

OKLAHOMA WOMEN PREACHERS, PIONEERS, AND PENTECOSTALS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELEMENTS OF COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL
ETHOS WITHIN THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF WOMEN PREACHERS OF
THE INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS CHURCH

by

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DEDICATION

“Come, my heart has said, seek his presence” (Psalm 27:8). My every morning is spent in prayer and in listening. I begin in communion with a living God who cares so much for me.

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents on both sides who lived lives of such devotion to God that I cannot ever hope to match their examples. So this is to my grandparents Clyde Reeves and Bess Mae Kirkpatrick Scott, and to my grandpa Robert Laverne Rex who inspired me and continues to inspire me in my work through the legacy of his sermons and library. Finally, to my beloved friend, my storyteller, my encourager, my second mother, my personal prayer warrior, to my little Cherokee grandma, Lennie Cordie Gilcrease Rex. Your memory lives in me because you poured so much of yourself and your love into me. Mema, I love you.

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I argue that ethos is generative as James Corder defines it. I seek to show that women preachers of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church who spent a significant amount of their careers in Oklahoma generated an ethos in their autobiographical texts and transcribed, edited interviews that constructed individualized as well as a social instantiations of ethos. I rhetorically analyzed these texts using five categories of ethos as a rubric for making connections between Corderian theory and my case studies: ethos as transformation, ethos as wisdom or authority, ethos in the stated motives and purposes in a text, ethos as charisma, and ethos as dynamic processes built from identification.

In chapter one, I lay out my theoretical perspective, situating it within the canonical history of rhetoric. In chapter two, I describe the historical and religious contexts that put my study of women preachers into a wide conversation of views on women preachers and show how my work is a participation in and a continuation of such conversations. In chapter three, I focus on the autobiographical texts from the late nineteenth through the middle twentieth centuries, comparing male constructions of ethos to female from members of the same group. In chapter four, I make connections between the older texts of chapter three and the twenty-first century interviews I collected and transcribed in 2004 in order to demonstrate paradigm shifts that have occurred, as well as to show how new instantiations of ethos are grounded in localized histories as well

as larger ones. In chapter five, I turn to a discussion of the nature of truth inside of epistemic rhetorics. Since generative ethos is aligned with epistemic rhetoric, how we construct ethos within a group is tied to our sense of the nature of truth.

Particularly interesting is my connection of truth and ethos to the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER I:
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: DEFINING AND SITUATING
GENERATIVE ETHOS

Grounds for Engagement

My interest in the topic of my dissertation is as much of a surprise to me as it is to anybody. Even though I have always been an avid reader, I never expressed any interest in my grandfather's library when I was growing up. After his death, my mother packed his library away and put it out in storage for several years. Four or five years ago, however, she unpacked it and put all of the books by Pentecostal Holiness authors together along with many other books that my grandfather, a Pentecostal Holiness preacher, had collected over his lifetime. I still took no interest in them. In fact I was of the opinion that religious writers were not worth reading because their writing tended to originate from their hearts instead of their minds. Theology seemed to be based more in belief and argument than fact. Furthermore, when I was in my teenage years, I often found the dominating effect of religion in my life to be more suffocating than liberating. I didn't really commit to becoming a Christian until I was twenty-four despite my Christian upbringing.

Shortly after my son's birth in 2003, I took Dr. Tom Miller's 18th- and 19th- century rhetoric course at the University of Arizona and became interested in learning more about women preachers. When I talked about my new interest in women preachers with my mother, she pointed out that the International

Pentecostal Holiness Church had always accepted women as preachers and that there might even be some materials in my grandfather's library that could help me. I made the thousand mile journey from Tucson to Oklahoma City that semester to peruse a library I had never found intriguing in all of those years I spent living within a mile of it. While at home, I met with Dr. Harold Hunter, Pentecostal Specialist and Director of the Archives at the International Pentecostal Holiness Church headquarters in Bethany, Oklahoma. He directed me to various materials in the archives and later e-mailed me a bibliography of over a hundred books and articles to help me get started seriously researching the subject. I knew nothing of the church's history. I felt that I had lived it through my grandmother's stories and my grandfather's autobiography, but from talking to Dr. Hunter I found out that I had much to learn.

No scholar can truly decide to spend her time on a dissertation topic without some personal connection to the topic. While it is true that my ties to my grandparents provide evidence of that personal connection as well as my own experiences growing up as a part of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, my personal connection to the topic is based on an experience I had while I spent in my grandfather's library on that trip home in the fall of 2003. When I went to my grandfather's old office to study the titles of the books by Pentecostal Holiness authors, I was overcome with a sense of joy and a strong sense of my grandfather's presence. The emotion of the moment was so real and so surprising that I felt I had indeed stumbled onto something that was more than just another

area to research. At that moment, in his library, I felt that my grandfather was with me and as alive as ever. I told my mother and my grandmother about this experience and they smiled. I saw that researching this topic made my grandmother's eyes gleam and, between Mema and Mom, stories of the "old days" filled many of our conversations. I began to remember how I too had once wanted to be a preacher. I would set the timer on my mother's old microwave and "preach" for ten minutes. I remembered how, to encourage me in my endeavor when I was a child, Grandpa gave me a book of sermon outlines called *Sermons in a Nutshell*. I didn't get the pun on "nutshell" until years later because I took myself very seriously. When I fell away from my faith after Grandpa's death, I forgot about my desire to preach and my interest in academics has never led me back to a fascination with it until these recent years.

I believe that my dissertation will make a valuable contribution to many different fields of research. Historians, theologians, and, of course, rhetoricians from various backgrounds will find my research relevant to their areas of study. Since Oklahoma will celebrate its one-hundredth anniversary as a state in 2007 and Azusa Street celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary in April of 2006, it is fitting that my dissertation should provide fresh research in both Oklahoman and Pentecostal history at this time.

The Azusa Street Centennial took place in Los Angeles, California, and I had the privilege of attending a day or two of the conference. Thousands of Pentecostal Christian leaders and church members from all over the world came

to worship God in vibrant evening services and to hear the newest scholarship concerning the three-year long revival begun by African-American preacher William Seymour in a run-down building on Azusa Street in 1906. On a Tuesday evening, out of all of the services being held, I chose to hear the well-known Pentecostal preacher Paula White. In January of 2006, *The Christian Post* named her as the thirty-seventh most influential Christian in America, above the Pope who was named forty-fourth. President Bush was named sixth and, to no one's surprise, African-American preacher T. D. Jakes was named first (*Post*).

Paula White preached in Aimee Semple McPherson's Angelus Temple. I felt strange sitting in a building I had only seen in pictures, but I was also elated to see that an international focus was a major theme of Pentecostalism today. The service began with a procession of people carrying flags from all of the different major countries of the world. This exercise emphasized the international status of the Pentecostal world that, according to Vinson Synan who was often quoted in the historical video we watched at the service, has over two hundred million members today (*Holy Spirit* 1-2).

The worship service emphasized the veneration of God and Christ through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, that is, through speaking in tongues, though there was no singular message and interpretation as sometimes occurs during Pentecostal services. However, Paula White occasionally spoke in tongues during her sermon, and it is clear that the experience of greater spiritual power that is gained through the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which was what drew members of various

denominations including the IPHC to Azusa Street in the early 1900s, was still a vital part of the practice of Pentecostalism today.

White openly spoke against racial and gender related prejudices (“Prejudice is to judge out of a narrow frame of mind”), and challenged listeners with the question: “What were you born to do?” “To exist is a waste of days,” she said. “Some people say the most important dates are the day you were born and the day you die. But the most important dates are the day you were born and the day you figure out why.” Her inspiring sermon left me with a message I emphasize later in this dissertation: “Challenge it and it will change.” The relevancy of women’s rights is a part of what White preaches, and it is a part of the purpose of this dissertation and the future publications that will emerge from it.

My goals for this dissertation include a wish to provide a new resource for scholars studying the effects on the acceptance of women preachers as a church becomes organized in order to draw a distinction between culturally-based practices and scripturally-based practices in the church. I will offer a description of the ethos of Pentecostal women preachers that is openly cognizant of the historical and theological contexts of their work, how these contexts have shifted through the decades, and how these contexts are essential for analysis. Though I am not using feminist theories as my primary lens for research into this area in favor of focusing on theories of generative ethos, I believe that feminist scholars will find my research valuable for research into how women create places of

strength and leadership within religious movements. I draw from feminist scholarship to speculate on the differences between the way male and female preachers communicate, how scholars classify “female” or feminine forms of rhetoric, and how power issues underlie autobiographical positionings. Finally, a recent surge in scholarship and Conference on College Composition and Communication presentations over the past few years and the 2005 conference on Rhetoric and Religious Traditions held in Chicago indicate that research into the relationship between rhetoric and religion is of growing interest to scholars in my field.

Research Methodology and Corderian Generative Ethos Defined

First of all, I will provide Jim Corder’s definition of generative ethos because I rhetorically analyze autobiographies of women preachers from the International Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC) using a framework of theories of generative ethos as a heuristic in this dissertation. In “Varieties of Ethical Argument,” Jim Corder defines several types of ethos, including generative ethos. Generative ethos, he claims, is the most important of the five categories he describes. In his article, Corder shows how generative ethos can sometimes incorporate both a sense of the past and a sense of the future in a text. An understanding of the dynamic of generative ethos includes a sense of how “present actions thrust themselves into the future,” how generative ethos can sometimes resist espousing a “bound” or singular viewpoint that leaves the discourse without a final resolution or answer(s), and how generative ethos can

sometimes act as an element of transformation as the reader's qualities emerge as one progresses through a text and also as the reader works her way through the argument reflectively. Additionally, generative ethos can sometimes act as a tool of identification yet retain the author's convictions (114-126).

Generative ethos moves "toward completeness but beyond closure." It makes a world within the text for both the speaker and hearer/reader. Corder writes that he does not support the idea that a writer/speaker can send a clear, singular message to a recipient, though she can limit meanings by the words chosen, but neither does he support the idea that once a message is spoken or written that it leaves the speaker or writer. The message is always integrally related to the speaker or writer. He quotes Walter Ong's statement that "all words projected from a speaker remain, as has been seen, somehow interior to him, being an invitation to another person, another interior, to share the speaker's interior, an invitation to enter in, not to regard from the outside." "Our words never leave us," Corder writes, "the message is not separate from the speaker." Generative ethos creates the speaker and creates her world; it invites the hearer into that world. Speaking is not simply about communicating a message, but about creating identification, understanding, and a shared world (126-127). Generative ethos is commodious when other types of ethos, such as gratifying ethos, are not. It is commodious whereas practices such as speaking in unknown tongues that cannot be interpreted by hearers are not. Finally, because generative

ethos creates a world for the hearer to join, it must be said that truth is made out of what is incomplete or partial (127-129).

While Jim Corder defines five types of ethos, I define five elements of generative ethos that I have organized into interpretive categories to form a conceptual framework for exploring the autobiographical writings of IPHC women preachers. Forming a framework of categories allows me to focus on a particular aspect of the autobiographical texts and to investigate both the texts as well as how Corder's theory of generative ethos works within it. My interpretation will be subjective and my conclusions will "depend upon the frameworks from which they are perceived" (Backhaus xiv). Establishing interpretive categories as a framework allows me to build a "descriptive relational hermeneutic" as a way of building knowledge about a subject (xvii-xviii). As a descriptive relational hermeneutic, the five elements of ethos that I use as interpretive categories will help me to form questions that help me to describe how generative ethos is operating in the material. I will then use the answers I generate to interpret the relationships I find between the theories and the texts.

The transformative element of ethos will be used to show places of identification with those social and spiritual experiences the IPHC writers found engaging, but this interpretive category will also include a discussion of how some IPHC writers used their autobiography as a proselytizing tool. The element of transformation in generative ethos changes the reader, so a study of how character is related to generative ethos is not simply a study of how a writer

projects a credible persona, but how the writer creates a world wherein the reader might be engaged and emerge with their own character altered. Generative ethos is also a result of dynamic processes and the effects of identification as it occurs when a reader progresses through a text, as Theresa Enos explains in “A Golden Braid.”

The writers’ stated motives and purposes for their construction of ethos are an important part of a text in terms of describing how the writer intended for her text to be interpreted by the reader, though an interpreter can go too far in speculating on an author’s unstated intentions. These statements of motive and purpose are also relevant because the differences in the ways early to middle twentieth-century IPHC writers establish a culturally acceptable position from which to speak and the ways contemporary IPHC women preachers do, provides evidence of how what they imagined their audience’s prejudices, concerns, and interests to be.

A third interpretive category for exploring how Corder’s ideas of generative ethos are evident in the autobiographical writings of IPHC women preachers encompasses issues related to authority, expertise, and wisdom as they are exhibited through ethos. Finally, perhaps one of the most relevant categories for studying generative ethos as it relates to Pentecostal writers involves a study of how charisma is used to create credibility.

As a research method, rhetorical analysis will include researching religious, historical, and intertextual contexts that allow me to reflect

meaningfully upon the way generative ethos acts persuasively upon both writer and reader through the primary materials. Rhetorical analysis can be defined in many ways, such as using questions to discover the origins and contexts of a text or, as Sonja Foss describes, to investigate and to evaluate the function of a text (“Rhetorical Schema” 216). In another article Foss describes rhetorical analysis as the use of a text to deductively investigate rhetorical theories (“Framing” 304). All of these ways to rhetorically analyze texts play some role in how I use the IPHC autobiographical texts.

Rhetorical analysis of how IPHC women preachers create ethos will allow me to characterize the Pentecostal Holiness rhetorical tradition in Oklahoma, at least to some extent. In Tom Miller’s seminal essay, “Reinventing Rhetorical Traditions,” the idea that there is a singular rhetorical tradition to be studied is a “fiction that has just about outlasted its usefulness.” Instead, he suggests that we should study the “rhetoric of traditions;” that is, how different communities “maintain the shared values and assumptions that authorize discourse” within those communities (26). To continue treating the writers of the canonized works as if they were all writing and thinking about rhetoric in the same way, under the same political, social, and historical conditions, is an over-simplification of rhetoric which we instead understand to be a social praxis (27-28). In the same way, the changing contexts of the IPHC writers are relevant for understanding how they structure their ethos, and a description of how the writers operate within

those contexts will provide a way for understanding how these communities create knowledge and verify truth.

The analysis of local communities allows scholars to view the more global accounts of rhetorical practices differently and offer some insight into how women construct themselves in positions of power. Furthermore, visiting the IPHC archives and conducting my own interviews has allowed me to offer new information to the field at large because the local communities operate in relationship to larger communities. Miller suggests that rhetorical scholars abandon the practice of literary critics which engage us in creating new readings of old texts and engage with the work of historians who do much more work gathering and analyzing new source materials in localized communities that tell us more about the globalized practices (28-29). Localized and globalized dialectics among Christian leaders create Christian epistemologies that battle for ideological hegemony, silencing or marginalizing dissenters. Analysis of such how communities create knowledge and verify truth are key to understanding how women, the intellectual and spiritual equals of men, have been put into marginalized positions by rhetorical practices that justify these prejudices.

Using rhetorical analysis as a research method involves rich descriptions of the social contexts of the writers. In support of Tom Miller's views on defining rhetorical traditions, Richard Graff and Michael Leff conclude that:

Communities develop forms of rhetorical practice that can be appreciated only when accompanied by thick description of the social contexts in

which they arose and to which they responded. Suitably contextualized, the diverse forms of socially situated rhetorical practice can be characterized as traditions in their own right. (23)

Contexts such as audience descriptions, the political and historical situations of the writers, emerging religious doctrines and practices, and so on will be essential for characterizing the small group of IPHC writers from Oklahoma that I've chosen.

While many of the writings I have chosen to analyze may be classified as autobiographical or biographical, and while such materials have been used in the past to write histories or to assert the "truth" about a group of people or an individual, I will not be using my research to present an unqualified, objective "outsider's" vision of the cultural practices of this group. In fact, the very nature of these autobiographical materials make my project a subjective, interpretive endeavor. Erzsebet Baral writes that autobiographical "identity is an intersubjective, retrospective construction from within the existing, discursively mediated practices of writing and telling a life" (165). Autobiography is a way to reconstruct the past as a "self" and "other" understanding (165). She quotes Norman Fairclough's idea that autobiographies function to construct a "continuous, unified personal identity" out of the "discontinuous, fragmented, and often contradictory socio-cultural positionings available" (165). Therefore because of the subjective nature of the materials I have collected, it is not my goal to provide readers with the "true" history of the International Pentecostal Holiness

Church in Oklahoma but to offer an analysis of the type of truth that autobiographical and biographical writings represent.

My analysis, my “history” of IPHC women preachers, is a result of what I have built out of the “availabilities of the past tense,” as George Steiner writes (165). James Berlin describes “epistemic” or “new rhetoric” as “a means of arriving at truth” and shaping knowledge (242). Additionally, George Steiner, Professor of English and Comparative Literature, argues that

If history is the informing circumference or a literary [...] act, this act, in turn, shapes and animates what we postulate as recapturable, documented historicity. In elusive essence, our experienced reconstructions of the past are grammatical and textual “truth-fictions.” They are carpentered out of the availabilities of the past tense. No finally external verification attaches to them. (165)

By approaching the IPHC materials as “truth-fictions,” I am able to analyze the materials as the rhetorical creations that they are. Steiner argues that “even the most neutral of archaeological or archival vestiges is made so by risk of interpretation, of the exercise of selective re-imagining which it engenders” (165). Positivism has no place within the humanities, and so I must acknowledge my subjectivity, the limitations of my knowledge, the biases I have that favor my subjects, and the final product of my “history” and my dissertation as a work of interpretation, not as a work of complete, unquestionable truth-telling. Finally, despite my personal connections with the group and my status as a former

participant, I will not be turning my dissertation into an autoethnography but will maintain a focus on the women preacher's writings though I do see that my analysis could be described as an autobiographical representation of what I value and who I am.

Analyzing epistemic rhetoric is a legitimate starting place for scholars who wish to define new areas or subareas of rhetorical practice, as I wish to do in this dissertation. Though rhetoric itself and methods of rhetorical analysis can be defined in numerous ways, Jim Corder notes that James Berlin's description of the epistemic field of rhetoric, "the basic conditions that determine what knowledge will be knowable, and how the knowledge will be communicated" ("On the Way" 164). Corder writes, "Rhetoric [...] can be taken to mean a whole system by which a world is made, known, and made knowable in language. We live in *a rhetoric*, the 'episteme' of our epoch, and in *many rhetorics* or subsets," such as painting, with each rhetoric or subset having its own means of invention, ways to make meaning, and "stylistic manifestations" (167).

Finally, I would like to state that my use of rhetorical analysis specifically looks for (1) the relationship between a text and its contexts including the author herself, (2) the means of persuasion I hope to unearth through the application of my definition of ethos and the interpretive categories upon the primary texts, and (3) the communication of an ideology designed to persuade the audience to alter or reinforce their own ideologies. An ideology, as I will use it, is a set of beliefs and practices which characterize a discourse community.

My method of research is a type of qualitative research that focuses on case studies. Robert Stake claims that the “intrinsic case study” is conducted to learn more about the case itself, that the “instrumental case study” is used to learn more about something else such as a theory, and that the “collective case study” is used by a researcher when a number of cases are needed to investigate a population (437). My research uses the IPHC materials to encompass all three of these categories to some degree. My act of theory-building will be an act of “concentrated insight of an act of contemplation focused patiently on its subject” (Steiner 69). My intention is to build upon the framework of theories of generative ethos and use the IPHC materials to investigate the theories, as well as the materials, in a reflective manner. Steiner points out that in the humanities “no interpretive-critical analysis, doctrine, or program is superseded, is erased, by any later construction” (76). Though we move from old ideas about the workings of language toward newer understandings, readers will find that sources of ancient rhetoric are used to gain insight and to build theories of generative ethos just as much as contemporary ones are used.

Also, my own position as a researcher is extremely important when describing the framework for my dissertation, as many scholars assert. Patti Lather writes that any study that claims to generate knowledge about a group of people should give those people the right to participate in decisions that affect them, and that there should be reciprocity or a “mutual negotiation of meaning and power.” She also advises that researchers should allow participants the

opportunity to critique their own ideologies and to engage in dialectical theory-building instead of the imposing theory onto the material. This might be accomplished by holding sequential interviews to facilitate collaboration (55-61). I will make efforts to include the interviewees in the development of the dissertation, and I have already received edited versions of their transcripts from them. Also, the inclusion of Dr. Vinson Synan on my dissertation committee will help me to modify my conclusions in light of the denomination's historical and theological background. Currently Dr. Synan is the author of seventeen books and the denomination's most well-known historian.

Rhetoric, Paul as Preacher, and Pentecostalism

I would like to briefly address the subject of Paul as the model Christian orator and as a case study in the construction of how a preacher should construct his or her ethos because Paul, more than any other biblical writer, defines the practice of Christianity for Pentecostals and other Christian groups. Additionally, Paul is the perfect choice as an initial paradigmatic case study precisely because he is a masterful practitioner of a type of written rhetoric which was often autobiographical. Like Paul, the IPHC women preachers I study in this dissertation persuaded through charismatic speaking and writing. They presented themselves paradoxically as weak, but the events of their lives and their personal impact provided evidence to the contrary. Like Paul they claimed direct divine knowledge from God and made college degrees and other types of education or training secondary to that knowledge.

Like the autobiographical accounts of several of the IPHC women preachers, Paul's goal was to convert the reader, not to venerate himself. We see a reflection of Paul's paradoxical construction of ethos in the way women preachers deny their power and then proceed to exercise it, and in how they claim to be weak as speakers and as intellectuals and then produce speeches and written texts that clearly defy such descriptions.

Paul is the master of paradox in his description of himself and builds his ethos upon this paradoxical construction. He masterfully sets up the argument for his ethos as a true Christian minister by describing Christian ministers in general in 2nd Corinthians 6:3-7 as "steadfast" in spite of great difficulties, as "innocent" in behavior but strong in their "grasp of truth," as patient and "kind," through "gifts of the Holy Spirit," and with "unaffected love" and the "power of God." He then artfully outlines the paradoxical description of the Christian minister, cleverly turning him into the image of a spiritual warrior as he does so:

We wield weapons of righteousness in right hand and left. Honour and dishonour, praise and blame, are alike our lot: we are the impostors who speak the truth, the unknown men whom all men know; dying we still live on; disciplined by suffering, we are not done to death; in our sorrows we have always cause for joy; poor ourselves, we bring wealth to many; penniless, we own the world." (2nd. Cor 6:7-10)

Paul is a powerful writer and since his letters were dictated because of his poor eyesight, he must have been an intelligent speaker who drew upon a different

kind of charisma than what people were used to seeing in the courts or political venues. What he had to say, people must have felt, was worth listening to although he used a different speaking style than other speakers. Evidence of the paradox of a timid speaker with strong, intelligent ideas are in the following verses: “I, Paul, appeal to you by the gentleness and magnanimity of Christ--I who am so timid (you say) when face to face with you, so courageous when I am away from you” (2nd Cor. 10:1). And in 10:10: “‘His letters,’ [Paul is repeating what he has heard others say about himself] so it is said, ‘are weighty and powerful; but when he is present his is unimpressive, and as a speaker he is beneath contempt.’” In response Paul writes, “I may be no speaker, but knowledge I do have; at all times we have made known to you the full truth” (2nd Cor. 11:6). Like Paul, the IPHC women preachers possess a charisma different from their male counterparts. The ways that women are charismatic need to be explored by scholars because using reductive markers for determining who is and who isn’t a charismatic speaker are not representative of the amount or type of impact a speaker can make. Women preachers draw upon a different kind of charisma that sometimes comes through in their writing, much as Paul did as he traveled preaching and teaching with his fellow missionaries. For Paul, his charisma was revealed when he could communicate through letters; for the IPHC women preachers, their abilities as speakers are revealed by what we can glean from the oral construction of themselves in their autobiographical works.

Like Paul, the IPHC women preachers seem to deny their strength, abilities, and even their education when constructing an ethos, but then provide a multitude of evidence that communicates they have those qualities even if they do not point them out or even if they deny them. I had to encourage my mother to begin her interview with her qualifications that make her a credible source for this dissertation. To avoid recommending one's self through listing one's own experience and background is a Pauline practice. Although Paul describes those who commend themselves (like the rhetoricians of his time) as "fools," he says he will do so in order to establish his authority (2nd Cor. 10:12; 11:12-21). He begins with his genealogy. He is a Hebrew, an Israelite, and a servant of Christ (2nd Cor. 11:23-23). He then lists the physical difficulties he has had including imprisonment, beatings, whippings, and stonings (2nd Cor. 11:23-25).

Three times I have been shipwrecked," he writes, "and for twenty-four hours I was adrift of the open sea. I have been constantly on the road; I have met dangers from rivers, dangers from robbers, dangers from my fellow-countrymen, dangers from foreigners, dangers in the town, dangers in the wilderness, dangers at sea, dangers from false Christians. I have toiled and drudged and often gone without sleep; I have been hungry and thirsty and have often gone without food; I have suffered from cold and exposure. (2nd Cor. 11:25-27)

He follows up with his "responsibility" for "all the churches" (2nd Cor. 11:28). "Is anyone weak?" he asks, "I share his weakness" (2nd Cor. 11:29). "If boasting there

must be, I will boast of the things that show up my weakness” (2nd Cor. 11:30). Again, we get a sense of his humility which recommends him to us in the Ciceronean manner. His list of difficulties is a display of his strength, but he describes them as a display of his weakness. Similarly, we will see women preachers describing themselves as weak and then successfully facing hardships without complaint.

At the top of Paul’s list of boasting is the fact that God reveals the knowledge and secrets of heaven to which he so often refers, and it is this that he apparently takes the most pride in because he tells us that God sent a messenger from Satan to keep him from being “unduly elated” about it (2nd Cor. 12:1; 12:7). When he asks God three different times to take the messenger away, he says God answered him: “My grace is all you need; power is most fully seen in weakness” (2nd Cor 12:8). In this way, Paul winds up his argument that weakness is strength in the Christian epistemology and crowns his paradoxical construction of the Christian minister and the construction of his ethos with a paradoxical statement from God.

Ethos, for the Pauline orator, is built through intimacy with God and humility, not through education, expertise, or rhetorical technique in speaking. The knowledge that is valued is that of God’s wisdom, and the preacher’s job is to communicate that knowledge to others. The preacher shares “God’s hidden wisdom” as it is “revealed” through the Spirit because the “spirit explores everything, even the depths of God’s own nature” (1st Cor. 2:7-10). Therefore, the

preacher interprets “spiritual truths to those who have the Spirit” and speaks “of these gifts of God in words taught us not by our human wisdom but by the Spirit” (1st Cor. 2:13). The “debator,” as a representative of those rhetoricians with secular educations, is described as one who is full of worldly knowledge and expertise (1 Cor. 1:20). The impetus to put “worldly” wisdom to the side in favor of spiritual sources of wisdom was a central tenet of early Pentecostalism. Denying women a college degree which would, to some degree, legitimize their role as preachers was undermined by the Pentecostal practice of relying upon the baptism in the Holy Spirit as the only needed credential for ministry. Paul claimed his knowledge and insights came directly from God; it was logical for early-to-middle-twentieth-century Pentecostals to make a similar claim.

Understanding divine revelation and how it may be used by the IPHC preachers is critical to understanding the authority carried by testimonies of divine revelation. To engage with the Pauline preacher/orator, then, is to believe that the orator is a conveyor of divine truth by taking a leap of faith; it is to identify with his humility and limitations of knowledge, and it is to seek truth through divine revelation instead of through human systems of knowledge and wisdom. What is unique about the concept of divine revelation, as I define it, is that both word and concept are revealed by God to the mind of a human listener. When exactly the right words with exactly the right meanings for that individual are chosen, it is a divine revelation. It is a truth-saying that lies beyond a human’s capability. To generate meaning with a divine ethos such as God is to generate a human’s reach

toward goodness as human and God temporarily co-exist in a shared world of communication.

Yet the concept of “divine revelation” does not need to imply that a Christian has possession of the full realm of knowledge or truth. The apostle Paul writes that “For our knowledge and our prophecy alike are partial, and the partial vanishes when wholeness comes” (1 Cor. 13:9, 10), and “My knowledge now is partial; then it will be whole, like God’s knowledge of me (1 Cor. 13:12). My interpretation of Christian epistemology involves acknowledging that we are, and will remain, only partially aware of all there is to know even if we are the recipients of God’s desire to share his wisdom and knowledge with us. Finally, divine revelation has been limited at times to describe a spoken communication from God to person, but it can also take the form of dreams and vision; God may also “speak” through the written text.

In conclusion, Paul as an initial case study of Christian oratory is significant to me because he denigrates rhetoric while proving himself to be a master of written, if not spoken, rhetoric. First Corinthians 2:4 says: “Christ did not send me to baptize, but to proclaim the gospel; and to do it without recourse to the skills of rhetoric, lest the cross of Christ be robbed of its effect.” “Conviction,” Paul goes on to say, comes by “spiritual power” not “clever arguments” (2:4). In Paul’s epistemology rhetoric is associated with “mere words” and preaching is accomplished by “the power of the Holy Spirit” who brings “strong conviction” (1st Thess. 1:5). However, in 2nd Timothy we find Paul

instructing Timothy to “proclaim the message, press it home in season and out of season, use argument, reproof, and appeal, with all the patience that teaching requires” (4:2). Though he does not use the term “rhetoric,” he is explicitly advising that Timothy use rhetorical techniques to argue for the Christian message.

Situating Generative Ethos

Ethos does not lend itself to any single definition throughout the history of rhetorical theories. To briefly take into context a few of the ways that ethos has been defined in the past might help when trying to understand how viewing rhetoric as epistemic and ethos as generative are grounded in the resistance to or the expansion of some older models of ethos. Furthermore, ethos is defined in terms of the ideologies of the age, as Tita Baumlín notes in “A Good (Wo)man skilled in speaking: Ethos, Self-Fashioning and Gender in Renaissance England” where she describes how Queen Elizabeth rhetorically inscribed a place of authority for herself while remaining, at least marginally so, within the cultural boundaries assigned to women. Elizabeth’s “self-fashioning” of a public self, or her “Renaissance ethos” as Baumlín defines it, was formed at the juncture between “authority” and the “other” (253). “Ethos as the site of ideological battle,” Baumlín writes, “will always show traces of capitulations to, and exploitations of, both authority and the Other” (253). In Queen Elizabeth’s case, she wielded great power as the monarch, but it was hers only if she openly recognized that she was a member of the “other” (254). She had to invoke the

limitations placed on the “other” in order to subvert them (254). As this example shows, the study of ethos within the contexts of its histories and practices in the past reveals the deeper ideological issues that problematize the way rhetoric gets theorized today.

In my opinion rhetoric is a means of creating knowledge; that is I think it is epistemic. Not only do the arguments that result in the creation of knowledge show how persuasion operates within discourse communities, but the nature of the arguments intended to persuade potential converts to the ideologically-based practices of a community are a challenge to their existing values, beliefs, and means for creating knowledge. Such challenges may cause the audience to critically reflect upon their own ideologies and the contexts that inform those ideologies.

Ethos, in my opinion, is an inextricable part of every communication. For the rhetor it is an area of argument that calls her motives and sense of a “true self” into question as she constructs points of identification and points of challenge for her perceived audience in order to articulate a course of action that supports the ideology and the vision of reality for which she will try to communicate and argue. Ethos is both a transformative tool and a transformative art. It is a combination of charisma, authority, wisdom, mystery, faith, imagination, reality, spirit, body—of all the things, tangible and intangible, that draw us into deeper engagement with another person. The world that the rhetor creates through ethos,

the shared world Corder describes, is the place where writer and reader or speaker and listener exist together. Theresa Enos writes:

What Buber calls the Between is what Burke calls consubstantiation. It is a presence, an emergence. Out of this presence emerges ethos that makes identification and a shift in one's identity possible. That is what we call persuasion in action. But the means is through identification and not a stance that depends on logos. (111)

The shared world for writer and reader is by no means unchangeable, but is constantly being reinvented for both. It is a place where a reader becomes willing to be influenced (111).

In *The Art of Rhetoric*, when Aristotle describes ethos as a means of argument, he does so with the assumption that ethos is to be adjusted according to the reality of the audience at the time of the actual speech. Ethos is not a static tool but a dynamic construction that bridges the orator's art, her attempts at preparation, and the unpredictable reality of an audience grounded in a particular time and place. A co-generated ethos is created anew for each reader each time the text is read because not all readers will respond to the same points of identification or will mold themselves into the type of reader to whom the author speaks (Enos 99). Transformation occurs as the co-generated ethos between writer and reader increases in complexity and depth through the medium of the text.

While epistemic rhetoric is concerned with what happens in the minds and personalities of the rhetor and audience which can occur anywhere, classical and

medieval rhetoricians tied the practice of rhetoric to specific physical locations and contexts. In *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle lays out the three main types of speeches: epideictic, judicial, and deliberative. The first occurs in public gatherings to venerate particular persons, the latter two occur within the courts and political arena. St. Augustine would add a fourth location to these three in the medieval period: the pulpit. By the 20th-century, however, viewing rhetoric as only occurring within certain types of speeches given in certain locations is expanded to understanding rhetoric as possibly occurring everywhere, in all situations, and in written texts as well as spoken.

Lloyd Bitzer's 1968 "The Rhetorical Situation" is an often-cited text used for describing the rhetorical situation as it occurs in the natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence that demands utterance. Language becomes rhetorical when the situation invites the need for a persuasive response. In Bitzer's opinion the situation, the context, is so controlling that we should consider it the ground for all rhetorical activity (219). The journey from classical rhetorical theories to current ones is essentially a journey from the pragmatic speech in a court, political arena, public assembly, or pulpit toward an investigation of epistemologies and the philosophies that inform them. Further, modern rhetorics explore how and why speech and/or writing and/or visual materials are persuasive and have an effect upon the audience/reader/viewer who often do not share the same temporal location.

Theories of generative ethos explore the ways in which knowledge is constructed and transmitted between writers and readers, speakers and listeners. At this point it would be helpful to draw a distinction between “reader” and “audience” and how the two come to know each other. Even though a group of readers can meet, such as at a book club or in a classroom, and collectively become the audience for a text read aloud to them, they typically remain separated from the actual author’s physical presence and voice, gestures and facial expressions, pauses in speech, and so on. The writer is an unknown presence that positions clues about him or herself in the material but usually remains physically separated from his or her readership.

Classical rhetoricians addressed ethos with the assumption that the rhetor would be physically present and speaking to an audience. Michael Halloran writes that “Perhaps the one feature of discourse that has remained a constant emphasis of rhetorical theories from ancient Greece down to the present is that it is addressed [to a present, live audience]” (342). Because contemporary scholars no longer find it “valid to assume the speaker and audience live in the same world,” we no longer wish to study rhetorical techniques outside of the problem of “why the gap between the speaker’s and the audience’s worlds is so broad and how one might bridge it successfully” (336). Therefore, whether the audience is in the presence of the orator or whether they are a readership that is separated from her physical presence, communication between the two is much more complex than the way it is treated in classical treatises.

Once scholars stopped assuming that speakers and audiences lived in the same “world,” communication could no longer be seen as the simple act of speaking forth words that were limited to one meaning. In Kenneth Burke’s theory of identification in *A Rhetoric of Motives*, he explains that although we identify with another person, our audience, and thereby become consubstantial with them when our interests are “joined,” we retain within ourselves those places in which our interests are not joined (1019-20). “In pure identification there would be no strife,” Burke writes. “Likewise, there would be no strife in absolute separateness, since opponents can join battle only through a mediatory ground that makes this communication possible.” Therefore, rhetoric may be conceived as a particular “body of identifications” a rhetor draws upon to create identification through repetition of them (1022).

We must admit, despite points of identification or convergence, to a large degree of uncertainty regarding the primary meaning a writer attaches to those words and their concepts that become points of identification for a reader because the reader may or may not interpret those words or concepts in exactly the same way. Jim Corder writes that “when we speak, we stand somewhere, and our standing place makes both known and silent claims upon us.” “Language is a closure, for we cannot speak two words simultaneously.” Though a writer cannot fully define meaning for his readers, he can limit meaning through the words he chooses. Yet the openness of those words he includes creates “generative language” that pushes back the “restraints of closure” in order to create a

“commodious universe, to stretch words out beyond our private universes” (“Varieties” 128).

Indeed, the paradox of closure and limitation in meaning coexists with the reality of openness and continued development of meaning in language. Such a concept is at the heart of how generative ethos draws from both speaker or writer and audience or reader in order to cocreate meaning. Writer and reader strive toward similar signifiers; as a text develops, meanings of previous signs are trimmed and developed toward more specific signifiers. Readers who revisit texts later may adjust their interpretations of words or signs according to a deeper knowledge of the concepts they signify. Readers may converse with one another and argue over what a sign signifies, they may write about these signs and add their own meanings to them, or they may place them in context with what other scholars mean by signifiers attached to the same words or signs in a text, they may use them and abuse them as far as the texts they are drawn from will allow for limitations are imposed, as Corder says, on the word-signs that are not chosen.

Generative ethos is a process, a development, a means of creating knowledge, a delicious means of engaging in conflict, resolution, and agreement with other minds as meanings are specified, stretched, limited, identified with, and revised yet again. “In the worlds of interpretive and critical discourse,” Steiner writes, “book [...] engenders book, essay breeds essay, article spawns article.” “Books of literary interpretation and criticism [...] are about previous books on the same or closely cognate themes” (39). In the same way, we will see

the IPHC materials building upon and interpenetrating each other, holding close to dominant doctrinal themes, supporting and refuting histories, turning some people into folk heroes while ignoring others. Ethos on a group level is by no means separated from the individual's ethos. One generates the other cyclically, retreating, advancing, deleting, and adding to the mix of meanings attached to significant terms.

The idea that listeners or readers, even when silent, are active participants in a speech or text is not new. William M. A. Grimaldi explains that the idea of "auditors as cooperating partners in discourse is present from the beginning" of Aristotle's treatise, and since they must take some action in response to a speech, they "cannot be totally passive partners completely subject to the technical skills of the speaker." Instead, they should be viewed as "non-speaking partners actively engaged in the exchange taking place between speaker and auditor" (67). James May describes the three types of Aristotelian ethos as (1) that which exhibits intelligence, goodwill, *arête*, and virtue, (2) the character of the audience, and (3) the creation of the speaker's character in the speech and/or the creation of the defendant's character in his speech (2-3). In Aristotle's view of rhetoric, we see that in one of the earliest attempts to describe the nature and practice of rhetoric, it is dependent upon both audience and speaker and how it changes according to its context. He saw rhetoric as a *dynamis* used to see the available means of persuasion in each case, whereas rhetoric only dealt with concrete or practical questions and philosophy dealt with more abstract matters (Kennedy 66).

Rhetoric was an action as well as an art in classical theories. Because Aristotle understood rhetoric to be an exercise of reason as Grimaldi writes, then passive listeners would make such an exercise irrational (67). Robert Scott echoes this idea in his 1983 essay “Can a New Rhetoric be Epistemic?” He writes that the constant process of making arguments is rhetorical. One side of rhetoric is persuading, addressing oneself to others. Another side is being persuaded, constantly assessing the influence one experiences and the significance of taking in arguments. In the latter regard, I am trying to suggest that an audience is active not simply the passive recipient. (5)

Theresa Enos writes that her theory of generative ethos does not address a “real” versus a “fictional” audience but focuses “on the levels of identification made possible through ethos that enable the writer to create audience and, inversely, for the reader to re-create this audience” (99). Douglas Park writes that the meanings of “audience” tend to represent two definitions: one encompasses those actual people outside of a text who must be considered by the author, and the other encompasses those of an implied audience within the text and the set of “suggested or evoked attitudes, interests, reactions, and conditions of knowledge” that may or may not match the actual audience (183). An author’s conception of the audience reflects a “complex set of conventions, estimations, and implied responses and attitudes” as well as the author’s assumptions about the correct nature of argument (185-86). Park uses Chaim Perelman’s idea of the “universal audience” as an example of how Perelman assumes that argument should be

controlled by reason, and that “disinterestedness” and a “respect for truth” are the primary ways persuasion is achieved (186). To describe the concept of audience, one must describe the kinds of issues writers deal with, the kinds of questions they ask themselves about their audience, and the kinds of solutions they employ in different rhetorical situations (189). In Park’s concept of audience, the author exerts her vision through the text itself, in its structure, and in the types of arguments advanced.

