"Interpreting the Signs of the Times: How Eschatology Shaped Assemblies of God Social Ethics"

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INTERPRETING THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES: HOW ESCHATOLOGY SHAPED ASSEMBLIES OF GOD SOCIAL ETHICS.

History Interest Group

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INTRODUCTION

During the late nineteenth century, evangelicalism experienced a shift in eschatological views from postmillennialism to premillennialism. For most of the nineteenth-century, evangelicals worked for the reversal of societal ills such as poverty, slavery, rights of women and public welfare. The shift to premillennialism led to the ‘great reversal’ from Christian activism in society to missionary activity focused on saving as many souls as they could before Jesus comes. Pentecostal scholars have been concerned that dispensational forms of Pentecostal eschatology have encouraged escapism and indifference to meeting the social needs of society.

Murray Dempster called dispensational eschatology ‘a major, perhaps the major, theological factor that has sparked and perpetuated the controversy over the social involvement of the church’. As Larry McQueen’s study of early AG literature has demonstrated, from the very beginning the AG followed the standard ‘dispensational script’ without deviation. Because of

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5 McQueen, Toward a Pentecostal Eschatology, p. 172. The ‘dispensational script’ includes the secret rapture of all true believers which allows the church to escape the tribulation; the church is ecclesiastically separated from
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this, many Pentecostal scholars have sought to offer alternative models that encourage social engagement and are more compatible Pentecostal spirituality.\(^6\) This paper will seek to explore how the AG’s premillennial beliefs affected the way they interpreted three primary social issues: political attitudes, economic issues, and responses to social and moral issues. To aid in this task, commentary on social issues through the lens of eschatology in the *Pentecostal Evangel* will be analyzed through the first two periods of AG history: Formative Period (1914-1926), Scholastic Period (1927-1948).\(^7\)

**Establishment Period (1914-1927)**

Like most early Pentecostal periodicals, emphasis on the return of Jesus was evident throughout every issue of the *Evangel*.\(^9\) Although they were optimistic about the future because of the coming of Jesus, the picture these articles paint of the future was quite pessimistic.\(^10\) With World War I starting just months after the AG began, the global conflict had a powerful influence

Israel; the Jews will return to Palestine in anticipation of the tribulation when the temple is rebuilt; the Antichrist will arise during the tribulation and make a covenant with Israel, which will be a prelude to Armageddon; Christ will return at the end of the tribulation and destroy the Antichrist and Israel will come to faith; Christ will set up a millennial Jewish kingdom from Jerusalem and will rule the nations; the millennium will end with the doom of Satan and the judgment of nations to be followed by the new heavens and new earth.


\(^7\) It is common for studies of Pentecostalism to focus on the first ten years based on Walter Hollenweger, ‘Pentecostals and the Charismatic Movement’, in Cheslyn Jones Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (eds.) *The Study of Spirituality*. (London, UK: SPCK, 1986), p. 551. However, I have chosen two periods in order to demonstrate how AG attitudes may or may not have shifted from the first generation to the second.

\(^8\) The Establishment Period (1914-1927) begins with the organization of the Assemblies of God on April 2, 1914 and ends with the ratification of the Constitution and Bylaws and revision of the Statement of Fundamental Truths in 1927. Menzies *Anointed to Serve* p. 143, refers to this period as the ‘formative years’.


\(^10\) ‘The Great War and the Speedy Return of our Lord’, *WE* 184a (Apr 10, 1917), p. 2. To the charges that their view of the end times was too pessimistic the writer comments, ‘“A very pessimistic picture,” you say. Perhaps so, but it is not one of my own invention, but of God’s revelation’. This very same argument was made verbatim in ‘This Present Crisis’, *WE* 146 (Jul 1, 1916), p. 7.
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on the AG’s eschatological imagination.\textsuperscript{11} The world was rapidly changing as they watched society declining morally, economically, and politically, which convinced them that society was not getting better, the world was indeed getting worse.\textsuperscript{12} Human attempts at ‘progress’ had failed to the point that the whole world was in was embroiled in war.\textsuperscript{13} The AG’s rejection of the ‘myth of progress’ was understandable considering that the ‘progress’ achieved in areas such as technology, education, and science in the twentieth century also produced considerable ‘moral regress’.\textsuperscript{14} They weren’t just critical of the moral state of world, they critical of church relying on human efforts to reform society. As R.M. Russell notes,

