969], 127). Present truth "is a test to the people of this generation, [but it] was not a test to the people of generations far back" (Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948], 2:693). She also says that "we shall never reach a period when there is no increased light for us" (Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages from the Writings of Ellen G. White: Book One* [Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1958], 404).

64 Knight, *A Search for Identity*, 35-54 and 55–89.

65 In his earlier historical study of the Adventist church Froom calls these 'testing truths.' See LeRoy E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1971), 74, 77–88.

was consumed by issues such as righteousness by faith, the atonement, the Gospel, the divine and human nature of Jesus, the Trinity, and the personhood of the Holy Spirit. Froom describes this as a recovery and exploration of the "eternal verities" or "Christian verities," that is, truths held in common with other Christians. He sees this as starting in 1888 and solidifying in 1931 when a new articulation of Adventist beliefs was placed in the *Yearbook* and the *Church Manual*, and later in the first uniform Baptismal Certificate in 1941.[66]

The year 1888 was pivotal in this second stage. An excessive focus on defending the law and the Sabbath between 1844 and 1888 resulted in a movement plagued by legalism. In 1888 Ellen White and several others argued for a recovery and integration of a gospel-focus into the heart of Adventist doctrine, experience, and spirituality. In Szalos-Farkas words "according to White, the doctrinal matrix, underlying Adventist spirituality, needed to assimilate the gospel of *sola fide, sola gratia* and *solus Christus* of historic Protestantism."[67] The re-emphasis on the Gospel and the person of Jesus coincided with shifts in the doctrine of God. Adventists more clearly affirmed the full deity of Jesus Christ, moving away from prevalent semi-Arian views, and towards Trinitarianism.[68]

The Adventist church's doctrine and identity were clarified and established by the end of these first two stages. The third stage of 1919 to 1950 saw the church wrestle with answering "What is fundamentalist in Adventism" (chapter 6). According to Knight, the fourth stage of 1950 to the present is one of "Adventism in Theological Tension" (chapter 7). The 1950's saw an Adventist-Evangelical rapprochement which took place when some prominent Evangelicals met with Adventist representatives for dialogue. The result was the production of Walter Martin's book *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* in which he rejected the idea that Seventh-day Adventists are

[66] See chart in Froom, *Movement of Destiny*, 75.

[67] Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 218.

[68] For descriptions of these changes see, Russell Holt, *The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination: Its Rejection and Acceptance* (unpublished paper, Andrews University, 1969); Christy Mathewson Taylor, "The Doctrine of the Personality of the Holy Spirit as Taught by the Seventh-day Adventist Church up to 1900" (unpublished paper, Andrews University, 1953); Woodrow W. Whidden, Jerry Moon, and John W. Reeve, *The Trinity: Understanding God's Love, His Plan of Salvation and Christian Relationship* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2002); Merlin D. Burt, "History of Seventh-day Adventist Views on the Trinity," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 17.1 (2006): 125–39; Gerhard Pfandl, "The Doctrine of Trinity among Seventh-day Adventists," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 17.1 (2006): 160–79.

a cult and included them as a genuine Christian and Evangelical body, howbeit with some unusual doctrines.[69] From their side, Adventists produced the book *Questions on Doctrine* in which they affirmed their commitment to the "Christian Verities" and clarified the meaning of distinctive Adventist teachings.[70] In the whole process doctrine was the preeminent focus for both Evangelical and Adventist sides.

Amid this fourth stage, 1980 is the pivotal year. That year, the General Conference voted to accept a new articulation of the church's fundamental beliefs.[71] These fundamentals reflect the heart of Adventist identity and spirituality—a continued engagement with the Bible and the teachings that arise from it. A preamble notes that "Seventh-day Adventists accept the Bible as their only creed and hold certain fundamental beliefs to be the teaching of the Holy Scriptures." These statements of belief are dynamic and can be revised "when the church is led by the Holy Spirit to a fuller understanding of Bible truth." The first fundamental is entitled the "Holy Scriptures" and states among other things that "the Holy Scriptures are the infallible revelation of His will. They are the standard of character, *the test of experience*, the authoritative revealer of doctrines, and the trustworthy record of God's acts in history."[72] This is a strong affirmation of the biblical-doctrinal-cognitive priority at the center of Adventist spirituality.

