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CHURCH HISTORY
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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF
CHURCH HISTORY
VOLUME 84, NUMBER 1
MARCH 2015
CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Church History / Volume 84 / Issue 01 / March 2015, pp 159 - 194

DOI: 10.1017/S0009640714001747, Published online: 05 March 2015

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0009640714001747

How to cite this article:

Joseph Williams (2015). The Pentecostalization of Christian Zionism. Church History, 84, pp 159-194 doi:10.1017/S0009640714001747

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The Pentecostalization of Christian Zionism

JOSEPH WILLIAMS

This essay highlights U.S. pentecostals' and charismatics' cultivation of more experiential forms of identification with Jews and with Israel that in turn played a crucial role in the global growth of Christian Zionism. Already at the turn of the twentieth century, key figures experimented with "Judeo-centric" forms of ritual and dress, merging eschatological concerns inherited from nineteenth-century Protestantism with British Israelite ideas equating Anglo-Saxons with the lost tribes of Israel. In subsequent decades these racial notions were pushed to the fringes of the pentecostal movement, but the intense sense of identification with Israel remained. Building on the emergent mythology in the midcentury U.S. of a shared "Judeo-Christian tradition," adherents increasingly stressed their religious and cultural (as opposed to racial) connections with God's "chosen people." And by the late twentieth century, the 1960s counterculture, a burgeoning emphasis on the therapeutic, and growing religious diversity all facilitated pentecostals' and charismatics' renewed experimentation with "exotic" Israel-themed rituals. Significantly, believers' appropriation of Jewish-based religious practices and identities transcended nationalistic categories, and reinforced post-American sensibilities in important respects. As such, U.S.-based evangelists and broadcast ministries were able to disseminate pentecostalized expressions of Christian Zionism well beyond North America, and help catalyze a transnational, global movement.

IN 2011 the Messianic Rabbi Jonathan Cahn published *The Harbinger*, an ostensibly fictional story that nevertheless sought to convey quite literal warnings from God regarding the spiritual state of the United States at the start of the twenty-first century. Referencing everything from the inauguration of George Washington to specific elements of the 9/11 attacks and the 2008 economic downturn, Cahn's central characters insisted that key developments in the U.S. directly—and prophetically—mirrored developments in ancient Israel that served as divine harbingers of God's impending judgment. The book struck a responsive chord, quickly selling over one million copies. This success coupled with the direct parallels that Cahn drew between ancient Israel and the U.S. illustrated the degree to which evangelical identification with Jews and Israel coincided with the nationalistic sentiments of believers. While the dire warnings contained in Cahn's book hinted at a post-American sensibility, his overall message was

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predicated on the close association of the contemporary U.S. with God's "chosen people."¹

Whereas *The Harbinger* exemplified the resonance between evangelical identification with Israel and belief in American exceptionalism, other aspects of Cahn's ministry pointed to a more experiential, less cognitive set of pro-Israel emphases among evangelicals. Such themes were especially prominent in pentecostal and charismatic circles, which tended to favor experience-oriented expressions of Christianity.² Cahn pastored the charismatic Jerusalem Center/Beth Israel Worship Center in Wayne, New Jersey, for instance, where attendees were invited to *experience* "the richness of the faith in its original biblical flavor . . . It's exciting, its prophetic, its joyous, & it's life-changing." Weekly services were held both on Sundays and Friday nights (the beginning of the traditional Jewish Sabbath), and typically included the blowing of shofars, Jewish-themed music and dance, and an "Aaronic blessing" delivered in Hebrew. Indicative of the immersive nature of the experience proffered by Cahn, the worship center's interior was modeled after the city of Jerusalem: "The walls have all the ancient gates of the city, the stage is lined with the stones matching the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, and the entrance to the Holy Temple." Significantly, the center was advertised as a place where "Jew & Gentile, people from all backgrounds, nations, and denominations are together again in Messiah." Undoubtedly many who associated with the Jerusalem Center/Beth Israel Worship Center embraced visions of the U.S. that were rooted in a sense of American exceptionalism, but the center's main appeal did not rely on such expressions of religious patriotism. Rather, participants were promised authentic religious experience, and in particular an experiential identification

¹See Jonathan Cahn, *The Harbinger* (Lake Mary, Fla.: FrontLine, 2011).

²Pentecostals stand apart from other evangelicals based on their insistence that every believer should experience a subsequent work of grace following salvation, referred to as the baptism in the Holy Spirit, that is in turn accompanied by "speaking in tongues." The faithful are also convinced that the Spirit empowers them to prophesy regarding the future, to supernaturally know things they otherwise have no ability to know, and to watch illness retreat as they pray. The charismatic movement spread similar practices in a wide variety of non-pentecostal churches—including many Catholic churches—beginning in the second half of the twentieth century. While charismatics share pentecostals' stress on the empowerment of the Holy Spirit and on the spiritual gifts mentioned in 1 Corinthians 12, not all adherents agree with pentecostals' prioritization of tongues as the necessary mark of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. See Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Peter Hocken, "Charismatic Movement," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Ed M. Van der Maas (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 2002), 477–519; Stanley M. Burgess, "Charismatic Revival and Renewal," in *Encyclopedia of Religious Revivals in America*, ed. Michael James McClymond (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2007), 1:99–102.

with Israel and the “Jewish roots” of the Christian faith, that anyone from around the world could access.³

It is tempting to view the Jerusalem Center/Beth Israel as an idiosyncratic outlier in the world of U.S. pentecostal and charismatic Christianity, not to mention U.S. evangelicalism. Numerous signs, however, suggest otherwise: in addition to congregations that catered to Messianic Jews (i.e., Jews who embraced the basic tenets of Christianity), Jewish-themed rituals and pageantry also frequently appeared in non-Messianic congregations, and in meetings conducted by pro-Israel organizations such as Christians United for Israel (which was founded by the pentecostal minister John Hagee). North American charismatics also spearheaded the initial Feast of Tabernacles celebration in Jerusalem, which attracted thousands of individuals from the U.S. and other nations who joined in elaborate displays of pro-Israeli sentiment on an annual basis. Even more important, programs hosted by charismatic Messianic leaders broadcasted Israel-themed worship and messages around the globe, and served as permanent fixtures on pentecostal-charismatic radio and television. For his part, Cahn maintained a regular radio and television ministry, and conducted meetings in countries as diverse as India, Nigeria, Cuba, Honduras, and Haiti.⁴

The international appeal of adherents’ experience-oriented, Jewish-themed practices and identities underscores U.S. pentecostals’ and charismatics’ contributions to the growth of Christian Zionism worldwide. Whereas staunch conservative Christian support for Israel should not be viewed solely as an American export, key developments in the U.S. pentecostal-charismatic movement nevertheless played a crucial role in Christian Zionism’s emergence as a global cultural movement that transcended national and ethnic boundaries.

Three historical turning points illuminate U.S. believers’ unique role in the spread of “pentecostalized” forms of Christian Zionism worldwide. First, a handful of prominent proto-pentecostals and early pentecostals at the turn of the twentieth century cultivated new conceptions of “authentic” religious identity directly tied to distinctive views of Jews and Israel. Experimenting with Judeo-centric forms of ritual and dress, these leaders merged eschatological concerns inherited from nineteenth-century Protestantism with British Israelite ideas equating Anglo-Saxons with the lost tribes of Israel. The end result was a highly racialized corporate identity that, despite its philosemitic trappings, tended to cast Jews as alien, racial “others.”

³See “Beth Israel Worship Center,” <http://www.bethisraelworshipcenter.org/>; and “How It All Began,” <http://www.bethisraelworshipcenter.org/aboutus.htm>.

⁴See “About Jonathan Cahn,” <http://www.bethisraelworshipcenter.org/aboutjonathan.htm>.

By mid-century, various trends coalesced to nurture a more widespread fascination with all things Jewish among the faithful. Prominent pentecostal figures drew direct parallels between the founding of the state of Israel and the inauguration of a fresh spiritual revival that they discerned in their midst. More important, the emerging mythology surrounding a Judeo-Christian civilization following World War II reset the broader context for pentecostal appropriation of Jewish ritual. Symbolic markers of authentic Jewishness now could be understood primarily as expressions of culture, not race. Consequently, deracialized Judeo-centric rituals and identities were disassociated from the faddish theories of British Israelism, and increasingly entered the pentecostal (and charismatic) mainstream.

The final blossoming of pentecostal Zionism took root as the counterculture, a burgeoning emphasis on the therapeutic, and growing religious diversity all reshaped the American religious marketplace. No longer stigmatized as alien, racial “others,” Messianic Jews found a niche in the charismatic movement, and their distinctive forms of worship provided a safe outlet for non-Jewish believers who wished to join fellow Americans in exploring “exotic” religious practices. But pentecostals’ and charismatics’ widespread adoption of Jewish-themed rituals did more than just facilitate highly individualistic pursuits of self-fulfillment and “authentic” religious experience. Believers’ appropriation of Jewish-based religious identities also transcended nationalistic categories, and reinforced post-American sensibilities in significant respects. As such, U.S.-based evangelists and broadcast ministries were able to disseminate pentecostalized expressions of Christian Zionism well beyond North America, and help catalyze a transnational, global movement.⁵

⁵Use of the term transnationalism here builds on the types of insights articulated by M. Kearney regarding the distinction between globalization and transnationalism. “Whereas global process are largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in a global space,” Kearney explains, “transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states.” M. Kearney, “The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (October 1995): 548. As Faydra Shapiro notes, Christian Zionism by its very nature reinforces transnational trends. It is “a movement that is deeply embedded in two nation states at the same time: adherents’ countries of residence (which might be anywhere in the world) and the state of Israel.” For Christian Zionists, Shapiro continues, “it is via transnational attachment to Israel that the local nation state is redeemed, through a flow of resources—both material and symbolic—into and out of Israel,” Faydra L. Shapiro, ““Thank You Israel, for Supporting America’: The Transnational Flow of Christian Zionist Resources,” *Identities* 19, no. 5 (September 1, 2012): 619. The specific history detailed in this essay adds to Shapiro’s analysis regarding the transnational dimensions of Christian Zionism. In particular, it illuminates how pentecostals’ and charismatics’ more literal, experience-based sense of identification with Israel and Jews played a crucial role in the emergence of transnational networks of believers from around the world who were united by a shared commitment to the Israeli state.

I. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF PENTECOSTAL FASCINATION WITH JEWS AND ISRAEL

When pentecostals began experimenting with Israel-themed identities and practices, they modified two Israel-related legacies inherited from nineteenth-century evangelicalism. First, individuals across the spectrum of conservative Christianity were keenly interested in biblical prophecy, and in particular with the role of Israel in unfolding “end-times” events. Like numerous fellow evangelicals, first-generation pentecostals embraced premillennial dispensationalism, with its literal, futuristic hermeneutic. They scoured current events for points of connection with biblical prophecies that they associated with the “last days,” paying special attention to the fate of the Jewish people and the growing Zionist movement.⁶ Emblematic of these trends, in 1916 a writer for the Assembly of God’s *Weekly Evangel*, later renamed the *Pentecostal Evangel*, listed eight crucial fulfillments of scripture that pointed to Christ’s soon return. Alongside the “wars and rumor of war” and the fact that “the world is growing worse,” the author highlighted the large number of Jews in Palestine. Now that “nearly 300,000 Jews” lived in Palestine, it was only a matter of time before prophecy would be fulfilled, and God would “drive the Turk out of Palestine and cause his ancient people to take possession of it.”⁷ Along similar lines, a representative 1935 issue of the same denominational periodical satiated readers’ thirst for prophetic happenings with miscellaneous tidbits of information related to Jews and Palestine: The author noted the Zionist Federation of Great Britain’s purchase of a farm in Harrietsham, UK, “as a training center for young Jews and Jewesses, with the idea of their going to Palestine as skilled agricultural workers.” Another news item discussed Palestine’s first radio station, commenting on the prophetic import of the event. According to the author, the event functioned as a direct fulfillment of the words of the Prophet Isaiah, who decreed that “out of Zion will come forth the Law.”⁸ For any good pentecostal, the implications of such developments were crystal clear: Christ was returning, and he was returning *soon*.

