

**A HISTORICAL STUDY OF JOHN GRAHAM LAKE AND SOUTH
AFRICAN/UNITED STATES PENTECOSTALISM**

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ABSTRACT

American minister John Graham Lake (1870-1935) was a pivotal participant in an era of profound religious and political transition. Surprisingly, Lake's often provocative life had previously been largely neglected as a field of academic inquiry.

In the U.S. Lake associated with key Holiness, Wesleyan and Apostolic Faith charismatics like John Alexander Dowie of the Zion City, Illinois Utopia, Charles Parham of the Topeka Revival and William Seymour of the Azusa Street Revival. Lake served as an important intermediary between Parham's often reactionary, white orientation that was unreceptive to an enthusiastic black liturgy and Seymour's expansive African-American egalitarianism expressed through exuberant spirit manifestations.

Lake's South African ministry was shaped by his middle class white business background, Azusa Street message and American perspectives. He brought together the faith healing movement inspired by Dutch Reformed minister Andrew Murray, P. le Roux's black and white Zion charismatic adherents affiliated with Dowie and the new U.S. Pentecostalism of Parham and Seymour. Lake's African-American influenced Pentecostalism was compatible with indigenous African worship. His emphasis on the spiritual needs of the disempowered found a receptive audience in talented black evangelists Elias Letwaba and Edward Lion.

Even though acquainted with Mohandas Gandhi, Lake did not undertake a South African social gospel-type civil protest against societal injustice. In fact,

Lake's participation with Afrikaner politicians like Louis Botha in fashioning a segregationist land use law was most troubling. Lake was ambivalent about racial integration. His belief in an egalitarian status for all Christians, his Populist/Progressive ethics and his enthusiastic promotion of women's rights were complicated by his advocacy, or at least tolerance, of some disparate racial treatment in his Apostolic Faith Mission and South African society at large. Lake's paternalism and notion of Western cultural superiority conflicted with his love of all persons. Lake's otherworldly prioritization of individual spiritualism over a socioeconomic agenda usually stymied activism. His uncharacteristic use of non-violent protest to protect faith healing formed a remarkable contrast with his reluctance to actively campaign against unequal racial treatment in Africa and America.

Historiographical perspectives on Lake range from the saintly pioneer charismatic missionary to the Elmer Gantry type charlatan acting only for personal benefit. Lake was a unique personality with his flamboyant rhetoric, strong convictions and feelings of personal worth. His distinctive Jesus as healing and suffering God theology evidenced both consistency with precedent as well as creative anticipation. Shortcomings resulting from his preference to address social concerns on an individual spiritual rather than societal level, his liberties with truth and his bad business judgments resulting in litigation. Nevertheless, Lake's life demonstrated that a gifted but imperfect instrument could accomplish a meaningful

ministry.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Writing social history, especially a study of a religious topic, can be problematic and filled with pitfalls. The writer's preconceptions, express and implicit, inevitably show through. History cannot be studied in a vacuum, no matter how conscientious the academic. Even if overt orientations are disclosed and addressed, unidentified subconscious inclinations may skew writings. Nevertheless, historians can strive to show integrity when using historical evidence. Even the skilled historian's best efforts cannot reveal history as it actually occurred. To some extent all history is "modern" in that the past is viewed in the context of the present. However, a disclaimer can identify for the reader the writer's orientation.

A number of analytical approaches are readily available to the historian. Liberal historiography often interprets South African and American history in the context of race. Radical schools emphasize class. Both approaches, especially the Marxist view, look to an economic consideration of people's motives. Liberals often speak in terms of social empowerment. Conservatives frequently emphasize consensus over conflict, looking at common, unifying trends or conditions, such as commitment to traditions or the rule of law. A historian with a Christian perspective may utilize an Augustinian philosophy, seeing God, through providence, working His will toward some divinely predetermined end.

For a study of a white Pentecostal middle-class American missionary working in South Africa, adoption of one perspective to the total exclusion of other

approaches would create a very disparate, distorted picture. A Marxist might see the missionary as primarily motivated by a desire to promote capitalism, and perceive persons responding to such ministry as acting for material benefit. A liberal perspective might envision the white missionary as seeking to impose dominion over marginalized indigenous people through claims of racial superiority and imperialism. A conservative may stress continuity with, and commitment to, institutional precedent and practice such as ecclesiastical structure and Protestant evangelism. A Christian may see the missionary solely as God's agent effectuating a divine will, with the believer willingly sacrificing social and economic self-interests.

A thoughtful historian will utilize a range of historiographical approaches, fully considering various worldviews, past and present, as deserving of academic scrutiny. Nevertheless, the historian can never achieve a completely accurate, totally unbiased interpretation of his or her subject. A full disclosure of the writer's orientation is therefore essential to inform the reader about express or implicit bias resulting from utilization of any specific methodology.

I am a white male working as a U.S. local government attorney. Given that the dissertation examines the life of a Pentecostal American missionary, a discussion of my religion is pertinent, even though the history is a secular, non-devotional work. While not a charismatic, I am a Christian raised as a formal "high church" theologically liberal Methodist. I see Pentecostalism as essentially no different from other Protestant denominations, except for the emphasis on a believer's baptism in the Holy Spirit demonstrated through speaking in tongues and other contemporary charismatic gifts. I do accept the Augustinian providential view

of history. However, unlike Pentecostal historians, I do not see the twentieth century charismatic outpourings as the "latter rain," exemplifying any exclusive, ultimate manifestation of God's final apocalyptic unfolding of history. Rather than the consummation of all history, the Corinthian spirit gifts witnessed at Azusa Street are one of God's many manifestations through the ages, like the scriptural events, early church councils, the Reformation and Post-Reformation, and piety and holiness movements, to name a few of God's inspirations to Christians. I feel God has and will continue to make history by calling forth fallible persons of every faith responsive to the divine will.

Church history, particularly that of South Africa, is in a state of flux. The discipline has often been isolated from the social sciences and secular history. Traditionally, the historiography of Christianity has been the realm of the theologian or the work of laity writing inspirational literature or studies of local church history for a non-academic audience. Until the opening of a department of divinity by Rhodes University in 1947, the field was dominated by theological education offered by Afrikaner universities. Church history has accordingly often manifested an ecclesiocentric, Afrikaner and Dutch Reformed character. However, in recent years increased consideration has been afforded missionary history, various churches' responses to apartheid, and the African independent churches.¹ Religious historiography has now commenced to address the role of organized religion in sustaining white supremacy, while acknowledging that Christianity both challenged and supported such racial domination. The interplay between imported Christianity and African traditional culture is now more likely to be viewed as a complex

continuum rather than a dichotomy. Historians, no longer mere apologists for the missionary movement, are evaluating how missionaries who sought to replace African culture with European 'civilization" nevertheless transmitted an empowering religion that blacks adapted to their own spiritual, economic and political needs.²

Writing Christian history, especially charismatic studies, presents unique challenges. The historian must not be polemical, culturally restricted, ethnically and gender bound, or narrowly based geographically. Consideration must be given to the type of individuals that constituted the charismatic movement, the factors impacting the world view, and the elements of the religion that made it attractive to its adherents. The writer should specifically address how marginalized people used religion to address segregation, political limitations and urbanization.³

The historian of Pentecostalism faces several difficulties particular to the field of inquiry. University libraries generally have only random holdings hampering in-depth study. Due to the aggressive evangelism characterizing Pentecostalism, many traditional churches have until recently been disinclined to promote study of the charismatic movement.⁴ A sparsity of references to the movement in outside sources is attributable to the small membership and sectarian status of early Pentecostalism. Such dearth of external references has necessitated greater dependence upon internal sources. Critical analysis is thus essential in evaluating narrowly focused, partisan sources.⁵

The historian studying the charismatic movement may select one or more methodologies. The "realgeschichtliche" analysis emphasizes the interface of spiritual, material and historical conditions. Pentecostalism is viewed in terms of

continuity with and divergence from the religious and cultural precedents presented by black spirituality, Wesleyanism and American Holiness. Pentecostalism is further considered as a social movement within the larger society, impacted by forces of change that are variable in both degree and intensity. The "ideengeschichtliche" approach seeks to integrate theoretical and historical perspectives. This method focuses on the history of theological ideas, particularly spirit baptism and the role of speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Pentecostal endowment.⁶

Having chosen biography to study Pentecostalism, I acknowledge that biography is now a relatively neglected genre of history. Many biographies today are non-academic undertakings that manifest fluff without substance. Some commentators have even labeled biography mere 'quasi-history.' Previously the most dominant historical writing, Thomas Carlyle unabashedly asserted that history was essentially innumerable biographies. Biography does permit the historian and the reader to consider the singularity of the individual as well as the complexity of the society in which the subject lived. Comprehensive interdisciplinary biography is psychological, addressing the complexity of human motivation, and sociological, analyzing cultural practices of the era. Good biographical history must evidence clarity of style, thorough factual presentation and critical analysis and commentary. Skillful biography contributes to the history of ideas through insights into the subject's character and his or her relationship to events.⁷

Biography does pose distinct problems for the historian. Pitfalls include bonding with the human subject and thereby compromise objectivity through lack of detachment, displaying unduly emotional attitudes, utilizing only a narrative format

more often associated with fictive discourse than history, and imposing an artificial structure so as to arrange the subject's life into a rational progression. The historian must not select only sources that support an intuition about character or situation, without also addressing compelling evidence for contrary interpretations. The biographer must zealously strive to fully evaluate any myths associated with his subject, avoiding hagiography and fictionalization. Care must be taken to provide a proper sense of locale to appropriately situate the subject in time and place.⁸

In this dissertation, John Graham Lake is neither venerated as a Pentecostal saint, nor vilified as an Elmer Gantry charlatan. Rather, he is considered as an imperfect believer inspired by God, leading others to a deeper religious conviction. I feel compelled to distinguish between uncritical memory and historical perspectives on the past. While memory may reflect prior events and persons with sentimental fondness, history requires an impartial, hard hitting scrutiny and strenuous questioning, no matter how unpleasant. Arguably, an examination of all aspects of Lake's behavior and personality, not shrinking from considerations of a negative nature, will reveal a flesh and blood man. The historiographical questioning of hypothesis and probing of primary sources are not intended to denigrate the biographical subject. Rather the motivations, aspirations, and commitments of such a gifted but imperfect Christian may well be more inspirational than any superficial whitewashed portrait purporting to describe a virtually perfect person. Far from disillusioning the believer, this dissertation may cause the reader to further reflect on the nature of faith and religious commitment.

I have not undertaken to ascertain the validity of the various Pentecostal gifts

discussed by Lake, and have had no personal experience with charismatic experiences. Such judgments are perhaps beyond the scope of the historian. In any event, faith healing and other miracles are primarily a matter of belief and conviction. It is enough for the historian to determine whether a subject genuinely held certain convictions, and whether others of that era were led to a greater religious faith through their beliefs. Theologians may critique this history as reductionist, considering only the human dimension of Lake's work to the exclusion of divine dimensions. On the other hand, secular historians may maintain the dissertation manifests an unduly theistic orientation.

John Graham Lake (1870-1935) was an important figure in both the U.S. and South Africa. Influenced by William Joseph Seymour's Azusa Street Pentecostal message and Dutch Reformed Minister Andrew Murray's charismatic writings, Lake's 1908-1913 visit to South Africa and founding of the Apostolic Faith Mission had profound ecclesiastical and political consequences. His ministry constituted a significant link connecting John Dowie's Zionism with Seymour's Pentecostalism in America and Africa and merits further study, as does his impact on indigenous African charismatic churches. Lake also served as a transitional figure between the egalitarianism of Seymour, for whom the Holy Spirit's gift of racial equality was deemed the ultimate Pentecostal endowment, and the white supremacy of Charles Parham, for whom tongues alone were considered primary evidence of spirit baptism. Lake's continued involvement with both Seymour and Parham throughout his life needs to be explored, especially since Parham and most white ministers declined to associate with Seymour by 1913. In the political context, Lake's puzzling

involvement in formulating the Natives Land Act of 1913 has not been sufficiently studied. Such an issue is especially compelling, given the history of segregation in the U.S. and South Africa.

This study aims to fill some historiographical gaps. Much of the existing scholarly literature has been published in missiological or theological journals, primarily seeking to guide Christian action rather than gain a better understanding of the past. Limited use is made of primary sources in such religious writings. Moreover, no writer has undertaken a Lake biography making extensive use of both American and South African sources. Several substantive issues require amplification. This study explores the historiographical debate whether racism in Pentecostalism was essentially historical and contemporaneous with the movement's turn of the century American emergence, or instead a gradual accommodation to political and social pressures in South African and U.S. society. Similarly, the role of white American charismatic missionaries and their South African black brethren in proselytizing South Africans has not yet been fully considered. While some studies have evaluated the role of non-charismatic missionaries in both sustaining colonialism, white supremacy, and capitalism on the one hand, and promoting indigenous autonomy on the other, no one has considered Lake's Pentecostalism in this regard. Finally, ecclesiastical historiography tends to be structured into separate histories of isolated denominations or groups of denominations, without sufficiently emphasizing mutual influences, especially international factors. This undertaking addresses such deficiencies by analyzing how Lake's Pentecostalism exhibited charismatic diversity, integrating Wesleyan

Methodism, U.S. Holiness Association doctrines as interpreted by John Alexander Dowie, Azusa Street African-American spirituality, and South African Zionist elements.

The following questions and issues are addressed in this dissertation. Was Lake influenced by U.S. Midwest Populism? Even though he was friends with such industrialists and financiers as Jim Hill, Edward Harriman, and Thomas Fortune Ryan, and was once purportedly a millionaire himself with a seat on the Chicago Board of Trade and president of an insurance company, he nevertheless wrote a personal ethics statement fully consistent with Populist and Progressive ideology. To what extent was Lake, through Seymour's Azusa Street mission, influenced by African-American charismatic worship? What was Lake's role as a transitional figure bridging the pre-1906 South African Zion movement with American Pentecostalism. Despite Lake's public denunciation of racism while in South Africa, why did he eventually defer to South African whites, especially Afrikaners, and permit some segregation in the Apostolic Faith Mission? Why did he allow the initial egalitarianism of Pentecostalism, in which the color barrier was "washed away by His blood," to be abandoned merely to make the religion more consistent with prevalent American and South African racism? Why did Lake work with Louis Botha and help formulate the Natives Land Act of 1913? The history of the nineteenth century U.S. Native American reservation system and Lake's efforts to apply such an approach in Africa, but in a more benign manner than the American experience, must be discussed. Lake's views on racial equality, in both the context of the church and society at large, should be contemplated. Of special significance is why Lake

was not more assertive in promoting a social gospel or activist ministry directed toward reforming racist institutions. Lake's attitudes toward the interfacing of Christianity and western style "civilization" will be analyzed. Did he attempt to modernize indigenous Africans in the process of religious conversion? Lake's South African friendship with M. K. Gandhi is studied. How did Lake later use Gandhi's nonviolent resistance in combating public health laws that Pentecostals felt intruded upon religious liberty? Furthermore, why did Lake not feel compelled to utilize such passive resistance in confronting institutional racism in both South Africa and the U.S.? Was Lake like Sinclair Lewis's Elmer Gantry, manipulating his congregation to fraudulently obtain funds for his personal benefit, and thus behaving in a manner inconsistent with a pastor's ethical standards? Charges of financial impropriety relating to both his South African and U.S. ministries are scrutinized. Lake's associations with other Pentecostal leaders are considered. In what ways was he a transitional figure maintaining working friendships with the disparate religious orientations of Seymour and Parham? What motivated Lake to maintain an ongoing relationship with Seymour long after other white religious leaders distanced themselves from the black origins of twentieth century Pentecostalism? Lake's ongoing funding by and association with black Pentecostals is evaluated. Research is undertaken into the influence exerted on Lake by American Pentecostals like F. Bosworth, Tom Hezmalhalch, Annie Semple McPherson and Marie Woodworth-Etter and South African religious leaders such as Edward Lion, Elias Letwaba, Andrew Murray and Pieter L. le Roux. Why did Lake not join with other white ministers and affiliate with the Assemblies of God? Also, after maintaining an

independent status for most of his life, why did he then join the white Pentecostal Church of God in a leadership capacity immediately before his death?

The dissertation entails original research using written primary materials supplemented with oral history sources. Secondary sources are critically analyzed and compared. Lake is considered not only as a promoter of a new religious movement, but also evaluated in light of his consistency with and loyalty to pre-Pentecostal doctrines. An examination of images and representations in Lake's Pentecostalism is conducted through a detailed analysis of his discourses. The rhetorical Lake is also considered through a scrutiny of his sermons, healing demonstrations and liturgy.

No one has yet undertaken a comprehensive academic study of Lake's life. A handful of books pertaining to Lake's ministry have been produced – mainly inspirational literature or devotionals written in a non-scholarly format. These works, by Kenneth Copeland, Roberts Liardon, Gordon Lindsay and Wilford Reidt, are primarily compilations of Lake's sermons, diaries or correspondence. They contain little critical analysis or history.

Some historians and missiologists have addressed certain aspects of Lake's ministry in South Africa. Among others, Allan Anderson, I. Burger, A. Butler, C. R. De Wet, J. Horn, J. Lapoorta, D. Maxwell and B. Sundkler, have all referred to Lake in scholarly articles. The perspectives offered vary from saint to sinner, depicting Lake as egalitarian reformer, as devoted minister oriented more toward spiritual life than social reform, as racist paternalist allowing Seymour's vision of a color blind church to be distorted by pragmatic compromise. The diverse writings can be

analyzed considering several major themes, such as his ethics, ministry and racial attitudes. Lake's flamboyant personality, his involvement in controversy, his innovative and unconventional preaching and healing gave rise to disparate views of this provocative charismatic minister. He caught the attention of contemporary journalists, fellow clergy in both mainline and charismatic denominations and government officials. Later commentators have considered him primarily from a religious orientation, usually as a worthy mentor. However, Lake's often ambiguous stance on race relations and segregation, both in his church and in wider society, has received scrutiny.

Writings embracing Lake in light of his ethics fall into a dichotomy. He has been seen as a lying, egotistical scoundrel. Sundkler endorsed many such criticisms. On the other hand, a majority of charismatic commentators envisioned him a saintly, self-sacrificing servant of God and man, a veritable modern day apostle. I. Burger, William Burton, Kenneth Copeland, Cathy Crumpton, D. Du Plessis, Robert Lairdon and Ward Tannenbergs were representative of such a position. A middle perspective of Lake as a flawed but dedicated believer has not been fully explored in existing literature.

Bengt Sundkler, a scholar of African charismatic religion, saw Lake as a quarrelsome, egotistical, grandstanding preacher. Initially a member of John Alexander Dowie's faith healing community, Lake became disenchanted and moved on to other fields, most notably South Africa.⁹ In Africa Lake primarily sought self-promotion. He concentrated on ministry to whites because of the greater prestige associated with such work. Black ministry received little of Lake's attention and was

delegated to le Roux.¹⁰ Lake's domineering manner soon alienated important charismatics like preaching partner Hezmalhalch. Such internal dissent in the Apostolic Faith Mission directly resulted from Lake's totalitarianism. Lake's jargon, grandiloquent assertions and domineering intimidation raised serious questions about personal integrity.¹¹

Isak Burger, former Apostolic Faith Mission president, pictured Lake as a spirit-inspired minister endowed with a genuine gift of healing. His break with Hezmalhalch was not a result of intolerance or overbearing on Lake's part, although Lake possessed a forceful personality and was somewhat individualistic.¹² He was a born leader, a dynamic, rugged preacher who spoke openly, forcefully and unreservedly.¹³ His integrity was beyond reproach. His ministry was characterized by self-sacrifice, even at the cost of personal and familial well being and economic security.¹⁴

William Burton, a charismatic missionary contemporary with Lake, saw the American as a strong, forceful person. Lake's "rough and ready" dramatic preaching motivated and inspired congregants.¹⁵ His "big heartedness" and personal sacrifice often transcended prudence, to the detriment of himself and his wife.¹⁶ Lake was an unbounded idealist, attributing to others the wholesome morality that characterized his ministry.¹⁷

Cathy Crumpton, a charismatic minister, pictured Lake as a great evangelist in the tradition of the biblical apostles - a humble, self-effacing missionary who afforded all credit to others. His nature was loving and unadorned, and he totally committed himself to helping others, no matter the cost.¹⁸

Roberts Lairdon, a contemporary Pentecostal preacher, portrayed Lake as inspired by God and a role model for all Christians.¹⁹ Lake learned from experience to become an inspired evangelist. Unlike his divine healing mentors Alexander Dowie, Charles Parham and William Seymour, Lake was said never to have been the subject of moral controversy, financial scandal or religious schism.²⁰ He exhibited only two failings. He underwent excessive personal sacrifice that affected family relations. He also drove himself unduly through extremes of physical and psychological endurance.²¹

Gordon Lindsay, a Pentecostal minister who studied under Lake, and Wilford H. Reidt, a Pentecostal preacher and Lake's son-in-law, perceived Lake to be the very embodiment of moral purity.²² His life and ministry exemplified compassion, deep humility and moral correctness.²³ He was a strong teacher, dedicated family man, tireless minister and an engaging, humorous speaker.²⁴ Although he commenced his ministry as a very "undeveloped" individual suffering from a sense of unfitness and unworthiness, he soon evidenced a divine anointing.²⁵ Lake's life represented an incremental, progressive submission to and understanding of God's will. He ultimately achieved a ministry in many respects the rival of that of early church apostles.²⁶

The historiography of Lake as minister offers divergent perspectives, either seeing him as acting consistently with and loyal to his early religious experiences, or blazing new trails in charismatic worship. Sundkler saw Lake as a renegade Methodist-Holiness extremist and Dowie cultist. A. J. Van Staden envisioned Lake as a dedicated but uninnovative charismatic. Lairdon, Lindsay, Reidt, Synan and

Tannenbergs viewed Lake as an innovative charismatic advancing a "latter rain" of Holy Spirit blessing under the Pentecostal banner. A balanced perspective by Allan Anderson, Jan Louis Langeman and David Maxwell pictured Lake as synthesizing Methodist, Holiness and Apostolic Faith traditions in a dynamic Pentecostalism.

Sundkler suggested Lake was an opportunist lacking true dedication to religion. Lake was the ultimate sycophant who tried to ingratiate himself to Dowie, Parham, and Seymour. He came to Africa and pirated congregants from existing charismatic fellowships. He particularly benefited from the foundational labor of the Christian Catholic Church Zionists, unfairly taking credit for the work of others like P.L. le Roux. Lake was not the equal of le Roux either in ethics or ministerial skill. Fortunately for the Apostolic Faith Mission, Lake left South Africa to pursue more promising fields of self-promotion. Le Roux was thereby afforded an opportunity to exercise administrative aptitudes free of control by Lake.²⁷

Van Staden saw Lake as a well meaning, conventional charismatic who brought no new doctrines or liturgy to South Africa. Lake merely capitalized on and consolidated the previous work of Andrew Murray and other Afrikaner charismatics. Van Staden portrayed Lake as a Western missionary coming to Johannesburg with naïve notions about "dark" Africa. As an American unfamiliar with indigenous conditions, he lacked a broad vision that might have more readily facilitated establishment of an autonomous charismatic church. Accordingly, he only established the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa following his rejection by mainline denominations.²⁸

Lairdon's Lake was a pious charismatic seeking to restore the spiritual power

and practices of the early church. He was the inspired preacher willing to confront ecclesiastical bureaucracy and secular opposition. It was not Lake who was unfaithful to John Wesley's call for personal piety (sanctification); rather, the Methodist church had abandoned its founder's message. Lake took the theology of Dowie, Parham and Seymour and fashioned a practical ministry that avoided the failures of his mentors. Unlike Dowie, Lake was not diverted from the evangelical calling by a mad compulsion to fashion ecclesiastical hierarchy. Unlike Parham, Lake's stable personality and frank, fair manner helped him avoid the schism and dissent that plagued Parham and Seymour. As a theologian, Lake adeptly blended Dowie's faith healing, Parham's unknown tongue emphasis and Seymour's emotional worship.²⁹

Lindsay claimed that Lake's mission was as powerful as those of the early church. With a divine calling he preached in South Africa without denominational support. His charismatic work was characterized by profound spirit gifts such as healing, tongues, discernment, prophecy and exorcism. He empowered the downtrodden, administering to those handicapped, infirm and stigmatized people despised and repudiated by society. He also addressed the spiritual needs of the working class. Never a dogmatic theologian, he explored opportunities for interdenominational cooperation. Although his ecumenical endeavors were largely rejected, he vigorously campaigned to secure acceptance of charismatics by mainline denominations.³⁰

Reidt asserted that the Holy Ghost purified Lake for Pentecostal ministry as the recipient of many charismatic powers. When commencing the ministry he lacked

perfect self-understanding, but God anointed him with gifts few have ever received.³¹ He adopted a biblical literalism that characterized his driving, forceful sermons. Lake was adept at using all tools at hand to disseminate his message, making especially effective use of modern technology.³² He was also a skilful manager of ministerial resources, preferring to apply money toward missions rather than for church construction.³³ Lake's only weakness as a preacher was his evangelical zealotry that precluded him from fully anticipating the demands of his work on himself and family.³⁴

Synan maintained that African Pentecostalism owed its origins to John Graham Lake and arose out of the Wesleyan Holiness tradition. Lake succeeded in founding two large and influential Pentecostal churches in southern Africa. The white branch, formed in 1910, took the name "Apostolic Faith Mission," borrowed from the famous Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles. The black branch eventually developed into the Zion Christian Church, the largest Christian group in South Africa, centered around Pietersburg. Lake's work was the most influential and enduring of all the South African Pentecostal endeavors. Synan cited Cecil Rhodes and Mahatma Gandhi as having endorsed Lake's ministry. According to Rhodes, "His (Lake's) message has swept Africa. He has done more toward South Africa's future peace than any other man." Gandhi purportedly stated, "Dr. Lake's teachings will eventually be accepted by the entire world."³⁵

Tannenbergh saw Lake as a talented preacher willing to completely rely on God. Lake was a versatile individual excelling at both entrepreneurial endeavors as well as the ministry. His mission to South Africa evidenced an ultimate faith in

providence. Although the work was immensely successful, Lake faced personal adversity.³⁶ His ministry showed both strengths and weaknesses. He failed to properly anticipate the demands imposed on his family by foreign missionary work. Such burdens may have contributed to his wife's untimely death. Remorse over her demise, together with responsibilities dictated by his large young family, caused Lake to end his mission and return to the U.S. to seek relief from overwork. On the positive side, his evangelism was strengthened by his vigorous efforts to take the ministry to the working public, using all available current technology, including automobiles used for home visits. Furthermore, rather than expending money for church buildings and "sepulchers for the dead," he used funds for evangelism. No fees were ever charged and all work was supported only by love offerings.³⁷

Anderson saw Lake as a transitional figure bridging the theology of Seymour and Parham. Lake's South African mission used the emotional worship that Seymour developed from U.S. slave religion and Holiness influences.³⁸ To such charismatic expression Lake meshed the Parham concept of unknown tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism. The Lake synthesis was especially compatible with African traditional worship. Benefiting from Seymour's mentoring, he comprehended the African worldview more thoroughly than many Western missionaries.³⁹ He understood the need to address the spiritual concerns of the poor and politically disempowered. The charismatic gifts he taught were attuned to indigenous African practices of divine healing, exorcism, revelation and tongues.⁴⁰ Working with Christian Catholic Church Zionists like le Roux, he interfaced well with preexisting South African charismatic congregants, black and white.⁴¹

Langerman's Lake was a gifted pioneer of the South African Pentecostal movement. Lake traveled widely, boldly preaching. Such an evangelist cannot be made or trained by theological study, but instead must be called by God. His mission was facilitated by the preparatory undertakings of charismatic South Africans like Andrew Murray who addressed the power of the Holy Spirit, especially in the context of faith-healing. Initially Lake had no intention of founding a new South African denomination and he made no effort to clearly define an organizational structure. He first concentrated on the ministerial aspects of his work, with bureaucracy subordinated to evangelism.⁴² Even after creating his own church, Lake sought to minimize bureaucracy and clergy/laity distinctions. He worked completely through unsolicited faith donations, without salary. Lake readily embraced personal sacrifice and encouraged other believers to do likewise. His pastoral role was comparable to that of early Wesleyan self-supporting preachers.⁴³

Maxwell stated that Lake's South African mission preserved continuity with Dowie's Zionism while advancing Pentecostal innovation. Lake's work in Africa paralleled Seymour's Azusa Street, with charismatic manifestations like tongues, interpretation, holy laughter, divine shaking, trances, prophecy, healing and exorcisms.⁴⁴ He focused his evangelism among the lower working-class, unemployed, infirm and those inclined to abusive and addictive behavior.⁴⁵ In South Africa Lake's Pentecostalism was non-denominational, seeking interaction with the Dutch Reformed Church, Anglicans, Methodists and other mainline denominations. He built upon his Methodist and Holiness background and capitalized on the prior work of Zionists, Wesleyans and charismatic Afrikaners like Andrew Murray.⁴⁶

Writing on Lake presents quite divergent perspectives on his politics and racial orientation. Anthea Butler and Japie Laporta pictured him as a hypocritical, even Machiavellian, segregationist who actively worked for the disparate treatment of blacks in both church and secular contexts. On the other hand, Burger was representative of those seeing him as empowering blacks through an affirming spirituality and personal piety, despite the apolitical orientation. A balanced, median view was offered by Christian De Wet, Nico Horn and David Maxwell, portraying him as spokesman for the socially underprivileged, yet acknowledging his failure to fully advance egalitarianism.