Saved men become better fathers, better neighbors, better businessmen, better citizens, and there is trend of world life toward kingdom righteousness. Indeed, this is the shortest path for all great reforms, hence Paul did not pause in his gospel efforts to organize anti-slavery societies or even temperance leagues. The gospel effort that saves the individual will as a byproduct save society.\textsuperscript{15}

Further more, prayer and waiting on the Lord was more valuable than social work. Pastor A.G. Ward comments, ‘More things are wrought through prayer than by all this fleshly activity on the part of believers on a lower plane of grace’.\textsuperscript{16}

Their reluctance to work for social change did not mean that they ignored social issues taking place around them. In fact, they were very interested in documenting these instances of


\textsuperscript{16} A.G. Ward, ‘Soul Food for Hungry Saints’, PE (Aug 23, 1919), p. 1. Ward further comments, ‘If you are tempted at times when you are along waiting on God and you hear a voice urging you to get up and do something, if you are tempted to feel that you ought to be doing what other folk are doing, will you please just remember that your Bridegroom is much more concerned about your waiting upon Him and satisfying His heart than He is about your going around working in your own energy.’
social regress as a validation of their conviction that the return of Christ was near.\textsuperscript{17} One social issue they recognized was income inequality. The advent of industrialization in America created a new set of economic realities in which individuals were acquiring unprecedented wealth. But Pentecostals were not impressed, nor did they aspire to acquire worldly things. The wealth that men were gaining was nothing more than ‘miseries for rich men’ that was being ‘hoarded for the last days’.\textsuperscript{18} They were particularly critical of the rich because wealth was included as a ‘sign of the times’ in Jam. 5.1-8, which prophesied that wealth would be gained at the expense of the poor. One writer notes, ‘The growth and multiplicity of the millionaires in every land, even in poverty-stricken Germany, proves conclusively that we are in the last days’.\textsuperscript{19}

At the same time that the rich were gaining unprecedented wealth, the latter rain of the Spirit was falling on the poor. As one writer said, ‘The phenomenon of the Latter Rain coincides with the phenomenon of the increasing world riches; the early harvest ripening, despite the warning of the final crash and the destruction’.\textsuperscript{20} Riches were seen as a sign of judgment, but the outpouring of the Spirit was interpreted as God’s answer to economic equality.\textsuperscript{21}

The Spirit of God takes aside the down-trodden, the defrauded, the cheated; and you who have little or nothing upon which the cancer and the rust can operate, you spoiled ones, having little, are to have the dew of heaven instead of the wrath of God.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{17} The most common approach to Bible prophecy was a sign-based empirical approach, which attempted to prove the nearness of the return of Christ by correlating the signs of the times from Jesus’ apocalyptic discourse of Matthew 24 with current events. This approach can be seen in Frank Boyd, \textit{The Budding Fig Tree} (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1925); Stanley Frodsham, \textit{Things Which Must Shortly Come To Pass}, (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1928); Frank Boyd, \textit{Signs of the Times}, (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1950); C.M. Ward, \textit{Waiting…} (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1959).

\textsuperscript{18} ‘Miseries for Rich Men’, PE 674 (Nov 27, 1926), pp. 4-5. S.A. Jamieson, ‘Seven Fears’, PE 634 (Feb 13, 1926), p. 3, blamed the ‘greed and corruption’ of the government and the banking industry for the rising poverty in America. He says, ‘To enrich themselves they run up the cost of living so that a great many people cannot reach it. I call this bad economics, but Christ will right things soon’.

\textsuperscript{19} ‘Significant Signs of the Times’, PE 679 (Jan 8, 1927), p. 5.

\textsuperscript{20} ‘Significant Signs of the Times’, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{21} ‘Significant Signs of the Times’, p. 5, ‘The Lord says, “Upon my servants, I will pour out my Spirit!” Handmaidens! In the millionaire’s home is it the millionaire of the cook who goes to the Pentecostal meeting? Judge yourselves’.