⁶In addition to their focus on seven distinct eras or “dispensations” in which God tests humanity’s faithfulness, dispensationalists also incorporate a decidedly pessimistic appraisal of the state of the church and world affairs. Put simply, they believe that nothing short of divine intervention in the form of Christ’s Second Coming can reverse the decline of civilization worldwide in the current dispensation. See George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1991), 39–41; Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 116–122.

⁷S.A. Jamieson, “The Second Coming of Christ,” *Weekly Evangel* 128 (February 26, 1916): 6.

⁸“The Passing and the Permanent: A Review of Current Life and Thought in the Light of Scripture,” *Pentecostal Evangel*, no. 1115 (September 7, 1935): 5.

As the historian Robert Smith argues, the fascination with biblical prophecy and developments in modern day Palestine on the part of numerous American Christians was intimately tied to a view of the United States as a divinely chosen nation. Dating all the way back to the Puritans, individuals steeped in Reformed Protestantism envisioned their communities as a recapitulation of the same type of covenant that defined ancient Israel's relationship with God. And by the time the colonists separated from Britain and formed the United States, broad swaths of the American populace embraced a corporate national identity as God's New Israel. As this sense of connection with Israel evolved over the course of the 1800s and into the twentieth century, U.S. citizens continued to see the "typological referent" of their own national destiny in the yet-to-be-realized State of Israel. With this backdrop in mind, evangelical support for the fledgling Zionist movement in the early 1900s—including early pentecostal Zionism—can be read at least in part as a means of protecting and preserving white American Christians' view of themselves and of their nation as divinely favored by God.⁹

A second Israel-themed legacy bequeathed to pentecostals from their evangelical forbearers extended well beyond adherents' search for present-day manifestations of biblical prophecy. The *experience* of the supernatural—as opposed to overt political actions or even interest in interpretations of biblical prophecy—stood at the center of pentecostal identity. And when the saints looked for symbols to describe their divine encounters, they often perpetuated a nineteenth-century evangelical camp-meeting tradition steeped in imagery associated with the tabernacle and temple described in the Hebrew scriptures.

In many respects the appeal of the Judeo-centric tabernacle tradition for pentecostals was closely tied to a pervasive restorationist impulse that permeated the early movement. In his 1916 *The Apostolic Faith Restored*, the participant-historian Bennet F. Lawrence provided a classic articulation of such themes. Lawrence contrasted pentecostalism with groups unduly shaped by the accretions of church history: "[T]he Pentecostal movement has no such history," he declared. "It leaps the intervening years crying, 'Back to Pentecost.' In the minds of these honest-hearted, thinking men and women, this work of God is immediately connected with the work of God in New Testament days."¹⁰ Much of the rhetoric surrounding restorationism in the pentecostal tradition, as Lawrence's comments suggest, focused on the saints' desire to recreate the experience of the New Testament church

⁹Robert O. Smith, *More Desired than Our Own Salvation: The Roots of Christian Zionism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 196. Also see 136–140.

¹⁰Bennet F. Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis, Mo.: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), 12.

described in the book of Acts. Scholars typically convey believers' longing to restore the power associated with New Testament spirituality, yet they frequently miss the degree to which the faithful also looked to the Hebrew scriptures and the example of the "children of Israel" for their ideal spiritual model. Here, it is significant that a large proportion of early pentecostals hailed from Reformed denominations that historically emphasized covenantal language derived from the Hebrew scriptures. Pentecostals familiar with this tradition would have been primed to look to ancient Israel as a model for the present-day church.¹¹ Even apart from this Reformed connection in pentecostal circles, the camp-meeting tabernacle tradition influenced a broad spectrum of nineteenth-century evangelicalism, and as a result pentecostals with backgrounds in a wide variety of evangelical traditions would have been exposed to camp-meeting imagery tied to the ancient Israelites.

In a sign of the influence of this evangelical camp-meeting tradition in pentecostal circles, one of the most common symbols that the faithful utilized to describe their experiences involved references to the "Shekina glory." An extra-biblical term, it generally referred to palpable manifestations of God's presence, and was closely associated in believers' minds with descriptions of the Hebrew tabernacle and temple found in the Bible. A writer for the flagship periodical of the early movement, *Apostolic Faith*, for instance, drew on imagery associated with the most sacred place in the tabernacle, the Holy of Holies, in order to illuminate pentecostals' distinctive teachings regarding the "baptism in the Holy Spirit" and speaking in tongues. Due to the "great Shekina glory" that rested directly above the Ark of the Covenant, the author explained, the "Holy of Holies did not have any light from the sun, neither did it have any candle, but the light of the Holy Ghost lit it up." In turn, "[w]hen a man or woman get the baptism in the Holy Ghost, they are filled with continual light."¹² A similar article detailed the experiences of the priests when dedicating Solomon's temple. "And when they praised the Lord in unison," the author explained, "the house was filled with the glory of the Lord." If believers followed these priests example, then God would "fill the room and you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and God will give you a new tongue as a trumpet

¹¹Whereas many scholars stress the Wesleyan roots of pentecostal spirituality [see for example Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), esp. 105–6] other historians have highlighted the movement's significant indebtedness to Reformed groups and emphases. See Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), esp. 11–42; Edith Lydia Waldvogel, "The 'Overcoming Life': A Study in the Reformed Evangelical Origins of Pentecostalism" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1977).

¹²"Salvation According to the True Tabernacle," *Apostolic Faith* 1, no. 10 (September 1907): 3.

in singing or speaking as He did the 120 on the day of Pentecost.”¹³ To be sure, pentecostals’ stress on “speaking in tongues” deviated from evangelical precedents. But otherwise, their references to the Hebrew temple, to the presence of God that accompanied the Ark of the Covenant, and even their language regarding the baptism in the Holy Spirit—all mimicked trends that were already well-established motifs in nineteenth-century evangelicalism.

II. TOWARDS A MORE LITERAL EMBRACE OF ISRAEL

For all of the ways that Israel-themed theology and rhetoric among early pentecostals derived from similar trends in the broader evangelical world, distinctive emphases closely related to Christian Zionism also set believers apart from their non-pentecostal counterparts. In particular, pentecostals facilitated an important shift towards identification with Israel as a real, concrete place. Such emphases went beyond the primarily analogical approach modeled in Reformed evangelical circles, or the focus on Israel as an ideal, aspirational place that appeared among turn-of-the-century dispensationalists.

Broad-gauged emphases within early pentecostal culture reinforced believers’ predilection for a more literal identification with Israel. For one, the restorationist logic prevalent in early pentecostal circles helped nurture an evidentiary impulse as believers looked for tangible, visible signs of the Spirit’s work that mirrored the miraculous happenings described in scripture. After reading in their Bibles about the early church, pentecostals fully expected to see identical manifestations of divine power in the here-and-now. Other evangelicals certainly affirmed biblical miracles, and many believed that God still divinely intervened at times to interrupt the natural order of events, but few conservative Christian groups at the turn of the twentieth century joined pentecostals in placing present-day miraculous encounters with the divine at the heart of their corporate identity.¹⁴

¹³“Type of Pentecost,” *Apostolic Faith* 1, no. 7 (April 1907): 3. Similar articles appeared elsewhere in the *Apostolic Faith*, not to mention other pentecostal periodicals. See for example “The Baptism with the Holy Ghost Foreshadowed,” *Apostolic Faith* 1, no. 4 (December 1906): 2; “Old Testament Feasts Fulfilled in Our Day,” *Apostolic Faith* 1, no. 9 (September 1907): 2; William J. Seymour, “The Way into the Holiest,” *Apostolic Faith* 1, no. 2 (October 1906): 4. For a more detailed discussion of early pentecostals’ conceptions of “Shekina glory,” see Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 337–41.

¹⁴Ubiquitous claims of divine healing among early pentecostals, for instance, provided powerful, bodily confirmation of the Spirit’s work for believers. Believers’ hallmark teaching regarding the baptism in the Holy Spirit likewise featured transformative experiences marked by bodily sensations, most notably speaking in tongues, which represented the Spirit’s manifestation in and through believers’ speech. As Elaine Scarry has argued in her discussion of the body and pain, a “disembodied idea that has no basis in the material world” can nevertheless gain credibility and substantiation by being juxtaposed to “the realm that from the very start has compelling reality

Believers' predilection for more literal, contemporary manifestations of the Spirit's work spilled over to shape a distinctive approach to Jews and Israel. The most widespread example of believers' more literal identification of Israel involved a unique eschatological perspective among pentecostals that originated in late nineteenth-century radical holiness circles. Elaborated by leaders such as David Wesley Myland, "latter rain" teachings discerned deep spiritual significance in biblical verses referencing annual periods of early rain and latter rain in ancient Israel. According to Myland and others, much like the physical latter rain that fell immediately prior to the final harvest, a spiritual latter rain—which the saints associated with the pentecostal revival—similarly initiated a final "harvest" of souls prior to Christ's second coming.¹⁵

Latter rain ideas nurtured in the saints a profound sense of connection to the physical land of present-day Palestine. According to Myland, "Spiritually the latter rain is coming to the church of God at the same time it is coming literally upon the land." "Since 1860," he continued, "the measurement of rain in Palestine has been recorded very accurately at Jerusalem, and shows a great increase, especially of the latter rain." Myland concluded that in the sixteen years prior to 1908 the amount of rainfall had "doubled again, amounting to *one hundred per cent increase*" since 1860. Was it merely coincidence that this physical rain coincided with the "spiritual rain" pouring down in pentecostal services? Hardly, Myland thought. Instead, these simultaneous developments confirmed God's provision of special power to the church "to unite and empower her, to cause her to aid in God's last work for this dispensation, to bring about . . . the consummation of the age, and the catching away of spiritual Israel, the Bride of Christ."¹⁶

While Myland's reference to the church as a "spiritual Israel" resonated with similar Israel-themed symbols in various segments of the broader evangelical world, his simultaneous focus on "spiritual" and "natural Israel" modeled a distinctive perspective in conservative Christian eschatology. On the one

to the human mind, the physical body itself." Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 125. In much the same way, for pentecostals, their focus on bodily manifestations consistently reinforced and "proved" the validity of their highly spiritualized perspective on the world.

¹⁵See for example D. Wesley Myland, *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, Ill.: Evangel Publishing House, 1911); William H. Piper, "Tarry, Tarry for the Promise: Joel's Early and Latter Rain Prophecy Considered, the Entire Congregation the Spirit's Vehicle Today," *Latter Rain Evangel* 1, no. 3 (December 1908): 17. Also see Peter Hocken, *The Challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic, and Messianic Jewish Movements* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2008), 4–5.

¹⁶David Wesley Myland, "The Fifth Latter Rain Lecture," *Latter Rain Evangel* 1, no. 12 (September 12, 1909): 13; Myland, *Latter Rain Covenant*, 78–79.