Butler's Lake was unable to transcend South African racism.⁴⁷ Unfortunately influenced by Parham's Anglo-Israelism white supremacy, Lake was representative of those missionaries who transported overseas America's poor race relations.⁴⁸ Although not motivated by racial hatred, he bowed to social convention rather than protest. While kind to black congregants and supportive of Elias Letwaba's evangelist aspirations, Lake was a paternalist, unable to completely epitomize Christian fellowship. Rather than being apolitical, he affirmatively worked with Afrikaners in fashioning segregation.⁴⁹

Laporta acknowledged that Lake publicly supported equal black participation in some church contexts. Nevertheless, Lake was a founder of South African segregation.⁵⁰ He was only a nominal friend of blacks, working behind closed doors to promote segregation through the Natives Land Act of 1913. His behavior was characteristic of a racist mentality. He abandoned Seymour's egalitarianism and hypocritically embraced baptisms in the Apostolic Faith Mission

separated according to race.⁵¹

Burger commended Lake for founding a multiracial South African mission. Segregation was gradually implemented after the initial egalitarianism. Nevertheless, Lake always allowed blacks to be water baptized at white services, but not at the same time the sacrament was performed for whites. He took a strong principled stand against racial animosity. He devoted his utmost energies to evangelism, and taught against Afrikaner prejudice.⁵²

De Wet saw Lake as a proponent of segregation, working with Louis Botha and Jan Smuts to fashion a black reserve system. Lake also allowed disparate treatment of non-whites in the Apostolic Faith Mission. Whether such segregation was the result of Lake's racist agenda or pragmatic evangelism was uncertain. In any event, Lake strongly denounced racial hatred and respected black ministers like Letwaba. He was typical of his contemporary clergy and even most liberals who advocated segregation. Despite his deplorable endorsement of disparate racial treatment, he could never have foreseen the rise of rigid apartheid.⁵³

Horn pictured Lake as a paternalist, supporting political but not church segregation. Lake was not a racist. His American democratic origin and Pentecostal egalitarianism encouraged successors like le Roux to oppose ideological apartheid, racial hatred and excessive Afrikaner nationalism. He accepted his black brethren and defended them against racists. He felt God would transform prejudice to love. Moreover, he never conducted segregated worship services. He did authorize separate baptisms based on race, probably as a concession to Afrikaner pressure rather than his own ideological conviction. He did propose segregated land use, but

not systematic apartheid as was ultimately implemented in South Africa.⁵⁴

Maxwell portrayed Lake as an egalitarian, racially inclusive leader. Lake took Seymour's Azusa Street spiritual empowerment to Africa.⁵⁵ The multiracial character of Lake's Apostolic Faith Mission appealed to blacks and other marginalized persons. He worked to combat prejudice among Afrikaners and other whites resident in South Africa.⁵⁶ Like Seymour, he felt that inclusive love was one of the greatest gifts of the spirit. Lake placed great emphasis on racial harmony. To help make blacks comfortable in his church, he tried to foster interdenominational cooperation, to minimize central bureaucracy and to avoid undue restrictions on traditional indigenous African Christian practices. He acknowledged the spiritual endowment of blacks, whom he deemed brothers and sisters in Christ.⁵⁷ Although the Apostolic Faith Mission did ultimately segregate services, while Lake remained president blacks could attend any facility or service. Increased formal segregation and concerns with alleged non-Christian practices in black worship were the product of the post-Lake church. When Lake departed for America the relationship between black Zion adherents and white Apostolic Faith Mission members deteriorated. Without his benign egalitarian influence, the church hierarchy sought accommodation with the Afrikaner government. The black origins of the movement in Azusa Street and Zulu Doornfontein, which Lake readily acknowledged, were not recognized by his successors.⁵⁸

This historiography is studied within the context of Lake's life. In much South African church historiography, people who come from other places often appear on the scene without adequate contextual development, and where they have come

from and where they have gone to when they leave is completely ignored. Accordingly, this study of Lake's entire life addresses continuity issues, considering American Holiness Association, Methodist, Zionist and Pentecostal influences.

This dissertation is based on a number of primary sources. The Assemblies of God Archives in Springfield, Missouri, the Pentecostal Archives and Research Center in Oklahoma City, the Spokane Public Library Local History Collection, the Oregon Historical Society at the Oregon History Center, and the Apostolic Faith Mission Archives in Lyndhurst, Johannesburg, have been especially useful resources. Religious and secular periodicals found in these archives, along with some significant letters, have been invaluable. Correspondence between Lake, Seymour and Parham has not been discussed in existing works on these three pivotal leaders. Secular U.S. newspapers and public records, recounting criminal charges against Lake for stock speculation, financial fraud, and failure to comply with public health regulations – sources which have been ignored to date - are critically examined. Little, if any, attention has previously been afforded Pentecostal periodicals such as The Apostolic Faith (Houston, Texas), The Bridegroom's Messenger (Atlanta, Georgia), The Comforter and Messenger of Hope (Johannesburg), Confidence (Sunderland, England), Household of God, Leaves of Healing (Zion, Illinois), The Pentecost (Indianapolis and Kansas City, Mo), The Pentecostal Messenger (Kansas City, Mo), The Promise (Toronto, Canada), The Standard Bearer (Durban), and The Upper Room (Los Angeles).

Using compilations of sermons, supplemented by materials from U.S. and South African archives and internet accessible resources, this work examines

Lake's writings. Oral history sources, especially pertinent to Lake's later U.S. work, including interviews with family members and his youth and song minister, are utilized.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE, INTRODUCTION

1 Issues in religious historiography are addressed in N. Southey, "History, Church and Historical Theology in South Africa," in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, no. 68, September 1989, pp. 5-16; R. Elphick, "Writing Religion into History: The Case of Southern African History," in H. Bredekamp and R. Ross (eds.), Missions and Christianity in South African History (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1995), pp. 11-21; R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997). See P. Denis, "From Church History to Religious History," in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, Vol. 23, no. 99, November 1997, p. 85, discussing church history as a discipline in South African universities.

2 N. Etherington, "Recent Trends in the History of Christianity in Southern Africa," in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, Vol. 22, no. 2, June 1996, p. 209. See also David Maxwell, "New Perspectives on the History of African Christianity," in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, Vol. 23, no. 1, March 1997.

3 Denis, "From Church History," p. 90.

4 Walter J. Hollenweger, "Priorities in Pentecostal Research: Historiography, Missiology, Hermeneutics and Pneumatology," in J. Jongeneel (ed.), Experiences of the Spirit (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

5 Brett Knowles, "New Life Churches," an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Otago, 1994, pp. 1-4.

6 Hollenweger, "Priorities," pp. 8-11.

7 Issues in biographical history are addressed in P. Honan, "Some Problems in Biography," in Victorian Studies, no. 16, June 1973, pp. 453-461 and D. Beales, History and Biography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

8 Honan, "Some Problems," pp. 457-461.

9 Bengt Sundkler, Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 51-54. Dr. Sundkler, a renown authority on South African Zionism, showed little interest in Pentecostalism. He clearly minimized the impact of Pentecostalism on the Zion movement, not even referencing Lake or American Pentecostalism in his earlier work. See Bengt Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1948). John Dowie, rather than Lake, was seen as the paramount foreign influence on South African charismatics. However, Lake's Pentecostal ministry, with its incorporation of the Azusa Street American slave worship and Holiness traditions, arguably more fully than Dowie embodied the enthusiastic liturgy most consistent with expressions on indigenous African worship. A more balanced discussion of the role of Pentecostalism in the development of South African charismatic worship is found in Allan Anderson and Gerald Pillay, "The Segregated Spirit: The Pentecostals," in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Perplexingly, Sundkler expressed a profound dislike for Lake, not manifested in his discussion of other religious leaders, perhaps feeling the American

missionary was unduly egotistical. The critical characterizations appeared more as personal attacks than a scholarly marshaling of facts. Sundkler seemingly had not undertaken any study of Lake's U.S. career. Specifically, the work would have benefited from a reading of Lake's diary and personal correspondence not written for publication, that presented a fragile, introspective, struggling Lake not readily glimpsed in his public communications. Such a background would have afforded Sundkler a reference point for distinguishing the private Lake from the Lake employing showmanship evangelism. Sundkler's work does evidence other specific errors and omissions. The statement that Lake became disenchanted with Dowie and did not mention him after 1907 was inaccurate. Although Lake felt Dowie's ministry lacked the essential emphasis on the Pentecostal gift of tongues, and even though he increasingly disassociated himself as Dowie's insanity progressed, Lake frequently and continually spoke admiringly of Dowie's faith healing work long after their association terminated. In fact, Lake felt he could not honor his mentor enough. Lake stated Dowie "acted in Jesus' stead" in curing the afflicted. See Kenneth Copeland, John G. Lake: His Life, His Sermons, His Boldness of Faith (Forth Worth: Kenneth Copeland Publishers, 1994), p. 200. Lake credited Dowie as his source for a healing ministry, an inspired evangelist Lake "loved with all his soul." See Roberts Lairdon, John G. Lake-The Complete Collection of His Life Teachings (Tulsa: Albury Publishing, 1996), p. 168. Lake even made pilgrimages to Dowie's grave, praying that God would endue him with the same measure of Spirit Dowie had received in his "wonderful life." Ibid. Only a few months prior to Lake's death, he praised Dowie's work. See Copeland, John G. Lake, p. 512. To state that Lake arrived in South Africa with two colleagues, Hezmalhalch and Lehman, was misleading. Lake's party also included Hezmalhalch's wife, Lake's wife and seven children and a female evangelist, Ida Sackett. Furthermore, Jacob O. Lehman was incorrectly identified as "A. Lehman" and also as "Lehmann". See Sundkler, Zulu, pp. 52 and 54. No evidence established Sundkler's contention that Lake either supported or desired to impose the "Jim Crow" laws of the American South on South Africans. Lake was a segregationist only to the extent he advocated a voluntary reservation system as a means of preventing predatory whites from seizing black lands and as a method of preserving black cultural integrity. As a member of the executive council and vice president, Lake did allow Apostolic Faith Mission baptisms to be segregated. Lake also evidenced an unduly paternalistic attitude toward South African blacks living a traditional tribal lifestyle, feeling they were not as politically astute and Westernized as American blacks. Nevertheless, despite such deplorable attitudes of superiority, Lake showed no racial hatred. While Lake might be faulted for failing to pursue an activist social gospel based ministry affirmatively seeking integration, he was not a political segregationist or dogmatic racist. It was also erroneous to suggest that Lake left South Africa in 1913 due to internal struggles in the Apostolic Faith Mission. By that time the dissension of 1910 had been fully addressed in Lake's favor and he was president of the organization with no significant opposition within the ranks. A desire to return to the U.S., coupled with rigorous demands on his personal health presented by the African situation, motivated Lake to take the leave of absence. See The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, October 1913, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 8. Sundkler

further presented a misleading interpretation of the conflict with Hezmalhalch. Hezmalhalch's break with Lake was due only in part to charges that Lake was self-aggrandizing. The allegations also asserted misappropriation of funds, failure to sufficiently support black workers and exaggeration of church successes. See The Upper Room, June 1910, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 3. Furthermore, Sundkler omitted any reference to Lake's exoneration by the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council. The statement that concerns of black congregants were considered by Lake only "minor problems" was not correct. See Sundkler, Zulu, p. 54. Sundkler's reference to Lake's rejoicing over "native" South African churches joining the Apostolic Faith Mission in itself seemingly refuted any charge that Lake gave preference to white evangelism. Lake solicited the prayers and support of "every child of God who is interested in the evangelism of South Africa, white or black, Dutch or English, Chinese or India...". See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 47. Rather than giving black ministry little weight, Lake in fact accorded the greatest efforts to working with indigenous people. See The Upper Room, June 1910, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 3. 10 Ibid., pp. 54-55. I have used Lake's customary low case spelling of the surname Le Roux. Lake was seldom consistent in his spelling, particularly as regards capitalization.

11 Ibid.

12 Isak Burger, "Historical Perspective on the Origins of the Apostolic Faith Mission," Apostolic Faith Mission internet site, <http://www.afm-ags.org>, p. 9. Dr. Burger, once president of the former white section of the Apostolic Faith Mission, wrote the historical sketch from a revisionist perspective, having benefit of the insights of the repentant church recognizing its errors in not affirmatively denouncing apartheid. Appearing before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1999, Burger stated that an accurate history of the Apostolic Faith Mission, acknowledging and renouncing its prior discrimination, was a necessary component of reconciliation. In earlier writings, prior to his denunciation of the church's racist past, Burger reflected a less precise understanding of the Apostolic Faith Mission's complicity in supporting segregation. Burger appeared to previously suggest a tolerant attitude toward those segregationist Afrikaner members of the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council who "understood the history, nature and attitudes of race relations in South Africa better than the Americans like Lake." Allan Anderson, Bazalwane: The African Pentecostals (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992), pp. 28-29. In any event, Burger's more recent pronouncements expressed a greater concern for discriminatory accountability than did his predecessor as Apostolic Faith Mission president, Francois Moller. Ibid. Burger portrayed Lake as an energetic, skilful orator, lacking enthusiasm for organization and management. Moreover, the characterization sympathetically pictured Lake as a racial egalitarian who maintained a nondiscriminatory church during his South African tenure. A more critical exploration of why Lake did not more affirmatively oppose racial discrimination in broader South African society would have promoted objectivity. Nevertheless, Burger's writing was on the whole most reliable, benefiting from his access to church archives as well as oral history sources. Although generally comprehensive and accurate, Burger's historical sketch did omit some significant

considerations. First, the charges Hezmalhalch brought against Lake were not identified. Second, Lake most probably would not have been totally surprised that established South African denominations were very negative in their reception of charismatics. The hostile U.S. experience with Azusa Street and Lake's own critical treatment in Zion City and Indianapolis would have prepared him for adversity, even if initially on his arrival in South Africa he was not fully cognizant of the prominent Dutch Reformed Church's treatment of spirit baptism and faith healing. Finally, Lake was not critiqued by Burger for not forcefully opposing the increasing segregation in the Apostolic Faith Mission.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

15 William F. Burton, When God Makes a Pastor (London: Victory Press, 1934), pp. 35 and 68. Burton wrote from a white British missionary perspective as a Lake contemporary, with the baggage of a Western cultural superiority mind set. An electrical engineer born 1886 in Liverpool, he experienced a spirit baptism in 1911 under the Anglican minister Alexander Boddy. Burton visited South Africa in 1914, a year after Lake's departure, then commenced a mission in the Belgian Congo. A "headstrong independent," Burton had been rejected as a missionary by Boddy's Pentecostal Missionary Union. See Robert Mountford's "History of Missions in the Pentecostal Movement," pt. 3, p. 3, posted 24 September 2001 on the internet at <http://www.aog.world.ministries.org.uk>. Burton's work, a devotional study on Letwaba, was quite significant as an early biography devoted to an African charismatic. Lake was given full recognition as the initiator of a tongues ministry in South Africa, but as a religious personage was considered only secondarily to Letwaba. Generally the work was an accurate, valuable source based on oral history secured by Burton when on African mission shortly after Lake's return to America. The writing was inspirational, not academic, lacking citations and bibliography. Although Burton referenced tongues as one of the manifestations of the spirit in South Africa, he appeared to minimize that gift, instead emphasizing the healing ministry and other continuities with Dowie's Zion. Burton offered no indication whether he personally accepted tongues as the initial evidence of spirit baptism. Surprisingly, Burton never referenced Pentecostalism by name or mentioned the 1906 American revival or its Parham/Seymour antecedents. His preference for faith-healing that pre-dated American Pentecostalism was further evidenced in his When God Makes a Missionary (London: Victory Press, 1936) that had no reference to Lake whatsoever, instead citing only Dowie Zionists like Edgar Mahon and Daniel Bryant. Neither Mahon nor Bryant joined the Apostolic Faith Mission or any other Pentecostal groups, remaining critical of the speaking in tongues phenomena. Such a non-receptive orientation toward tongues was apparently shared at least to some degree by Burton, particularly post-1934. Burton's writings did manifest errors and omissions. He omitted important details about Lake, perhaps understandable given the writing was a Letwaba rather than Lake biography. Thomas Hezmalhalch's charges of financial impropriety and misrepresentation leveled against Lake in 1910 were not discussed. In addressing Ethiopianism, Lake was seen as the non-pragmatic idealist, and no mention was made to his working with Louis Botha, then

Prime Minister of the Transvaal, and other Afrikaner politicians in seeking to secure white supervision of independent black Christians. Finally, Burton failed to address why early charismatic racial egalitarianism yielded to exclusivity.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 35-58.

18 Cathy Crumpton, God in Action (Port Elizabeth: Crumpton Ministries, 1993), pp. 1-16. Crumpton manifested the perspective of a white Pentecostal minister in South Africa writing during the turbulent 1990 transitional period as the nation moved toward constitutional democracy. Her motivation was to present Lake, not primarily in a historical or social context, but rather as a religious leader. Crumpton's format was devotional, not academic. Although the work showed no racial prejudice, and was in fact quite laudatory of those black missionaries influenced by Lake, Crumpton did reflect what seemed the traditional Pentecostal reticence to directly address social issues. The writing lacked reference notes and bibliography, and for the most part was a repetition of portions of Lake's narratives as edited by Gordon Lindsay and Wilford Riedt, supplemented by Cathy Hudson Crumpton's family memoirs and genealogy. Crumpton's work did contain errors and omissions. She incorrectly stated prominent Afrikaner officials joined Lake's mission. Although Lake declared that Louis Botha and the cabinet were sympathetic to the charismatic ministry, no evidence showed any affiliation of those Afrikaners with the Apostolic Faith Mission. Most Afrikaners concurred with the DRC distrust of charismatics. In fact, the wife of Prime Minister J.B.M. Hertzog was remarkable as one of the few Afrikaners of status who joined the Apostolic Faith Mission in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Media favoring the political opposition even published her membership to discredit Herzog. See Burger, "Historical Perspective", p. 34.

19 Roberts Lairdon, God's Generals (Tulsa: Albury Pub., 1996), pp. 189-190. Lairdon's perspective exemplified the practical view of a modern practising Pentecostal minister who looked to Lake as a role model worthy of emulation. Lake's evangelical work was examined for possible contemporary replication, especially Lake's Christian ethics. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 968-970. Lairdon's works were devotional, intended for inspirational rather than academic purposes. Minimal reference notes generally cited only Scripture. No effort was made to provide any historical interpretation. In Lairdon's primary work, John G. Lake-the Complete Collection of His Life Teachings, other than reproducing original Lake material, little historical data was provided beyond a few introductory paragraphs. The work comprised Assembly of God Archives primary sources supplemented with several valuable interviews of Lake congregants. The basic scholarly benefit of Lairdon's compilation was its most useful function as a readily obtainable published source of archival materials chronologically organized. Lairdon's work does manifest some inaccuracies. Lairdon did not note that Lake's ministry was in fact frequently subject to internal dissension, controversy and external criticism. In South Africa, Thomas Hezmalhalch and Archibald H. Cooper charged Lake with financial mismanagement, exaggerated ministerial claims, misrepresentation and inadequate disclosure, insufficient support of field missionaries and egotistical leadership. See The Upper Room, November 1910, vol.

2, no. 3, p. 2. Later in America, ministerial rivals within his own ranks attempted to seize control of his Portland and Spokane congregations. See The Spokesman-Review, 17 September 1935, p. 12. In Oregon Lake was accused of improperly marketing mining securities. See The Oregonian, 25 July 1921, p. 5. In Washington State Lake failed to pay his personal debts. See Joseph P. Martin vs. John G. Lake, civil file no. 60400, Clerk of Court, Spokane, Washington. Lake's faith healing ministry, with its basic tenet precluding recourse to physicians and secular medicine, resulted in threatened manslaughter charges by public health authorities and a conviction for failure to report a communicable disease. See The Oregonian, 5 April 1923, p. 5. Finally, no reference was made by Lairdon to Lake's failure to pursue a social gospel orientation or to concertedly address racism in either South Africa or the United States.

20 ibid., p 189. A similar orientation is offered by David Du Plessis, A Man Called Mr. Pentecost (Plainsfield: Logos International, 1977). An Apostolic Faith Mission minister and secretary to that organization, David Du Plessis, known as "Mr. Pentecost" for his ecumenicism, pictured Lake as a vanguard Pentecostal in a period prior to mainline denominational acceptance of charismatics. To some extent the portrayal was in keeping with the traditions of hagiography where the saintly persecuted follow their convictions at costly personal sacrifice. The Du Plessis work had notable errors. Du Plessis unfortunately neglected to discuss the significant influence William Seymour's slave and Holiness traditions had on Lake's theological development. A failure to adequately consider how that black minister impacted on white Pentecostals minimized opportunities to explore racial dynamics in early twentieth century American and South African charismatic movements. Du Plessis also inaccurately stated Lake had no prior knowledge of South African conditions. Lake communicated with fellow Dowie clergyman Daniel Bryant, who had arrived in Johannesburg in 1904. Moreover, Lake was accompanied on his South African trip by Jacob O. Lehman, a Zulu speaking missionary who had previously visited the Transvaal. Lehman must have discussed African conditions with Lake during the lengthy trip from Indianapolis, if not prior to that occasion. Furthermore, prior to commencing his mission Lake had read Afrikaner history. Perhaps it would have been more accurate to maintain that Lake's African notions were unduly romantic, influenced by the mid-nineteenth century excursions of David Livingstone. No reference was made to Lake having conducted services at homes in Cape Town, Robertson, Mowbray and Plumstead prior to his arrival in Johannesburg. The C.G. Goodenough family did not accompany Lake from America. Mrs. Goodenough first met him at Johannesburg depot. The Doornfontein church was apparently affiliated with the black Zion branch of Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, an association not referenced by Du Plessis. See The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 7. Furthermore, to assert that Lake had no association with Azusa Street may be misleading. The name Apostolic Faith Mission, initiated by Charles Parham, had been employed by Parham's student, William Seymour, for the Azusa Street church. Lake was well acquainted with both Parham and Seymour and Lake's use of the church name suggested a continuity of ministerial activity with doctrinal and liturgical consistency. Although a "faith" missionary not supported by any one group, Lake did remain in

communication with Seymour while in Africa and on his visit back to the U.S., and received prayer support from the Azusa Street congregation and Seymour's The Apostolic Faith readership. See The Apostolic Faith, May 1908, p. 12 and John G. Lake, Adventures in God (Tulsa: Harrison House, 1981), p. 33.

21 Ibid., p. 69. For a comparable perspective, see Gordon F. Atter, The Third Force (Petersborough: College Press, 1962). Atter's work was a commemoration of the 1906 Azusa Street Revival and those charismatics who sought to further the Reformation consistent with practices of the early church of the Scriptures. The renewed emphasis on spirit baptism was highlighted in contrast to any social or political discussions. As a source Atter relied on correspondence with F.P. Moller, then general secretary of the Apostolic Faith Mission and later president for twenty-two years (1966-1988). Dr. Moller seemed to have been a white Pentecostal apologist for the Apostolic Faith Mission accommodation with Nationalist apartheid. Atter's work was intended to be *devotional literature and did not purport to meet academic standards for research and documentation*. The Atter account manifested several inaccuracies. Lake left South Africa in 1913, not 1916. Atter also incorrectly stated that Lake and Cooper separated over doctrinal differences. Lake and Cooper parted ways in 1910 when Cooper joined with Hezmalhalch in charging Lake with financial improprieties, organizational mismanagement and self-aggrandizement. Cooper left the Apostolic Faith Mission after the November 1910 decision terminating Hezmalhalch's presidency for failure to substantiate charges against Lake. Cooper also was possibly aggrieved that Lake loyalist Pieter le Roux held more prominent roles in church administration, and that Lake permitted le Roux and other Afrikaners to exercise an increasing influence in Apostolic Faith Mission governance. Finally, no reference was made to Lake's participation in the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council decision to segregate baptisms.

22 Gordon Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, 1972), pp. 4-6. Gordon Lindsay, a Pentecostal evangelist with an international ministry, reflected a deep gratitude toward Lake as his Christian mentor. Lindsay was quite inspired by Lake and the divine healing emphasis and sought to emulate Lake's ministerial techniques and message. Lindsay clearly saw Lake as one of the most profound, and perhaps greatest, Pentecostal pioneers spreading the Azusa Street message. Other than an acknowledgment that the elder Lake lacked sufficient vigor to fully implement the ultimate spiritual vision, Lindsay's account was totally uncritical. Lindsay's attitude of deep gratitude toward his spiritual father did affect his objectivity and resulted in his chronicling events not independently verified. Nevertheless, the Lindsay writings were perhaps the best sources for Lake history apart from periodicals, letters and diaries contemporaneous with the subject. The situations Lindsay discussed, replete with extensive details, generally manifested a ring of truth. The fact that the accounts were initially published by Lindsay at a time that Lake contemporaries still lived and that reliable commentators have accepted the veracity of the narratives all give credibility to the history. Whether those omissions and inaccuracies present reflected that the writings apparently originated in large part from oral history provide by an ageing Lake or instead were indicative of Lindsay's own perspective and aptitudes as editor, was uncertain. Like most Lake

secondary sources, Lindsay sought to create devotional literature with history clearly subordinate to practical theology. The works did not purport to be academic, lacking notes and bibliography. Although Gordon Lindsay was a credible and observant commentator, his work suffered due to extensive reliance on accounts related by Lake decades after the occurrence of the events chronicled. For example, the assertion that Lake helped found two American newspapers was not independently verified or corroborated. Similarly, Lake's purported wealth as a businessman prior to commencing full time ministry was not confirmed. My inquiry into personal papers and secondary writings pertaining to Hill, Harriman and Ryan did not establish Lake's alleged agency and managerial services on behalf of those industrialists and financiers as related by Lindsay. Controversy related to Lake's ministry and personal business dealings was avoided in the Lindsay narrative. Opposition to Lake's leadership of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa and charges of financial mismanagement were not addressed. Furthermore, there was no discussion about Lake's civil and criminal litigation in the U.S. Finally, no mention was made of Lake's failure to oppose the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council's disparate treatment of black congregants in the context of baptisms.

23 Wilford H. Reidt, John G. Graham: A Man Without Compromise (Tulsa: Harrison House, 1989), pp. 25-47: 52-60. Wilford Reidt, a Pentecostal minister and a public school teacher, married Lake's daughter, Gertrude, in 1941. As a dutiful son-in-law, he preserved and promoted Lake's teachings in a ministry conducted with Gertrude. Reidt asserted that his 1931 exposure to Lake in Spokane was a formative life-changing experience. Reidt's writings on Lake were inspirational. The works attempted a systematic presentation of Lake's divine healing, first arranged by Reidt as materials for teaching Bible school. Lake's sermons and experiences were used to illustrate Bible principles. History was discussed only incidentally to pragmatic theology. Textual references were primarily limited to Scripture. Extensive use was made of Gordon Lindsay's compilations, particularly John G. Lake: Apostle to Africa. Reidt's writings were undoubtedly most valuable tools for charismatics seeking to explore personal and communal relationships with God. The purely religious orientation and Reidt's lack of distance from his father-in-law subject limited the text's use for historiographical purposes. Reidt was reticent to address any negative unpleasantness concerning his fellow clergyman and relation. Reidt also did not attempt to place Lake in the context of religious precedents. Consequently, several deficiencies were evident. First, no reference was made to the impact William Seymour and other African American Holiness adherents had on Lake's ministry. A consideration of how Lake's ministry was affected by Seymour's emphasis on egalitarianism, narrative theology and ecstatic worship would have been useful. Second, while obtuse reference was made to Lake not having yet perfected humility when in South Africa, no mention was made to opponents having charged him with self-aggrandizement. See Reidt, John G. Lake, pp. 41 and 47. Third, the action of the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council in segregating baptisms and scheduling services on the basis of race was not addressed, and Lake was not criticized for not actively resisting such disparate treatment. Finally, as to Lake's American work, no account was made of his civil and criminal litigation. There was

no discussion of church schisms in Spokane and the rivalry with the D. N. McInturff faction.