\textsuperscript{22} ‘Significant Signs of the Times’, p. 5.
Through the Spirit, these marginalized believers felt empowered and were promised a destiny in which they would ‘inherit the earth’. The AG not only recognized the plight of the poor, some worked to serve the victims of economic injustice. A Sunday school lesson reminded readers that ‘the inheritors of the Kingdom will be those who have given Christ food and drink and have taken Him into their houses, visited Him when sick and when in prison’.\(^{23}\) Also, several early AG missionaries opened orphanages in various parts of the world and in the US.\(^{24}\)

Industrialization not only created economic inequality; there were also growing issues surrounding racial inequality.\(^{25}\) The Pentecostal movement was founded on the alternative vision that when the Spirit was poured out on all flesh and the blood washed away all social and racial distinctions.\(^{26}\) But a decade after Azusa, the fact that the AG separated from its parentage under C.H. Mason and the black members of the Church of God in Christ raises questions about racial attitudes within the AG.\(^{27}\) Although there is little overtly racist language in AG literature, there also is a complete absence the type of racial vision present at Azusa Street.\(^{28}\) In contrast to the AG’s silence on racism and black slavery, the growing problem of the ‘white slave trade’ did

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\(^{25}\) Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism 1887-1917* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005), points out that during the turn of the century, fears surrounding growing immigration and industrialization led to concepts of ‘whiteness’ and ‘colored’ becoming a class-oriented concept used by anti-industrialization proponents to preserve the social order.


\(^{27}\) I agree with David D. Daniels, ‘Charles Harrison Mason: The Interracial Impulse’, in James R. Goff and Grant Wacker (eds.) *Portraits of a Generation*, (Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), pp. 254-70 that there could be polity reasons rather than racial reasons for the separation of the AG. It is likely is that the AG did not want to identify with Mason’s holiness organization rather than his racial identity. The association with Mason that began in 1910 was prior to the Finished Work controversy. But by 1913, there was a need for a new fellowship that was not identified as holiness. If it was a separation over race, the AG did not admit such motivations.

\(^{28}\) The only overtly racial comment in AG literature was by W.F. Carothers, ‘Attitude of Pentecostal Whites to the Colored Brethren in the South’, *CE* 105 (Aug 14, 1915), p. 2. Carothers was a close associate of Parham who shared his views against racial mixing. Carothers argued that different races were ‘God’s intention’, a claim he believed was not motivated by ‘prejudice nor any other evil intent’ but is intended to ‘preserve racial purity and integrity’. He argued that the South ‘selfishly’ mixed the races for their own financial gain, which ultimately instituted the racial tensions in America.
receive attention. The ‘white slave trade’ was name given to the trafficking of women across state lines for the purpose of prostitution.\(^29\) E.N. Bell called the trafficking of women ‘one of the worst wickedness in the nation’ and warned his readers about the dangers of human traffickers.\(^30\) Though the exaggerated claims made by the producers of ‘white slave’ literature were intended to create ‘moral panic’, AG members used these narratives as justification that the coming of the Lord was near.\(^31\) What is noteworthy about this controversial issue is that the AG was motivated to bring help and recovery to trafficking victims. In 1913, AG founders E.N. Bell and Howard Goss took over leadership of a rescue home in Arkansas for girls who have come out of the white slave trade.\(^32\) Bell encouraged his readers to give offerings and donations of food and clothing in order to ‘help save girls and send them to the Home where they can get saved and get on their feet again and lead a clean life’.\(^33\)

A second aspect of social engagement that their eschatology significantly shaped was their outlook on politics. In 1917, Woodrow Wilson told congress of his intention to enter the

\(^{29}\) Donovan, *White Slave Crusades*, provides a telling account of the ‘white slavery’ campaigns, which sought to protect women and the ‘morality and purity’ of American Culture during a time when the age of industrialization was producing racial and social anxiety. Dramatic stories of white women being lured into prostitution rings were often exaggerated and repeated in various books and even films. These campaigns had a broad appeal within Progressive, conservative, and racist groups. The issue became so strong that in 1910 congress passed the Mann Act, which sought to bring legal reform to the prostitution industry. The unintended consequences of this movement was the emergence of racial language in designation ‘colored’ and ‘white’ as well as the rise of white masculinity and degradation of femininity. Much of the ‘morality and purity’ literature surrounding this issue came out of Chicago, a center for Mid-West Pentecostals.