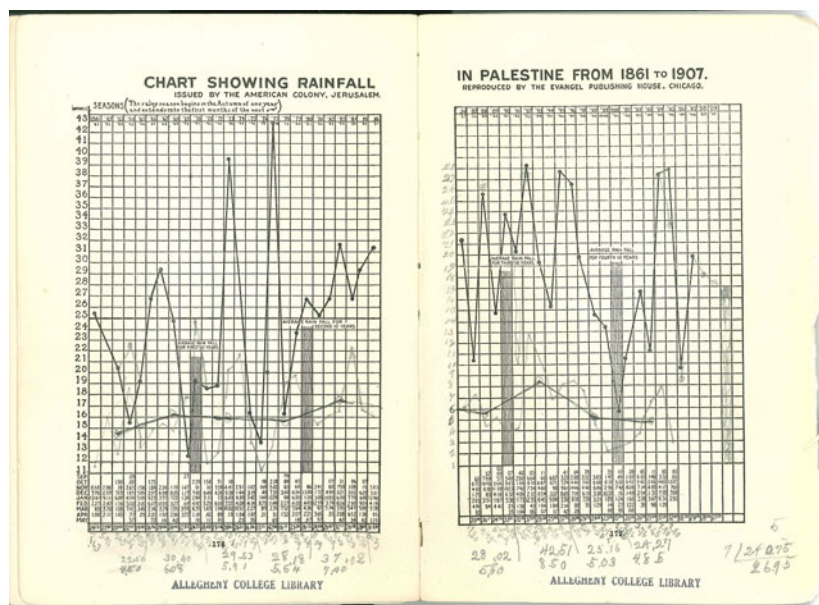


Fig. 1. This chart appeared in David Wesley Myland's *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, 2nd ed. (1911). According to the "latter rain" teachings promoted by early pentecostals such as Myland, the increased rainfall that was recorded in Jerusalem from 1861 to 1907 represented a tangible sign from God that paralleled and confirmed the outpouring of divine power in pentecostal services. This particular reproduction includes handwritten notations and markings added by a previous owner of the book.

hand, evangelicals in traditions molded by the writings of John Calvin had long described the church as a "spiritual Israel," focusing on God's covenantal promises to Israel that foreshadowed his even greater promises to the church. Reformed believers' concentration on ancient Israel remained thoroughly analogical in nature, though, and attracted opposition from staunch dispensationalists who balked at any suggestion that the church "replaced" Israel in God's end-times scheme. In order to preserve national Israel's role in God's last-days drama, dispensationalists instead tended to emphasize a sharp distinction between Israel and the end-times church. Pentecostals like Myland, on the other hand, developed a position betwixt and between these two poles. Spurred by his vision of parallel restorations that directly linked the pentecostal movement to developments in the Middle East, the early pentecostal theologian simultaneously appropriated the language of "spiritual Israel" to describe the church while remaining fully committed to the literal restoration of Israel as a nation. (Years later, pentecostals associated with the

midcentury New Order of the Latter Rain revived Myland's approach, combining discussion of spiritual and natural Israel. And in time, evangelical theologians such as George Eldon Ladd would spread similar ideas to an even broader evangelical audience.)¹⁷

The extent to which Myland and other early pentecostals linked their identity to the actual land of Israel—to the point of monitoring the rainfall in modern day Palestine in order to legitimate pentecostal revivals around the world—illuminated the way in which many early pentecostals identified with Israel as a concrete, real place. Mainstream evangelicals also followed the historical developments in Palestine with great interest, of course, but for most, Israel tended to represent an aspirational ideal associated with the yet-to-be-realized nation. Early pentecostals' latter rain teachings regarding parallel restorations of Israel and the church, on the other hand, fostered a quite literal identification with the land of Israel well before the state of Israel was founded in 1948. This quite literal sense of connection to Israel, in turn, would continue to manifest as the pentecostal movement evolved over the course of the twentieth century.

III. PENTECOSTAL BRITISH ISRAELISM

If latter rain teachings proved the most widespread example of pentecostals' predilection for a more literal identification with Israel, an even more intense sense of connection manifested among a smaller group of pentecostals and proto-pentecostals who adopted Jewish-themed dress and rituals, and who at times claimed direct racial descent from the ancient Israelites. For example, the proto-pentecostal figure Benjamin Irwin, founder of the interracial Fire Baptized Holiness Association in Iowa in 1895, is best known for his teachings regarding the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a distinct third work of grace. But he also stressed the importance of following the ancient Hebrew dietary codes. Irwin spread such practices in his Fire Baptized congregations, and influenced key figures in the early pentecostal movement, most notably Charles Parham, who adopted similar Judeo-centric themes.¹⁸

¹⁷Proto-pentecostals like John Alexander Dowie and Frank Sandford also frequently combined discussion of "natural Israel" and "spiritual Israel," though they defined "natural Israel" much more broadly given their commitment to Anglo-Israelism, which viewed Anglo-Saxons as the direct descendants of the "ten lost tribes of Israel." Also see George Eldon Ladd, "Israel and the Church," *Evangelical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (October 1964): 206–213.

¹⁸See James R. Goff, *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 54–56; Jacob S. Dorman, *Chosen People: The Rise of American Black Israelite Religions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 88, 94.

In addition to Irwin, the early African American pentecostal figure Charles Harrison Mason, who led the Church of God in Christ, was mentored in his early preaching career by proponents of Black Israelite forms of holiness Christianity who claimed that black Americans were the direct descendants of ancient Israel. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Mason carried these emphases forward into the predominantly African-American Church of God in Christ, which ultimately became the largest pentecostal denomination in the United States. Not coincidentally, prominent figures in the black Israelite movements that emerged in the 1960s possessed ties to the Church of God in Christ.¹⁹

A better documented line of influence transmitting similar Judeo-centric emphases into early pentecostalism involved proto-pentecostal leaders who stressed an *Anglo-Israel* connection linking white Americans to ancient Israel. According to proponents of British-Israelism (also known as Anglo-Israelism), individuals with an Anglo-Saxon ancestry descended directly from the so-called ten lost tribes of Israel.²⁰ As the term British Israelism suggests, the movement first took shape in nineteenth-century Britain, providing a ready defense against those who questioned England's colonial ambitions. Individuals across the Atlantic, though, soon applied similar teachings to themselves; their message of Anglo-Saxon superiority was aided in no small part by the U.S.'s growing international clout at the turn of the twentieth-century, including the acquisition of islands in both the Pacific and the Caribbean in the aftermath of the War of 1898.²¹

¹⁹See Dorman, *Chosen People*, 53, 90, 210fn144; Jacob S. Dorman, "Black Orientalism and Black Gods of the Metropolis," in *The New Black Gods: Arthur Huff Fauset and the Study of African American Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 142n84.

²⁰As Reginald Horsman writes, throughout U.S. history the term "Anglo-Saxon" has had a very imprecise meaning: "It was often used by the 1840s to describe the white people of the United States in contrast to blacks, Indians, Mexicans, Spaniards, or Asiatics, although it was frequently acknowledged that the United States already contained a variety of European strains. Yet even those who liked to talk of a distinct 'American' race, composed of the best Caucasian strains, drew heavily on the arguments developed to elevate the Anglo-Saxons." Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 3–5.

²¹The first mention of British Israelism can be traced back to the late eighteenth-century writings of Richard Brothers. A retired officer in the British navy, Brothers believed himself called of God to return Jews to Palestine. Moreover, he was convinced that numerous Europeans, especially individual from Britain, were ignorant of their biological ties to ancient Israel. Whereas Brothers remained a largely solitary figure, the writings of John Wilson in the mid-1800s, and of Edward Hine in the 1870s, helped create a bona fide social movement. Subsequently, Joseph Wild in Brooklyn, New York, and C. A. L. Totten in New Haven, Connecticut, played an important role in popularizing Anglo-Israelism in the U.S. They assured their fellow citizens that while the inhabitants of England represented the lost tribe of Ephraim in ancient Israel, Anglo-Saxons across the Atlantic descended from members of the tribe of Manasseh. See Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4–11.

One of the most high-profile proto-pentecostal figures to avidly promote British Israelite themes in the incipient pentecostal movement was the Chicago evangelist John Alexander Dowie. Though best known for his faith healing practices and staunch opposition to traditional medicine, the Scottish minister's practices and ideas exerted a shaping influence on early pentecostalism in numerous other areas as well, including his keen fascination with Israel. When Dowie founded a religious community on the banks of Lake Michigan in the year 1900, he named it Zion. And in perhaps the most dramatic confirmation of Dowie's Judeo-centric interests, in 1901 he claimed to be no less than the Prophet Elijah, sent as God's messenger to earth at the end of the age.²²

As it happens, Dowie's connections to Mormonism likely played an important role in his captivation with all things Jewish. Few—if any—religious groups in the United States could match the zealous embrace of Judeo-centric emphases evidenced in nineteenth-century Mormonism, and in particular their very literal identification with Israel. Early Mormons viewed their tradition as a restoration of ancient Israel, reimagining the North American landscape as an American Zion. In the words of a prominent historian of Mormonism, “[M]embership in the Church of Jesus Christ means that the Saints are literally adopted into Israel and are thereupon brought into the covenant by virtue of their membership in the tribes of Israel.”²³ Indicative of the strength of Mormons' more literal identification with Israel, numerous believers in the late nineteenth century echoed the central tenets of British Israelism.²⁴

Dowie's first interactions with Mormons occurred in Australia, and in 1890 he followed up on this initial contact with an extended six-month visit with Mormon leaders in Utah. In his own words, he “studied [the Mormon] church,” concluding that it was the “best organized and most clearly scripturally organized of all churches.” Dowie went on to praise Mormons for hewing “closely to the apostolic model.”²⁵ Suggestive of just how thoroughly this modern-day “Elijah” identified with the Latter Day Saints during his early years in the U.S., Dowie apparently desired to be named part of their Quorum of the Twelve governing body.²⁶

²²See for example *Leaves of Healing* 15, no. 23 (September 24, 1904): 792.

²³Jan Shippo, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 75. It is also important to note that the early Mormons still reserved an important role for Jews and the so-called ten lost tribes of Israel in their eschatological frameworks. See for example Smith, *More Desired than Our Own Salvation*, 146–148.

²⁴Armand Mauss, “In Search of Ephraim: Traditional Mormon Conceptions of Lineage and Race,” *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (1999): 131–173.

²⁵“Opening of Zion's Hall of Seventies,” *Leaves of Healing* 5, no. 14 (January 28, 1899): 255.

²⁶See D. William Faupel, “Theological Influences on the Teachings and Practices of John Alexander Dowie,” *Pneuma* 29 (2007): 250–251.

Dowie's overtures to Mormons only extended so far, however, and he eventually attacked the apostasy of "Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon, the teaching of the Book of Covenants and certain writings of the Apostle Pratt."²⁷ In 1903, he described Mormonism simply as "that which we hate and fight."²⁸ Dowie's vitriol notwithstanding, his ties to Mormonism were strong enough that Mormons felt the need to dispel any perceived link between their movement and "Dowieism," especially when Dowie began to lose control of the city he founded in Illinois. "There is not the slightest affiliation between 'Mormonism' and Dowieism," a writer for the *Deseret Evening News* insisted in 1906. The reporter nevertheless acknowledged Dowie's contact with the Mormons and their impact on his teachings. The "alleged 'Elijah' obtained many ideas as to the founding and conduct of his city from 'Mormon' colonization," the author added, "and the organization of a church from the system which he endeavored to a certain extent to duplicate."²⁹ Despite the fact that Dowie's relationship with Mormonism ended in an ugly public divorce, this mutual excommunication should not obscure the very real points of connection linking the two.