24 Lindsay, John G. Lake, pp. 4-5; Reidt, John G. Graham, pp. 52-60.

25 Reidt, John G. Lake, pp. 41 and 47.

26 Lindsay, John G. Lake, pp. 4 and 8. A comparable perspective is offered by Kenneth Copeland, John Graham Lake: His Life, His Sermons, His Boldness of Faith (Forth Worth: Kenneth Copeland Publications, 1994). Kenneth Copeland, an American Pentecostal minister, wrote from an evangelical orientation. The historical Lake was subordinate to Lake as inspired man of faith. Copeland's short devotional sketch did not purport to be a comprehensive, academically rigorous history. Unlike a critical secular history, Copeland's writing emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, the social and political dimensions of Lake's life were not fully addressed, perhaps considered only incidentally significant when contrasted to Lake's role as God's instrumentality. Copeland omitted significant details about Lake's ministry and made assertions not sufficiently corroborated. Evidence did not substantiate that Lake undertook any science study beyond secondary schooling. See Copeland, John G. Lake, pp. xiii-xv. In considering Lake's formative years as a Pentecostal preacher, no reference was made to the influence of Parham and Seymour, nor any discussion presented revealing the continuity with Azusa Street. It was inaccurate to suggest that Lake's presence at the Zulu Doomfontein chapel was solely fortuitous. *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv. Lake was well acquainted with David Bryant, a fellow pastor with Dowie's Christian Catholic Church who had been posted to South Africa to lead the Orange River and Transvaal Zion worshipers, including those at Doomfontein. Lake undoubtedly knew of Bryant's involvement with those Zion adherents, a ministry that was ending following the collapse of Dowie's leadership in Zion City, Illinois. It was also problematic to assert that Lake was the founder of the Zion Christian Church. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. Any such credit could only have been through indirect association. Eugenias (Ignatius) Lekganyane (1880-1948) was generally recognized as that church's originator, having previously affiliated with Elias Mahlangu of the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa (1916) and Edward (Motaung) Lion's Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (1920). Lekganyane founded the Zion Christian Church in 1924, nine years after Lake's return to America. See Allan Anderson, "Zionist and Apostolic Churches," in Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices, eds. J. Gordon Melton and M. Baumann, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clip, 2002), pp. 1459-60. Copeland made a further omission in not considering Lake's role in South African segregation. Lake's failure to prevent Apostolic Faith Mission relegation of blacks to a subordinate status in baptismal rites was not addressed. No reference was made to Lake's U.S. litigation. His civil suits as a defendant in breach of contract and debt default cases, the action alleging alienation of affections and securities transactions violations were all omitted. Likewise, threatened criminal charges of involuntary manslaughter and the subsequent conviction for failure to report a communicable disease were not discussed.

27 Sundkler, Zulu Zion, pp. 34-37, 54-55.

28 A. J. Van Staden, Die Apostoliese Geloofsending Van Suid-Africa (Pretoria:

Haum, 1980), translated by Naarin Govin, Port Elizabeth, pp. 189-190. In contrast to Anderson and Maxwell, Reverend Van Staden saw Lake as only consolidating a charismatic ministry initiated by Andrew Murray. Van Staden minimized Lake's role, maintaining the American got the credit for what was essentially a white South African movement. Van Staden, an Afrikaner, reflected an Apostolic Faith Mission orientation from an era when the church was divided into black, coloured, Indian and white sections. His work predated the repudiation of racism by charismatics in statements like the 1988 A Relevant Pentecostal Witness and the repentant testimony by the Apostolic Faith Mission leadership at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. See Relevant Pentecostals, A Relevant Pentecostal Witness (Durban: Chitsden, 1988) and Apostolic Faith Mission, "Testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," East London, 19 November 1999. By minimizing American impacts on the movement, Van Staden apparently desired to picture South African Pentecostalism as a home-grown movement of Afrikaner origins. Although offering useful insights into the pre-Lake charismatic revivals in South Africa, Van Staden did not show familiarity with Lake's U.S. Pentecostal work. Van Staden's church history did not attempt to address the multiracial egalitarian aspect of early American and South African Pentecostalism, a study that might have offered pragmatic insights for Christian harmony during the repressive Nationalist apartheid period. Van Staden's writing also evidenced other errors and omissions. Little if any emphasis was placed on the African American and Holiness origins of Lake's Pentecostalism. In fact, the charismatic revival was said to have been primarily established by Murray years before Lake's arrival. See Van Staden, Die Apostoliese, pp. 1-2. While a charismatic background did preexist Lake's mission and greatly facilitated his work, Lake should be credited for transmitting William Seymour's Azusa Street ecstatic evangelism and Charles Parham's standard of tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism.

29 Lairdon, God's Generals, pp. 189-190.

30 Lindsay, John G. Lake, p. 30-35.

31 Reidt, John G. Lake, pp. 25 and 47.

32 Ibid., p. 53.

33 Ibid., pp. 81-85.

34 Ibid., pp. 47-60.

35 Vinson Synan, "The Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," internet article posted April 1997 by Oral Roberts University, p. 6. Dr. Synan, a highly regarded church historian and Pentecostal scholar, presented Lake in the broader context of charismatic movements manifesting a providential history. While acknowledging that Lake to a large extent embodied nineteenth century Holiness and Wesleyan traditions, he was largely pictured as a pioneer of the Parham/Seymour Apostolic Faith, boldly initiating a South African Pentecostalism. Synan's orientation addressed Lake's development more in an American than South African context. The interface of Lake's Pentecostalism and African black charismatic churches was not fully considered in the short work. Although a gifted historian writing from a charismatic perspective, Synan was not particularly critical of questionable or unsubstantiated devotional sources. Synan unduly relied on questionable second-

hand oral history recounting events decades after the occurrence. Failure to submit his sources to rigorous scrutiny resulted in occasional inaccuracies. Synan also appeared to have only limited recourse to South African primary sources. For example, Lake was presented as the originator of South African Pentecostalism. Insufficient reference was made to pre-Lake events such as Andrew Murray's discussion of spirit baptism or the charismatic activities associated with Afrikaners interned in the South African War concentration camps. Use of 1910 as the date of the Apostolic Faith Mission origin was also misleading. The church officially attributed its origin to 24 September 1908. See Burger, "Historical Perspective," p. 24. No reference was made to the charges alleging Lake's financial mismanagement or malfeasance while ministering in South Africa. Similarly, U.S. civil and criminal litigation against Lake was not discussed. It was erroneous to refer to the Zion Christian Church as the black branch of Lake's work. The Zion Christian Church denomination was founded in 1924 by Eugenas Lekganyane, not as an Apostolic Faith Mission component, although Lekganyane previously was associated with one-time Apostolic Faith Mission affiliate Edward (Motaung) Lion. See Anderson, "Zionist and Apostolic Churches," np. Attributing to Lake the founding of what became the African and coloured sections of the Apostolic Faith Mission would have been more appropriate. The glowing endorsement attributed to Cecil Rhodes was inaccurate, Rhodes having died in 1902, six years prior to Lake's arrival in South Africa. No evidence existed that Lake and Rhodes ever met or corresponded. Although Gandhi and Lake were acquainted, no Gandhi source or other contemporaneous document was found to verify the purported quote. The only authority for either statement was Lake's son-in-law, Wilford Reidt. The quotations were apparently based on conversations between Reidt or Gordon Lindsay and Lake occurring several decades after the events chronicled, or founded only on Lake family history corrupted or otherwise distorted in the retelling. For the Rhodes and Gandhi "quotes" see the back cover of John Graham Lake, Adventures in God (Tulsa: Harrison House, 1981), the Lake manuscript edited by Reidt using family recollections and discussions with Lindsay as supplemental sources. Finally, the most important omission was the failure to comprehensively address issues of racial segregation in Lake's ministry, both in the U.S. and Africa.

36 Ward Tannenberg, Let Light Shine Out: The Story of the Assemblies of God in the Pacific Northwest (Walnut Creek: Moore, Mayhew and Fisk, 1997), pp. 173-175. Dr. Tannenberg, an Assemblies of God minister, presented Lake as a gifted missionary within the context of early twentieth century Pentecostalism. The work was a most favorable portrayal of Lake as a role model worthy of Christian admiration and emulation. The book included Lake as the one non-Assemblies of God minister in the compilation otherwise dedicated to leaders of that denomination. The brief Lake sketch was in large part based on Gordon Lindsay and Wilford Reidt compilations. Nevertheless, some details were added from oral history sources from Lake's last Spokane ministry. The writing was in a non-academic format, without references or bibliography. Tannenberg's work contained several inaccuracies and insufficiently supported perceptions. His uncritical discussion lacked objectivity. Especially disturbing was the failure to note the detriments of apartheid or otherwise

expressly denounce compulsory segregation. Without such a disclaimer, his labeling Lake an architect of apartheid in a laudatory writing on the American missionary could raise erroneous inferences on the part of some readers that an endorsement of segregation was intended. *Ibid.*, p. 175. Surprisingly, no mention was made of Lake's strident denunciation of the Assemblies of God bureaucracy and church polity. On a minor level, it was inaccurate to suggest that Jennie Lake had no history of illness. She had a rather remarkable sickly disposition. The error apparently resulted from Tannenbergs failure to consider Dowie era documentation. A much more significant misperception was the claim that Lake was the father of apartheid. Although Lake advocated designation of land for the exclusive use of blacks with protection against white encroachment, he never wanted to preclude blacks from eligibility for South African citizenship or from purchasing land outside reserved areas. Lake's reservation proposal was based on Native American reserves, using the nineteenth century guardianship "liberal" model, to be enhanced by learning from American mistakes in not equitably dealing with indigenous peoples. Efforts to implement a repressive compulsory segregation destructive of civil liberties predated Lake's African mission. Commencing work in 1903, the South African Native Affairs Commission, charged by Lord Milner to study an indigenous land use policy, formulated a reserve approach. See Paul Maylam, *A History of the African People of South Africa From the Early Iron Age to the 1970s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), p. 138. Segregation was instituted by the Union government and incrementally implemented by Afrikaners throughout most of the twentieth century, particularly in the post-World War II National Party resurgence. Contrary to Tannenbergs assertion, no evidence justified imposing on Lake responsibility for the much later Nationalist agenda of systematic deprivation of black civil liberties. Finally, Tannenbergs made no reference to segregation of Apostolic Faith Mission baptisms during Lake's service on the executive council, nor did he mention Lake's role as a criminal and civil defendant in U.S. litigation.

37 Tannenbergs, *Let Light Shine Out*, pp. 176-177.

38 Allan Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostalism in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992), pp. 18-23. Dr. Anderson is an erudite scholar and definitive authority on South African Pentecostalism. Other works include *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1991) and with co-author Samuel Otwang, *Tumelo: The Faith of African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1993). Anderson's works comported with the most demanding academic standards. The writings showed only a few errors or omissions. Anderson's perception of Lake as a political segregationist would have benefited from a more extensive consideration of the Native American policy that influenced the U.S. evangelist's endorsement of South African reserves. Moreover, access to U.S. oral history sources and Lake family accounts might have made possible a more comprehensive evaluation of Lake's racial attitudes. Anderson was correct in implying that Lake could have more forcefully asserted that Holy Spirit empowerment was capable of addressing social inequities. Lake also was rightfully criticized for being so immersed in spirituality and salvation that he neglected to actively pursue a social gospel. To that extent Lake failed to fully realize the

Seymour ideal of a brotherly communion of equal believers carrying egalitarianism beyond the chapel into the world. Anderson, Bazalwane, pp. 35 and 118. Evidence did not support any contention that Lake advocated mandatory political segregation. Anderson correctly noted Lake's acceptance of segregated baptism in South Africa. Nevertheless, to assume Lake endorsed other segregation, on the basis of his September 1908 statement that a new black chapel should be acquired to accommodate worshippers "crowded out" by white congregants, appeared an unfounded speculation. Ibid., p. 33. Lake clearly identified and articulated non-racial logistical and pragmatic considerations for providing blacks convenient facilities in which to worship in their language.

39 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

40 Ibid., pp. 20-22.

41 Ibid., pp. 18-23.

42 Jan Louis Langerman, "Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa: A Revitalization of the Theological Concept of Church Ministry," unpublished D. Th. Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, Ca., 1983, pp. 80 and 83. Dr. Langerman, an Apostolic Faith Mission theologian, undertook a study of early South African Pentecostalism primarily as a means of fostering more efficient ministry, not as an abstract historical inquiry. Church organization and evangelical pragmatism constituted the primary focus. Langerman prepared his academic inquiry as a practicing minister during the era of Nationalist apartheid. His failure to address the historical development of segregation in his church was not inconsistent with the apolitical orientation of the Apostolic Faith Mission and reluctance of charismatics to fully consider racism in South African society prior to the 1988 publication of A Relevant Pentecostal Witness. See Relevant Pentecostals, A Relevant Pentecostal Witness (Chitsden, Durban, 1988). Langerman's discussion of Lake's early South African mission and organizational goals required clarification. First, in explaining Lake's failure to promptly structure the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, Langerman afforded an undue weight to theological factors. Rather than a studied doctrinal consideration, Lake's lack of attention to organizational details perhaps was more a reflection of his personality and practical emphasis on soul saving instead of church building. While it was true that Lake did not initially intend to form a new denomination, and instead hoped to conduct a revival ministry supplementing existing churches, his restraint was not a result of any loyalty to specific affiliations. Langerman, "Apostolic Faith," pp. 80 and 83. Lake had left the Methodist Church at least by 1898 and had departed the sectarian Christian Catholic Church of Alexander Dowie at least by early 1907. Second, to suggest that the Apostolic Faith Mission commenced with its meeting held September 1908 was misleading. Lake arrived in Cape Town May 1908 and apparently conducted some cottage meetings. On 25 May 1908, Lake, Hezmalhalch and J. O. Lehman preached their first South African service in a church at the Zulu chapel in Doornfontein. Lake then preached to predominantly white congregants at the Zion Tabernacle, Bree Street, Johannesburg, through May and June 1908. See Burger, "Historical Perspective," p. 84. Use of the September date suggested a discounting of Lake's prior work, especially his ministry among black South Africans. Third, J. O. Lehman, the

essential member of Lake's party possessing prior South African missionary experience and Zulu fluency, was incorrectly called "Lehmann." See Langerman, "Apostolic Faith," p. 84. Finally, little emphasis was afforded to the profound question why the movement's initial egalitarianism gave way to racial segregation and subordinate status for blacks.

43 Ibid., pp. 83-85.

44 David Maxwell, "Rethinking Christian Independency: The Southern Africa Pentecostal Movement," an unpublished paper, Research Center, International Pentecostal Church, Oklahoma City, nd., p. 7. Dr. Maxwell, a professor with Keele University, emphasized that Lake's South African evangelism reflected influences of Dowie's Christian Catholic Church together with Seymour's interracial Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission. Maxwell critiqued Sundkler for overemphasizing the impact of the Dowie connection on South African Zion congregants at the expense of Lake's American Pentecostalism. Maxwell presented a comprehensive, objective interpretation of Lake's South African work. He appeared sympathetic toward Lake, envisioning him as a fair minded, pragmatic egalitarian transcending race, class and denomination. Lake was pictured as ecumenical, stressing the unifying possibility inherent in charismatic fellowship. Maxwell saw post-Lake abandonment of integration in the Apostolic Faith Mission as primarily resulting from accommodations with the Afrikaner government. Maxwell's work showed few errors. He did mistakenly refer to Jacob O. Lehman, an evangelist who accompanied Lake's party departing Indianapolis for South Africa, as "A. Lehman". Ibid., p.7. He also stated that Lake sought to impose on South African Pentecostals Levitical-style taboos prohibiting use of alcohol, tobacco and pork. In fact, Lake did not seek observance of the Dowie restriction on pork consumption. Rather, as Apostolic Faith Mission president, Lake maintained the Old Testament law was a "dead thing" and that none may "judge you in meat or drink...". See The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 8.

45 Ibid., p. 9.

46 Ibid

47 Anthea Butler, "Walls of Division-Racism's Role in Pentecostal History," an unpublished paper, Fuller Theological Seminary Collection, Pasadena, nd., pp. 7-16. Dr. Butler, a Fuller Seminary faculty member, presented a social gospel influenced interpretation of Lake. She suggested that Lake's total envelopment in spiritual concerns to the neglect of social issues precluded fulfillment of his Christian duty. Butler's scholarly analysis rightly viewed racism as an ultimate concern that Christians, especially Pentecostals having experienced the egalitarian nature of the Holy Spirit, must treat as a priority. Her compelling question, whether a white racist could be filled with the spirit, was most valid. Nevertheless, while Butler's criticisms were entirely appropriate as hindsight, arguably she imposed present values on the past, holding Lake to a standard not sufficiently developed prior to the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960s. Butler was mistaken in asserting that Lake introduced the concept of segregation to South Africa. Segregation as a political doctrine, possibly influenced by U.S. practices, did gain momentum following the South African War, a period coinciding with Lake's presence in South Africa.

Nevertheless, the notion and practice of segregation as a tool to subjugate non-whites predated and existed independent of Lake. He merely was present during a transitional period of increasing urbanization and industrialization that fueled segregation. Rather than being truly innovative, Lake's suggestion of allocated lands was derivative, inspired by the American nineteenth century guardianship Native American reservation system. Lake never suggested that blacks should be deprived of civil liberties. Specifically, he did not intend that blacks be prohibited from purchasing land outside allocated areas. Instead, his vision was paternalistic, seeking to protect Africans from land grabs by predatory whites. The quote utilized by Butler as purporting to demonstrate Lake's support of apartheid was incomplete and deleted critical wording that significantly affected the interpretation. The cited language had Lake saying, "I framed the policy in harmony with our American policy involving the Indian tribes, having as an example the United States and other nations in regard to their handling of the native nations" (p.15). The correct quotation should have read "I framed the policy in harmony with our American policy involving the Indian tribes having as an example the mistakes of the United States and other nations in regard to their handling of the native nations" (emphasis added). See Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 36. Moreover, Butler neglected to make any attempt to identify the mistakes Lake referenced in U.S. policy, particularly the Dawes Act of 1887 that divided Native American collectively owned reservation and surplus lands into individual holdings. Lake knew of the Dawes Act failure and felt reservations would best promote the cultural integrity and economic sufficiency of both Native Americans and black South Africans. Butler's portrayal of Lake as the principal architect of Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa segregation also required clarification. Certainly Lake, as a member of the seven person executive council, should be faulted for either advocating or at least not actively opposing separate baptisms of blacks, "coloureds" and whites. Nevertheless, Butler failed to even consider that non-racial issues, such as logistics, language, and physical capacity limitations of worship facilities, were factors influencing the executive council decision. She also did not disclose that blacks were always permitted to attend any church during Lake's tenure in South Africa. In any event, the more formal Apostolic Faith Mission segregated worship of 1917 occurred after Lake's 1913 departure, a fact not set forth.

48 Ibid., pp. 7-9.

49 Ibid., pp. 14-16.

50 Japie J. Lapoorta, Unity or Division: The Struggle of the Black Churches Within the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (Cape Town: Sally Point, 1999), p. 65. Dr. Lapoorta, a heroic champion against apartheid and leader of the former black section of the Apostolic Faith Mission, sought to show how initial Pentecostal racial egalitarianism gave way to a white ecclesiastical power grab. Lake was critiqued as at best an ambivalent supremacist willing to accord blacks only limited equality, with participation confined to the church. Even within that context, he was unwilling to confront Apostolic Faith Mission Afrikaners and acquiesced in their subordination of non-white congregants. At worst, Lake was an unmitigated hypocrite, speaking in church about Christian brotherhood, while actively working behind closed doors with

Afrikaner politicians and church leaders to promote segregation. Lapoorta did appropriately address the critical issue of racism as an ultimate sin. His question whether Lake was a racist should be posed. Lake's segregated reserves and baptisms, while not intended to perpetuate any subordinate black status, did reflect a decided paternalism. Lake did feel many South African blacks during the first decade of the twentieth century, especially those outside the Cape Colony, were not as knowledgeable as African Americans about Western-style political processes. Lake also opposed the Ethiopian political agenda as being both premature and an unscriptural diversion from spiritual priorities. To combat Ethiopianism Lake encouraged black church affiliation with his charismatic ministry and sought to exercise some administrative control over the black independent churches joining the Apostolic Faith Mission. Using such evidence Lapoorta sought to demonstrate that Lake was actively seeking to relegate South African blacks to an ongoing inferior status. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65. However, evidence did not fully support Lapoorta's contention. Although Lake was a cultural supremacist who should be faulted for not more affirmatively seeking to ensure egalitarian treatment of blacks in both the U.S. and South Africa, he did not seek to force blacks onto reserves where they would have no civil liberty. Similarly, Lake's acceptance of separate baptisms based on race was deplorable. Nevertheless, he was not an advocate of political segregation nor a spokesman, either in public or private, of racial hatred. Several additional minor details require amplification or clarification in Lapoorta's work. Lake became a deacon in Saulte Sainte Marie, Michigan prior to locating in Zion City, Illinois. The Apostolic Faith Mission council during his African residency was not comprised primarily of Afrikaners. The American contingency of Lake, Hezmalhalch and Lehman, together with Cooper, represented a significant English primary language bloc prior to the departure of Hezmalhalch and Cooper. In discussing Lake's defense of a black congregant, important details were deleted. The persecuted individual was not identified as Elias Letwaba, and much of Lake's forceful advocacy of black dignity and equality before God was omitted. See Burton, *When God Makes a Pastor*, pp. 51-52.

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66 and 76.

52 Burger, "Historical Perspective," pp. 18-19.

53 C.R. De Wet, "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa: 1908-1980: A Case Study in Church Growth in a Segregated Society," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989, pp. 60-67: 181-183. Dr. De Wet's dissertation was a comprehensive, insightful analysis of Apostolic Faith Mission racial attitudes. De Wet's mission study was useful to both the practising evangelist and the historian. De Wet was correct that Lake's dealings with South African blacks sometimes exemplified paternalism. Nevertheless, De Wet's conclusion that Lake advocated compulsory separation was unfounded. Possibly De Wet was not fully acquainted with the impact Native American reservations had on Lake's formulation of African land use policy. In considering Lake's acquiescence with the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council segregation of baptisms, De Wet portrayed Lake as more inclined toward segregation than justified. The provisions of Lake's lease with Mrs. C. G. Goodenough for a "coloured" worship facility were used by De Wet as proof of

disparate racial treatment. The lease required the congregants not to keep open the rear door and not to use water or privies. De Wet seemingly concluded a racial motivation dictated the terms despite other compelling justifications for such rental provisions in a property subject to intensive use by many persons. De Wet, The Apostolic Faith, pp. 60-61. Noise reduction, water conservation and minimization of frequent privy cleaning and maintenance all appeared more likely considerations than supposing an otherwise uncorroborated unequal racial treatment on Lake's part. De Wet also set forth a purported Cecil Rhodes quote as apparently accurate, without disclaimer, even though apocryphal, based merely on a faulty oral recollection recorded by Lake's son-in-law decades after the event supposedly chronicled. Likewise, although Lake and Gandhi were acquainted, the quotation attributed to the great Indian could only be found in Reidt's compilation based on oral history, and was not corroborated by any other sources. Moreover, De Wet cited a purported statement by Andrew Murray that was actually uttered by a Spokane minister probably affiliated with Lake's organization. See The Spokane Daily Chronicle, 25 May 1918, p. 7 and De Wet, "The Apostolic Faith," p. 49.

54 Nico Horn, "Crossing Racial Boundaries in Southern Africa: A Lesson From History," Fuller Theological Seminary internet posting, 1991, pp. 3-5. Dr. Nico Horn was a practising Apostolic Faith Mission cleric having ministered in Namibia and South Africa. He admirably sought to use history as a tool for analyzing past racism within the denomination and as a means to address residual prejudice and ideological power struggles in the present racially united Apostolic Faith Mission. Horn's insightful work appropriately examined Lake's ambivalence toward blacks. Quite correctly, Lake was shown as a Pentecostal minister manifesting no racial animosity. Nevertheless, Horn presented the insufficiently supported finding that Lake was a political segregationist. A comprehensive consideration of American sources in addition to South African materials would have rendered a more complete, accurate portrayal of the American missionary. Although generally a well researched writing, Horn's article did set forth some arguable assumptions. It was not logically necessary to infer that Lake was a political segregationist solely because he advocated reserves for South African blacks. The assumption that Lake advocated mandatory segregation was probably based on an incorrect quote of Lake describing how South Africa could implement reserves based on the Native American experience. The quotation used by Horn, like that cited by Anthea Butler, unfortunately omitted the critical qualification used in the Gordon Lindsay text. The complete statement read, "I framed the policy in harmony with our American policy involving the Indian tribes, having as an example the mistakes of the U.S. and other nations in regard to their handling of the native nations (omitted language underlined). See Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 36. Moreover, the supposition that Lake favored political segregation suggested a lack of familiarity with American history and Lake's awareness of the discredited Dawes Act. Rather than deeming Lake a political segregationist, a more correct charge might have faulted him for not more affirmatively resisting disparate treatment based on race.

55 Maxwell, "Rethinking Christian Independency," p. 13.

56 Ibid., p. 17.

57 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

58 Ibid., pp. 8-17.

CHAPTER TWO

LAKE'S EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

John Lake was descended from British settlers in Canada. His father, James Lake, was born in 1841 in Downie Township, Perth County, Ontario. The 1861 Canadian census listed James Lake as a single twenty-year-old laborer working for a young farmer named John Graham, probably his future brother-in-law. The Graham family left maritime highland Scotland sometime between 1831 and the commencement of the American Civil War, settling in Perth County, Ontario. In March 1862 in Downie Township, James married Margaret (Betsy) Graham, born in 1840 in Kilberry, Scotland. James and Margaret had an older son, also named John, who died at the age of five in April 1869. John Graham Lake was born on 18 March 1870 in St. Marys, Ontario. The 1871 census indicated the couple had three living children, Margaret, aged eight, Irinna, aged six, and John, aged one. John's parents initially lived in the more rural agrarian village of Avonbank between the city of Stratford and the town of St. Marys. The long established, largely Scottish Avonbank settlement centered around the Presbyterian Church. A temperance hall near the church provided the primary opportunity for social interaction through regular weekly gatherings and was utilized for meetings of the Farmers Club, music classes and political activity. John probably joined the association as did most young people of the community, pledging to abstain from alcohol. The citizens tended to be hardworking, committed to education, and willing to defer present enjoyment for a better future life for themselves and their children.¹

By 1878 the family had relocated to St. Marys. James operated a butcher

shop in Market Square. During Lake's residency St. Marys was a picturesque but industrialized Victorian community. Situated on the Thames River, the town originated in 1839 as a venture of the Canada Company. The economy was based on textile, flour and grist mills, limestone mining and mortar, plaster, quicklime and cement production. The Grand Trunk Railroad serviced the area.²

The Ontario of Lake's birth was Canada's most populous province and the center of Canadian Protestantism. In Canada Protestantism was a product of British and American influences together with its own unique developments. Methodists and Presbyterians predominated, but Anglicans and U.S./British organizations like the Salvation Army and Plymouth Brethren were well represented. Especially among Methodists and Presbyterians, but to a lesser extent even for Anglicans, a spirit-inspired religious revivalism was emphasized. A life-changing conversion experience was anticipated in most Canadian Protestant denominations although ecclesiastical traditions and liturgy were not repudiated. Perhaps more than in the U.S., "enthusiasm" and "establishment" were reconciled.³ Lake would later draw upon such ecumenical models and particularly seek to establish rapport with American Episcopalians and British and South African Anglicans.⁴

Lake's parents were members of the "Scottish Kirk," which he called "an old Scotch Presbyterian Kirk, the Avonbank Church."⁵ Lake himself attended the "little Scotch church" as a very young boy, still recalling in later life the "dreary old hymns" oriented toward death.⁶ The Presbyterian Church of Canada, known as the "Free Church," was noted for its pious observation of biblical ethics, with a plain, unobtrusive liturgy conducted in modest, simple church buildings. A North American

evangelical social reform agenda was evident, with its particular concern about alcohol use, gambling and other vices. The Church did not teach divine healing.⁷ His congregation was not greatly influenced by the charismatic orientation of American Midwestern Holiness doctrines of faith healing.