Corder describes the reader’s engagement with a writer’s ethos as a reader picking up clues (“Hunting for Ethos” 217). The writer, the “word-finder,” is “always leaving words for us to find, telling an *ethos* toward us” (217). The reader is also a “word-finder” and is changed as she pieces together the ethos of the writer (216). To think of an audience or readership in terms of an entity that can be completely anticipated and defined is to miss the complexity of the process of generative ethos. In addition, to refuse an author the ability to take us into unfamiliar territory based on the idea that readers can only decipher clues that come from their own realm of experience and social communities is to eliminate the possibility that writers “can take us into worlds we hadn’t imagined, worlds that have dimensions quite unlike our own” (217). The concept of audience must encompass our ideas about “real” audiences as well as imagined ones, the “real” writer versus the socially constructed writer, and “truth” versus relative truths.

Other theories about audience explain how the reader engages in different ways with a text and are worth briefly exploring in order to show how the

treatment of audience in theories of generative ethos is situated. For example, Stuart Hall writes that there are basically three types of ways to read a text: dominant, negotiated, and oppositional (Khoo). Those who have a dominant reading of a text tend to agree with the information there, those who have a negotiated reading only agree on some points but not all, and those who have an oppositional reading of a text agree with little or anything in a text (Khoo). At first glance, Hall's reader seems to hold the text at a distance, judging her relationship to it by her level of agreement with it. However, Hall is best known for his ideas about how language is politically and socially embedded. The reader is therefore signaling her position within her culture when negotiating her agreement and identification with it. Walter Ong's reader casts herself into a fictional role that does not correspond with her role in everyday life (60). Ong describes how Hemingway casts the role of "companion-in-arms" for his readers and describes it as a "flattering role" that encourages his readers to "cultivate high self-esteem" as though they had little or none to draw from in the first place (62). In Ong's conception of an audience or reader, the reader becomes what he is not; he adopts what he lacks; he enters a fictional world that he can extract himself from at a later time. In Kenneth Bruffee's theory of collaborative learning, the audience is one with the author because the cycle of thinking and writing involve understanding thinking as "internalized public and social talk" and writing as "internalized social talk made public and social again" (641). His reader engages in a conversation with an author and the social group he is a part of, such as a

university classroom. The reader tailors his interpretation of the text according to the expectations of his social group, not just according to his own ideas. The reader internalizes the text as a conversation and externalizes it in his composition about the text written within the bounds of his consideration of the social group and the teacher.

Ede and Lunsford analyzed several of these theories and divided them into the categories “audience addressed” and “audience invoked.” The former term refers to the idea that the writer can know the concrete reality of the audience. The focus is on the written product’s appeal to that audience (244-245). The latter term refers to the idea that the audience is a “construction of the writer,” a fiction and that writers choose various writing conventions in order to create something for those audiences (252). A more complete understanding would combine elements of the two perspectives with the “audience addressed” theories and their focus on the reader and the “audience invoked theories” and their focus on the writer combined to show the complex process of trying to anticipate and to create a role for members of a readership (255-256). A fully balanced view of the audience must take into account both the writer and the reader’s creativity (257). The way a reader interacts with the writer in theories of generative ethos is more like a description of how a reader accepts an invitation to engage intellectually, but no theory of audience should be overly simplified. Our understanding of audience continues to become increasingly complex as we name and describe new situations that engage them.

My choice to use five elements of ethos as interpretive categories and the way that I use the term “ethos” is by no means the only way to define or to use ethos. Situating my uses of the term among a few of the available definitions will help my readers understand how it relates to other theories. In “Varieties of Ethical Argument, With Some Account of the Significance of Ethos in the Teaching of Composition,” Jim Corder uses five general groupings: Dramatic ethos, which embodies literary characters; Gratifying ethos, which includes the type of ethos projected by such people as politicians in order to specifically address a need; Functional ethos, which operates like a brand-name does for laundry soap or a character-type does for an actor; Efficient ethos, which is a type of literary ethos where much of the detail included in a text serve to characterize the hero; and generative ethos, which “is always in the process of making itself and of liberating others to make themselves” (113-14). In Kenneth Burke’s essay, “The Range of Rhetoric,” literary ethos operates as transformation. He writes: “For the so-called ‘desire to kill’ a certain person [within a text] is much more properly analyzable desire to *transform the principle* which that person *represents*” (233).

Johanna Schmertz separates the idea of ethos from identity in order to “multiply the positions from which women may speak” (83). Because the notion of ethos has been dislodged from the orator and is now seen to exist as a dynamic among writer, reader, and text, she redefines the term as something that is “neither manufactured nor fixed, neither tool nor character, but rather the stopping points

at which the subject (re)negotiates her own essence to call upon whatever agency that essence resembles” (85-86). The question is not “Who is this person?,” but how is this person identified within this text? (88). “When we attend to our own ethos as a postmodern rhetoric,” she writes, “we are both constructing a subjectivity for ourselves and retroactively reconstructing or recuperating that subjectivity in a process that is never finished because it is always already shaping its own critique, shifting to a new position or location” (89). Essentially she describes postmodern rhetoric the same way that we could describe an epistemic one using feminism as her theoretical lens. Therefore, generative ethos is not a theory which encompasses all of the ways ethos may be understood. Situating ethos amongst other uses of the term shows a glimpse of the wealth of scholarship engaging the term.

In the analysis of the IPHC materials, I will argue that generative ethos is a matter of arriving at truths with God/Christ/Spirit, an audience, one’s self, and a speech or text. Through generative ethos conversion is achieved, knowledge is redefined, truth is relocated, and the audience engages with a “process of becoming” with and through each other and with and through God. Kenneth Bruffee paraphrases Richard Rorty’s idea that “to understand any kind of knowledge we must understand [...] the social justification of belief. That is, we must understand how knowledge is established and maintained in the ‘normal discourse’ of communities of knowledgeable peers” (399). Bruffee derives his definition of thought as internalized conversation from Michael Oakeshott,

Clifford Geertz, and Lev Vgotsky (638-39). In *Mind in Society*, Vgotsky writes that every function in a child's cultural development first appears on the social level and then appears on the individual level. In other words, learning first occurs between people ("interpsychological") and then within the child ("intrapychological"). It is a "process of internalization," and the "transformation of an interpersonal process into an intrapersonal one is the result of a long series of developmental events." In fact, this process is the "distinguishing feature of human psychology" (57). Theresa Enos writes that today's imagined reader is probably an "interiorized one in the Vgotskian sense--that is, in 'creating' our audience we're 'inventing' what is already part of us." It is from this "inventive universe" that a generative ethos emerges that "makes possible interlocking identification among writer, subject, and audience" (100).

Therefore, the fundamentalist position that argues for a literalist reading of the Bible as the direct word of God filtered through the pen of a human illustrates a misunderstanding of the way that writers invent themselves through internalized conversation with the outside world, even if such a conversation is sometimes between the writer and God. Paul's task as a New Testament theologian and the organizer of Christianity was to set the "ground rules" for what warranted belief and for what did not. However, Paul did not create knowledge only from an uncomplicated God to human revelation or inspiration, but from a social milieu as we can see from a study of his New Testament epistles that betray an expert

knowledge of rhetoric as well as Jewish and non-Jewish materials used for the content (Gorman 83, 86).

Conclusion

Some of the questions that will guide my research throughout the dissertation include the following: What are some of the significant differences in the way men and women construct their ethos in autobiographical texts or the ethos of someone significant to them in biographical texts? How is ethos in autobiographical texts generated within historically, socially, theologically, and spiritually situated contexts? How do localized practices connect to globalized practices? How do the autobiographical texts reveal the ways generative ethos works?

My next chapter deals with the contexts that help to illuminate the constructions of ethos that I will analyze in chapters three and four. Namely, it will cover some of the historical contexts of Pentecostalism and the IPHC, of women preachers and the scriptures that are used to empower or to disempower them, and an explanation of how my case studies fit within these larger frameworks will be explained in chapter two. Also, I will share the major theological tents of the IPHC and the major texts used to inform and later to express those theologies. In chapter three I will begin by discussing ethos in “call stories,” testimonies to the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and conversion narratives in the autobiographical or biographical texts by authors living in the early to middle years of the IPHC. The remaining four interpretive categories of ethos will

be used to analyze the same early to middle 20th- century materials in chapter three, and will include an analysis of how Oklahoma's history, inhabitants, landscape, and weather plays a role. Chapter four focuses on an analysis of the three interviews, Debbie Whipple, Peggy Eby, and Charlene West, using the five interpretive categories of generative ethos. I will draw connections between the older materials and these interviews in order to illustrate how the stereotype of a Pentecostal preacher has been outdated and to explore other connections.

CHAPTER II:

CONTEXTUALIZING PENTECOSTAL WOMEN PREACHERS IN THE
INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS CHURCH IN OKLAHOMA
**Refuting the Stereotypes: Pentecostal Women Preachers in the Twenty-First
Century**

Part of Tom Miller's call for scholars to characterize localized rhetorical traditions included a focus on properly contextualizing those traditions. Because epistemic rhetorics are a result of communities' practices, it is important to take a close look at the larger communities and controversies that surround the IPHC preachers in Oklahoma, past and present. In this chapter I first argue against the prevailing stereotypes of Pentecostal women preachers, and then I discuss the local situation of IPHC women preachers within the denomination before putting that into the larger context of how women are treated in other Pentecostal denominations. From these contexts, I historically situate Pentecostalism by addressing the history of American women preachers, the social goals of their religious arguments, and by providing basic definitions of what Pentecostalism usually is thought to be before narrowing my focus back onto the IPHC as one example of a Pentecostal denomination among many and the IPHC women preachers as a particular group within the denomination as it covers many other states. These contexts are important and help to provide a way of understanding the women and the ways in which they generated their autobiographical ethos.

Pentecostals are stereotyped as being poor, uneducated, and dogmatic in their beliefs. For example, in 1995 Harvey Cox published a book on Pentecostalism and included a description of a rural woman preacher from an extremely conservative town in south of Charleston, West Virginia. Betty Lou's sermon is transcribed, along with her every breath and motion, to illustrate her dramatic and barely believable call story that fits into a "call-refusal motif" Cox finds in biblical accounts such as when Moses first refused to lead his people out of Egypt and when Jonah first refused to go preach to Ninevah (130-32). Cox's Pentecostal woman preacher is the epitome of the stereotypical woman preacher. She is poor, uneducated, unsophisticated, and seems to take a somewhat fundamentalist approach to her faith except that she feels that the authority of scripture may be superseded by divine revelation. David Roebuck describes how early Pentecostals in the Church of God were also poor and uses it as a starting place for describing how, as the church members became wealthier, they brought their beliefs and practices more in line with the rest of society. This included limiting the role of women as preachers (53-5).

Like Cox, Elaine Lawless uses rural women preachers to characterize Pentecostal preachers. She describes the Pentecostal's legalistic dress codes and gives us a picture of backward, somewhat isolated women in Missouri refusing to wear make-up or cut their hair. Similarly, Mary McClintock Fulkerson writes that she is using interviews of Pentecostal mountain women from the 1930s and 40s and them as very much like other "backward, uncultured, and primitive mountain

folk” (239). Lawless supports the stereotype that Pentecostal women preachers are uneducated fundamentalists who nevertheless find a way to subvert the hierarchy and preach while reinforcing the hierarchy itself. She writes, “It is difficult to ascertain why women can hold prime leadership roles in this religion that takes the Bible very literally and which openly supports a male-dominated hierarchy” (42). The women who do preach, she writes, get their call directly from God, although all have the “call-refusal motif” Cox describes (44). Fulkerson comes to many of the same conclusions.

In the Pentecostal Holiness church, early members lived in Oklahoma City and a few of the denomination’s leaders, such as J. H. King, had a coveted college education. In fact, King describes his international travels in his autobiography. Also, while the Pentecostal preachers studied by Cox, Fulkerson, and Lawless came from rural churches which were not part of organized denominational structures, many early Pentecostals were actually part of organized denominations formed under other doctrines. These denominations were converted to a belief in the baptism of the Holy Spirit after Azusa Street. While Lawless writes that “it is important to note that most Pentecostal churches are autonomous and are not part of elaborate, hierarchical, central organizations that determine policy for individual churches” (43), she forgets to qualify her localized analysis of Pentecostalism with the fact that many denominations that became Pentecostal were already organized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The IPHC is one of these churches. Furthermore, other denominations, such as the

Assemblies of God, sprang from the movement and quickly organized themselves. Historian Vinson Synan explains that although Pentecostalism began with only “a handful of people in 1901,” it now has over two hundred million members and is “exceeded in number by only the Roman Catholics” (*Holy Spirit* 1-2). More than five hundred million people comprise those who are charismatic within Pentecostal, mainline, and Roman Catholic churches (2). These people are not unusual, nor are they part of disorganized groups, but their denominations very much resemble other mainstream denominations.

Furthermore, the IPHC women preachers I interviewed in 2004 were anything but backward, unsophisticated, or poor, and they were certainly not ministering in rural towns inside of a loosely organized denomination. While Cox, Lawless, McFulkerson, and Roebuck are not wrong in their assessment of the Pentecostal women preachers they describe, it is important to offer a contemporary description of Pentecostal women preachers. The stereotype of the Pentecostal woman preacher that has been created by the few scholars interested in this area does not apply to contemporary Pentecostal women preachers. We must recognize that there has been a paradigm shift.

Three of the women I interviewed were practicing Pentecostal women preachers affiliated with the IPHC. Charlene West was the first Director of Intercultural Ministry in the IPHC and was preaching in what used to be Muse Memorial Church in Oklahoma City at the time of our interview (4). She has a college degree and has completed some work toward a Ph.D. During our

interview, she handed me a draft of her dissertation. She was so busy that she wasn't sure if she was going to get to finish revising her work (7). West was fascinating to me. Energetic, articulate, and enthusiastic about her ministry, it was hard for me to believe that her current work was something she was doing in her retirement years.

Peggy Eby shared ice cream with me during the late summer of 2004 at a restaurant in Tulsa, Oklahoma. We met on a Saturday; it was her birthday. She was scheduled to preach at a large Pentecostal church, Evangelistic Temple, the next day. When we spoke, she and her husband were living in Houston and were head of an organization called Mission Catalyst International, which is an interdenominational missions program aimed at training nationals to plant churches among the least-reached people groups in the world (1). Going through the materials in the IPHC Archives at the RDC or Headquarters in Bethany, Oklahoma, I noticed that Eby had authored numerous articles over the years in women's ministries publications. She is well-known in the IPHC for her many years serving on the women's ministries board. She too went to college and like West, had children. Unlike the Pentecostal women preachers characterized by the other scholars I mentioned, Eby began preaching at the age of fourteen in a rural church, but obviously did not stay there (2). Nor would I describe Eby as backward or poor, as the outdated stereotypes might portray.

Another woman preacher I interviewed was Debbie Whipple. I had known Debbie for years and I was thrilled to be able to hear about her work and her

calling. When Debbie spoke to me during this interview, she was still working in the Evangelism Department at the Headquarters. LaDonna Scott, who has been a secretary to several departmental leaders including three general superintendents or bishops at the headquarters over the last twenty-seven years, recalls that Debbie wanted to be the assistant to the Director of Evangelism instead of being the secretary but was told the travel demands were too high for a woman to hold such a position (12). Whipple never mentioned this particular disappointment during her interview, though I will discuss challenges she faced in chapter four of this dissertation. She too was a college graduate, she was ordained to preach, and she was a mother. When she passed away on January 5, 2006 she was still a young woman with two children in their late teens. While Eby and West had churches, Whipple preached by invitation only. A charismatic speaker, she led prayer walks as well as preached.

In 1996, the IPHC held a Solemn Assembly. Over a thousand members of the church met in North Carolina to repent of seven major sins of the denomination including “male denomination” (Spencer 4). Specifically, the denomination repented of unequal treatment of women within the denomination, calling it a sin based upon the Galatians 3:28 Bible verse where Paul describes all Christians as equals (10). Included in the statement of repentance are three main regrets, namely that women have not been allowed “places of honor in the church,” that women have not been allowed to “serve in places of leadership,” and that women’s wages have been lower than men’s (10). Although the IPHC’s

theology has consistently supported the right for women to preach, the church has not consistently embraced women as leaders within institutions. The discrepancy between stated doctrines and practices can be seen most clearly at the IPHC Headquarters, now known as the Resource Development Center (RDC) in Bethany, Oklahoma.

Since it is now 2006, a full decade since the Solemn Assembly, it is fair to assume that practices toward electing or hiring women to hold leadership positions at the IPHC Headquarters should have changed. However, while perusing the IPHC's official website, I did not find many women in leadership positions within the different ministry departments. I found an all-male board for the Christian Education Ministries Department, a male chairman for the Chaplains' Ministries, and an all-male assortment of directors in Evangelism USA. I expected to find that the leadership of Women's Ministries was female, and I was not disappointed. It is also common knowledge that the office of Bishop has always been held by a man and is currently held by one. The only other ministry available on the IPHC website was World Missions. It lists eleven regional ministries coordinators, all of whom are male, four overseas ministry coordinators, all of whom are male, and three of the four directors, including the Executive director, are male with the exception of Paula Ward, Director of Donor Relations. According to LaDonna Scott, who has worked at RDC for the past twenty-seven years, Ward is the first woman ever to be hired on the Administrative staff level (13). The pattern I saw on the website is very clear:

men serve in leadership positions and women are “Administrative Assistants” (a newer term for secretaries) on the whole. Also, I did not find any men occupying the role of Administrative Assistant or Receptionist.

At the 2005 convention, specific references to the 1996 Solemn Assembly were made as the first woman to ever serve on the General Executive Board, Trish Weedn of Oklahoma, was elected. In addition, each General Board of Administration has seven members; one of these seven positions is now held by a woman (Scott 9). While the chairmen of these boards are listed on the IPHC website, the other members are not and I was originally led to the false conclusion that women were still being excluded from places of leadership. The members of the General Executive Board are appointed, not elected. The individuals listed on the website work at headquarters, now known as the Resource Development Center (RDC), full-time. Also, Scott pointed out that Shirley Spencer has been Executive Editor of The IPHC Experience, the denomination’s major publication, for several years. Finally, Dr. Synan remembers when Doyce Dunn served as the Superintendent of the Northwest Conference. Perhaps as research continues in this area, we will consciously construct a record of women’s leadership in the IPHC’s administrative positions.

Yet there is more to be done in order to include women as leaders at the RDC. Scott recalls that Debbie Whipple, one of the women I interviewed, applied to be an assistant to one of the executive directors in the Evangelism department. However, she was told that because of travel demands, women were not hired for

such positions. Whipple continued in her secretarial position in the department because she felt God wanted her to stay, but she was disappointed (Scott 13). In Whipple's interview, she did not share her feelings about this, but she did share an experience from the early years of her ministry when she felt her work would not be supported by the men at the RDC. She says,

And I remember I was on the steps to the Bishop's office and I thought, no, nothing's going to happen to me because the men won't let it happen to me. And just when I got to the top step, God asked me: "Am I not bigger than the men in this building?" And I had to stop. My answer was not immediate because I didn't know. I knew he was bigger. I didn't know if he would do it, I knew he had enough power to do it, but I didn't know. Then I thought of course you're bigger. So, at that point things changed and doors started to open. (4-5)

In terms of women as preachers in the IPHC, the numbers are much better than the numbers of women in administrative leadership positions. In Synan's 1993 article on women in ministry, he writes that 17 percent of licensed and ordained ministers in the IPHC are women (50). Citing research on the numbers of women now enrolled in theological seminaries that equal to about 30 percent of future ministers, he notes that these numbers exceed the percentage of women currently working as ministers within various denominations (50). He claims that the future of women as ministers depends upon the ability of church leaders to discern between the biblical truths that support women from the "shrill cry of the

militant feminists whose agenda is usually anything but spiritual” (50). I would add that the future of women in general within the IPHC also depends upon the denomination’s ability to begin to see people in terms of abilities, not gender.

While the recent changes in denominational leadership are welcome news and while the number of women preachers constitutes a larger percentage of this denomination in comparison with others, it is imperative that women be allowed the opportunity to move into more administrative positions of leadership in order to provide a place where their gifts may be fully used in order to create role models for female leaders in churches and to create a stronger voice for women. The denomination will benefit from kinds of strength only the leadership of women can bring to a denomination. As equals, women and men should be working toward a common goal, maximizing the gifts given to them as individuals. Excuses for not allowing them into leadership positions that are related to travel demands should not be used to shut women out. Simply by providing accurate job descriptions, applicants for positions at the RDC, male or female, may determine for themselves if travel demands will interfere with their other responsibilities. To have a person determine that a woman cannot meet these travel demands is a disturbing continuation of the parent-child hierarchy that many Evangelicals advocate as a model for male-female or husband-wife relationships. Such a model is flawed because it assumes the woman does not have the intellectual capacity to make her own decisions or to choose when it is wise to protest a man’s decision. It is flawed because, in a marital relationship, it

absolves the woman of her responsibility to work cooperatively with her husband to make decisions that affect the family. In a working situation, it provides an opportunity for gender-discrimination to occur. As the intellectual and social equals of men, conscientious women should be offered the same opportunities for employment that men enjoy. As wives, women should be equal to men in responsibility and take an active role in decision making from a position of power, even if the couple chooses that the husband will make the final decisions in a marriage.

The past serves as an important context for the present. Our present state of affairs emerges as a continuation of as well as a resistance to parts of the past. The present state of women preachers in Pentecostal denominations is described by Pamela Holmes. She writes that, “on the surface, at least, it appeared that women performed the same function as men without any interference or objection by the men,” which led to the Evangelicals criticizing the Pentecostal movement for allowing women to preach (301). The reality was that even when women were preaching in Pentecostal movements, they were not allowed to be involved in administrative work, much like we see at the IPHC headquarters. Women were “accepted but limited, affirmed but restricted,” according to Holmes (302). The discrepancy between what is practiced and what is preached may be indicated by the continuing defense of women’s rights still going on within these denominations.

Barfoot and Sheppard's oft-cited article describes the progression from acceptance to limitation and even restriction in Pentecostal denominations that evolved during the twentieth century, but claim the cause of the shift is based on exegesis, not on Pentecostals choosing to become less radical. They claim that the period from 1901 to the 1920s can be called "Prophetic Pentecostalism" and the period from 1920s to the late 70s may be called "Priestly Pentecostalism" because the shift is a result of defining preachers as priests instead of prophets, not because churches necessarily became more "worldly" (2). Roebuck, however, describes the progression as part of the Church of God's rise to the middle-class in "Pentecostalism at the End of the Twentieth-Century: From Poverty, Promise, and Passion to Prosperity, Power, and Place." That is, as Pentecostals became more affluent, they began to imitate the rest of society. They became main-stream instead of remaining counter-cultural.

Carole Dirksen's "Let Your Women Keep Silence" describes the progression from acceptance to restriction within the Church of God. She says that five of the eight founders were women but within just a few years after the denomination was officially formed, they lost their power to vote, to hold administrative positions, and eventually many women lost the desire to be preachers (165). It is a complete reversal of the position taken during the formative years when "evangelism was the pressing goal of the group, and no boundaries were visible among messengers of the gospel" (169). Her article documented women preachers rejecting more administrative responsibilities.

Dirksen quotes pastor Mary Graves who says, “I can’t get everything done that I’m allowed to do now. I don’t think I want to be allowed to do more” (176). She balances this by discussing the difficulties associated with having a male make such decisions for a church, particularly when that male is not a regular member of the congregation

A compelling argument for women to preach because no men were available, the “all hands on deck” argument for inclusion, reveals the true tension women preachers faced even in the early days. The tension continues for some people to this day. When women define themselves as a life raft because of the impending doom associated with living in the “last days,” they gain the right to speak because people believe it is a temporary situation only allowed in response to an emergency, no matter how long we have been living in the “last days.” Nineteenth century Methodist preacher Phoebe Palmer used this argument to say that America could not afford for half of the available evangelists to stop working (1108). Aimee Semple McPherson argued that women should preach, citing the scripture “Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy” (Holmes 312). Contemporary Pentecostal Dr. Rev. Sheri Benevenuti says “we are, in a sense, watching the house burn down while wondering which fire truck to use” when defending the position of women preachers in her 1996 presentation at a Pentecostal conference (2). Early twentieth century evangelical faith healer Kathryn Kuhlman believed in women’s ordination but she thought women

preachers should only serve when a man wasn't available to serve (Scanzoni and Setta 242).

In a recent edition of *The Cyber-Journal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, Heather Ackley and Annette McCabe argue that while women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been allowed to earn degrees as pastors and other types of church leaders, they have often been denied positions upon graduation. They say that when evangelicals began to be influenced by dispensational premillennialism they were also being influenced by “Princeton conservatism and fundamentalism” which drove down the numbers of women preachers. Dispensational premillennialism is the belief that we are living in a period of grace. Based upon the belief that the prophecies in the book of Daniel correctly describe the entire course of human history to date and that everything predicted up to the resurrection of Christ has come to pass except for the final seven years (the tribulation period), dispensational premillennialist beliefs permeate Pentecostal churches today and serve as the basis for the “all hands on deck” argument for women preachers dating from the nineteenth century in holiness traditions which was carried over and revived by twentieth century Pentecostalism. With the increasing influence of the fundamentalist perspective, Ackley and McCabe write, people who had women preachers in their family began to feel ashamed of them, as was described by Donald Dayton in his 1976 book *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*. Much of our religious American history has been lost due to this unfounded shame.

The numbers of women being educated at institutions and the numbers working in administrative or faculty positions can help provide a more accurate picture of where Pentecostalism is at today. In “Dynamics of Ministry Training and Ministry Opportunities for Charismatic Women,” Ackley and McCabe quote statistics from 2001 that state that about 35% of all seminary students at this time were women, and about 31% of all Master of Divinity students were women. About 57% of these women will find paid jobs in the church. The low numbers of women earning these types of degrees is related to having a mostly male faculty. They relate the story of how a woman was hired by Pepperdine University (affiliated with the Church of Christ) only to be introduced by the dean as the “token woman” on staff. She says she was told not to form relationships with other women on campus who were interested in women’s issues and to discontinue pursuing scholarship concerning women and religion, even though this was the focus of her scholarship to date. Finally, while there are very few women in administrative positions in the IPHC, there are only about 18% in Pentecostal denominations as a whole, which is a much better percentage.

Finally, Pamela Holmes writes that despite the growing numbers of Pentecostal women who argue that the idea that women are the equals of men is scripturally sound, many Pentecostal churches still employ patriarchal interpretations (310). As a church-goer, I have learned that you will get a different version of what Pentecostalism from each preacher you hear. The stated doctrines of the denomination are a starting place from which to draw sermons and from

which to define and justify practices at the church. However, the doctrinal codes of Pentecostal denominations usually do not address women's equality.

Therefore, at the same Assemblies of God church in Tucson I had one pastor who brought in a woman to preach and very openly and often stated his support of women as preachers and leaders. After he passed away, his replacement emphatically preached that women belonged only at home. His wife dressed in dark, long-sleeved suits and high-necked shirts. She made no efforts to befriend the congregation, though she was friendly when you encountered her. Their children were homeschooled, but did not belong to even the Christian associations in Tucson. Together, this pastor and his wife modeled the idea that spiritual purity for women meant isolation and submission. Yet, as scholars such as myself continue to research these areas, we still may have hope for change. A key element of this change for a better future in the IPHC and other Pentecostal denominations should include a revision of doctrinal statements that make the equitable treatment of women a part of the core of their beliefs.

Broad Theological and Historical Contexts

Understanding the various contexts that affect the way we interpret an autobiographical text is vital for understanding how ethos is generated. By outlining the major contexts that are integrated into the International Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC) materials, the value system guiding the construction of ethos is understood more fully. Theresa Enos writes

Effective ethical argument arises from the union of speaker and listener, writer and reader; the opening up of a world holding within it values that both participants adhere to underlies the whole concept of ethos. Only through ethos can the participants in a discourse achieve identification.

(101)

Opening up the “world” of the IPHC’s history and theology by no means opens inquiry into a static entity. The IPHC continues to develop in praxis, and though they may be defined as being conservative in many ways, the denomination’s leaders are not “so bound by dogma, arrogance, and ignorance” that they cannot “see a new artifact, hear a new opinion, or enter a new experience,” if we may use Jim Corder’s terms used to describe the way histories, even self-histories, are always in the process of being made and remade (“Argument as Emergence” 17). Even though the texts I analyze are written, as Enos argues, “the text has a presence,” and its presence cannot be ignored (102). The autobiographies written by IPHC members creates truth and their “rhetoric becomes a way of knowing” (102). The texts are epistemic rhetoric; the writers create their sense of individual and collective, denominational selves through the texts they write. These individual and collective selves draw from larger and localized historical and theological contexts that are developed and redeveloped over time.

Pentecostalism itself is a broad, descriptive term that describes members from a wide range of denominations. In fact, Synan’s last book, *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001*,

includes chapters written by different scholars who present groups within the broad history of Pentecostalism, including a chapter describing the most influential Pentecostal women preachers. Dr. Susan Hyatt's broad historical view of women preachers incorporates even non-Pentecostals such as the Quaker Margaret Fell, the Methodist Phoebe Palmer, Catherine Mumford Booth of the Salvation Army, the Quaker Hannah Whittal Smith who worked closely with Frances Willard of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for women's suffrage, and others who are directly responsible for opening the way for women who came after them (234-40). Thus Hyatt puts the work of Pentecostals into a larger historical context that sets the stage for the numerous Pentecostal women preachers in order to understand the battles that had already been fought and won by the time these women took their place behind the pulpit.

Hyatt also describes some of the major doctrines supporting women's equality within the church. Three central, biblical themes are used by Pentecostal women preachers. These include the "theme of biblical equality" based upon Galatians 3:28 scripture where Paul describes all Christians as equals, the "redemption argument" based upon the idea that Christ redeemed woman from the Garden of Eden curse with his death and resurrection, and the "Pentecostal theme for biblical equality" based upon the Joel 2:28 scripture quoted in Acts 2:17-18 which states that the Holy Spirit will be poured out on both men and women in the last days (238). While others who argued for a woman's right to

preach privileged other scriptures, these three themes and scriptures are the true basis from which Pentecostals past and present defend a woman's right to preach. Pentecostals are one segment of Protestant believers that differentiate themselves with the belief that all Christians can and should seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Baptism in the Holy Spirit was not new at the beginning of the 20th-century but had been linked with other experiences such as sanctification (Synan *Old-Time Power* 89, 112). What was new was the belief that the "latter rain" described in Acts was now happening in various Pentecostal revivals, and believers were exercising the gift of tongues as they did at Pentecost.

The biblical account of Pentecost is worth briefly recounting because it becomes paradigmatic for the way 20th-century Pentecostals describe their baptism in the Holy Spirit experiences. Luke, the author of Acts, describes how the disciples returned to Jerusalem for Pentecost some time after the resurrection of Christ. The term "Pentecostal" actually refers to a celebration held fifty days after the resurrection of Christ when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and others as described in the New Testament book of Acts (Long 43). Luke writes:

The day of Pentecost had come, and they were all together in one place. Suddenly there came from the sky what sounded like a strong, driving wind, a noise which filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them flames like tongues of fire distributed among them

and coming to rest on each one. They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to talk in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them power of utterance. Now there were staying in Jerusalem devout Jews drawn from every nation under heaven. At this sound a crowd of them gathered, and were bewildered because each one heard his own language spoken [...] [and they said] all of us hear them telling in our own tongue the great things God has done. (Acts 2:1-11)

So, those present spoke in languages previously unknown to them but known by others, a phenomenon referred to as xenoglossolalia by scholars (Long 43). It was believed that the gifts of the Holy Spirit, or baptism and tongues speaking, marked the beginning of the last days before Christ's return.

The belief that the "latter rain" or that the gifts of the Holy Spirit have come is central to the belief that we live in a special period of time that allows for women to prophesy (38). I previously explained that this is called "dispensational premillennialism," but did not describe how the Daniel prophecies were connected to New Testament writings. Such beliefs are supported by the following scriptures where Peter, Christ's disciple, stands up and prophesies:

This is what the prophet Joel spoke of: "In the last days, says God, I will pour out my spirit on all mankind; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy; your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. (Acts 2:15-17)

20th-century Pentecostalism began in Kansas when Agnes Ozman LaBerge, a student of the theologian Charles Parham, became the first to be baptized in the Holy Spirit and speak in tongues in 1901 (Synan Holy Spirit 1). The language she spoke was Chinese and she was not able to speak in English for three days (1). Another of Parham's students was the African-American William Seymour who launched the three-year revival on Azusa Street in Los Angeles that would draw people from all over the country from 1906 to 1908 (4). Among those who came was G. B. Cashwell of the IPHC. Though the IPHC was birthed by Crumpler, Cashwell "swept" its members into the Pentecostal movement as well as the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church members who would merge with the IPHC in 1911 (5).

Also within the realm of Pentecostals, there are those radicals who believe in snake handling, but the IPHC took a strong stand against these practices from its inception. Another important distinction may be made between Evangelical Pentecostals and other Pentecostals, as mentioned earlier in this chapter in relationship to the patriarchal paradigm enforced by fundamentalists. Historian Susan Lindley traces the use of the term "Evangelical" to mean a separation between a premillennialist and a postmillennialist theological position during the 19th-century to a 20th-century use of the term to mean "conservatism" but not "fundamentalism" or "separatism" (322-23). In 1942 the National Evangelical Association (NAE) was formed and a third range of definitions for the term was used to describe those who believed in the authority of the Bible, the importance of conversion, and the importance of evangelism and missionary work (323-24).

Reacting to a “drastic change in sexual morality” from the ban of prayer in schools to legalized abortion, the New Religious Right of the 70s and 80s took some Evangelicals toward fundamentalist beliefs that basically reversed their support of women preachers (353). They did not support women in any role other than housewives designed to be subordinate to men. Lindley speculates that earlier endorsements of women as preachers were established as exceptions to the rule and did not confront authority issues at a more basic level thereby causing a later break with the belief (353).

Harold Paul, IPHC Historian, writes that the IPHC voted to affiliate with the NAE in 1943 (93). Benefits for joining included greater recognition by other denominations and a wider range of influence. Dan Muse became a member on the editorial board to one of the NAE’s publications in 1944 (94). Although fundamentalist Evangelicals advocate a “chain-of-command” theology that places God over men and men over women, with the relationship between men and women very much resembling a parent-child relationship, the IPHC has never endorsed that position. In his 1976 biography of IPHC Bishop Dan Muse, Harold Paul describes the IPHC’s position on women in these terms:

In the Pentecostal Holiness Church, women are not only recognized as members but also admitted to the pulpit, and occasionally pastor churches. They have been elected to positions of official capacity on conference official boards. This is usually the exception to the rule and practiced only because of the lack of suitable men to fill the position. (131)

His position on women, as suitable to be leaders only if no men are available, echoes a major voice in the debate on women preachers. Early 20th-century faith healer Kathryn Kuhlman stated, “I do not believe that I was God’s first choice in this ministry. Or even his second or third. This is really a man’s job [...] God’s first choices were men” (qtd. in Scanzoni and Setta 242).

The differences between 18th-, 19th-, and 20th-century women who argued for the right to preach lie in what they have done with the freedoms they gained in religious contexts. Some wished to justify a leadership role in the church; others wanted to further the rights of women in other social contexts. In Pentecostal denominations, such as in the IPHC, the freedom to preach typically did not mean that women were equal to men in other contexts. Catherine Brekus, Associate Professor of the History of Christianity at the University of Chicago Divinity School, defines the paradoxical use of equality to justify a woman’s right to preach but not to function as an equal in her other roles as “biblical feminism” (221). Many women were not biblical feminists and used their arguments for a woman’s right to preach in order to gain the right to speak on social matters such as women’s suffrage, education, equal pay, daycares for working women, and other valuable rights. Unfortunately, the impact of religious women on the women’s rights movement, later known as the feminist movement, is often left unexplored. Lucy Lind Hogan, Professor of Preaching and Worship at Wesley Theological Seminary, writes that the religious dimension of the women’s rights movement has often been ignored as women’s rhetorical history has developed

(2). Contemporary women preachers may not purposefully or intentionally draw from feminist ideologies in order to structure an argument for their right to preach, but as feminists have changed history so have they changed the nature of arguments designed to argue for women's rights. Mapping women's rhetorical history without exploring the contributions of women preachers would be a serious mistake for contemporary scholars, and ignoring the effect of feminism on American culture would also be a serious omission for scholars analyzing texts by religious women.

At the center of arguments for and against women preachers are the scriptures that the 19th-century leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union Frances Willard carefully laid out in a chart in her essay "The Defense of Women's Rights to Ordination in the Methodist Episcopal Church," published in 1888. The most famous Pauline scripture used to deny women a voice in sacred settings is "Let the women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted for them to speak" found in 1st Corinthians 14:34 (Willard 27). Paul reiterates his position on women in 1st Timothy 2:11, "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection" (28). In another verse he also admonishes women not to ask questions in church, but to ask their husbands at home (28). Professor of New Testament and Early Church History and Dean of the Ecumenical Institute of Theology at St. Mary's in Maryland, Michael Gormann points out that "a vast majority of scholars" reject the Pauline authorship of 1st Timothy, but women usually claimed that the context of the scripture cancelled out its authority (552). They

argued that Paul was addressing a particular church and did not mean for the injunction to be applied to every woman in every church. In 1st Corinthians 11:3, Paul claims that while the head of man is Christ, the head of woman is man (Willard 28).

The Pauline scripture describing man as the head of woman troubled the seventeenth century Quaker Margaret Fell just as much as it does the contemporary scholar and Pentecostal Janet Powers. However, their protests are based on different belief systems. Fell says the “True Woman” is Christ’s wife, and Christ is the head of both male and female, not just male alone (760). Powers points out that the belief that any person, male or female, has the right to come between a believer and Christ does not follow Pentecostal theology (14). Many fundamentalists believe that a woman’s “authority is derived from her husband,” but many Pentecostals believe that any person who is a “Spirit-empowered believer [...] is qualified for ministry” (12). Powers admits that Pentecostals left themselves open to attacks on this belief because of their acceptance of biblical passages about a woman’s place in society and in her home (13). She writes that when more and more people had experienced the tongues speaking and the baptism in the Holy Spirit, they began to say that they were not all empowered for ministry and therefore women could not rely on the authority of this experience, so rare in the early years, to justify their call to preach (14). Like the seventeenth century Quaker Margaret Fell, Powers relies on Christ’s example to lessen the authority of the Pauline writings (18-19). She says that any interpretive practice

valuing Pauline texts over the examples of Christ is inherently flawed and is a threat to the Pentecostal belief system (19).

Old as well as New Testament scriptures are examined by women arguing for the right to preach for examples of women acting as preachers, prophetesses, or leaders in order to show biblical precedent for women who wished to act in similar ways at the time. Women who are most often mentioned are Deborah, the Old Testament warrior and Judge; Mary Magdalene and Mary, the Mother of Christ, who both followed Christ to the cross, went to anoint his body after death, and were the first to announce his resurrection; Anna the temple prophetess of the New Testament, who held Christ in her arms when he was an infant and blessed him; Mary and Martha, the New Testament followers of Christ admonished to learn now and work later; and the Apocryphal character Judith, who was the only one brave enough to sneak into the enemy's camp and cut off the head of their leader when the future of the community depended upon their success in battle. Also, Margaret Fell points out that in Acts 21 there are four daughters who prophesy (681). The list of influential women in the Old and New Testaments could be greatly lengthened, but no matter the woman used as examples, the overall argument is that women are called by God to lead. Furthermore, women often argue that Christ illustrated the equal and fair treatment of women and his example overrides the Pauline scriptures interpreted by Fundamentalists who employ a literalist hermeneutic in order to justify the subjugation of women.