Specifically in light of future developments in the pentecostal-charismatic movement, the most significant area of overlap between Mormons and Dowie ultimately involved a shared, literal identification with Israel epitomized by both parties' keen interest in British Israelism. For his part, Dowie confirmed on a frequent basis that he believed "strongly in the Israelitish origin of the Anglo-Saxon people."³⁰ He traced his Scottish lineage back to King Jehoram of Israel, in fact, though he concluded that "Jehoram was a rascal," and held out hope that the Dowie clan was "of more honest stock in Israel."³¹ Whereas Dowie's creative genealogy proved highly idiosyncratic, it was also symptomatic of proto-pentecostals' and early pentecostals' maverick tendencies and their willingness to experiment with new interpretations of scripture. As such, it should come as no surprise that a number of believers well beyond the shores of Lake Michigan also experimented with new religious identities premised on a literal, racial identification with Israel.

The ministry of Frank Sandford in particular served as another crucial lynchpin linking British Israelism to the early pentecostal movement. A former Baptist pastor who embraced radical holiness emphases, Sandford

²⁷"Opening of Zion's Hall of Seventies," 255.

²⁸"Elijah's Restoration Messages," *Leaves of Healing* 12, no. 17 (February 14, 1903): 533.

²⁹"Dowie and the 'Mormons,'" *Deseret Evening News*, April 13, 1906. For a brief summary of other similarities linking Dowie to the Mormons, see Faupel, "Theological Influences," 251-253.

³⁰"Elijah's Restoration Messages," 526.

³¹John Alexander Dowie, "Zion's Onward Movement," *Leaves of Healing* 2, no. 20 (March 6, 1896): 309.

founded the Holy Ghost and Us Bible School in Maine as well as a religious community known as “Shiloh.” In Dowie-like fashion, Sandford portrayed himself as a modern-day Elijah sent to prepare the way for Christ’s return. Also like Dowie, Sandford’s seemingly limitless self-confidence helped attract a sizable following, including individuals who would ultimately play a formative role in the early years of the pentecostal movement. (Sandford’s desire to recreate the theocratic leadership modeled in ancient Israel, for instance, had a profound impact on the teachings of A.J. Tomlinson, founder of the pentecostal Church of God, and by extension on Tomlinson’s sons, Homer and Milton.)³²

Beyond Sandford’s theocratic rhetoric and inclinations, British Israelism likewise proved a recurring theme in Sandford’s teachings. While lacking the specificity of Dowie’s ancestral claims, Sandford related to his followers that he belonged to the tribe of Judah.³³ More important, he anticipated language utilized by Myland, discerning a crucial role for both “carnal” Israel (i.e. Britain and the United States) and spiritual Israel (i.e. the church) in God’s end-times drama. In short, the imperial expansion and success of the former would pave the way for the missionary success of the latter. He was also convinced that any setbacks experienced by these two powerhouse nations, such as Britain’s prolonged war against the Boers in Africa, represented God’s purifying fire that prepared these nations to fulfill their respective destinies. “Thank God, He is backing up both carnal Israel and spiritual Israel,” Sandford concluded. “We see that God has been using carnal Israel and spiritual Israel along these two lines as a battle-axe or a devouring ‘lion’ among nations and as a ‘dew’ of blessing to carry civilization, education, enlightenment, the gospel of the Son of God and every kind of blessing among all the other nations.”³⁴ Sandford’s millennial prognostications illuminated the symbiotic relationship between British Israelism and the more widespread sense of Anglo-Saxon triumphalism in American society; they also revealed the numerous this-worldly, tangible blessings that Anglo-Israelites laid claim to as God’s “chosen people.”³⁵

Not surprisingly given his depth of commitment to British Israelism, Israel-themed symbolism and ritual permeated Sandford’s ministry. When Sandford

³²See R.G. Robins, *A.J. Tomlinson: Plainfolk Modernist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 170–171.

³³Frank Sandford, “Judah First,” *Everlasting Gospel* 2, no. 36–39 (September 1, 1902): 464.

³⁴Frank Sandford, “The Outlook,” *Everlasting Gospel* 1, no. 31–32 (September 1, 1901): 248.

³⁵For discussion of the emergence of Anglo-Saxon triumphalism in the nineteenth century U.S., see Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*. Sandford did qualify the racist implications of his claims, at least somewhat, by insisting that any British or U.S. citizens who supported their respective countries would be “grafted” into the Israelite race. See David W. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 151–152n114.

looked for inspiration in naming his religious commune, he turned to the Hebrew scriptures, and even went so far to declare Shiloh a “New Jerusalem” that would play a crucial role in the restoration of its namesake as a “worldwide spiritual headquarters on earth.” Looking forward to the day that Anglo-Israelites would be reunited with their Jewish brothers and sisters, he “thanked God” that the faithful would “return to the [Jewish] feast days and to the Sabbaths of old.” Not content to wait for the millennium, the Maine Prophet went ahead and celebrated the traditional Jewish festivals, and demanded that his followers accept circumcision, abstain from pork, and worship on Saturday in observance of the traditional Jewish Sabbath.³⁶

The various rules and regulations implemented at Shiloh underscored Sandford’s experimentation with bodily practices that complemented British Israelites’ more formal teachings, and marked believers as racial descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He was not alone. Dowie’s periodical, *Leaves of Healing*, frequently published images of the leader wearing vestments meant to recall those worn by the high priest of Israel.³⁷ Similar emphases were likewise readily apparent in the ministry of one of Dowie’s and Sandford’s most prominent protégés, Charles Parham of Topeka, Kansas. While Parham is best known for his formulation of pentecostals’ trademark doctrine regarding speaking in tongues, he had direct contact with both Sandford and Dowie, and imbibed many of their Israel-themed practices. He endorsed British Israelism, lectured frequently on Zionist themes, and, according to some observers, hinted at his own Elijah-complex.³⁸ Parham also perpetuated Dowie’s and Sandford’s incorporation of Israel-themed rituals and dress: At times he was known to wear “Palestinian robes” while teaching. And in one particular instance, while speaking in Texas on the subject of Zionism, the early pentecostal figure had fourteen of his students on the platform with him wearing garb “purchased in the Holy Land.”³⁹

In the end, the Israel-themed ritual displays fostered by British Israelism powerfully reinforced believers’ literal sense of identification with Israel.

³⁶Robins, *A.J. Tomlinson*, 153–154; Frank Sandford, “The Daily Trend of World-Wide Events in the Light of the Holy Scriptures,” *Everlasting Gospel* 1, no. 6 (January 29, 1901): 47. Sandford drew his inspiration for the name “Shiloh” from Genesis 49:10. Also see Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, 151–152n114.

³⁷See for example *Leaves of Healing* 15, no. 23 (September 24, 1904): 792.

³⁸Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 18. It is also interesting to note that when Parham originally published a theological exploration of pentecostal distinctives, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, he included a transliteration of the title in Hebrew (*Kol Kare Bomidbar*).

³⁹Sarah E. Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham, Founder of the Apostolic Faith Movement* (New York: 1930; repr. Garland, 1985), 133. Also see Dorman, *Chosen People*, 100–103. Dorman notes that Parham’s embrace of various Israel-themed ritual displays were pro-imperialistic and reflected an Orientalist fascination with ethnic and racial others.

Pointing to the dramaturgical dimensions of ritual, the late anthropologist Clifford Geertz suggests that its transformative power is not derived from “a persuasion of the intellect nor a beguiling of the senses,” but rather “the enveloping movement of the whole drama on the soul of man. We surrender and are changed.” (Here Geertz is quoting the British drama critic Charles Morgan.) Geertz’s comments underscore one of the most fundamental functions of Israel-themed rituals among early pentecostal believers influenced by British Israelism: By engaging participants’ bodies and senses in dramaturgical displays, adherents’ experiential forms of Christian Zionism fostered a more transformative, all-encompassing identification with Israel and Jewish themes that far superseded the sense of connection to Israel generated by an abstract theological commitment. In the process, believers who adopted Israel-themed rituals discovered a powerful means to confirm their racial descent from the lost tribes of Israel, and solidify an “imagined community” premised on participants’ shared biological ties to God’s chosen people.⁴⁰

IV. EARLY PENTECOSTAL RACIAL AMBIVALENCE TOWARDS JEWS

The pursuit of authentic Israel-themed rituals and identities in proto-pentecostal and early pentecostal circles by no means reflected an unalloyed philosemitism. To the contrary, a complicated admixture of philosemitic impulses and racial “othering” was readily apparent among early pentecostals who endorsed British Israelism. For his part, Dowie repeatedly declared his love for the Jewish people, referring to Jews as his “brothers.” In 1901, he briefly referenced the Dreyfus affair in France, reminding his audience that both Jesus and the Apostle Paul were Jewish. “I do detest this hatred of the Jew,” he concluded. “It is one of the most shameful and disgraceful things in American life.” “It is bad to hate the negro because he is black,” Dowie continued, “but if there is a degree of wickedness worse, it is more shameful to hate the Jew because he is rich, when all your salvation comes through the Jews. It is shameful in the extreme.” Focusing on Jews’ success in business, Dowie suggested that “[t]he Jew gets the cream” because “[h]e stands waiting until the pail is filled . . . and he does that because you are

⁴⁰Clifford Geertz, “Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought,” *American Scholar* 49, no. 2 (Spring 1980): 173. My use of the term “imagined community” builds on the work of Benedict Anderson. In his application of the term in relation to the communities formed in modern nations, Anderson writes, “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

not smart enough to compete with him.”⁴¹ As Dowie’s comments indicate, his profession of philosemitism did not preclude an indulgence of widespread stereotypes at the turn of the twentieth century that ascribed tremendous power and influence to Jews. Dowie no doubt viewed his race-based assumptions regarding Jewish success in a positive light, but a very thin line separated such notions from the overt racial hatred fueling conspiracy theories regarding Jewish domination of world affairs during the twentieth century.⁴²

A similar ambivalence surfaced whenever Dowie addressed the growing Zionist movement spearheaded by Theodor Herzl. Tapping longstanding anti-Jewish sentiment within the Christian tradition, Dowie blamed Jews for the crucifixion of Christ, and insisted that divine judgment would follow them until they “repent and look unto Him whom you have pierced for salvation, and recognize Him as the Christ of God.” As such, he could not support non-Christian Jews’ current claims to the land. “How can [the founding of Jewish nation-state] be the fulfillment of prophecy,” he asked, “when it is the restitution to the Holy City and the land of Israel of a multitude of clever and able men who reject the Christ of God?” While Dowie longed “to see the time when Judah and Israel will come together,” he was adamant in his rejection of contemporary Zionist effort: “Jerusalem must be rebuilt by the Zionist Israelite, who has acknowledged that Jesus Christ the Jew is the Saviour of the world . . . Jews who reject the Messiah cannot rebuild Jerusalem.”⁴³ Dowie did not go so far as later proponents of Christian Identity and deny contemporary Jews’ ties to ancient Israel, but he did conclude that “Israel—as represented by the Anglo-Saxon Peoples—will get Jerusalem.”⁴⁴ As these various comments illustrate, Dowie’s construction of an Anglo-Saxon identity used Jews as a racial foil. His sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority relied heavily upon an image of Jews as distinct racial others who possessed significant wealth and power and had a role to play in the fulfillment of end-times prophecy, but who nevertheless continued to suffer corporately for their rejection of Christianity.

Although similar dynamics played out in Sandford’s and Parham’s depiction of Jews—neither hesitated to affirm the “curse” that Jews endured for rejecting

⁴¹John Alexander Dowie, “Elijah’s Restoration: Messages of Purity, Peace and Power,” *Leaves of Healing* 10, no. 8 (December 14, 1901): 262.

⁴²In this respect, Dowie reflected the same type of ambivalence towards Jews evident in the writings of non-pentecostal proponent of British Israelism such as Charles A.L. Totten. See Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, 124–125. It is also important to note that modified British Israelite teachings eventually supported the overt antisemitism associated with the “Christian Identity” movement.