The family left the Presbyterian Church when Lake was quite young, transferring to the Ontario Methodist Church. He declared himself an “ardent” Methodist as a youth.⁸ His basic religious training was obtained through Sunday school classes held in the small St. Marys Methodist Church. The instruction was characterized by an evangelical “old-time” Wesleyanism with perfectionist aspirations, but charismatic practices were apparently not present.⁹ Lake was critical of the congregation’s lack of knowledge of Holy Ghost baptism, stating, “In my early boyhood we worshipped in a little old church where the saints were having a hard time” attaining ultimate spiritual empowerment.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the participants did “open their hearts,” sharing with other congregants various trials, temptations and victories. The group dynamics, guided by a class leader, furthered mutual counsel and consolation. Although lacking a strong charismatic emphasis, Lake claimed the experience afforded him “a great deal of soul development.”¹¹

A picture of Lake as a teenager offers some insights into his personality. He was well-attired in a dark, conservatively cut business suit. He wore a tie of a distinctive but unflamboyant tartan pattern. The white shirt was crisply starched. Women found his grey eyes and intense, contemplative gaze compelling. His dark hair, worn above ear-length, was quite full on top in the then popular pompadour style. The overall appearance was one of middle-class conformity to the customary

and traditional.¹²

The young Lake was devout, maintaining a prayer regimen even in his early teens. He appeared never to have sown wild oats or seriously departed from rigorous biblical ethics. Aside from the typical mischievous behavior of a boy, he was well-behaved. The youth fulfilled his commitment to "live a morally pure life" never using whisky, tobacco or undertaking any "unholy act in the moral sense."¹³ Nevertheless, Lake recalled his limited youthful wilfulness in a manner reminiscent of Saint Augustine's agonizing over stolen pears. Even decades later, a mature Lake remembered a "proud heart" that had to "struggle like a drowning man until I was ready to cry 'Lord you save me.'" He conceded that as a youth he was "proud as Lucifer - every Lake I ever knew was."¹⁴ The Lord tried to "woo" him to the Christian life, but "I had turned to my own way instead. O the many, many times He had called when I did not heed, times long since forgotten by me."¹⁵ In retrospect, a remorseful Lake, perhaps unduly obsessed about childhood transgressions, asserted, "I was not even a Christian in the best sense of being a Christian."¹⁶ He was "only a young Christian."¹⁷

He seemed destined for a religious life and began manifesting a mystical nature, an intimate interaction with the divine. He thankfully declared, "I found God as a boy."¹⁸ At the age 16, when still in Canada, Lake underwent what at that time he deemed to be a Holiness-type spirit baptism.¹⁹ He had just witnessed the illness and death of a girl acquaintance whose deathbed vision and recitation of God's glory inspired in him a new consciousness of the divine.²⁰ He recognized the transitory nature of life and the presence of a loving God in a believer's heart as

demonstrated by the dying girl. He then repented and prayed, and felt God came into his soul, bringing salvation from sin. He knelt and poured out his heart, asking God to take "possession" of his life and nature. He declared:

Christ was born in my soul. Such a joy of God possessed my heart that the leaves of the trees seemed to dance for months following, and the birds sang a new song and the angels of God witnessed of the glory of heaven in my heart.²¹

A contact with the Salvation Army also contributed to Lake's initial conversion experience and may help account for his adult ministerial concern for street people, drug addicts, and other socially and economically marginalized individuals. Following this experience in June 1884, he was water baptized at the Central Methodist Church, St. Marys, Ontario, which he joined shortly before the family relocated to Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan in 1886.²²

The Sault Sainte Marie of Lake's youth was a two hundred year old community proudly proclaiming its credential as third oldest continuous settlement in the United States. Situated on the Michigan peninsula, the St. Marys River separated the town from its Canadian sister municipality of the same name. As the only water connection between Lake Superior and the other Great Lakes, the river facilitated trade in minerals, furs and lumber. The area was inhabited by Native Americans for two thousand years. The Ojibwa were Chippewa of Algonquin stock. Unlike many other tribes, they had not been forcibly removed from their homelands, but successive treaties curtailed their reservations. Although most Sault Ojibwa embraced Catholicism, they were subject to active Protestant evangelism, commencing with Wesleyan Methodist missions in the 1820s. Lake's Central

Methodist Church sponsored the ongoing work of the Methodist Indian Mission at Iroquois Point near Sault Sainte Marie. Through his Methodist fellowship Lake was able to continue his Salvation Army inspired social ministry among the impoverished, dwindling indigenous population.²³

Like his fifteen other siblings, Lake had a sickly constitution. Among other health afflictions, for over nine years he endured a life-threatening digestive problem and constipation common with most of his brothers and sisters. While still a teenager, he witnessed eight siblings die of disease, while other family members survived only in a “dying” state. All the Lakes were constantly plagued by “the shadow of sickness.” Lake stated, “A strange train of sickness, resulting in death, had followed the family.” For more than three decades some member of his immediate family was invalidated. He remembered his boyhood and early manhood as a “nightmare” experience of medical personnel, funerals and graveyards. The parents were under a constant psychological and physiological strain. The “broken-hearted” mother and “grief-stricken” father had to deal with the loss of loved ones while struggling to care for the sick survivors.²⁴ The family was receptive to religion as a means of solace and release from suffering.

Even in youth Lake found secular labor ultimately unfulfilling. The work he performed as a teenager was limited to the building trade. He stated he was a “builder” in Chicago, probably a euphemism for construction worker or helper. Roofing and foundation footing work were his specialties.²⁵ While physically challenging, the employment did not adequately address his intellectual and spiritual interests.

Sometime after 1896, Lake became increasingly involved in lay ministry. He began teaching a Methodist Bible class in his Sault Sainte Marie church.²⁶ He apparently participated in the Sunday School Institute conducted by the Newberry, Michigan Methodist Episcopal Church. He joined the congregation during December 1888 by member transfer letter.²⁷ These initial experiences studying and expostulating scripture led Lake to feel he had a ministerial vocation.

Around 1897 Lake commenced study at the Garrett Bible Institute in Evanston, Illinois.²⁸ The campus at that time was adjacent to Northwestern University, which maintained a cooperative plan of study for students of both institutions. This affiliation may explain Lake's claim to have been a Northwestern alumnus, despite the registrar having no record of his attendance.²⁹ Prior to 1900 all ministerial candidates, whether or not seminarians, were required to read certain books known as the "course of study." The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church set forth a four-year course of study for "traveling preachers." Lake had to study English, rhetoric, logic, U.S. history, world history, Methodist history, discipline, catechism, Wesley's writings and sermons, church history, Christian archaeology, natural science, philosophy, homiletics and exegesis.³⁰ Lake probably did not complete the Garrett Bible Institute program. There is no evidence to indicate that he received a college or seminary degree.³¹

A professor of science, probably associated with the Northwestern University faculty, claimed to have known seminarian Lake and described him as a "brilliant student." Lake was noted as having a superior aptitude for science, particularly chemistry and theoretical and applied electricity. He even gained a reputation as a

“master mystic.”³² As a student Lake attempted a scientific inquiry into the hidden nature of God. His quest to reconcile reason and belief was consistent with the grand inquiry of metaphysical philosophy, although paradoxical for someone who soon embraced divine healing to the exclusion of medical treatment. Lake’s ambivalent use of modern science, both practical and theoretical, as a means of exploring the workings of the Holy Spirit, was puzzling in light of his repudiation of secular health care. Surprisingly, he believed rationalistic empiricism could verify the efficacy of faith healing. Similarly, although he soon denounced physicians as virtual charlatans, decades later he proudly used the doctor title himself to suggest his healing aptitudes.³³

Lake completed the requirements for appointment as a Methodist local preacher/supply preacher, and upon examination by the Conference Board of Ministerial Training, was assigned to Pestigo, Wisconsin in 1891. Lake referred to himself as a “Methodist Evangelist.”³⁴ As a local/supply pastor, he was expected to serve on trial for two years prior to receiving appointment for “full connection.” In that capacity, he was permitted to perform all the duties of pastor, including administering the sacraments. The assignment required approval of the clergy membership in full connection sitting at an annual conference. A specified counseling elder clergyman was to supervise him, with the provisional appointment as local/supply pastor subject to annual renewal.³⁵ Lake did not undertake the appointment and moved to Harvey, Illinois to pursue a secular newspaper career, purportedly founding the Harvey Citizens and later the Saulte Sainte Marie Soo Times. The assertion that he initiated and edited the periodicals may well have been

one of his many lifelong exaggerations.³⁶

The question arose why Lake did not take the Methodist appointment. Lake had a profound respect for John Wesley, and frequently quoted the Methodist founder, especially regarding issues of sanctification and perfectionism/holiness.³⁷ Wesley had taught that sanctification was the renewal of the individual's fallen nature through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Deliverance from the guilt of sin and pollution permitted the believer to then walk in the holy commandments blameless. However, in the later nineteenth century the Methodist Church was increasingly minimizing the role of sanctification.³⁸ In contrast, Lake's understanding of sanctification was consistent with early Wesleyanism. Prior to receiving a clergy appointment, Lake met a "Christian farmer," Melvin Pratt, who taught a sanctification emphasizing the redemptive and restorative role of the Holy Spirit.³⁹ Lake thus was sympathetic to the goals of the National Holiness Association, an interdenominational group especially active among Methodists. In many ways the Holiness followers carried on the older American antebellum tradition of revival characterized by ecstatic worship and the born-again personal religious relationship. The concept of Holy Spirit baptism as a third experience following sanctification was popularized in the 1880's by B. H. Irwin, a Southern minister.⁴⁰ Sometime after 1891, Lake encountered the ministry of George G. Watson of the Christian and Missionary Alliance and formulated a more definite understanding of the relationship of spirit baptism and sanctification.⁴¹ Watson's preaching struck a chord with Lake, particularly the belief that "one must get a good deal of evangelical religion before he can see and feel his need of heart purity."⁴² Watson influenced Lake with



doctrines of spiritual healing, anticipation of apocalyptic Holy Spirit gifts, and the need for strenuous foreign missions.⁴³

Like Charles Parham, William Seymour, and other clergy trained in the Methodist tradition, Lake was dissatisfied with the denomination's failure to incorporate Holiness sanctification doctrines, liturgy and practices. Lake's Midwestern residency placed him squarely in the midst of the ongoing struggle for church control pitting Methodists of Holiness persuasions against the more high church advocates favoring a formal theology comparable to that in the Episcopal Church. He called the formalist faction "old church people."⁴⁴ Lake clearly felt the Methodist Church had departed from John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection as represented in sanctification.

A de-emphasis of sanctification was not Lake's only concern with the contemporary Methodist Church. Formalism and bureaucratic structures, both in liturgy and ecclesiastical organization, were viewed by Lake as contrary to Holy Spirit spontaneity. Moreover, the Methodist accommodation of worldly activities like drinking, smoking, dancing and gambling was abhorred. Perhaps of greatest concern to Lake was the mainline Methodist Church's substitution of personal spiritual experience with mere rote profession of faith. Religion without a spontaneous embrace of the Holy Spirit and all the charismatic consequences had little appeal. Especially important was the lack of any significant consideration of divine healing.⁴⁵ Moreover, Lake opposed adherence to dogma that was based merely on precedent and established church practice, rather than being biblically sanctioned. He proudly declared, "God has taken all creeds out of me."⁴⁶

As a pastor candidate, he asserted to the Methodist conference his belief in divine healing. That body then “undertook to ostracize me.”⁴⁷ Lake was deemed a “fanatic” by the denomination’s hierarchy.⁴⁸ He joined those many pastors who were “forced out of her ministry” because they received spirit baptism. Like other American Holiness Association affiliates and fellow charismatics, Lake was made to feel uncomfortable within the Methodist Church and either compelled or persuaded to leave its ministry. He lamented that the usual custom in the modern church was to make the living faith pastor “feel that he is regarded as strange,” then he was “ostracized and actually dismissed.”⁴⁹ He remarked, “...the individual who trusted God for healing was almost an insane man in the eyes of the church and the world.”⁵⁰ Lake felt the Methodist Church had abandoned Wesley. Lake had not left the true faith. He told William James, the renowned Harvard psychologist, “There was a time when every godly Methodist had the testimony from heaven that he was a son of God, and if he did not have it he was not a Methodist.”⁵¹ Lake observed, “Today, the fundamental truth on which Methodism was founded is no longer taught in her pulpits.”⁵² Declaring that “healing was recognized by Wesley as a possibility of faith,” Lake only sought to preach the “fresh impetus” that John Wesley gave to “the teaching of healing through the faith in Jesus.” Lake related that Wesley’s records documented many instances of “wonderful healing,” casting out of demons, and “remarkable” answers to prayers.⁵³ Driven out as a clergy participant from a denomination he regarded as his religious home, Lake remained totally committed to his vision of uncorrupted Wesleyanism and church holiness. Despite his rejection as pastor, he still maintained his Methodist membership, perhaps hoping for a more

sympathetic consideration of his charismatic practices.

Having declined appointment to the ministry, Lake made some significant career and personal decisions. He became a journalist, founding a small start-up weekly in Harvey, Illinois.⁵⁴ The community, named after a relative of the famous Chicago fundamentalist Dwight L. Moody, had an evangelical religious orientation that appealed to Lake. Soon after the Harvey relocation, the twenty-one year old Lake married Jennie Stevens of Newberry, Michigan, at Millington, Illinois.⁵⁵ The couple resided in Harvey.⁵⁶

Jennie Stevens, known as "Jen" to her friends, was an attractive, vivacious blond. Her facial features were uniform and symmetric, and her abundant blond hair was worn in a pile in public, accented with a ribbon. Her dress was fashionable, with a high lace neckline. A picture of her with John and their five children, probably taken in 1903, epitomized an American middle class family. All were well attired in Sunday best. Jennie, seated to the left, held the youngest daughter, Irene, an infant. Lake was seated to the right, a patriarchal entrepreneur with trim beard and mustache. His bushy eyebrows and dark hair afforded him a contemplative look. With his left hand, Lake protectively and possessively touched the shoulder of the oldest daughter, Edna. The boys, rather stem-faced, stood between the parents. Typical of most photographs of that era, no one in the Lake family smiled broadly, although Jennie showed a touch of a grin and Lake's facial expression seemed to manifest pride and a restrained pleasure in having "married and established my own home."⁵⁷

Despite apparent vitality, Jennie Lake suffered from poor health. Lake

bemoaned that “the same train of conditions that had followed my father’s family appeared in mine.” Jennie had heart problems (probably irregularity) and tuberculosis. She frequently passed into unconsciousness and could be revived only with strong stimulants and nitroglycerin. A semiparalytic state would ensue for several weeks.⁵⁸

Around 1894 Lake met John Alexander Dowie on a Chicago street and subsequently visited the Dowie Healing Home. Dowie’s prayer were said to have cured Lake’s chronic constipation and disabling rheumatism.⁵⁹ John Alexander Dowie, born in Edinburgh in 1846, earned a theological degree from the university there, then moved to Australia in the 1870s. Initially a Congregationalist, he soon found the mainline Protestant denomination to be worldly and uninspired. When a pestilence struck Dowie’s congregation, he read Acts 10:38 and Hebrews 13:8. He was convinced that Jesus desired to heal and that sickness was contrary to God’s will. Jesus, being the same yesterday and today, empowered modern believers with charismatic gifts. Relocating to the U.S. in the 1880s, Dowie began an itinerant ministry by establishing a string of healing homes throughout the Midwest. He emphasized a restorationist approach that sought to regain the pristine, uncorrupted power of the biblical church. He reinstated the offices of the early church, such as that of apostle, in a theocratic community awaiting the imminent return of Jesus. His utopian city, Zion, Illinois, was based on applied biblical morality. His theology emphasized salvation, holiness and healing.⁶⁰

Lake took his “dying” brother and sister to the Healing House in Chicago. The brother, Fred Lake of Sault Saint Marie, was healed of gum hemorrhage and

joint pain.⁶¹ The sister, Mrs. William Otto of Wyandotte, Michigan, recovered from five cancers through faith ministrations.⁶² Nevertheless, Lake did not immediately renounce his Methodist Church membership (perhaps hoping for a reconciliation should Holiness factions secure denominational acceptance) or formally join Dowie's Christian Catholic Church in Zion. Twenty-five years after the event, Lake recollected his initial contact with Dowie as having a more profound impact on his life than his own more immediate reflections and his wife Jennie's statements would suggest. In the later account, Lake remarked on the "wonder of God's power (that) had been revealed to my Methodist soul." He also recalled having been quite impressed witnessing the infirm cured by Dowie's prayers and healing touch during a "great" Chicago meeting. Among those instantly cured was his brother.⁶³

Following an episode of diphtheria, Jennie developed heart problems and tuberculosis.⁶⁴ A progressive curvature of the spine further complicated her condition. With the birth of their third child, she declared herself "a nervous and physical wreck." Her health deteriorated so much that physicians declared her death to be imminent. As a last hope, Lake and Jennie moved to Sault Sainte Marie, seeking a climate more congenial to her health and a closer proximity to other family care providers. Realizing the relocation had been to no avail, in ultimate desperation she read Leaves of Healing, Dowie's church paper also called the "Little White Dove." She finally decided, on her sister-in-law's advice, to consult Dowie and make a prayer request. Surprisingly, according to Jennie, she did not ask for advice from Lake whether to abandon traditional secular medical treatment or to seek Dowie's ministerial care. Nevertheless, Lake was receptive to Jennie's

recourse to faith healing. Dowie prayed while she and Lake knelt at the bedside in supplication. She heard the comforting voice of Jesus, and thereafter arose from the sickbed, "perfectly healed." She was now convinced of the reality of divine healing. Although a Methodist for several years, "the way had grown darker instead of brighter." Having read literature disseminated by Dowie's Christian Catholic Church in Zion for several months, she was ready to "come out of the dead Church" but was "waiting" for Lake to embrace a comparable conviction. She related, "I knew his heart was in Zion, but he was still a member of a Secret Society," holding a mutual insurance policy issued by a nonprofit benevolent organization in contradiction of Dowie's dictates. Confronting her husband, she was "surprised" to discover his willingness to affiliate with Dowie's church. Lake promptly terminated his association with the secret benevolent society and gave up the insurance. The couple then resigned from the Methodist Episcopal Church and submitted applications for membership in the Christian Catholic Church in Zion.⁶⁵

Lake's account of Jennie's healing differed from his wife's recollections on several significant points. Jennie's version afforded Lake no role in deciding upon whether to continue medical treatment or instead seek faith healing. She was the catalyst in soliciting Dowie's help, not Lake. In Jennie's narrative, Lake's sister was the individual who provided a personal testimony to the efficacy of Dowie's ministry. Jennie even anticipated a reticence on Lake's part to leave the Methodist Church. In contrast, Lake's account portrayed himself as much more assertive in actively pursuing divine healing options. Lake recalled initially consulting a minister not affiliated with Dowie's organization, who had said, "Brother Lake, be reconciled to

the will of God" - meaning "Be reconciled to let your wife die."⁶⁶ Feeling such pessimistic resignation as contrary to the will of God, Lake opened his Bible at random. The tenth chapter of Acts was indicated, reading, "Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed by the Devil." Lake was then convinced that sickness was contrary to God's desire. Illness was an evil work of the Devil. Lake fully understood that "Christ died and Himself took our infirmities and bore our sickness."⁶⁷ Both he and his wife recognized "a great new light, seeing that the Church erroneously taught that the days of miracles were past."⁶⁸ Lake promised the Lord the devotion of his whole heart and life should Jennie be healed.⁶⁹ Accordingly, in Lake's account the decision to leave their church and embrace Dowie's Zion was a mutual determination, not instigated by Jennie's solicitation of her husband.

After joining Dowie's Zion, the Lakes made frequent resort to faith healing provided by Dowie personally or his associated ministers. Around April 1898, two months after Jennie's deliverance from heart disease, Otto Lake, their youngest son, was dying. Lake prayed for relief without effect. Lake later related, "We did not pray the prayer of faith then as well as we do now. We had not made everything right, and the Lord did not answer our prayer."⁷⁰ The Lakes thus sought assistance from Zion clergy, who healed the boy.

With Jennie better, Lake considered volunteering in the Spanish American War. He endorsed the Cuban insurrectionists as "people that were being oppressed beyond any people I knew of."⁷¹ He denounced the "tyrannical government of the Spaniards" and deemed enlistment comparable to Christian service in the spiritual

army of the Lord. His uncritical view of the Cuban insurrection as a glorious struggle against despotism reflected the profound impact that Joseph Pulitzer's World and William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal had in shaping the perception of the American public. Like President William McKinley, Lake did not see the use of military force overseas as in any way inconsistent with Christian ethics and democratic principles. Lake fully embraced McKinley's declaration of the American war effort as a mission by the chosen working with non-Westerners to "uplift and civilize and Christianize them, as fellow men for whom Christ died."⁷² While not an express advocate of expansionism, Lake did not ever denounce the acquisition of a U.S. empire. Unlike many other charismatics, he never articulated a conscientious objection to military service. Despite enthusiasm for the war as a moral cause, he did not enlist, apparently because of wife Jennie's delicate health.

Ongoing family health problems necessitated additional healing. On 7 June 1899 Jennie was cured of a potentially fatal bacterial infliction accompanied by fever (erysipelas) through the agency of prayer.⁷³ In an August 1898 written testimonial from Sault Sainte Marie, Lake reported adopting an orphan child, George Armor, when the infant was dying in an institution. Together with other Zion believers, Lake helped heal the child through prayer. As guardian he had convinced the orphanage matron not to make further recourse to secular medical care for the infant. The healing created a "sensation" among the "If-it-be-Thy-will" mainline denomination Protestants.⁷⁴ Jennie was also healed of rheumatism through prayer, finding "new life poured through my bones" following an 18 July 1900 baptism by General Overseer Dowie.⁷⁵

A few months later the Lake family faced perhaps its greatest need for a faith healing. On 2 August 1900, when visiting a friend's home, Jennie was shot in the spine by her four year old son Horace. The neighbor had carelessly left a revolver, one of the "Devil's playthings," in a place accessible to children. Before losing consciousness, she prayed. Taken to Lake, he touched her wound and called upon God. Other Zion faithful were summoned for bedside prayer. No resort was made to medicine and nonbelievers were not permitted access to the injured woman. An African-American woman played an instrumental role in Jennie's recovery, having been selected by Lake to watch over his wife and determine who should be admitted to the sickroom. Jennie's condition progressively improved. Despite her recovery, Lake was taken to task for his refusal to use secular medical care. The Sault Sainte Marie newspaper condemned Lake for his sole reliance on spiritual healing. An incensed doctor was said to have organized vigilantes with the intent to destroy the Christian Catholic Church Zion Hall in that town. Only Jennie's speedy return to health prevented the gang from pursuing its planned arson and intimidation.⁷⁶

Lake advanced to office in the Zion church within eighteen months of his initial membership. He was head of the Sault Sainte Marie congregation by the first quarter of 1900. Since that group had no elder or evangelist, he presided as conductor, a non-ordained lay leader.⁷⁷ On 18 July 1900 Lake and Jennie were baptized by General Overseer Dowie at the Central Zion Tabernacle, Chicago. In a special ordination service conducted by Dowie the next day at the Zion City, Illinois Temple construction site, Lake was made a deacon with power to baptize.⁷⁸ Over the next few years, Lake ranked as one of the most active Zion clergy in

administering the baptism sacrament.⁷⁹ By 1901, probably in recognition of his entrepreneurial skills, Lake was made manager of Dowie's Zion City building department.⁸⁰

Lake always fondly recalled his association with Dowie, declaring that he received his healing ministry through the Australian evangelist, "a man whom I have loved with all my soul."⁸¹ Lake credited Dowie as the source of his "light" on divine healing, stating, "He knew God. He knew Christ the Lord. He knew the power of God to save, and the power of God to heal."⁸² In Dowie Lake found an organizational expression of his long-sought Apostolic Faith. He joined Dowie's evangelicals committed to recapturing the truths of the primitive church, including acknowledgment of divine healing and other charismatic New Testament gifts. Dowie profoundly influenced Lake's theology, liturgy, rhetoric and organizational practices. Although Lake's later Pentecostal work, with speaking in tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism, was clearly distinguishable from Dowie's Zion, both men's ministry shared a remarkable commonality and parallel development.

Dowie believed in charismatic blessings, but asserted such gifts for himself and not necessarily for his congregants. He felt the gifts could be bestowed incrementally, with the apostolic powers emerging over time. He did not preclude the possibility of speaking in tongues, but never emphasized that gift. He certainly did not view tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism. Charles Parham visited the Chicago Zion congregation in 1900 and sympathetically noted the highlighted role of the Holy Spirit, holiness, healing, restoration of the primitive church, a millenarianist anticipation of Christ's prompt return, and the triune water immersion

baptism of adult believers. Parham returned to Zion after receiving the Topeka Bible School revelation of tongues as the initial sign of Holy Spirit empowerment, and clashed with Dowie over that gift and Dowie's autocratic leadership.⁸³ Weakened by schismatic dissent, Dowie by 1906 lost control of his utopian city. Rival fellow Zionists, Pentecostal recruiting among his membership, and creditors had devastated his church.⁸⁴

Lake found a mentor in Dowie. Much of Lake's later church organization and theology owed much to his Zion experience. Dissatisfied with Methodism, Lake and Dowie shared a critical view of mainline Protestantism. Dowie's attack on the "compromised" churches resonated with Lake. Both men criticized "corrupt" ecclesiastical organizations, said to lack "power in their preaching," deceived by the "wonder-workers" of secular medicine.⁸⁵ As a new Zion member, Lake lashed out at the "Churches and Secret Societies...under the direction of their father the Devil" who would "stop at nothing to crush the work."⁸⁶ Lake claimed no other church than Zion "knew anything about the Power of God."⁸⁷ The "otherness" aspect of being a divinely chosen people appealed to Lake, who never manifested any misgivings that Dowie's Christian Catholic Church might be a cult. The dichotomies of good and evil were established. Those who opposed Zion were agents of the Devil. Lake asserted that Zion would conquer the earth, "prevailing over apostate churches and a malevolent society epitomized by the corrupt secular Chicago."⁸⁸

Lake's perspectives on divine healing were congruent with Dowie's teachings in every significant regard. Remarkably, the Bible verses supporting divine healing that Lake encountered when randomly opening his Bible to pray for Jennie's

recovery from heart disease were the very passages that Dowie asserted when commencing his Australian ministry in 1876.⁸⁹ Both ministers maintained that God wished all to be healed, and that sickness was an affliction from the Devil. They envisioned an unchanging God, such that biblical healings were possible in contemporary times. The Corinthian gifts bestowed by the Holy Spirit were present today, despite mainline churches lacking the faith to exercise such spiritual powers. Divine healing was of God, in contrast to what Dowie termed the “diabolical counterfeit” offered by new religions like Christian Science, “mind healing” and spiritualism.⁹⁰

Aside from the emphasis on divine healing (not unique to Zion, being present in most Holiness organizations) and apart from the theocratic and apostolic priesthood elements whose specific manifestations were unique Dowie innovations, much of the Lake/Dowie theology was basic Protestantism. The initial professions of faith required for membership in the Christian Catholic Church asserted scriptural infallibility, repentance, salvation by Christ’s grace and possession of a “measure” of the Holy Spirit. Lake readily assented to the triune immersion of adults in a water baptism conducted in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. As a Zion member, he proclaimed Jesus as “Savior, Healer, Friend, and Keeper” and endorsed the message of “Salvation, Healing and Holiness.”⁹¹ Dowie’s perfectionism was consistent with the Holiness traditions to which Lake had been exposed, and both denounced premarital sex, alcohol, tobacco, drugs and perfume.⁹² Such doctrines formed the unwavering basis for Lake’s entire life ministry. The overlay of Pentecostalism that Lake adopted in 1906 after leaving Zion merely placed a greater

emphasis on one New Testament gift, specifically tongues as the initial evidence of spirit baptism. The substantive beliefs Lake formulated or further defined under Dowie remained unaltered and intact.

A comparison of the practical ministry of Dowie as overseer of the Christian Catholic Church and Lake as Pentecostal revealed much commonality, although distinctions were evident. Lake would make extensive use of the Dowie-style healing homes and private residences as complements to the facilities where regular services were conducted. Lake would adopt Dowie's reestablishment of New Testament church offices and gifts, and used the title "Apostle" like his mentor.