Social Goals for Religious Arguments

Notable women preachers in seventeenth-century America include the Quaker Mary Dyer, who was executed for witnessing to the Puritans in 1660; the Puritan Anne Hutchinson, who was “reduced” through exile to the wilderness of Rhode Island for explaining the scriptures to others in her home; and the “Mother of Quakerism” Margaret Fell, who greatly influenced women preachers from her place in England through her writings and who also lived as an example of stoicism in the face of persecution and imprisonment (Brekus 30-33). Given their historical circumstances, at times the argument for women preachers was essentially an argument for women to be allowed to speak publicly without risking their good reputations. For example, Margaret Fell’s famous tract, “Women’s Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed by the Scriptures,” published for the first time in 1666, begins by using the Genesis scriptures to prove gender equality which could then be used to argue for a woman’s right to speak (753). However, her argument fails in some aspects because her rhetorical strategy of admitting to weakness in one area in order to claim indisputable strength in another seems to undermine the larger argument for a woman’s right to speak publicly. For example, although Fell argues for spiritual equality she does not argue that women are just as strong as men physically or intellectually. She admits to weakness in order to provide scriptures that say God is perfected in weakness and that he uses the intellectually weak to confound the wise (753). Also, she admits that it was the woman who was deceived in the garden, but says

that if we stop women from speaking, the “seed of the serpent” will speak (753). In summary, she reaffirms the erroneous belief in the intellectual inferiority of women, and while she focuses on an interpretation of scripture that will further her argument, it comes at a price.

Sarah Grimke, an abolitionist orator writing in the 19th century, also uses the Bible to justify the right of women to speak publicly, even when not directly addressing the subject of women preaching. For example, in letter three she claims that any precept Christ issued was for both men and women, so when he said to be a “light of the world” he meant for both men and women to follow his directions (686). Further, she points to the Genesis scriptures describing men and women as being created as equals and states a point that she returns to many times: if it is right for a man to do something, then it is also right for a woman to do it (686). Indeed, this is how she begins letter fourteen. She first describes how ministers have erroneously conflated the priesthood with the act of preaching since Old Testament priests did not preach, but simply offered sacrifices (690). She also points out that the priesthood died with Christ because he was the final sacrifice. Further, she shows that priests and prophets are described as two separate classes of leaders. It is the role of prophet that preachers seek to fulfill and, she says, women have always been accepted as prophetesses (691). Again, Paul is used to combat the sexist mindset he was responsible for creating when Grimke confronts the typical definition of prophet as future-teller but which is defined by Paul as one who speaks to edify, exhort, and comfort (692). Grimke’s

point was not lost on the women preachers before her, nor on those who came after. Women claimed a legitimate place as prophet-preacher, one that did not threaten the occupation of pastor, that continues to this day.

Also at the center of the debate over women preachers that dates back to the sixteenth century are the terms women preachers used to define themselves: preacher, prophet, pastor. Today, these definitions are used to justify the limitation of women, particularly when it comes to excluding them from administrative positions. Self-claimed definitions such as “prophet” instead of “preacher” indicate that women specifically define themselves through the Joel/Acts scripture allowing “handmaids” and “daughters” a voice. These women refuse to think of themselves as usurping male authority because they occupy a role that they do not equate with being a “pastor.” One similarity between preachers and prophets is that they both exhort the members of their community to live more righteously, but a key difference is that a prophet did not have a regular church but worked more like an evangelistic itinerant preacher. Another difference is that instead of leading services at a regular meeting place, the biblical prophet spent time living on the outskirts of society and only ventured inside of its realm to deliver important messages revealed by a direct communication with God. The importance of choosing a term was related to the type of authority the woman wished to draw upon in order to justify her position.

Women that drew upon the term “prophet” include the seventeenth century Protestant preacher Bathsheba Kingsley. She claimed to have direct

communication with God and would accost people wherever she went, talking about their wickedness and the horrible judgments that were to follow if they did not change (Brekus 25). The 18th-century “Public Universal Friend” Jemima Wilkinson also claimed to be a prophet and to communicate directly with God. She often described how she physically died and subsequently experienced resurrection just as Christ did. This spirit was called the “Public Universal Friend” and s/he (she considered herself male, but she was physically a female) claimed to be sent by God (82). In the 19th-century, the Methodist Phoebe Palmer also used the title of “prophet” when arguing that women should be allowed to preach, perhaps to avoid the controversial issues attached to the American idea of a preacher (Palmer 1100-01).

Later, “prophets” became equated with the American idea of an evangelist or itinerant preacher who did demand a certain amount of pay when it was available. Women also moved into paid pastoral positions with established congregations. One of the most famous 20th-century Pentecostal women preachers was Aimee Semple McPherson. Her mother was a Methodist, her father Salvation Army. Originally a Methodist, she became Pentecostal when she married and eventually created the Foursquare Gospel religion. As she built her denomination, she established a Bible college, offered ordination to women, and had a regular church of her own (Hyatt 249).

Contemporary Women Preachers as a Context for IPHC Women Preachers

In Roxanne Mountford's *The Gendered Pulpit*, we learn from her interviews with three women preachers, her experiences from becoming part of their congregations for a while, and her analyses of their sermons in order to determine how they have created a space for themselves within their congregations. Interestingly, the first two women Dr. Mountford wrote about were there because their congregations had decided that they would like them to stay. The third was appointed to the church for a six-year term, and her congregation had no choice but to accept her.

One preacher Mountford studied stood out to me more than the others because she actually created her own areas of conflict, adding to what might have already been a tense situation for a conservative Methodist congregation who had to accept a woman preacher they did not elect. Because identifying oneself as a "feminist" has become unpopular within religious circles, it is interesting that the Methodist Pastor whom Mountford studied, Janet Moore, identifies herself as such and claims to pray to a feminine God (137). Defying her conservative congregation, she invites homosexual men and women not only to be a part of her church but also to lead the music (143). Unlike women preachers before her, Pastor Moore defends her right to be the pastor with the orders to serve at that particular church that were issued by the denomination. Further, unlike the women preachers who argued for the right to preach in order to win souls, she argues for the right to bring in more people for the purpose of collecting more

money (137). She measured her own success by the number of members and the financial status of the church (147).

While women preachers often managed to be extremely popular with their audiences, such as the Grimke sisters and Aimee Semple McPherson who attracted listeners with their charismatic gifts, Janet Moore undermined her chances of being accepted by her listeners by talking too softly for her congregation to hear her, by sharing personal tragedies that made her congregation uncomfortable, and by setting up an “us/them” mentality between the existing congregation and the new one she tried to create (144-46). In the end, she left the church because she was tired of the conflict (146).

Ironically, conflict was the common denominator between the preaching experiences of American women preachers since the seventeenth century, some because of their unconventional religious beliefs, others because of their gender, and still others because of their political stance, such as on abolition. However, unlike Pastor Moore, none of them employed tactics designed to create distance between themselves and their audiences. Pastor Moore is an odd reversal of circumstances. She chooses to fail in an arena where she might have succeeded. The favorable experiences of the other two women preachers Mountford studied provide evidence that Moore’s failures were largely due to her approach, not to the prejudices held by her congregation.

Folklorist Elaine Lawless also describes the experiences and practices of recent 20th-century women preachers. While Fell, Grimke, Palmer, and Willard

focused on biblical texts that granted them authority, the 20th-century women Lawless describes strategies used to keep the position as preacher once it is won. After interviewing Pentecostal women preachers and listening to them preach over a period of time, Lawless records some commonalities. For examples, she describes how these women generally articulated themselves as “spiritual mothers” and how they felt they must be biological mothers in order to define themselves as such (147, 149). Lawless points out that defining a woman as a spiritual mother is a strategy used to minimize the threat of her position of power within the church and to reject the idea that she has chosen not to fulfill her role as wife and mother at home (149). Other noted qualities were that women preachers often highlighted qualities such as their ability to be caring, empathetic, good listeners, cheerful, understanding, compassionate, comforting, loving, patient, self-denying, and self-sacrificing in their sermons (147-49).

Themes of total sacrifice are linked to motherhood and make the woman preacher the ultimate example of true Christianity for her congregation. Lawless notes how themes of sacrifice and salvation underline how the congregation has a childlike need for a God who knows what direction they should take with their lives (112). Exemplifying the idea of total sacrifice, motherhood, and the corporate/familial identity, Mountford’s example of an African-American preacher from the United Church of Christ, Barbara Hill, takes care to define herself in terms of her community. In her introduction, reprinted by Mountford, she does not trace a family history, but rather her identification with her

community. She defines the people she sees in her community as intelligent, capable, competent, strong, determined, and she describes their pride, perseverance, and hope (115).

However, in some ways Pastor Hill mirrors what women did in the early years of American history. She defines her community by its race and by the religious beliefs they share. Cheryl Sanders also defines her community within a religion by her race by tracing the history of black women within the history of Pentecostalism in her 1996 presentation published in *Pnuema*. Her religious beliefs are based on a history that describes the acceptance of women preachers and of people regardless of race that is interpreted as a sign that the Holy Spirit was indeed inhabiting a congregation of believers (5). Indirectly confronting the Pauline scripture describing women's authority as what they derive from man, she praises the Pentecostal religion for believing in the full humanity of women (9).

While women both past and present have certainly depended upon scriptures and lifestyle choices to defend and preserve their place as preachers, many of the women writing to defend the right for a woman to preach also used testimonies, interviews, and quotations from the scholarly resources available to her in her time. It is a misconception to think that women have solely relied upon the Bible to construct their arguments. Frances Willard's 1888 "Woman in the Pulpit" devotes the later chapters to testimonies by men and women and reprints large quotations from her sources in order to support her view that the fluid methods of interpreting scriptures, employed to match the desired argument,

hinged on the convenient literal interpretation of a few key words and the flexible interpretation of a few key words in other instances. Grimke also employed sources to support her argument as well as Palmer and, to a much lesser degree, Fell. Contemporary women, however, have used sources to a much greater extent because many of the women, such as Cheryl Sanders, Sheri Benvenuti, Janet Everts Powers, Cheryl Bridges-Johns, Edith Blumhofer, and many others construct their arguments as scholars speaking to others within the academy. Yet, the Bible is still an important and central source for them. Rhetorically, however, it has moved to being a strong foundational source that occupies the background of an argument, not the central text that is explicated at length with other types of evidence serving as a background like one finds in the texts dating from the seventeenth to early 20th-centuries.

Theological and Historical Contexts of the IPHC

As Cheryl Sanders illustrates, histories are important resources for women who argue for the right to preach, as well as the Bible and other types of resources. Accounts of the history of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church's early years have been written by Joseph Campbell and Vinson Synan. Both authors intertwine doctrinal controversies, economic factors, social and political concerns, factual data concerning the structure of church government and those who served, numbers of memberships, colleges started, and major events in their histories. While Campbell only offered one history covering the church's history until 1948, Synan has continued to publish numerous accounts. Other

histories of the IPHC's early years include those of J. H. King and G. F. Taylor. Both men published their short histories in *The Advocate*, the major communicative device of the early days of the IPHC. As useful as such histories are for helping us to understand the many large and small contexts that surround the acceptance of women preachers in the IPHC, an exploration of "histories" written in the form of biographies, autobiographies, sermons, and theological texts provides readers with other opportunities to analyze the specific means of building a group ethos that may be left out of master narratives. These materials reveal the ways that individuals formed their religious identities. For example, they may form a sense of self through their association with the denomination's most charismatic figures, such as J. H. King and Dan Muse, through closely following issues in *The Advocate*, through personal spiritual experiences as well as corporate ones, or through a crisis situation.

The writings of men dominate the archives of texts defining the church in the early days. G. F. Taylor's *The Spirit and the Bride* was the very first book-length defense of Pentecostalism in the U. S. (Synan, *Old-Time Power* 117). Published in 1907 with an introduction written by J. H. King, the author sets the paradigm for subsequent theological texts in the IPHC. As editor of *The Advocate*, Taylor dominated the theological conversation for many of the church's early years. In 1918 Taylor published articles on the major doctrines of the IPHC called the "Basis of Union." Eventually, Taylor's doctrines come down to five key beliefs. In a pamphlet probably published sometime in the 1950s, these are the

doctrine of (1) regeneration or conversion, (2) sanctification or the belief that a Christian undergoes a second major cleansing experience, (3) the baptism of the Holy Spirit based upon the events at Pentecost in the book of Acts, (4) divine healing or a belief that God can and will heal believers, which was later modified to allow the sick to take medicine and visit doctors, and (5) the second coming of Christ or a belief that the world will get progressively more evil until he returns for his believers (Long 2). Taylor's account, published in the middle of the Azusa Street revivals, purposefully links the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues (40). He works to define the Holy Spirit and to describe the ways he functions, he confronts arguments against the baptism or speaking in tongues, and he interprets New Testament characters and events, particularly Pentecost, in terms of Old Testament characters and events. Even New Testament parables are revisited and reinterpreted. In chapter thirteen Taylor describes the parable of the ten virgins and equates the oil in their lamps with the Holy Spirit. The wise virgins have oil, or the Holy Spirit, and the foolish ones do not. Therefore, the ones without the Holy Spirit do not get to meet their bridegroom (115). Taylor extends his exegesis with an explanation of how the parable may also be interpreted in terms of the tribulation that will come in the future; however, it is the analogy of the Christian to the Bride that carries through to the end of his text before he gives instructions on "How to obtain and retain the baptism of the Holy Spirit" in an appendix (131). These steps include acceptance of key doctrines, conversion, and sanctification or the "death of the old man"

(131-34). He writes you must also “count the cost” or evaluate what you will lose or gain by seeking the baptism, seek the baptism by praying to Jesus, and then begin to praise God (134-35). Believers will receive the baptism while they are praising God (135).

Other texts of importance to my project are J. H. King’s autobiography *Yet Speaketh* and his book *From Passover to Pentecost*. I analyze King’s autobiography in chapter three of this dissertation, but *From Passover to Pentecost* is worthy of note because his theology, expressed through his pen or through his sermons, dominated publications such as *The Advocate*, church conferences, conventions or meetings for church leaders and delegates, and camp meetings for over thirty years. Early IPHC theologians found it vital to interpret Old Testament scripture in terms of its significance in the New Testament. Many of the characters and events in the Old Testament were supposed to foreshadow the significant characters and events in the New Testament. For example, King uses New Testament scripture from Hebrews to discuss how (Old Testament) Abel’s sacrifice was acceptable to God because of his faith (28). In the New Testament, the anonymous author of Hebrews argues that faith is the basis of Christianity. Christ is the “apostle and high priest of the faith we confess,” and the “tent of his priesthood is a greater and more perfect one, not made by human hands, that is, not belonging to this created world” (Hebrews 3: 1, 9:11). The author warns readers to maintain faith by drawing upon Old Testament examples of the consequences of losing faith, going through a long list of examples in

chapter eleven. Out of this list, King uses the King James' translation of chapter eleven, verse four: "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead yet speaketh." King describes him as the one who "stands out greater than all other in that age" because his faithful sacrifice was made as an "antediluvian," or one who speaking before the great flood, and he did not have many examples of great spiritual faith (28). A. E. Robinson would include the line "he, being dead, yet speaketh," in a poem read at King's funeral service, and his faithful wife would derive the title of King's autobiography from it, perhaps because she was fully aware of its significance to King (388).

The goal of King's book was to codify his exegesis and to establish his ethos as an educated theologian. To accomplish this, he would employ simple techniques, such as breaking down his exegesis into numbered elements. For example, in chapter three he numbers and then describes the "five constituents of the converted life" (13). While arrangement was one of his best rhetorical strategies, he would also provide historical and cultural backgrounds as they were relevant to his subject; offer definitions of key terms, for example, of sin in chapter four; translate key terms from the Greek; and make connections between key doctrines and Old Testament characters, such as how the three hundred chosen to fight with Gideon out of the ten thousand available were the "elect" which means a "separation from a separation," just as the sanctified are also the elect in Christianity (55). An example of how he argues by analogy is his

assessment of how the feasts of Passover, Unleavened Bread, and Pentecost are analogous to conversion, sanctification, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, respectively (126). These are three separate events with three separate types of focus, he writes (126). From there he goes through an extended discussion of how Pentecost is “illustrated in type and symbol,” to the narrative of Paul’s conversion, to the other “Pentecosts” celebrated by the Ephesians and the Gentiles, and finally to a discussion of tongues and prophecies (131-219). King’s book, “with its solid defense of the second blessing, became required reading for two generations of Pentecostal Holiness preachers,” Synan writes (*Old-Time Power* 139). Therefore, it will be considered as a significant context for the autobiographical texts I analyze in chapter three.

In the early years, the major doctrinal issues that inspired the Methodist preacher A. B. Crumpler to begin the IPHC denomination were Wesley’s idea of sanctification which was taken to the extreme where the believer thought that once he was sanctified he never sinned again, the concept of divine healing which regarded the use of medicines and doctors as a lack of faith, the ideas regarding “holiness” which amounted to strict dress codes in practice (no “neck-ties,” no jewelry, no fancy or short-sleeved clothing), and the desire to be “separate,” symbolized in his refusal to participate in “oyster suppers,” “secret societies,” including labor unions, and going to the theater (Synan *Old-Time Power*, 57, 60, 61, 70, 71, 190). Also prominent were the doctrines of the “premillennial second coming of Christ” which meant that believers felt the world would get worse until

the return of Christ, the belief that tobacco and alcohol were evils and church members could be excommunicated for any participation associated with these, and the acceptance of African-American believers which was a radical position for a church founded in the American South less than forty years after the end of the Civil War (73, 78,191).

Examples of how women preachers from other Pentecostal denominations believed in racial equality are scattered throughout histories. For example, Lena Shoffner preached to a congregation of people who separated the races by sitting on opposite sides of the congregation and using a rope to mark the divide down the center aisle. Her sermon was on racial equality, and in response to it the congregation tore the rope down (Scanzoni and Setta 225). Another woman preacher, Cheryl Sanders, writes that William Seymour felt that it wasn't the "tongue speaking but the dissolution of racial barriers that was the surest sign of the Spirit's Pentecostal presence" (5). However idealistic the majority of the members of the early IPHC were regarding racial equality, some members did retain prejudice. For example, G. B. Cashwell was primarily responsible for preaching the Pentecostal experience to early IPHC congregations, as well as to those of other faiths who attended his revivals (Synan, *Old-Time Power* 108-09). To obtain the experience for himself, he had to first overcome his prejudice at Azusa Street and allow African-Americans to pray for him (107-08). Only then did he receive his baptism in the Holy Spirit (108).

While Crumpler's extreme position on sanctification would be modified in future years as well as the IPHC's extreme position on divine healing, holiness dress codes persisted much longer. As we spent one afternoon talking a couple of years ago, my grandmother, an IPHC preacher's wife, remembered making a dress with short sleeves out of a beautiful rayon material before going to a tent meeting. When she approached the edge of the tent, she said that she was surrounded by women who all but cursed her for wearing such a dress. This event occurred probably sometime in the 1940s or 50s. Failure to follow a church's dress codes or belief system sometimes meant excommunication, although grandma was not excommunicated and was eventually allowed to enter the tent that day. In 1957 the Superintendent of the North Carolina conference lamented: "We excommunicate two out of every three members we receive" (Synan, *Old-Time Power* 241).

Confronting religious prejudice is dealt with through humor in later stories. For example, Margaret Muse Oden describes how her mother, a preacher's wife, almost got "caught" doing work in her home without wearing any hose but managed to slip some on during prayer while her unexpected guest's eyes were closed (69). Another story told in *Profiles of Faith*, a collection of biographies of the most influential members of the IPHC, is when Lila Berry, a woman who served as the Woman's Auxiliary President for several years, accidentally picked up the wrong skirt from the dry cleaners (Bradshaw 32). Having nothing else to wear, she had to wrap the large skirt around her the best

she could and wear it to the convention (32). As she walked down the aisle at the convention, she heard some women say, “Bless Mrs. Berry’s heart; she certainly sticks to the standards of holiness in her dressing” (32).

Though the IPHC began in North Carolina and spread, my focus is on the development of the Pentecostal Holiness and the Fire-Baptized denominations in Oklahoma for several reasons. Besides the fact that I am a native Oklahoman and hold deep ties to the state, it is the current location of the IPHC headquarters or Resource Development Center, the Southwestern College of Christian Ministries, and the place where other colleges, such as King’s College, tried and failed (Synan *Old-Time Power* 183). Also, Joseph Campbell wrote that the Oklahoma Conference was “indirectly responsible for about all of the work in the West,” an opinion that Synan echoes in his later history (Campbell 215; Synan *Old-Time Power* 178). Synan puts Campbell’s claim into historical context when he describes the exit of “Okies” during the depression and “Dust Bowl” years (196-97). Some of these Pentecostals left and took their doctrine with them (197). Oklahoma is also notable historically for several other reasons. In Harold Paul’s biography of Dan Muse we learn that the first Sunday School Convention in the IPHC was held in April of 1920 in Oklahoma City (43). The year before, Mrs. Muse had served on a Sunday School Committee that recommended the organization of a conference wide Sunday School association (37). Synan tells us that Agnes Ozman LaBerge joined the Oklahoma Convention as a minister in 1909. She was noted for being the first to provide evidence of Charles Parham’s

doctrine that the baptism of the Holy Spirit was evident when a person spoke in tongues. Also notable about Oklahoma is that in 1972 the first African-American congregation to be an official part of the church since 1913 was a local church in Altus, Oklahoma. In addition, the most famous preacher to ever come out of the IPHC was Oral Roberts, a “young evangelist in the East Oklahoma Conference.” He rose to fame during the 1950s and was attracting over 10,000 people at a time to his healing crusades. By 1965 Roberts was known around the world and was set to open Oral Roberts University in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Native Oklahoman and General Secretary for the IPHC R. O. Corvin was selected to be the head of ORU’s Theology Department. Vinson Synan’s father participated in the dedication ceremonies for ORU alongside the famous Billy Graham. Unfortunately, Roberts left the IPHC denomination in 1968 to return to the Methodist Church (Synan, *Old-Time Power* 133-267).

The subjects I chose for analysis are significant in varying ways. The stereotypical Pentecostal preacher is defined as uneducated, fundamentalist who ignores “higher criticism” and the wealth of scholarship on the historical and cultural contexts that might affect one’s hermeneutics. However, J. H. King is an example of the importance of looking at specific stories within the broad category of “Pentecostalism” in order to see how a particular denomination has developed because his education and major theological works defy the stereotype. He was a highly influential leader of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church and then of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church after the two merged in 1911. His work

is worthy of analysis for this dissertation because of his profound influence, his work in Oklahoma, and the fact his wife wrote the final chapters to his autobiography. Mrs. Blanche Leon King became his wife in 1920 while she was working as a teacher at the Franklin Springs Institute (Bradshaw 119). After her husband's death in 1946, she worked as Assistant Editor of *The Advocate* before taking a position as the General President of the Woman's Auxiliary in 1953, just a few years after the program was started. In this position, she became a public speaker and was quite successful at it (122). Though Mrs. King was not a preacher, she was a significant and highly influential religious leader for the women of the IPHC. By analyzing Mr. and Mrs. King's description of Mr. King's life, we can draw some dichotomies between male and female writers for that time.

The brief autobiographical account written by Dan York and the few letters sent into *The Advocate* by his wife Dollie comprise another set of written materials I wish to analyze. Both Dan and Dollie were Pentecostal Holiness preachers who were influenced by J. H. King. Their materials provide us with an idea of what Oklahoma was like when it was still Indian Territory as well as the nature of Pentecostal preaching and ideology. Dollie will serve as an example of what was prized in early IPHC women preachers. A similar brief autobiographical account that I will use is a letter placed on file at the IPHC archives. It was written by Lucy Hargis, who was also an IPHC preacher's wife. Like Dollie, her and her husband's careers were carried out in Oklahoma, and her letter has rich

descriptions of what early preaching and travel was like. Though I do not have any written material by Lee Hargis, we will come to know him through Lucy's account. The writing of Lucy and Dollie will be contrasted to see how each builds ethos, though Dollie was a preacher about twenty years before Lucy was.

Both Dan Muse and his wife were also preachers, but Mrs. Muses' work is minimized greatly. Using Margaret Muse Oden's biography and one by Harold Paul, an historian who wrote about Dan Muse for his dissertation, I will analyze the lives of these two preachers, that is Mr. and Mrs. Muse. His daughter Margaret will also be analyzed for the different ways that she and Dr. Paul communicate the story of the same person. Dan Muse is significant for his time spent as Bishop, the highest office of the church. Wanda Baker's biography of her mother Ruth Moore will be compared to Oden's biography. I interviewed Mrs. Baker in 2004 at her home in Oklahoma City.

I also have my grandfather's autobiography and letters from my grandmother explaining many of the same experiences he shares. R. L. Rex was an IPHC evangelist who served as the General Director of Evangelism, as the Assistant General Superintendent, and as Director of World Missions over twenty-four years (Bradshaw 168). My mother has also provided me with a biographical account of her parents, much like Margaret Muse Oden did for hers. The similarities between the two daughter's descriptions as well as the differences will be compared although Oden published her account in 1955 and LaDonna Rex Scott's unpublished account was written in January of 2006.

Several women preachers for the IPHC in Oklahoma have offered autobiographical accounts of their lives and work as preachers. Agnes Ozman LaBerge, noted for being the first to speak in tongues as evidence of baptism by the Holy Spirit, published her life's story sometime in the early 20th-century. Joseph Campbell notes that she served as a member of the Oklahoma Conference in our denomination as a pastor and evangelist for several years (208). Grace Hope Curtis published her autobiographical account in 1978. Twenty-five years apart in age, LaBerge was born in 1870 and Curtis in 1895. However, their accounts overlap and provide some interesting places for comparison. In addition, I interviewed Debbie Whipple, Charlene West, and Peggy Eby in 2004. These women are or were preachers. I asked each about her life history, her calling, and her thoughts on the church's attitude toward women. Each of these highly influential women has made an impact that extends far beyond the state's borders. They will provide us with a 21st-century view of IPHC women preachers that will defy outdated stereotypes.

A chronological grouping of these materials would place Dan Muse, J. H. King, Dan and Dollie York, and Agnes Ozman in the early years of the church. They were influential from the late 19th-century to the 1950s. Lucy and Lee Hargis, Robert and Lennie Rex, Margaret Muse Oden, Grace Hope Curtis, Ruth Moore, and Harold Paul would occupy a space in the middle years of the church ranging from the beginning years of their careers between 1920 and 1930 to the ends of their careers in the 60s or 70s. The final group of materials, my interviews

of three women preachers, would cover a chronological area beginning in the late 50s or early 60s for Charlene West and the 60s or 70s for Whipple and Eby, up to the present day. All of the subjects for my dissertation are deceased with the exceptions of LaDonna Scott, Charlene West, and Peggy Eby. It is my hope that my dissertation will add to the wealth of materials memorializing the life and work of the recently deceased Debbie Whipple, a long-time friend of the family.

CHAPTER III:
PIONEER PENTECOSTAL PREACHERS IN OKLAHOMA IN THE IPHC'S
EARLY-TO-MIDDLE YEARS

First and Second Generation Women Preachers in Oklahoma's IPHC

In this chapter I argue that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is not only the primary means of spiritual identification for the Pentecostal, but it is the primary source of power in both spiritual and social realms. Ethos is firmly grounded in the telling of the experience, and authority based on credibility within the group is then firmly grounded in the claim to it. Because the baptism in the Holy Spirit is a point of contention with other Christians, it is the center of many early arguments in the IPHC, whereas other claims, such as that God exists for examples, are in the realm of “doxa” as Bourdieu defines it. It is also notable that, for the Pentecostal, transformation does not just involve a conversion story, but also a “call” story to preach (for some), and a baptism story. To be clear, the baptism in the Holy Spirit is not a generic experience, but a highly individualized, charismatic experience whereby one feels that she has been physically inhabited by the Holy Spirit. In the course of this chapter, the varying testimonies will reveal the dynamic nature of the experience. Sanctification is another moment of conversion for early Pentecostal believers, but is not explicitly argued for today in many cases. It is defined within this chapter.

Most significantly, perhaps, is the argument in this chapter that conversion is an epistemological transformation. This definition of conversion comes to me

from John Wesley, founder of the Methodist Church (Knight 46-52). Generative ethos is part of epistemic rhetoric; conversion is a generation of ethos that transforms the way knowledge is created in the mind of the new believer. Generative ethos and conversion are intimately tied to each other and result in expanded or altered worldviews. Credibility as a preacher is established in different ways for the men and women I analyze in this chapter. Men tally numbers of converts, but women talk about the changes they see in individual lives. The worldviews, therefore, are not homogenized within a group but changed in significant ways that are valued.

Another significant argument made in this chapter is that Corderian generative ethos is a result of dialogues: one is the writer with herself and the emergence of her opinion, argument, or beliefs within social, cultural, ideological, and intellectual/academic contexts in relationship to her imagined audience who is contextualized in those same concerns; the other occurs on the other side of the equation whereby the reader converses with herself and the writer, negotiating a role within the aspects of identification that allow for Burkean “consubstantion” as Enos describes. IPHC women preachers conflate their sense of ethos with their Native American bloodlines and the Oklahoma landscape. I compare the ways Grace Hope Curtis and Robert Rex describe themselves and historically contextualize their lives within American ideological perspectives. I also describe the ways hostile audiences affected the ethos of early IPHC preachers, and how

the difficult landscape and weather in Oklahoma played a role in the lives of these preachers characterizing them as determined and full of faith.

I argue that an author's stated motives and purposes operate as an argument for spiritually pure motives for composing autobiographical texts. These motives vary. For some, it is acceptable to write in order to help defend the new faith. For others, it is acceptable to write because they were compelled to do so by family or friends. For others, it is acceptable to write in order to attempt to record important church history and emerging challenges they faced. Finally, I provide a discussion of how authority and wisdom are created and articulated in early IPHC autobiographies in order to illustrate how ethos works on this level.

All of the people whose work I am analyzing in this chapter knew each other and make good examples for how ethos works generatively in discourse communities. My grandparents, Robert and Lennie Rex, were from the second generation of Pentecostal preachers in the IPHC, although they knew and served under one of the earliest and most influential leaders, Joseph King (Scott 5). My grandfather, a Pentecostal preacher, left behind an autobiography and my grandmother left me a letter telling me about her baptism in the Holy Spirit. Both documents are used as context and contrast in this chapter. King's wife, Blanche, finished his autobiography after his death. Her contribution to *Yet Speaketh* is analyzed as an important text for understanding the differences between the ways men and women wrote spiritual autobiographies.

First generation women preachers include Pentecostal preacher Agnes Ozman LaBerge, noted for being the first to speak in tongues in 1901. She later joined the Oklahoma Conference of the IPHC. She left behind an autobiography, *What God Hath Wrought*. Dollie York preached for the church in the early 1900s and her husband's short autobiography details some of her work and the challenges they faced settling "I.T." or Indian Territory, later known as Oklahoma.

Wanda Baker was interviewed in order to learn more about the life of her mother, Pentecostal preacher Ruth Moore. Ruth Moore was one of the first to join the Oklahoma Conference, sometime in 1928 or 1929, and should be described as a "second generation" leader like my grandparents (1). Preacher Grace Hope Curtis left us an autobiography, *Pioneer Woman*, and preacher Lucy Hargis left an unpublished letter describing her life in the archives. Margaret Muse Oden left a biography of her father which really functions as an autobiography/biography of her family called *Steps to the Sun*. Both her father and her mother preached. Her father was a second generation leader and Margaret is part of the third generation like my mother, LaDonna Scott, who I interviewed for this dissertation. My mother has worked at the IPHC headquarters, currently known as RDC or the Resource Development Center, for the past twenty-seven years and is a good source of information on the current state of women in leadership (1).

The autobiographical text can be a tool of conversion as evidence of one's transformation and all of the positive benefits derived thereafter may be offered

authoritatively, rooted firmly in the experiential evidence. Couched in the details of a life, claims are accepted through identification with experiences shared by author and reader. Preachers' autobiographies could be considered extended testimonies that also provide evidence of the continual renewal Paul describes and the process of transformation that generative ethos defines. Ethos is a type of invention that emerges between writer and two general types of readers, a reader imagined by the writer and the actual reader who engages with the text.

Autobiographies are powerful forms of evidence. Taken together, one may view the collection of autobiographies I am analyzing as "concurrent" testimonies, as the 19th-century rhetorical theorist and Christian apologist Richard Whately defines it, and together they gain greater weight (844). Through repetition of key doctrines and experiences, though they are couched in different temporal contexts, readers may be persuaded that what is repeated is "true" or has been verified. Another way these testimonies gain credibility is, as Whately explains, the less probable something is (and I am specifically referring to the baptism of the Holy Spirit here), the more it appears to be true (845). Against a backdrop of resistance to the key doctrine of linking the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the experience of speaking in tongues and others, these early writers create an ethos by claiming the veracity of a doctrine and an experience some of them were not eager to embrace. Others use the resistance of others to create a position of authority for themselves in the minds of other Pentecostal readers by positioning themselves as a group who knows the truth. After all, how can

outsiders know the “truth” if they can’t grasp this central experience? Once a reader has a corresponding experience to draw from, the authority of non-Pentecostals can never be fully rebuilt.

The IPHC autobiographies are arguments for an ideology that function on many levels. Central to the element of ethos, as defined in terms of transformation or establishment of character, is the autobiographer’s power to create “truth-fictions” as Steiner defines them or even to take it to the level of “doxa” as Pierre Bourdieu defines it. Bourdieu, a French Sociologist, defines “doxa” as the “quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization” that make the correspondence of elements of the “natural” world to elements of the “social” world appear as “self-evident” in order to normalize the “schemes of thought and perception” that manufacture objectivity. People who hold “heterodox” beliefs are aware of the “possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs,” but those who hold unquestioned beliefs are not aware of alternative possibilities or antagonistic beliefs (164). In the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, participants are all too aware of antagonistic beliefs and must confront their own doubts before experiencing the baptism themselves. Because those who subsequently believe and then espouse the doctrine after experiencing it are so keenly aware of the alternative or antagonistic belief systems that would keep others from enjoying the same, they argue intensely within the context of defending the belief. They do not argue an unquestioned

belief, such as the belief that God exists, except on rare occasions. Such beliefs are normalized enough that they do not warrant argument within the group.

Autobiographies play a key role in the establishment of group identity. In her analysis of autobiographical manifestoes, Sidonie Smith writes that “the individual story becomes the occasion for what Hartsock call ‘standpoint epistemologies,’ analyses of specific confluences of social, psychological, economic, and political forces of oppression” (436). “Group identification, rather than radical individuality, is the rhetorical ground of appeal” wherein the author establishes herself as a member of that group and grounds her autobiographical “I” in the group’s autobiographical “I” (437).

Leaders such as G. F. Taylor and J. H. King sought to spread the core Pentecostal doctrines as they defined them in by creating a theological or doctrinal “language” as Bahktin describes in “Discourse in the Novel;” by arguing that such beliefs are “self-evident” truths as Bourdieu describes, and by providing evidence of personal experiences or testimonies from others for the purposes as explained by Whately. The establishment of a denomination is an act of cultural power. A battle is waged whereby the new group seeks to fortify its ranks with new believers and to establish its ideological front through publications, establishing rules for licensing that allow them to determine a large part of the minister’s education, and through speaking roles.

The construction of a “language,” as Bahktin describes the term to mean the terms and manner in which a group speaks about the subject(s) that tie them

together, to inspire transformation may also be used to create hegemony (263). In order “to maintain a position of dominance, a hegemonic ideology must be constructed, renewed, reinforced, and defended continually through the use of rhetorical strategies and practices” (Foss 295). Although they felt that the establishment of the IPHC was for innocent purposes, leaders such as G. F. Taylor and J. H. King sought to create this “language” of belief. The IPHC writers, then, had to write within the linguistic world constructed by the voices desiring a lead in the denomination’s “conversation.”

Transformations

For Pentecostals transformation does not just occur at the time a decision is made to follow Christ, and, for preachers, transformation does not just occur during the call to preach. For many Pentecostal believers in the early-to-middle years of the church, a second transformation occurs when a believer is “sanctified” and a third when he is “baptized in the Holy Spirit.” The call to preach was experienced only by preachers. Agnes Ozman LaBerge, who was ordained by the IPHC’s Oklahoma Conference, provided the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues by becoming the first to experience it.

The doctrine of sanctification becomes codified in the IPHC through linking Paul to the major doctrines and through subsequent linking to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In 1917 *The Advocate* printed a sermon by S. E. Stark, the Superintendent of the Oklahoma Conference, called “Paul’s Doctrine.” In it he

explicitly links ideas about “holiness” with the doctrine of sanctification. Using 1st Corinthians 1: 1-2 as evidence, Stark describes holiness as a second experience where “Man in his wicked, sinful state can be redeemed from a life of sin, and made holy, and be kept by the power of God” (2). He uses Acts 19:6 to recount the time Paul prayed for others to be baptized in the Holy Spirit and they were (3). LaDonna Scott explains:

Sanctification... is a complete dedication to God, including a full and unreserved ‘setting apart’ or ‘consecration’ of the life to God. It is initiated in regeneration and consummated in glorification; we believe it includes a definite, instantaneous work of grace achieved by faith subsequent to regeneration (Acts 26:18; I John 1:9). Sanctification delivers from the power and dominion of sin. It is followed by lifelong growth in grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. (2 Corinthians 4:16; 2 Peter 3:18). (22)

Sanctification and the baptism of the Holy Spirit are explained in G. F. Taylor’s widely read 1907 work, *The Spirit and the Bride*, wherein he describes the nature of the Holy Spirit, confronts all known arguments against a belief in the Holy Spirit, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the gift of tongues. He establishes his position largely through scriptures drawn from the Pauline epistles, particularly in chapter six on the gifts of the Spirit. In chapter eight, he writes that “Sanctification is the eradication of the carnal mind; while the Baptism of the Holy Ghost is a filling: the one takes place at Calvary; while the other occurs at

Pentecost” (75). By conflating sanctification with conversion or salvation, Taylor echoes the testimonies of many believers who describe them together, as well as set sanctification up as a step that must be experienced prior to the baptism of the Holy Spirit, the church’s central doctrine. In order to defend the scriptural basis of the baptism, Taylor begins with accounts of how Christ promises to send his Comforter and then moves on to Luke’s account of Pentecost which is related in the book of Acts. The biblical account of Pentecost is described as the “early rain;” the 20th-century experience is described as the “latter rain” (91-92).

King’s work, *From Passover to Pentecost*, also widely read, maps the Old Testament in terms of the characters and theologies of the New Testament with the purpose of defending and describing the “second blessing” or sanctification before moving on to the typical focus on Paul, Pentecost, and how Paul speaks of Pentecost, the baptism, and tongues in his epistles. Later, Muse will imitate King and Taylor’s attempts to read Old Testament scriptures by interpreting them in terms of New Testament theology in his popular 1947 *Song of Songs*.

Conversion provides the first level of access to power in the IPHC. While the idea of conversion has been limited to the salvation decision in most religions, as John Tyson writes, conversion in the Wesleyan tradition may be understood as multiple, diverse experiences (41). Conversions lead to transcendence over the previous level of faith (41). This definition of conversion is reminiscent of St. Augustine’s seven levels that ascend toward intimacy with God. Richard Peace describes the different ways conversion is understood and practiced by

Evangelicals, Pentecostals, Mainline Protestants, Roman Catholics and Orthodox Roman Catholics in “Conflicting Understandings of Christian Conversion: A Missiological Challenge.” Briefly, Evangelicals believe that conversion is an instantaneous decision that is often abandoned by new believers because little time is spent socializing new Christians as the Mainline Protestants do and because the decision is not based in the same premillennialist urgency espoused by Pentecostals (8-9). The difference among Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and Mainline Protestants on the one side and Orthodox Roman Catholics on the other, writes Peace, is that the Orthodox do not seek to convert anyone. Their religion is part of their ethnic background, and expansion of a church’s membership is biological, not a matter of inviting in new converts. People who wish to join an Orthodox church go through a long process culminating in “chrismation, a sacrament similar to confirmation.” Roman Catholics similarly avoid the topic of conversion as an instantaneous decision, but Peace says that the “Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults” is a new movement designed to promote the “process of conversion” in Roman Catholic churches (10).

In light of this brief outline of views on conversion, Peace concludes that “no single view captures fully the nature of conversion” (12). Conversion is a fluid term, and for the IPHC is strongly based in Wesleyan, Evangelical, and Pentecostal belief systems. For example, Henry Knight points out that Wesley, founder of Methodism, sometimes equates conversion with repentance and at other times with sanctification (44). Instead of being identified with the decision

to follow Christ, Wesley's understanding of conversion was a type of transformation that God performs for believers after they have faithfully followed him for a period of time (45). In Wesley's view, Knight tells us, conversion is an "epistemological transformation" that occurs gradually and miraculously, saving us from a completely corrupted "self" (46-52).