The year 1980 was also when doctrinal controversies, raised by prominent Adventist scholar Desmond Ford, came to a head. Ford had called into question several Adventist doctrinal formulations particularly related to the Sanctuary, the Investigative Judgment, and prophetic interpretation. His understandings were examined at a conference at Glacier View from August 10–15, 1980, and were ultimately rejected and Ford was dismissed from

69 Walter Martin, *The Truth about Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960). See also Walter Martin, "Appendix A," in *The Kingdom of the Cults: The Definitive Work on the Subject*, ed. Walter Martin (Ada, MN: Bethany House, 2019).

70 *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1957). For an overview of the history see Juhyeok Nam, "Reactions to the Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences and Questions on Doctrine 1955–1971" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2005).

71 In 1980 there were 27 "Fundamental Beliefs." A new belief was added in 2005 to give 28 beliefs.

72 Secretariat, *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual*, 20th ed., General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2022), 168–78. Italics mine.

ministry.[73] Glacier View was a traumatic event and called "the most important event of this nature in Adventist history since the 1888 General Conference in Minneapolis."[74] The significance for us is that it serves to reinforce the importance of and the tight connection between doctrine and Adventist identity, mission, and spirituality.

Amid this story of spiritual identity based in doctrinal formation there were also occurrences of striking pentecostal-charismatic-like phenomena. A key early turning point which began to put the brakes on charismatic phenomena and shaped the ensuing spirituality relates to a vision by Ellen White in December 1850, while in Paris, Maine. White states she "saw that the exercises [pentecostal-charismatic-like phenomena] were in great danger of being adulterated, and their former opinion and knowledge governing in a measure their exercise, therefore implicit confidence could not be placed in these exercises." She also said that "we should strive at all times to be free from unhealthy and unnecessary excitement. I saw that there was great danger of leaving the word of God and resting down and trusting in exercises."[75] In contrast to the exercises she argued "that the burden of the message now was the truth. The Word of God should be strictly followed and held up to the people of God." Arthur White noted that "the records of the time show an acceleration in ecstatic experiences" and concludes that "the significance of this vision given on December 24, 1850, cannot be overrated. It is a key document."[76] A concern for truth and Scripture was ele

[73] For an overview from an Adventist perspective see the special October 1980 edition of Ministry magazine (*Ministry Magazine* 53.10 [1980]). Also see, "Glacier View Sanctuary Review Conference," *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*, updated January 29, 2020, https://encyclopedia.adventist.org/article?id=79CV. For a view highly sympathetic to Ford, see, Milton Hook, *Desmond Ford: Reformist Theologian, Gospel Revivalist* (Riverside, CA: Adventist Today, 2008).

[74] Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Sanctuary Review Committee and Its New Consensus," *Spectrum* (November 1980): 2.

[75] Ellen G. White, "MR No. 1051—Vision at Paris, Maine," *Manuscript Releases, Vol 13* [Nos. 1000-1080] (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990), 52. There is a certain irony in a vision serving as the basis for a caution about ecstatic phenomena and the elevation of the Word of God. But what might help explain this irony is that the vision conveys cognitive content in contrast with the exercises which revolved around emotional excitement and physical manifestations (shouting, falling prostrate, dancing, tongues speaking, healings). See Arthur L. White, "Tongues in Early SDA History," *Review and Herald* (March 15, 1973): 1.

[76] Arthur L. White, "Bible Study Versus Ecstatic Experience," *Review and Herald* (March 22, 1973): 6–7.

vated above emotion and, in time, led to the almost complete displacement of the exercises.