Like Paul, both claimed their commission from God rather than from denominational ordination. Both ministries saw remarkable parallels between their lives and the practices, trials, and tribulations of the biblical disciples. A flair for the dramatic was also a shared attribute. In his ongoing ministry Lake used the Dowie technique of interjecting both personal and third-party testimony in his sermon, often solicited through a question-and-answer format learned during his Zion years. Both often employed business imagery in sermons. They frequently presented God to their congregations using sales pitches, replete with commercial jargon and even business-type "puffing" of personal experiences.⁹³ Lake and Dowie shared an informal speaking style, talking without notes or only with recourse to limited outlines.⁹⁴ Neither preacher ever shied away from topics out of a concern that congregants or observers might feel uncomfortable or offended.⁹⁵ Both encountered dissension within their own churches. Both had to refute charges of fraud and fiscal mismanagement leveled by their fellow believers. Both assumed the title of doctor

to stress their roles as healers, despite a renunciation of secular healthcare.⁹⁶ Through Dowie, Lake learned to defend his religious convictions and First Amendment Constitutional rights through such nonviolent practices as resort to courts, civil disobedience, and peaceful public protest.⁹⁷

Despite many similarities, the preachers did exhibit some distinctive ministerial practices. Although both could be confrontational, exclusive and authoritarian, Lake was somewhat more receptive to debate and criticism. Relating an argument he once had with Dowie, Lake admitted, "Years ago, there was not a sharper critic of men and methods than I."⁹⁸ Dowie did not welcome Lake's critique and curtly replied to the novice minister:

When you have had the vision that I have had, when you have shed the tears that I have shed, when you have suffered... you will be competent to criticize. If you ever develop construction qualities equal to your critical capacity, you will be a bigger man than I am. At present, you are an operator, not a constructor.⁹⁹

While Lake envisaged the eventual establishment of spiritual healing institutes, churches, an international ecclesiastical organization, and a Pentecostal college, he never harbored any grandiose scheme to establish his own theocratic utopia. In fact, the young Lake was reluctant to set up any formal bureaucratic entities, feeling such structures unduly inhibited Holy Spirit worship. Lake was more willing than Dowie to embrace democratic, egalitarian church government when a structure was absolutely necessary. Although both agreed that biblical church offices should be reestablished, and even though Lake later took the title "Apostle," Lake was never so conceited to believe himself the reincarnated Elijah, as did the

mentally ill Dowie.¹⁰⁰ In variance to Dowie's pomposity, the young Lake declared a fondness for "the democratic Spirit of the New Testament that leaves off titles, but looks into a man's soul."¹⁰¹ Although both ministries advertised and did not shy away from media attention, positive or negative, Lake only promoted his church and never pursued an encompassing structured applied social agenda. In contrast, Dowie frequently criticized detrimental aspects of labor, industry, finance, racism and politics.¹⁰¹ Both were vocal advocates for women's equality in the ministry.¹⁰³ Both generally found the relationship between Christianity and ethically conducted, responsible capitalism completely compatible, but some ambivalence was occasionally evidenced. Dowie delighted in his personal wealth, teaching a doctrine of "godliness in league with riches," whereas Lake reveled in a renunciation of his individual wealth.¹⁰⁴ Lake repeatedly preached that spiritual development transcended any benefits of secular materialism. Nevertheless, he never repudiated his business background and always held prominent financiers, industrialists and developers in high regard, while Dowie often confronted the magnates of his era.¹⁰⁵

Lake and Dowie expressed somewhat divergent views on social activism and political involvement. While Lake loved all races, believed in Christian brotherhood and harbored no ethnic hatred, he abstained from advocating any politically empowering agenda for blacks. In contrast, Dowie actively asserted the equality of African-Americans, not just spiritually but also in a social, economic, and political context.¹⁰⁶ Dowie thrust his ecclesiastical organization into local, state and national politics, endorsing Republicans as guardians of law and order. Surprisingly, Dowie did not support the Democratic Party Populists, who would have appeared logical

allies given their social reform platforms.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, Lake was generally apolitical, except for his rather Populist egalitarian principles set forth in "My Consecration as a Christian," his laudatory sermon remarks about William Jennings Bryan, and his perplexing involvement with Louis Botha and other Afrikaners in the formulation of South African land policy.¹⁰⁸

Lake left Zion City residency in September 1904, possibly anticipating the utopian community's financial decline following Dowie's progressive psychological and physical deterioration.¹⁰⁹ Lake relocated his family to a Chicago suburb. He had invested in church- controlled property and industry. With legal title to most assets and properties vested personally in Dowie, the Overseer's subsequent insolvency left Lake without any equity. Lake departed Zion City "practically broke, my holdings in the Dowie property having become depreciated at his death."¹¹⁰

Lake was ambivalent toward Chicago. He recognized the economic opportunities available to the intrepid entrepreneur, but deplored the city's political and moral corruption. Chicago manifested all the political, social and economic problems of urban America. The "metropolis of the West" was known for its no-holds barred capitalism and tough ward politics. Its stockyards and the packing houses of Armour and Swift constituted a global meat processing industry. The city was a trading center of international proportion, dominated by the Board of Trade. Chicago offered employment that drew European immigrants willing to perform the dirtiest, hardest work. The city became one of the most ethnically segregated municipalities in America, with large Irish, German and Polish enclaves residing in the vile slums collectively called "packing town," situated near the stockyards. Saloons and

houses of prostitution flourished in the "Levy", a vast red light district tolerated by politicians on the take. The public health services that were available were often ineffectual due to graft and cronyism. The arrival of the predominantly Catholic immigrants created further conflict with the Protestant elite capitalists. Socialists and anarchists, particularly active among the foreign born, adopted an increasingly strident rhetoric seeking to advance the cause of the "wage slave." The 1886 Haymarket bombing created a hysteria of anti-labor agitation with catastrophic consequences for organized labor.¹¹¹

Arriving in Chicago, Lake solicited investment capital for a start-up venture. He created a real estate/commodities firm dealing in Chicago property and Chicago Board of Trade transactions. By 1907, Lake specialized in financial management and insurance sales, handling accounts for investment and industrial magnates James T. Hill, Tom Lawson, Edward H. Harriman and Thomas Ryan.¹¹² In response to public outcries about scandals relating to New York insurance underwriters, Lake purportedly founded the People's Life Insurance Company of Chicago in order to offer fair, competitive premiums and honest claim settlement.¹¹³ Lake declared an enthusiasm for the insurance business dating back to his youth when he visited the business tycoon John McCall. Admiring the palatial office and prestigious office furnishings denoting wealth and power, the impressionable boy had almost immediately developed a profound desire to pursue that vocation.¹¹⁴ As an insurance salesman, Lake claimed to have established a most lucrative business writing millions of dollars of annual policy coverage.¹¹⁵

Lake's behavior as a businessman and his subsequent attitude toward

prominent capitalists reflected much ambiguity. Lake consistently spoke highly of Hill, Lawson, Harrison, Ryan and McCall.¹¹⁶ Lake never criticized those individuals or other capitalists for maximizing personal profits at the cost of the wage earners. He never utilized the customary Populist/Progressive terminology of “robber baron.” In fact, Lake was proud of his association with these capitalist achievers. Probably Lake regarded such industrialists and financiers as church-going folk upon whom God had chosen to bestow money. Moreover, given Lake’s business background as a newspaperman, real estate and insurance salesman and commodities broker, such people were usually to be emulated, not despised. He could envision the magnates as being like himself - hardworking, sober, frugal individuals willing to defer present gratification for future rewards. God gave wealth to be well spent. Lake felt his role was not to question providence.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, Lake as Christian businessman sought to practise biblical ethics reflecting a definite Populist egalitarianism. Advocating a compassionate capitalism, he was critical of the “competitive system” that sought only investor/entrepreneur profit maximization. Capitalism devoid of Christian ethics was “the outgrowth of human selfishness devised by the Devil.” Among other standards of conduct he set forth in a document captioned, “My Consecration as a Christian,” he enumerated as a first principle, “All things earthly that I possess shall not be considered my own, but belonging to my heavenly Father, and shall be held in trust by me to be used and directed by the wisdom of the Spirit of God, as the law of love of men as Christ loved them may dictate.”¹¹⁸ He further elaborated a fair, pragmatic employee compensation arrangement, stating, “If...I should be engaged in any

earthly business and should employ men to aid me in conducting it, I shall reward them justly and equally, comparing their own energy expended with my own after adding a sufficient amount to my own to cover all risk that may be involved in the operation of my business.”¹¹⁹ He concluded the initial principle setting forth a rather visionary profit-sharing program:

I shall consider my employees my equals with rights to the blessings of nature and life equal to my own. I shall not strive to elevate myself to a position of comfort above the rest of my employees and shall direct all my efforts to bring all mankind to an equal plane, where all enjoy the comforts of life and fellowship together.¹²⁰

Similarly, Lake emphasized the transcendent nature of spiritual obligation in contrast to mere temporal materialism, stating “...(I) will not let myself be bribed or coerced into any unrighteous act for any earthly consideration.”¹²¹

The insurance industry that Lake encountered in 1907 was buffeted by considerable public outcry alleging collusion, financial impropriety and other fraudulent business practices on the part of major carriers. Throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century and into the first decade of the next, American Populists advocated a comprehensive program for greater democratic input in the political process and a more extensive role for government in regulating industry, transportation, finance and insurance. Populists were particularly concerned with curtailing railroad monopolies, implementing personal income tax and public oversight of finance, insurance and investment. A significant Populist expose’ of the insurance industry was published the very year Lake commenced work in that field. The critique particularly castigated John A. McCall, an insurance magnate Lake,

even as a teenager, had admired and considered a “great” role model.¹²² Lake either did not recognize any conflict between his personal ethics and the greed and manipulation of certain capitalists or did not feel called to address what he may have perceived as primarily secular social problems rather than spiritual concerns. Lake genuinely thought of himself as an ethical insurance entrepreneur working to professionally address his clients’ financial security. He never felt his beliefs in providence and divine healing were in any way inconsistent with the sale of insurance. His ultimate departure from brokerage work to pursue full-time ministry was a result of his desire for a total religious commitment rather than a repudiation of the business.

Charles Fox Parham’s visit to Zion City, Lake’s former town of residence, served as a catalyst for the growth of Pentecostalism in a religious community undergoing financial and schematic pressure. Parham, a Wesleyan Holiness preacher, accepted the B. H. Irvin Holiness concept of a third experience consisting of Holy Spirit baptism following justification and sanctification. To that orientation, Parham added a faith healing then prevalent among American Southern and Midwestern radical Holiness followers.¹²³ He founded the 1900 Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas. The student body there unanimously concurred that speaking in tongues was the one indisputable proof of Holy Spirit baptism.¹²⁴

Parham set forth an Apostolic Faith similar to, yet clearly distinguishable from, that advocated by Dowie and accepted by Lake as a Christian Catholic Church adherent. Both Parham and Dowie looked to the biblical church for direction in structuring both substantive theology as well as ecclesiastical organization.

Nevertheless, Parham's orientation was clearly distinguishable from Dowie's doctrines. Parham did not adopt Dowie's priestly offices and associated trappings, theocratic utopianism and applied social gospel. Moreover, Parham stressed a Pentecostal message based on his 1900 Topeka revelation, affording prominence to speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of spirit baptism. Although Dowie also recognized New Testament charismatic manifestations, he downplayed tongues as only a lesser gift and certainly did not claim that tongues alone demonstrated spiritual endowment. Parham initially visited Zion City in October 1900, one year prior to Lake's residency there. Parham found Dowie's Apostolic Faith themes of holiness and Holy Spirit empowerment compatible with his own views, but expressed reservations about Dowie's spiritual capacities.¹²⁵

By 1904, about four years following the Topeka revelation, persons having received spirit baptism under Parham relocated to Zion City and held home prayer meetings. At that time, Lake met Parham's wife and sister-in-law, Lillian Thistleweight, when those women visited Lake's friend, Fred F. Bosworth, in Zion City.¹²⁶ The meeting played a most prominent role in Lake's religious development. He first learned of the preeminent role tongues were afforded by Parham as initial evidence of spirit baptism. Promptly recognizing the potential divisiveness such a dynamic doctrine held for ongoing Dowie hegemony in Zion City, the Christian Catholic Church leadership used ostracism and economic sanctions to force the Parham charismatics to depart the community.¹²⁷ The association of the two prominent Zion leaders, Deacon Lake and band leader Bosworth, with the Parham-influenced women had profound consequences for the ongoing viability of Dowie's

utopian community. Coming at a time when Zion City was in financial decline, coupled with Dowie's own psychological and physical deterioration, the positive reception of Pentecostalism by such well regarded Christian Catholic Church leaders boded ill for the utopian theocracy.

Lake had read of the 1903 Welsh Revival, accompanied by healings, tongues, prophetic revelations and other charismatic gifts, and hoped for and expected such manifestations in his own life.¹²⁸ Parham's Wesleyan message, with its emphasis on sanctification and perfectionism together with Holy Ghost charismatic powers, filled a need in Lake he did not find satisfied in mainline Methodism. Furthermore, the use of Wesleyan terms and format to describe spiritual experience was more agreeable to Lake, with his practical Methodist grounding and training, than Dowie's diversions into an applied religious agenda as expressed in Christian utopian theocracy. Given the depreciating value of Zion City's financial investments, and Dowie's delusions about being a reincarnated Old Testament prophet, the time was ripe to pursue a fulfilling Wesleyan-inspired charismatic teaching. The Christian Catholic Church schism of 1906, whereby Wilbur Voliva (no friend of Lake) wrestled control from Dowie, was further incentive for Lake to distance himself from that denomination. Thus Lake left Zion City residency in September 1904 to pursue an active independent lay ministry while working full time as a broker/financier.¹²⁹

By the summer of 1906 news reached Chicago of the Azusa Street, Los Angeles, revival conducted by African-American Holiness/Wesleyan minister, William Seymour, a former Parham student. An American revival comparable to the

Welsh experience was underway in California, with baptisms in the Holy Spirit exhibited through miraculous healing, prophecy, tongues, and Christian egalitarianism and unity transcending the racial and social prejudices of the era. The Pentecostal meetings were considered spontaneous opportunities for praise and worship as ordered by the spirit. Frank Bartleman, a contemporary observer, in his book, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles, declared, "We had no respect of persons. The rich and educated were the same as the poor and ignorant...We only recognized God..."¹³⁰. On 1 July 1906 Chicago worshippers gathered at a home to pray for the Holy Ghost baptisms as received at Azusa Street. John C. Sinclair, a close friend of Lake but never a member of the Christian Catholic Church, was reportedly the first person in Chicago to receive spirit baptism. He became pastor of the Christian Apostolic Assembly of Chicago in 1906, a church that developed out of the original Pentecostal prayer group he led. Lake derived further knowledge of Pentecostalism through his Chicago friend's activities.¹³¹

In August 1906 Parham again visited Zion City, attracting hundreds in meetings conducted at the city hotel. Lake's friend F. F. Bosworth welcomed Parham into his home as a guest.¹³² Parham brought his Apostolic Faith message, together with news of the fascinating charismatic manifestations occurring at Azusa Street. Overseer Voliva acted promptly to deny the Pentecostals use of the Zion City facilities. Unable to use Christian Catholic Church accommodation, private homes and revival-style tents were initially utilized until application could be made to the bankruptcy trustee for rental of other Zion facilities. One such building, formerly the Edina Hospice of the Christian Catholic Church lace factory, was used as a

Pentecostal faith home and renamed The Haven.¹³³ Through 1906, Parham actively ministered in Zion City, remaining present apart from a visit to Seymour's California mission in October.

Visiting his protégé Seymour's Azusa Street ministry, Parham condemned what he perceived were unduly exuberant manifestations. Harboring racial prejudice and notions of white supremacy, Parham revolted against the physical proximity and intermingling of whites and blacks worshipping together. Parham characterized Seymour's Azusa work as "counterfeit" and a "cross between the Negro and the Holy Roller form of worship." Following the Azusa trip, Parham and Seymour ended their association. The schism was an ominous foretaste of the retreat from ecclesiastical integration and egalitarianism. Responding to Parham's rejection, Seymour subsequently evolved his theology to suggest that racial love and Christian fair treatment were the tests of true Holy Ghost endowment, not the mere speaking in tongues Parham and many white Pentecostals continued to hold as the initial evidence of spiritual baptism.¹³⁴

Returning from Los Angeles disgruntled with the emotional excesses of Azusa Street charismatics, Parham promoted his own Pentecostal vision. He erected a large tent in Zion City to conduct a watch-night service on New Year's Eve 1906. Approximately two thousand, including Lake, attended to hear Parham preach for two hours on the baptism of the Holy Ghost. At the watch-night service, Lake apparently experienced a charismatic endowment, spoke in tongues and joined the Parham faction in Zion City, although continuing to reside in the Chicago vicinity. In the following weeks he probably availed himself of the opportunity to

study under Parham at a Bible school held in Zion City.¹³⁵

Having experienced some preliminary manifestation of spirit empowerment at the watch-night service, and having learned further about Pentecostalism through the Bible school, Lake became convinced of the desirability of full Holy Spirit baptism. Although he had received previous spirit anointments, he wanted a deeper, transcendent charismatic blessing. Despite his ongoing secular business engagement, he devoted several hours each day solely to prayer and meditation. After several months of such devotionals he developed the ability to maintain an ongoing contemplative divine communion even when undertaking ordinary nonreligious activities. Following each full day's work, handling financial and insurance matters, he preached as a lay speaker almost every night or otherwise participated in after-service prayer groups seeking Holy Spirit baptism. After several months of beseeching spirit endowment without apparent success, Lake became discouraged with himself, declaring, "Lord, it may be for others, but it is not for me. You just cannot give it to me."¹³⁶ Finally, in the company of a Pentecostal believer when visiting an infirm woman, Lake felt he heard a voice documenting incidents when he had disobeyed God and calling him to the ultimate commitment of "absolutely putting my body, soul, and spirit upon the alter forever."¹³⁷ Lake stated his soul called out to God and was soothed with an ultimate, transcendent calm. The spirit then said, "I have heard your prayer. I have seen your tears. You are now baptized in the Holy Spirit."¹³⁸ Lake maintained that he then received a new revelation of the nature of Christ and a tenderness for those needing God's love and healing. He laid hands on the invalid woman he was visiting and she arose from the

sickbed, perfectly healed.¹³⁹

Responding to the announcement in the Waukegan Gazette of Lake's spiritual baptism and the ensuing vigorous evangelistic efforts of the charismatics, Voliva and the Christian Catholic Church vehemently attacked Lake and other current or former Zion congregants attracted to Pentecostalism, denouncing them in an indignant, defamatory manner. The Voliva leadership declared:

No gentleman, not to mention a Christian, would break into a Church settlement...to establish a counter-organization. Those who do are nothing more nor less than religious bums, tramps, and thugs. Persons coming in here...at the invitation of traitors...need not expect any courtesy from Zion. An ecclesiastical "Goat-House or Garbage Dump" has no right within this settlement. The war...will be waged...until every traitor goes to his own place.¹⁴⁰

A similar contemporaneous billboard, one of several erected in the anti-Pentecostal campaign, concluded, "Just take a good look at this army of effeminate leaders-Parham, Old Tom (Hezmalhalch), Lake, Fockler, Speicker!"¹⁹

Reacting to such billboards and other character attacks, Dr. John G. Speicker, a physician and former Overseer for the Chicago Catholic Church bureaucracy, rallied to the Pentecostals defense.¹⁴² Dr. Speicker asserted:

I have been in close relationship with such men as Evangelist Thomas Hezmalhalch, John Lake, F. F. Bosworth...Cyrus Fockler, and others, and they have proven to be Christian gentlemen. Never have I heard one word spoken from the platform or in private that would bring the blush of shame to the face of the most modest woman or young girl.¹⁴³

Thomas Hezmalhalch, generally known as "Brother Tom" because of his

unusual, difficult to pronounce last name, was a Wesleyan preacher from Leeds, England, who arrived in Zion City in May 1907. Hezmalhalch had conducted a charismatic ministry in Indianapolis, Indiana, for several weeks prior to his arrival in Illinois. Lake and Hezmalhalch quickly formed a close preaching partnership, together with F. F. Bosworth and Cyrus Fockler, fellow Pentecostals formerly with Dowie's church. Lake and his associates were instrumental in conducting prayer meetings and a Bible training school preparing other Pentecostals to "leave for the various comers of the world to take up the work."¹⁴⁴ At a May 1907 Memorial Day service, a particularly rewarding spirit endowment was observed. Congregants gathered under Lake and Hezmalhalch in the upper room chapel of The Haven in Zion City to pray and to "tarry until" the seeker received spirit baptism. The Holy Ghost fell upon the congregation, causing them to drop to the floor, then arise justified and sanctified, praising God in known and unknown tongues.¹⁴⁵

Lake and the other Illinois Pentecostals, like many charismatics nationwide, read William Seymour's paper The Apostolic Faith and were enthused by the testimonies detailing miraculous events characteristic of the New Testament. Like Parham, Lake was eager to visit Seymour's Azusa Street Mission, the cradle of the 1906 American Pentecostal revival. However, unlike Parham, Lake exhibited no racially motivated predilection to dismiss the Seymour-led charismatic manifestations as mere excessive black emotionalism. Early in 1907 Lake, Bosworth and Hezmalhalch went to see Seymour at Azusa Street. A photograph in the Assembly of God Archives showed the four men attired in dark suits, white shirts

and bowties, gathered outside the white wood-framed building. Seymour was seated, holding a Bible. His sightless white glazed eye was obvious as he stared contemplatively. Lake, seated next to Seymour, had short trimmed hair, thick eyebrows and a full mustache. He seemed to be suppressing a smile and appeared the most relaxed. The others stood to the rear, not smiling but maintaining friendly countenances. Hezmalhalch looked to be in his 60s, with receded grey hair and white mustache, standing quite erect, close behind Lake. Bosworth was rear center, the only one with coat unbuttoned. He had boyish facial hair, with dark hair parted in the middle with strands somewhat askew. The photo was noteworthy for the central role afforded the African-American minister as mentor of the white Pentecostal company.¹⁴⁶ A decade later Lake recalled Seymour as “an old Negro” who spoke “from his spirit to my heart” and “showed me he had more of God in his life than any man I had ever met...”¹⁴⁷. Although Seymour conducted services using “the funniest vocabulary that any Negro ever had,” Lake noted that there were “doctors and lawyers and professors listening to marvelous things coming from the old Negro’s lips.”¹⁴⁸

Seymour reciprocated the California meeting by visiting Lake and the other Pentecostals in Zion City around July 1907. Seymour related that God was doing mighty work there “among those heart-broken and crushed people,” a reference to the disintegration of Dowie’s utopia and the Christian Catholic Church/Pentecostal confrontation. He noted the Pentecostals were utilizing a number of former Christian Catholic Church buildings to conduct services. He observed the Holy Ghost fall upon worshippers in the upper room chapel of The Haven, and heard

various known and unknown tongues, including Zulu. Children and other youth were especially active in exhibiting charismatic gifts. Seymour noted that the work of Lake and the other Pentecostals was “the sweetest thing you want to see. It reminds me of old Azusa ten months ago (when the revival began).” He enthusiastically declared, “This is another Azusa. It would do you good to hear these people speak under the power of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁴⁹

Seymour profoundly influenced Lake’s theology, liturgy, and ministry. African-inspired worship exhibited a receptiveness toward unsubdued expressions of the Holy Spirit and narrative testimonial theology. Seymour imparted to Lake, the middle-class white entrepreneur, a venerable worship tradition of African origin, further developed in the African diaspora under slavery and racial oppression. Such religious expression was a unique synthesis of African praise and Western Christianity. Without Seymour’s Azusa Street, Lake would have lacked a full exposure to that profound religious experience. That familiarity and acceptance of African and Western composite charismatic worship would greatly benefit Lake in addressing the worship needs and orientation of South African blacks.¹⁵⁰

Lake adopted the religious emotionalism that Seymour brought from an African-American slave tradition. Fluid congregant participation in a service not dominated by a pastor speaking from a pulpit and administering sacraments behind an altar can be traced to the spontaneity of slave “shout circles.” In shout circles, participants were equals, testifying to their faith, awaiting the Holy Spirit’s manifestation, and encouraging fellow believers with enthusiastic yelling. Similarly, African-inspired rhythm and music helped worshippers express spiritual

involvement. Pentecostal demonstrations of miraculous powers like exorcisms, visions and spirit possessions were fully consistent with African traditions. Consequently, Lake emulated Seymour in promoting “shout circle” type spontaneity by minimizing church interior architecture and employing a spatial design fully integrating all congregants, whether clergy or laity, in intimate worship.¹⁵¹ Throughout his subsequent ministry Lake employed such Seymour-inspired ecstatic, emotional worship, characteristic of slave Sunday and revival services. Motivated shouting, animated gestures, healing, testimonials and other enthused group dynamic interaction became constant elements of both men’s ministry.¹⁵²

Seymour greatly influenced Lake’s views on theology, particularly regarding speaking in tongues. At the commencement of the Pentecostal revival, both men shared Parham’s view that tongues were the initial evidence of spirit baptism and thus the paramount charismatic gift. Seymour soon relegated tongues to a subordinate status among other blessings, especially demonstrated Christian love. Seymour acted in response to some racist white Pentecostals who spoke in tongues yet failed to show charity and concern for other races. Lake did not evolve his theology as extensively as Seymour and did not so minimize the role of tongues. Nevertheless, Lake did ultimately embrace Seymour’s conception of the supremacy of Christian love, particularly ultimate care for other ethnic groups and the social and economic outcast. For both pastors the primary evidence of Holy Spirit endowment came to be the divine love that, in Seymour’s words, “brings all into one common family.”¹⁵³ Unlike Parham with his racial antagonisms and condemnation of African “animalism” in ecstatic worship, Lake followed Seymour’s lead in fostering Holy

Spirit endowment among persons of all races, ethnicities, sexes, ages and social/economic classes.¹⁵⁴

Lake was a rather unique pastor in that he had ongoing friendships and associations with both Parham and Seymour after the Parham/Seymour confrontation and their parting company over the Azusa Street liturgy. Although Lake did not embrace Parham's notion of an organized Anglo-Saxon supremacist religious entity and, unlike Parham, did not tolerate the racial hatred of the Ku Klux Klan, Lake was able to see the positive contributions Parham provided as "projector" of the Apostolic Faith.¹⁵⁵ Following an accusation of financial and sexual misconduct, many Pentecostals deemed Parham an embarrassment. Such persons sought to minimize any recognition Parham might receive for propounding the doctrine of tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism, the basic tenet accepted by most Pentecostals of that era.¹⁵⁶ Critics of Parham instead emphasized that God, providentially working through history, rather than any one man, was responsible for the "latter day rain" and the subsequent understanding of the Holy Ghost manifestations by spirit-filled believers. In contrast to such detractors, Lake never abandoned Parham, always acknowledging him as the "father" and originator of the Pentecostal message.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Lake was not blind to Parham's great shortcomings and told his friend, "we have been too small for God's use and purposes."¹⁵⁸ Lake also noted "there has been an utter failure to measure up to the stature of fatherhood in God."¹⁵⁹

Lake also maintained an affiliation and correspondence with Seymour. Through Lake's American and South African ministry, he consulted Seymour on

matters of theology as well as pastoral ministry. Long after most white Pentecostal ministers tried to distance themselves from Seymour, seeing him as a poor black of limited formal education, unworthy of any role in the Azusa Street Pentecost, Lake continued to give Seymour his due. Lake's sermons frequently recognized Seymour as an inspired, holy man of God endowed with the most comprehensive spiritual gifts. Lake attributed to Azusa Street "the most extensive revival of real religion in this century", whereby "Heaven's fire fell over the world", a result of Seymour's heartfelt prayer.¹⁶⁰ In addition to sermon references, Lake distributed Seymour correspondence retyped on Lake's letterhead, thereby acknowledging the African-American's profound contribution to the charismatic movement while embracing him as fellow clergy.¹⁶¹ Unlike Parham, Lake was not embarrassed in any way to be associated with Seymour, a man who "had more of God in his life than any man..."¹⁶².

In addition to maintaining relations with such diverse Pentecostals as Parham and Seymour, Lake associated with mainline denomination clerics receptive to divine healing. He preached in their churches, engaged them in conversation and debate on religious topics and saw them as persons to be emulated. He particularly praised evangelical predecessors such as Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission and a role model for Lake, for dedicated overseas work conducted on an interdenominational "faith" missionary basis without the funding of any specific organization.¹⁶³

In October 1907 Lake underwent a further spiritual experience accompanied by speaking in tongues. With Hezmalhalch, Lake stopped to see an invalid at her

home. During the visit Lake received a profound sense of communion with God as currents of power ran through his entire body. His tongue, throat, and jaw moved in a manner beyond his control, uttering a language he had never learned. Lake reported a consciousness of the spirit of God present within his person. He felt as if God asked him what Corinthian gift he would choose. He responded, asking for the power to heal. This spiritual manifestation was distinguishable from his prior experiences in magnitude and comprehensiveness.¹⁶⁴

Throughout 1907 Lake struggled to make a decision whether to give up his lucrative financial, insurance and realty agency to pursue full-time ministry. Although he felt God desired that he make a total commitment to the ministry, he was reluctant to forgo or curtail home, business position and social and familial relationships. Lake found himself less and less able to concentrate upon and devote himself to secular activities. He questioned how he could give a total effort to a client's business when the status of the person's soul was paramount. Finally, he became convinced God required him to preach full-time and that no other course of action would afford any inner contentment. Accordingly, he liquidated his assets and distributed proceeds to philanthropic and benevolent institutions, friends and relations, and then commenced a nondenominational independent evangelism funded solely by unsolicited contributions.¹⁶⁵

Although Lake was generally apolitical while in the U.S., his rhetoric was influenced by Populism and its successor movement, Progressivism. The Populist/Progressive movement was strongest in those portions of Lake's Midwest where Pentecostalism was most popular. He adopted Populist ethical tenets, and he

spoke fondly of William Jennings Bryan as the chief proponent of that movement.¹⁶⁶ Lake was one of many Pentecostals who came from a socioeconomic background influenced by Populism. Like Pentecostalism, Populism and Progressivism especially appealed to Americans disillusioned with the current state of society and fearful of the threatening changes engendered by industrialization and urbanization. Like Pentecostals looking back to an idealized pure biblical church and the ultimate morality of perfectionism, Populism and Progressivism looked to Jeffersonian democracy. Lake used the term "recreation" to describe the process of seeking an idyllic utopia in the past, and asserted that peoples of all ages attempted to recapture a perceived golden era.¹⁶⁷ Populism and Progressivism sought to advance the diminished fortunes of the small farmer, merchant, laborer and professional who perceived themselves as victims of Wall Street, big business and monopolistic trusts. Pentecostals, like Lake, Parham and Seymour, sought to stem the tide of moral corruption through "righteous indignation" and an appeal to a transcendent, ultimate power.¹⁶⁸ The failure of Populism/Progressivism to bring about sweeping social change was a further impetus for Pentecostal development. The political process having failed to fully achieve the ethical goals, resort was made to religion as "dreams shifted inward."¹⁶⁹ The only lasting remedy was the Holy Spirit manifested in the hearts of repentant believers dedicated to living a moral life in godly power. Although recognizing that their belief was perceived by mainline traditional churches and general society as a bizarre cult, Pentecostals were convinced they would ultimately succeed either through changing the world or by preparing the spirit-filled select for Christ's second coming. Accordingly, Lake spoke

of the nature of man being absolutely changed into the nature of Jesus. The Christian empowered by the Holy Spirit and trusting in God would vanquish evil.¹⁷⁰ Utilizing an economic class conflict perspective, the impoverished communities of Lake's Midwest, particularly those sectors comprising urban wage laborers and rural subsistence workers, could be viewed as alienated from the experience of self-determination and achievement celebrated in nineteenth century American Protestantism as well as society at large. Lake's Pentecostalism, like Populism and Progressivism, provided symbols, concepts, and practical forms to counter negative public impressions of the movements. The Pentecostal emphasis on restoration of the uncorrupted biblical church and the Populist/Progressive movement seeking restoration of Jeffersonian democracy and a purge of social corruption and big business could both be seen as exhibiting expressions of class struggle.