The Wesleyan concept of "self" corresponds, in some ways, to the idea of "self" in generative ethos. Ethos as "character" may not be construed as the Aristotelian or Ciceronian sense of character as a stable "true self" within theories of generative ethos. As Theresa Enos explains, "the text has a presence: The writer has projected a self that invites the reader in, and, if readers identify with this self, they, in effect, become part of that 'self,' become the audience, in the process of reading" (102). Indeed, ethos retains the connotations of "character" but directs us toward recognizing the social process of epistemic rhetoric and away from the idea that a "self" is solely created by either the author or the reader.

Participation and subsequent testimony to the key transformative experiences build credibility for an IPHC preacher, even if his or her experience does not exactly match LaBerge's paradigmatic experiences or those of others that, through similarity, have created a paradigm to either concur with or to recognize in relationship to one's personal experiences. By analyzing the IPHC autobiographies, we can see how these broad, contextual descriptions of transformation work to generate a sense of ethos grounded in the writer's social,

spiritual, and doctrinal discourse communities. Ethos is a means of creating an identity; it is also a means of creating power.

The call to preach is another site of transformation with great dramatic potential in Pentecostal narratives. However, for early twentieth century Pentecostal preacher Agnes Ozman LaBerge, preaching may have been a “call” extended to every Christian willing to answer it. By the time LaBerge tells us of her time at Bethel College, we know some of her childhood history and we learn of the death of her mother, but not of her call to preach. She says she was told to study the Bible all the time because “the days would come when we would be called out to preach and give out the word and have no time to look up a subject” (23). For Pentecostal preachers, however, the “call” has been constructed much differently. The “call” is an experience where one is singled out by God to preach and is not something everybody has to do or even can do.

Grace Hope Curtis’ call story fits the paradigm established by many American women preachers with whom she may or may not have been familiar. First, I would like to share how it is very much like the crisis accounts told by other women preachers who also experienced transformation of their identities through acceptance of the call. The women interviewed by David Roebuck and analyzed by Mary McClintock Fulkerson almost unanimously professed to a “struggle to accept God’s call” (261-62). Harvey Cox labels this as the “call-refusal motif” that characterizes many early call stories (130-32). One of the women interviewed by Roebuck and analyzed by Fulkerson claims that God

spoke to her every night until she accepted the call to preach, and another constructs her call paradoxically by outlining how she overcame her own prejudices against women preachers by experiencing the call herself (263, 65). The folklorist Elaine Lawless asserts that all of the women preachers she interviewed “resisted the call” with one even claiming she felt that a fall on the ice, which resulted in her hand being permanently crippled, was God’s way of making her “pay attention” to her call to preach (43). In Scanzoni and Setta’s collection of testimonies of women preachers in Evangelical, Holiness, and Pentecostal traditions, the Nazarene Mary Cagle claims she felt called but tried to avoid it (237-38). When her husband became ill and his life hung in the balance, she tried to bargain with God: she would preach if He would allow her husband to live. She says that God replied, “Will you do what I want you to do whether I heal your husband or not?” She said she would, so after her husband’s death two months later, she began to preach (238).

The famous Pentecostal preacher Aimee Semple McPherson’s call story tells how she strongly resisted the call to preach until she almost died and felt she had to accept (Scanzoni and Setta 244-45). “Oh, don’t you ever tell me that a woman cannot be called to preach!” she writes (245). Likewise, IPHC preacher Grace Hope Curtis strongly resisted the call to preach but ended with a passionate embrace of it after her trial. She tells of praying for her daughter, only a year old, who was very ill (16). She says she prayed for days and days but finally could do no more than watch her life ebb away (16). “We trusted God fully in those days,”

she writes, “and we prayed and prayed for her healing, but she continued to lay lifeless for days” (16). She says at that point God reminded her of her call to preach and she tearfully accepted it (16). She writes, “As I surrendered I looked down at the baby. She had ceased her death rattle breathing and had fallen into a deep natural sleep” (17). Later she writes, “I thank God for the ministry He gave me although some fifty years ago; it was not as easy as it is today” (18).

In an interesting parallel to Grace Hope Curtis’ dramatic call story, Robert Rex, an IPHC evangelist who served spent most of his career as the Director of Evangelism, describes his calling in his autobiography *Mr. Evangelism* published in 1982. Rex’s call story is an example of how it would be a mistake to assume that male versions of “the call” have little or no sense of resistance for social reasons. In Rex’s story is a description of a vision he experienced. He describes walking along a “narrow wall” in the “pitch dark.” “Some kind of power would take hold of me and try to pull me off this wall,” he writes, “Then this hand would take hold and pull me back on the wall and guide me for a few more steps.” Finally, upon reaching the other side, he finds Jesus sitting on the throne and, though he can’t see Him clearly, he falls down to worship. That’s when Jesus asks him to preach (29-30). Yet despite this dramatic calling, Rex gave up his Christianity for several years, only to return in a story my grandmother would tell. We referred to it as the “two big fish” story because she would tell us of how the preacher that night began by saying he was going to catch two big fish. Grandpa,

Robert Rex, was one of them who returned to the Lord and began to live as a preacher.

Other descriptions of the IPHC preacher's "call story" were not as dramatic. General Superintendent of the IPHC, Joseph King, described how he was called to preach in 1885 when he was sixteen in his autobiography *Yet Speaketh*. He states that he never felt he needed to oppose his calling (29-30). He writes:

A voice may have spoken within me, or a movement upon my soul awakened in my consciousness the fact that I was called to preach the gospel. I had not felt any move upon my inner being indicating that such was to be my life's work. The thought may have come to my mind that I should preach the gospel, but if so, it was not attended with any conviction that I was called thereto. But now the strange sensation produced in my consciousness by the revelation of a fact was accompanied by a conviction that it was my duty to enter the ministry, and devote my life to the service of the gospel. (29-30)

Interestingly, Harold Paul does not recount Dan Muses' "call story" in his biography, but does write that both he and Mrs. Muse were licensed to preach by the IPHC in Oklahoma in 1913. By 1918 Dan Muse was ordained (27). Harold Paul simply quotes from the "Muse papers" he collected to describe how Muse felt he had been called since he was a child (10). On the other hand, when Muses'

daughter, Margaret Muse Oden broaches the subject in her biography/autobiography, she writes,

“I think he [Dan Muse] knew he would preach from the time down in Texas when he was three years of age and his Grandfather Parker laid his hand on his grandson’s head and asked God to let ‘Dan’ carry the great gospel that he had preached for many years. So, now that salvation had reached ‘Dan,’ there was a tremendous urge to tell others. He didn’t think it necessary to wait until he was assigned a church in which to minister, but went searching into the neglected places where others had passed by—communities that had heard very little of the glad message. Thus his ministry of sermons began in country preaching” (19).

In contrast, Mrs. Muse never claimed a “call” to preach, although she did. Oden quotes her as saying, “God didn’t really call me to preach—it was my husband” (44).

Though the experience put their lives on an entirely new path, other IPHC preachers don’t give many details of their “call.” Perhaps the importance and subsequent transformation of the call seem to be self evident truths to these writers. Dan York, an early IPHC preacher, describes how he was called to preach along with seventeen other people at a camp meeting in Texas (3). He never describes Dollie York’s call, just her successes as a preacher. Lucy Hargis describes her husband’s conversion while he was in jail at a time before they were married in 1920, and simply states that he was soon after called to preach (4-5).

She mentions her own call to preach in her story of how she won her husband's heart, and after their marriage she says, "We really began our ministry for the call was weighing us down" after they were both baptized in the Holy Spirit (8-9).

The experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the subsequent evidence of speaking in tongues lent the most credibility to a Pentecostal preacher. Learning from each other's stories, not only about the baptism but how to recognize and why one would want it, first and second generation Pentecostal preachers knew that to continue preaching for the IPHC meant that they must seek the baptism. While conversion is a change in power from one's self to God, baptism in the Holy Spirit is often spoken of as becoming empowered. If we take Paul as an example, it is a change from either one power (Paul's idea of God as a devout Jew) to a new power (Paul's idea of God as a Jewish-Christian). Or it can be a change from "self" to God, as Paul imagines it for many Gentiles who convert. Baptism in water is the physical proclamation of conversion for most Christians. However, baptism in the Holy Spirit is a matter of transcending a normal experience of Christianity into an empowered one. The baptism in the Holy Spirit is physical proof of God's approval of the believer. Cheryl Bridges Johns, a Pentecostal scholar, writes that

With the inception of modern day Pentecostalism, women, as recipients of the gift of the Holy Spirit, found themselves experiencing a new dimension of freedom. They found themselves preaching, speaking in tongues and giving interpretations, laying hands on the sick for healing.

Women became writers, defending their new found liberty. Many left for the mission field, in spite of the fact that there was little institutional support for their ventures. (162)

The baptism in the Holy Spirit made church ordination irrelevant, Johns argues, although many of the early IPHC women preachers were licensed and/or ordained (162). For most Pentecostals the “call” superseded institutional requirements for the right to preach in the early 20th-century, and efforts to put educational requirements on IPHC preachers were not written about until the October 25, 1917 *Advocate*, almost twenty years after the denomination’s inception (Johns 162). In summary, the baptism in the Holy Spirit granted women the authority to preach before the emerging Pentecostal denominations became institutionalized.

The most significant person to receive the baptism was LaBerge. IPHC Historian Vinson Synan regularly begins his history of Pentecostalism with LaBerge’s experience. It would be several more years before the doctrine permeated the IPHC denomination through Cashwell. While at Bethel Bible College, LaBerge says she “became hungry for the baptism of the Holy Ghost” for “about three weeks” (28-29). “I wanted the promise of the Father more than even I did food or to sleep,” she writes and on New Year’s Eve she asks that “hands be laid on me” and prayers for her baptism offered. As a result she “began to talk in tongues and had great joy and was filled with glory.” Her experience drew the attention of local reporters and some of her fellow students experienced the same thing (29-30). She backs up her experience with numerous scriptures

and says that the school made it the focus of their study (30). The next night she speaks in tongues again and has a “Bohemian” man, a term probably used to mean that he was from Bohemia in the Czech republic, claim she was speaking his language (32).

Dan York describes how he and his wife Dolly “got their Pentecost” in 1908 after two members of their “band” or group went to hear Joseph King preach in Lamont, Oklahoma, the year before (8). One night Dan York got his baptism while playing the organ and “a few minutes later,” he writes, his wife got hers (8). Already preaching and traveling, the Yorks now wanted to preach about the baptism of the Holy Spirit. So the next thing they did was to set up a camp meeting by clearing briars and underbrush, digging a well, and putting up “cooking tables” and chairs. But they didn’t prepare well enough for the 1,500 to 2,000 people who came, Dan writes. Dan recounts one of Dollie’s successes at this camp meeting, when “65 fell at the altar, screaming and crying for God to have mercy on them,” after she preached to them (10).

Historian Harold Paul describes Dan Muses’ experience in similar terms. Muse waited two days before receiving the baptism and then spoke in tongues for three and a half hours (23). Drawing from a family letter Muse wrote describing his experience, we learn that he “could speak English” on Wednesday but lost the ability to speak English all day on Thursday (23). He says he could hear and understand and write in English, just not speak it (23). Robert Rex spoke in tongues after the vision he had of walking on a narrow wall (30). Grace Hope

Curtis never describes speaking in tongues but says she “shouted all over the church” at one point and then later describes how her second husband “became Pentecostal” (15, 32). In 1907 J. H. King decided he would fast until he got the baptism and went to the altar to receive it, even though he had publicly opposed it before. He says that some people told him he might die before he received it, but he decided that he would die from fasting if it was the Lord’s will (120). Then he writes that at the altar, “There came into my heart something new, although the manifestation was not great. There was a moving of my tongue, though I cannot say that I was speaking a definite language” (120).

Lucy Hargis describes her experience as such: “I received the Holy Spirit baptism July 16, 1922, about midnight and when I came up speaking in tongues, the girls and manager where I worked were all there and they knew then I was one them that we all had talked about”(8). “The religion was so new until the people climbed the seats to see the demonstration of the Holy Spirit and people speaking in tongues” (8). She says that her husband received his “Pentecost” later that same year (9). Lennie Rex, my grandmother, wrote that it took her two years of praying before she was sanctified (2). Not long after that she was baptized in the Holy Spirit at a revival. “No one had to teach me how to let the Holy Spirit speak in tongues,” she wrote (4). Her mother later told her that “hundreds gathered [for] they had never saw any one receive the Holy Spirit” (4). She spoke in tongues for three days until “just as suddenly as the Lord sent His great power and slayed me under, soaked me through and through with His power, wonderful power, and the

Lord spoke to me ‘Now you can speak’” (5). Finally, Wanda Baker says that two women converted under her mother Ruth Moore’s ministry stayed up with her mother all night praying. At the beginning of a sunrise camp meeting service, her mother was “filled with the Holy Spirit” (3).

For a Pentecostal preacher to build credibility, he or she must not only claim the experience but lead others in the experience. Men and women build their ethos in different ways; men use numbers to show success, and women tell stories of individuals whose lives were changed. For example, Muse regularly tallied converts, and in the tally for a 1921 camp meeting led by Muse, he recalls that 124 received the baptism (47). In contrast, Grace Hope Curtis valued every single experience—conversion, baptism, or sanctification. Of her first preaching experience she writes, “I went into the pulpit with fear and trembling, but the anointing of the Lord came upon me and I preached with the power of the Holy Ghost, losing sight of people or preachers. The Lord gave me three precious souls that night—so that was the beginning of my ministry” (17). Similarly, another means of building credibility is to have people called to preach under one’s ministry. For Grace Hope Curtis, the fact that both of her sons are preachers means the most to her. Margaret Muse Oden is the one who points out that her brother was called to preach, largely because of her father’s example (47, 76).

Dynamic Processes and Effects of Identification in Generative Ethos: IPHC Indians and Pioneers

Generative ethos is a result of dialogues: one is the writer with herself and the emergence of her opinion, argument, or beliefs within social, cultural, ideological, and intellectual/academic contexts in relationship to her imagined audience who is contextualized in those same concerns; the other occurs on the other side of the equation whereby the reader converses with herself and the writer, negotiating a role within the aspects of identification that allow for Burkean “consubstantion” as Enos describes. In the IPHC materials, a dialogue emerges that reveals the writer’s effort to contextualize herself in the Oklahoma landscape and people. Oklahoma was known as Indian Territory prior to achieving statehood in 1907. Its history, its people, its ever-changing, often windy weather, made the Oklahoma landscape itself into a formidable character—sometimes friend and sometimes foe—in the IPHC autobiographies and biographies.

The “pioneer” ethos communicated the right mix of Americanism and determination needed to appeal to the potential converts. Ethos is collective because we are influenced by those around us, even if our inner selves are not completely determined by them. We move by choice, by relationship, by perception, by identification, and by self-construction. We invent and re-invent, drawing closer to the “truths” we so desperately seek, even if we never achieve closure. IPHC writers who claimed to have Native American blood were

essentially claiming the land in Oklahoma, a state originally set aside as “Indian Territory.” In the early years of Oklahoma’s statehood, in “home of the Red Man,” it was shameful to be a Native American, but by the time Curtis’ autobiography was published in the 1980s, it was a point of pride. We see something similar in my grandfather’s autobiography published during the same decade. Ironically, though my grandfather was more English than anything else, with blonde, curly hair in his youth, white skin, and bright blue eyes, he includes mention of his Native American roots on the first page of his autobiography.

Also ironic is that although my grandmother was a tiny, black-haired woman with distinctive Native American features and dark brown eyes, while he describes his courtship and marriage, he never mentions that he was married to someone who was so clearly tied to Oklahoma’s adopted ethnic heritage. My mother, LaDonna Scott, says that my grandmother’s mother was full-blood Cherokee (2). Regardless of these contexts, even though establishing their Native American bloodlines gave both Rex and Curtis a special “right” to the land, both Curtis and my grandfather only briefly mention their Native American heritage on their way to labeling themselves as pioneers, with all the heroic, exciting connotations such designations had gained by the late 1970s and early 1980s when they were publishing their autobiographies.

The real focus for both Rex and Curtis was on their identity as pioneers, both as early IPHC preachers and as early settlers in Oklahoma. Curtis’

autobiography is called *Pioneer Woman for Christ* and features a statue in Ponca City, Oklahoma called “The Pioneer Woman.” The woman is striding forward, in long dress, bonnet, a bag, and tie-up boots, holding the hand of a young boy, perhaps seven or eight years old. The woman’s expression is unsmiling, but unworried. The boy next to her looks like he is having to work hard at keeping up with her long, sure strides. The life-sized sculpture communicates the woman’s confidence, leadership, and perhaps a sense of her capability. On the back of Curtis’ book, she tells us that the statue is by an English sculptor, Bryant Baker, and was dedicated on April 22, 1930 in Ponca City, Oklahoma, on the anniversary of the first run for land in Oklahoma.

Like Curtis, Robert Rex chose a cover that communicates his pioneer status in Oklahoma history. On the cover is a man driving a horse-drawn wagon down a tree-lined land past an old tin or wooden building. The cover is a yellow and dark brown, two-toned, drawing, meant to symbolize the author and his temporal place within the church and American history. Both draw upon the term in order to describe the way they moved from farm life to city life, from early preaching in a loosely established denomination to preaching within a firmly established denomination. The pioneer epitaph is their chosen context for their life and work, and the connotation is one of heroic fortitude and faith in the midst of a century of people trying to find their way toward stability amidst growing industrialization and its accompanying hazards. While all of the early-to-middle

IPHC preachers could call themselves pioneers, none so explicitly chose the context as did Curtis and Rex. Though we have an example of a woman and a man employing the same context, they did so similarly at the outset. In the autobiography itself, however, Curtis will quickly abandon her attention to historical contexts while Rex will conscientiously map his history into the history of Oklahoma, the county where he grew up, and historical events that affected the nation as a whole.

The audiences faced by early IPHC preachers became a part of the ethos they created in order to achieve their goals—winning souls and providing opportunities for Holy Spirit baptisms, for example. Mikhail Bakhtin writes that “understanding and response are dialectically merged and mutually condition each other; one is impossible without the other” (282). Descriptions of the audience will help us to understand how they determined the ethos of the writer/preacher because ethos does not emerge in a vacuum. The “language” of a group emerges within those social and historical contexts that define it or provide places for resistance. “Language” is only “unitary” when it is thought of as an “abstract grammatical system of normative forms, taken in isolation from the concrete, ideological conceptualizations that fill it, and in isolation from the uninterrupted process of historical becoming that is characteristic of all language” (Bakhtin 288). The language of the IPHC preachers was partially formed by their

desire to bridge what divided them from the unsaved Oklahomans for whom they cared so deeply.

As both Rex and Paul describe it, Oklahoma was a repository for many unlawful people who came to the unsettled west in order to escape the law, particularly after the Civil War (Rex 7; Paul 11-15). These people, it was felt, needed religion to help them monitor their own behavior because the law was not established enough to help them or to protect them from others. Though early IPHC doctrines were more radically enforced and argued for than they would be in later days, it is not just because of the radical nature of the religion itself; it is an indication of how the preacher must build ethos with an audience that knew a life regulated more by their own decision to be “good” than by a community’s organized enforcement of the “good.”

Harold Paul describes the city as dangerous when he describes the liquor, gambling, and prostitution rackets that plagued Oklahoma City in the early 20th-century (11-12). Dan Muse wrote,

The early preachers and workers met with determined opposition from many religionists and endured much suffering and many privations.

Persecution was rife. Many were rocked [had rocks thrown at them] and had eggs thrown at them. Others met up with red pepper being thrown in the straw to bring discomfort to the worshippers. Tents were slashed, and

doors were locked on them. Some were threatened with death by hanging, and others were arrested and spent a night or so in jail. (20)

Paul tells us that Muse very wisely ignored the “moonshiners” while walking to and from preaching appointments through the densely forested Oklahoma countryside, preferring prayer to confrontation (30). “His job was to preach, and he stuck strictly to his own business,” Paul writes (30). Lucy Hargis describes a time when she and her husband had fasted and prayed all day and still did not get a message to preach, but preached anyway (20). However, “as his feet hit the pulpit the power came down and he [Lee] preached mightily under the anointing and stepped out on the altar to make the altar call.” People ran to the altar and after the service, a new convert told Lee that he and some of his friends had planned to hang him at that very service, but “when we came up to the arbor a rainbow of fire settled down upon it and we saw a ball of fire shoot through the arbor and we were afraid and I’m glad God has saved my soul tonight” (20).

In summary, the potential converts of Oklahoma, whether they were a part of the growing cities or countryside towns, were a difficult group to reach and required a strong, passionate message in order to feel the need for change. The ethos generated from these tough potential converts resulted in a characterization of early and middle IPHC preachers as people willing to risk their lives at most and their comfort at least in order to convey their message. Because the crowds were difficult and the social bonds of law enforcement were loose, the ethos of

the Pentecostal preacher must convey some elements of bravado, some indications of physical as well as spiritual strength, and perhaps even some deep love or regard made evident through their sincerity that made the potential converts abandon a decision to oppose them and decide, instead, to join a group they formerly found suspicious. Identification, then, meant understanding their audience and appealing to them through pathos as well as ethos in order to achieve persuasion.

Finally, Oklahoma itself, the landscape, the weather, and the economic structure that forced so many early IPHC preachers to live off the land at times, to go without food at other times, to make their journeys on foot, to preach in brush arbors when they had no tent, and to value the hospitality of those who could offer them little more than a roof for a night. In these ways, Oklahoma physical features played a role in the autobiographical texts of the IPHC preachers. Accounts vary from nostalgic recollections of Oklahoma's beauty to its challenges. When Oden describes the place in Oklahoma where some family friends lived, she writes:

Here amid woods thick with blackjacks, pastures ablaze with early spring blossoms, cedar trees strong and rugged with their many years of growth, orchards loaded with blossoms, then transformed into abundant fruitage, plowed fields yielding a harvest of vegetables or of golden grain, they followed a simple pattern of life—but, oh, so rich in the contentment of

living close to God's creation—enhanced with the peace flowing through the souls of those responding to the ministry of the Bishop. (45)

Grace Hope Curtis remembers not having air conditioning in the summer or heat in a car she drove through the snow to preach a revival, using gaslights or lanterns instead of electric, and having to battle with bugs attracted to the lights while she preached (18-26). She describes a “wonderful bedroom” she had in Fairfax, Oklahoma, where she “slept out under the stars in a lady’s fenced backyard” (23). Oklahoma’s winter weather added to the pain she felt when she was away from her family, however. She describes crying and praying in the “wee hours” of the night on the “bare cold floor” long after the “wood fires would go out” (19). Dan York describes a period from his childhood that was spent traveling through Indian Territory/Oklahoma in the late 19th-century. They had to stay in a sixteen-by-eighteen-foot cabin with a stranger for ten days because a snow storm had overtaken them at Tar Springs, west of Ardmore, Oklahoma, (there were eighteen of them, by the way), to push their oxen and wagon across a frozen river because there were no bridges, and wade another river on their way into Texas (2).

The Oklahoma landscape brought out an element of the ethos that characterizes first and second generation IPHC preachers: determination fueled by faith. One example of this element of ethos is a story that appears in two of the autobiographical accounts I have. Lucy Hargis describes how she and her husband

had both given up their jobs and gone “north” by train with a nursing baby because they felt that God wanted them to go (11-12). They ran out of money, except for a dollar and some change, and had to stay in the McAlester, Oklahoma, train station two days before they met a man, “Brother” Stevens, who said he was waiting on a preacher to come by train to preach in a revival (12). The preacher never came, so the Hargises left with him (12). As an anonymous young man drove the group, Brother Stevens played his guitar and they all sang (12). Lucy felt that God had blessed them as they “forgot our empty stomachs and our hungry body and our hardships” as they sang (12).

Robert Rex picks up where Lucy leaves off because during the next six to eight weeks, the Hargises held a revival that drew increasing amounts of attention because of the “new” doctrine he was preaching—baptism in the Holy Spirit (25). During that time my great-grandfather became a Christian by Lee Hargis’ invitation and when opposition grew to the teaching and violence was threatened, “some of the businessmen in town told the opposition group that if Rev. Hargis could get a man like Mr. Rex saved, he could stay and talk in tongues all he wanted” (29). As the revival progressed, Lee Hargis put out three altars every night: “one for those seeking to be saved, another for those who wanted to be sanctified, and one for those seeking to be filled with the Holy Spirit” (27). The decision to just get on a train and “go North” defied logic, but the successful revival that ensued would serve as proof that faith and determination are

rewarded. The Hargises' story and Robert Rex's corroboration of it could be construed as a typical construction of the faith-suffer-reward paradigm that characterized so many of the early-to-middle 20th-century IPHC preacher's stories.

Autobiographical Ethos in Stated Motives and Purposes

In the Old Testament book of Proverbs, if the speaker is immoral, what she says is also immoral. Solomon writes, "The purposes of the righteous are just; the schemes of the wicked are full of deceit" (12:5). A statement of purpose for a text is important because the Christian or religious writer must, consciously or not, argue for the reader to view their motives as "pure." The connection between moral purity and pure speech is anything but new, however, and is not limited to a Christian epistemology. As Christine Mason Sutherland writes, classical rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quintilian made the same link that the 17th-century writer and rhetorical theorist Mary Astell did between good character and good speech (112). Therefore, the first line of LaBerge's "Introduction" states:

The purpose and plan of this book is to proclaim the mighty, miraculous work of Jesus Christ through His servants today. And to bring praises in to the hearts of God's children for His fulfillment of His word. And that by the testimony of those who have tried and proven the promises God left us others may be led to fully accept the will and plan of God for soul and body. (5)

Her didactic purpose overrides her desire to share the details of her life. When reading LaBerge's autobiography, it is very clear that she did not write it in order to promote herself, to establish herself as an important member within a denominational hierarchy, or even to argue for her right to preach. In fact, LaBerge's conversion to Christianity and then to Pentecostalism are the core of her didactic autobiography. As Sidonie Smith explains in regard to autobiographical manifestoes, "autobiographical writing is always a gesture toward publicity" which makes the personal political (436). As an early member of a counter-cultural group of people defining the just-emerging twentieth-century idea of Pentecostalism, LaBerge's doctrinal assertions directly engage the "ideological systems pressing specific identities on specific persons" (437). Her autobiography is an act of resistance to other doctrinal views as well as a tool for legitimizing her own views via the kinds of acceptance gained when an audience begins to understand, if not to agree.

Furthermore, as many preachers do, LaBerge moves effortlessly from focus on her life to an appeal toward her reader—the salvation of their own children or the children in their communities. The topic of her conversion, or transformation, comes up on the second page of her autobiography and is quickly turned into an opportunity to teach her readers about the importance of converting children (8). She writes: "At family prayer I learned to bring my sins to Jesus and to know He forgave me. I do not remember when I was first forgiven of my sins. I thank God for the call of God to the children's hearts" (8). She then stacks

scriptures on top of brief exegetical statements intended to persuade her reader to make converting and teaching children a priority. Relating the authority of scripture to her own experiences builds ethos for her. Her life story is only briefly sketched between her discussions of baptism, the second coming of Jesus, divine healing, and admonishments to study the Bible with scriptures that support her view.

Grace Hope Curtis tries to avoid the implication that she was writing in order to promote herself by opening with “My children and grandchildren have requested that I write something of my early childhood in pioneer days and of my ministry fifty some years ago. I am not a writer, so please bear with me as I reminisce of the past” (9). Curtis’ work follows an autobiographical pattern Elizabeth Elkins Grammar calls a “narrative of success” (125). “The plot of this narrative,” she writes, “is a fairly simple upward trajectory” where a poor protagonist ends up succeeding, according to her definition of success (125).

Blanche King begins her section of her husband’s autobiography by explaining how his illness and subsequent death prevented him from completing it and then re-enters his narrative by writing, “To take up the story where he left off” before describing events significant to her husband, at least in her opinion (351). Her biography focuses on King’s life, but also attempts to characterize King as a family man, although evidence of that is sparse. Eventually she lapses into an autobiographical account of her life with King, a pattern repeated by both Hargis and Oden. Lucy Hargis begins not with her own story but that of the birth

of her husband. Unlike Curtis, she seems to assume that her readers are more interested in her husband's life and work than her own. Her attempt to avoid self-focus is finally abandoned as she moves from biography to autobiography in the stories she shares.

In contrast, Margaret Muse has two introductory statements before she begins her biography. The first is her dedication of the book to her family and her acknowledgements for help in writing the text, the second is an introduction written by G. H. Montgomery that begins with a quotation about how history is made up of biographies, and then she begins her first chapter, "Arise and Shine," with: "No one knew the Bishop as I did—for you see, I was the one he spoiled, and incidentally, the one that loved every minute of it. Our first meeting was a day of great joy because at long last a girl had arrived to bless the home" (1). Her claim to write a biography is simply a clever way to actually write an autobiography of her family and life in Oklahoma while appealing to a readership who might find her stories valuable only because of the high position her father held in the church. Therefore, her stated purpose and the text of her autobiography immediately diverge.

Of all the women writers, none of them unapologetically enter into a biographical/autobiographical narrative. Instead, each tries to deflect any hint of self-promotion in the text. Such modesty dates back to Renaissance England. As Tita French Baumlin explains, the pervading image of the "chaste" woman was as a silent woman (239-40). Backed by a literalist interpretation of Pauline scriptures

calling for a woman's silence, and fortified by the fact that very little of the virgin Mary's dialogue is recorded in scriptures, the idea was that women should "develop wisdom through silence" (240-41). Baumlin continues her argument by explaining that Queen Elizabeth's reign "was necessarily more a feat of language than were many other regimes" (244). To combat the prejudice stacked against her, the Queen admits to feminine types of weakness before describing herself in masculine terms (251). Many women would imitate her rhetorical strategy for centuries after, but the women I studied practice evasion of claims toward self-promotion before launching into autobiographical self-structuring. This construction of ethos should not be confused with the sense of identity they had. The way they perceived the prejudices of their audience members, both male and female, largely determines an ethos that evades self-promotion.

In contrast to these women writers, the men tended to launch directly into autobiographical statements. They seem to assume that their importance in the denomination was established before the reader opened the book—a legitimate assumption—and that their place in history will become clearer as the reader moves through the defining moments of their lives. J. H. King begins with the time and date of his birth in August of 1869 before launching into a description of his parents and childhood (11). Dan York, writing for himself and his wife Dollie, begins with his grandfather's immigration to America from England around 1810 (1). He inserts a brief mention of his own birth in his narrative of how his parents

made a living and traveling and ends with his call to preach (1-3). Likewise, King's narrative moves determinedly toward an account of his spiritual history.

Robert Rex's autobiography mimics King's, and it is probably not coincidental that he follows his pattern because most people knew of my grandfather's admiration for King. King, Rex, and York all use their autobiographies to explain their work within the denomination with King and Rex tying their accounts closely to conventions, conferences, and offices they held, and with York occasionally tying his to the names he knew would be recognizable to many of the denomination's members. The chronological arrangement King and Rex employ differs from typical spiritual autobiographies that describe experiences about a growing awareness of one's own sin, repentance that often involves a "state of despondency" or "even physical illness," the moment of dramatic conversion, and the resulting call to preach (Grammar 124). These elements are included, but are not the focus of their autobiographies.

Also, avoidance of a common paratactic "and then, and then," structure that characterizes the women's writing that I analyzed as well as the spiritual autobiographies of 19th-century women preachers analyzed by Elizabeth Elkins Grammar, and this structure reveals a conscious, dedicated attempt to render a readable text assumed to be valuable to many (124). Finally, the structure of King and Rex's autobiographies clearly illustrates the substance of their primary identity as a preacher and as a member of the IPHC. None of the women took

their affiliation with the IPHC so seriously, and in fact, LaBerge, Curtis, and Hargis would become part of other denominations later in life.

Indeed, women constructed their autobiographies much less formally than the men. Curtis and Hargis probably considered their histories as a collection of family stories, not an addition to “church history.” For many women, family histories are kept alive in conversations. Curtis’ and Hargis’ autobiographies fall into this genre. LaBerge’s autobiography is like Margery Kempe’s medieval spiritual autobiography by also being “cyclical and associational,” according to Cherly Glenn, and by collapsing the boundaries between her life story and her theology. Kempe also constructs a life history that is more sermon than story (58). Like Kempe, LaBerge becomes a character in a story narrated by herself. Therefore, there are three Margery Kempes: Margery who writes the text, the authorial voice of Margery, and the Margery who plays a character in the text, though LaBerge does not describe herself in third person the way Margery does (59). Unlike LaBerge’s text, Curtis structures her text like an extended paratactic conversation. While LaBerge’s text is like an oral series of sermons, Curtis’ is like a casual conversation between friends. What gets remembered, gets remembered. What doesn’t, doesn’t. Curtis attaches several sermons to the end of her text that she probably felt represented her best work. However, Curtis’ autobiography should not be discounted because it is loosely written and arranged. Christine Mason Sutherland argues that the 17th-century writer and one of the earliest feminists Mary Astell had a theory of rhetoric that incorporated a

respect and admiration for the “art of conversation” (111). Curtis’ autobiography demonstrates her mastery of the art of speaking, a conversational rhetorical art that draws her reader in, entertains her for a while, and leaves her with a sense of closure at the end—just like a sermon.

Lucy Hargis’ family history is casually handwritten. Her story is arranged around miracles and significant events shared by herself and her husband. For both Curtis and Hargis, only a reference to a story is needed for their perceived readers who are people who know them well and share their histories. References to stories are constructed as touchstones, much unlike the detailed work of male writers. For example, my mother can say a name within a seemingly innocent conversation and I know that we are now talking about “people who take advantage of other people.” An outsider would not know the story of how my mother was taken advantage of, but I would know it well. The greater the writer’s intimacy with her imagined reader, the more coded her language becomes. That is perhaps why we see Hargis and Curtis often leaving out dates, times, locations, and other details. Maybe they anticipated an expansion of the text as ethos is generated and meaning is co-created.

Perhaps they wrote the way they did for another reason. In *Writing Autobiography*, bell hooks describes part of her reluctance to write an autobiography as a fear that by breaking the “secrecy and silence” about her family and its history, she would be destroying part of what was a bond between them (429). “I did not want to be the traitor,” she writes, “the teller of family

secrets—and yet I wanted to be a writer” (429). Blanche King’s concerns about writing the ending to her husband’s autobiography are evidence that she had conflicting fears and desires. She wanted to tell the rest of the story, but was afraid she would reveal something that might be misconstrued in the process.

Of course, not all of the IPHC writers constructed their ethos in the same way. In contrast to Hargis and Curtis, Oden carefully constructs a published text that is more fairy tale than “true fiction.” Her biography argues for the importance of family in her father’s life and for a life story that represents the sort of idealism she cherishes. Blanche King also tries to clean up and deflect any sign of bitterness from a story that could have been told much differently; she lived a life of loneliness and forced independence when she so clearly preferred a companion. Oden and King’s autobiographies most clearly represent a “casting out” of material they did not find useful or relevant in order to create a pattern, to shape a past, to make “sense of a life” (Grammar 123).

Again, bell hooks provides an important insight into the writing of autobiographies when she describes how she sat at her typewriter, writing about her memories in “short vignettes,” as they came to her as “though they were a sudden thunderstorm” at times and at other times they came to her in a “surreal, dreamlike style” (430). She writes that they “made me cease to think of them as strictly autobiographical because it seemed that myth, dream, and reality had merged.” When she spoke to her siblings about shared memories, they always differed (430). Perhaps King and Oden wrote as they remembered, with both of

them creating some form of “bio-mythography” as hooks describes, in order to evoke “the state of mind, the spirit of a particular moment.”

Finally, as we read Oden and King, we might also recognize an attempt on their behalf to recover the person that each lost. Hooks describes the “longing to tell one’s story and the process of telling” as a symbolic “gesture of longing to recover the past in such a way that one experiences both a sense of reunion and a sense of release.” Writing autobiography was a way for hooks to recover a part of her past that continued to shape her present self (431). Certainly in the bio/autobiographies of Oden and King, these women were able to invoke the living memories of the men they cherished and to re-experience life with them through their thoughts and imagination.

In summary, the purpose for the male writers emerges without evasion or apology; the purpose for the female writers is clearly stated. These differences are rooted in centuries old prejudices against women as speakers or writers. In chapter four, the contemporary women preachers interviews will provide evidence that these prejudices are dying out. Women have begun to establish themselves as important historical figures, though they still tend to define themselves in terms of relationships instead of in terms of winning dominance within denominational positions or through influencing the formation of denominational guidelines.

The stated purposes and motives for writing are clear evidence of gendered differences in self-structuring and of the recognition of the weight of social prejudices passed from generation to generation, from country to country.

Ethos, for women, must encompass a claim to moral purity by avoiding implications of self-focus while men can claim moral purity without evasion. Patricia Meyer Spacks describes the ways that 18th and 20th century women writers avoid “excessive personal claims” in order to “avoid the troubling threat of egotism” in their autobiographies (232). The far-reaching strands of moral codes such as these indicate that scholars may find evidence of centuries old ideologies in the works of contemporary women. Deviation from autobiographical paradigms, such as beginning with one’s own birth, telling about the events the author thinks are significant to the audience, and arriving at some sort of closure, characterize the work of the IPHC women writers. Curtis and LaBerge both begin with her own birth and thereby follow the paradigm but then soon divert; Oden begins her father’s biography with her birth; Hargis begins with her husband’s birth; and Blanche writes to complete her husband’s autobiography and avoids birth as an opening in order to avoid redundancy. Purpose is revealed through structure and self-placement and motive is argued for in terms of moral claims.

Authority, Expertise, and Wisdom Exhibited through Ethos

Although most discussions of women as preachers incorporate a focus on the controversies surrounding the right of women to preach, first and second women preachers in the IPHC do not argue for the right to preach. It is assumed. While various male theologians within the IPHC, including the 1918 *Advocate* article by R. B. Hayes, Oscar Moore’s 1975 book *Preachers: You Asked For It*, the introduction to a 1991 *Advocate* called “Affirming Women in Ministry,”

Vinson Synan's 1993 article in *Ministries Today* called "Women in Ministry," and the proceedings of the 1996 Solemn Assembly, argue that women have a biblical right to preach and/or should be treated as equals to men, women preachers found it sufficient to simply provide their call stories before going on to describe their ministries.

LaBerge establishes her authority through not only the tales of her successes as an evangelist but also mention of her education and extensive quoting of scripture. She seeks to establish herself as one educated in the "right" doctrines and supporting scriptures and to provide testimonies of those who had put doctrines, such as divine healing, into practice and benefited from doing so. In fact, her autobiography is primarily used to argue for doctrines. She manages to squeeze in some details of her life and travels in between, but spends pages between those details seeking to provide evidence for her beliefs and records of her spiritual successes, usually counted in the number of converts, those divinely healed, and those claiming to have experienced sanctification for the first time.

Authority is claimed in various ways in the texts I analyzed. In Margaret Muse Oden's bio/autobiographical account of her father and her family, *Steps to the Sun*, Oden calls her father "Bishop" almost every time she refers to him throughout her book, although he did not serve in that position until 1937 according to her account. However, her use of the title may have been a recognition that her history was only valuable to people outside of their family

because of him and the position he held as Bishop (85). J. H. King and Robert Rex establish themselves as part of the collective ethos of the denomination itself, like Oden does with her father, by constructing their autobiographies to adhere to the church's chronological structure. Their position within the denomination lent each writer an authority not available to writers such as Hargis, Curtis, and Baker. The institutionalization of the IPHC worked to create the types of authority that sought closure on several fronts, not the least of which was theological. The codification of authority created a type of authority Corder and Baumlin describe as one that breeds closure and hinders creativity (21-23). Muse, King, and Rex may have sought a place within the upper realms of the governing hierarchy in order to be a part of the group allowed to pursue creative ventures, new areas of ministry, and so on. The nature of authority in this instance is paradoxical. Recognition of the power of the denomination's authority to hinder their religious and intellectual/theological pursuits may have led them to resist through conformity. Women preachers often worked inside of institutional structures in order to secure their places before the denomination's laws effectively shut them out as both Dirksen and Fulkerson describe. However, the early-to-middle IPHC women preachers I studied probably did not specifically confront or resist the institutional structures or become a part of those structures because they did not perceive the denomination as a threat to their spiritual, intellectual, or theological pursuits.