⁴³John Alexander Dowie, “Streams of Life from Shiloh,” *Leaves of Healing* 11, no. 10 (June 28, 1902): 328–329.

⁴⁴John Alexander Dowie, “Elijah’s Restoration Message,” *Leaves of Healing* 13, no. 6 (May 30, 1903): 173.

Christ, or to highlight Jews' "innate" business acumen—important nuances distinguished their eschatological visions from that of Dowie.⁴⁵ Parham, for example, deviated significantly from Dowie's anti-Jewish Zionist stance, concluding instead that Jews need not convert to Christianity prior to the fulfillment of prophecy and the fulfillment of Zionists' dreams. He maintained that God never intended "that the Jews, as whole, would accept Jesus of Nazareth when He came nineteen hundred years ago." Rather, it was God's plan from the start that Jews would see and accept Christ at his Second Coming. Then and only then would Jesus unite Jews and Christians "in the Messiah's Sabbatic Kingdom of one thousand years."⁴⁶ Parham's comments revealed the significant differences that separated the various iterations of early pentecostal British Israelism. His clear distinction between Jews and the rest of humanity also underscored a consistent common denominator: As was the case with Dowie and Sandford, Jews remained a distinct racial other in Parham's British Israelite eschatology. In sum, if the quite literal association with the ancient tribes of Israel on the part of early British Israelites nurtured philosemitism at times, it also fostered a highly racialized corporate identity built in large part on a sharp contrast between Anglo-Christians and their contemporary Jewish counterparts.

V. MIDCENTURY TRANSITIONS

As the twentieth century progressed, British Israelism resurfaced in the ministries of at least a few other prominent pentecostal figures, including the healing evangelists F.F. Bosworth and John G. Lake, but for the most part it was steadily pushed to the pentecostal margins.⁴⁷ The esoteric genealogies and the messianic aspirations of figures like Dowie, Sandford, and Parham proved ill-suited for a movement looking for stability and rapidly moving

⁴⁵See for example Charles Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, in *The Sermons of Charles F. Parham*, ed. Donald W. Dayton (1944; repr. New York: Garland, 1985), 91, 120; Sandford, "Judah First," 464.

⁴⁶Parham, *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 104, 120. Here, Parham foreshadowed similar (controversial) ideas promoted by the prominent late twentieth-century Christian Zionist, John Hagee. For his part, Sandford believed in conversion efforts aimed at Jews. See Sandford, "Judah First," 464.

⁴⁷See for example Paul L. King, *Genuine Gold: The Cautiously Charismatic Story of the Early Christian and Missionary Alliance* (Tulsa, Okla.: Word & Spirit Press, 2006), 235; KnowlesB., "Dallimore, A. H.," in *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Ed M. Van der Maas, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2002), 570; Christopher J. Richmann, "Prophecy and Politics: British-Israelism in American Pentecostalism," *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, no. 22 (January 2013), <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj22/richmann.html>. As it happens, both Bosworth and Lake possessed direct ties to Dowie's ministry.

towards the more respectable evangelical mainstream.⁴⁸ That said, specific innovations introduced by early pentecostal British Israelites never lost their appeal as pentecostals' prioritization of experience over doctrine and innovation over commitment to tradition proved an ideal incubator for continued experimentation with Judeo-centric identities and Jewish-themed rituals.

Before Judeo-centric ritual forms and identities could reach a broader pentecostal audience, they needed to be severed from the faddish theories of British Israelism. And by midcentury, the time was ripe for just such a transition. The most obvious catalysts for a renewed focus on Jews and Israel—the formation of the state of Israel in 1948 and Israel's dramatic success during the 1967 Six-Day War—captivated the entire evangelical movement. Among pentecostals, the close connection between the midcentury healing revival and fascination with Zionist efforts illustrated the intense interest among the faithful regarding all things Israel. The administrative mastermind behind many of the most prominent healing evangelists, Gordon Lindsay, for example, used the influential platform of the *Voice of Healing* magazine to call the saints' attention to developments in the Middle East. (Not coincidentally, Lindsay's parents were part of Dowie's community in Zion, Illinois.) Issue after issue of the *Voice of Healing* confirmed both Lindsay's and his readers' fascination with Israel. The various Israel-themed articles that inundated the faithful included "The Holy Land in Prophecy,"⁴⁹ "The Fate of Israel,"⁵⁰ and "Israel's Prophetic Destiny Revealed in Her Stamps,"⁵¹ to name a few. If much of Lindsay's and other pentecostals' keen interest in Israel simply represented an

⁴⁸Pentecostals' increased focus on institution-building as well as some believers' patriotic support of the U.S. government during World War I played an important role in pushing the early movement towards the evangelical mainstream. See R.G. Robins, *Pentecostalism in America* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger, 2010), 51–56; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 142–163. R. Laurence Moore also discusses pentecostals' movement away from their early apolitical stance and towards full-fledged patriotism and engagement with the wider culture in R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 128–149. Other historians call attention to the role of healing evangelists in bringing pentecostal spirituality closer to the mainstream beginning in the 1920s, frequently highlighting the role of Aimee Semple McPherson. See Jonathan R. Baer, "Perfectly Empowered Bodies: Divine Healing in Modernizing America" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002), 289–326; James William Opp, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880–1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 2005), 146–175; Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁴⁹Gordon Lindsay, "The Holy Land in Prophecy," *Voice of Healing* 5, no. 6 (September 1952): 18–19; 22.

⁵⁰Gordon Lindsay, "The Fate of Israel," *Voice of Healing* 12, no. 7 (October 1959): 4–5; 14–15.

⁵¹Gordon Lindsay, "Israel's Prophetic Destiny Revealed in Her Stamps," *Voice of Healing* 6, no. 5 (August 1953): 26–29.

amplified version of similar trends in the broader evangelical world, once again distinctive emphases emerged within independent pentecostal and charismatic groups who placed a direct sense of connection with Israel at the heart of their identity.

One of the most prominent examples of the resurgent interest in Jewish-based identities emerged in the controversial New Order of the Latter Rain. Originating in Canada before it impacted a number of individuals in the U.S., prominent figures associated with the New Order revival decried denominationalism, stressing instead the restoration of modern-day prophets and apostles who would recover the lost power of the New Testament church. Detractors, on the other hand, condemned New Order figures' divisiveness, authoritarian forms of prophetic ministry, and perceived preoccupation with the demonic. Frequently missed amidst these internecine quarrels was the extent to which the New Order movement revived key aspects of earlier latter rain teachings that placed Israel at the center of the pentecostal imagination.

Responding to the evolving situation in Israel, New Order leaders discerned profound parallels between the founding of the Israeli state and the fresh outpouring of God's power that they perceived in their midst. Percy Hunt, a former pastor in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and a key figure in the initial outbreak of the New Order revival, worked to establish once-and-for-all the connection between the physical restoration of the Jewish people to Palestine and pentecostal identity. According to Hunt, the restoration of Jewish control of the land of ancient Israel directly corresponded with the full restoration of a "spiritual Israel" composed of "true" believers. Writing in 1951, a few short years after the establishment of the state of Israel, he sought to leave zero doubt in the mind of his readers regarding when these parallel restorations would occur:

God's time for natural Israel is when He recalls the scattered spiritual nations to return to their spiritual Jerusalem . . . I wish to state with all the emphasis with which I am capable that that time is NOW . . . And as only the Jews who return to Jerusalem in answer to the call can hope to receive the revelation which not only permits them to be born in a day as a nation, but makes it possible for them to receive the promised Kingdom; so also it is only those Christians who hear and obey the call to return to their Spiritual Jerusalem, that can hope to receive the necessary revelation which is the natural prerequisite to the Kingdom being formed in them.⁵²

⁵²Percy Hunt, "Some General Principles," *Sharon Star*, March 1, 1951, 1. Hunt first articulated this perceived connection in an earlier edition of the *Sharon Star*. See Percy Hunt, "A Pattern for Pentecost," *Sharon Star*, October 1, 1949, 1-3.

In similar fashion, George H. Warnock, who penned one of the most popular books associated with the New Order movement, *The Feast of Tabernacles*, spent the entire book expounding on the implications of believers' standing as "spiritual Israel." We are confident that the hour has come in the history of the Church when Israel's annual cycle of Feasts is about to be fulfilled in the midst of the saints," Warnock explained. "And inasmuch as the natural observance of the Feasts constitutes a type and pattern of great and momentous spiritual events," he continued, "it is vitally important that we should understand their meaning."⁵³ As Hunt's and Warnock's writings make clear, the inclination to place an intimate connection with Israel at the very heart of pentecostal identity, or to simultaneously stress the import of "spiritual" and "natural Israel," had by no means disappeared within the pentecostal movement.

Despite the fact that the New Order of the Latter Rain remained limited in scope, midcentury pentecostal figures associated with it functioned as a key bridge linking the Israel-centric emphases prominent in early pentecostal circles with late-twentieth century believers' fascination with all things Jewish. At least a few adherents, including the New Order leader George Hawtin, eventually embraced Anglo-Israelism.⁵⁴ The more important (and more common) trend was epitomized by Hunt and Warnock. These figures jettisoned the racial theories embraced by earlier figures, and drew a bright line distinguishing natural Israel from the church. Yet they still constructed pentecostal identity using Israel-themed symbols. In the process, key New Order leaders modeled a form of Judeo-centric pentecostalism that could thrive in the broader movement, and that would ultimately encompass all manner of Israel-themed rituals and practices.

The transitions initiated by New Order figures proved all the more important given the way these changes coincided with broader developments in American society. The emerging mythology surrounding a "Judeo-Christian civilization" in particular created an entirely new context for pentecostal appropriation of Jewish-themed identities and practices. During World War II and its aftermath, invoking a "Judeo-Christian tradition" served as a shorthand of sorts for those seeking to distance themselves from any hint of association with the antisemitic ideology tied to the Axis powers, or, in time, "godless" Communism. In a famous speech delivered on the eve of his inauguration, President Eisenhower insisted, "Our form of government has no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith, and I don't care what it is. With

⁵³George H. Warnock, *The Feast of Tabernacles* (Springfield, Mo.: Bill Britton, 1951), 8. While Warnock's focus on spiritual Israel mimicked classic Reformed tropes, he did not go so far as most Reformed teachers and stress the Church's complete replacement of Israel in God's divine plan. See for example *ibid.*, 12–13.

⁵⁴See Richmann, "Prophecy and Politics: British-Israelism in American Pentecostalism."

us of course it is the Judeo-Christian concept but it must be a religion that all men are created equal.”⁵⁵ Pentecostals never would have agreed with Eisenhower’s appeal to any “deeply felt religious faith.” Yet the newly ascendant focus on a shared Judeo-Christian civilization in the West nevertheless created a radically different context for believers’ appropriation of Jewish-themed rituals and identities. Moving forward, pentecostal appropriation of Jewish dress, dietary laws, and worship forms would no longer function to confirm notions of racial descent linking Anglo-Saxons to ancient Israel. Rather, these practices would resonate to a significant degree with prevalent emphases in U.S. society, and serve to confirm widespread beliefs regarding shared *cultural* norms that linked Christians and Jews.

Already at midcentury, signs pointed to the growing popularity of Israel-themed identities—if not Israel-themed ritual forms—among the faithful. David Nunn, one of the more well-known pentecostal healing evangelists, directly echoed Hunt’s claims; he too discerned a clear connection between the fate of Israel and the emergence of pentecostal revival.⁵⁶ Of even greater importance for the future of the pentecostal-charismatic movement, high-profile charismatics adopted similar rhetoric to describe the burgeoning charismatic renewal that gained national attention beginning in the 1960s.