Both the religious revival and the political movement were anti-authoritarian, rejecting institutions or developments unresponsive to the needs of marginalized peoples.¹⁷¹ Although certainly not expressly class warriors, the downtrodden religious proletariat formed a consciousness of being at odds with the culture at large. Both Pentecostals and Populists/Progressives saw material life as unhealthy and in need of purification. The corrupt urban world must and would be reclaimed and restored.¹⁷²

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO, LAKE'S EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

1 A Lake/Graham genealogy and local history were provided me by Dr. Ronald Huggins of Spokane, Washington and Nan Mulligan of Kitchener, Ontario. Dr. Huggins is a historian of religion with his degree in New Testament with an emphasis on the history of the interpretation of the Bible in America, particularly the Holiness-revivalist tradition. Ms. Mulligan obtained the family and local history from Mary A. Smith, curator, St. Marys Museum, St. Marys, Ontario, in correspondence dated 13 November 2000. Lake spoke admiringly of his Scottish ancestry and history, particularly noting the Covenanters who died "heroes" after declaring, "We will have nae King but Jesus." See Roberts Lairdon, John G. Lake: The Complete Collection of His Life Works (Tulsa: Albury Publishing, 1999), p.125. The reference appears in a Lake sermon captioned "A Divine Healing," 30 January 1914. The Lairdon work is primarily a compilation of primary sources, without commentary, from the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, Assemblies of God Archives, Springfield, Mo.. Citations in this dissertation generally use the Lairdon reference given the accessibility of the published work. When "probably" or "possibly" is used in this thesis, a reasonable inference has been drawn from the referenced sources.

2 Laura Payton (ed), The Stoneman-St. Marys (St. Marys: Town of St. Marys, 2000), pp. 8-28.

3 Mark Noll, A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992), p. 266.

4 Lake later expressed an ecumenism noteworthy for a Pentecostal of his era. In a sermon delivered in Somerset East, Cape Colony, later disseminated by the Apostolic Faith Mission Printing Works, Johannesburg, Lake cited the familiar Reformation slogan as his motto: "In essentials, unity; in nonessentials, liberty; in all things, charity ...". Lake further declared, "we are not fighting men nor churches...". See "A Christian Baptism" in Lairdon, God's Generals, p. 574. In a 28 February 1920 letter Lake stated, "...is it not time to quite attacking forms of faith, whether good or bad...". Ibid., p. 305, captioned "Lake's Reply to Dr. Elwood Bulgin."

5 Lairdon, God's Generals, p. 304. Although no regular services are now held, the Avonbank Church still stands, a stout, somewhat austere brick structure with small windows, reminiscent more of old Scotland than the New World. The adjoining cemetery, where several Lakes are buried, is still used. See letter to Nan Mulligan from Mary A. Smith, 13 November 2000.

6 Lairdon, God's Generals, p. 218, captioned "The Second Crowning", a sermon delivered 16 April 1916. Lake recollected the mournful verse:

"Ye living men come view the ground
Where You must shortly lie."

7 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p.304.

8 Ibid.

9 Gordon Lindsay (ed.), Spiritual Hunger, The God-Men, and other Sermons (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, Inc., 1976), p. 56.

- 10 Gordon Lindsay (ed.), The New John Graham Lake Sermons (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, Inc., 1986), p. 4.
- 11 Lindsay, Spiritual, p. 57.
- 12 John Graham Lake, Adventures in God (Tulsa: Harrison House, 1981), Appendix, captioned "Lake as young man." Although Gordon Lindsay does not take credit for the work, he appears to have edited and compiled the brief Lake autobiography from data derived from sermons and oral history sources.
- 13 Wilford Reidt, John G. Lake-A Man Without Compromise (Tulsa: Harrison House, 1989), p. 13. He did disobey his parents at least once, driven by curiosity. He picked a door lock, entered a chemist's lab and accidentally set off an explosion that hurled him through the air and ripped out a section of wall. See Kenneth Copeland, John G. Lake-His Life, His Sermons, His Boldness of Faith (Forth Worth: Kenneth Copeland Publications, 1995), p. 343.
- 14 Gordon Lindsay, The John G. Lake Sermons on Dominion over Demons, Disease and Death (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, Inc., 1982), pp. 13 and 35.
- 15 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p.82, reprinting Lake's diary prepared 1910 in Johannesburg. The manuscript is also available in the Assembly of God archives.
- 16 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 117, captioned "Divine Healing," a sermon delivered 30 January 1914.
- 17 Lindsay, Spiritual, p. 57.
- 18 Lake, Adventures, p. 13.
- 19 Ibid., p. 15.
- 20 Lindsay, Spiritual Hunger, p. 93.
- 21 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 248, captioned "Reality: Preliminaries," a sermon delivered 11 February 1917.
- 22 Reidt, John G. Lake, p. 13. See also Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 117.
- 23 For a discussion of the Methodist congregations in Sault Sainte Marie, see an internet site posted by Michigan Historic Center, Michigan Department of state at [http:// www.state.mi.us](http://www.state.mi.us). A brief history of Sault Sainte Marie is available at [http:// www.saultetemarie.org](http://www.saultetemarie.org).
- 24 Lake, Adventures, pp. 73-74.
- 25 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 130, an untitled sermon delivered 1 March 1914 in Philadelphia. The teenage Lake manifested a creative nature through his interest in architecture. In Chicago he encountered the functional style of Louis H. Sullivan, and observed the innovative use of reinforced concrete and steel frames in construction of minimally ornamented skyscrapers.
- 26 Lindsay, Spiritual Hunger, p. 52.
- 27 Ronald Brunger, One Hundred Years of God's Church in Mission (Newberry: Newberry United Methodist Church, 1983), p. 3. See also Spokane Press, 16 July 1924, no page reference, newspaper clipping, Spokane Public Library, Local History Collections, stating Lake studied theology at Newberry. Correspondence from Lillian A. White, Luce County Historical Society, Newberry, MI. to me, dated 9 February 1998, states the town has never had a college or university. The Newberry reference might relate to the Sunday School Institute or instead indicate a reading of

the Methodist course of study required of all ministerial candidates, either self-directed or as a Chicago seminarian.

28 Correspondence from Dr. Dale Patterson to me, dated 23 February 1998. Dr. Patterson, chief archivist, United Methodist Church Archives, Madison, N.J., is the author of an unpublished dissertation, "The Ministerial Mind of American Methodism: The Courses of Study of the Ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Episcopal Church, South and Methodist Pentecost Church, 1880-1920".

29 Spokane Press, 4 July 1924, p.1. Correspondence from Patrick Quinn, University Archivist, Northwestern University, dated 10 August 1999, states the records of the university do not indicate such attendance or graduation.

30 Methodist Episcopal Church, The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1888), pp. 400-403.

31 The Garrett Bible Institute suffered two disastrous fires, which together with financial crisis and consolidation with the Chicago Training School, may account for no documentation of Lake's registration. See John Gross, "Garrett Theological Seminary," in Nolan Harrison (ed.), Encyclopedia of World Methodism (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), pp. 901-902.

32 Spokane Press, 16 July 1924, no page reference, newspaper clipping, Spokane Public Library, Local History Collection, citing Professor A. A. Bettes.

33 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 632, reproducing an undated letter to the San Diego Sun from the Assemblies of God archives, shows Lake's use of the physician title. Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 348 refers to Lake's use of scientific equipment in an attempt to prove the validity of faith healing.

34 Ibid., p. 454, a sermon entitled "Spiritual Hunger" delivered 11 December 1924.

35 Correspondence from Tracey Del Duca, associate archivist, United Methodist Church Archives to me dated 10 February 1999. Also see "Researching Your United Methodist Ancestry," a web page maintained by the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, setting forth definitions.

36 Gordon Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, 1972), p. 3. The Methodist Church did not retain information on clergy who "located," the term used for leaving the Methodist ministry. See correspondence from Dr. Dale Patterson to me dated 23 February 1998. As documented by correspondence with Susan Gadzinski, archivist, Chippewa County Historical Society, dated 5 November 1999, no evidence was available verifying the existence of the Soo Times. Likewise, Suzanne Schneiderman, Reference Library of Michigan, Lansing, could not locate either copies or citations to such a periodical. Perhaps the periodicals were only published infrequently or had a very short run time.

37 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 179, a sermon entitled "Water Baptism, delivered 14 March 1915.

38 Methodist Church, Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church (Nashville: The Methodist Publishing House, 1952), p. 32. The Methodist Church attitude toward sanctification and charismatic manifestations appears in United Methodist Church, United Methodist Book of Resolutions (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1996), also available on the internet at <http://>

www.elder.org/wordpress/. "There is some question whether Pentecostalism per se would have occurred had the holiness tradition retained its influence within the local church. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, the decline of Wesley's emphasis on perfection among Methodists, the development of theological views in response to changing cultural conditions, and the apparent wealth and worldliness of the church created considerable spiritual insecurity." *Ibid.*, p. 6 (internet version pagination).

39 Lindsay, The New John Graham Lake Sermons, pp. 15-16.

40 Iain MacRobert, The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), p. 40.

41 Lindsay, The New John Graham Lake Sermons, pp. 15-16.

42 Edith Blumhofer, The Assemblies of God, Vol. 1 (Springfield: Gospel Publishing, 1989), p. 42.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

44 Lindsay, Dominion, p. 79.

45 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 179.

46 *Ibid.*, John G. Lake, p. 283, a service entitled "Demonstration Service" conducted 13 May 1917.

47 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 12.

48 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 290, an untitled sermon delivered 20 May 1917 in the Masonic Temple, Spokane.

49 Lindsay, Dominion, p. 126.

50 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 12.

51 Lindsay, Dominion, p. 112. Lindsay does not provide the time, place or any other details of Lake's alleged discussion with James. No other source has been found to corroborate any such association.

52 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 179.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 685, a sermon reprinted as a pamphlet entitled, "Is God Able to Heal."

54 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 10.

55 *Ibid.* The referenced photograph from the Allan Mesko collection was made available to me by Cindy Mesko, 26 March 1999. The Stevens of Newberry, Michigan lived in a plain wood sheathed farmhouse. The weather boards, laid in the customary horizontal lap pattern, were painted white. The two-story house had a sharp-pitched roof, probably 8/12 slope, to better shed water and snow/ice accumulation. From a front perspective, two large 2 over 2 sash windows were situated above a one-story porch. A smaller one-story residential structure was situated in close proximity to the main dwelling. The foreground of the lot showed an area cleared for cultivation. To the rear of the main house a thick forest crowded the structure, offering significant shade and wind breaking.

56 *Ibid.*

57 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 11. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 99.5 for a reprint of a photograph from the Assemblies of God collection showing the Lake family, and p. 102.5 for a picture of the couple from the Assemblies of God collection.

58 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 11.

- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Edith Blumhofer, "The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church and the Apostolic Faith," in Charismatic Experience in History, ed. by Cecil M. Roberts, Jr. (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishing, 1985), pp. 126-130. The most sympathetic treatment of Dowie is found in Gordon Lindsay, The Life of John Alexander Dowie (Dallas: Christ For The Nations, 1951).
- 61 Leaves of Healing, 1895-96, Vol. 2, p. 367. The periodical was the official publication of Dowie's Christian Catholic Church in Zion.
- 62 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 440.
- 63 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 278.
- 64 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 11.
- 65 Leaves of Healing, 1901, Vol. 9, p. 227.
- 66 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 13.
- 67 Ibid., p. 14.
- 68 Ibid., p. 15.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 471.
- 71 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 181.
- 72 Roger Butterfield, The American Past (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), p. 286. No evidence suggests that Lake ever read John A. Hobson's 1902 Imperialism: A Study that addressed the correlation between imperialism and the modern industrial economy. Lake showed little interest in academic economics.
- 73 Gardiner, Bread of Life, p. 10; Blumhoefer, "A Pentecostal Branch Grows in Dowie's Zion", p. 4. Leaves of Healing, 1898-99, Vol. 5, p. 650.
- 74 Ibid., p. 839.
- 75 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 441.
- 76 Ibid., 1901, Vol. 9, p. 228.
- 77 Ibid., 1899-1900, Vol. 6, p. 773.
- 78 Ibid., 1900, Vol. 7, p. 410. The ordained Zion offices, in descending order of prominence, were general overseer, overseer, elder, evangelist and deacon.
- 79 Leaves of Healing, 1902, Vol. 11, pp. 610, 671 and 773.
- 80 Lake, Adventures, p. 113.
- 81 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 168, reprinting "The Platforms of Jesus," a sermon delivered 24 Jan. 1915.
- 82 Reidt, John G. Lake, p. 132.
- 83 Ibid., p. 136.
- 84 Philip L. Cook, Zion City, Illinois-Twentieth-Century Utopia (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), pp. 212-213. Surprisingly, that definitive work on Dowie's Utopia made no mention of Lake.
- 85 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 415.
- 86 Ibid. 1899-1900, Vol. 6, p. 773.
- 87 Ibid. 1900, Vol. 7, p. 635.
- 88 Ibid. 1900-01, Vol. 8, pp. 314-315. See Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 562, wherein Lake noted the "corrupting influence of the Chicago Press."

- 89 Blumhoefer, "Christian Catholic", p. 127. Lake's account appears in Lindsay, John Graham Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 14. The possibility exists that Lake read the biblical passages specifically suggested or referenced by Dowie.
- 90 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 346. Lake presented a virtually identical opinion on new age religions in a sermon entitled "Spiritualism," Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 433 and a "Reply to Dr. Elwood Bulgin," in Lairdon, p. 305.
- 91 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 479.
- 92 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. 174, a sermon entitled, "Have Christians a Right to Pray 'If it be Thy Will' Concerning Sickness?" The Dowie prohibition against pork consumption received little emphasis from Lake after his departure from the Christian Catholic Church. A contrary interpretation that Lake continued to oppose pork consumption even as a Pentecostal minister might be deduced from his ambiguous statement that cutting a ham was "bad business." See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 252, a sermon titled "The Marvel of God's Touch," delivered 22 April 1917. In any event, that prohibition could be viewed as outside the scope of the "Basis of Fellowship" and thus be a "matter of opinion" not essential to church unity. See Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 479, captioned "Form of Application For Membership in the Christian Catholic Church in Zion." Both ministers also attacked dancing and secret societies, although such injunctions were a less compelling component of Lake's subsequent Pentecostal ministry. Lake did ultimately join the Pentecostal Church of God, which opposed tobacco, alcohol, drugs, gold jewelry, lodge membership and remarriage after divorce. See John A. Hardon, The Spirit and Origins of American Protestantism (Dayton: Pflaum Press, 1968), pp. 255-256.
- 93 Jean Comaroff, Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, p. 178), citing Dowie's admonition to "make a business of religion."
- 94 Cook, Zion, p. 17. Lake was "able to stand up" and "take on anyone, anytime, anywhere..." according to one of his congregants. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 24 and 26, setting forth an interview with Clark Peterson.
- 95 Cook, Zion, p. 10.
- 96 Ibid. A typical Lake use of "doctor" appears in Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 632, reprinting a letter to the editor, San Diego Sun.
- 97 Cook, Zion, p. 11. Representative Lake notes are reprinted in Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 916, with a skeletal outline for a sermon captioned "The Offense of the Cross."
- 98 Reidt, John G. Lake, p. 23.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Lindsay, The New John Graham Lake Sermons, p. 24.
- 101 Blumhoefer, "Christian Catholic," pp. 126-146. Clark Peterson stated Lake "wasn't a man for show..." as cited in Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 25.
- 102 Cook, Zion, p. 16. 102 Blumhoefer, "Christian Catholic", p. 146.
- 103 Blumhoefer, "Christian Catholic", p. 146.
- 104 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 20.
- 105 Cook, Zion, p. 64. Lake considered the enumerated wealthy capitalists his friends. See Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 53. Nevertheless, Lake was

"never overawed by wealth..." according to his grandson. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 7.

106 Ibid., p. 93

107 Ibid., p. 107

108 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 142.

109 Leaves of Healing, 1903-1904, Vol. 14, p. 617, setting forth Lake's last residency in Zion City.

110 Lake, Adventures, p. 114. Lake again demonstrated his frequent inability to accurately relate an occurrence. The Zion financial debacle transpired in 1906, prior to Dowie's death in 1907. Lake also omitted any reference to Wilbur Voliva's seizure of control of the Christian Catholic Church and the impact litigation for church control had on Zion investments. See Cook, Zion, p. 212. With these errors Lake further showed he was an evangelist and engaging communicator, not a historian.

111 Donald L. Miller, Chicago: City of the Century (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996) provides a detailed account of the city's nineteenth and twentieth century history.

112 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 10-11, reprinting Walter M. Tannenbergs brief Lake biographical sketch. A charitable portrait of James J. Hill, the railroad baron, is found in Frederick Lewis Allen, The Lords of Creation (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1935 1966 reprint), p. 44. Hill struggled with rival E. H. Harrison, another purported Lake client, for control of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad servicing the American Northwest. Hill and Harriman later reconciled through a community of interest and formed a holding company for their assets, The Northern Securities Company of New York. Harriman was a director of the Equitable Life Assurance Society from 1901 to 1905, at which time he recommended Hill as his replacement. Harriman later had to defend himself against charges of self dealing when as director he approved loans to himself. In 1905, Charles E. Hughes, as special council of the New York Legislature, investigated the Equitable. Hughes determined that Harriman misused a fiduciary position. Thomas F. Ryan, a noted speculator, financial promoter, and purported Lake business acquaintance, acquired controlling interest in the Equitable Society in 1905. Around 1907 Harriman succeeded in buying out Ryan's insurance holdings. See George Kennan, E. H. Harriman, Vol. 1 (Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1922, 1969 reprint), pp. 412-416. No evidence outside Lake's own assertions has been found to verify Lake had any involvement with these financiers and industrialists. Neither the Kennan work, Allen's history or Joseph Pyle, The Life of James J. Hill, Vol. 1 (New York: Peter Smith Publishing, 1936) mention Lake. As documented by correspondence to me dated 7 February 2000, Eileen R. McCormack, associate curator, manuscripts division, James J. Hill Group, St. Paul, Minn., found no Lake referenced in the Hill papers.

113 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 460, reprinting "Spiritual Hunger," a sermon delivered 11 December 1924.

114 A search of the Illinois public records did not locate the Peoples Life Insurance Company of Chicago. The only non-Lake source collaboration of his business activities was found in the 3 January 1907 Waukegan Gazette and there Lake was

- only titled "a real estate man." See Gordon Gardner, Out of Zion Into All The World (Shippensburg: Companion Press, 1990), p. 17.
- 115 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 20. Lake purported earning over \$50,000 annually in the pre-income tax early twentieth century. See also Gordon Lindsay, Sketches From the Life and Ministry of John G. Lake (Shreveport: Voice of Healing Publishing Co., 1952), p. 14 and Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 12.
- 116 Even after leaving the business world to pursue a full time Pentecostal ministry, Lake maintained a very good rapport with Hill, who provided Lake complimentary railroad passes. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 16.
- 117 Allen, The Lords, pp. 86-92.
- 118 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 613 and 968.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Burton J. Hendrick, The Story of Life Insurance (New York: McClure, Phipps and Co., 1907), pp. 243 and 271. See also Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 460 for an expression of Lake's admiration of John McCall.
- 123 Arthur E. Paris, Black Pentecostalism (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), pp. 22-23. A well-documented biography of Parham is James R. Goff, Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988). Surprisingly, the work does not address the Lake/Parham association.
- 124 Cecil M. Robeck, Jr.: "William J. Seymour and 'The Biblical Evidence' in Initial Evidence, ed. Gary McGhee (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), p. 83.
- 125 Blumhoefer, "The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church", p. 136. During Lake's period of affiliation with the organization it was usually called the Christian Catholic Church.
- 126 Ibid. Bosworth was the director of the award winning Zion City Christian Catholic Church band at the time of the meeting with the women conveying Parham's Topeka experience. Like his friend Lake, Bosworth accepted Pentecostalism during Parham's 1906 Zion City visit, undergoing spirit baptism. Also like Lake, about a decade later he expressed concerns that Pentecostalism was placing undue weight on seeking "gifts instead of the giver." Unlike Lake, Bosworth in 1918 totally rejected tongues as the initial test of spirit baptism. See Blumhoefer, The Assemblies of God, pp. 239-241. While never completely abandoning the tongues test, Lake eventually was influenced by William Seymour's qualification that tongues were only valid as an indication of spirit baptism when accompanied by racial inclusiveness and egalitarian benevolence on the part of the recipient.
- 127 Blumhoefer, "The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church", p. 136.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Gordon P. Gardiner, Out of Zion Into All the World (Shippensburg: Companion Press, 1990), p.18.
- 130 The Pentecostal Messenger, August 1989, p. 6, in an article titled "Three-Score and Ten" by Ronald Minor. See also Frank Bartleman, Azusa Street (Plainfield: Logos International, 1980), pp. ix-xxi, an introduction by Vinson Synan, discussing

Bartleman's role as an early Azusa Street observer and chronicler, and Frank Bartleman, How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles (New York: Garland Publishing, 1905).

131 Ibid. Lake's close friendship with Sinclair was renewed upon Lake's return to America following the South African ministry. The two participated together as keynote speakers at Pentecostal conferences over the next decade. See Pentecostal Herald, January 1921, Vol. 6, no. 10, articles captioned "Science of Divine Healing" and "Tongues and Interpretations" by Lake and Sinclair. This association appears to account for Lake's ultimate affiliation with the denomination Sinclair helped found, the Pentecostal Church of God. See my March 1999 conversation with Ronald R. Minor, general secretary/treasurer of the Pentecostal Church of God.

132 Edith Blumhoefer, "A Pentecostal Branch Grows in Dowie's Zion" in Assemblies of God Heritage, Fall 1986, p. 4.

133 Gardiner, Out of Zion, p. 30.

134 Richard Foster, Streams of Living Water (New York: Harper Collins, 1998), pp. 122-123 and Harvey Cox, Fire From Heaven (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishers, 1995), p. 61. Seymour's egalitarian doctrines are further discussed in Douglas Nelson, "For Such A Time As This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, England, May 1981). Rather interestingly, the extensive 385 page dissertation makes absolutely no reference to Lake, totally neglecting the significant association of Lake and Seymour. Ian MacRobert, The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), pp. 29-36 places Seymour in the context of black American Christianity and addresses African elements in U.S. Pentecostalism.

135 Ibid., pp. 15-17, citing Waukegan Gazette, 2 January 1907.

136 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 17. Also see Gardiner, Out of Zion, pp. 18-20, apparently using Lindsay's account.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid., p. 18.

139 Ibid., p. 19. Lake related having experienced various spiritual endowments spanning his tenure with Methodism through the Dowie Christian Catholic Church period and continuing into the Parham/Seymour Azusa Street years. Except for the power of discernment, the resulting charismatic gifts purportedly remained with him throughout his life. Like some other Pentecostals, Lake appeared to believe in many possible progressive charismatic blessings. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 395, referencing his sermon, "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit" and Copeland, p. xxxii, reprinting a 5 November 1928 letter to M.H. Wright of Johannesburg.

140 Blumhoefer, "A Pentecostal Branch Grows in Dowie's Zion", p. 4.

141 Gordon Gardiner, Bread of Life, December 1981, p. 10. The image of the 1907 "unwelcome" sign is also available in the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center collection without page and volume designation.

142 Leaves of Healing, 1900-1901, Vol. 8, p. 793.

- 143 Zion City News, 1 August 1907, "Is it the Latter Rain?", a clipped article in the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center collection without page and volume designation.
- 144 Gardiner, Out of Zion, p. 34.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. 271 (picture appears after the referenced pagination).
- 147 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 236, printing a sermon "Consciousness of God" delivered 26 November 1916 in the Masonic Temple, Spokane.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 The Apostolic Faith, July-September 1907, Vol. 8, p. 2.
- 150 MacRoberts, The Black Roots, p. 74. See Walter J. Hollenweger, Pentecostalism: Origins and Development Worldwide (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishing, 1997), p. 18.
- 151 Foster, Streams, p. 131.
- 152 Arthur E. Paris, Black Pentecostalism (Amherst: University of Mass. Press, 1982), p. 9.
- 153 Foster, Streams, p. 120. Lake's embracing Christian love as a paramount virtue is reflected in his statement, "God has made of one blood all nations of men! If you don't want to acknowledge them (blacks) as brothers, then you'll have the mortification of going away into eternal woe." The quotation reported by W.F. Burton appears in Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 43.
- 154 Foster, Streams, p. 123.
- 155 Blumhoefer, The Assemblies of God, p. 90. See also Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 497, reprinting a Lake letter to Parham dated 24 March 1927.
- 156 Blumhoefer, The Assemblies of God, p. 91.
- 157 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 474.
- 158 Ibid., p. 477.
- 159 Ibid., 475.
- 160 Ibid., p. 507, printing Lake's sermon "The Truth About Divine Healing," originally disseminated July-August 1927.
- 161 Correspondence from Seymour to W.F. Carothers, Assemblies of God Archives. Although the original letter had a 1906 date, the Lake letterhead republication is undated. Based on Lake's Portland address, the reprint must have occurred around 1920 or thereafter.
- 162 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 236, reprinting Lake's sermon "Consciousness of God," 26 November 1916, Masonic Temple, Spokane.
- 163 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 527, printing a Lake radio sermon captioned "Adventures in Religion," lecture 1, 24 July 1935.
- 164 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 78-80, reprinting the initial entry from Lake's manuscript diary in the Assemblies of God Archives.
- 165 Lake was a "full gospel, full businessman." See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 80 and Allan Mesko note made available to me by Cindy Mesko, 26 March 1999. See also Lairdon, p. 12, reprinting a brief Lake biographical sketch first published by Ward W. Tannenber, Let Light Shine Out: The Story of the Assemblies of God in the Pacific Northwest (Walnut Creek: Moore, Mayhew and Fick, 1997), pp. 171-180.

166 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 942, printing Lake's sermon "How to Receive Etemal Life," a post-1920 Portland communication. Bryan steered the Democratic party away from the commitment to minimal Federal government characteristic of Andrew Jackson, Samuel Tilden and Grover Cleveland, toward use of government to benefit the economically disadvantaged farmer and worker. Bryan's drastic modification of his party's orientation opened the way for the governmental activism of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. See Peter B. Kover, Democrats and the American Idea (Washington: Center for National Policy Press, 1992). For a discussion of the environment that promoted both Populism/Progressivism and Pentecostalism, see correspondence of Darrin Rogers, University of North Dakota School of Law, posted 31 March 1999 on the internet at <http://h-net.msu.edu>.

167 Ibid., p. 515, printing Lake's sermon "Reign as Kings," delivered 4 January 1931 in Portland.

168 James R. Goff, Jr., "The Theology of Charles Fox Parham" in Initial Evidence, (ed.) Gary McGee (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), p. 65.

169 Ibid. Goff states that Pentecostalism provided an alternative to failed Populism. "Religion sometimes offered a unique vehicle for self-expression and consolation to Populists who discovered their attempt to control life thwarted. For some the explanation was undoubtedly that human efforts for justice are futile; only God could restore order on behalf of the weak and the oppressed." Ibid., p. 22. On the other hand, some Populists/Progressives abandoned "Christ charity" to embrace the more sweeping reform of Christian socialism. See Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

170 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 210-211, printing Lake's sermon "The Second Coming," delivered 16 April 1916.

171 Jean Comaroff, Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 177. See also Vinson Synan, The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1971), p. 172. Despite such Christian egalitarian activism, eventually American de jure segregation "destroyed the fellowship of the races" that had initially transcended societal and institutional prejudice.

172 I do not concur that any economic analysis, whether Marxist or capitalist, can fully understand the unique dynamics of religious experience. Economic approaches appear useful here primarily to understand political movements like Populism and Progressivism.

CHAPTER THREE

MISSIONARY TO SOUTH AFRICA

The success of Lake's South African ministry was in large part predicated on the foundational work conducted by Daniel Bryant as Overseer of Dowie's Christian Church in Johannesburg. In turn, Bryant's activities were founded on the preparatory undertakings of Andrew Murray, Johannes Buchler and Pieter L. le Roux. When Lake brought his Pentecostal Apostolic Faith message to South Africa, he took over the physical facilities of the Dowie Zionists and converted most of that organization's black and white congregants and much of its clergy leadership. Accordingly, a consideration of the interface of Pentecostalism with South African charismatics and the Christian Church in Zion is essential.