Wisdom, or perhaps “folk” wisdom, is an important aspect of the IPHC preacher’s ethos. Wisdom is established through the conversion narratives that put the preacher inside of the group, as one who “knows the truth,” as one who can identify with the faith-suffer-reward narratives, and as one who can provide corroborative testimonies to validate the experiences and successes that form the core of their authority. The elements of ethos discussed so far provide evidence of the IPHC preachers’ similarities to Paul’s paradoxical heroism as well as to their efforts to establish authority within the denomination and with potential converts.

In chapter four I discuss the first and second generation preacher’s charismatic qualities along with the charismatic qualities evident in the transcripts of the twenty-first century women preachers I interviewed. I also discuss paradigm shifts in how women describe their “call” and their baptism. I will also address the relationships between types of feminism and the gender equality espoused by contemporary women preachers in the context of their own struggles. Finally, I will suggest that a part of the IPHC’s goals for advancement should include a broader education with knowledge of alternative points of view and practice in establishing one’s position in relationship to them, and continued efforts to include women in administrative roles at the highest levels.

CHAPTER IV:
POST 1960S PENTECOSTALISM AND THE PROMISE OF A FUTURE FOR
WOMEN PREACHERS

Paradigm Shifts

In the interviews I collected, the IPHC women preachers maintain strong spiritual identities among competing possibilities and are not hesitant to share ways in which their experiences add new ideas about God/Christ/the Holy Spirit, even if their experiences do not match emerging epistemological paradigms for such interactions in the IPHC. In the autobiographies representing the early-to-middle twentieth century period in IPHC history, dramatic call stories, conversion experiences, and baptism-in-the-Holy-Spirit experiences dominate. The ethos Debbie Whipple, Peggy Eby, and Charlene West create through their interviews illustrate that each felt she has always had a personal, unique relationship with God. All three were children when they were converted to Christ.

The “call-refusal motif” does not apply to the 2004 interviews. In fact, it is quite the opposite. West casually refers to her conversion in route to describing how she was called to a foreign country in a dramatic vision given to her before her husband died. Her call to preach came later, but the vision is worth recounting since it is an example of the role of divine revelation in a call story where the actual call took place later. One Sunday morning she saw herself “going down through Texas and Mexico on through central America to the upper part of South America. From there I saw myself as a small figures on a screen and from there

the figure got larger and then disappeared.” She didn’t understand the vision, but says, “The Lord spoke to me at that time and he said, ‘I hold you in the hollow of my hand. I’m going to take you to many nations.’” West says she got the call to preach in a separate encounter (1).

Whipple was raised in a Catholic church and says that she received her call to preach as a child. She says:

We had to go to mass every day at Catholic school. I remember one day doing that, and I couldn’t have been more than ten years old, and of course the priests were always men and they still are today, but I remember watching them serve Communion and although I didn’t realize it then it was God talking to me and what he said to me was: “You’re going to do that someday.” And not even understanding what was happening, I just looked up at the priest and thought, “Okay, I’m going to do that someday.”

But there’s no way I could have done that in the Catholic church. (1)

In contrast, Eby was only seven when she was converted by a friend who had just been to Vacation Bible School. They got into the back of her parent’s car and prayed. She says, “It was a profound experience that I have never forgotten and have held onto securely.” Eby was fourteen when she was baptized in the Holy Spirit and felt the call to preach. She wasn’t sure what to do with her call, though. She recalls how she asked God to help her understand what the call meant in a time alone with him:

I talked to God as earnestly as I knew how: “Lord, show me. What is this feeling of a call about? I don’t understand this feeling, and I’m afraid.

Also, I’m just a teenager – and a girl!” On the one hand preaching definitely appealed to me. I was not one of those people who reluctantly accepted the call. Because I wanted it so much, I felt I had to question it.

(2)

After she prayed, she drew a scripture card out of a box and it said, “Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I set you apart; I appointed you as a prophet to the nations.” She says she grabbed her Bible and read the rest:

“Ah, Sovereign Lord,” I [the prophet Jeremiah] said, “I do not know how to speak; I am only a child.” But the Lord said to me, “Do not say ‘I am only a child.’ You must go to everyone I send you to and say whatever I command you. Do not be afraid of them, for I am with you and will rescue you,” declares the Lord (Jeremiah 1:6-7).

With that, she says she fell to her knees and said a “resounding ‘Yes!’” to God (2).

Interestingly, none of the women question the veracity or the importance of these encounters, but share them as a matter of fact. None of these women questioned if I would believe their encounters, but assumed that we shared the same basic assumptions since I am also a Pentecostal Christian. Together, we created a space for autobiographical truth, shortcutting the process of ethos

creation because of assumptions based on shared ideological perspectives. We approached the discussion of their choices from the perspective that each of us has an inner self that is able to choose its moral character. Yet, we also discussed them in relationship to the group of people who define the meaning and practice of Pentecostalism for them.

In our interactions, the ethos co-generated was one full of agreement. The women I interviewed anticipated that I would be full of goodwill toward them. Evidence of this is that through our conversations, they would share tidbits of wisdom with me. Not only did we share a Corderian world socially but spiritually. We had all chosen similar paths and similar spiritually-based heuristics for following those paths. Yet it was important that each woman produce an edited version of her interview because we also created something new out of our conversation together, something that reaches beyond creating a historical footnote in IPHC history books. We had created an ethos for contemporary IPHC women preachers. What the women preachers and I created was, in many ways, a challenge to gender discrimination against women preachers. Easy assumptions that they had a right to their place of power and that their call stories were valid can, at times, speak more loudly than an argument grounded in direct resistance to social and religious paradigms limiting women.

Pentecostal Charisma: The Power of the Spirit in First and Second Generation Autobiographies in Comparison to the 2004 Interviews

Nothing is more important than charisma when a person wishes to exercise authority from a Pentecostal pulpit. Craig Smith draws a parallel between Soren Kierkegaard's three stages of life, or three levels of existence, and his descriptions of the three levels of charismatic speakers. These definitions are useful for differentiating various types of charisma, with some types being more compelling than other types. The first level of charisma, the lowest, corresponds to Kierkegaard's first level of life that is concerned with surface appearances and consists of those speakers with whom the audience identifies on a surface level. These speakers are "entertaining" and project a "persona with which audiences can identify." The second level consists of "authentic" speakers who are what they project to be and urge the audience to respond with the same level of authenticity. This level corresponds with Kierkegaard's second level, the "moral or ethical stage," which represents an individual's desire to reflect on how they make decisions. The third level of charisma is populated by people such as Plato, Socrates, Buddha, Jesus, and Saint Augustine. These speakers "reach beyond the material world and associate in some way with the metaphysical, the transcendent, the spiritual, or some other form of perfection." This level corresponds to Kierkegaard's highest level. Most importantly, Smith tells us that the term "charisma" comes from the Greek word *karism*, which means grace or favor. The word is a close cousin of *kairos*, but also derived from the same root as

“character,” which was key to Aristotle’s concept of how a speaker constructs credibility (3).

The success of preachers who persuade Pentecostals to partake in the experiences they prescribe is largely due to their charisma in the pulpit. In Pentecostal circles the charismatic personality was and still is recognized as an authority figure who brings the congregation toward a moral consensus, but today ministers also establish ethos through meeting certain educational requirements required for licensing (Noren 48-49; Barfoot and Shepphard 226). The educational requirements, however, do not guarantee a Pentecostal preacher’s success. It is the congregation’s recognition of the Spirit’s anointing of a minister that is essential for success (Barfoot and Shepphard 226).

In her argument for women preachers, Reverend Sheri Benvenuti quotes Edith Blumhofer: “A person’s call—and how others viewed it—was far more important than [ministerial credentials]” (4). Carol Noren echoes the idea of public recognition as validation when she outlines three areas of authority: traditional, charismatic, and legal rational (48-49). In the charismatic type of authority, validation comes through the audience’s recognition of that preacher as a leader. The charismatic authority, she says, is the type clergywomen can most easily access because traditional authority is limited to males, and legal-rational authority is based upon a person’s ability to navigate conflict that accompanies administrative positions (49).

In Charles Barfoot and Gerald Sheppard's article on Pentecostalism, they describe how in the period from 1901 to the 1920s, the time of "Prophetic Pentecostalism," relied upon a combination of three elements for a speaker to gain the authority to preach. First of all, the "call" was the "only difference between ministers and laity, secondly "the confirmation of the call" was accomplished through the recognition of charisma by the community, and finally the community was characterized by its "latter rain" beliefs (4). Barfoot and Sheppard claim that the "anointing of the Holy Spirit" is the language used to describe charismatic speakers in the early days and then they use Weber's definition of charisma, which focuses more on the group's reception of the speaker than on the speaker herself, to explain how charisma worked (7). Certainly audience reception is key to the success of a charismatic speaker, but Craig Smith describes the highest type of charisma as one that can be used to inspire readers or listeners to "reach beyond the material world and associate in some way with the metaphysical, the transcendent, the spiritual, or some other form of perfection" as the highest level of charismatic ability (1-2). While Barfoot and Sheppard seem to suggest that early Pentecostals only gained authority through emerging ideologies, Smith seems to suggest that charismatic speakers may gain authority whether such belief systems are in place or not.

Charisma is a tool of verification and operates a little differently within an established denomination. The preacher's "calling" is verified through her ability to draw an audience toward the core experiences of the IPHC religion. Narratives

are used to unify the audience, to teach them the “language” of the denomination, and to communicate central themes that both establish the speaker’s ethos as a member of the Pentecostal faith and appeal to the audience through pathos, drawing upon their emotionally charged religious beliefs. The invention that occurs is active, is physical, is social, is spiritual, and draws upon core themes or narratives. The speaker and the audience synergistically create a new reality that is instantiated in the passing moments. As LeFevre explains, language is not just a “mirror” of an “existing reality,” but it “is active in constituting reality” (119). The ethos generated opens a space for actions that may follow or deviate from the paradigmatic narratives used to communicate an ideology.

In biographical-historical texts, a description of a preacher’s charisma may be to validate his or her vocation as a preacher. J. H. King was a great leader who originally led the Fire-Baptized and then held the highest office in the IPHC for decades, but he did not have the same type of charisma. In her biographical/autobiographical chapters, Blanche writes, “Those who saw Mr. King only in the pulpit thought of him as being very stern and austere. He seemed so detached from things of the world it was difficult to imagine his being affectionate or enjoying family life.” She says that he rarely mentioned his family in public, but when people had an opportunity to see him in his home, they were surprised to find he did enjoy his family (353-54).

Margaret Muse Oden’s description of a service reveals that the location of a service provided special sorts of challenges that could only be overcome by a

lively, charismatic speaker. In a one room building, such as a schoolhouse or church, mothers had to nurse their babies and occupy toddlers, fires would have to be stirred, and old gas lights would have to be “pumped up again” while the preacher “delivered his soul in the message” (47). Mrs. Muse had her own type of charisma. Since some rural places did not have public buildings, a tent would have to be erected on somebody’s land. Oden tells of how her mother enlisted the help of a woman living a few miles west of Newalla, Oklahoma, to help her convince one of the farmers to let them use a piece of his lands for services (34-35). Most refused, but they eventually found one who was willing (35).

When I read Grace Hope Curtis’ autobiography, I got the feeling that her success was largely due to her exuberant energy and obvious love for people. When she writes about preaching in an “Indian village” near Kaw City, Oklahoma, she says that they were the “janitor, the musician, the singer and preacher!” “We would have to turn on the lights, build a fire in the big old wood stove, then in a matter of minutes the house would be full of Indians” (26). When the meeting was over, she says that “everyone in the house—little, big, old and young, came up to shake my hand or hug my neck. I don’t think there was a dry eye in the building. It makes my tears flow after all these years to think of it” (27).

In contrast, Wanda Baker describes her mother as “loved by her people,” but not “flamboyant.” “She was very shy, very feminine,” she says. “Mother never took on the demeanor of a lot of women that adopted sort of a masculine demeanor. Mother was very shy. She was not a conversationalist. She was a

wonderful listener.” To Ruth Moore, Baker says her work was a “calling” that she felt in her heart and “what she preached, she lived and believed” (3). Charlene West describes how she asked God that she would be anointed with the Holy Spirit when she preached, and from the very beginning she felt she was. Everyone in the “congregation said, yes, she’s called to preach” (1). Her charisma and abilities were also evident when she mentioned that attendance remained the same once she took over a church in Bakersfield after her husband passed away that she had previously co-pastored with him (2). Debbie Whipple’s charisma is evident in the fact she has never sought out an invitation, but was often invited to preach (3). Peggy Eby’s charisma is clear from her leadership positions in the denomination, but also from the numerous invitations to preach that she received even from the very beginning of her ministry (3).

Most Pentecostal preachers had to be charismatic in order to attract a following or to lead an existing congregation. Robert Rex, who worked as an evangelist for most of his career, had to be charismatic in order to get the invitations to preach that he needed in order to support his family at the times he didn’t have a salaried position as a pastor or as a church administrator. Two of his sermons preached at the 1965 General Conference are noted by Synan, “Power” and the “unforgettable” “Valley of Dry Bones” (*Old-Time Power* 261-62).

Charisma has its affects on the speaker as well as the audience. The exhilaration of capturing a congregation and leading them in ecstatic worship and baptismal experiences led two preachers I studied to ignore their families to a

large degree. One year, when my mother was young, her father Robert Rex was only home for one Sunday, (although he was home during the week a few other times) and in his autobiography he writes, “My little girl, whom I loved very much said, ‘Daddy is our company, isn’t he, Mother?’” (102). In a similar situation, Rex’s role model J. H. King missed his silver wedding anniversary. Blanche said that it was the only time she ever begged him to stay at home, but he left her anyway (369). For these two IPHC preachers, and perhaps for others, charisma was fueled by a relentless pursuit of success within the denomination and it was justified by the spiritual nature of their work. My mother often says that Grandpa justified his devotion by claiming that he intended to live just as “hard” for God as he did for Satan during those few years he was not a Christian.

Even though charisma is an art, an inborn talent, a gifting, much hard work goes into preparing to preach. The women I interviewed in 2004 give us a picture of the hard work behind charismatic sermons. Debbie Whipple described the process of composing a sermon and says that the first thing she does is ask God: “What do you want me to say?” However, God doesn’t give her a message that she then types up word for word. He doesn’t speak in her mind and has her merely repeat what she hears. Instead, she says,

I pretty much don’t start with pen and paper until I get something and then I might jot it down and I’ll have notes everywhere because I have an eight to five job and I can’t give total focus to that message. So it’s in the car, doing the dishes, fixing the bed, at night, first thing in the morning, at

work I'll jot something down that is in my head. And after a few days, I kind of get an outline, and pray and talk to God and I pretty much have to have an ongoing conversation with God all the time. So, that's how it all comes together and then I do manuscripts. I'm a manuscript kind of preacher. I'll write out every word, every joke, every emotion, and I take the yellow highlighter and I go down the manuscript and I highlight all the important things that need to come out. I've tried to go back and do an outline, but I'm just not comfortable because for me the anointing comes in the preparation. As I prepare, I really sense the spirit of God and the anointing of God. And so I'm writing down every word that I hear Him say. And then I pretty much memorize it, go with the flow and preach it. I definitely listen to the voice. If He says something while I'm talking about it, then I say it. (3-4)

The composition process, then, is collaborative (with God) and circular.

Composition emerges from days of thoughts that she jots down, from structuring those thoughts, and from spiritual guidance as she chooses what "really has to come out." She says she writes down "every word that I hear Him say," but she does not say that she gets the whole sermon and then just repeats it. She works on it with God. Her own voice, her own ethos, is valuable to God.

Other kinds of preparation are noted. Charlene West felt an urge to learn Spanish long before she ever saw any practical use for it in her life. She spent years in study at Bible college and years in study at home and at OU in Norman

learning Spanish (1, 2). On her first trip to Costa Rica, she describes how she spent time preparing so that she would be able to preach in Spanish (2). It was clearly important to her to achieve excellence in the work she was called to do in every opportunity God provided her.

Also noteworthy is Whipple's reference to how she gets her "anointing." This is a direct reference to the Holy Spirit. All of the women interviewed assume that this is an obvious fact about Pentecostal preaching. Charisma is grounded in the idea that in order to be persuasive in the church, one must be anointed. Soul-winning is not accomplished alone, but through a joint effort with the Holy Spirit. The Spirit convicts and instructs while the preacher speaks, an idea that permeates Paul's ideas of ways that a preacher is persuasive.

Despite Paul's claim that a preacher is empowered solely as a speaker for Christ, Whipple's account of her charisma is instructive because she describes her success as a speaker long before she was ever a preacher. In high school, she gave a speech that people found so moving, they taped it and she ended up doing it for the whole school. We can also see evidence of her charisma in the fact that she has never sought out an invitation to speak (2-3). In addition, teaching is a different genre than preaching and requires a different sort of charisma. Eby's charisma is evident by the leadership positions she's held in Women's Ministries in the IPHC and the invitations she continues to get to speak at "various women's groups, conferences, and local churches." She leads Bible studies and does conferences for women called *Women Who Lead* in which she instructs women

preachers (1-2). West's ambitious vision for her church involves leading her Hispanic congregation through different types of training that teaches them to be "soul-winners." She set up a school of ministry, not to train them in theology at the outset, but how to draw people into the church (5-6). She has also published numerous books, most recently *A Guide to Ethnic Ministry*. It is used extensively on the IPHC's website as a resource.

Though all three women establish their authority through a call to preach narrative and evidence of the work they do, because feminists have established such a large political, academic, and social presence in our post-1960s society, perhaps the most significant question we can ask about how IPHC women preachers establish their ethos is: Why don't they identify themselves as feminists? To avoid an identification with feminism means to choose to ignore a great source of cultural power.

Post-1960s Pentecostalism and the Promise of a Future for Pentecostal Holiness Women Preachers: Authority From Within Pentecostalism

A great deal of authority to preach within a particular denomination lies in how it is that you think you are an integral part of that denomination. You must see yourself as a member of the group before you can emerge as a leader for the group. The ethos that emerges from the IPHC interviews is representative of complex intersections between social, inner, and spiritual elements that provide direction for the life as each chooses to lead it or to respond to spiritual leadership. As has been noted by other scholars, many women preachers tend to

make their decision to preach for reasons that aren't based on a history of women preachers because they are largely unaware of it. Authority is derived from a different sense of history; it is derived from a spiritually-based history. Similarly, when I began research for this dissertation, I realized that the denomination I thought I knew so well had a long and complex history of which I was not aware. When asked about how she felt she was part of the IPHC's history, Debbie Whipple said, "I went to Southwestern [the IPHC's college in Bethany, Oklahoma] because that's where God led me. It could have been anything under the sun and it wouldn't have mattered because God called me." She said that she knew "bits and pieces" of the IPHC's history, but because she was where God had called her she didn't feel that it mattered (4).

In contrast, Charlene West's sense of church history is much like my own. Her call to preach was very much tied to a sense of her spiritual, if not denominational heritage. Her father was a minister and she was named after him, Charlene Helen (he was Charles H.). She says, "I'm the daughter of a minister, of a long line of ministers, in fact. My father gave me his name because he despaired of ever having a son [...] So, I think that it must have been prophetic because he gave me his name" (1). Ethos derived from the instantiation of a spiritual heritage is powerful and lends credibility to a calling because Charlene West had spiritual mentors who parented her. Naming one's spiritual heritage draws from the Pauline paradigm of a preacher because he too outlines his authority to speak through his spiritual training and his ethnic heritage.

For those who do not use their spirituality to form a primary sense of identity, however, the question remains: how do these women fit into larger social categories? After I transcribed each one of their interviews, and after they had gone through the final editing process each of them did for me, I noticed that something important was absent from our conversations: *feminism*. My focus on “ethos” and my reliance on using rhetorical analysis led me to ponder deeply what theological, social, political, and experiential contexts the women drew upon in order to communicate their spiritual identities in the interviews.

My research into ethos has led me to the conclusion that the construction of a person’s identity within a particular autobiographical instantiation of their identity, such as occurred in the interviews I conducted, is partially intentional and partially unintentional. That is, the speaker both recognizes and speaks to her audience, in this case not only me but their vision of who would be reading the transcripts of their interviews, by intentionally putting in some statements that lead us to form a picture of them. However, the speaker also shares part of their identity through a sense of who they are no matter who the audience might be. Therefore the absence of feminism is particularly important since the West, Eby, and Whipple each left it out of their spoken vision of ethos which, as I have briefly explained, includes a vision of their audience since ethos is a construction of self for a particular audience.

My engagement with these questions and my speculation on possible answers is a product of personal, as well as academic, interest in the subject. In

the spring of 2005, I was asked to rewrite one of my comprehensive exams because I did not describe women preachers and feminist theologians as part of a spectrum of believers; instead, I described them as dichotomous groups because the women preachers I studied for that exam specifically denied that they were feminists or seemed to ignore feminism completely. As stated before, the IPHC women preachers I interviewed in 2004 never even said the word during the interviews. Additionally, through my research I found that ignoring feminism did not only occur at the local level but at the denominational level in the IPHC. The leaders and participants of the 1996 Solemn Assembly repented of seven major sins, one of which was male domination, but never used the term feminism. Others have ignored the link between religion and feminism also. At the 2005 Conference on College Composition and Communication, the biggest national conference in my field, I felt some veneration when I attended a session and questioned two presenters who had just finished discussing the history of women preachers. When asked about why they did not mention feminism, they explained to me that feminism had nothing to do with their topic. By that point, I was truly interested in finding some answers.

Feminism embraces a wide range of ideological and theoretical perspectives today. Rosemarie Tong's introductory reader on feminist thought lists several types of feminism, including but not limited to, liberal feminism, radical feminism with libertarian and cultural perspectives, Marxist and socialist feminism, psychoanalytic and gender feminism, existentialist feminism,

postmodern feminism, multicultural and global feminism, and eco-feminism.

Nancy Cott, in her 1987 book *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, claims that the term “woman’s movement” was replaced by the term “feminism” in the 1910s in America (13). Women’s rights in the early twentieth century were now about the awakening of conscience, or a social awakening, as opposed to a movement with clear political or social goals, such as the right to vote (14). Feminism changed women’s rights as it became an ideology held in the minds of different women who were united intellectually for the purposes of changing society instead of a group of women temporarily united toward a common goal for concrete social reform in working conditions or orphanages or other similar areas. Though women did not finally gain the right to vote in all of the states until August 26, 1920 after Tennessee was the last state to ratify the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, the term feminism represented a desire to change the way women were perceived as human beings, as individuals, as opposed to uniting to meet a goal, such as suffrage, and then disbanding with a loss of purpose or cohesion even before all of their political goals were realized (13-14).

Cott quotes Carrie Chapman Catt who defines feminism as a “world-wide revolt against all the artificial barriers which laws and customs interpose between women and human freedom” in her 1914 speech (14). The woman’s movement was broader than the emerging feminist agenda because their goals were not limited to a concern with women (14-15). Feminism as an “ism” or an ideology, was about a set of principles that not everybody espoused. By the 1920s, the term

was out of fashion and today no single definition of it exists (4). Cott defines feminism in the early 80s as:

- Belief in equality of the sexes.
- Opposition to sex hierarchy.
- Opposition to one sex's categorical control of the rights and opportunities of the other.
- The belief that women's condition is socially constructed, not predestined by God or nature.
- The concept that women identify with a social group, not their sex, with some awareness that one's experience reflects and affects the whole.

Cott says there is no singular feminist viewpoint because of body, culture, gender identification, race, age and class. I would add religion and faith. However, feminism does not adhere to pure individualism because that would remove the basis for collective self-understanding or action (4-5).

In the 1920s feminism was characterized as trying to make women into men, as if women were against men, according to Cott. It threatened the unity of the family, social cohesion, and so on. Therefore, the 20s was a period of anti-feminism. The tendency to deny one was a feminist was tied to the belief that the ideology called for women's solidarity and in actual practice, women must work with and not against men in order to accomplish goals (15). The women I interviewed leaned toward this perspective, though they defined themselves as equals to men.

Part of the answer to my earlier questions asking why the women I interviewed do not claim to be feminists may lie in the reductive and ever-changing definitions of feminism that are employed. For example, if we apply a simplified definition of feminism to mean every person who values the work of women, then we would have many, many people who could define themselves as feminist, but still only a small segment choosing to identify themselves as such. If we try to approach the topic of feminism by simply drawing upon definitions of radical feminists, as so many do, then we ignore the enormous diversity in scholarship that exists. The only thing way we can adequately define all forms of feminism is by describing the disunity that exists. Within that disunity, feminist theologians have defined a place that, if the women I interviewed chose to, enable conservative Christians to define themselves as feminists.

In my opinion, IPHC women preachers come closest to matching the definition of what Anne Clifford describes as “reformist” feminist theologians. She characterizes “reformist Christian feminist” theologians as those who look for “modest changes within existing church structures.” “In the Protestant denominations,” she writes, “the more conservative of the reformist feminists are the evangelicals or fundamentalists who are committed to the inerrancy of the Bible and to a literal interpretation of its texts, yet are also opposed to gender bias in the treatment of women in their families, churches, and civil societies.” These feminists advocate “better” biblical translations and “more emphasis on egalitarian passages in the Bible” (33). Reformist theologians are situated

between Clifford's description of radical feminist theologians as "post-Christian" and reconstructionist feminist theologians as those who fight for the liberation of women using the Bible as a way to access that freedom.

Even so, many Pentecostal women preachers are not looking to establish an identity as a feminist. A possible reason that IPHC women preachers do not identify with feminism, even if they recognize that feminists have had made some positive changes such as making the equality between men and women more visible, is that the political platform of post-1960s feminists make feminism unpalatable to many conservative Christians. In Dr. Janice Crouse's speech on why feminism does not reflect the values of Christian women which was given at Princeton in 2003, she blames feminists for the sexual revolution and the resulting social problems suffered, such as a rise in abortion, sexually transmitted diseases, divorce, and infidelity (2). Lisa Bevere, author of *Fight Like a Girl: The Power of Being a Woman*, writes that feminism was once part of the drive for gender equality but has now become a drive for women to adopt chauvinistic attitudes toward men (29). Bevere points out that women who stayed at home raising their children were characterized by feminists as committing "professional suicide," and each "pregnancy had the potential to enslave you to your offspring." Further, women who stayed home were "dull" and "boring" in comparison to the exciting office life of working women (30). Neither of these women are entirely wrong in their objections to or characterization of feminism.

Furthermore, J. Lee Grady points out that “Modern feminism isn’t really feminism at all, since true feminism is the belief that women have God-given rights and human dignity. Many modern feminists have abandoned any mention of religious faith, and some have, in fact, embraced New Age spirituality and goddess worship” (163). It is small wonder, then, that feminism lacks appeal for Christian women. Yet, while it is important to be aware of the spiritual and social errors radical feminists make in their pursuit of equality or superiority, it is also important to view radical feminists as only a small segment of feminists today. When we become educated about the history of feminism and the contemporary views of feminist theologians, those who speak against the views of radical feminists will be able to do so without condemning all feminist ideologies derived from the belief that men and women were created equal.

A disturbing trend today is the use of the term “feminist” to silence women. Grady writes that people are using the term to identify any woman who “aspires to a leadership position” or is “ambitious” in order to destroy her credibility as a Christian. In light of the range of feminist theologies and ideologies that I have briefly described in this paper, I would urge church members to become more educated about feminism and to discontinue the use of the term to silence women. Grady mentions what many scholars already know: feminism has Christian roots in the nineteenth-century woman’s movement in the U.S. (162). Furthermore, the complete disassociation with Christianity espoused by radical, vocal feminists does not represent the views of all feminists, male or

female. To reduce the meanings of feminism to represent only the views of radical feminists and then to use the term to destroy the work of aspiring women who are not radical feminists is a wrong that must be redressed with a focus on educating the public.

Church members or leaders who use the term “feminist” to destroy the ministry of women preachers may not have looked beyond the gender to the person. For example, many women preachers are more interested in serving others than they are in displacing men as radical feminists might advise. The servant’s heart is what separates women preachers from those feminists who do hold to negative, radical, non-Christian ideologies. Lisa Bevere reflects that point of view, writing that “All authority, whether given to a man or a woman, is given to serve others for their benefit and growth” (122). Dr. Rev. Sheri Benvenuti writes that “authority was never the issue; rather, servanthood was always the focal point of one’s ministry calling.” For the Pentecostal, she says, “all authority is defined by the degree to which one serves.” It is not “derived through position alone...but rather is founding the individual who serves the body of Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit” (3). In *A Paradigm Shift: Women in Leadership* Joy Graetz points out that authority was given to *both* men and women in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 1:26) and writes that when church leaders follow Boaz’s example and become the advocates, instead of the enemies, of women they help the church to grow (153). Men do not become advocates for women (when such advocates are needed) so that women can “flaunt some

hideous power” or so that “men become suppressed shadows of their former ministries,” as some might believe (152-53). Equating the heart and goals of women preachers and leaders with that of radical feminists demonstrates both ignorance and fear on the part of the accuser.

Motherhood as the Dividing Line

At the heart of the debate on women is the controversy over whether a woman should stay at home or should go to work. Of course, women carry out home-based businesses, work part-time jobs, work-full time jobs at the daycares where their children attend, work full-time and devote an equal amount of time and care to their children in the evenings, work full-time and work out a schedule with their husbands so that one parent can be with the children all or most of the time—and the list goes on. These are just a few of the many different ways women try to balance parenting and work. An assumption often made is that it is the woman’s responsibility to rear the children, but perhaps married couples need to make it more clear how much parenting really is a joint effort and how one parent is not more “qualified” than the other. Yet it is undeniable that even if women share parenting responsibilities, they are still feel primarily responsible for making sure their children are well-cared for at all times.

For women preachers, the debate over work versus home is even more controversial since to believe that God called a woman to work—even if that work is preaching—undermines arguments based upon the presupposition that God wants all mothers to just stay home. Those who say women should not work

outside of the home do not make an exception for preachers. Culturally-based pressure once resulted in what Harvey Cox describes a “call-refusal motif” that characterizes the call stories of nineteenth and early to middle twentieth century preachers. These women received the call to preach, but knowing that it was culturally unacceptable to do so, refused. Most then faced some sort of crisis and then felt compelled to accept the call as part of reconciling with God and allowing him to rescue them from their crisis (130-32). The Pentecostal women preachers interviewed by David Roebuck and later analyzed by Mary McClintock Fulkerson almost unanimously professed to a “struggle to accept God’s call” (261-62). One of these women claimed that God spoke to her every night until she accepted the call to preach, and another constructed her call paradoxically by outlining how she overcame her own prejudices against women preachers by experiencing the call herself (263, 65). The folklorist Elaine Lawless asserts that all of the Pentecostal women preachers she interviewed “resisted the call” with one even claiming she felt that a fall on the ice, which resulted in her hand being permanently crippled, was God’s way of making her “pay attention” to her call to preach (43). In Scanzoni and Setta’s collection of testimonies of women preachers in Evangelical, Holiness, and Pentecostal traditions, the Nazarene Mary Cagle claims she felt called but tried to avoid it (237-38). When her husband became ill and his life hung in the balance, she tried to bargain with God: she would preach if He would allow her husband to live. She says that God replied, “Will you do

what I want you to do whether I heal your husband or not?" She said she would, so after her husband's death two months later, she began to preach (238).

The famous Pentecostal preacher Aimee Semple McPherson's call story tells how she strongly resisted the call to preach until she almost died and felt she had to accept. "Oh, don't you ever tell me that a woman cannot be called to preach!" she writes (Scanzoni and Setta 245). Likewise, early-to-middle twentieth century IPHC preacher Grace Hope Curtis strongly resisted the call to preach but ended with a passionate embrace of it after her trial. I will briefly recount it for you: She tells of praying for her daughter, only a year old, who was very ill. She says she prayed for days and days but finally could do no more than watch her life ebb away. "We trusted God fully in those days," she writes, "and we prayed and prayed for her healing, but she continued to lay lifeless for days." She says at that point God reminded her of her call to preach and she tearfully accepted it (16). She writes, "As I surrendered I looked down at the baby. She had ceased her death rattle breathing and had fallen into a deep natural sleep" (17). Later she writes, "I thank God for the ministry He gave me although some fifty years ago; it was not as easy as it is today" (18).

Curtis indirectly addresses the stay-at-home versus go-to-work/preach dilemma in her autobiography when she describes leaving her two school-aged children behind so she could go to preach. She wrote,

While I was telling them goodbye with tears running down my face, a dear old Indian preacher patted me on the back and said, 'Hannah must have been an

awful good woman.’ The thought of Hannah taking little Samuel to the temple and leaving him there dried my tears, for I knew Hannah only saw her little Samuel once a year, and it would be only a few weeks until I could hold my baby in my arms again. (19)

Motherhood, of course, comes up in all three of my interviews with contemporary Pentecostal Holiness women preachers. For example, Charlene West describes her difficulties as a widow with four children and a call to preach, but does not describe any sort of tension between her calling and motherhood. She describes making occasional arrangements for the care of one of her children while she took Spanish classes in a matter-of-fact way as she tells how she followed the path God laid out for her (2). In fact, the way that West structures her entry into the ministry is a picture of support and of approval by her husband, her congregation and denomination, and her community. He volunteered her for a trip to Costa Rica; her first missionary preaching experience and the place where she would spend nine years of her ministry before moving on to Venezuela. She left for her ministry the week of her husband’s death with three of her four children (her oldest was in college). Upon her return in 1991, she became the first Director of Intercultural Ministry through Evangelism U.S.A. (3-4).

Debbie Whipple did not have to leave her children behind the way early Pentecostal preacher Grace Hope Curtis often had to. Instead, she describes her children leaving home as “very, very difficult.” Her relationship with her children relates to her relationship with God. She made a connection between her efforts to

limit non-Christian influences on her children to God's jealousy over non-Christian influences in our lives. "Whenever we let something influence us more than Him," then we have allowed something of less value to direct us on our paths (4).

Unlike West and Whipple, Peggy Eby poignantly describes a tension between her call to preach and motherhood when her children were small and her husband traveled a lot so she had to spend most of her time at home. Her feelings of resentment were resolved one day when she was complaining about the situation:

I said, "Lord, why did you call me to preach? I'm doing nothing but changing dirty diapers and wiping runny noses." I felt His response in my spirit: "If you do nothing else in life, give me three disciples that are totally committed to me and your life will not be in vain." At that point I laid down my driving desire to be an evangelist and saw the value of raising my children to know God and to serve Him. (3)

Perhaps Eby's interview provides the insight needed to see the way that being a mother does not cancel out the work a woman is called to do outside the home, but that work outside the home is sometimes temporarily less important than the types of efforts she makes to raise her children in the faith. Notice that she was enjoying a partnership-type of marriage and only felt that she was limited when her husband had to travel extensively.

Debbie Whipple incorporated her calling into the fullness of her life. She says, “So it’s in the car, doing the dishes, fixing the bed, at night, first thing in the morning, at work” when describing how she constructs a sermon (3). In the same way, as a mother, scholar, university instructor, wife, friend, and so on, I never really lay my work to the side. I get up early, read throughout the day, write when possible, discuss topics of interest when in contact with my friends in the field, mull things over while I’m driving. My work is not divided from the rest of my life. The rest of my life, which includes two young children right now, is not divided from the fabric of my days and nights either. Perhaps the segmented work versus home approach is not an accurate representation of the ways women work. Women work in ways that utilize connections, even when separated from their work when they are at home or from their home lives when they are at work. Further, they utilize all of those times in between to work on those things occupying their minds.

The battle between working and stay-at-home mothers in the church has had a poisonous effect. The drive to stay home, espoused by many conservative Christians such as Janice Crouse who has published several articles on the Concerned Women for America website, makes many Christian working women into the enemies of women who stay home because they feel judged by them. Many stay-at-home mothers defend what has become an economic luxury for them by characterizing their choice to stay home as more “Christian” than the choice to work. The belief that women who stay home are better mothers than

those who work emerged gradually over the twentieth century. In his chapter on how Pentecostals in the Church of God have risen to power during the twentieth century, David Roebuck writes that:

As Church of God women increasingly saw themselves as part of the middle class, they desired the accouterments of the middle class. For those who came from backgrounds in which women previously had little choice but to work outside the home, a stay-at-home wife and mother was an important symbol—whether grounded in reality or not—that Pentecostals had arrived. Women had a new place based on economic power rather than spiritual power. (57)

However, some redress is coming about from a new focus on the Proverbs thirty-one woman, though many carefully focused interpretations of that passage still conveniently ignore many of the implications a fuller interpretation reveal. In verses 10-31, King Lemuel of Massa repeats his mother's description of a godly woman who has servants (read maids and babysitters into this), who has two businesses outside of the home (a vineyard and she sells sashes that she makes), and who is a mother whose children grow up to call her "blessed" for all she did to benefit them *inside* and *outside* of the home. Her value is found in what she does for her family and in her inner spiritual beauty exemplified by her devotion to God, not in her refusal to work outside the home.

The Promise of a Future for Women Preachers

A future for women preachers rests upon the continued critique of epistemological differences and resulting ideologies that determine the ways in which truth is located or generated. For Pentecostals who lean toward fundamentalism, understanding the nature and practice of theology would lead toward a better understanding of how hermeneutics affects exegesis. Feminist theologians such as Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza may not reflect the doctrinal position of a Christian college or university, but using her theology as a way to create resistance to alternative ideas as well as to find surprising levels of similarity between one's position and hers makes the reasons for and the implications of the tenets of one's own ideology more visible. Furthermore, the work of feminist theologians often unmask the processes used by theologians who determine how spiritual truths are determined and explained in order to show how they are, to varying degrees, grounded in culturally-biased subjectivity. Therefore, the future of education in Christian colleges should incorporate teaching critical thinking skills that allow students to see how doctrinal arguments are situated within larger contexts, if such learning objectives are not already in place. In other words, doctrinal arguments should be put into a dialectical conversation with alternative beliefs and students should not be allowed to simply line their ideas up against straw man arguments. To ignore alternative world views results in not only a blindness to the variety of arguments that exist but also a weakened ability to produce a strong response when proponents of alternative

ideologies confront you, as Saint Augustine pointed out several centuries ago in *De Doctrina Christiana*.

Furthermore, change must occur in the hearts and minds of the members of the IPHC as well as in other Christian denominations. Practices must begin to line up with professed theologies. Although Debbie Whipple was educated at an IPHC college and ordained by the IPHC, she did not feel that she could begin her ministry. She felt that she had to overcome very real sense of male domination that she felt while working at the IPHC Headquarters (now known as the Resource Development Center) in Bethany. In response to her dilemma, she says that her husband told her to just stay at her job because God was going to open up something there. She goes on:

And I remember being on the steps to the Bishop's office and I thought, no, nothing's going to happen to me [I'm not going to be able to be a preacher] because the men won't let it happen to me. And just when I got to the top step, God asked me: "Am I not bigger than these men in this building?" And I had to stop. My answer was not immediate because I didn't know. I knew He was bigger. I didn't know if He would do it—I knew He had enough power to do it—but I didn't know. Then I thought, of course you're bigger. So, at that point things changed and doors started to open. (4-5)

Continued change in the IPHC as well as in other Christian denominations rests upon continued efforts to draw upon the talents of women in all leadership

positions. The key to changing an atmosphere of male domination at the IPHC headquarters is to make women leaders a real presence. At the time of our interview in 2004, Eby felt that the IPHC needed to include women in positions of leadership, not just as preachers. Eby says,

When the Bible talks about the creation of mankind in His own image, it says “male and female he created them.” It takes men and women together to express the image of God to the church and to the world. I believe that church leadership will be lacking a powerful expression of God’s character if women are excluded. (4)

Fortunately, since the 2005 convention, new efforts have been made to include women in these roles. My mother, LaDonna Scott, who has been working at the IPHC Headquarters for the past twenty-seven years and who has now served three bishops as a secretary, writes that for the first time a woman was elected to the second highest board in the IPHC at the 2005 convention. Trish Weedn, a layperson from Oklahoma who also serves as a State Representative from her district in Oklahoma, is a member of the General Executive Board. Two women, one a preacher and the other a Hispanic layperson, were elected to the highest board, the General Board of Administration. Even so, none of these women work full-time at the headquarters and the norm is not to place women in administrative positions; in fact, Scott only recalls three such women. To date, no woman has served at the executive level at headquarters (9).