Another significant influence to shape Adventist spirituality was Ellen White's rejection of Holiness "instant," "entire," or "complete" sanctification. In contrast to sanctification as an instantaneous second blessing she argued that "sanctification is not the work of a moment, an hour, or a day. It is a continual growth in grace."[77] She also rejected the idea that we should link sanctification to an emotional experience.[78] The long-term effect of Ellen White's comments was to effectively remove the cognitive and doctrinal framework for holiness sanctification (a second blessing) which would prove so instrumental in the development of Pentecostalism.[79]

In the short-term, however, one more period of strong pentecostal-charismatic-like experiences occurred within Adventism in the 1890s. The 1890s saw a profound emphasis on receiving the Holy Spirit both without and within Adventism.[80] George Knight covers this period in his book on influential Adventist preacher A. T. Jones.[81] This period featured a significant revival (1894), the rise of an Adventist faith healing movement (1890–1892), and interest in a potentially new prophet (1893–1894) which encouraged others to claim the gift of prophecy. It all climaxed in the 1901 Indiana conference camp meetings and the holy flesh movement. This involved exube-

77 Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948), 1:340.

78 "Bible sanctification does not consist in strong emotion.... Happy feelings or the absence of joy is no evidence that a person is or is not sanctified. There is no such thing as instantaneous sanctification. True sanctification is a daily work, continuing as long as life shall last" (Ellen G. White, *The Sanctified Life* [Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1937], 10).

79 Vinson Synan pins the height of the holiness movement as 1888. That year Ellen White wrote critically that "in many of the revivals which have occurred during the last half century, the same influences have been at work, to a greater or less degree, that will be manifest in the more extensive movements of the future." She saw these as counterfeit revivals that would nevertheless be seen as a "special blessing" and would attain an "influence over the Christian world" (Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* [Altamont, TN: Harvestime Books, 1888], 464). Adventists have seen this prescient statement as a reference to Pentecostalism and have been cautious as a result.

80 Adventists were aware of the wider interest. See, George R. Knight, *A. T. Jones: Point Man on Adventism's Charismatic Frontier* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2011), 192–94.

81 See Knight, *A. T. Jones*, for such chapters as "Charisma in Action: Adventist Faith Healing in the Early 1890s," "Charismatic Explosion: The Great Revival of 1893," "Prophetic Charisma: A Second Adventist Prophet and the Revival of 1894," "Charismatic Emphasis from the Center: A. T. Jones at the Pinnacle of Power."

rant worship music, high emotion, shouting, intense prayer, people falling prostrate under the Spirit's power, claims of healing, all mixed with a perfectionistic theology. Knight states that it "was in Indiana that Adventist holiness became Adventist Pentecostalism in what we now know as the holy flesh movement."[82] Concerned about the theology and emotionalism of this movement, Adventist leaders quickly quashed it.[83] Since then, there has been the near complete absence of comparable large-scale Pentecostal-like phenomena within the Adventist church. The question could be asked to what degree might an incipient charismaticism develop should Adventists consciously or unconsciously embrace elements of third and fourth wave thought or practice?

5. Adventist Spirituality

What this brief historical survey reveals is the undeniable priority of the cognitive over the affective in Adventist spirituality.[84] Adventist identity, unity, mission, and spirituality are rooted in its doctrine. The doctrinal core is stable, maintaining its distinctive doctrines, but also dynamic as it has grown with the Christian verities also at the center of the core. Experience and emotion are valued but clearly subordinated and sublimated to the cognitive, rational, and doctrinal.[85] Szalos-Farkas speaks of it as a "two-dimensional process" that takes place on both the "individual and corporate level." He states, "First, there was the cognitive grasp of present truth by the human intellect. Second, there followed the affective adherence to the truth that has been grasped intellectually."[86] Experience is still very important in

[82] Knight, *A. T. Jones*, 194.

[83] Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2000), 256–57, 446–48.

[84] The cognitive core of Adventist spirituality must not be understood reductionistically. See, Harri Kuhalampi, "Holistic Spirituality in the Thinking of Ellen White" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2010). Adventist spirituality is also wholistic/holistic. This is the idea that one must attend to and develop the physical, moral, emotional, social, spiritual and mental dimensions, Ellen G. White, *Education* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1903), 13. To reduce things to the cognitive would be un-holistic. Holism, however, is a cognitive concept. The cognitive leads to the others but (ideally) ensures balance.