Reflecting back on his initial efforts to spread pentecostal practices to the established churches, the influential pentecostal leader David du Plessis explained, “In 1948, there happened what I was waiting for: Israel became a nation.” Biblical prophecies found in the book of Joel convinced du Plessis that a “new wave” of revival would envelop the churches following the Jewish return to Palestine. “[I]f God will restore Israel on a promise made 2,500 years ago,” he concluded, “He will also restore Christianity on the promise of Jesus . . . [A]s God is blessing all Jews, so He will bless all churches.”⁵⁷ Identical claims appeared repeatedly in the writing of Derek Prince, a Cambridge-educated convert to Christianity who served as one of the most important pro-Israel voices in the charismatic movement.

⁵⁵Mark Silk notes, “After the revelations of the Nazi death camps, a phrase like ‘our Christian civilization’ seemed ominously exclusive; greater comprehensiveness was needed for proclaiming the spirituality of the American Way.” With the emergence of the Cold War, such rhetoric was also easily enlisted on behalf of anti-Communist campaigns. Indicative of the sheer reach of these changes, notable public figures who helped popularize this new language ranged from the neo-orthodox theologian Reinhold Niebuhr to Will Herberg, author of *Protestant Catholic Jew* (1955), as well as President Eisenhower. Mark Silk, “Notes on the Judeo-Christian Tradition in America,” *American Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 69. President Eisenhower is quoted on page 65. As Kevin Schultz observes, “Judeo-Christian” rhetoric was eventually “co-opted” by the Religious Right even as the concept lost much of its luster in other circles. See Kevin M. Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 200–202.

⁵⁶David Nunn, “God’s Double Move in the Earth,” *Voice of Healing* (March 1956), 4, 14.

⁵⁷“Mr. Pentecost Looks Toward the Future,” *Charisma* 10, no. 10 (May 1985): 55.

According to Prince, who based his ministry out of the United States, it was no accident that the appearance of pentecostal revival in the early 1900s followed immediately on the heels of Theodor Herzl's efforts to ignite the modern Zionist movement, or that the midcentury pentecostal healing revival took shape in the late 1940s when the state of Israel became a reality, or that pentecostal-style spirituality spread within the Catholic Church just as Israelis celebrated a "miraculous" victory in the Six-Day War.⁵⁸ Describing the strength of his attachment to Israel, as well as his decision to spend half of each year in Israel, in 1979 he explained: "My prior commitment in God is to Israel before any other . . . We feel that God wants us there as a kind of midwife to assist with whatever the Holy Spirit is going to birth in Israel, and to us this is a very thrilling opportunity."⁵⁹ Du Plessis's and Prince's Israel-centric messages—not to mention their status as two of the most visible leaders in the early charismatic movement—boded well for the future of Jewish-themed practices in pentecostal and charismatic circles. Decoupled from the controversial racial theories espoused by British Israelites and now consonant with prevalent themes in the broader American society, more experiential, ritual-based forms of identification with Israel were primed for a resurgence.

VI. THE PENTECOSTALIZATION OF CHRISTIAN ZIONISM

In a steadily growing fashion since the 1960s, the same type of attraction to all things Jewish so evident in the ministry of someone like Prince thrived in the pentecostal-charismatic movement as a whole. Midcentury figures who displayed an unrelenting interest in Israel focused mainly on the profound connections that they discerned linking pentecostal identity to the formation of the Israeli state. Increasingly, however, these sentiments found new means of expression as believers experimented with a variety of Israel-themed ritual practices that satisfied adherents' thirst for "authentic" religious experiences.

⁵⁸For an early example of Prince's teaching regarding the "parallel restoration" of Israel and the pentecostal-charismatic movement, which dates back to 1971, see "Prophecy, God's Time Map," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0gf_S68Uvs. The diagram that Prince uses at the end of the teaching details his understanding of the twentieth-century parallels between Israel and the pentecostal-charismatic movement.

⁵⁹Derek Prince, "Update," *New Wine* 11, no. 6 (June 1979): 11. Israel became an even more central focus of Prince's when his first wife died in the mid-1970s. His second wife, Ruth Baker, converted to Judaism and then returned to the Christian fold when she received a vision of Jesus while hospitalized. Despite her reconnection with her childhood faith, she "found her love for the nation of Israel suddenly intense," and moved to Israel to work for a Christian book distributor. While there she met Prince, and following their marriage the couple soon decided to spend half of each year in Jerusalem, and the other half at their ministry headquarters in Florida. See Linda Howard, "A New Beginning," *Charisma* 9, no. 9 (April 1984): 41.

Reminiscent of the ministries of Dowie, Sandford, and Parham, a surprising number of churches blew shofars during times of worship, endorsed the celebration of traditional Jewish holidays, or incorporated pageantry in the form of banners, Israeli flags, dancing, and the like, all of which were meant to call to mind the Hebraic roots of Christianity. Looking back on these developments, the charismatic leader Rob Stearns noted in 2006: “For some time, churches across America have observed a unique group of Christians coming to worship services. They wear Jewish prayer shawls and Star of David jewelry, greet fellow congregants by saying, ‘Shalom,’ and stop people after the service, a ram’s horn tucked under one arm, to explain why every believer needs to go to Israel.” He went on to describe these individuals as “‘Israel people’—supporters of the Jews and their nation.”⁶⁰ While the perceived historical link in pentecostals’ and charismatics’ minds between their movement and events surrounding Israel goes a long way towards explaining the religious experimentation highlighted by Stearns, the revival of ritualized forms of identification with Jews and with Israel during the second half of the twentieth century built on a number of other developments as well.

Outside of pentecostal and charismatic circles, epochal changes in American society opened the door for more overt forms of religious experimentation with “exotic” religious forms: Loosened restrictions on non-European immigration beginning in the 1960s, an anti-authoritarian ethos exemplified by the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam efforts, a burgeoning neo-Romanticism that prioritized experiential knowledge, and the declining power of denominations in American religious life—all contributed to an environment where more and more Americans were willing to reevaluate traditions that had been handed down by religious authorities and formulate their own combinative forms of spirituality.⁶¹ The highly individualized forms of religiosity fostered by these trends coincided with a consumer-oriented therapeutic culture in the U.S. that prioritized self-realization and self-expression over fealty to tradition, and that had been reshaping much of U.S. society throughout the twentieth-century.⁶²

⁶⁰Robert Stearns, “Why Israel Matters,” *Charisma* 31, no. 10 (May 2006): 41.

⁶¹The surging popularity of highly spiritualized forms of healing in the latter decades of the twentieth century epitomized the changing religious landscape in the U.S. See for example Robert C. Fuller, *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 91–117. As detailed by Robert Wuthnow, the declining power of denominations in American life also played an important role in opening the door for new forms of religiosity. See Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 71–99.

⁶²Kate Bowler’s history of the American prosperity gospel provides an especially relevant assessment of the intimate connection between pentecostal-style expressions of conservative Christianity and American therapeutic culture, Kate Bowler, *Blessed: A History of the American*

Significantly, the rising socioeconomic status of the average pentecostal in the second half of the twentieth century coupled with the large number of charismatics who hailed from a solidly middle class background paved the way for many adherents to wholeheartedly embrace the flourishing therapeutic culture in the U.S. Whereas the “plainfolk culture” characteristic of the early pentecostal movement stressed the “lore of the honest, hardworking ordinary American,” increasingly believers reflected widespread therapeutic sensibilities.⁶³ The accompanying emphasis on personal fulfillment and self-actualization freed believers to push beyond inherited forms of religiosity, encouraging in turn a more widespread religious experimentation with Judeo-centric imagery and symbols that had appeared in incipient form earlier in the century.⁶⁴

Somewhat ironically, one of the most significant trends fostering pentecostal and charismatic believers’ adoption of Jewish-themed rituals involved the growing number of American Jews who responded to the various historical developments in the 1960s and 70s by rebelling against Jewish orthodoxy. The Jesus People movement, which first took root in California and evangelized the 1960s counterculture, proved especially successful in attracting young Jews who were disillusioned with their religious upbringing. This Christian “hippie” movement dovetailed neatly with the same therapeutic emphases increasingly embraced by pentecostals and charismatics more generally, and satiated seekers’ thirst for highly experiential, individualized forms of spirituality. (Not surprisingly, pentecostal and charismatic practices, including speaking in tongues, prophecy, and claims to divine healing, were ubiquitous within these groups.) Hard numbers are difficult to come by, but by all accounts the Jesus

Prosperity Gospel (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). My understanding of American therapeutic culture has also been shaped by T. J. Jackson Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880–1930,” in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 1–38. Also see Eva Moskowitz, *In Therapy We Trust: America’s Obsession with Self-Fulfillment* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Frank Furedi, *Therapy Culture: Cultivating Vulnerability in an Uncertain Age* (London: Routledge, 2004); Mimi White, *Tele-Advising: Therapeutic Discourse in American Television* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁶³Robins, *A.J. Tomlinson*, 31. As the historian of pentecostalism Edith Blumhofer explains, early pentecostals typically embraced a holiness ethic that eschewed worldly indulgences, but later generations “seemed inclined to revel in possessions and to find appealing emphases that emanated from independent Pentecostal centers urging the reasonableness of health and wealth for believers.” Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 256.

⁶⁴The fact that many “prosperity” preachers were also staunch Christian Zionists provides further confirmation of the close connection between American therapeutic culture and Israel-themed ritual and rhetoric in pentecostal and charismatic circles. See Bowler, *Blessed*, 201–202.

movement played a central role in the growing number of Jewish “followers of Yeshua”; several Messianic Jewish leaders possessed direct ties to the Jesus movement, and charismatic-style Christianity became a hallmark of most Messianic Jewish congregations.⁶⁵

The growing number of Jews who embraced conservative Christianity did more than just experiment with Christian norms and rituals. Just as the counterculture prized self-expression and independence, a number of these Messianic Jews avoided direct submission to existing Christian denominations, insisting instead on a form of Christianity that preserved and celebrated their Jewish heritage.⁶⁶ In the words of the charismatic insider and historian Peter Hocken, Messianic believers continually became “more liturgical as a consequence of the desire to be authentically Jewish.” Common practices included “the keeping of the biblical feasts, the observance of Shabbat, particularly the Friday evening welcoming of the Shabbat.” Over time, he observed, more and more groups also incorporated “processions with a Torah scroll,” and a few used a traditional Jewish prayer book. Earlier Jewish believers had also sought to preserve a sense of connection to Jewish ritual and culture, of course, but the newly minted Jewish followers of Christ proved much more successful in one very important respect: they successfully created their own congregations. In the process, they launched a distinct Messianic Jewish movement that grew rapidly throughout the late twentieth, early twenty-first centuries, especially in the U.S. and Israel, not to mention the former Soviet Union.⁶⁷

As Messianic Judaism developed, most participants did not sever their strong ties to charismatic renewal. In a sign of these connections, when charismatics gathered by the tens of thousands for a conference in Kansas City in 1977, Messianic Jews offered their own morning sessions, and leaders in the Messianic movement spoke in afternoon workshops.⁶⁸ By 1990, a study of Messianic believers determined that a full 77 percent identified as

⁶⁵For a history of the Jesus People, as well as the movement’s close ties to pentecostal-style spirituality, see Larry Eskridge, *God’s Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 77–87. Daniel Juster and Peter Hocken briefly discuss the Jesus People movement’s ability to attract Jewish adherents in *The Messianic Jewish Movement: An Introduction* (Toward Jerusalem Council II, 2004), 15–16.