Yet there is hope. There is hope for a future where ambitious, working women will not be denigrated by the misuse of the term “feminist.” There is hope for a future where church leaders will become educated more about the reach and the range of the term “feminist” so they will not make the mistake of reducing all feminists to a characterization of radical feminism. There is hope for a future that includes cooperation and support between working and stay-at-home Christian mothers in place of competition and attitudes of superiority. To reach such destinations, we must continue to put Christ first, others next, and ourselves last. We must embrace a servant’s heart.

CHAPTER V:
CONCLUSIONS

Truth and Epistemic Rhetoric

My research for this dissertation has led me to research many questions, but none more significant than the nature of the generative ethos for each IPHC woman preacher and how social, spiritual, and individual elements work today to create epistemologies that generate relative truths. Absolute truth, I believe, is available only in the presence of God/Christ/Holy Spirit. This type of truth is generated through divine revelation. Divine revelations are generated through prayer and often when one is alone, though one could easily point to the biblical account of Paul's moment of conversion on the road to Damascus where Christ revealed himself to him. Some revealed truths may also be described as relative because they pertain only to the individual who is embroiled in a set of circumstances that led him/her to seek an answer from God. Others, such as Paul's, can be construed as universal. The truth revealed to Paul was that Christ is who he is, no matter who you are or what your circumstances are. Such beliefs in objective truths that lie outside of generated changes are defined as a belief in metaphysical objectivity. As far as I can tell, however, such truth(s) cannot be proven and only gain authority when accepted through a leap of faith, as exemplified by Paul's biblical example. One's faith, however, is not without evidence. Christians point to a multitude of evidence that God is working in their lives to free them from harmful character traits, addictions, and hurts. Yet, to the

postmodern point of view, belief in metaphysical truths threaten the common good because it allows outsiders to a community to exert an authority that may or may not be beneficial to them (McGowan 586).

Human truths are generated in imperfect ways and are, therefore, expected to be flawed and always in flux. Even divinely revealed truths may change as circumstances change. Not much can be said definitively or finally about truth, except that it is a slippery topic that defies reductive, limiting definitions and formulas for how, when, or where truth(s) may occur. Indeed, my discussion of truth interweaves an assessment of how the Holy Spirit affects Pentecostal ethos, epistemologies, and transformations. To conclude my dissertation with these ideas drawn from the research I began two years ago is apt because my overarching theme has been to investigate the nature of generative ethos as well as its connection to epistemic rhetoric through the case studies of the IPHC preachers in Oklahoma. Therefore, my conclusions will deal with how my understanding of these theories and their connections to my subject matter has emerged in terms of how I understand truth(s) to be generated.

The Holy Spirit and Corderian Generative Ethos

One feminist theologian and woman preacher describes the ways that meaning is created in spiritual autobiographies with characteristics similar to the ways that we describe how ethos is generated from a text. Rebecca Button Prichard, author of *Sensing the Spirit: The Holy Spirit in Feminist Perspective*, writes that: “The message of a spiritual autobiography trades upon the narrative

structure created by its author, and upon the relative concreteness or abstraction of the story it seems to tell.” She sees a “dynamic similarity between the way form and content work together to create meaning in theological texts and the way body and spirit are connected in the spiritual lives of human beings” (4-5).

Without stating it as such, she senses a co-creation similar to that described by theories of generative ethos. Further, as a way of knowing, communication between two eliminates the idiosyncrasies associated with individuals, though she does not tie this down to the reader-writer dichotomy described in generative ethos theories. Sensory perception is more of a heuristic than an epistemology, she writes, and the “sense-making reflection” between two parties is “systemic, not systematic, theology” that is “organic,” “relational,” and “circular instead of disconnected” (121).

How the Holy Spirit enlightens believers can be explained in some of the same terms with which generative ethos is described. Theresa Enos describes generative ethos as occurring in a “point of intersection” between writer and reader; in the areas of identification and co-presence between them (112). It is the “Between,” not fully residing in the text although it is present within the text, and the “Between” is the place wherein writer and audience become mutually aware of each other, where they interact, where they are both present, where they are “willing to be influenced” (111). An interesting parallel occurs between the Christian and the Holy Spirit. The “text” may be scripture or it may be the material world. The Holy Spirit is often described as a teacher in scripture and it

is in the mutual awareness of Christian and Spirit that influence occurs via the Bible or physical elements that acquire new meaning as they are “read” anew.

Pentecostals have had their relationships with the Holy Spirit reduced to their claim that it is the Spirit who gives women authority to preach based upon the Joel/Acts scripture which states that daughters will prophesy in the last days. The scripture is invoked along with the belief that we are experiencing the last days. In fact, the relationship between body and Spirit is much more complex. Prichard describes reading the Bible as a means of communication, a common theme in Christian theologies. “Wholehearted, God-breathed life in the Spirit enables us to bear witness to the truth we find there, empowers prophetic preaching and hearing, and encourages us to argue, to speak, and to listen, even, especially to the silences of history” (126). For Pentecostals too, the Spirit is the one who reveals the meaning of scripture to the reader. As Pentecostal preacher Paula White explains, when we stop listening with our own ears and seeing with our own eyes, we sense what the Spirit is saying to us. He acts as our guide.

The body-spirit connection of the baptism in the Holy Spirit has reduced the effect of damaging stereotypes from the past, and changed the nature of how Pentecostal women construct their ethos. While in some Christian religions there has been a focus on the spirit and not the body, something that has been used in the past to denigrate women who do not match the male body of Christ or the apostles, Pentecostals have enjoyed physical expression as worship and have described the Holy Spirit as literally inhabiting the personages of both men and

women. By grounding her vision of the Spirit in physical phenomenon, Prichard makes the powerful feminist statement that the body is acceptable and valuable in the way the spirit is. To value the body is to refute centuries of gender discrimination, and to understand “weakness” in its proper scriptural context, that is as spiritual weakness, not the implied intellectual or physical weakness referred to by women such as Margaret Fell when arguing for women’s rights, is also powerful. When Enos points out that Corder “intertwines writer, audience/reader, and subject into a ‘golden braid,’ a helix of understanding,” I believe an analogy could be made that portrays the spirit of the Christian, her abstracted understanding of the nature of her body, and the Holy Spirit (101).

Generative ethos occurs in other “texts” and experiences. For example, the Holy Spirit may enlighten a believer during the reading of scripture, but also during prayer or worship. Such communion through text and experience is a means of transformation, and transformation is key to understanding how generative ethos might work in spiritual contexts. “In complementary processes,” Enos writes, “both writer and reader gain power to remake themselves through the identification they discover” (107). Paul Ricoeur likewise points to the transformative nature of a text when it is read, writing that “Only then [when a text is read] does the literary work acquire meaning in the full sense of the term, and at the intersection of the world projected by the text and the life-world of the reader” (qtd. in Valdes 625). “Putting a text into play,” as Valdes describes, “is an experience that transforms those who participate in it” (625).

Transformation is intimately tied to faith because what is being changed is often in the spirit of a person, not just her intellect or behavior. Perhaps Michel Foucault would define conversion as simply an exchange of one type of “biopower” for another, as Richard Wolin describes it, which would then enslave the believer to new power paradigms meant to govern his behavior, but even Foucault came to believe that we have enough agency to exert creative influence over our own lives (B12, B14). The belief that we have the power to change ourselves is powerful in and of itself, but the Christian belief that we can be completely transformed by our conversion is quite another. Generative ethos, as enacted in the conversion process, could be described as a matter of trading pieces of one’s “self” for pieces of Christ’s “self.”

“Trading pieces of you for pieces of me” sounds like a loss of identity, but is in fact a means of liberation for many. Whereas a socially constructed ethos may tie a person to a troubled childhood, impoverished circumstances, addictions, a shameful past history of bad behaviors and bad choices, and so on; an ethos co-generated with Christ allows one to enter into a new identity and to become liberated from socially-determined sources of identity that have harmful effects. Trading socially determined identities for spiritually determined identities reverses the inescapable bonds of early Foucauldian power paradigms, at least in part. If the truths about you that are generated by your past history define you as powerless, worthless, or in other negative ways, then your bondage is not external but internal, as Foucault suggested, and these truths then have the power to limit

you in significant ways unless you believe that core elements of your identity are changeable and that your past does not determine who you are, your future does. In Paula White's sermon preached in the late Aimee Semple McPherson's church, she asks "Why were you born?" In other words, what is your God-given purpose? To achieve a God-given purpose is to transcend socially-determined limitations imposed upon you.

In the Christian faith-based epistemology that I derive from Paul's epistles, the moral state of the soul is central to a discussion of how any Christian ethos should be offered to the world through the mouth of a preacher. In ancient theories of ethos, both Gorgias and Isocrates valued virtue, but Isocrates did not believe that it could be taught (Bizzell and Herzberg 45). Grimaldi writes that the specific meaning of ethos in *The Art of Rhetoric* is that ethos is a "firm disposition in a person formed partly under the direction of reason with respect to that part of the appetitive soul represented by the emotions; this firm disposition reflects the quality of the individual's dominant habits in the sphere of moral activity" (71). Morality is inseparable from Plato's ideas about rhetoric; if ethos is addressed in a surface manner with other theorists, it is not addressed in that way by Plato only because ethos is a matter of the soul and provides a way of addressing the subject of rhetoric as a whole. To be a moral person is to be a good rhetor because the value system in place sees more advantages to speaking the truth, communicating knowledge, and arguing for justice than it does for using rhetoric to achieve baser goals. In his later "Phaedrus," Plato's Socrates says "The function of speech is to

influence the soul,” and the rhetor’s energy should be directed toward conviction (90-91).

Plato fashioned one of the most powerful metaphors for transcendence in “Phaedrus.” In his preoccupation with transcendence of the earth and humanity’s base desires, Plato fashioned the metaphor of the two horses and a charioteer to explain how love (the wings of the soul) pushes one toward the higher realm where all truth, knowledge, and true beauty reside. The beautiful horse needed only a word for direction and strove toward the good and the higher realm (“Phaedrus” 61-62). The dark horse represented a person’s lustful nature where desire rules over reason and right and had to be resisted with all of the soul’s strength several times before he would submit to cooperation with the soul and the good horse (61-62). Some have compared these horses with the philosopher and the rhetorician, the former represented by the good horse and the latter by the bad horse since the former directs his life toward teaching truth and knowledge and the latter directs his life toward producing belief in order to gain the advantage in practical matters. The winged soul or will is the charioteer who attempts to control both horses (58). During the 18th-century, John Wesley, father of the Methodist religion from which the Pentecostal Holiness faith was derived in the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries, would echo this metaphor in his *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. He writes, “I saw that ‘simplicity of intention, and purity of affection,’ one design in all we speak or do, and one desire ruling all

our tempers, are indeed the ‘wings of the soul,’ without which she can never ascend to the mount of God” (6).

These metaphors of transcendence seek to explain how the human will struggles to achieve transcendence into the spiritual realm and to draw toward Truth. For example, in Plato’s point of view, love is the agent for transcendence in the “Symposium.” In it, Socrates recalls Diotima’s concept of love, pregnancy becomes a metaphor for the educational process, and the “pregnant” person gives “birth” to virtue and wisdom (52). (By the way, by choosing a woman to communicate the metaphor, Plato makes the perfect “rhetorical” choice for communicating either ideas that he learned from her or his own ideas). Socrates describes Diotima’s four levels of spiritual transcendence toward truth: (1) value physical beauty, i.e., see the beauty in everyone, (2) value intellectual beauty, (3) value the beauty of intellectual endeavors or the work of the mind, and (4) attain a vision of absolute beauty (and truth) (53-54). Likewise, the medieval theologian Saint Augustine formed a hierarchy for transcendence for Christian preachers. He was the first to combine classical rhetorical theories with the art of preaching. The steps for creating a good ethos include achieving spiritual harmony with God and attending to personal growth through “piety,” “knowledge,” “courage,” “mercy,” and “wisdom” (132-33). The first level is to fear God and desire to know his will, the second is to “grow modest with piety,” the third is to obtain knowledge of scripture, the fourth is to desire justice, the fifth is to advance to the “stage of

counsel that goes with mercy,” the sixth is to “purge” your eyes so you can see God, and the seventh and final stage is to achieve a knowledge of wisdom (133).

In Pauline terms transformation is key to conversion (Romans 12:2), and conversion is a result of persuasion that is more of an art than a technique. Lewis Rambo asserts that the study of conversion has greatly increased in the last twenty years and has gained the interest of scholars across a variety of fields, including anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and others (211). He writes that conversion begs attention because scholars want to understand how people change, often in spite of “deeply rooted [...] family connections, cultural traditions, ingrained customs, and ideologies” (212). At a broader level, he claims that conversion interests scholars because “so much of the world has been and continues to be shaped by the world’s religions” (212). Again, Paul of the New Testament plays a vital role in the discussion. Rambo describes how the word “conversion” is based upon Paul’s own, radical, dramatic, sudden conversion, though some scholars find this definition too “restrictive” for their purposes (213-14).

While many of the writings I analyzed were not solely concerned with conversion, the story of a life is an evangelical tool used to glorify God (often the explicitly stated primary purpose for writing them) as well as to convert the readership. Therefore, ethos operates as a proof or as a type of evidence that strongly supports the author’s assertion that she has undergone a transformation

and at the same time forms an appeal to the reader by suggesting that such a transformation would benefit them also.

Truth or “truths?”: The Aims of Epistemic Rhetoric

Arguments for conversion are a type of epistemic rhetoric that draw upon the idea of truth as knowable and, in some cases, absolute. For Plato the purpose of speech is to remember Truth (not to discover it as contemporary rhetoricians describe or to create it in relationship to a particular situation as Sophists suggest), to communicate the truth instead of opinions, and to understand that “the function of speech is to influence the soul [not a jury, political group, congregation, etc.]” (“Phaedrus” 91). Knowledge, truth, wisdom rooted in and derived from one’s moral nature and relationship with God, expertise, charisma, the author’s stated motives and purposes for their construction of ethos—these are all elements of how authority tied to one’s philosophy of truth becomes a central issue in theories in a discussion of the nature of generative ethos. Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg return to the Sophists such as Gorgias and Isocrates to describe the way ethos departs from a focus on “good character” to a focus on the way it has become a means of believing and communicating the fragmented, partial knowledge one has. Sophistic ethos is about belief in one’s self and in one’s knowledge (38-39).

How knowledge and truth are created within epistemic rhetorics is central to our understanding of how reader and writer interact in a shared world. Because knowledge is not a static entity from which we draw truths, it is theorized as a

social phenomenon. Jim Corder quotes Kenneth Bruffee's articulation of how knowledge is socially constructed by "communities of like-minded peers" and James Porter's summary of how the "intertextual nature of discourse" requires us to "shift our attention away from the writer as individual and focus more on the sources and social contexts from which the writer's discourse arises" (qtd. in "Hunting for Ethos" 207). "And yet. And yet," Corder writes (207). "Knowledge is a social construct, and it isn't. Speaking and writing and identity belong to interpretive communities, to social constructions, to intertextuality, and they don't" (211). There are always those who resist, who go a different way, who fit a different mold. Without some degree of a "self" or "true self" or "separate self," we cannot adequately argue that we have some measure of control. If nothing is reserved for us alone, if nothing about us is different in the way that our fingerprints and our DNA are different, then we lose more than our individuality—we lose the authority embedded within the unique ethos we project through our speech and writing. I'm suggesting that we are born with something in our personalities and intellect that makes us different as we can see so easily by studying our physical anatomy, and yet also the same. The act of resistance suggests that there is a socially constructed norm that we are resisting. We sometimes resist by imitating other's choices and sometimes we resist because of an inner resistance that forges a new choice.

In "Self Structure as a Rhetorical Device," Marshall Alcorn describes one contemporary definition of the self as something without an "inner entity [...] that

chooses its character.” “Instead,” he explains, other theorists describe the self as a reflection of the “particular character of larger social forces that determine its nature and movement.” The self is not stable or consistent over time, and different selves are triggered by various social situations (5). Alcorn tells us that Aristotle’s vision of the self is weak because it assumes an overly strong, stable self, and the poststructuralist vision of the self is weak because it assumes an overly weak self that has no control. Marshall assumes a position in between whereby he does not accept a universal notion of a stable self, nor does he accept a poststructuralist position; but he says that although “various forms of the self change over time, the particular selves formed by historical conditions have relatively stable self-structures” (6).

I would say that there are parts of a “self” that are easily changeable. I don’t regard switching brands of laundry detergent to be something worthy of much of my attention. My sense of self that appreciates one detergent and its smell may be easily replaced by another that I find equally representative of my preferences. However, some parts of my self-structure are resistant to change. While my preferences might have the strength of a sandcastle, my religious beliefs have the strength of a rock. They change slowly and almost imperceptibly in the walking out of my life. If I were moved into a Muslim community, I would retain Christian beliefs even if I came to really understand and appreciate the other religion. Though I realize my metaphors overly simplify the matter at question, the question of a “stable” self versus a self that is constructed entirely by

one's community to be an issue at the heart of a discussion of generative ethos. Such a question is by no means easy to resolve and does not necessarily have to result in a decision that wholly supports one view over the other.

A postmodern view of authority as the essence of invention as Jim Corder and James Baumlin claim is the essence of invention in ethos ("Authority in Education" 23). They turn to Latin to expand the definition of "authority" to include "originating power," "liberty," "ability," and the preservation of freedom (23). Authority destroys freedom only when it becomes law and defines what is normative, prescriptive, and emphasizes imitation instead of creation (23). Indeed, authority is a "poor guarantor of truth" and "stability" even when it is used as a "weapon against change" (23). When "freedom in discourse becomes the ground of authority" and when authority becomes a ground for trust between the speaker and the audience, then "ethos becomes as it were the 'authority' – the speaking into being – of the author, the author authoring herself" (23).

One important function of authority is exerted through ethos when the rhetor claims to be able to communicate the Truth/truth, as we can see from my brief case study of Paul as Christian orator. The debate over whether or not a rhetor is actually able to do so is ancient. The fifth-century B. C. E. Sophist Gorgias was not without a moral code as Plato charged, but rather he began his famous "Ecomium of Helen" with: "What is becoming to a city is manpower, to a body beauty, to a soul wisdom, to an action virtue, to a speech truth, and the opposites of these are unbecoming" (40). The actual divide between Plato and

Gorgias consisted of Plato's belief in the communication of absolute, knowable truth (although finding such truths was highly difficult) and Gorgias' belief in the relativity and contextuality of truth. Truth, for Gorgias, depended on circumstance.

A different way of looking at the both stable and unstable natures of truth may be found in Robert Scott's "On Viewing Rhetoric as Epistemic," he writes, "Truth must be seen as dual;" it must embody "the demands of the precepts one adheres to and the demands of the circumstances in which one must act."

"Man," he goes on to say, "must consider truth not as something fixed and final but as something to be created moment by moment in the circumstances in which he finds himself and must cope. Man may plot his course by fixed stars [truths or principles] but he does not possess those stars; he only proceeds, more or less effectively, on his course.

Furthermore, man has learned his stars are fixed only in a relative sense."

(318)

Although many would claim that the Bible reflects an attempt to render static, fixed truths, I would argue that Christianity is best understood as a walk on a path where only one step is lighted at a time. The stars peering out of the darkness that surrounds you are the truths or principles that you derive from a hermeneutical process, whatever that may be, and the path is a moving, living, walking type of progression. By this I mean that we apply the "star-truths" we see to the thought processes involved in each step as we are about to take it, then as

we take it, then as we remember it, then as we apply them to our thought/action before we take the next step, and so on. Each instantiation of these truths expands them through our use and experience of them. Every time they are spoken, written, or acted into being, they gain life through growth. A “fixed” truth or principle or precept is dead, unused, forgotten. I base my position on the Pauline view that transformation is a process and renewal of the mind is a daily occurrence (2 Cor. 3:18; 4:16).

George Kennedy in *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* points out that the ways that God’s or Christ’s authoritative statements are recorded in the Bible are not arguments, but are statements of absolutes (6-8). He uses Moses as one example of how God speaks to Moses and then Moses repeats the authoritative message to Pharaoh (“let my people go”), but does not argue matters of social justice with him (8). Likewise, Kennedy points out, Paul describes the preacher as being a speaker for God/Christ/Holy Spirit through whom authoritative messages are communicated. Indeed, some elements of Christian preaching are built on unargued statements of Truth/truths, but Paul also urges preachers to argue for Christianity using every means of argument available (1st Cor. 2:4). While Moses’ argument, as it is recorded in a text that was actually meant to be read aloud and explained/expanded to an audience, may have been simple, Pauline texts reveal an awareness that preaching is more complex than proclamation.

The authoritative ethos of God/Christ/Holy Spirit should not be confused with the ethos of the ideal preacher that Paul deals with in his letters. Preachers may speak for God and relay his messages to the people, but they do not merely operate as a tool, like a telephone, for the mere transmittal of messages. Preachers may also be inspired by God and may bring the Holy Spirit into the room through worship and preaching, but they do not rely solely on the Holy Spirit to persuade. Many say the Holy Spirit convicts a sinner, but the Spirit clearly does not act alone in a church service. He is aided by the preacher, called upon by the preacher, and creates a space for conversion or transformation in the spiritual spaces opened between them. Preaching is indeed a sacred type of rhetoric that is multi-dimensional, complex, dynamic, and participatory. Authoritative ethos for the preacher may be built with authoritative structures that draw upon the biblical paradigms for how God/Christ speak to people. Kennedy quotes several of Ernesto Grassi's characteristics of sacred rhetorics in order to begin outlining the ways that rhetoric in the Bible relies on an authoritative ethos in ways that other types of rhetoric do not. These include: an authoritative proclamation of truth, assertions that are "absolute and urgent," and timeless pronouncements (6). Yet preaching is much more about connection than proclamation, in my opinion, particularly when it comes to Pentecostal preachers.

Questioning the veracity of proclaimed biblical statements is an act of heresy and threatens the authority of the Bible, but because how we define and use "truth" determines how we define and use authority, discussions of truth are

central to understanding how generative ethos works as a means of establishing authority and power. The concept of truth determines the political nature of the knowledge constructed. Paradoxically, questioning the authority and relevance of sacred texts may be heretical, but it is also key to an active Christian lifestyle. Steiner writes, “heresy can be defined as ‘un-ending re-reading’ and revaluation. Heresy refuses exegetic finality [...]. The heretic is the discourser without end” (44-45). Yet it is important to re-evaluate biblical truths because to regard truths as unarguable or unchangeable in every sense of the word is to use authority as a “weapon against change,” as Corder puts it (“Authority in Education” 23). The push toward closure and toward fixed and unchangeable truths in religious matters is a push toward hegemony. Viewing knowledge as fixed or closed creates opportunities for some groups to develop or to maintain hegemony. Bourdieu writes that “The theory of knowledge is a dimension of political theory because the specifically symbolic power to impose the principles of the construction of reality -- in particular, social reality -- is a major dimension of political power” (165).

Philosophies about the nature of truth are complex and come to us from many different sources. I have so far presented the nature of truth as being both relative and yet at times somewhat stable; as being constructed socially and yet with individual agency; as being both closed and open. To allow “open” truths to be unquestioned results in Bourdieu’s “doxa” and Corder’s ideas about authority and hegemony. On the other hand, there is this tension I feel as a Christian

because I do have elements of metaphysical objectivism in my perspective on truth. I believe that the truth that God exists is a proposition that exists independently of subjective beliefs. In contrast, Plato believed that truth belonged to some external realm. For example, Plato thought we had imitations of the ideal here on earth: a table that fits our idea of “tableness,” a beautiful flower that fits our idea of “beauty,” and so on. Knowledge-making or epistemic rhetoric often only results in relative truths, but the “star-principles” point to an existence of truths have more stability.

Truth as a Living Presence

Thus far I have discussed truth in relationship to the aims of knowledge creation in epistemic rhetorics. I have described how Truth/truths are constructed and how they can be both stable and unstable. However, I would also like to point out that, in Christian epistemologies the idea and nature of “truth” takes on many forms. For example, in the gospel of John, Christ calls the Holy Spirit the “spirit of truth” who speaks, not on his own authority, but on that which he hears from God (16:13). Truth is made equivalent with God’s word, and this type of truth “consecrates” human beings (John 17:17-19). Also, Christ says his “task is to bear witness to the truth” when interrogated by Pilate before his crucifixion (John 18:37). “For this I was born,” Christ says, “For this I came into the world, and all who are not deaf to truth listen to my voice” (John 18:37). In response Pilate asks, “What is truth?” (John 18:37). The term “truth” and the authority associated with it are part of the framework of Paul’s Christian epistemic rhetoric from which a

theory of ethos may be derived. Paul's use of the term "truth" reveals that he finds it synonymous with the message of Christ as the risen savior, i.e., the gospel message, and that it is truth, not goodness, that combats evil (Romans 1:18, 25, 2:2, 8, 1st Cor. 13:6).

Although Christ does not respond to Pilate's question because he was the living presence of truth, although the concept of truth is treated as though its definition were obvious in the Bible, and although analyzing the ways in which truth is used enables us to see more deeply into the ways I'm describing a Pauline Christian epistemology, truth, in essence, is a simple concept although understanding how it functions within language may be complicated by scholars. Our sense of truth is irrevocably tied to our sense of "right" and "wrong." C. S. Lewis once wrote that we draw from the standards for right behavior every day when we speak of what is fair and what isn't, when we've been offended or dismissed, when we see someone harm another person and point out that we should not treat someone in a way that we do not wish to be treated ourselves, and so on (17). My point in making this observation is that it is neither foolish nor pointless for Paul to remind his readers to speak the truth to each other since understanding and practicing truth-telling is part of our natural moral code and the idea of telling the truth versus telling a lie is understood by those in every culture (Gal. 4:25). We have a commonsensical notion of truth even if we arrive at truths differently within different cultures.

Nor is it pointless for Christ to equate himself or his words with such a concept. The association of truth with the living Spirit defines truth as being located in one being that interacts with the believer in each situation. The Christian orator builds knowledge and truths through a relationship with God. He or she shares “God’s hidden wisdom” as it is “revealed” through the Spirit because the “spirit explores everything, even the depths of God’s own nature” (1st Cor. 2:7-10). Therefore, the Christian orator interprets “spiritual truths to those who have the Spirit” and speaks “of these gifts of God in words taught us not by our human wisdom but by the Spirit” (1st Cor. 2:13).

Paula White said: “Challenge it and it will change” in her sermon at Azusa Street last April. Inspired by her message, I have come to believe that part of my work is to challenge gender prejudice in Christianity. I also want to challenge the narrow-minded, fundamentalist interpretations of scripture that have been so comfortable for women who desire to stay home, who desire to promote exclusivity in their social realm, and who desire to openly criticize those of us who are called to do work outside of the home, particularly as leaders. Some women who stay home feel exempted from bettering their society. I want to challenge that. Some women feel that they could never be called to preach and neither could any other woman. They base their beliefs on gender and a literalist reading of Pauline scriptures. I want to challenge that. Some women feel comfortable criticizing women who work. I want to use the Proverbs thirty-one woman to challenge that. Some women endorse a parent-child relationship with

their spouse that absolves them of their responsibilities as equal, thinking adults. I want to challenge that. Some women wish to promote simplified, absolute Truth and closure. I want to challenge that. Some women wish to engage in a literal reading of the Bible and a commonsensical interpretation of scripture. I want to challenge that.

Like many Pentecostal women who claim power within Christianity, I don't wish to dismantle all of Christianity or Christian religions. However, I want to challenge women to become students of the Bible, using the Holy Spirit to guide them to deeper revelations of scripture. I want to challenge women to look up the range of Greek definitions for terms used to subordinate women, such as Janet Everts Powers does in "Recovering a Woman's Head with Prophetic Authority," and to read scripture within the context of the epistle itself and then within the historical, cultural, social, religious, and political contexts into which it was deployed. I want to take away a sense of comfort from people who no longer wish to grow spiritually or to ponder the complexity of their relationship with Christ, yet who feel free to limit the growth of others. I have learned to deal with open-ended answers during the course of my education at the UA. Part of my education has allowed me to question theological arguments through the rubrics of rhetorical analysis in order to more effectively challenge them. Here, I have learned what I could perhaps never have learned in a Christian university; here I have learned the power of inquiry and I have acquired the courage needed to face the complexity and the depth of open-ended answers.

APPENDIX A: DEBBIE WHIPPLE, INTERVIEW, 2004

July 17th, 2004, at her home in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

When did you become a Christian, get called to preach?

I'm originally from Kansas City. I came to Oklahoma in my early 30. I was born and raised there. I'm from an Italian Catholic background. I got really and truly saved when I was twenty-five years old. Up until that time I was in a Catholic church and went to Catholic schools. As far as the call—it was probably after I had my two children that I really – I was divorced at the time—and I really sensed the Lord leading me to go to school—to go to Bible college. I didn't really know I was called to preach per se, but looking back I think I've been called since I was a young child because I did strange things that kids don't normally do. I remember, just in the middle of the day, I would always go into church, the Catholic church, all by myself—and I couldn't have been more than eight or nine years old—and go up to the front of the church to the altar and I would kneel down and pray and talk to God. Looking back, that's strange. Not a lot of kids do that. But that was just normal to me. I just wanted to do that. I just liked being there.

There were three or four specific things I would pray for all the time. We had to go to mass every day at Catholic school. I remember one day doing that, and I couldn't have been more than ten years old, and of course the priests were always men and they still are today, but I remember watching them serve Communion and although I didn't realized it then it was God talking to me and

what he said to me was: “You’re going to do that someday.” And not even understanding what was happening, I just looked up at the priest and I thought, “Okay I’m going to do that someday.” But there’s no way I could have done that in the Catholic church. I think now lay people do serve communion, but you’re talking about thirty-seven years ago and I felt like that’s what I was being told in my spirit. So looking back, I think now that was all very strange.

I was in the Catholic church until I was twenty-five years old but in the Catholic church back then I couldn’t take communion anymore if your were divorced. That was a very hard, hard thing for me because I had such experiences with God as a young child. I made my first communion and that’s a big deal in the Catholic church. I remember like weeks before my first communion I had a dream. I was kind of flying and there was a Eucharist, we called it “hosts” back then, and in this dream I was flying around and I was picking all these wafers off this tree. So getting ready to make my first holy communion was a big deal and so I was all into that.

Then the day I made it, we always made a big to-do about that kind of stuff in the Catholic church and my family had a big party. Whenever anybody made their first holy communion, we had a big party. So it was my party and my day.

So, I remember playing around in the backyard telling my older cousins that I feel something inside; I feel so different inside. They looked at me like I was crazy. And that was it.

And so looking back on all these little things, I was having a walk with God that I didn't even know I was having. Now when I probably had my first truly repentive experience, I was again in the Catholic church; it was on a Good Friday. They would have the stations of the cross. The stations of the cross are the twelve stations or stops Christ made from the time he went before Pilate to the time he was crucified. And what would happen is that the priest would walk you through the station, and on the wall they have icons at each station. You walk and he explains what's going on.

When we go to the station where he fell under the weight of the cross, where Simon had to help him pick it up, I remember feeling the weight of my sin and I remember falling down crying and the nuns just walked on around me. They don't lead you in a salvation experience in the Catholic church. There's never a real born again experience. You know Christ died for your sins. You know Jesus took away the sins of the world. You know all this stuff. But you don't every really make that confession. You make it in every mass service you make it, you say the Catholic creed, you say Christ died for my sins to take away the sins of the world.

I remember crying and crying and feeling the weight of my sin and actually saying, "I'm sorry, I'm sorry." The nuns and other people just walked around me and went on with the rest of the stations and I composed myself and went on. Now I look back I realized that was my first truly repentive experience with the Lord.

I went on with my life and got married the first time in the Catholic church. We divorced and I had my time away from God. It was a really sinful time in my life. I didn't know a thing about Pentecost. I never set foot in another church. I was raised that you never went to another church. It was almost a sin to step foot outside a Catholic church. One time I went with a Methodist friend of mine, but outside of that I had never set foot in another church. Didn't know anything about it.

So I was living in a house in Kansas City and we had divorced and I realized what a sinner I was and had been for the last three or four years. And I began telling God that "I was sorry, I was sorry, please forgive me." And the next thing I knew, I fell—bam!—fell flat. I remember thinking that I didn't feel myself hitting the floor. And I was babbling something. Didn't know what on earth—My mind was telling me that God was casting me down because I was such a sinner—so I got up and went on with my way.

I had a cousin who had married a girl who was Assembly of God and he and I were really close. And they came over one day and I told them what had happened. And he said, "I want you to come to church with me." And from that day I went and that was the beginning of my salvation experience.

So, what I find really different about my life is that all of that happened to me when I didn't know anything about it. I never saw anybody—I didn't even know people were slain in the spirit, I didn't know what it was and it happened and I remember that it didn't hurt. I remember, all this stuff went through my

mind—I fell and it didn't hurt. And I was babbling something, so I assume I got the baptism and was filled with the spirit all at the same time. So, everything kind of fell n place after that. That was my initial experience. I was twenty-five. Then I got remarried, had my two kids, then I got divorced again.

It was to be my second divorce. Then I moved to Oklahoma. My brothers moved here, my parents moved here, I moved here, my husband left me here. He was a non-Christian.

So, that's when God really, really called me to preach. Well, actually the calling was: "Study to prove thyself worthy." I was reading my Bible and that was the calling, So, I didn't really know what I was doing. In school, when I was in junior high, looking back again I was very...I was the nerd of the school, didn't have a lot of friends, and no dates and all that business. But in speech class, for some reason—and again, it was the calling—I delivered a speech. In the whole time I was there, I delivered one speech. And, it was such a moving speech that I ended up doing it for the whole school and they tape-recorded it.

So you knew you had a gift?

I didn't even know it really. I knew I enjoyed it. And the techniques I learned in speech class I still use in my sermons today. And they make it very easy for me. For some reason, that class just stuck. It was easy; I understood it; I enjoyed researching it. I enjoyed putting it all together and I still use that method today. I try to get away from it and do something different, and I just can't. So that calling was always there. I didn't always know what was happening.

So, then I went to Southwestern. When I got out of college, I got my license. And after that I got ordained.

Where did you preach?

All over. Yesterday I preach at Church of the Servant. The United Methodist Church. I did their women's Bible study. There is no rhyme or reason to it. I've been to the Semor-Johnson Air Force base, the Family Air Force retreat, I do women's retreats, I speak in churches—

It doesn't matter the denomination?

Apparently not (laughter). I just go wherever the door opens.

I work in evangelism and I do prayer walks. I am the Prayer Walk Coordinator for Evangelism USA. Which, I go to the church plants and I do a Prayer Walk for them. It is an all day Saturday thing with a Friday night service. I am the World Intercession Network Conference Director for the Home Missions Conference. So, there's really no rhyme or reason to what I do. I've been asked to speak in Guyana, South America and that's the first time I've been asked to speak out of the country. That is October 11th through the 19th.

Do these invitations just come or do you seek them out?

I never seek out an invitation.

What sets a PH preacher apart is that his/her sermons come from the heart. What do you do to prepare? What do you do first when you get an invitation?

First, I say oh God, what do you want me to say! (laughs) I notice that I have gone from what am I going to do to show me what you want and I'm going to

trust that you're going to give it to me. So it has been a turn of faith for me. From that little ritual—what am I going to do to: Okay, what do you want me to do. I know there's something and I'm just going to believe that you're going to give it to me.

And I pretty much don't start with paper and pen until I get something and then I might jot it down and I'll have notes everywhere because I have an eight to five job I can't give total focus to that message. So it's in the car, doing the dishes, fixing the bed, at night, first thing in the morning, at work I'll jot something down that is in my head. And after a few days, I kind of get an outline, and pray and talk to God and I pretty much have to have an ongoing conversation with God all the time. So, that's how it all comes together and then I do manuscripts. I'm a manuscript kind of preacher. I'll write out every word, every joke, every emotion, and I take the yellow highlighter and I go down the manuscript and I highlight all of the important things that need to come out. I've tried to go back and do an outline but I'm just not comfortable because for me the anointing comes in the preparation. As I prepare, I really sense the spirit of God and the anointing of God. And so I'm writing down every word that I hear him say. And then I pretty much memorize it, go with the flow and preach it. I definitely listen to the voice. If he says something while I'm talking about it, then I say it.

Do you use stock sermons or are all of them inspired and original?

I do not, but I definitely see the benefit in that for a preacher who has to preach several times a week. However, I do use some things that God has shown me over and over. For example, as my kids have been leaving the home it has been very, very difficult, and they have been drawn to my other family members—my brothers and sisters and their families. They live different life styles than we live, have more money than we have, and when I was talking to my mom on the phone about them she said, “Now we shouldn’t be jealous over the stuff other people have.” And when I hung up, I thought, I’m not jealous of the stuff that they have. I’m jealous of the influence that they are having over my children, and just like a light bulb, I realized: that’s what the jealousy of God is. I never understood it when I read that God is a jealous God. What do I have that God could be jealous of? He’s not jealous of any thing that we have—he’s jealous of the influence those things have over us. So, if they have more influence over us than he does that’s what he’s jealous of. Just like I was jealous of the influence other people were having over my children, that’s how God is with his children. Whenever we let something influence us more than him—if I think if I act a certain way what is so and so going to say about it? And that’s more important to him—that’s what he’s jealous of.

How do you fit into the history of the IPHC?

I went to Southwestern because that’s where God led me. It could have been anything under the sun and it wouldn’t have mattered because God called me. I was saved in an Assembly of God church. I went to the Bible college. I

remember at the time that the PH college did not license or ordain divorced people. But I can remember walking on the college thinking—Lord, I know you called me and if I never have a credential I know I’m a minister. Through circumstances I was drawn to the church and Muse memorial and then I got the job and as soon as I went it was at that General Conference that they decided that if you were divorced you could be ordained.

So, I say that to say that I didn’t care where I was because I knew that God had led me there. I mean, I know little bits and pieces—they started in Falcon—but it didn’t matter. It was where God said to go. Which likewise when things come up that are not scriptural, then it helps me not to run off. I don’t leave because I don’t agree with something that somebody said.

Are there any kinds of challenges that you have faced because you’re a woman preacher?

There was a time when my husband used to tell me—stay at your job because God is going to open up something there. And I remember I was on the steps to the Bishop’s office and I thought, no, nothing’s going to happen to me because the men won’t let it happen to me. And just when I got to the top step, God asked me: “Am I not bigger than the men in this building?” And I had to stop. My answer was not immediate because I didn’t know. I knew he was bigger. I didn’t know if he would do it, I knew he had enough power to do it, but I didn’t know. Then I thought of course you’re bigger. So, at that point things changed and doors started to open. So, I really haven’t had obstacles in that way.

I've learned that when you keep your place and be still that God opens doors and when he does usually I have men pushing me forward, pushing me to get out there. I just had an elder in my old church come up to me and tell me that you really need to get your ministry solidified; you really need to get your non-profit status. And it was like when he told me, I was hearing God tell me. It's time. Do it. So, I've found that men are opening doors for me. I don't ever have to open a door for myself. Things may not move as quickly in my life as far as ministry goes, but I feel like the things I am doing have a lot of impact.

I don't have a lot of steps but I have huge steps. I was the first secretary woman to be asked to speak at a conference two years ago. And about two weeks before I was asked to speak, the Lord told me to get my notes in really good order and I did. About two weeks later my boss asked me to be a speaker and I said I did because God told me to do it. So it was ready.

So I may go six months without a speaking engagement but then there may be something really significant in the kingdom of God kind of thing. So, I'm not in a normal church preaching every week. That's not the route God has called me to. Now, that's the normal route you think you're supposed to go.

Do you see the fruit of your ministry?

They're so geographically spread out. I don't see it, but I hear about it. I'll get word back. I know it's fruitful. I don't ever doubt about having an impact. I see it on the spot, also.

Do you mentor any women that want to be preachers?

I have several people that I mentor at some level, but not anyone that wants to be a preacher. I have people that mentor me. That's the level I'm at.

APPENDIX B: CHARLENE WEST, INTERVIEW, 2004

At Muse Memorial Church

I'm the daughter of a minister, of a long line of ministers in fact. I'm the third daughter. My father gave me his name because he despaired of ever having a son. He was Charles H. and I'm Charlene Helen. So, I think that it must have been prophetic because he gave me his name. I always loved the fact that I was a minister's daughter. I was always super proud of my father and he was my hero.

I became a Christian when I was very small. I can't remember when I started or learned to pray. But I do remember a definite time in my life when I knew I needed to make a decision for Christ and invite him into my heart. That happened when I was seven years old. And that has stayed active in my life all these years. It's been a long time now.