Dr. Andrew Murray (1828-1917), perhaps the most renowned African minister of his era, and deemed by Lake to be "the recognized leading pastor" of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (DRC), greatly influenced Pieter le Roux, and through him, Lake.¹ Dr. Murray, a frequent moderator of the synod of the DRC, achieved international recognition as a speaker at "Keswick" Holiness meetings in America and England. Murray's life to some extent paralleled Lake's experience of illness cured at a faith healing facility followed by a personal testimony of faith. In sermons Lake related accounts of Murray's life, emphasizing how the South African was healed of a "preacher's throat" disease by prayerful elders at the Bethsan Divine Healing Mission in London.² Murray's 1884 Jesus the Physician of the Sick was a definitive exposition of divine healing fully consistent with Lake's later Dowie-

inspired healing ministry.³ Although Murray in later life was less public in advocating the ongoing, contemporary nature of the New Testament gifts of faith healing due to DRC opposition to a charismatic theology, he never renounced his beliefs. Persons who persisted in asserting Murray's doctrine on healing were ostracized and denounced by the established church as "Wild Fire." Lake stated that Murray's demonstration of the efficacy of faith healing was an embarrassment and challenge to those many South African pastors that "had not faith and could not honestly pray...for healing."⁴ Despite such orchestrated efforts to quash Murray's preaching on faith healing, adherents disseminated his teachings. Especially vocal were Afrikaner prisoners interned in British prison camps in the South African War who read Murray's work together with their Bibles and came to anticipate a contemporary charismatic revival replete with healing and other Corinthian empowerments.⁵

Murray's teaching on the Holy Spirit and divine healing had a profound impact, either directly or indirectly, on Lake's Pentecostal message. Both ministries were much influenced by Holiness ideas of perfectionism and Holy Spirit endowment.⁶ Such charismatic theology was elucidated in Murray's The Full Blessing of Pentecost (1907).⁷ Whether Lake actually read one of the English language editions disseminated in the U.S., or instead learned of Murray's message through the disciple Pieter le Roux, is uncertain. Lake did refer to Dr. Murray and his work on faith healing in the most laudatory terms, describing the South African as "a living example of Christ's power and willingness to heal."⁸ Nevertheless, Lake did not ever state he had actually read Murray's work. The English version was not available in South Africa, where only one Dutch printing was undertaken. Lake asserted the

Dutch language edition was “extremely circulated” in the DRC. The writing was withdrawn from circulation and Murray was requested not to preach divine healing prior to Lake’s visit to South Africa. Before the South African mission Lake appeared not to have referred to Murray. In that Lake was unable to read Dutch or Afrikaans, any volumes still available in South Africa upon his arrival would have been inaccessible to him. Although Lake’s South African ministry corresponded with the years of Murray’s later life, there was no evidence of a personal acquaintance or correspondence. Accordingly, Lake must have learned of Murray’s ministry through le Roux or other South Africans.⁹

Despite the lack of evidence for Lake having read Murray’s work, the similarity between terminology, format, and substantive theology utilized in the two ministers’ writing suggested a close familiarity with Murray’s teachings. Both men saw God as having contemporaneously bestowed New Testament spiritual “endowments with power” through the agency of the Holy Ghost. Such blessings, including faith healing, engendered the even greater gift of a closer union with Christ through strengthened faith.¹⁰ Sickness was not of God nor a result of divine will. Rather, the sick were to renounce sin, receive pardon and healing, and then maintain health through ongoing communion with God.¹¹ The characterization of Jesus as the physician of the sick was used by both, as they concurred that the pardoning God was also the healing God.¹² Obedience and prayer (justification and sanctification) preceded spirit baptism.¹³ Both believed the repentant petitioner must wait for God’s guidance and empowerment, with charismatic gifts bestowed according to ability.¹⁴ Lake and Murray used virtually identical language declaring

God's will was always to heal, and that by an act of faith the spirit-filled believer claimed healing for himself or herself. Such spirit baptized Christians then were to be "a witness for Him who heals you."¹⁵ Finally, both ministers expressed an imminent apocalyptic vision of their era being the time of the "latter day rain" consisting of "great outpourings of the Spirit."¹⁶ The true church would then once again be restored to its full Pentecostal power.¹⁷ The main distinction between these ministers' teachings was Murray's rejection of any notion of tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism. Murray even went so far as to declare that the baptism of the spirit "does not always come, as on the day of Pentecost, with external observations."¹⁸ Consequently, Murray's views were more consistent with typical later nineteenth century U.S. Holiness perspectives than early twentieth century American Pentecostalism. In contrast, Lake held that "outward manifestations marking the coming of the Spirit" were as mighty and intense as were those that characterized the ministry of Jesus Christ with the Holy Ghost "a rushing night wind (demonstrated through) speaking in tongues..."¹⁹.

Murray's teachings set the stage for reception of American charismatic missions. In the later 1890s several South African congregations in the Transvaal had affiliated with Dowie, learning of the American Christian Catholic Church through the organization's periodical, Leaves of Healing. Johannes Buchler and P. L. le Roux were especially instrumental in disseminating the Dowie theology. Buchler (1864-1944) came as a boy to Kimberley in 1870, then relocated to Johannesburg where he taught in a preparatory school and preached to both blacks and whites. Originally a Congregationalist, he left that denomination, concerned that

the practice of infant baptism was not biblically sanctioned. In 1895, he formed an independent congregation of black worshippers that he called the Zion Church, named after a Dutch hymnal of Moravian origin. Around 1897 he came across a copy of Leaves of Healing and recommended the publication to his friend le Roux, a DRC missionary disciple of Andrew Murray. Buchler found most appealing the foursquare doctrine of Jesus as savior, sanctified, healer and coming king. He commenced correspondence with Dowie who placed him in charge of the Christian Catholic Church's African work.²⁰ Buchler declared his pleasure in having his congregation officially recognized as a Christian Catholic Church affiliate. In 1898 Dowie announced that Buchler, as Overseer for South Africa, was extending the ministry beyond black believers to include Afrikaners in the South African Republic, Orange Free State and Cape Colony.²¹ Buchler then came to Chicago at Dowie's invitation to network with the denomination's world headquarters clergy. Meeting with Dowie, Buchler was "sickened by the sycophantic personality cult."²² He confronted the First Apostle, exchanged angry words, and resigned his church membership.²³ Nevertheless, although thereafter conducting an independent ministry emphasizing faith healing, Buchler's dislike of Dowie did not prevent him from conducting a correspondence about charismatic gifts with David Bryant, then an elder with a Christian Catholic Church posting in America. Moreover, Buchler never made any effort to dissuade le Roux from an affiliation with either Dowie's Christian Catholic Church or later with Lake's Apostolic Faith Mission.²⁴ Buchler never joined with Lake's Pentecostals, rejecting their tongue emphasis. Nevertheless, Lake positively referred to Buchler as an early advocate of faith

healing in South Africa.²⁵

Along with his friend Buchler, Pieter le Roux (1864-1943) was instrumental in preparing an environment receptive to Lake's Pentecostal message. Le Roux, a Christian worker since his teen years, attended the DRC seminary at Stellenbosch. He was appointed a DRC missionary to black congregants (eerwaarde), a much less prestigious qualification than that of pastor to whites (dominee).²⁶ In 1893 he was assigned to work with Zulu in the Wakkerstroom/Volksrust area of southeast Transvaal. His congregation, like that of Buchler, was known as Zion, also named after the Dutch hymnal. Le Roux was greatly influenced by his fatherly friend and fellow DRC pastor Andrew Murray, having read his mentor's works on divine healing. Le Roux also maintained a correspondence with Buchler, comparing notes on faith healing.

Le Roux felt compelled by conscience to preach charismatic healing despite DRC directives to desist. Summoned to account by a church committee, le Roux concurred with Dowie's teachings, particularly regarding divine healing and avoidance of doctors and medicines. Le Roux subsequently resigned from church membership to conduct an independent ministry among blacks in Wakkerstroom. In March 1903 he joined Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, bringing his congregants into an association with that American organization.²⁷

David Bryant, originally an American Baptist, joined with Dowie in Chicago shortly before Lake's 1898 association with the Christian Catholic Church.²⁸ Early in his ministry, while assigned as an elder to organize a congregation in Marinette, Wisconsin, he became acquainted with Lake.²⁹ Prior to 1900, Lake, as a Dowie

convert in Sault Sainte Marie, serving in the initial leadership capacity as conductor, bemoaned the lack of an elder or evangelist to help pastor the young congregation.³⁰ In response to Lake's request, in 1900 Bryant made several "missions" to Sault Sainte Marie even though Lake had then advanced to the ordained office of deacon. Lake and Bryant thus worked together as clergy on not less than three occasions when Bryant conducted such missions.³¹ Fortuitously, Bryant was present in Sault Sainte Marie in 1901 about a week after Jennie Lake was accidentally shot. Bryant was able to encourage her during her sickbed confinement and support and communicate with Lake who was hounded by secular critics concerned that he had acted as a negligent husband in refusing medical care for his wife.³²

After serving as assistant editor of the Christian Catholic Church official periodical Leaves of Healing in the Chicago headquarters, Bryant secured the further confidence of Dowie with appointment in 1904 as overseer-in-charge of the Christian Catholic Church in South Africa and was assigned to the Johannesburg headquarters.³³ Dowie had long anticipated filling the vacancy created by Buchler's resignation with a loyal American, but the intervening South African War made such arrangements impractical.³⁴ Bryant arrived in Johannesburg during May 1904 to assume his post.³⁵

Shortly after arriving in South Africa and visiting Christian Catholic Church congregants in Uitenhage, Durban, Volksrust and Johannesburg, Bryant conducted an ordination service in Pretoria, conferring the position of elder on le Roux while making wife Andrina le Roux an evangelist.³⁶ Bryant observed le Roux's work

among the Wakkerstroom Zulu, then visited another Zulu farmworker mission at Harrismith, the headquarters of the Christian Catholic Church in the Orange River Colony.³⁷ Bryant was impressed with the ethical standards of water-baptized black believers, particularly their abstinence from otherwise prevalent drinking, smoking and snuffing. He commended their rejection of drugs and folk remedies (“witchcraft”), replaced by “trust in God for healing.”³⁸ Bryant praised le Roux for converting over five thousand blacks and proclaimed him “a force that really Christianizes the natives of Africa.”³⁹ Bryant stated that le Roux “knows exactly when and how to begin with the native.”⁴⁰

Bryant himself undertook the white ministry in Pretoria and Johannesburg. He encountered Christian Catholic Church believers segregated on a racial basis, consistent with the ministerial practice of the DRC.⁴¹ Bryant apparently felt no compulsion to integrate services. The typical South African Christian Catholic Church service for whites appeared rather structured and formal when contrasted to Pentecostal worship. Bryant described a 1905 Queenstown meeting as having a defined “order of the service” consisting of opening hymn, prayer, another hymn, recitation of creed and commandments, a duet and a prepared sermon on a preestablished topic. A benedictory blessing probably concluded the worship but was not specified. Although Bryant mentioned his desire for “the mighty Spirit of the Living God to move among and in us,” no reference was made to narrative testimony customarily used by Dowie and Lake, nor to healing demonstrations or other spontaneous manifestations of New Testament gifts.⁴²

As late as March 1906, just one month before Overseer Wilbur Voliva’s

seizure of Christian Catholic Church control from Dowie, the South African ministry reported "going forward rapidly." Bryant stated that the work at Queenstown was especially productive, with the acquisition of a new commodious centrally located headquarters.⁴³

Events in America soon undercut the optimistic prospects for the Christian Catholic Church in South Africa. With the fiscal debacle faced by the Christian Catholic Church in the Zion City world headquarters in Illinois, and the leadership schism and power struggle removing Dowie from church governance, Bryant resolved to return to the U.S., desiring no service under Dowie's successor Voliva. Before departing, Bryant urged his congregants to pray for that deeper experience in God possible through Holy Spirit baptism, thereby setting the stage for Lake's Pentecostalism. During April and May 1908 former Overseer Bryant sailed back to the U.S., passing Lake's Pentecostal party on the high seas en route to South Africa.⁴⁴ Bryant returned to the Baptist Church rather than adopt Pentecostalism, founding his own Grace Missionary Church in Zion City, Illinois.⁴⁵ Funding an overseas outreach ministry headed by South African Edgar Mahon, a former Salvation Army officer, Bryant supported a school for Zulu and Sotho teachers and preachers at Entembeni Mission Station.⁴⁶

In addition to the work undertaken by Murray, Buchler, le Roux and Bryant, other charismatics were active in South Africa prior to Lake's arrival. During the South African War, Afrikaners taken prisoner and interned in British detention camps in Ceylon, Gibraltar and Bermuda reported manifestations of spirit endowment, including tongues. Charismatic perfectionists, the Plymouth Brethren, evangelized

among the internees, conducting water baptisms, emphasizing personal piety, and describing spirit baptism. The Brethren, although not Pentecostal in the sense of adhering to tongues as initial evidence, did also emphasize the present working of the Holy Spirit, the need to look to the New Testament church for organization and substantive belief, the imminent return of Christ, and the need for missionary evangelism. The interned prisoners of war read their Bibles together with copies of Andrew Murray's With Christ in the School of Prayer and The Full Blessing of Pentecost.⁴⁷ Among those professing the New Testament gifts were Lambert Wannenburg and Brother Van Jonder.⁴⁸ Lake described Van Jonder as a prisoner during the late Boer War who was baptized in the Holy Ghost and spoke in tongues. His charismatic manifestations were so intense some people thought him insane.⁴⁹

The Pentecostal message was disseminated by such former prisoners returning home to South Africa. They evangelized among friends and family in various parts of the colonies, including, but not limited to, the municipalities of Louis Trichardt, Robertson and Cape Town. Wannenburg came back to the Dordrecht district of the northeast Cape and instituted a daily Bible study. He struggled against a DRC antagonism toward baptism by immersion. A Transvaler called "Daddy Armstrong," a contemporary John the Baptist personality, traveled extensively among the rural Afrikaner communities, including the Dordrecht district, preaching Holy Spirit baptism. He may have been the "Brother Jack Armstrong" who affiliated with Lake in 1909 as a local preacher assigned to Rustenburg, Transvaal.⁵⁰ The said Jack Armstrong appeared to be the same personage, being identified as "an outstanding figure in the earliest revival at Johannesburg and Pretoria."⁵¹

Evidence was contradictory regarding the scope and influence of the pre-Lake charismatic revival. One account declared hundreds prostrated before God, crying out for the Holy Spirit to pour on their land.⁵² Other sources indicate the charismatics were not well received except among relations.⁵³ One commentator, A. J. Van Staden, asserted that Pentecostalism was thus established in South Africa “long before” the advent of Lake and Hezmalhalch. Van Staden stated that the late nineteenth century in South Africa witnessed a wave of repentance “with thousands giving their lives to God.” In South Africa important persons like Dr. Andrew Murray became prominent as advocates of a charismatic gospel. Throughout southern Africa, “people discovered what the power of the Holy Ghost meant.” Only years later did Lake come to “Dark” Africa to evangelize and spread knowledge of Pentecostalism, “not knowing it had already been established” in South Africa.⁵⁴ When Lake began to preach he was informed that many already knew of Holy Spirit empowerment through the previous endeavors of Andrew Murray and the lay ministry of prisoners of war.⁵⁵ Despite such precedents demonstrating spirit baptisms through tongues, until Lake arrived with the Azusa message, no definitive concept of speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of Holy Ghost baptism had been formulated. In any event, many of the early charismatic revivalists, particularly those living in southeast Transvaal, were receptive to tongues and would affiliate with Lake upon his arrival in 1908.⁵⁶

In the months preceding his departure to Africa, Lake co-preached with Thomas Hezmalhalch in Zion City, much to the discomfort of the Christian Catholic Church leadership. Denounced as “vultures” and “thieves” recruiting among the

fractured Christian Catholic Church membership, Lake and Hezmalhalch enjoyed considerable success in converting former Dowie supporters.⁵⁷ The Pentecostal meetings were held in the upper room of the "The Haven," at the former Zion College campus and the Shiloh Tabernacle, all structures previously associated with Dowie's utopian community. Lake related that he preached every day to large congregations, witnessed a multitude converted and healed and hundreds baptized in the Holy Ghost.⁵⁸

On 1 April 1908, Lake accompanied Thomas Hezmalhalch to Indianapolis, where "Brother Tom" had conducted Pentecostal services. Back in Zion City, visiting the home of a Pentecostal brother and engaged in prayerful contemplation, Lake felt God spoke to him, providing a detailed vision of a South African ministry.⁵⁹ The revelation told Lake to get ready for a return to Indianapolis in preparation for a mission to Johannesburg. By October, while sawing down a tree in Zion City, Lake felt that God again spoke, specifically directing him to rent a hall in Indianapolis for a winter revival that would precede a spring African trip.⁶⁰

Since childhood, Lake was quite interested in Africa, especially South Africa, and felt he would be called to a ministry on that continent. He stated, "I planned to go to Africa (even) as a boy."⁶¹ As a youth Lake had read with great excitement about the travels of Dr. David Livingstone, and envisioned himself emulating the work of that famous missionary explorer. Lake was enthused with Livingstone's accounts of southern Africa and found compelling Livingstone's vision of Christ as a fellow missionary and physician. Lake also frequently dreamed that he was present in Africa. Furthermore, he was interested in the history and politics of southern

Africa. Lake accepted in large part South African history portrayed from the settler orientation. Like George McCall Theal and Sir George Cory, Lake's historical perspective reflected a predominant white interpretation. He shared those historians' receptive treatment of Voortrekker traditional values, especially piety, the work ethic, courage and determination. Although he could not understand either Dutch or Afrikaans, he generally sympathized with perspectives promoted by such Afrikaner writers. He supported Afrikaner independence and did not find the Boer notion of a providential destiny inconsistent with his own theological views on the working of God in history. He was "deeply sympathetic" with the Boers and "their endeavoring to establish their republics."⁶² He also purportedly corresponded with Cecil Rhodes about commercial ventures in southern Africa.⁶³ Such formative experiences kindled a desire for a South African ministry. However, he felt he must await a divine calling before commencing such a demanding undertaking. Lake's contact with William Seymour was especially instrumental in encouraging the African Pentecostal work. Lake was probably aware of the six Pentecostal missionaries departing to Africa under Seymour's guidance, referred to in a December issue of Seymour's paper. Seymour declared, "The Lord is sending revivals everywhere that workers have gone...Many more are being fitted up and called for the field, for the fields are ...ready for the harvest."⁶⁴ Seymour then published a testimony referring to "...Africa and the great need of her perishing millions..."⁶⁵. Meeting with Lake and Hezmalhalch in Zion City around July 1907, Seymour had an opportunity to further discuss African missions with the "fired up" group.⁶⁶

Early in 1908 Lake and Hezmalhalch left Zion City to minister in Indianapolis,

arriving there destitute but determined to work without any denomination support, funded only through unsolicited faith offerings. While in Indianapolis, Lake and Hezmalhalch led a group of more than a hundred Pentecostals in services held at a meeting hall on South Senate Avenue. At that time Jennie Lake became good friends with Alice Reynolds (later Flower), an energetic charismatic later to become prominent in the Assemblies of God.⁶⁷

Following a divine healing missionary convention sponsored by the Indianapolis Pentecostals, enthusiasm grew for a South African mission.⁶⁸ Among the aspiring missionaries was J. O. Lehman, a Zulu-speaking pastor who had previously ministered for five years in Johannesburg. Together with Lake, Jennie and their six children, a stepdaughter and one of Lake's sisters, Hezmalhalch and wife, and Ida Sackett, formerly of Zion City, Lehman constituted one of two associated parties departing for South Africa. Clearly Lake's knowledge of Africa gleaned both from reading and from association with Bryant and Seymour was extensively supplemented by Lehman's experiences of "that dark land."⁶⁹ To assert that Lake left for South Africa "knowing virtually nothing of the Country but possessing a vision of missionary work" was erroneous. He was not "expecting wild animals and equally wild natives" nor was he "laden with guns and equipment ready for an old-fashioned African safari."⁷⁰

The presence of Ida Sackett in the proposed traveling party caused some disagreement between Lake and Hezmalhalch. Lake felt she was a valuable addition to the group, whereas Hezmalhalch was adamantly opposed, possibly feeling the young, single, handicapped woman might either lack qualifications or be

a distraction or impediment.⁷¹ Always a strong supporter of female ministers, Lake looked beyond her disability and sex and saw a much needed enthusiastic worker. The disagreement between Lake and Helmalhalch over operational details, the first of many differences of opinion, did not bode well for mission harmony.

After Lake and Hezmalhalch secured contributions of two thousand dollars to pay travel expenses, the party left Indianapolis in April 1908. No additional funds were obtained before departure to pay for incidental costs in transit or to meet the Cape Colony immigration/travel requirements of financial solvency. Lake intended to rely on providence, as expressed through the kindness of strangers, to supply funds en route. The spontaneous leap-of-faith approach emulated the Indianapolis example utilized earlier that year and was characteristic of Lake's life ministry. Logistical planning and itineraries were subordinated to ministerial concerns and trust in God to provide material needs. Consistent with Lake's belief in divine intervention, Lehman declared that God even guided the party to "the right steamboat company" and that He bestowed "His loving care over them on their journey is nothing less than marvelous." The Pentecostals even believed God would quiet the open seas to effect a safe and tranquil passage despite the rough weather predicted for the trip.⁷²

An Indianapolis Morning Star reporter described the departure in a sarcastic tone, referring to the Pentecostals as the "Gliggy Bluks" because of their speaking in tongues, described as "neggy bok." The intent of the mission was stated to be conversion of the Zulu. The group was reported as leaving Union Train Station accompanied by about one hundred of the Indianapolis congregation, singing and

speaking in tongues. Non-Pentecostal travelers apparently gawked and laughed at the missionaries. The secular account clearly indicated the sect status of early Pentecostals and the disdain accorded such Christians by the general public.⁷³

The trip was reported in a very different manner in Seymour's The Apostolic Faith where Lake's party was said to have been sent by the Lord to make a blessing for South Africans. The Seymour account indicated that Lake's Apostolic Faith Mission group was to some extent affiliated with, and sponsored by, Seymour's Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission.⁷⁴

Lake was not dejected by the public ridicule, and left Indianapolis in good spirits. The party's train made a brief stop in Detroit where they were greeted by Lake's extended family present to see him off. On 2 April 1908 Lake sailed from St. John's, New Brunswick for Liverpool. He had made reservations for a train to London to board a ship for South Africa by way of Madeira with arrival at Cape Town.⁷⁵

Between bouts of nausea, Lake spent the time on board preaching and praying. He so anticipated being seasick that he virtually induced that condition in himself. Such a predisposition was most surprising given Lake's faith-healing beliefs and reliance on providence. Lehman reported that "Bro. Lake thought he had to be sick, so as a natural result was seasick."⁷⁶ Lake's sister was extremely sick with a serious illness, and Lake prayed for her recovery.²⁷⁷ Lake and Hezmalhalch jointly conducted services for passengers and crew in the dining room and deck side. The worship consisted of Lake preaching for about an hour and a half, together with hymn singing and an "altar call" for confessing believers.⁷⁸

Arriving in Liverpool on 10 April Lake attended services at a Methodist Church and spoke at a rescue mission. Worshipping at the Wesley Chapel among a largely middle-class congregation, he was impressed with the musical ministry but disappointed to find the service "very, very formal" and "without spiritual power."⁷⁹ The congregation, accustomed to a structured liturgy with limited impromptu lay participation, was "shocked" to hear Lake's utterance of "amen." He found the services of the affiliated Men's Lodging House more to his liking. The participants there, in what Lake described as a "real New York, Bum congregation," were attempting to overcome alcohol addiction. Allowed by the presiding Methodist preacher to address the group, Lake spoke about the power of the Holy Ghost available for delivery from illness and drug dependency. A number of men came forward to sign the temperance pledge and receive counseling from Lake, Lehman and Louise Schneiderman.⁸⁰

Lake was not particularly impressed with either religious or social conditions in England. Besides railing against a formal liturgy that was not conducive to the workings of the Holy Spirit, Lake was concerned with the smugness and "self-satisfaction" of Christians who seemed to be totally ignorant of such a basic tenet of John Wesley as sanctification. He concluded that in their "old world" there was a virtually plenary need for the charismatic gospel message, "There is power in the blood."⁸¹ As to social conditions, Lake was shocked at the economic impoverishment "beyond what the vilest American slums produce." He was disturbed by the degradation, remarking about "the most terrible thing" and how "it was hard to see." Characteristically, rather than advocate any ameliorative work,

housing, or food distribution programs characteristic of a direct social gospel, Lake felt the problems could only be addressed by deliverance of the Pentecostal message. The Holy Ghost, instead of social or welfare programs, would remedy the “degrading power” of transgression in “their sin-cursed world.”⁸²

Lake arrived in Cape Town on 14 May 1908. An unknown fellow traveler fortuitously gave him the funds required by Cape Colony customs to insure visitors’ solvency.⁸³ Due to his sister’s serious illness, Lake stayed in Cape Town for several days, conducting the first Azusa-inspired South African Pentecostal services in congregates’ homes.⁸⁴ Services were also held in homes in Mowbray, Plumstead and Robertson.⁸⁵ Lake did not stay in the Cape, having previously decided to establish a mission headquarters in the Transvaal. He probably selected the Witwatersrand after consultation with experienced missionary J.O. Lehman.⁸⁶

The South Africa Lake encountered upon arrival in the Transvaal was in the process of formulating a “native policy,” structuring a union and addressing rural and urban labor issues. Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner, had worked through 1905 to create his vision of a reconstructed South Africa under British control. However, his efforts to secure a British political majority failed, and after the Liberal victory in the 1905 British elections, the Transvaal was granted responsible government under Het Volk, the party lead by Louis Botha and Jan Smuts. One of the first acts of the responsible government was enactment of a pass law compelling Asian registration. Lake would learn of the Mohandas Gandhi passive resistance campaign using demonstrations and stop work directives to protest the Act. Milner’s South African Native Affairs Commission had commenced in 1903 to define the role

of black workers and to formulate a land use policy promoting white domination and cheap labor. The majority of both British and Afrikaners, including Milner, rejected black aspirations for political equality. The Commission recommended separate voter rolls and black territorial separation, to be implemented through rural reserves and municipal locations. The 1906 black rebellions in Natal gave further impetus to racial restrictions and subjected American missionaries, as potential instigators, to government scrutiny. With the understanding that Botha and Smuts would assist the mining industry in obtaining inexpensive black labor, even many British liberals, particularly outside the Cape, were willing to compromise the interest of blacks in order to secure economic benefits and to promote unity among white South Africans. The proposed union under a unitary state would permit each colony to decide the "non-European" franchise issue. Lake thus encountered a Transvaal that denied all blacks the vote. He would later witness the ensuing protests by blacks, coloureds and Indians and the South African Native Convention, objecting to the political colour bar in the draft union constitution. Lake would have observed the Johannesburg unemployed, both black and white, displaced by industrialism and post-war depression. The urban unemployment and underemployment were exacerbated by an influx of unskilled Afrikaners and blacks displaced by commercial farming, adverse weather and livestock disease. Lake would find an audience receptive to his spiritually empowering charismatic ministry among the disillusioned subsistence wage workers and blacks traumatized by political adversity.⁸⁷

Lake arrived at Johannesburg on 23 May 1908, having characteristically made no preparations for his party to be housed. He lamented, "...we were landing

in a new country without a single acquaintance.”⁸⁸ Apparently none of Lehman's former associates from his prior South African residency, being mainline Protestants, would assist the Pentecostals. Fortunately, a Mrs. C. L. Goodenough of Johannesburg was present at the station, unbidden. She encountered the Lakes and invited them to live rent-free in a furnished suburban cottage.⁸⁹

Lake described the Goodenough cottage situated on Millbowen Road in the Bertrams section of Johannesburg as rather modest, a “little crowded house furnished in true Missionary style.”⁹⁰ The one-story residences on his street “were a good deal like people’s wood-sheds at home.” The buildings were poorly built, with exterior coverings of galvanized iron sheeting. The interiors were inexpertly plastered. During the daytime the house was like the “Babylonian furnaces,” while nights were chilly like an American November in the Midwest. The building was not equipped with a heating stove.⁹¹

Lake found living conditions for whites in Johannesburg were comparable to those of nineteenth century U.S. Western mining boomtowns, but much inferior to life in established American communities. Food, utilities and housing were very expensive.⁹² Lake remarked that “people in Africa do not live in the luxurious way that Americans have been accustomed to.” Lake and his missionaries were reduced to eating mostly cornmeal mush and cornbread (mealies).⁹³ He adopted a practice of often subsisting on only one such daily meal.⁹⁴ Like American mining communities, the city had rough edges. Prostitution, gambling and riotous living occurred amidst inadequate water supplies and minimal sanitation. Lake surely agreed with an Australian journalist who remarked “Ancient Nineveh and Babylon

have been revived, Johannesburg is their twentieth- century prototype...a city of unbridled squander and unfathomable squalor.”⁹⁵ Lake was not intimidated by the “evil” city, seeing an ideal challenge for Holy Spirit evangelism.