⁶⁶Dan Cohn-Sherbok discusses the growing popularity of the label “Messianic Judaism,” as well as the role of charismatic-friendly Jewish believers who pushed for this change, *Messianic Judaism* (London: Cassell, 2000), 66–71.

⁶⁷Hocken, *Challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic, and Messianic Jewish Movements*, 103.

⁶⁸A breakdown of the religious affiliation of Kansas City conference attendees, published in the *Washington Post*, included Messianic Jews as one of ten groups listed. See Marjorie Hyer, “Charismatics of Many Churches Meet: Members See Movement Leading to Christian Unity and Renewal,” *Washington Post*, July 22, 1977.

charismatic.⁶⁹ Assessments made by charismatic insiders at the turn of the twenty-first century pushed those numbers even higher, suggesting that roughly 85 percent of Messianic adherents identified with “spirit-filled” forms of Christianity.⁷⁰

On the one hand, Messianic Jews’ status as second-class citizens in Israel may have led some pentecostals and charismatics to qualify their backing of the Israeli state, but overall it did not dent most pentecostals’ and charismatics’ support for Jews and the nation of Israel.⁷¹ Quite the contrary, the influx of Messianic Jews into the pentecostal-charismatic movement mainly confirmed pentecostal and charismatic believers’ profound sense of attachment to Judeo-centric religious identities. In fact, one of the most surprising statistics related to expressions of Messianic Judaism in pentecostal-charismatic circles involved the high number of non-Jews counted among its ranks: estimates made by knowledgeable insiders in the early 2000s claimed that non-Jews accounted for anywhere from fifty to eighty-five percent of the typical Messianic congregation.⁷²

The significant number of non-Jewish evangelicals in Messianic congregations—most of whom possessed ties to the pentecostal-charismatic movement—underscored the broad appeal of Judeo-centric trends during the latter decades of the twentieth century. The most widely circulated magazines for pentecostals and charismatics, such as *New Wine* and *Charisma*, deluged believers with miscellaneous updates related to Messianic Judaism, advertisements for Israel-themed products, and numerous invitations to Holy Land Tours led by high-profile pentecostal and charismatic leaders. Beginning in the 1990s, lengthy portions of various issues of *Charisma* effectively functioned as pentecostal and charismatic-friendly Israeli tourist guides. (An article penned by the wife of prominent

⁶⁹Michael Schiffman, *Return of the Remnant: The Rebirth of Messianic Judaism* (1992; repr. Baltimore, Md.: Lederer, 1996), 128–129. Dan Cohn-Sherbok provides a helpful summary of Schiffman’s survey of Messianic congregations in the late 1980s in *Messianic Judaism*, 82–85.

⁷⁰Hocken, *Challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic, and Messianic Jewish Movements*, 97.

⁷¹Pentecostal and charismatic publications closely followed, for example, a 1989 decision by Israeli courts that denied Messianic Jews the “right of return” to Israel, rejecting their identity as Jews given their conversion to Christianity. As one article noted, “[A]uthorities in Jerusalem have for many years courted evangelicals in the United States because American Christians spend millions of dollars in Israel during Holy Land pilgrimages . . . Yet Messianic Jews inside Israel are treated like second-class citizens.” Lee Grady and Brian Wolfe, “Grasping for the Peace of Jerusalem,” *Charisma* 17, no. 10 (May 1992): 54.

⁷²These estimates appear in Stan Telchin, *Messianic Judaism Is Not Christianity: A Loving Call to Unity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Chosen Books, 2004), 70; Nancy Justice, “Book Claiming Messianic Judaism Is Not Christianity Stirs Controversy,” *Charisma* 30, no. 27 (February 2005): 23–24.

charismatic pastor accurately captured the tenor of a 1995 Israel-themed *Charisma* issue: “Come With Me to the Holy Land.”⁷³

One of the most frequent Judeo-centric topics to appear in pentecostal and charismatic periodicals involved updates regarding Christian-led celebrations of the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem, which were initially spearheaded by two Canadian charismatics, Merv and Merla Watson. From 1980 forward, this annual Jewish festival attracted thousands of Christians from the U.S. and elsewhere, many of whom were inspired by biblical prophecies that they associated with the event. (Participants pointed, for instance, to the biblical prophet Zechariah, who foresaw a time when individuals from “all the nations” would gather in Jerusalem to join in the Feast of Tabernacles celebration.)⁷⁴

From the start, those who gathered for the Feast of Tabernacles incorporated colorful, Israel-themed pageantry and worship that tangibly reinforced their sense of identification with Israel. As one participant explained, “Worship leaders, singers, and dancers outfitted in silver and gold colors carried banners and flags from thirty-five nations down the aisles and onto the stage of the auditorium where we met. Trumpets sounded as three thousand Christians stood and praised God, singing ‘Thou Shalt Arise and Have Mercy on Zion.’”⁷⁵ In the succeeding years, similar celebrations were simultaneously held in the U.S. One such event conducted in 1994 by CBN Conferences in Virginia Beach, Virginia, featured speakers from the pentecostal and charismatic-led International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ), and included four days of “Davidic praise and worship, Jewish ceremonies and festive pageantry.” Four years later, a “jubilee” celebration of Israel’s fiftieth anniversary planned by charismatic figures attracted over twelve thousand individuals to Orlando, Florida. Reports noted the “array of pageantry and dance accentuated by an often ecstatic crowd.” The opening ceremonies, which “included a replica of the Ark of the Covenant and colorful banners—each naming one of the original 12 tribes of Judah,” in turn “ushered in what participants described as an unusual sense of God’s presence.” (Eager to tap participants’ enthusiastic support of the Israeli state, the organizers of the event circulated pro-Israel petitions that were then forwarded to members of the U.S. Congress and to the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.)⁷⁶

⁷³Jackie Buckingham, “Come With Me to the Holy Land,” *Charisma* 20, no. 9 (April 1995): 26–33. See also *Charisma* 20, no. 9 (April 1995); *Charisma* 31, no. 10 (May 2006); *Charisma* 32, no. 11 (June 2007); *Charisma* 33, no. 3 (October 2007).

⁷⁴See Zechariah 14:16. Also see Danae Verdase, “Israel, You Are Not Alone,” *Charisma* 8, no. 10 (June 1983): 8–14; John Black, “Sukkot and the Gentiles,” October 25, 2012, <http://int.icej.org/news/commentary/sukkot-and-gentiles>.

⁷⁵Matthew Schwartz, “Israel, You Are Not Alone,” *New Wine* 14, no. 1 (January 1982): 20.

⁷⁶The ICEJ was originally formed in response to international protest against the Israeli parliament following its declaration of Jerusalem as the undivided, eternal capital of the Israeli state. When several nations removed their embassies from Jerusalem, conservative Christians

Following the turn of the twenty-first century, the growing prominence of Judeo-centric themes in the pentecostal-charismatic movement became even more apparent. Various ministries sprung up dedicated to the merger of Jews and Gentiles as “one new man.” Representative books included Reuven Doron’s *One New Man* (1993), Don Finto’s *Your People Shall Be My People* (2001), Sid Roth’s *The Incomplete Church: Unifying God’s Children* (2007), and the *One New Man Bible* (2011).⁷⁷ At the same time, Jewish-themed rituals continued to appear with greater frequency. Indicative of the sheer reach of these trends, in 2012 Bishop Eddie Long, who pastored a predominantly African-American, 25,000 member charismatic megachurch in Atlanta, invited a self-proclaimed Messianic rabbi, Ralph Messer, to his church. During the service, Messer conducted a ceremony in which he wrapped Bishop Long in a Torah, proclaimed Long a “king,” and then had four men lift Long up in a chair and carry him around. A video of the ceremony went viral, attracting no small amount of condemnation.⁷⁸ In 2009 Messer conducted a similar ritual on the television program hosted by the popular charismatic personality Paula White, though it did not receive the same attention as Long’s ceremony.⁷⁹ Messer’s appearances highlighted the fusion of ritual and entertainment characteristic of the megachurch and television environments represented by Long’s and White’s ministries, and neatly satisfied the quest for exotic and authentic religious experiences nurtured by American therapeutic culture. More generally, Messer’s elaborate ritual displays in Long’s church and on White’s television show accentuated just how many pentecostals and charismatics experimented with Judeo-centric ritual forms and identities by the turn of the twenty-first century.

VII. POST-AMERICANISM AND THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF PENTECOSTAL ZIONISM

It is no surprise that depictions of Christian Zionism in the U.S. frequently call attention to the political dimensions of the movement, or that politically active

with strong ties to the pentecostal-charismatic movement established the ICEJ in a show of support. See “History: The ICEJ’s Story and Purpose,” <http://int.icej.org/history>. Also see “Feast of Tabernacles Celebrated in U.S.,” *Charisma* 19, no. 9 (April 1994): 90; Billy Bruce, “Christians, Messianic Jews Support Israel at Jubilee Gala,” *Charisma* 23, no. 12 (July 1998), 22.

⁷⁷The language of “one new man” derived from the words of the Apostle Paul in Ephesians 2:15.

⁷⁸See for example Peter Manseau, “Fake Rabbi Showdown,” *Religion Dispatches*, February 4, 2012, http://religiondispatches.org/archive/culture/5647/fake_rabbi_showdown_culture_/.

⁷⁹See Luiza Oleszczuk, “Paula White Wrapped in Torah Scroll by Rabbi Ralph Messer in 2009 Video,” <http://www.christianpost.com/news/paula-white-wrapped-in-torah-scroll-by-rabbi-ralph-messer-in-2009-video-68866/>.

individuals such as Pat Robertson and the Texas-based pastor John Hagee garner most of the attention. Robertson played a crucial role in the rise of the Religious Right to national prominence in the 1980s, which made his staunch political support for the state of Israel all the more important. Likewise, Hagee helped revive the well-funded “Christians United for Israel” (CUFI), which had a similar goal of encouraging evangelical Christians to lobby their legislators on behalf of pro-Israeli causes. CUFI’s yearly summits featured high-profile political players including Joe Lieberman, Tom DeLay, Rick Santorum, Michelle Bachmann, Sam Brownback, Glenn Beck, as well as Benjamin Netanyahu via satellite.

As it happens, both Robertson and Hagee closely identified with the pentecostal-charismatic movement, and one study published in the mid-1990s confirmed that among late-twentieth-century evangelicals, pentecostal and charismatic leaders reflected the highest levels of political support for Israel. The same study also identified a direct correlation between staunch Christian Zionism and believers’ embrace of premillennial eschatology.⁸⁰ Judging from these statistics as well as the ministries of Robertson and Hagee, it is impossible to tell the story of contemporary Christian Zionism among pentecostals and charismatics without taking into account adherents’ more formal eschatological beliefs or the emergence of the Religious Right as a formidable force in American politics.

All of that said, a whole other set of contributing factors related to Christian Zionism comes into play when considering pentecostals’ and charismatics’ distinctive contributions to the movement worldwide. Here, a closer look at Hagee’s Christians United for Israel is instructive. Intermixed throughout the political speeches, prayers, and sermonizing at CUFI’s yearly meetings, planners also incorporated sustained periods of worship that featured worship songs with references to Zion, the blowing of shofars, Jewish-style dancing, extensive use of banners with Jewish symbolism, not to mention songs sung in Hebrew.⁸¹ All of the pageantry incorporated into Hagee’s CUFI events could be read simply as an elaborate effort to rally the troops on behalf of Israel. The long history of pentecostals’ and charismatics’ intimate identification with Israel, however, points to the much deeper identity-formation at work as participants borrowed Jewish and Israel-themed ritual forms.

In particular, a simplistic focus on the link between conservative Christian support for Israel and premillennial eschatology misses the way in which

⁸⁰James L. Guth et al., “Religion and Foreign Policy Attitudes: The Case of Christian Zionism,” in *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996), 338–350.