So, I grew up working in the church, sort of being "right hand" to my father with things that had to do with his office, such as typing his sermon outlines along with the music and all that. Then I chose to go to Southwestern Pentecostal Holiness Bible College. There I met my future husband. We were married in 1950.

I never aspired to be a preacher. In fact, one class that I had with the famous teacher Dr. R. O. Corvin, he was going through the class asking, "Who is called to preacher? Are you called to preach or not?" When he asked me I said, "No, I'm not called to preach." He said, "Well are you called to be a preacher's wife?" And this brought a lot of laughter and I said, "Well okay." I sort of let it

slide. But it was really what I wanted to be. I wanted to be a pastor's wife, and have a family, and live in the pastoral home, and carry on the work that I had seen in my father's life. So, I did. I got married to my one time sweetheart, the only one I really ever had. That was in 1950.

In 1960 I had a tremendous experience one Sunday morning. I woke up really early in the morning and my family was still all asleep. It was like there was a dead sleep over everybody and I was wide awake.

I went over into the den and that moment I knelt to pray I had a tremendous experience with the Lord. I had a vision and the Lord really spoke to me. I saw myself—we were living in Ada—but I saw myself going down through Texas and Mexico on through central America to the upper part of South America. From there I saw myself as a small figure on a screen and from there the figure go larger and then disappeared.

I didn't understand the vision. I didn't know what it meant. And the Lord spoke to me at that time and he said, "I hold you in the hollow of my hand. I'm going to take you to many nations." And, well he never said, "You're going to preach." To me, the call to preach would have really have been an impressive thing for me.

So, that would have been March of 1960. I struggled on until September of that year when I had a definite encounter with the Lord and he really did tell me that I was to preach. And I said, "Lord I just ask one thing and that is that you will anoint me with the Holy Spirit when I speak." And from the first time that I

spoke after that I felt a tremendous anointing of the Holy Spirit and everyone in our congregation said yes, she's called to preach. And everybody in the area agreed, because I had already been trained in Bible college and by my father, and it was just like I was projected immediately into the pulpit ministry to help my husband. Also, in the district the pastors there invited me and I just began holding little mini revivals.

A few months later my husband took a trip to the Holy Land and I took charge of the church and the radio program and all of that. So, that was the beginning of my ministry in the pulpit.

At that time I had done just about everything except be a preacher and a missionary. So, this about me going to other nations—I just put that on hold because I thought I'm a mom. I had four children and my youngest, at that time, he was just about four months old. So, I thought this is something for the future and God knows all of that. He will bring it about in his timing.

A few years later, about four years later, I had this urge to learn Spanish. I didn't understand why. One day I was listening to the t.v. and on channel 13 they gave classes in Spanish. And they were using the same book I used in high school Spanish. I took two years of Spanish at Camino Real. And it just kind of got into my spriti, why don't I go over to OU and see about enrolling over there and pursuing this? I really wasn't thinking about this vision that I had; I just kind of put that on the back burner. I told my husband about it and he said, well if you

really want to and can manage your schedule with the family and all. My youngest son had just started kindergarten.

So, I was able to go to school with the MWF schedule. I was able to leave after my son left for school and get back before he came back. So, it worked out just fine. And the ladies in the neighborhood would take care of him if necessary.

I pursued that until we moved to Bakersfield, California. I had had two years of going to OU at that time. I needed another year to finish, but since it seemed that we were called to Bakersfield that's where I went.

It was there that my husband passed away in 1969. The weekend before he died, he had been in Oklahoma City. And he came back that Friday night and he said, you know I heard your general youth director say, if he could, he needed to find someone with some Hispanic studies to chaperone a group of Youth in Action team to Costa Rica. And he said, I volunteered for you. I said, well what about these four kids? And he said, we'll manage. We had a lady that was real good; she was like a grandma. So, I said okay. This was a Friday night and the next Tuesday morning my husband died of a sudden heart attack. The Bakersfield church asked me to stay on as pastor. We had just completed two years of a television program. And I did stay on. We stayed on and nothing dropped—attendance did not drop.

Later the youth director called me and said, you know I'm still depending on you to take this group to Costa Rica. And I said, oh, you know the changes that have happened in my life. I don't think that I can do that. I said I've just been

right here with the church. And he said, why don't you talk to the church board. And so I did and they said, well you know, Brother West made arrangements for you to make that trip and you've been right here with the church during this tie. If you want to go, they said, we feel like you should go. We can take care of things here. There are ministers that you can schedule. It was to be a month. And so I said, well okay. So that was when I went to Costa Rica. That was in June. I was able to preach in Spanish at that time. I did some preparing before I left so I would be able to. But my Spanish—I could speak better than I was able to understand.

When I got back, the Lord began to bring this vision back to me. And I saw myself going south in the Latin American countries. I saw myself alone which is something I have never understood. I had never shared this with my husband because I didn't want to be misunderstood. But the Lord brought that all back to me and it became a real insistence. So finally I decided—after making all kinds of excuses to the Lord like—Lord you know they have never sent a widow with kids to the missions field. A lot of single women had gone, but never a woman with children. So, I said, I don't think they're going to do that.

I decided I would just call and talk to the Missions Director who was Floyd Williams at that time. I thought—I'll just put the monkey on their back and if they don't want to send me, then okay. And you know what he said? I've known you for a long time and I believe that if you say you're called, then you are. I'll put the papers in the mail for you right away and so he did. I got them the

next week and it was almost like a book, you know. I filled out all these papers on the doctrine and that sort of thing. And then I had to raised funds. I was still raising funds when I left a year later, the week of my husband's death. I left to come back to Oklahoma to visit my parents and had missionary places and purposes along the way. I went all the way to Florida. I had bought a new Volkswagon van and had driven across the country with all my children, except for Paul the oldest who was in college.

So, that was how I became a missionary. Because I was called. And I've just sort of been almost everything—a teacher, a preacher, an educational director, youth missions, and what-have-you—whatever the need at the particular time. But preaching is a very special part of my life. And there are some people—I mean, they can or they can't. But with me it's a compulsion. I feel that I'm not really happy unless I'm in it. In a situation where I can be sharing the ministry in that way. Preaching is a vital part of my life.

Would you tell me more about your work in South America?

I was in Costa Rica nine years and then I went from there to Venezuela. In that time I became a part of the preaching team and we taught in different parts of Latin America. I was there for thirteen years.

All of the churches there already had a Bible study, but this was to be a notch above that. We taught things like church growth, the gifts of the spirit, and things that maybe weren't emphasized as much in the other subjects. I taught and so did John Parker. We were members of the team teaching together. While I

was there, I was sent over to Colombia because we didn't have much over there. While there I began a church.

I came home at the end of '91 in December. I came home because I had felt like I had finished the work I needed to do in Venezuela. I had been there at the very beginning when they didn't have anything there. I had been involved in a number of church planning projects. So, I felt like my time was finished, but I didn't know what the Lord wanted me to do.

I got a map and I put my finger on each Latin country and I didn't feel any drawing toward anything. So, I called the Missions Department and told them that I felt that my time was up here. If they had anything that they needed me to do, I would be glad to consider it. But actually, at this particular time, and all of this is a part of God's time, if a door's not open in an area, well you can't go through it! There was really nothing they could offer me right then. However, at the same time that I was here and talked to them, Bishop Underwood talked to me. He said, "I just heard today that you are not going to stay in Venezuela." And I said, "That's right." "What are you going to do?" he asked. And I said, "Well, I don't know. I just know that I'm through there." And he said, "Well, do you have any direct leading?" And I said, "No." He said, "Well, come back to see me tomorrow."

So, what he did was talk to Brother Leggett who was the director of Evangelism USA. They needed a director for Hispanic Ministry. We had Hispanic conferences and we had Hispanic churches and people working in

different Anglo conferences, but we didn't have anyone working on a general level. So, they had tried to suggest one man and another, but others would say, "Oh, not him." Anyway, Brother Leggett had not found anybody that he felt was the right person for it. So, Bishop Underwood told him the fact that I was just home and I might be able to do what he wanted. So, I always felt like part of my success on the mission field was partly due to the fact that I was not displacing anybody. I was willing to go and take something nobody else wanted. For instance, if a church's pastor had left and nobody would take it, they would ask me. I would go and plant a church. I don't think people were ever jealous of me because I was not displacing anybody. I was not a threat to anybody. So, I think that that was one reason that I was able to go into Evangelism USA and become the first director of Intercultural Ministry. And, we were in that for a couple of years and then we broadened the office to become the Office of Intercultural Ministry. I was there for seven years.

The summer before I left, which was in General Conference, I had a very definite experience with the Lord when we were taking communion. And he let me know that my time with Evangelism USA was going to be limited and I would be heading into a different area of ministry. And I didn't know why or what. But it was so strong that I wanted to see Bishop Underwood because I had become a missionary under him and he had become a key person for me to talk to. But he was always surrounded by people. But when I went down to the lobby and he was by himself, I was able to talk to him alone. And he said, "Well, what does

the Lord want you to do?” And I said, “I don’t know.” And he said, “Well, stay where you are until the Lord leads you otherwise.”

I talked to Bishop Leggett and he told me the same thing. I talked to Dr. Carpenter and he said the same thing. I told him, “You know I’m leaving this department and you may have someone you would like to put into this position. And if you do, then please feel free to do it.” I said, “My time is going to be limited here so if you have somebody to put in the position, please feel free to do it.” And he said, “I don’t have anybody. Please stay until you know what the Lord wants you to do.” That was three leaders of the church that all told me the same thing.

So, I didn’t leave for any problem or difficulty – at the headquarters or on the missions field. I left because it was God’s timing. And I think it’s so important to know God’s timing. And so I shared this with the department there and they were all really nice. But Debbie Whipple, she was always really interested in me, would always ask me, “Has God told you what He wants you to do?” And I would say, “No.” And finally one day, I just opened my mouth and I said, “I’d like for us to have a strong Pentecostal Holiness Church here that will train people to branch out into the work and plan other churches and make the church grow, a training center and all that.” After I talked to her, I just went and sat down in my office and started writing. And I wrote all the strategies for our church. I shared it with Dr. Carpenter and he said, “We’ll support you.” And Evangelism USA supported us for the first year.

We started in October of 1998 and then they supported us for a full year. During that year we were able to get a base of people and we worked on a shoestring. I didn't ever want to take more money. I just always felt like there were other people waiting to start other things. But, I always felt like they helped us and that was wonderful.

We were at one church building for two and a half years but then we went about seven miles southeast over the Central PH church where my husband and I had once pastored. In fact, we had bought that property for the church. But, they were really nice to us and they said, "you can come on over and have your Hispanic services here." So we did. We were there for another two and a half years when the original Muse Memorial church property came open. And it was just like – I knew – it was a tremendous experience of "knowing" that this was the place God wanted us to be and God just telling me that "Nothing, nothing, nothing is impossible if you can believe for it. I have the funds for everything you need."

So, I started writing friends and everyone I knew that had been connected with Southwestern in the past and Bill Anderson, who was the pastor here at the time the church was built. In fact, he spoke during our first service last October and he has sent money to us a thousand dollars at a time. He helped us raise the hundred thousand dollars we needed for a down payment. As it turned out, we didn't have to raise all of that because our loan had been approved for the

\$325,000. So, we only had to put up the \$75,000 when we signed the papers about two weeks ago. So, we've been through a lot of hurdles.

The church was in terrible condition. The plumbing was awful and there were leaks everywhere. The carpet was up and out in all the entrances. And all of the pipes under the sinks were corroded. Right away we carried away three big truck loads of junk. It was a challenge. We had people over here working every night except Sunday night for our services. They worked every evening for five months. They were painting, cleaning, repairing, renewing, and rejuvenating. Electric lights, bulbs – everything. And then, when we came in October we had to redo the heating which only cost us \$600 dollars. But there have been a lot of things. We kept the insurance up even though the property wasn't ours. We feel like we're getting it back. But, of course, this week somebody came and banged out one of our doors. But when I told the congregation, we praised the Lord because in everything give thanks and we prayed for the person who did that. And maybe he'll come back here and receive the Lord.

What are some of the things your church has to offer?

All of our services are in Spanish. We are in transition. We want to have a cell-based church. That is, we want to have a church outside of the walls of the church. It's a program that began in Bogota. I was there in February and saw it. Their idea is that the pastor will get twelve leaders and challenge them and they will reach twelve more to have a hundred and forty four. And so on.

The different cells will have different interests; some for children, for youth. We want the youth to be under the youth leader and to work with twelve and those twelve will work toward twelve. We have a *pre-encounter* for them to use where they share the four spiritual laws. We also talk to them about deliverance. And then we have an *encounter*. The *encounter* should go from Friday evening to Sunday noon, but we only did the first one that way because our church is not too big and they noticed the absence of the participants. But a little bit later we will go ahead and have it on through Sunday because in the *encounter* you go through the inner healing and you work toward telling them what the vision is of the twelve and the challenge of multiplying. After the *encounter* we have a *post encounter* for four classes to bring everybody together and help them not to forget what they've learned and not to lose the momentum.

Next, they start in the school of ministry. This is important because in the school of ministry you are teaching them the basics of what they're going to be teaching and you're telling them how they're going to start their cells. They don't have to be a theologian. When we started this program, we had out ministerial studies sort of like the Bible Institute that we had on the missions field. It covered the whole panorama of the Bible, stuff like theology and homiletics and hermeneutics and those subjects which are very important for the professional minister. But, for the moment, we've sort of put that on the side; we don't want to lose it. But what we're doing right now is we're not training them to be a theologian, we're training them to be a soul winner. Because you know we have

our Sunday school and a lot of our people have come into our church through the Sunday school in the past, but that is changing. There are a lot of Sunday schools that are giving information, but not teaching people to be soul winners. So, our endeavor is to train soul winners.

A lot of people have said, “I don’t know what to teach if I’m going to teach in a Bible cell.” Where, there are different ways of doing it but some will have a copy of the pastor’s outline for the sermon for instance. I’ve thought about giving them a fill-in-the blank outline and then they fill in the blanks and then in the cell they go over questions like, “What was it that impressed you?” Or, “Did the Lord show you something else that wasn’t said in this scripture?”

So, you have the whole gamut. What those people want to do is bring in the unsaved, people who don’t have churches. We want to bring in people, invite them into our homes because a lot of people will go into a home that won’t go into a church. So, whenever they go to a Bible study cell, you start giving them the four classes beginning with the *pre-encounter* so that they can become a cell leader too. That takes a process of several months and gives them time to mature as Christians.

So this began in Bogota. I was there in February and this vision of the twelve has absolutely gone around the world. It is not a denomination. They believe in Holiness. And they believe in the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. And, they really, really emphasize the cross and getting rid of anything in your life that isn’t like Christ. I saw people from our church and people I knew from Hawaii. I

saw the superintendent of the Filipino work here and the superintendent of the work in Spain. There were people there from all of the continents. It was a joy to me to see them because I knew these people. They didn't know each other so I got to introduce them. Of course, when I got there, I also met with the superintendent of the Venezuela people, one of my spiritual sons, and so I got to be with a lot of people that I had seen grow up in the church in Venezuela. So, that's where my church is at right now.

Sunday night we probably had a hundred and twenty-five in the service. We are running around a hundred. We've lost a few people. We've seen the enemy fight to try to disrupt people over little things. So, I've really had to warn the people that the enemy doesn't want us to do this, that this church is invading his territory.

There's a lot to be done and the Lord has put us here to do it. I've warned people that we are here in a spiritual battle. On Tuesday through Friday morning from five until eight we're open for prayer, so I'm here at that time. And on Tuesday night we're having classes to teach people to speak English. And then Wednesday night we're having our *post encounter* right now. They need to do that in order to go into the school of leaders. That meets on Saturday evenings. Friday nights our children meet here. We have a children's praise group that have little white outfits and banners.

You have a thriving ministry and seem to be very busy!

When I was working for headquarters, you know, I traveled a lot with the department. They asked me to direct the district in the Minnesota area so I would go up there three times a year and I did other things, seminars and studies. But, usually, I was in Oklahoma City and when the day was over, I could come home. I could work out in the yard and stuff, but this, this is in the day, it's in the evenings, and it's in the nights. Brother Leggett called me "Mrs. Caleb" because I was at my age starting this venture. But the Lord doesn't call you to do something without giving you the strength to do it. So, I had a wonderful time of prayer recently with my daughter. She has been a missionary in Venezuela for fifteen years. They came to Venezuela before I left. They came and when I left, they stayed on. And then they planted a church and then they were in Spain for fifteen months. Now they're waiting to go back to Spain. Leaving a legacy is important.

What else have you been doing?

Well, I was working on my doctorate, too, but I had to put it to the side for a while. They had quite a bit of revisions they wanted me to do on my dissertation, even going back to my title. But I'm paying \$1700 a year for being in this program and in the last couple of years I've really questioned if I was supposed to be doing that.

APPENDIX C: PEGGY EBY, INTERVIEW, 2004

Interview, July 24th in Tulsa Oklahoma. She had traveled to Tulsa from Houston to preach at Evangelistic Temple on the following Sunday.

July 25, 1945 – birthday

When did you become a member of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church?

I was about 9 years old when my parents became followers of Jesus. We had moved to Sapulpa, OK, and the pastor of the local Pentecostal Holiness Church visited our home. He came back regularly until my dad agreed to visit. On that first visit, Dad and Mom decided that we should be a church-going family, and that was the church we joined. I've been a part of IPHC since that day in 1954.

When did you become a Christian?

I cannot remember a time when I did not have a “heart for God.” But just before my seventh birthday, my cousin attended a Vacation Bible School. While we were playing one afternoon, she told me, “I got saved today.” I asked her to explain “getting saved” and her response was, “That’s when you ask Jesus to live in your heart so you can go to heaven when you die.” Of course, I wanted to “get saved” too. We climbed into the back seat of my parents’ car (a 1949 black Chevrolet) and I knelt in the floor and asked Jesus to come into my heart. It was a profound experience that I have never forgotten and have held on to securely. I

wasn't perfect, by any means, but there was never a time when I did not want to follow Jesus.

During the next few years I had only occasional visits to church with grandparents and friends, but no regular church attendance. Even though I had no real example of prayer in my life, I earnestly prayed and interceded for my parents to come to know the Lord.

Do you have a regular church that you pastor?

No, not at this time. We have pastored churches in the past, but presently we are working in cross-cultural missions. My husband and I have an organization called Mission Catalyst International, which is an interdenominational missions program aimed at training nationals to plant churches among the least-reached people groups in the world. Jim, my husband, does this work full time and I travel with him two or three times a year. I do conferences for women called *Women Who Lead*. It is exciting to see women around the world who are serious about taking the Gospel to every nation.

I also speak by invitation here in the United States in various women's groups, conferences, and local churches. At the present time I lead a couple of weekly Bible studies for local churches in the Houston area and I have a small group of ladies that I disciple on a weekly basis. We are walking through the whole process of what it really means to be a follower of Jesus. I also serve on the General Women's Ministries Board (IPHC) which gives me an opportunity to

do a number of things related to Women's Ministries such as retreats and conferences.

How do you receive so many invitations to preach?

Because I have been in the International Pentecostal Holiness Church for many years and my husband has been a denominational leader, I've had many doors open to me. Also my work on the Women's Ministries board has kept me visible to women's groups across the nation.

When did you first feel the call to be a preacher?

I was fourteen. My desire was to be totally given to God for His will and purposes for my life. I was passionate for witnessing to people and for the work of the Lord – whatever that was. In that era in my personal life and church life, there seemed to be only three avenues for people who were “on fire for God” – to be a pastor, an evangelist, or a missionary. So I had told God, in prayer, that I was willing to do anything He asked of me.

One day, during this period of struggle with this sense of call and not understanding what it was, I came in from school to find Mom out with my little sister. Since I had the time alone I knelt down in the living room and began to pray. I talked to God as earnestly as I knew how: “Lord, show me. What is this feeling of a call all about? I don't understand this feeling, and I'm afraid. Also, I'm just a teenager – and a girl!” On the one hand preaching definitely appealed to me. I was not one of those people who reluctantly accepted the call. Because I wanted it so much, I thought I had to question it.

After my prayer, I stood up and put my school things away. When I walked through the house, I saw a small box with tiny cards which had scripture verses on one side and a thought for the day on the other. I randomly pulled one out and there was my answer: Jeremiah 1:5 “Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I set you apart; I appointed you as a prophet to the nations.” I grabbed my Bible and read the next few verses: “Ah, Sovereign Lord,” I said, “I do not know how to speak; I am only a child.” But the Lord said to me, “Do not say ‘I am only a child.’ You must go to everyone I send you to and say whatever I command you. Do not be afraid of them, for I am with you and will rescue you,” declares the Lord. (Jeremiah 1:6-7) With that command and promise I fell on my knees and said a resounding “Yes!” to God.

I began receiving invitations to speak in youth meetings in various churches. From that point on I preached almost every weekend. During the summers I preached in revivals and church camps. I preached in jails, open-air meetings – sharing God’s word with others was the delight of my life.

I started talking about my own life and how God always has a plan no matter what our “resume” might be. I ended by saying that I felt that I had wasted some of my life when I wasn’t a Christian.

With God, it is not a matter of wasted time because He never wastes anything, even our mistakes. Even the years that we call “wasted,” God will use them to weave into the fabric of who we are and the message we have to give. It may appear to you that you wasted those years, but God sees them from a totally

different perspective. Perhaps they were wayward years, but God was weaving them into the total fabric of who you are and more than likely is using them to give you a passion for and an understanding of this generation who question everything and resist everything that is traditional – so it is certainly not a waste.

How many children do you have and how has being a mother affected your ministry?

I have three children, a daughter and two sons. When Jim and I married we immediately started to Bible College. During my second year I became pregnant with our first child and my college career came to a halt. We were pastoring a small church at the time and I preached regularly in the Sunday evening services. Two more children were born which brought about huge changes in my life and ministry.

Following that pastorate, my husband became director of Lifeliners International, the denominational youth ministry. This job required extensive traveling and because the children were small I did very little public ministry. My “ministry” revolved around three young children who needed my constant attention. This was a very important time in my life, but also a difficult time. I was accustomed to being “up front” in ministry, but now my husband was the “up front” person. He traveled all over the world and all I got was a suitcase full of dirty clothes. Let’s just say that this was character building time for me.

I had a remarkable experience with God one day when I was sort of moaning about my lot in life. I said, “Lord, why did you call me to preach? I’m

doing nothing but changing dirty diapers and wiping runny noses.” I felt His response in my spirit: “If you do nothing else in life, give Me three disciples that are totally committed to me and your life will not be in vain.” At that point I laid down my driving desire to be an evangelist and saw the value of raising my children to know God and to serve Him.

Have you felt any challenges because you are a woman?

At the beginning of my ministry I felt no resistance from the leadership of the Pentecostal Holiness Church. However, I do remember one revival when a delegate from another denomination came over to visit with me in order to correct me on my theology because he thought I was not a legitimate minister (because I was a woman). I was unable to respond with sufficient theological understanding and saying that I “felt called” wasn’t enough for him.

Pentecostal churches were very open to my ministry. It appears that having a woman preach or teach does not present a problem, but when it comes to having a place of leadership, there is definitely a “stained-glass ceiling.” Personally, I am not an administrative leader, (I am quite happy with preaching) but many women who are called to preach are highly qualified as leaders.

The IPHC has licensed and ordained women for many, many years. However, relatively few women have become pastors or church planters. There have been a number of single women who were missionaries, but that number has significantly declined in recent years.

Tiny steps have been taken to open more doors for women, but much remains to be done. The church will miss some valuable leadership qualities if women are not welcomed into that arena. I believe every church board should have qualified women serving alongside the men.

If lasting change is to happen, church leadership must become intentional about including women. This denomination (IPHC) as well as others, has women who are wise, intelligent, spiritual, and who have strong leadership gifts. Many women (who are preachers) co-pastor with their husbands. They choose not to simply be the pastor's wife. They share teaching, preaching, and administrative responsibilities.

When the Bible talks about the creation of mankind in His own image, it says "male and female created he them." It takes men and women together to express the image of God to the church and to the world. I believe that church leadership will be lacking a powerful expression of God's character if women are excluded.

When did you become baptized in the Holy Spirit?

I was fourteen. It was during the time of understanding my "call" from God and my desire to know Him in a deeper way.

Have you experienced any challenges? Has the Pentecostal religion restricted you?

The local church I grew up in was very legalistic. There were lots of rules that applied primarily to women – no makeup, no jewelry, no short hair, no short sleeves, no slacks, etc. It took me many years to deal with all those restrictions.

More recently, a challenge I have faced with church leadership is a feeling of being patronized, but not valued as a woman.

I do not believe being Pentecostal has restricted me. Since the 1960's and the charismatic renewal, Pentecostalism is more mainstream. Pentecostals are the largest group of evangelicals around the world.

APPENDIX D: WANDA BAKER, INTERVIEW, 2004

Interview of Wanda Baker about her mother, Ruth Moore, fall of 2004

Mrs. Baker left the IPHC in 1980. She was never ordained or a pastor; she was the Women's Auxiliary president for several years.

My mother grew up in Texas. They had a large family and were very poor. They chopped cotton for a living and moved from farm to farm. I don't know if they owned land; they may have just been tenants. They were not religious people; they did not attend church.

When my mother was around seventeen years of age, she attended a brush arbor meeting in Woodville, Oklahoma, located near the Texas line. She received salvation during this meeting. I don't know who held the revival, but she was the only one of the family who got saved. She had nine brothers and sisters and then her parents. She committed all to the Lord and was determined to serve Him even though her family did not.

Soon after her conversion she began preaching. She traveled with Lee Hargis and his wife to hold revival meetings in Oklahoma. She evangelized two women first. Both of their first names were Anna. She said, "I don't know what I said. I knew nothing, not being raised in church or anything, but I guess I said something!" Then, she went to Bible College.

I remember mother telling me once, she was humming, "I will go where you want me to go," and her mother said, "Oh, Ruth, you don't mean that" and she said, "Yes, I do."

She had to leave home but she went to live with her grandfather in southern Texas. And he was the one who paid for her to go to Bible school at King's College in Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Of course, that was affiliated with the PH church.

She met Ed Moore while attending Kings College. By that time she must have been nineteen or twenty. They were married September 14, 1929, while she was in her second year of college at the age of twenty one.

Her parents fully expected her to come back home. They never expected, in fact, her father gave her her first Bible because she was so developed in her faith and so determined, but they just couldn't accept that she wasn't coming back. And, it was probably because of her age that they just couldn't accept that. Yet, all of her family came to totally depend on her for prayer. By going to be with them and praying for them, she led almost every one of them to the Lord.

When was your mother born?

She was born on May 20, 1908. She joined the Oklahoma Conference in 1931. My dad was Pentecostal Holiness too. He got saved at a little PH church in Mountain View. My parents lived in Enid, Oklahoma, where my father was employed at Long Bell Lumber Company. All five of us children were both there. Brother Rex, your grandfather, was our pastor. I think Brother Finkenbinder was the first pastor that I vaguely remember.

Mother's first pastorate was a church in Drummond, Oklahoma. She pastored this church until her first child was born in 1931. After they started their family, she felt they were her priority and did not pastor again until 1945.

She was faithful to her church in Enid and held a few revivals. In 1943, we moved to Oklahoma City. My father was employed at the Douglas Aircraft plant and we attended the First Pentecostal Holiness Church. My mother was preaching a revival at this church when World War II ended.

In August of 1945, she was asked to pastor the Central Pentecostal Holiness Church in south Oklahoma City. My mother was the minister and my father was the administrator. They were a good team. During this pastorate my father oversaw the construction of a new church building and parsonage and two other houses which were sold to help finance the church construction. He was an excellent builder and helped in the construction of several churches in the Oklahoma City area. They were at the Central Church five years. Also, under their leadership, a church in Moore, Oklahoma, and one in Del City were established.

Their last pastorate was the Trinity Pentecostal Holiness Church in Oklahoma City where they stayed for twenty-five years. After my mother died in 1968, my father continued to pastor until 1984. He said later that he had felt "called" when he was younger, but he felt like he had to make a living for his family. He started preaching when they went to Trinity, but that was not until around '58 or '60. My mom did all the preaching up until that time and my dad

took care of the business part and the board meetings. It was what my mom wanted because he had expertise in that. It worked well.

Mother and daddy loved the Pentecostal Holiness Church. They loved to go to the general conventions. Daddy was a delegate almost every time. He went as a lay delegate for many years. In 1958, my mother was sent as a delegate to the youth convention in Franklin Springs, Georgia. My husband I went with her. After she arrived, she felt she was too old to be a youth delegate so she asked me to attend the sessions with her.

Mrs. Baker wanted to respond specifically to the questions I had previously mailed to her asking if her mother had ever had any difficulties as a woman preacher, just because she was a woman.

She never had a problem with recognition or with needing a role in the church. She did have some challenges because not everybody accepted women preachers. I remember a problem one time when they were building the church on Central and we were worshipping in a tent. They erected the tent right on the ground and it was a cold winter. The wind went through it although we had an old stove in the middle for heat. We had a revival with Brother Rex in the tent. Well, there was a Church of Christ group who decided to challenge the fact that mother was a preacher because they didn't think she should be. They came and, of course, mother opened the service as the pastor of the church and they came right down on the front row and sat down. The good thing is that Brother Rex was right there ready for them and he just talked to them and took care of the

situation. We felt like the Lord worked that out because she didn't have a confrontation with them. Brother Rex knew just what to say. But that's the only confrontation, face to face, that I know that she had.

She was loved by her people. She was not flamboyant. She was very shy, very feminine. She never took on the demeanor of a lot of women that adopted sort of a masculine demeanor. Mother was very shy and was not a conversationalist. She was a wonderful listener. I would call her and we would be on the phone for a long time and she would say very little. She would not say a lot, but she would say enough to let me know she understood. And, as I said, my family, we loved her dearly.

I asked her what "number her mother was out of the ten siblings that survived.

She was the fifth one born out of ten children. Her mother had some twins that were still born and then there was another child that didn't live very long. So, there were actually thirteen.

We were talking about my father being poor and I told Mrs. Baker a funny story about my parents early days of marriage which reminded her of the following story:

My father had a terrible time "catching" mother. Every time he thought he had her, she would write him and say she'd changed her mind. So, my father had found another woman and was going to ask her to marry him one weekend. My mother called him long distance and told him that she was going to be holding a

revival with somebody and thought he would just like to know. So, he knew that she had changed her mind again.

I asked her if she remembered when her mother got filled with the Holy Spirit.

She was not married yet so she had to have been seventeen to twenty-one years of age. I think she must have been eighteen or nineteen years old and she went to a camp meeting. One of these “Annas” was there and another lady by the name of Killebrew. She was filled with the Holy Spirit. She was laying in the Spirit all night until the morning. In the morning – it was 5 or 6:00 in the morning and they were getting ready to start because they were going to have a sunrise service, as they did in those days. When they were starting the service, she was filled with the Holy Spirit. And those two women had stayed with her all night; they would tell about it too. I remember Mrs. Killebrew telling about it.

My mother was sanctified. She was a great believer in sanctification. In the Pentecostal Message, she has a sermon on sanctification. But that experience did so much for her. And I think that experience and determination helped her keep her commitment to the Lord. Brother Rex’s sermon on holiness helped too.

Mrs. Baker wanted to respond to a question I had mailed before the interview where I asked about whether her mother considered being a preacher a job.

She did not regard her work as a job, but as a “calling.” She followed her calling because she felt so strongly in her heart about it. What she preached, she lived and she believed. We were pleased to have a lot of, you know, Brother King, Brother Muse, and a lot of leaders of the church in our home when we were

growing up. And mother always felt her position was that she was more comfortable when men were in charge. She felt that women should not usurp authority over men. She was willing to serve and do what she was called to do, but she really felt that men should have leadership in the church.

My mother was very concerned with world events. She voted; she always voted. It really wasn't just being submissive, that she felt she must be submissive, it was what she preferred. For her, it provided comfort for her. Because she was a leader, she was a minister, but she was not an administrator. Even though she enjoyed preaching, she was not an administrator. That's why she was comfortable in that way.

I asked her if she thought of "submission" more like "cooperation."

Well, I know there were a lot of women, especially in the early days of Pentecost, that truly felt depressed and I think that maybe they resented that. But my mother, even though my dad was the head of the family, they talked everything over. If my mother didn't agree, she didn't say so in front of us. But when she had the opportunity with just the two of them, they would talk. They just wanted to do whatever it took to be true Christians.

My dad was not raised in church. His mother died when he was very young. I remember one time my father decided the girls needed to wear cotton stockings because that was what they did in those days. So, mother prayed and she finally asked him about not doing it. And he said, "Okay." She didn't always

agree with everything dad did, but she waited until the right time to discuss it with him. So, that was such a wonderful example for us.

When I was talking to my sister, we couldn't remember them ever having a fight. We knew that they had their discussions, but they didn't blow up when we were around. Mother was submissive, but if it was something that she felt that she needed to talk to dad about, she did.

Also, I remember one time when I was young, a preacher came to our house because he was holding revival at our church. We were having lunch and I said, "Remember, Mother, you are going to cut my hair tonight after church." Mother always trimmed my hair for me and the preacher said, "You don't cut your daughter's hair!" And mother said, "Well, yes, I do!" But you must remember back then that was a big controversy to cut your hair.

One time when she called and we were talking about it, she said, "Wanda, I try to look at things this way. Is it going to hurt their experience with the Lord? If it's not, then you can't take everything from them. You try to weigh it that way." And, that helped me a lot. They were strict, but the things that they felt we could do, they let us do so that we would not have bitter feelings. And none of us do. Even though there were things that we didn't do, it never hurt me. None of that ever hurt me. It helped me. Even though I don't live up to all those things, it helped me to make better choices in my Christian life. Mother and Daddy were just wonderful examples to us in every way.

They did not have a “you’re going to do it because I said so” attitude. They had a kinder, gentler attitude. They tried to make life enjoyable for us. I don’t ever remember being unhappy. I was always happy. Even though we didn’t really have a lot at all, I was always happy. They didn’t go to the extreme. Even though Mother didn’t cut her hair, she cut mine. And she gave me perms and all of that. But I did have to wear long sleeves and long socks. But I felt like because they really prayed about things, I think the Lord gave them wisdom and they did the best job they could.

That is such a great testimony.

APPENDIX E: LADONNA SCOTT, INTERVIEW, 2006

My Ministry

I am a “servant,” not a “leader.” I am “called to ministry” – I am not a “preacher.” Every person is “called to ministry.” For twenty-seven years I have served in full-time ministry within the International Pentecostal Holiness Church (IPHC) to two General Superintendents (Bishops) as their personal secretary and one General Superintendent as his Research Secretary, two Vice Chairmen for the denomination, three Executive Directors of World Missions Ministries, two Executive Directors for Chaplains Ministries, and several other smaller ministries at the Resource Development Center (International Headquarters) directed by the General Superintendent. I have served three Assistant Directors and one field director who have served the various leaders of the denomination. I have also served as the personal secretary to the president of one of IPHC’s Bible colleges. My ministry with the IPHC has been long and varied.

The IPHC has been as much a part of my life as my family. Everything we did as a family in my “growing up” years was with and for the IPHC and the enlargement of the kingdom of God. My dad, Robert Rex, was a preacher and my mom, Lennie, was a preacher’s wife. Dad served in almost every capacity available from the local church to the general church. He served as a youth pastor, Sunday school teacher and superintendent, pastor, evangelist, new church planter, conference superintendent, board member, General Director of Evangelism (Home Missions) and General Director of World Missions (Foreign

Missions). He was also the founder of the general church Loan Fund which is now a \$50,000,000+ ministry. He served on the General Executive Board as an Assistant General Superintendent and on the General Board of Administration of the denomination (32 years). The General Executive Board and the General Board of Administration are the two highest governing boards within the IPHC. So, my growing up years also involved all of these areas from a daughter's perspective.

Although I grew up in a minister's home, my working years as an adult have been spent in ministry as a secretary in our denominational headquarters (now known as the Resource Development Center instead of the IPHC Headquarters). I did not feel "called" to be a preacher nor a preacher's wife. But, for some reason, I have been placed in a position to serve many of the leaders of the IPHC and many of the missionaries for about twenty-seven years full time.

My work for the church actually started when I was in junior high and took my first typing lesson. From that time forward, I worked part-time through junior high, high school and college as part-time secretary to my dad who was Executive Director of the General Department of Evangelism (Home Missions) and the newly formed Loan Fund. He was also serving as an Assistant General Superintendent under the General Superintendent at that time, Bishop J. A. Synan. I worked about four years part-time in the business office of Southwestern College (one of our denominational schools) while in high school, college, and later one year full-time with Bishop Leon Stewart who had just completed his

eight year as General Superintendent of the denomination and became president of Southwestern College.

Although I have worked in secular jobs for attorneys, city managers, architects, mortgage companies, and a funeral home as both secretary and bookkeeper, the majority of my working years have been with the IPHC denominational headquarters. So, I have “lived” and “breathed” the Pentecostal Holiness Church from birth.

My full-time ministry for the denomination began in 1974 after the general church voted in its 1973 general conference to move the international headquarters to Oklahoma City. Dad was then Executive Director of the World Missions Department. The General Superintendent, J. Floyd Williams, suggested that dad hire me to serve as one of the secretaries until the move of the department could be made and he had time to find a secretary for his field director.

So, in 1974, I became the secretary to Rev. Roy Wood, Field Director of World Missions. Roy and Mabel Wood had been missionaries for many years to Africa but, because of health reasons, were now serving the church in the U.S. in the home office of World Missions. What started as a one year “fill in” became a permanent occupation for me. From 1974-1976, I worked in several areas of the building. I worked for Rev. Wood for a while and then Bishop Williams transferred me to the general superintendent’s office. He was serving as the General Superintendent (Bishop) at that time. I served as his research secretary and as personal secretary to his Administrative Assistant, Rev. Jim Pennington.

When appropriate, I transitioned back to World Missions and became the secretary to Rev. Ron Moore, Assistant Director of World Missions, under Dad's administration.

In 1981, the newly appointed General Superintendent, Bishop Leon Stewart, asked that I serve as his personal secretary which I did for eight years. The IPHC general conference had voted into place a statute of limitation that stated a general official could only serve eight years in one position and then go off the board or be voted in as the chairman. When the statute of limitation required Bishop Stewart to leave the office of general superintendent after two terms (8 years), I served him one more year when he transitioned to Southwestern College as its president.

When Bishop Stewart retired in 1990, Rev. Jesse Simmons, the executive director of World Missions and Chaplains Ministries asked that I serve as his executive secretary. For the next 15 years I served Rev. Simmons for seven years and then I served the next executive director of World Missions, Rev. Donald Duncan, for eight years; I spent a total of 15 years in World Missions.

When Rev. Duncan chose to not run for office at the 2005 general conference, I became the administrative assistant to Rev. Mike Gray, the new Chief of Operations for the headquarters building (RDC) and assistant to Bishop James D. Leggett, until January of 2006 when Bishop Leggett asked that I serve as his Executive Assistant, where I currently serve. I have, therefore, served three General Superintendents (bishops), Rev. Williams, Rev. Stewart, and Rev.

Leggett, as a personal/research secretary. I am the only secretary to have served more than one General Superintendent as a personal secretary.

My years at the international headquarters (RDC) have been involved in several departments and many areas of the denomination. I was privileged to serve on the committee during the early 1980's to establish the permanent Archives Department for the denomination and I am still involved with that as much as possible trying to preserve the history of this great church and its people. While in World Missions, I served as liaison with the missionaries and other researchers to gather the history of missions. The first book was written of the history of World Missions and the missionary staff that had served since its beginning. The book *The Simultaneous Principle – The First 100 Years*, authored by Dr. Frank Tunstall, was presented to the general church at the 2005 general conference and is selling well.

I have seen the leaders of this denomination come and go and have loved and appreciated all of them. On the whole, all of them have had the general church at heart and a deep desire to do their part to enlarge the kingdom of God through the avenue of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church. I have also been in a position to see the worst of leadership and how the church has been hurt by ineffective and very political leadership. But, the IPHC is alive and well and continues to grow and win souls and build churches for His glory.