\(^{31}\) Donovan, *White Slave Crusades*, p. 19. One example of an AG pastor propagating these exaggerated claims is Willard Pope, ‘Morphine Tablets of Hell’, *LRE* 11.3 (Dec, 1918), p. 5. Pope claims, ‘There are over 600,000 that have been led off, drugged and stolen, and sold at the block in the traffic of white slavery, worse than the slaves in the South. Over 60,000 of these die every year and are buried in paupers’ graves, with no one to mourn their loss’. See also, Willard Pope, ‘The Crying Need of the Hour’, *LRE* 24.2 (Nov, 1931), pp. 9-12.

\(^{32}\) ‘Bethel Rescue Home’, *WW* 9.6 (Jun, 1913), p. 1. Bell and Goss became the trustees of the Bethel Rescue Home in order to ‘rescue girls that are in the “White Slave prisons”’.

\(^{33}\) ‘Bethel Rescue Home’, *WW* 9.6 (Jun, 1913), p. 1. The home was operated by a Sister E.W. Chambers who had 25 years experience as a nurse and in the work of rescuing women.
WWI against Germany in order to make the world ‘safe for democracy’. Wilson believed the promotion of democracy was a divine global mission given to America to save the nations and promote liberty, prosperity, order, and justice.\(^{34}\) The AG unequivocally disagreed. Many in the AG discerned that the elevation of democracy as a divine idea was just a secular form of postmillennialism. James McAlister comments, ‘Democracy means to govern without Christ, and will therefore prove the biggest failure of all forms of government. It will land this world in a welter of blood and death unparalleled’.\(^{35}\) Because of the corruption in government, Stanley Frodsham believed that the democratic value of exercising voting rights was often fruitless and antithetical to basic Christian convictions. He says, ‘The world says: “Of two evils, choose the lesser.” The saint says: “Seeing two evils, avoid both”’.\(^{36}\) They understood that the political realm belonged to the kingdoms of the world and not the kingdom of God. W.T. Gaston declared, 

> Oh, brother, I am going to vote for Jesus. You can go on with this political situation if you want to, you can throw your hat and make yourself foolish about industrial situations, but I am going to sing and shout and vote for Jesus, I have no enthusiasm for anybody else.\(^{37}\)

The AG’s apolitical eschatological orientation can also be seen in their stance on pacifism.\(^{38}\) Since political institutions and governments were tools of the beast, they were appalled at the way American society celebrated ‘those who invent the most violent gun and the most violent explosive’.\(^{39}\) As one writer says, ‘The War belongs to the world, and it has served to illustrate

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\(^{34}\) Steven M. Studebaker, *A Pentecostal Political Theology for American Renewal: Spirit of the Kingdoms, Citizens of the Cities* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2016), pp. 33-37, points out that Wilson’s vision was indicative of the postmillennial belief in Manifest Destiny of America.


\(^{37}\) W.T. Gaston, ‘Coming For and With His Saints’, *PE* 565 (Sep 27, 1924), p. 3.


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the association of the highest civilization with the deepest wickedness’. When Germany and Britian used their identities as ‘Christian nations’ as justification for WWI, the they argued that truly ‘Christian nations’ would have ‘made such a war impossible’. In fact, the AG rejected the notion that any nation could be classified as a ‘Christian nation’ since the Church is scattered throughout all nations. On the one hand, they understood that war was inevitable because Jesus prophesied that it would be a sign of the times. On the other hand, the AG believed Spirit-filled Christians are not ‘those who delight in war, but those who are so permeated by the Spirit of the Prince of Peace’.

**Scholastic Period (1927-1948)**

After WWI came to an end, the AG began to focus on the signs of the times in their own country. As one writer proclaimed,