[85] "The idea of living out one's faith within the [apocalyptic doctrinal] matrix turned *doctrinal correctness into a major criterion by which Adventists judged the soundness of personal and collective spirituality*" (Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 138). Italics mine.

[86] Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 112.

Adventist spirituality but is secondary to the cognitive-doctrinal.[87] The "experience" that primarily interests Adventists is the "ordinary" experience of a personal relationship based in conversion and sanctification. It is not a second or "extraordinary" higher or ecstatic kind of experience.

Even though Pentecostal-charismatic phenomena periodically re-occurred within the Adventist church some significant historical responses inhibited it from becoming part of the core identity, practice, and spirituality of the movement.[88] Those decisions also seem to have produced something of an in-built circuit-breaker which has prevented a Pentecostal-charismatic style of Adventism from taking place.

6. Evaluation

Our historical survey enables us to see that one can only understand the differences between Adventism and Pentecostalism by seeing that they operate according to different models of spirituality.[89] For example, the most important differences between the two are not doctrinal distinctives or the presence/absence of glossolalia. While these are real differences, it fails to see the deeper reality. At a more foundational inner level Adventism has a cognitive core spirituality and Pentecostalism has an experiential core spirituality. This captures the differences and explains the unity/continuity and diversity/change within each individual group and between the two groups.

Adventists have an extensive doctrinal structure, although it does not reflect a fixed-creedal spirituality, instead it involves ideally a dynamic ongoing engagement with the Bible. Even now Seventh-day Adventists regularly adjust their statements of belief every five years in a consensus manner

87 An "intellectual grasp of the truth of a sound doctrine did not make one spiritually sound" rather one needs "both the 'mind' and the 'heart' towards God, the source of all truth" (Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 134). The goal of theological knowledge is the "integration of the intellectual discourse with its experiential outcome ... [it] is spirituality as holiness of life" (Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 29).

88 Adventist eschatology also foresees an alarming form of miracle-working Christianity, a kind of vast end-time false revival, as playing a negative role in last day events. Many Adventists have tended to regard Pentecostal-charismatic movements as potentially early manifestations or precursor of this. See, Norman Gulley, *Christ is Coming! A Christ-centered Approach to Last-Day Events* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1998), 148–49. See also footnote 79.

89 This article doesn't attempt to explore other models of spirituality. A fuller list might include categories such as cognitive-rational, societal-activist, contemplative-mystical, ecclesiological-collective.

that invites all geographic and organizational levels of the church to give input. It should be noted that the changes are usually very small, however, but occasionally it can involve stating an entirely new fundamental belief.[90] Unity/continuity and diversity/change revolves around this continual dialogue with Scripture. Pentecostalism is relentlessly dynamic and innovative and changing. Multiple waves and countless denominations and movements have and are being generated. And yet it is still a discernible group in which all exhibit the centrality of Pentecostal experience. A simple modelling of the differing forms of spirituality can explain this reality (see Table 1).

Table 1: *Differing Spirituality Model*

	SDA	PCM[91]
Spiritual Core Primary attributes	Cognitive-doctrinal	Experiential-emotional
Spiritual Consequent Secondary or Tertiary Attributes	Experience-emotional	Cognitive-doctrine

The primary attributes are dominant, defining, and determinative, that is, they shape and limit the secondary attributes and the group's resulting identity, practices, and mission. The secondary attributes respond to, conform to, and express the primary attributes. The relationship between primary and secondary is dynamic but clearly asymmetrical. No group is purely cognitive or experiential. Even with its extensive doctrinal framework, the experiential is very important to Adventism.[92] The cognitive-doctrinal is important in varying degrees to differing Pentecostal groups, even

[90] This happened in 2005. For an overview of what happened and the protocols for this, see, Lawrence T. Geraty, "Seventh-day Adventist Church Gets New Fundamental Belief—The First in a Quarter Century," *Spectrum* 33.3 (2005): 26–29.