Second Generation

I was not privileged as my folks were to see such drastic changes in the church as they did. They came into the IPHC when it was very young. The Pentecostal Holiness Church was formed in 1898 and was joined by the Fire Baptized Holiness Church in 1911. Dad was born in 1910, twenty-one years after the birth of the church and mom was born in 1907, eighteen years after its birth. They were actually the second generation of leadership in the church and were well acquainted with and sat under the leadership of Bishop J. H. King, the third general superintendent of the IPHC, who served from 1917-1946. Dad kept Bishop King's picture in his office until his death in 1986. He held Bishop King in high regard.

Women in Leadership

When growing up, my idea of leadership was "men." There were very few women in leadership positions within the local conferences or the general church. We did have a Woman's Auxiliary department (later called Women's Ministries) and this was operated by a woman under the umbrella of the general superintendent's office. It is still operated that way today. The women do have their own convention and elect their own officers. There have also been drastic changes in that department as well. They no longer just provide "nice" programs for the local church, but they are training the women to become leaders in their home, church, and community.

I do not remember a woman serving on a conference board or a general board until about twenty years ago. Some local churches would allow a woman

to serve as a deacon. When serving as a deacon, they were usually assigned to the role of secretary or treasurer. Fortunately, that is beginning to change. The first woman I remember serving as a conference superintendent (the highest elected office within a local conference) was Doyce Dunn. She only served a few years.

I did have a few women in my early years that were influential in my life. When in grade school and living in Toronto, my junior church teacher (an African American) was wonderful to me. I not only loved to attend junior church but I knew she loved me. While living in Oklahoma City, my junior church teacher there, Miss Mary Selby, was quite influential. She was tough! She made us memorize scripture and taught us the importance of a local church was and how it was organized. She taught us doctrine and the importance of serving the Lord. Later when in high school, Mary Selby, was one of my teachers in accounting, shorthand, and other business classes. She was also my “boss” while working through my high school years at Southwestern College (they also had a high school division). She instilled in me not only a love and appreciation for the church, but skills in business that serves me even now.

The one woman that I knew that served on the local church board where Dad pastored during my high school years was later exposed as embezzling funds from the church. But God had to expose her through an evangelist brought to the church who operated in the ministry of “discernment.” My mother who also had the gift of discernment had already been shown that the woman was not right with God.

So, my exposure to women as leaders growing up was very scarce. However, I did receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit in a revival at our local church through the ministry of Pearl Benz, an ordained minister.

It is unbelievable to me when I think about it, but I was the second generation of women that were allowed to vote. Mother said she remembered the struggle that women had in trying to gain equality and the right to vote. In her “growing up years,” the men were the power within the local family and within the government. She remembers her first time to vote after women obtained the right to vote. She remembers the struggles of trying to obtain that right to vote. It was a really powerful thing for her to do.

IPHC Women in Leadership

Dad used to tell us about one of the first churches he pastored in the 30s when he was very young and just starting in the ministry. The church was comprised of mostly women. The husbands of these women were not saved. So, in this instance, most of the power in the local church was women and not men. The women decided to get it was time their husbands became Christians. They prayed and worked until every husband had been won to the Lord and became an active part of that local church. That church became one of the strongest churches within this area.

Even though that generation of women was not allowed “official” leadership positions with the local church or even the community, they were a force to be dealt with. When a wife, such as my mother, felt something strongly

enough about a situation, they did something about it. Maybe that is just part of that particular generation of women. They were strong and determined.

Solemn Assembly

In 1996, as a denomination, the IPHC had a “Solemn Assembly” where we joined together and repented of many “sins” we felt had been committed as a denomination over the years: Spiritual Pride, Judgmentalism, Controlling Spirit, Racism, Male Domination, the Elder-Brother Syndrome and Greed. There was one sin that we repented of that stands out in my mind. The church repented of the idea of Male Domination - the treatment of women and the lack of recognition of them as ministers of the gospel and leaders in ministry. From that day forward, from the local church to the general level, the church has been trying very hard to correct this. We have not arrived as yet, but we have made some strong inroads into correcting this problem.

Women in Leadership Today

Local churches now have women serving on their boards. A few conferences now have a woman on their conference board. For the first time in our history, we now have a woman serving on the second highest board within the denomination, the General Executive Board (GEB). The GEB meets once a quarter or at the call of the general superintendent who serves as the chairman. They handle the day-to-day business of the denomination. At the 2005 general conference (where our bylaws and rules are established for the entire denomination), it was voted that we would have a woman representative serving

on the GEB. Trish Weedn was elected to that position. She is a lay person from Purcell, Oklahoma, who also serves as a State Representative from her district in Oklahoma. She brings a fresh and new perspective to the GEB. Trish is also representative of the newer thinking of the general church that we, as Christians, need to become involved in the political arena of where we live.

Also, for the first time, the General Executive Board nominated and the GBA appointed two women on the General Board of Administration, the highest board within the denomination. This board meets once a year to deal with the business of the church in between the general conferences (held every four years). Of the two women elected to the GBA, one is a pastor and one is a Hispanic laywoman. This was a very significant change for the IPHC.

At the present time, we do not have any women serving as a conference superintendent. We have a long way to go in electing and appointing women ministers, but we have made a huge dent within the last eight years. When the new general boards (who serve under the GEB/GBA) were appointed to serve for the next four years following the 2005 general conference, almost every ministry leader appointed at least one woman to their board. This is a huge change for the IPHC. We expect great things to happen because of the involvement of women and their unique perspective on the business of the church.

Recently, a conference superintendent from Oklahoma informed me they had licensed and ordained more women ministers at their quadrennial conference this year (2006) than they ever have. He was very excited about this change in

their conference. He has several women ministers serving as pastors but we are still behind in that area of ministry for women. We have a number being licensed and ordained but not a lot of them are filling pastoral roles as yet.

One interesting note about the history of World Missions I wish to make is that in studying the history of missions, we found that the early day missionaries were mainly women. That was the one area in the denomination where women could feel accepted and were allowed to serve. The sacrifices these women made serving, many times alone, on a foreign field are a beautiful history within itself.

A recent development in World Missions involves the appointment of a woman pastor to the largest IPHC church outside the United States. Rev. Donavan Ng, field superintendent for Hong Kong and former pastor of the Wing Kwong PHC, transferred leadership in the Wing Kwong Church to Rev. Wong Yuet-yin JoAnne. Wing Kwong has about 6,000 in attendance and is considered the largest Pentecostal church in Hong Kong and is the largest IPHC church outside the United States. Pastor JoAnne has grown up in the Wing Kwong Church and has been trained and groomed by Rev. Ng to take over as the senior pastor of this very elite church.

International Headquarters (RDC)

One area of the church that still struggles with a lack of female leadership is the international headquarters building. The RDC has made some progress in placing women in administrative positions but very few are in a leadership

position. It has only been within the last twenty to twenty-five years that women have been appointed to an administrative position at the RDC.

At the RDC we have three levels of service: Executive (elected officials), Administrative (hired), and Staff (hired) positions. There is only one woman serving as an elected official, Rev. Jewelle Stewart, who serves as the executive director of Women's Ministries. Rev. Stewart was elected by the women of the denomination in their quadrennial conference in 2005. The other general officials were also elected by the 2005 general conference to serve for four year terms. These are all men and directors of the various ministries of the denomination.

Those that serve in administrative positions serve under the direction of the executive director of each ministry. The main area of ministry within the building that has never had a woman serve is the position of assistant director (formerly called administrative assistant) to an executive director. Because of the close working relationship between the director and assistant director and the travel requirements of both, it has been felt that it was better for both to be men.

Those that have gone from a staff position to an administrative position include: Shirley Spencer who went from a secretary to the editor of the denominational publications, Doris Moore who went from a secretary to director of Archives and later the general president of the Woman's Auxiliary (an elected position). Serving on the administrative level of the headquarters has been almost a closed door for women to "move up" within the ranks of headquarters. For Shirley and Doris, their situations were unique and not the norm for the RDC.

Shirley and Doris were not ministers at the time they were appointed to the administrative positions.

Others who have been appointed or hired to serve in an administrative capacity were: Charlene West who returned from the mission field in South America after twenty years as a missionary to serve as the first Hispanic Director in Evangelism, and Barbara James who served as a co-director with her husband, Bane, as the directors of the WIN (World Intercessory Network) program. These were both ministers. All of these changes have taken place within the last 20-25 years.

The latest addition to the administrative staff was in 2004, when Paula Ward was hired to an administrative position in World Missions. She is not a minister. Up until that time, it was felt that because of the heavy travel demands and interaction with conference leadership (mostly men) it would not be “appropriate” for a woman to serve in an administrative position in World Missions. Paula serves as the director of donor relations for World Missions Ministries and has a staff of three individuals serving under her supervision. She is young, energetic, very creative and doing an excellent job with her area of ministry. Although she is not a preacher, she makes a great promotional presentation wherever she is asked to speak or present the program of World Missions.

After the Solemn Assembly, some on the secretarial staff at the headquarters felt that for the first time in history, they would have a chance at a

leadership position in the headquarters where they felt they could be more involved in ministry. One such secretary, who was also an ordained minister in the Heartland Conference (Oklahoma), was Debbie Whipple from Oklahoma City. She served about fifteen years as the administrative assistant (secretary) to the assistant director of Evangelism until her death the first of 2006. It was her desire to serve as an assistant to one of the executive directors but when she applied, she was told they would not hire a woman because of the heavy travel involved with the executive director and they did not want to place themselves in a position of compromise to the outside public. She was very disappointed but continued to serve in the position she was in as she felt that was where God wanted her for the time being.

The director of Evangelism recognized her unique giftings in ministry and allowed her freedom to minister across the denomination in churches, conferences, and various seminars across the nation. She was an excellent speaker and a powerful prayer warrior. Shortly before her death, she made her first trip to the mission field and ministered powerfully to those in the country of Guyana. She was also involved with the Evangelism Department in the area of prayer walks. She was a bold prayer warrior and was sent into various cities to organize and carry out prayer walks on behalf of the strong holds of Satan surrounding those cities.

Paradigm Shift

Part of the change in attitude regarding women in leadership within the church has to do with the term “ministry.” When Bishop B. E. Underwood was in office, he affected a radical paradigm shift in the thinking of the Pentecostal Holiness Church. He did away with the term “department” within the general headquarters and called each area of responsibility a “ministry” to better define their function within the church. This was to bring the church in line with the thought that “ministry” did not mean just a preacher but included every person that was saved by God’s grace and that each department was a “ministry” here to serve the local conferences and local churches.

From the beginning of the church, the church was structured on a hierarchical status with the headquarters being at the top. The general conference made the rules and policies and the headquarters carried them out with everyone serving under them. We still have some forms of that in place, however, now the church operates with the headquarters being classified as “working alongside” of the local conference and local church. We are here to “assist” rather than “dictate” and in so doing we have come to realize that we all have a place of ministry. Each person within the headquarters building as well as a local church/conference has an area of ministry. It takes each one of us working together to accomplish His purposes.

This attitude is not only changing the method of operation for the international headquarters but for the way that missions is conducted on the

foreign fields. In the early days of any denomination, the missionary entered a country and became the leader, imposing the methods of the church at home and the customs of the western world. That no longer works. The world has become a very small place and those in foreign countries are no longer illiterate and unlearned. Many of the nationals we work with in other countries have very strong ministries and are highly educated. Our Missions Ministry now serves as a facilitator in many countries to help the nationals train their own people to go out and start churches, teach in their Bible schools, and to go to other countries as missionaries. We no longer are the “parent” but we are just there to help them. This is providing explosive growth in many countries. This also means that some mission fields are no longer dependent, nor want to be dependent, on the USA for financial support. They have “grown up” to be mature churches and church leaders within their own country. Many countries now have their own missions department and send out their own missionaries. One of the largest churches within the IPHC is located in Hong Kong and they support mission works all over the world, including People to People in the international office. They also send out their own missionaries. The role of missionary has not been replaced but their function has changed considerably.

IPHC Women Leaders in Oklahoma

As I mentioned earlier, in the early days of the church, there were few women leaders. At that time, the only women who were “recognized” as leaders within the denomination were women missionaries. The story needs to be written

someday of the women missionaries within the IPHC. We have had many very dedicated and talented women who went to mission fields alone and served their lifetime making an impact in their area of ministry. Some went as ministers but many went as nurses and teachers.

One of the most powerful and effective woman ministers that I know is Charlene West. I remember her husband, Russell, very well. They pastored a church in Tulsa for a few years where my brother and his family attended. They later moved to Bakersfield, California to pastor. Russell had a massive heart attack and died quite suddenly leaving Charlene and their four children. Charlene was born and grew up in Oklahoma. Her maiden name was North. Her father was a minister in the Oklahoma Conference about the same time as my dad. He and my father were close friends.

Not long after Russell passed away, Charlene felt a call to the mission field. She went to South America and served for approximately twenty years before coming back to the U.S. She became the first director of Hispanic Ministries for the Evangelism Department. She was the first woman that I remember that was hired to an administrative position within the headquarters. (We had a couple of women, as mentioned earlier; those started as secretaries and later were placed in administrative positions.)

Charlene served as director for Hispanic Ministries for a few years and then became the pastor of a Hispanic church in Oklahoma City where she fulfilled her dream to plan and implement a school of ministry for Hispanics through the

general Evangelism Department. The school brings students from all over the United States, meeting annually. It has become quite large and is very instrumental in helping the Hispanics become established in the various ministries of the IPHC.

Charlene is not only a powerful leader within the mission field and Hispanic community but a powerful preacher. She is a very humble woman but very determined to carry out the ministry that God has laid on her heart. She is in her late 70s but I can't see that she is slowing down at all.

Charlene's daughter, Kathy, followed in her mother's footsteps and has been a missionary for many years, along with her husband, Gary. Kathy and her husband are currently serving in Spain working with the Muslim population.

Early Beginnings

The IPHC began as a small, rural denomination mostly in the southern part of the United States. We are still not as developed in the northern or far western states as we would like, but we have branched out into many new territories. We have also begun to lose the "small" attitude and "small" thinking when it comes to progress. We have learned that our doctrine is sound and a very proven doctrine; one that we are very proud to have. However, we have also learned that our denomination will not be exclusive in heaven and that God loves all people of all denominations and organizations and that heaven will be filled with many outside of the IPHC. That makes serving Him even more wonderful and exciting here on earth.

National Organizations

In the early years of the IPHC, our leaders involved the denomination in several national organizations that have given us strength, teaching, and fellowship over the years. One of these was the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE).

In 1943, the IPHC became a charter member of this organization comprised of leadership from all evangelical denominations, not just Pentecostal. It was for fellowship and training. The NAE is a very prominent organization within the USA today and has become a powerful force politically. We, as well as other Pentecostal/Evangelical denominations and groups, work closely with them in many areas such as the Chaplains Ministry, Men and Women's Ministries, youth, and missions. Bishop J. Floyd Williams, General Superintendent of the IPHC from 1969-1981, served one term as its national director.

Another organization formed in 1948 was the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (PFNA). The IPHC was a charter member of this group also. This group was comprised of all Pentecostal denominations within the United States. The leadership meets annually for fellowship, training, and worship. It is still active today but in 1994 became known as the Pentecostal Charismatic Churches of North America (PCCNA). Under this new title, they desired to be more racially inclusive and to encourage participation by Charismatic churches

and organizations. Bishop James D. Leggett, current General Superintendent of the IPHC, co-chaired this organization until the fall of 2005.

We are also very active members of the Pentecostal World Fellowship (PWF), comprised of Pentecostal denominational leaders and organizations from all over the world. They meet once every three years for fellowship and a week of training and fellowship. Bishop James D. Leggett currently serves as the chairman of the PWF and as chairman for the 21st Pentecostal World Conference to be held in Surabaya, Indonesia in 2007. I am currently serving Bishop Leggett as the secretary for that organization as well.

Statistics

When I traveled with my folks from one end of the United States to the other in the 40s and 50s, we were in many IPHC churches in every conference and specifically all the places where we had new work since that was Dad's focus at the time. Most of our churches at that time were small and rural. We did not have many that were in big cities. However, it was a desire of dad's heart to start new churches in all the big cities. Most of our churches ran about 50-75, but a big church was considered 250-300. Not many churches were over that amount. However, the church Dad pastored on an interim basis in Toronto, Canada, in the early 50s was running about 500 in attendance when we had to return to the United States. Today the average church size for the IPHC is 123.

In 1945, the Pentecostal Holiness Church had a membership in the United States of 24,509 members. Today we have 244,184 members in the United States

and 3,687,428 worldwide, including affiliates. We have not only enlarged our vision but we have enlarged our numbers.

Church Size Today

Today, we have a number of churches that run over 500 with the largest in the United States running over 8,000, located in Greenville, South Carolina. The largest church we have overseas is Wing Kwong in Hong Kong, which runs over 6,000.

One thing we have learned as a denomination over the years is that in order to grow a large church, the pastor has to be committed to stay for the “long haul.” Pastors who only stay in a church 3-5 years will not be able to grow a church. Early day churches and pastors wanted to change leadership every time they went to conference. The “long-term” pastor is a wonderful product of our time now. While we still have a lot of small churches, we are growing bigger and better ones. I believe we have broken through the mindset of a “small” church.

Bishop Leggett is spearheading a new program called the “M Initiative” which is a training program geared to reach pastors who have either grown a church over 1,000 or have the potential and vision to grow a large church. Pastors are being targeted who have the desire/passion and the potential to grow a large church. There will also be training programs established in each of the conferences for personal training with pastors.

Growth of Ethnic Groups

One of the most prevalent changes in the IPHC denomination from my early days is in the area of ethnic groups. When I was a child and lived in Toronto in the late 40s and early 50s, we had mixed marriages within our church. I thought nothing of it. My junior teacher in Sunday school was African American. Moving from Toronto to Memphis, Tennessee, in the early 50s brought a rude awakening to how church people felt about African Americans. (I was living in Memphis before the Rosa Parks episode on the city bus). I did not understand why it was okay to go to church with African Americans, socialize with them, have them serve as teachers and leaders in our church while in Canada, but, upon arriving in Memphis, they were outcasts to the church, neighborhoods and schools. I remember the first time that Momma and I rode a bus to downtown Memphis and I experienced the fact that African Americans had to sit in the back of the bus.

The African Americans were not accepted within our southern rural denomination. They were not in our churches and neither were Hispanics nor any other ethnic groups. All ethnic groups were, in our thinking, on the “mission” field. Of course, at that time not many Hispanics lived within the United States or Vietnamese, Koreans or any other large ethnic groups. The world has changed drastically and the church has changed also.

Now we have a large diversity of ethnic groups within the denomination. One of the fastest growing segments of the IPHC is the Hispanic population.

They are starting new churches almost faster than we can count them. We also have Filipino congregations, Korean congregations, and many others. We now have an African-American director and a Hispanic director serving at the RDC.

One of the largest Pentecostal denominations in America today is an African-American group. In the 90s Bishop B. E. Underwood, while working with the PCCNA, helped the church organize and participate in the “Memphis miracle” where we reconciled ourselves as a denomination to other denominations and, especially, to our African-American brothers and sisters. That was a historic event and has seen many positive changes and improvement in working relationships. We now see the need to fellowship and work with those of all ethnic groups. We have had over the past 15 years a small grouping of missionaries of other nationalities and ethnic groups that have joined with us to minister. What a blessing they have been and what insights they have brought to the ministry of a mission field.

Legalism & Sanctification

Many of our early day leaders were considered “legalistic.” I know they loved the doctrine of the IPHC and guarded it well, to a fault. There was a lot of misunderstanding about the work of “sanctification.” That misunderstanding drove a lot of people from the church and from God. We have matured and have a better understanding of the work of sanctification. We not only believe there is a second definite work of grace in sanctification but that it continues to grow and mature us.

Sanctification was confused with what we term “legalism.” My folks decided before I was born that sanctification had little to do with what we looked like on the outside, so I did not have much of a problem with legalism growing up. A lot of my friends, however, struggled with clothes, makeup, movies, and sports. We could not wear makeup and women could not wear slacks. Many women were not allowed to cut their hair or wear jewelry, and churches believed that movies were of Satan. Church members did not watch professional sports games, especially on Sunday, and of course, they avoided all forms of dancing. These activities were all portrayed by the church and many parents as being “worldly” and we were to set ourselves “apart from the world” in every aspect of our lives. By doing so, we were considered to be “sanctified.”

While still attending high school at Southwestern, there was a large controversy that spread across the church and divided many people. Now that I look back, I consider it a silly controversy. The boys’ basketball team was required to wear sweat pants when they played, as if you don’t get hot running around the court. The team played other Christian schools who wore regular basketball shorts. Our team wanted to wear the regular shorts also. People were divided on the issue, even threatening to withdraw their financial support for the school if we allowed our boys to become so “worldly.” Finally, reason won out and they were allowed to wear regular basketball shorts. But – what a bad taste that left in the minds and hearts of so many of the young people at that time.

Associated with the idea of sanctification was the idea that we only wanted our churches to be filled with those who would conform to our standards. We welcomed the sinner to the church, but we forgot that once saved, there was a period of discipleship and growing that needed to be done before they had “arrived.” This thinking also drove people away from the church and from God.

Many of the children I grew up with in the church became bitter towards the church because of its rigid standards. While there is a place for modesty in dress and wisdom in where we go and what we do, we have come to understand that “sanctification” is a spiritual experience to set us apart to do His service, not to isolate us.

Discipleship

We now know that for people to “grow” in the Lord, they have to be loved and nurtured and disciplined. They don’t “arrive” just because the Lord saves them. Of course, in the early days we didn’t think about “discipleship” because we really didn’t believe that much in any type of education. It was believed that the Lord would give each minister the right words to say at the right time and he did not have to think or prepare ahead of time. God has to have a sense of humor to have put up with our ignorance.

Many of our churches now have training programs for the lay people in how to win the lost and disciple them into fellowship and a deeper walk with the Lord. We have also learned that leadership from the local church to the general level needs to be trained. Many people are gifted leaders, but even they need to

receive training. The IPHC has been providing training to the general leaders of the denomination through their general meetings since the early 80s. Bishop Leon Stewart was the first general superintendent to provide in-depth training to leadership at their annual General Board of Administration (GBA) meeting. The General Board of Administration is the highest governing board in the denomination. It is composed of all the conference superintendents, administrators of benevolent institutions, presidents of the schools, all the elected officials that serve as directors of the various departments of the church, lay representatives, pastoral representatives, Hispanic representatives and African American representatives, and now women's representatives.

All ministers are now required to attend special seminars and training events annually in order to maintain their credentials. God may at times provide the right words at the right time, but He prefers to do it through a vessel that has put forth some effort on their own to grow and mature spiritually. The graduate school at Southwestern has been providing excellent training for those already in leadership and it is proving to be a very successful program in the church. Most of our larger conferences have also begun in-depth ongoing ministerial training for their ministers. This has greatly raised the quality of leadership in our pastors and other key leaders on the local and conference level.

Over the years, our denominational schools have trained most of the leadership that we have in place now. They saw the need and have been providing better and more extensive training not only to ministers but those

wanting to enter Christian ministry such as teachers, youth pastors, Christian education, and missionaries. We have realized that education and training is very important to the body of Christ.

Ministry and Giftings

One thing we have learned in the IPHC is that the pastor is not the only “minister” within a church. God has endowed each one of us with certain “giftings” that need to be nurtured and utilized within the local church, conference, and general church. However, our “giftings” are to be used beyond the church. God tells us to “go out” into the world and bring them in. For too long we sat behind the church doors and told the sinner to come to us. God never intended for us to do that. We have to be a part of the community and our nation in order to have an influence and be able to go where our message of the gospel of Jesus Christ can be witnessed by others. Only by witnessing to others through our lives and testimony will they have a desire to come into our churches. It is important that each person won to the Lord be nurtured and assisted to grow in the giftings that God has given each of us.

Even though many feel that my position at the RDC is only a “servant” position, I feel I am fulfilling the role that God has placed on my heart to do my part to make the IPHC the best church it can be and to win souls through all the resources available to me in my position.

Social Needs

For many years the church ministered “inwardly.” We did not believe in getting involved in the social needs of the community. During my parents’ growing up years and their early adulthood, they experienced the ravages of the dust bowl in Oklahoma and later the Great Depression. It was not uncommon for them to feed those who came to their door hungry or give clothes to those in need. But as the world became more complicated and fast paced, we as a church and as individuals closed our doors and did “our thing” inwardly. We ministered to those in the local church but not beyond. Only in the last few years have the churches begun to see the need to be involved with humanity and to reach out with feeding programs, clothing programs, help for the single parent, ministry to the homeless, ministry to the senior citizen, ministry to those in prison, ministry to the “biker” generation, and any other need that might arise in a person’s life. This also is bringing out the many “giftings” of individuals. Not everyone is called to preach but we are all called to minister to those in need whether they are in the local church or outside of it.

As a secretary, I never considered my occupation to be a lofty one like a pastor, an executive director, or a bishop. But I have learned how valuable each of us can be in building His kingdom. I have also learned that my position as a secretary is not a “leadership” position but a “servant” position and God has to have both to accomplish His purposes.

Memories

The more I write my memories, the more things come to my mind. The Lord has blessed the International Pentecostal Holiness Church. Even though we may have some complaints about “legalism” and “short sightedness” from the early days of the church, those leaders had a driving desire to do the will of the Lord. They did not ask what the pay check was or what benefits were involved. They gave their “all” to serve Him and to do what they felt was God’s voice speaking to them to carry out the work He had called them to do. Ministers in the early days gave up “Everything” to serve God and their church. They shed themselves of worldly goods and money.

I feel that in our “modern” church world we have lost some of that zeal and that “call to obedience without question” that our early day fathers had. We live in a world that has to “consider” everything before a “yes” is said to going to a new city to start a church or going to a mission field. If God calls, He will provide the ways and means to get there.

Some of the early day pioneers went to the extreme, however, and felt that God would provide for them and it was not their responsibility to do anything to help financially. Most of the local churches in the early days would provide a home for the pastor but not always pay them a livable wage. I have seen many faithful ministers retire without a penny or a home. The general church has been instrumental in training our local churches and conferences that a pastor should be paid a reasonable wage and encouraged to assist them with retirement planning.

God will provide but there has to be a balance and there is a responsibility on each of us.

My dad was an excellent administrator and learned from these early day pioneers that everything must have balance. When dad retired, his home was paid for as well as his burial lots and funeral. He did not die a wealthy man but he left mother with enough money to live her life very comfortably and in dignity. He served as a general official for 32 years and most of those years his salary was drawn from the revivals and meetings that he conducted and turned in the funds to the department in order to be paid a salary. He, as well as all of our general officials, did not draw much more than a minimum wage for many years. This is an area where we have worked hard to raise the standard of living for all ministers and especially the general officials of the denomination. They are the CEOs of the church and as such should be paid a reasonable wage and benefits.

As a child, I never lacked for food or shelter, clothing, medical, or any other needs that I had. I didn't know that I grew up poor until I was grown and had a family of my own. I always felt "privileged" to be in the home that I had. My parents knew how to manage their money and always looked like a poster cover when they stepped out. My dad was a handsome man and was very distinguished looking and well dressed. My mother was a beautiful woman and was always well dressed. I was very proud of both of them.

Working for the general church is a blessing. Although the general officials and staff do not earn what they could in the business world, we live

comfortably and lack for little in material goods. Those of us who serve on the staff level are working within the headquarters because we feel it is a ministry and not just a job.

My dad always preached that someday the Lord would reward us for what we do on this earth to promote the gospel of Jesus Christ and to win souls. However, the Lord could not finalize the total of what we have accomplished until every person that we have influenced is also in heaven. Those that we win to the Lord or influence for His glory will also win others. We will have a part of everyone that is influenced because of that one person we influenced.

So, even though I serve in a servant's position of secretary, I feel that the work that I do has influenced people all over the world and I will share in the glory of the people I have influenced and assisted. It has been such a privilege for me to serve my church in so many different capacities. Someone asked me not long ago why I was not bitter at the church as many of those that I grew up with. I have nothing to be bitter about. I feel the IPHC had some serious faults in our early years, but I also feel that I have tried in my own way to help correct faults and problems within the church to make it a better church. The IPHC is a church on the move with excellent programs and training available.

Two study commissions were appointed at the 2005 general conference: One, to study the structure of our denomination to see what changes/improvements need to be made in order to more effectively carry out the ministry assigned to us by the heavenly Father and; two, to look at the term

“Apostolic Ministry” and to see how the IPHC can be involved with this. There have been many other very positive changes that have taken place within the IPHC from the date of its birth, but time and space do not permit me to list a great deal more. It is not the same church that I was birthed into; it is a much better church.

I was birthed into the Pentecostal Holiness Church, received many spiritual experiences within the church, was trained by its denominational high school and college, and have had the privilege to serve in the general headquarters many years. I have met and worked with the leadership of all the Pentecostal denominations and other evangelical groups. I have been allowed to travel to various areas around the world to observe first hand the mission fields and to see the needs for ministry in countries that have little first hand knowledge of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

I have been involved with some tough situations while working at the headquarters. One was the trial and expulsion of a former general superintendent. It was truly a black day within our church, but a very cleansing one. I have seen the young people rise to prominent leadership within the church. I have seen miracles on the mission fields. I have lived to see the beginning of women leadership within the church. I have been truly blessed by the IPHC and proud to be a part of its beautiful history. It has a beautiful heritage, but we are like any family. We have learned and are growing to become more productive in God’s

kingdom to win the lost to Jesus Christ through whatever area of ministry we are called upon to serve.

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Page 20 – taken from the 2006 Statistics mentioned above

APPENDIX F: PERSONAL LETTER, LENNIE CORDIE GILCREASE REX,
DATE UNKNOWN

It was the greatest revival I've ever attended in all my life.

Father and mother did not go to church. But they taught us about God and Hell. They lived a great moral life far more honest than a lot of Christians that go to church today. There were very very few churches almost a century ago. Baptist, Methodist most. In the country they had churches in some of the school houses. The first I remember of ever being in a church service. My mother took me to an old brush arbor meeting. I was I think four-and-a-half or five years old. I thought it was the greatest place and in my heart when the minister made an altar call. The choir and all sang the song: "Oh! Why not tonight? Oh! Sinner why not tonight? Come and be saved. Why not tonight?" I wanted so bad to go kneel down and repent and get saved. But I was afraid to tell mama. But that stayed with me all my life. When I was about eight some of us children would some times have our own church services the best we knew how. But later I learned God really did love "children."

Later in life I was in the field chopping cotton all alone on the prairie; the sun was hot. The Lord spoke to my heart to pray; it so plainly impressed in my young heart. I looked all around to see if some one was watching me; no one was in the field or in sight. I kneeled down on the ground and started to pray and then I got up and chopped the cotton onto the end of the row and I knew there was a ditch only deep enough no one could see me and the Lord only knows what I said

or how I said it there, but when I got up I knew beyond any doubt I was saved through and through. I really didn't know what real sin was, but the Lord lifted a great load off my very young teenage heart, mind, and soul.

Then I prayed for the Lord to some way or some how speak to my parents to go to a Baptist school house revival. I think I had the strictest parents any girl ever had. But I learned when I was young God does answer prayer. Sometimes yes, sometimes no, sometimes wait, many times in a way we never could think or dream or imagine.

But a neighbor living about a mile away from where we were living come over and asked my mother and dad to let me go to revival with them in a wagon. I know God spoke to that neighbor for he didn't know I had repented and got saved. God only caused my terrible strictest parents to let me go with them. I was so thrilled. The Baptists had real altar calls and worshipped the Lord. They also had testimony services which was a great blessing and still is. After the altar service the minister said he wanted each one of us to stand up and testify or quote a verse from the Bible. We had to sit in the kids single seats and he said he was going down each row. I almost panicked; I did not know one verse in the Bible. We never had a Bible in our home to read; only very, very few schools had books. But when he pointed at me I got up and testified that I was saved. The think that happened that night taught me a lot. One woman across the room from me stood up. Her face shined it was aglow for the Lord. She said, "I want to tell you young converts just keep praying for the Lord has more for you." I thought in my young

heart. How can there be more; I was happy being saved. But that night the Lord impressed me to pray for more. He (the minister) got up and said “He didn’t want anyone else to testify like her, for there wasn’t any more than getting saved.” That put a big question mark? in my mind, but the more than ever told me to pray for more. I had no idea what more meant, but in my heart if there was more I wanted it and believed God would help me.

That prayer was two years long. God sent a Sanctified Holy Ghost filled minister, wife and two babies to our little town in Caddo, Oklahoma five miles from where we lived. My mother and dad would not let me go. Bitterly against it. Especially my dad. It had been going on three weeks, and my girlfriend lived about a mile from the tent revival come to see me and wanted me to go. She said, “She never seen or heard of anything in her life like it” and said “she enjoyed the testimonies” said “would tickle you to death.” I said you know papa and mama won’t let me go. She said “I will beg them to let you go and stay all night with me and won’t say a word about the great revival.” I definitely know God caused them to let me go. God did answer my humble two years long prayer in the Great revival. The Lord wonderfully Sanctified me a poor very timid (yes, backwards too) country girl. I come up from that altar with the fire of God burning in my soul and shouted, shouted, and praised God with all my heart. The little minister come to me and said, “Do you know what has happened to you?” I said, “No.” He said, “The Lord has sanctified you.” I said, “Whatever you call it, I am happy.” For see I never had even heard the word, but I also learned the woman that told us

young converts also knew the Lord did have more for us. Well, I had to tell my papa and mama.

That I got saved and I told them I had found what I've always wanted in my heart and I was going to church if had to walk the five miles there and back. Poor little mama took me in the wagon that made papa so mad because he only had one team of mules to farm with and of course they needed rest.

I learned to be careful what you pray for because I learned I did have to walk dark very dark no flashlights or lantern very hard times during the deep terrible depression no one can know only we who say God's help lived through such horrible years. The minister preached that the Holy Ghost was for every one that desired and prayed and seek the Lord and ask for it. Mama told that the apostles had the Holy Ghost and it wasn't for any one else. I said, "Mama that preacher read the Bible and said it was for any one that wants it and I'm going to receive it, or I will die praying and seeking the Lord for it. Now understand I never in my life saw any one receive the Holy Ghost. The revival had been going on for six weeks no one had received the Holy Spirit.

The minister said I want every body to pray tomorrow for your self if you are ready and prayed up to receive the Holy Ghost tomorrow night. I had to work very hard every day from sun up to sun down in the hot sun in the field doing one thing and another. No wonderful easy machinery them days. Hadn't been invented. I stopped and went to the house to get me a drink of water. I told my mother and married sister I am going to receive the Holy Spirit. They both just

laughed and laughed at me and said, "You won't." I went back to work for that day I was in the field that come up to our yard. I went back and got down on my knees in the hot sun and prayed and then I thought I think that way the enemy saying now you know your mama and sister can see you and they will laugh louder. So I got up and went over to the Suedan/Sicedan field next to the cotton field it was about four feet high and kneeled down so no one could see me and it was hot hot no air seemed like but and I began to pray with all my heart, mind and soul and the first time in my life the power of God hit me I did not know what it was and it almost scared me but I was so happy and I jumped up and looked all around. I said, Lord if I am not ready to receive the Holy Spirit tonight Lord you fill who ever is ready tonight. I was tired, very tired but I couldn't hardly wait to go to church (tent). Mama took the team and wagon and one of my brothers rode my beautiful pony that I rode to school. I knew some one would receive the Holy Spirit when the altar call was made. I dropped down on my knees, threw up my hands, and begin to pray, I mean pray. The last thing I remember that man on other side of altar said, "Lord, if I'm not ready, baptize Lennie with the Holy Spirit." And, the power of God slayed me under the power of God and no one had to teach me how to let the Holy Spirit speak in tongues. The Holy Spirit don't need anyone teaching him. He spoke through me. My mother got scared and begin to fan me and they said hundreds gathered. They never saw any one receive the Holy Spirit. No way I could get up. My mother finally got some to help her get me up and carry me to the wagon and told my brother, "now you ride

the pony behind the wagon and help me watch her for she might get up and run off and she could be crazy.” God bless her dear heart. She never saw the wonders of God like that. She drove into our yard. Well, it was the break of day; everyone at the revival that had old model T Fords was parked all over our yard and road. My dad was so mad he hadn’t slept all night or even pulled his shoes off. He was frantic and mad at me, preacher and every one. I tried to tell mama, brother, and everybody I wasn’t crazy and wouldn’t run off or hurt them. I would open my mouth and the Holy Spirit had the message for them. I tried desperately hard but the Holy Spirit spoke through me to all of them. I couldn’t speak in English until in the afternoon the next day. So, I just went in when the cars all left and layed down and went to sleep about noon next day. I thought I will walk 1/2 mile where my sister lived, maybe they would understand that I hadn’t lost my mind. I started over there. Mama told my brother, “You follow her for she is running off.” I tried to tell mama where I was going but the Holy Spirit spoke to her. My brother was actually afraid of me. I would walk a way and turn to ask him to walk beside me. He would stop still and wait until I turn and walk on. I got to their house. I still couldn’t talk to them in English. They just sit and stared at me. So I got up and went back home, my brother following away behind me. It was 2:30 pm, just as suddenly as the Lord sent His great power and slayed me under and soaked me through and through with His power, wonderful power, and the Lord spoke to me, “Now, you can speak.” My papa told He was going to kill me, shoot me with his double barrel shot gun. I said, I’ve always obeyed you, but

to give up what the Lord has done for me, I will never do it. If you shoot me, I am prepared to go to heaven and you will have to answer the Lord for yourself. Everybody that knew papa, he was a man that meant what he said, and neighbors knew he would and all the family knew also. I kept going on to the revival regardless and requested prayer for papa. The minister said, "Keep praying." I did. He got so hostile he told my mother to leave. So my poor little mother had nowhere to go but she had to leave. She took my baby sister and brother and went to Caddo and someone kind hearted took them in their home. That hurt me but papa said, "You got to stay with me and your other two brothers and you got to help us with the farm work." I said, "Papa, I will not stay." I said, "The minister said there was a school for kids and they would take me and let me work for room and board." I didn't know but that he would shoot me then. Mama had been gone a week. I meant what I said too. So, I begin to get 2 or 3 dresses together. I had nothing much to take and no suitcase or anything. I was going to hitch hike a ride to Checotah, Oklahoma. Everyone hitched hiked them days. People would give anyone a ride in wagon, buggy, model T car, or horse back ride. People wasn't mean then. Anyone could make a pallet and lay down and sleep. Nobody bothered or harmed them. He turned and told one of my brothers to go to Caddo and see if he could find mama and babies and bring them home for Lynn won't stay home unless your mother comes back home. I still told him no. "I will not stay the way you treated mama." The morning before mama got back home papa called me about daylight. I thought he is going to shoot me but I felt impressed to

go into kitchen where he was. Well, when I stepped inside, he threw up his hands and said, “M y God, Lynn (as he always called me). Call your brother and pray for me. I’m going to hell.” Well, I had been earnestly praying for him and at that time I was shocked and I called my brother and I didn’t know I was praying so loud. My sister and brother-in-law 1/2 mile away had not got up but they heard me praying and my sister said, “My God, papa said he was going to shoot Lennie, but instead he is beating her to death.” They jumped up and started over to our house bare footed and night clothes, but was afraid to get too close, afraid he might shoot them. They come close enough and realized I was praying. They hurried in and didn’t say a word. They both just dropped to their knees and we all had a real prayer meeting.

God knew all time what He was doing. I did not. He knew I would have to have such an unusual experience to be able to stand and bear the many many hardships, trials, and going through many dark valley experiences that I’ve come through. Only God has helped me this far in life. I believe He is able and willing to help me the short way I have yet to go.

There is a lot more I could say but if you can read this nervous syndrome jerking without making your head and eyes hurt, you will do good.

They estimated as many as 5,000 people attended one nite in that great revival. Strangers passing by felt drawn to that tent revival and would stop to see and really got saved and healed at the same time. That is where I witnessed my first healing, a woman with a paralyzed hand. Got up and stood on an old

dilapidated bench to look on. I wanted to see for myself. Several got on benches, so many people around her. The minister asked to please get off benches, they were borrowed. Every one was nice, but me, I just stood there. The rest got back on ground. He pointed his finger at me and ask me to get off. Well, I never heard of anything like that and I did want to see what would happen. He anointed her hand and prayed. He said, "Open up your hand." Her hand opened up. She lifted that paralyzed hand. It was perfect. Pentecost had just begin to bring light on the Bible and spread. There were 14 young preachers called to preach the gospel in that revival. Only one young married lady. She and husband had a baby boy. It made her husband made and he left her and baby. She took little Billy and hitch hiked from town and preached.

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