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42 ‘Light on the Present Crisis’, *PE* 146 (Jul 1, 1916), pp. 6-9. The author further declares, ‘In this great European war the strife is not between two companies of God's people, but between various world powers whose doom is sealed … A little clear and logical thinking, accompanied by an intelligent knowledge of God’s Word, will easily dispose of the fallacy that this war is being waged between Christian nations, for it is impossible for us to find in this dispensation a whole Christian town, village or congregation, not to mention a Christian Nation’.
43 John Goben, ‘The Millennial Reign’, *PE* 585 (Feb 21, 1925), p. 2, declares, ‘We are living in a time when the churches are advocating no more war. I don't like war: but, my brother, there will be war as long as the devil is loose and rules in the hearts of men’. Also, ‘The Great War and the Speedy Return of Jesus’, *WE* 188a Second Coming Supplement (Apr 10, 1917), p. 1.
45 Douglas Jacobsen, ‘Knowing the Doctrine of Pentecostals: The Scholastic Theology of the Assemblies of God’, in E. Blumhofer, R. Spittler, and G. Wacker (eds.), *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), coined the term ‘Scholastic Period’ which has been widely adopted for this period of time when AG leaders codified doctrine for a second generation of Pentecostals. The adoption of the constitution in 1927 ushered in an era of relative stability and growth as well as a new generation of voices within the AG. The theology articulated in the *Evangel* was representative of a new generation of AG ministers who were grappling with current issues in light of their distinctive perspectives as Pentecostals.
46 Prior to 1930, the *Evangel* carried two regular columns highlighting missionary news called ‘Gospel in Foreign Lands’ and ‘In the Whitened Harvest Fields’. When Stanley Frodsham returned to duties of *Evangel* Editor in January 1930, Frodsham decided to start a regular editorial column called ‘Editor’s Notebook’ in which he began to occasionally highlighted news and notes from around the world. The practice of commenting on world events eventually led to the edition of a regular column in that began at the end of 1932 called ‘The Passing and the Permanent’ that intended to be a ‘weekly survey of passing events viewed in the light of the permanent Word’, most of which were commentary on their significance to Bible prophecy. See *PE* 979 (Dec 31, 1931), p. 5.
Today a cry of injustice, cruelty, despair, anguish, is going up, summarized in the newspapers in the reports of divorce, banditry, murder, suicide. The cry has come up to God, an unprecedented cry because of crimes, the operation of unpitied poverty, and it demands divine investigation and intervention.\textsuperscript{47}

One such injustice that caught the AG’s attention was the poverty, worker exploitation, and injustice that resulted from the great depression.\textsuperscript{48} Some saw the great depression as a judgment on the rich, as millionaires were ‘reduced to poverty in a matter of days’.\textsuperscript{49} Other writers drew attention to various ways the wealthy had encouraged the systematic institutional exploitation of the vulnerable. One article had scathing condemnation for crooked salesman, bankers, stockbrokers, and large industrialized farm corporations that were driving local farmers into poverty.\textsuperscript{50} Even with a growing sense of permanence within the movement, the AG still struggled to push for greater social justice because they believed God’s ‘intervention’ would be coming soon in the millennial kingdom.

During the 1930s-1940s, AG churches were still operating out of ‘storefronts’ and temporary tabernacles populated by lower class populations.\textsuperscript{51} But the AG was beginning to grow and members were starting moved up in the social strata and were forced to wrestle with the eschatological implications of wealth. What they once interpreted as a ‘sign of the times’, they now saw an issue of stewardship. If one has wealth, as one minister points out, it is ok as long as they heed the words of Jesus and ‘sell all he has’ in order to ‘lend to the poor’, lest he be

\textsuperscript{47} ‘When the Son of Man Comes’, \textit{PE} 744 (Apr 21, 1928), p. 2.

\textsuperscript{48} S.H. Frodsham, ‘The Coming of Christ and Our Gathering To Him’, \textit{PE} 750 (Jun 2, 1928), p. 1, recalls that during prayer a man had become overwhelmed in the Spirit about a ‘coming crash’ that would bring sorrow to people all over the world. Frodsham expects the fulfillment of this vision to be the coming Tribulation period. However, it was a little over one year later that the ‘Black Monday’ stock market crash happened in October of 1929 that led to the great depression. And yet nothing was said of that prophecy by Frodsham after the crash happened. His commitment to his vision of the tribulation kept him from recognizing a potentially prophetic word about current circumstances.

\textsuperscript{49} ‘The Uncertainty of Riches’, \textit{PE} 922 (Apr 1, 1933), p. 2, comments, ‘As the ruthless hand of passing events strips the veil of illusion from earthly prosperity, the child of God will rejoice in the fact that he has laid up a treasure in heaven that no person and no circumstance can take from him.’

\textsuperscript{50} ‘When the Son of Man Comes’, \textit{PE} 744 (Apr 21, 1928), p. 2.