[91] PCM = Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement.

[92] For example, there was a symbiotic relationship between experience and doctrine in the formation of early Adventist beliefs. The early Adventists, recalling the positive fruit of their Millerite experience, firmly believed it was genuine and led by the Holy Spirit. This is one of the convictions that motivated them to keep searching the Bible to understand (doctrinally, cognitively) what went wrong. This, however, was an objective historical experience looked back on rather than an experience induced and reoccurring in the present. Additionally, the experience concerned the moral-spiritual transformation of people and not ecstatic manifestations.

if it is neither dominant nor defining.[93] Pentecostal-charismatic group spirituality requires a minimal cognitive framework, which enables and encourages the experiential. What became apparent only with time was how minimal this shared cognitive-doctrinal framework has been.[94] As Frank Macchia notes, Walter J. Hollenweger's book *The Pentecostals* "fell like a bombshell in the late sixties and early seventies upon geographically sheltered Pentecostal groups surprised by the doctrinal diversity of the movement globally. In essence, Hollenweger sought coherence in what is distinctive to Pentecostalism, not in a point or points of doctrine (since for him no such coherence existed), but rather in experience and how this is expressed."[95]

What is truly core can be found by asking: What is the thing that if removed eliminates the group? If something can be removed and Adventism or Pentecostalism still remains, then it is not core. Surprisingly, you can interchange highly contradictory doctrines and theologies, and Pentecostal-charismatic identity remains. One can be Catholic or virtually any form of Protestant. One can be Trinitarian or not (i.e., Oneness Pentecostalism). Astonishingly, you can remove glossolalia, the original non-negotiable evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and you still have the Pentecostal-charismatic movement.[96] Premillennialism was initially hard-baked into

93 Smith's clash with Frisbee is partially a clash between a more cognitive versus experiential version of the same spiritual model. Pentecostalism is full of scholars for whom the cognitive-doctrinal is very important. However, that is defining of the individual within the wider movement and not the movement itself.

94 The minimum cognitive or doctrinal framework that all Pentecostal-charismatics affirm would include a belief in Jesus Christ, the authority of Scripture, the importance of the Holy Spirit, and the necessity of the exercise of spiritual gifts.

95 Frank D. Macchia, "Baptized in the Spirit: Towards a Global Pentecostal Theology," in *Defining Issues in Pentecostalism: Classical and Emergent*, ed. Steven M. Studebaker, McMaster Theological Studies Series (Eugene: OR: Pickwick, 2008), 19.

96 Even a classical Pentecostal denomination such as Assemblies of God has seen a downplaying of the glossolalia. See Shane Clifton, "An Analysis of the Developing Ecclesiology of the Assemblies of God in Australia" (PhD diss., Australian Catholic University, 2005), 228. See also Cary McMullen, "Holding Their Tongues," *Christianity Today* (October 2009), https://www.christianitytoday.com/2009/09/holding-their-tongues/; Abby Stocker, "Assemblies of God Surge, but Speaking in Tongues Slumps," *Christianity Today* (August 6, 2003); https://www.christianitytoday.com/2013/08/assemblies-of-god-speaking-in-tongues-spirit-baptisms/. The 2006 Spirit and Power Pew Forum study showed that in six of the ten countries studied more than 40% of Pentecostals surveyed never spoke in tongues. Interestingly, a belief in the health and wealth gospel was much more pervasive. See Luis Lugo, *Spirit and Power: A 10-Country Survey of Pentecostals*, Pew Research Centre (Washington, DC: The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2006), 16, 29.

Pentecostal identity, but time has shown this simply isn't so. This doctrinal understanding has been muted, rejected, and even replaced by post-millennialism eschatology.[97] But what cannot be removed is some kind of identify able ecstatic-pneumatological-experience with God. This experience is deeply felt, sought after and central. It cannot be removed. It is core.