⁸¹See for example the following video excerpt from CUFI event in Washington, D.C., which originally aired on the Christian Daystar television network, “Christians United for Israel Part 2,” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3viYdG-WMX8>.

ritualized expressions of Christian Zionism have helped forge a cohesive movement in the U.S. and abroad. Pointing to the multitudinous interpretations of ritual practices typically offered by religious participants, scholars of religion have suggested that the social cohesion fostered by rituals often occurs precisely because of the emphasis on shared symbols as opposed to more explicit beliefs.⁸² Such observations help illuminate pentecostal Zionism's success in creating a powerful pro-Israel coalition: by focusing on experience-based rituals, not formal eschatological beliefs, pentecostals and charismatics facilitated the formation of a broad-based imagined community and helped bridge the various theological divisions that separated conservative Christians into numerous camps. Caught up in shared ritual expressions of support for Israel, believers could set aside, at least temporarily, debates over proselytization efforts among Jews, the relevance of specific premillennial frameworks for understanding Israel's import, or the role of the United States during the end-times.⁸³

A closely related—and arguably even more important—function of pentecostals' and charismatics' experiential forms of Christian Zionism involved the transnational appeal of such ritual expressions and the international networks that they helped solidify. Put simply, believers' pursuit of authentic religious identity and experience tied to the Hebraic roots of Christianity did not require a U.S. context to thrive (though it certainly could coexist with pro-American sentiments, as Jonathan Cahn's ministry so aptly illustrated). Scholars have oft-noted the way which pentecostals' prioritization of divine encounters over doctrine lent their movement a remarkable flexibility, and contributed to its "innate ability to make itself at home in almost any context."⁸⁴ In a very similar fashion, believers' experience-based expressions of Christian Zionism translated well across cultures, and were easily accessible to anyone, regardless of nationality.

One look at the various constituencies attracted to the Feast of Tabernacles event sponsored by the pentecostal and charismatic-led International Christian Embassy Jerusalem each year graphically corroborates the global appeal of Judeo-centric identities and ritual forms among the faithful. While half of the three thousand attendees at the first large-scale celebration conducted in 1980 were from North America, the remaining 1,500

⁸²See Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 183.

⁸³A *Charisma* article featuring John Hagee's ministry, for example, addressed the controversy caused by his claim that Christians need not work to convert Jews, "A Staunch Defender of Israel," *Charisma* 29, no. 9 (April 2004): 50.

⁸⁴See for example Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 211, 283.

individuals hailed from thirty-three different countries.⁸⁵ In succeeding years, the number of number of countries represented grew rapidly: in 1993 four thousand individuals from seventy different countries attended, and in 2007 organizers reported that more than seven thousand participants from ninety different countries traveled to participate in the festivities.⁸⁶

At least a few churches outside of North America transformed their church interiors in a manner reminiscent of Cahn's New Jersey worship center. A sociologist who observed an Assemblies of God church in Brazil "was struck by the very prominent menorah on the altar." A satellite branch of the church in Rio de Janeiro went so far as to construct "an enormous exhibit room with a replica of what the city of Jerusalem looked like in the first century, complete with city streets, lighting, and temple structures."⁸⁷ Not coincidentally, the 2007 Feast of Tabernacles celebration in Jerusalem included over 1,200 individuals from Brazil.⁸⁸

Another important confirmation of the transnational appeal of Israel-themed practices and identities involved Messianic leaders who built successful radio and broadcast ministries. While committed to evangelizing fellow Jews, the leaders of these global outreaches crafted programs that simultaneously appealed to large non-Jewish audiences.⁸⁹ Following the Six-Day War in 1967, Louis Kaplan, a Jewish Christian who initially served as a healing-evangelist in New York City, initiated his Phoenix-based radio program, *Jewish Voice Broadcasts*, which focused on "Israel and Bible prophecy, testimonies of Jewish believers and teachings on sharing the Messiah with

⁸⁵See Schwartz, "Israel, You Are Not Alone." The close ties between the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem and the pentecostal-charismatic movement is readily apparent when looking at the religious backgrounds and training of the Embassy's leadership. See "ICEJ Headquarters," <http://int.icej.org/icej-headquarters>.

⁸⁶Julie Stahl, "Christians Honor Israel," *Charisma* 19, no. 5 (December 1993): 73; Stephen Strang, "Feast of Tabernacles Draws Record Crowds," *Charisma* 33, no. 5 (December 2007): 27.

⁸⁷Donald E. Miller, "Pentecostalism as a Global Phenomenon," in *Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

⁸⁸Strang, "Feast of Tabernacles Draws Record Crowds," 27.

⁸⁹Not all of the successful Messianic broadcasters directly identified with the pentecostal-charismatic movement. Zola Levitt's views, for example, placed him closer to the Southern Baptist Convention than to traditional pentecostal or charismatic churches and denominations. Even so, pentecostal and charismatic media outlets provided the most significant outlet for Levitt's television program, *Zola Levitt Presents*. Beginning in the early 1980s the pentecostal and charismatic-oriented Trinity Broadcast Network (TBN) gave the Messianic Jewish figure a prime-time slot for his show, which featured content focused on "Israel, prophecy, and the Jewish roots of Christianity." And years later Levitt's television manager made it clear that for over two decades TBN as well as Pat Robertson's CBN provided the "backbone of the viewership necessary to sustain an ongoing national ministry." See "Personal Letter," September 2006, <http://www.levitt.com/letters/2006-09>. Also see Zola Levitt Ministries, "About Us," <http://www.levitt.com/about>.

Jewish people.” By the mid-1980s, Kaplan’s annual ministry budget was just shy of one million dollars, and he had added a television program, “Le Chayim,” that reached 21 countries in Western Europe via the European Satellite Network, not to mention radio broadcasts that extended into Eastern Europe, Lebanon, and Israel.⁹⁰ Kaplan’s legacy continued into the twenty-first century, as Jonathan Bernis took over the production of *Jewish Voice* following Kaplan’s death in 1998. Under Bernis’s leadership, the ministry began sponsoring large-scale “Festivals of Jewish Music and Dance” around the world, in addition to the television broadcasts.⁹¹

Another up-and-coming charismatic Messianic Jewish leader, Sid Roth, similarly ventured into broadcast media after embracing Jesus as the Jewish Messiah in the early 1970s. Roth launched his *Messianic Vision* radio program in 1977. Much like Kaplan, by the mid-1980s his ministry operated on an annual budget of \$900,000, and *Messianic Vision* was broadcast on sixty radio stations. Not only did Roth’s ministry include a substantial focus on the Jewish roots of Christianity and on the end-times unification of Jews and Gentiles, but it was also international in scope; his 30-minute program was translated and broadcast into Israel, Eastern Europe, and Latin America.⁹² And in the late 1990s, he too expanded into television with the show *It’s Supernatural*. By 2014, Roth indicated that *It’s Supernatural* was aired throughout much of the Middle East, was broadcast in Russian to 182 countries, and would soon be broadcast “across the Spanish-speaking world.”⁹³

In the end, just as pentecostals and charismatics experienced remarkable success spreading their movement around the globe, exuberant expressions of Christian Zionism proliferated alongside these preexisting pentecostal networks as well. A ten-country survey of pentecostals on four different continents conducted by Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life confirmed the strength of pentecostals’ commitments to Israel. One question, for example, gauged respondents’ support for Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The gap between pentecostals and “non-renewalist” Christians on this query was high in the U.S., with 60% of pentecostals sympathizing with Israel compared to 40% of non-renewalists, but a similar pattern held in other parts of the world. The disparity between pentecostals and non-renewalists on this same question

⁹⁰In the U.S., “Le Chayim” was broadcast by Pat Robertson’s Christian Broadcast Network (CBN) and Jim and Tammy Bakker’s Praise the Lord network (PTL). See Ted Ojarovsky, “Good News for Modern Jews,” *Charisma* 12, no. 3 (September 1986): 66; “Messianic Jewish Voices,” *Charisma* 22, no. 9 (April 1997): 55–56. 65

⁹¹See Jewish Voice Ministries International, “Jewish Festivals of Music & Dance,” <http://www.jewishvoice.org/outreaches/festivals/>.

⁹²Ojarovsky, “Good News for Modern Jews,” 65–66.

⁹³See “About the Ministry,” <http://sidroth.org/about/about-ministry>.

reached 23% in Brazil, 19% in India, 17% in Guatemala, 16% in South Africa, 13% in Chile and the Philippines, and 3% in South Korea.⁹⁴

The international scope of Christian Zionism underscored its remarkable adaptability to various cultural contexts well outside the U.S., as well as the need for studies that help to explain the movement's global appeal. While further work needs to be done regarding indigenous contributions to Christian Zionism outside of North America, this essay highlights one important piece of this puzzle: Pentecostalized expressions of Christian Zionism originating in North America promised an enhanced sense of religious identity and experience that were transnational in scope and fully separable from U.S.-centric perspectives. In and of itself, the "Anglo-Israelite" identity promoted by early pentecostal British Israelites already suggested an imagined community that was not neatly contained by national boundaries.⁹⁵ Later, deracialized expressions of pentecostal Zionism only strengthened this incipient transnational impulse, and easily crossed national borders.⁹⁶ As such, pentecostalized forms of Christian Zionism complicate recent studies that focus primarily on the interconnections linking U.S. Christians' support for Israel to a belief in American exceptionalism.⁹⁷

None of this is to say that global Christian Zionism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century should be understood solely as a North American export. It is to suggest, though, that American pentecostals' and charismatics' appropriation of Jewish-themed ritual forms and identities bolstered Christian Zionism's ability to replicate itself around the world. Like their American counterparts, believers across the globe wanted to know that they too were God's chosen. Most pentecostals and charismatics attracted to Israel-themed rituals may not have gone as far as Jack Hayford, a prominent California pastor and leader in the pentecostal Foursquare

⁹⁴Luis Lugo et al., *Spirit and Power: A 10-Country Survey of Pentecostals* (Washington, D.C.: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, October 2006), 71–72.

⁹⁵Parham pushed the transnational implications of early pentecostal British Israelism even further by broadening his definition of the ten tribes of Israel to include more than just Anglo-Saxons. See Parham, *Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 106–107.

⁹⁶Other scholars have noted the growing transnational sensibility evident among late-twentieth-century evangelicals in the U.S. David Swartz stresses the emergence of an evangelical left beginning largely in the 1960s and 1970s that consistently critiqued U.S.-centric perspectives. Molly Worthen likewise notes how the global scope of the pentecostal movement "demands a cross-cultural, multiracial perspective." See David R. Swartz, *Moral Minority: The Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Molly Worthen, *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 264. The history of pentecostal Zionism, on the other hand, reveals the extent to which transnational, post-American emphases were nurtured in conservative pentecostal circles in the U.S., and initially took shape before pentecostalism's explosive growth caught the attention of fellow evangelicals.

⁹⁷See, for example, Smith, *More Desired than Our Own Salvation*.

denomination, who declared: “I see myself as Jewish spiritually. I see myself as a gentile Jew.”⁹⁸ Even so, by adopting Jewish-themed rituals and identities that reinforced an intimate sense of connection with Jews and Israel, believers participated in a transnational tradition with deep roots in pentecostal circles. Anyone, it turns out, could be a “gentile Jew.”

⁹⁸Jack Hayford quoted in Brad A. Greenberg, “Evangelical Prayer Banquet Promotes Love for Israel,” *Jewish Journal*, May 24, 2007, http://www.jewishjournal.com/community_briefs/article/evangelical_prayer_banquet_promotes_love_for_israel_20070525.