\textsuperscript{51} Menzies, \textit{Anointed to Serve}, pp. 144-49.
called ‘thou fool!’ by God on judgment day. The shift is seen much clearer in a 1944 re-print of an article from John Wesley in which Christians are encouraged to ‘gain all they can and the save all they can’ so that they can ‘give all they can’. This more positive perspective on wealth was shared by Superintendent E.S. Williams, who says, ‘It is wrong when people frown on persons just because they are rich. Some of them are the most beautiful of characters. God bless them’. Instead of seeing wealth as a ‘sign of the times’, which will receive the judgment of God, wealth was seen a matter of responsibility and a means to advance the Christian mission. A shift away from eschatological interpretation of wealth enabled the AG to place more emphasis on stewardship, giving to the poor and needy, and supporting the work of the gospel.

**Analysis and Conclusions**

In conclusion, I would have to agree with Murray Dempster, that Pentecostals have a tradition of engaging in social issues, despite the reputation otherwise. The AG’s eschatology certainly has the ‘potential’ for escapism, but I don’t believe that it necessarily ‘encouraged’ it. They were not trying to escape responsibility for social injustice as much as they had a genuine hope that Christ would bring perfect justice in the soon coming kingdom. They were also not indifferent to social issues taking place around them. Seeing social issues as ‘sign of the times’ had a positive effect in that they recognized injustice and often called it out as injustice.

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52 ‘The Man God Calls A Fool’, *PE* 1598 (Dec 23, 1944), pp. 1, 4-5.
53 ‘Wesley on Wealth’, *PE* 1573 (Jul 1, 1944), p. 9. Wesley notes that true religion naturally promotes ‘both industry and frugality’ and yet, ‘wherever riches have increased … the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion’. Wesley’s answer to this dilemma is for Christians to ‘gain all they can and the save all they can’ so that they can ‘give all they can’.
55 Dempster, ‘Eschatology, Spirit Baptism, and Inclusiveness’, p. 158, also argues ‘Responding to human need within a global context with its various cultural matrixes became a practical component in gaining a hearing for the “good news” of God’s salvation and has generated a staggering proliferation of social programs in all sectors of the Pentecostal movement’. Ivan Satyavrata, *Pentecostals and the Poor* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2017), believes that there is ‘adequate support’ within the global Pentecostal ‘tradition’ to make a case for a Pentecostal ‘tradition’ of engagement with the poor.
56 Dempster, ‘Eschatology, Spirit Baptism, and Inclusiveness’, p. 157. I have much more to say about the escapism in the AG in my upcoming PhD thesis.
Furthermore, they even demonstrated compassion for victims and worked to meet felt human needs in compassion ministry, orphanages, and rescue homes. However, the AG was often selective in the types of social issues they chose to engage. This is particularly the case with the silence and passivity toward racial equality.

The AG’s eschatology certainly made them skeptical of the world’s ability to be socially reformed without Christ. This negative attitude also produced an apolitical attitude that insulated them from the trappings of looking for political answers to solve society’s issues. Their suspicion of the democratic ideal was fueled by a conviction that political systems were tools of the world. This meant that believers needed to exercise discernment in understanding political situations and identify more as citizens of the Kingdom of God than citizens of the United States. This eschatological perspective on politics would be a welcome perspective in the current age of political and religious entanglement. The separation of the AG from political allegiances also enabled the AG’s commitment to non-violence and pacifism, an impulse that is clearly important to a new generation of scholars. Yet most of the literature about Pentecostal pacifism ignores the eschatological motivations that fueled those beliefs. This mixed history of both positive and negative consequences of the AG’s eschatological orientation is important for the current debate concerning Pentecostal engagement with social issues.

57 Steven M. Studebaker, A Pentecostal Political Theology for American Renewal: Spirit of the Kingdoms, Citizens of the Cities (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2016), pp. 22-37. The great irony of present day Evangelicalism (and Pentecostalism) is that though they primarily hold premillennial views of eschatology, they hold postmillennial visions of culture that seeks to see America as a Christian nation and politics as a way to reform society.


59 Michael Beals, ‘Toward a Pentecostal Contribution to the Just War Tradition’, in Paul Alexander (ed.), Pentecostals and Nonviolence, p. 248, is the only one that mentions the role of Premillennialism, but admonishes Pentecostals to have a responsible premillennialism that that does not use it as an excuse to not care about the world.
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