The cognitive and doctrinal lie at the heart of the most significant revolutions, renewals, and controversies within Adventism, whether it is the 1840–1850s discovery of the "pillars," the 1888 retrieval of the Gospel, the pantheism crisis with Kellogg, the post *Questions on Doctrines* furor in the 1950s, or the more traumatic "Ford" crisis in the 1980s. It seems clear that to remove Adventism's cognitive-doctrinal core would cause Adventism to cease to exist. George Knight's, *The Apocalyptic Vision and the Neutering of Adventism,* is a book-long exploration of this very danger. He warns of the existential perils of either rejecting or distorting the apocalyptic doctrines, which grant Adventism its purpose and mission.[98] An Adventism which could jettison its doctrines would be one whose inner spirituality had shifted to something else. Such a change almost happened in the early 1900's. Szalos-Farkas notes that Ellen White actively sought doctrinal change when it involved the inclusion of Protestant *sola fide* understandings of salvation, seeing them as "complementary features which had yet to be integrated within Adventist spirituality." She was willing to "adjust ecclesiastical identity" but "she could not agree with the later Kellogg, Jones and Waggoner's radical steps towards the deapocalypticisation of Adventist spirituality because this would have meant the *total loss* of its ecclesiastical identity."[99] This is because Kellogg had a different model of spirituality; it was "social-gospel-type of spirituality." And Waggoner had an "overtly in-

[97] See Daniel G. Hummel, *The Rise and Fall of Dispensationalism: How the Evangelical Battle over the End Times Shaped a Nation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2023), 177 for Pentecostalism's early roots in pre-millennialism. For its current adherence to dominionism/post-millennialism, also see Moriarty, *The New Charismatics*; Weaver, "The New Apostolic Reformation," Chapters 3 and 4; Gagne, *American Evangelicals for Trump*, 9–26, and Geivett and Pivec, *A New Apostolic Reformation?*, 114.

[98] George R. Knight, *The Apocalyptic Vision and the Neutering of Adventism* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2008). See also Szalos-Farkas' comment that "in this sense, then, giving up their historicist hermeneutic would result in the loss of identity of SDA spirituality. In terms of identity, historicist hermeneutic is to be viewed as the one definitive factor to form (bring about) and inform (nurture) the apocalyptic nature of SDA spirituality" (Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 139).

[99] Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 220. Italics mine.

dividualistic definition of spirituality," which lead to the "pursuit of a mystical inwardness that aimed to discover Christ's real presence in the individual's heart."[100]

Discerning spirituality differences is a powerful way to understand religious movements because spirituality is at the heart of who they are. Much more could be said and profitably explored. The divergent spiritualities highlight the ongoing strengths and weaknesses of each group. Adventism is stable, very unified, and has had few schisms. Its strong identity, worldwide mission, and impressive steady growth are linked to its extensive doctrinal preparation of new converts, all borne out of its core spirituality. But it can be prone to legalism, painful doctrinal controversies, extreme apocalyptic speculations, and stagnation. Yet Adventism's growth looks embarrassingly meager when compared to the astonishing juggernaut that is the Pentecostal-charismatic movement. Evangelistically, Adventists spend a considerable period of time transmitting a large and somewhat complex body of doctrinal knowledge to new converts, this contrasts sharply to the simple Pentecostal transfer of a palpable experiential-emotional encounter with God that involves very minimal doctrinal instruction. This leads to rapid growth, great freedom, and innovation. But the frenetic growth of Pentecostalism is also a profoundly splintering and fragmented growth, organizationally and doctrinally, held together only by the similarity of experience. The cognitively vacant and fluid freedom of the experiential encounter also means the movement is constantly prone to schism, syncretism, abusive leaders, heresy, and often outlandish fanaticism. All arising out of the very extraordinary spiritual activity the movement seeks. These are risks inherent to its spiritual core.

7. Conclusion

Adventism and Pentecostalism are close cousins. Or rather, they were? In comparing the two, the old adage, "the more things change, the more they stay the same" seems true. This article has argued that understanding and defining core spiritualities helps explain both the initial similarities and more recent diverging trajectories of the two movements. Finding the core in each of them helps explain all that emerges from it.

[100] Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God*, 220.