On Lake’s first day in Johannesburg he met Archibald Cooper, with whom he had conducted a correspondence prior to his departure for Africa. Cooper, born in 1882 in England, had relocated to Cape Town in 1901 to serve in the South African constabulary during the South African War. Converted at Gipsy Smith’s Gospel Tent Revival in Cape Town in 1904, he then affiliated with the Presbyterian Church of Johannesburg as an ordinary member. About one year before Lake’s arrival, Cooper experienced a Holy Ghost endowment, but had no teaching about charismatic gifts. Lake’s letter to Cooper prepared him for Pentecostalism. Cooper agreed to work under Lake’s leadership, and probably suggested that the ministry begin with evangelizing existing Zion congregations, both black and white.⁹⁶

Lake’s first South African service conducted in a church under his control was held in the small “native” tabernacle, 39 Van Beek Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg. The property of the Christian Catholic Church (sometimes called the Congregational American Mission), the Zion church had no chief pastor following Overseer Bryant’s departure a few weeks before.⁹⁷ Given Lake’s previous affiliation with the Christian Catholic Church and his compatible charismatic message, no objection was made to his use of the property. Lake promptly preached to assembled blacks, and further designated the site his initial church office and headquarters, an administrative function the location would serve for about six months.⁹⁸

In services held soon after Lake's arrival the modest chapel was packed with about five hundred black congregants. Some wore customary nineteenth century missionary-influenced attire while others dressed in loin cloths with body paint. The services usually consisted of short Pentecostal teachings and testimonies delivered by Lake, Hezmalhalch or Lehman, together with demonstration healings. As the worship proceeded, the Holy Spirit descended upon the congregants who immediately recognized God's presence. Without instruction, over half the congregants broke out in continuous unison prayer for half an hour or more. Worshippers wept, confessed sins and discarded idolatrous charms. People reported miraculous healing; demons were cast out; known and unknown tongues were spoken. There was clapping, dancing and ecstatic movement. Some non-Pentecostal missionaries and clergy present as observers were unimpressed. These mainline Protestants objected to the excessive enthusiasm and indecorous spontaneity, and were "amazed and astounded" that Lake and the Pentecostal ministers did not "stop the noise."⁹⁹

Having attended the Doornfontein Pentecostal services between May and July 1908, P. L. le Roux became convinced by Lake's forceful message. Recognizing as a trained theologian the basic distinction between the Christian Catholic Church and Pentecostalism to be tongues as initial evidence of spirit baptism, he prayed and received the divine revelation of the Pentecostal truth.¹⁰⁰ Attending a standing room only Lake service, le Roux provided a vivid account of how Pentecost "came" and "the fire began to fall mightily":

The crowds flowed in, hundreds were saved, and

numbers baptized in the Spirit, with the Sign of speaking in other tongues. The sick and suffering came and received the healing. There was great rejoicing.¹⁰¹

The “spiritual cyclone” that struck the Doornfontein black chapel under Lake’s ministrations was similar to that experienced by Seymour’s black Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission. The integrated worship transcending race, sex and class was perhaps as miraculous and marvelous as any of the charismatic gifts exhibited at Doornfontein and Azusa. W. F. P. Burton, an acute contemporary Pentecostal commentator, noted, “The racial spirit is very strong in Johannesburg, and the white population as a rule would scorn to sit in the same place of worship as the native. Now however, there is a great wave of conviction, and hunger after God...”¹⁰². Frank Bartleman at Azusa had declared the color line washed away by Christ’s blood, such that in the language of Seymour’s The Apostolic Faith, “No instrument that God can use is rejected on account of color or dress or lack of education.” Similarly, at Lake’s Doornfontein, in Burton’s words, “All shades of colour and all degrees of the social scale mingled freely in their hunger after God.”¹⁰³

The pre-Lake Zion congregation at Doornfontein was black, primarily Zulu. However, soon many whites affiliated with Bryant’s former Christian Catholic Church “Old Tabernacle” congregation at Bree and Von Wieligh Streets came to witness the Pentecostal manifestations occurring among the believers. Lake’s associate, Lehman, declared that “notwithstanding the prejudice that exists with the white people against the natives, when God began to work the white people came in such crowds that the natives became timid and were crowded out.”¹⁰⁴ Lake

appeared to suggest that the novel experience of a white congregant in close proximity discomforted the black. Whether he was drawing on his Azusa Street experiences or a perception of South African white racism was uncertain. Certainly egalitarian worship was rather unique to both America and South Africa outside the early Pentecostal contexts. Lake did feel both black and white congregants might take some time to adjust to a dynamic situation where spirit baptism worked to remove customary notions of white supremacy.

Lake sought additional facilities to disperse some white worshippers and thereby accommodate perceived black sensitivities. To supplement the small Doornfontein hall, overcrowded beyond capacity at both the Sunday morning and evening services, fifteen simultaneous cottage meetings were arranged in various parts of Johannesburg together with a larger "powerhouse" prayer meeting held at the J. H. Shumann residence on Siement Road, Doornfontein. The houses were owned by persons previously affiliated with the South African branch of Dowie's Christian Catholic Church.¹⁰⁵ Services were sometimes held at other Protestant facilities receptive to charismatics, such as one Baptist church and the Young Men's Christian Association.¹⁰⁶ Meetings were also conducted in such diverse leased facilities as a Hebrew school, a movie theater and an automobile driving school.¹⁰⁷ To alleviate the overburdened facilities, the formerly white Zion "Old Tabernacle" was opened to all believers regardless of race or class, a profound recognition of the universality of the Seymour-Lake Pentecostal message. Almost all the Christian Catholic Churches in Johannesburg "came into this great blessing," committing their once racially segregated facilities to the use of the American Pentecostals.¹⁰⁸

Lake found that the dispossessed, disempowered and ignored blacks and whites who formed the core of the South African Pentecostal ministry were quite comparable to those marginalized individuals served by the Azusa Street mission. He recognized that in both South Africa and America, increased industrialization and urbanization displaced traditional rural agrarian economics. Although industrialization in the U.S. was much more focused on manufacturing than the early twentieth century South African orientation toward gold and diamond mining, both brought about profound social upheaval. Following the South African War and its devastation of Afrikaner and black farming, many rural workers were forced to seek non-agricultural employment. Mining operations had desperately needed additional workers in the early post-war period, but many laborers were most reluctant to seek such industrial employment. Lake noted the presence of indentured Chinese who had been imported to serve the mines. The Kimberley diamond fields and Rand gold mines were the most prominent employers.¹⁰⁹ Given Lake's familiarity with U.S. Western development, he found the boom towns were reminiscent of American "rip roaring" mining communities. Lake was well informed about South African social and economic developments impacting on his ministry, and addressed such issues from a sound perspective. Surprisingly, he customarily refrained from undertaking any comparable consideration of American society, politics and economics.¹¹⁰

Lake's rare social commentary, although a superficial overview, was essentially accurate. He noted the profound economic changes occurring in turn-of-the-century South Africa. Lake arrived in Johannesburg as the Witwatersrand economy struggled to emerge from a depression. The economic downturn

commenced in 1904 as revenues in numerous sectors slumped. The initial labor shortages in the aftermath of the South African War were replaced by unemployment. Particularly large numbers of blacks were available for employment. Many of those laborers were juveniles from the Transvaal, often indiscriminately called "Zulu piccanins," previously recruited to replenish the mines following the 1906 British Liberal government restriction on Chinese indentured labor. As the economy struggled, layoffs and terminations appeared where labor was highest paid and least productive. In the domestic sector, white females lost jobs to be replaced by blacks. Even black adults were vulnerable to losing their positions to the cheapest labor, the juveniles. The job market for the unskilled was further affected adversely by technological innovations, particularly in transportation. By 1907 electric trams had replaced hundreds of Johannesburg cab drivers, coach-builders, blacksmiths, farriers and harness makers. Even more devastating was the dramatic collapse of the construction industry as the post-war housing boom ended. Hundreds of skilled bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, electricians, plasterers and painters in Johannesburg and the suburbs became unemployed.¹¹¹

Lake observed that the post-war depression impacted on both blacks and working-class whites. The closing of frontiers for white settlement, military destruction and dislocation, and the growing market economy reduced many Afrikaner families to landless squatters (bywoners) or unskilled urban workers.¹¹² Locust plagues, drought, livestock disease and the expansion of large-scale commercial farming curtailed rural employment options. Without development capital, opportunity for mine ownership was closed to most Witwatersrand

Afrikaners. Rural Afrikaners flocked to Johannesburg and other municipalities, aware that the chance of survival was marginally better in cities.¹¹³ However, even manual labor in the mines was not always available to uneducated Afrikaners. A large, cheap black labor supply, the ethnic and organizational exclusivity of immigrant British mine trade unions, and industrial and technical skill requirements all frustrated Afrikaner opportunities.¹¹⁴ Lacking a political outlet to address diminished socioeconomic status, Afrikaners might have hoped for spiritual solace from the DRC. Lake felt that church lacked sufficient clergy and maintained an orientation toward secular politics and institutional education, with little emphasis on personal spiritual ministry as advocated by Murray. In fact, to Lake's great chagrin, the DRC actively opposed the possibility of a contemporary Pentecost with empowering New Testament charismatic gifts.¹¹⁵ Lake also observed that the decade following the South African War offered diminished opportunities for agrarian blacks. White farmers reaped the benefits of state intervention in the form of subsidies and better market access. At the same time the state acted to the detriment of blacks by prohibiting or curtailing African land ownership.¹¹⁶ Many blacks displaced from farm ownership were thus forced to resort to rural or urban wage labor.

Lake's Pentecostal movement was an indirect beneficiary of the economic and social woes of both blacks and whites. Impoverishment did foster a resort to religion as a release. He especially made headway evangelizing among the unemployed and working class. Disillusioned, traumatized workers sought psychological affirmation in religion. Lake was especially successful in evangelizing

black workers. He asserted that mainline denominations failed to adequately address black spiritual needs. Established white-controlled denominations relegated blacks to a low status. Lake's success among blacks may have been attributable to interracial skills and sensitivities he fostered when mentoring under Seymour. Lake also used his knowledge of South African history, and was aware that many Africans viewed missionaries as agents of imperialist oppression. Particularly after the British reconstruction following the South African War, the credibility of Western missionaries was further eroded due to their perceived willingness to sacrifice black interests. Needs of indigenous Africans were subordinated to the church's political and social activities that benefited whites. On the other hand, Lake maintained that black controlled Ethiopian-type churches were not the answer. He claimed that Ethiopianism emphasized politics at the expense of spiritualism. He accordingly maintained that only charismatic worship could satisfy the black longing for dignity and empowerment. Lake's Pentecostalism had the potential to convert marginality into esteem and subordination into spiritual elitism. Moreover, the concentration of workers in urban areas and mining compounds did facilitate Lake's evangelism by minimizing logistical problems and expenses in spreading the charismatic gospel.

Lake's Pentecostalism struck a resonate chord among the socially, politically and economically disempowered. His charismatic worship served as a vehicle for affirmation of cultural worth and identity. The healing emphasis offered the possibility of a physical regeneration, an elevated relationship with God Himself, and social relocation of the dispossessed. Being no respecter of persons, the Holy Spirit would promote a "Loving Harmony" of "one common family" disregarding race, sex

and social class. Pentecostalism made possible the opportunity to reconstruct a holistic individual and communal relationship capable of remedying the detrimental impacts of colonialism, industrialization, prejudice and social elitism. Lake's charismatic movement sought to purge and heal the corruption of both the existing church and society-at-large. Lake anticipated that spirit-filled believers would exercise Pentecostal gifts and become masters over the previously uncontrollable alienating socioeconomic conditions. Lake declared that marginalized people would regain their original godly status by entering into an ultimately fulfilling spiritual relationship with the divine. The spirit baptized community of the elect, esteeming each other and esteemed by God, would bring political, economic and cultural adversities under control.¹¹⁷

Lake's evangelism was well received in Johannesburg's working-class suburbs such as Jeppe, Troyeville, Belgravia and Fordsburg, where craftsmen and artisans constituted a Pentecostal elite. Even more characteristic Lake congregants were the ordinary unskilled workers, the irregularly employed, and street vagrants (many of them Afrikaners) residing in the poorest southwestern wards of Johannesburg, such as Fordsburg, Vrededorp and the Brickyards.¹¹⁸ These "slum warrens" housed the most impoverished "Europeans of various nationalities, Indians, Chinese, Arabs, Japanese...and miscellaneous coloured people of every hue."¹¹⁹

Throughout 1908 Lake personally conducted a ministry among both blacks and whites, particularly addressing marginalized people. As in America, his Pentecostal message especially resonated among the proletariat, both the

unemployed and job holders. The white congregants were often outcasts struggling to overcome antisocial, criminal and addictive behaviors. They might be “a wife-beater,” a “buyer of stolen diamonds,” “gem smugglers,” “illegal liquor runners, burglars, touts for the houses of ill fame, harlots, and drunks.” Given his conservative Victorian morality and ethics founded on scriptural literalism, Lake was undoubtedly surprised to encounter considerable numbers of gangsters, addicts, pimps and prostitutes relocated from America to ply the Witwatersrand boomtown. Such depraved fellow countrymen as the “Bowery Boys” and “American Club” must have constituted both an affront and challenge to the evangelist”.¹²⁰ Other white proselytes were diametrically different – pious, conservative theocratic fundamentalists of the former Dowie Christian Catholic Church in South Africa. White converts included both Afrikaners as well as some resident English small-time entrepreneurs and wage laborers or craftsmen in the Transvaal and Free State. In stark contrast to the success in evangelizing among working-class whites, Lake made little headway with the mine owners, who made big profits, and industrial managers who earned large salaries. Lake and Schneiderman did show a special interest in converting Jews. Although the number affiliating with the Pentecostals was modest, often two or three hundred Jews attended services. Chinese and Indian laborers attended in significant but smaller numbers than whites. Blacks joining Lake were usually mine laborers or domestic workers. Initially the largest black component comprised former Christian Catholic Church Zion members affiliated with le Roux’s Wakkerstroom mission. That congregation was devoted to the Zion name and was in large part persuaded to join the Apostolic Faith Mission

through le Roux's personal persuasion. To accommodate black regard for the Zion appellation, these believers were designated "the Zion Branch of the Apostolic Faith Mission."¹²¹

Together with le Roux, Lake and Lehman were especially energetic in ministering among black, Chinese and Indian workers in racially segregated mine compounds. Following the 1886 Witwatersrand gold strikes, tens of thousands sought mine employment. Many of the indigenous South African workers left residences hundreds of miles distant to contract for employment periods from four months to two years. Compensation was generally modest, work conditions were unsafe and miners retained little privacy or autonomy in confined quarters under the scrutiny of employer police.¹²² Underground, employees labored under the stress of hard work and danger while harassed by both white supervisors and black "boss boys".¹²³ Although initially the work and housing arrangements were usually unstructured, ad hoc arrangements through the first two decades of the twentieth century, by the period of Lake's residence some operations evidenced systematic, methodical facilities and work routines. Lake was particularly familiar with the Johannesburg City Deep Mine where his brother was employed as a carpenter.¹²⁴ That mine's housing was constructed to "contain" the workers within an outer perimeter of galvanized fencing topped with barb wire. The layout was reminiscent of a barracks or penal institution. The inner compound was designed in a hub and spoke arrangement, with the centrally located manager's office able to observe the communal residential structures. The dormitories, called huts, were unhealthy, squalid affairs constructed of concrete. Multiple rooms housed many dozen men in

crowded bunks. The denigrating, quasi-prison environment, coupled with the disruption of customary familial relationships, caused psychological and physiological hardship for the men away from home. Alcoholism, factional fighting among workers, solicitation of prostitutes and homosexuality were engendered by the compound system.¹²⁵ Lake found the mine system of labor greatly conducive to his ministry. He observed that the transitory nature of mine workers, periodically traveling home to rural facilities, facilitated dissemination of his evangelical message. Such a migratory arrangement, rather than the "Congo" system of establishing black families in the vicinity of the mines, most benefited Pentecostal proselytism. Moreover, he noted that large numbers of workers from throughout southern Africa were concentrated in a confined area. He was able to address a "captive" audience of twenty-five hundred blacks in most compounds. Lake identified over one hundred and fifty mines in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony employing hundreds to thousands at each facility as good locales for evangelism. The physical layout of the compounds, with buildings in a peripheral square creating an inner courtyard, provided an ideal forum for preaching, singing, faith healing and other charismatic demonstrations. The physically and mentally deleterious environment presented Lake with men sunk to their lowest depth. Many were eager to embrace his empowering, reformatory religion. In his mine ministry, often Lake merely conducted healings rather than sermonize, maintaining "There is no education in faith like seeing God do the thing."¹²⁶ Lake was much impressed with the piety of the converted and spirit-baptized compound workers, stating, "I cannot tell you what wonderful manifestations of the Spirit of God that we see each day, in

depth of character a hundred times beyond anything I have ever seen anywhere.”¹²⁷ The Americans were especially delighted to see black and “coloured” miners come out of their “heathenism”.¹²⁸ Apparently unconcerned with the dismal work environment and secular welfare of the miners, Lake only lamented the shortage of missionaries to “the fields ripe for harvest.” Encouraging Americans to establish missions in South Africa, Lake stated:

...these people that are wondering about where they are called to, if they have got a call anywhere, God can use them here. If they have got a call to India, this is India enough. If they have a call to China, this is China enough.¹²⁹

Given the often appalling work and living conditions in the compounds, Lake’s indifference toward the inhuman labor situation was remarkable for a usually compassionate minister. His undue emphasis on worker spiritualism to the exclusion of material needs was most lamentable.

Disparate racial treatment represented an area where Lake failed to adequately address social injustice. Despite the egalitarian nature of early Pentecostalism and the remarkable initial integration of worship, informal segregation in congregational seating persisted, particularly at the previous white Tabernacle. In the Tabernacle blacks and whites sat on opposite sides of a center aisle.¹³⁰ The segregation resulted from personal practice and custom rather than Pentecostal institutional policy. Such segregation may reflect either white intimidation (even if subtle or unconscious) or reversion to traditional behavior based on disparate supremacy/subordination status. Like other South African Protestant forms of worship, the Dowie Christian Catholic Church’s activities in South Africa

had been separated on racial lines. Lake's lieutenant, Lehman, whose "heart was drawn out toward the native work very intensely" and who concentrated his lifetime ministerial efforts on blacks, was very sympathetic to black spiritual needs. He attributed the segregation to whites who, by their very numbers and presence, crowded out and displaced blacks from traditional black congregations.¹³¹ The persistent, unorchestrated, spontaneous segregation in seating was a precursor of the formal segregationist baptism policy soon implemented by Lake's Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa.¹³²

On 6 November 1908 the seven person Apostolic Faith Mission Executive Council on which Lake sat declared white baptisms would be conducted in the immersion pool before black baptisms. By June 1909 separate baptism services were being performed for whites, coloured and blacks.¹³³ Lake not only did not oppose the segregation, but seemed to have actually advocated separation for practical missionary considerations. He felt that concentrations of persons of the same race and language facilitated evangelism by minimizing logistical and communication issues.

A critical question is why Lake, as a principal Apostolic Faith Mission founder and officer, did not oppose the decision to segregate baptisms. Lake and Lehman both attributed nondiscriminatory justifications for segregated worship. Services organized according to race helped address language barriers. Such services also provided great freedom for blacks to worship more autonomously, to structure liturgy in keeping with African traditions, and to promote local congregational governance. Lake thought that if blacks found a volitionally segregated church more comfortable,

such arrangements should be encouraged to maximize the scope for self-development. He apparently felt segregation promoted more autonomy and democracy in contrast to a fully integrated hierarchical organization. Lehman bemoaned “the terrible barrier of race distinction which makes the average native very timid to worship in the same house where the white man worships.”¹³⁴ Lake and Lehman felt that blacks and other “non-whites” should each have their “own” place of worship to which they could assert a proprietary claim in the face of white racial hatred. Accordingly, Lake accepted some segregation for pragmatic reasons. His attitude also reflected an abhorrent but common attitude, prevalent among even well-meaning whites, that segregation was the most humane race relationship. Nevertheless, even if separate services offered logistical advantages, Lake was responsible for not forcefully opposing policies having a disparate racial impact. With ultimate ethical values at stake, the ends could never have justified such means, particularly given the high moral standards expected of clergy.¹³⁵

Although not an integrationist, Lake was not in any way a racial hate-monger. Despite his deplorable, albeit pragmatic, segregationist inclinations Lake ensured that the Apostolic Faith Mission always allowed mixed race worship services in the “white” Tabernacle.¹³⁶ Unlike DRC pastors, he never turned away any congregants because of race or ethnicity. Lake never wavered in believing in the equality of races and sexes as children of God. He never evidenced any notion that blackness denoted anything evil, ugly or inferior. He cautioned against any variance from a standard of love of all persons. In fact, Lake appeared to have come to regret the white exclusivity initiated by the executive council. Some evidence suggests that

Afrikaner church members demanded Lake prevent blacks from attending services at white churches and that Lake left Africa in part because he disagreed with the increasingly constrained role available for blacks in Apostolic Faith Mission governance.¹³⁷ Years later, back in America, Lake declared:

...if the Apostolic Faith Mission is going to lose her character, her progressiveness, and aggressiveness, and her staunch standing by the original principles and the original doctrines in order to get everybody to work in harmony, my own expression would be, the devil take the harmony.¹³⁸

Having from its inception paralleled Azusa Street by providing for fully integrated worship, the Apostolic Faith Mission's egalitarian practices ended like those of its California predecessor. Nevertheless, the integrated services were truly remarkable for their era. By the initial decade of the twentieth century, Americans were increasingly interested in how white South Africans dealt with race. U.S. colonial acquisition, particularly that of the Philippines, caused white Americans to consider comparative examples of racial social structuring. The Philippines insurrection and the South African War raised issues concerning Western paternalism (the "white man's burden") and racial supremacy.¹³⁹ U.S. whites increasingly addressed the "Negro question", with vigilante intimidation manifested in lynching and even political coups as occurred in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1890 and Atlanta in 1906. Such illegal seizure of power by white Southern Democrats reflected a post-Reconstruction antagonism toward the perceived liberalism of the Northern-dominated federal government. However, Northerners

were no longer committed to the use of national power to secure civil liberty for all. Contemporaneous America used Jim Crow laws and other repressive aspects of the legal system to maintain de jure segregation and deprive blacks of civil rights and citizenship, particularly in the South. By the time of Lake's African mission blacks had been effectively disenfranchised throughout the American South. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court itself approved white supremacy in the Plessy v. Ferguson decision authorizing "separate but equal facilities" for the races.

Lake observed race relations parallels between South Africa and America. He saw the Cape comparable to the North, and Natal similar to the South. In South Africa laws curtailed black civil liberties and property rights, and, unlike the U.S., did not ever purport to afford equality, except in the Cape Colony. Even in the Cape, labor laws and health regulations limited black freedom of association and property rights. Natal was somewhat analogous to the American South, characterized by racial repression with unenforced, color-neutral laws blended with some outright segregation statutes.¹⁴⁰ Similar to the U.S. federal abdication of black civil rights, after the South African War and in the Union years, Britain sacrificed black political interests for the sake of economics and South African white unity. When Lake arrived in Africa, he found Africans and coloureds particularly despondent that their expectations for greater civil participation had come to naught. Article 8 of the Treaty of Vereeniging had made their enfranchisement dependent on the white electorate. In the reconstruction period, High Commissioner Alfred Milner rejected extension of black political equality beyond the Cape, instead supporting indirect representation by white legislators. Such concession was formalized in the 1910

union, despite adamant black protest of which Lake was probably aware. Lake must have known about the Cape non-racial qualified franchise, but made no effort to advocate its adoption for the Union.¹⁴¹ Given such a racially antagonistic environment, Seymour seemed correct in his later belief that the mixing together of blacks and whites as equal worshippers was perhaps the most miraculous manifestation of the Holy Spirit. However, in both America and South Africa, white Pentecostals were unwilling to continue church practices not in harmony with prevalent white attitudes, expressed in law and custom.

Lake and other Pentecostals often adopted a perspective exhibiting a dichotomy between the spiritual and the secular. Only God, not politics, could institute the perfect society, heaven on earth. Such an emphasis on otherworldly spiritualism, together with an apocalyptic vision of Christ's imminent return, worked against the adoption of any social gospel directly addressing economic and political disparities. Rather, empowerment was to come from God, uniting all peoples of "South Africa, white and black, Dutch and English, Chinese and Indian, or any other nationality or color."¹⁴² An acquiescent attitude toward racial and socioeconomic equity resulted in the failure of Pentecostals like Lake to question discriminatory practices implemented by their ecclesiastical organizations or the state.

Social justice issues remained subordinate to Lake's emphasis on evangelism. Throughout 1908 Lake worked energetically to assemble a team of ministers that numbered about fifty by year's end. Although he initially tried to do much of the work himself, he acknowledged a desperate need for assistant clergy. Lake actively preached in Johannesburg and Pretoria, stating that the hectic

schedule of multiple Sunday and weekday services exacted a physical and mental toll:

When I came home from the meeting men are waiting at the house to be pointed to the Lord... I have hardly been able to eat, let alone sleep, and the only danger in the whole matter is that the incessant constant strain may wear me out physically.¹⁴³

Supplementing Lake's efforts, Lehman, Schneiderman and Hezmalhalch preached in Natal and evangelized in Zululand. His American team was insufficient for the task, so Lake looked to indigenous African clergy for help. Numerous black converts like Moses Zulu, previously a local preacher with a non-charismatic church, Elias Letwaba and Solomon, a former inyanga ("witch doctor" to Lake), were most effective ministers to both Zulu and whites.¹⁴⁴

Early in February 1909, Lake met Elias M. Letwaba (1870-1959).¹⁴⁵ Letwaba was to become a Lake protégé and, in terms of charismatic endowment and personal integrity, was to eclipse his mentor. Letwaba (also less frequently called Laguava) was a gifted, saintly black minister who manifested a total, Saint Francis-like Christian dedication. Along with le Roux, Letwaba had a great impact on the Apostolic Faith Mission in the years following Lake's final return to the U.S.. Letwaba was born in 1870 into a pious Christian family. His mother had received an angelic vision that her expected son would be an instrument of God for evangelism. As a boy, Letwaba was raised in Christian rather than indigenous African tribal traditions. A Sindebele speaker, as a teen residing in the Transvaal at the Berlin Lutheran Mission he learned German. He then served with the Bapedi Lutherans,

an independent indigenous "Ethiopian" type church, for nineteen years.¹⁴⁶

Letwaba was not spiritually fulfilled by the non-charismatic political orientation of the Ethiopian church. He declared:

My soul simply cries out for a real victory over sin. I am tired of seeing ministers drinking, smoking and whoring, while at the same time preaching the gospel. Better we leave religion, rather than continue preaching while at the same time living a powerless, sinful life. I don't want theory. I want reality. I want God.¹⁴⁷

The environment in which Letwaba lived and Lake ministered was decidedly racist. One contemporary Pentecostal commented, "...the spirit of strain, black against white and white against black is never absent, and it has done much to make South Africa one of the least missionary countries of the world."¹⁴⁸ White Christians affiliated with non-Pentecostal denominations did not consider the spiritual welfare of their black workers and did not readily permit services for agrarian laborers on the white owned farms. Although self-sacrificing for their own churches, the whites would scorn to give a three-penny bit for black mission work.¹⁴⁹ Accordingly, the hostility Letwaba encountered when first attending one of Lake's services early in 1909 was not atypical. Lake promptly and unhesitatingly embraced Letwaba, kissing him and addressing him as "my brother." Several non-Pentecostal whites in the congregation heckled Lake, hissing and shouting, "Bah! Fancy kissing a black man! He may be your brother but he's not mine." Lake immediately admonished the advocates of racial hatred, declaring:

My friends, God has made of one blood all nations of men (Acts xvii.26). If you don't want to acknowledge them as your brother, then you'll

have the mortification of going away into eternal woe, while you see many of these black folks going to eternal bliss. He that hateth his brother is a murderer, and ye know that no murderers hath eternal life abiding in him (1 John iii.15).

Lake then again held out his hand to Letwaba, announcing, "Brother, I'm glad to welcome you into our midst." The racists continued their disruption, shouting, "Put out the black devils. Kick them into the street." Embracing Letwaba, Lake responded calmly, but authoritatively, "If you turn out these men, then you must turn me out too, for I will stand by my black brethren." The racists then "sank into a sullen silence."¹⁵⁰

Letwaba was deeply moved by Lake's defense and racial inclusiveness. He found "...such love, such uncompromising conviction and speech from a white preacher were absolutely new..."¹⁵¹. Letwaba was also impressed by the practical holiness and charismatic healing power manifested by Lake and his fellow Pentecostals. He accepted Lake's invitation to stay at his home to enjoy Christian fellowship and teaching on Pentecostal theology and practice. Lake "showed him the way of deliverance."¹⁵²

In a most articulate letter Letwaba described his first encounter with Lake. In contrast to the Ethiopian church's emphasis on black independence and autonomy, Letwaba indicated a desire to cooperate with the white Pentecostals whom he considered "God's saints through (the) precious blood of Jesus."¹⁵³ He elaborated in his usual self-effacing manner:

We then related to them how the poor native still was in darkness and requested them to help us. We mention this because the poor blacks are

considered as nothing by many White ministers and Christians.¹⁵⁴

As a "Black African", he beseeched God to "pour out His Holy Spirit abundantly unto the hearts of the White people that they may bring the true Light to our Dark Africa: we thirst for the salvation of our people."¹⁵⁵

On 9 February 1909, in the company of Lake and Hezmalhalch on a mission to Bloemfontein, Letwaba experienced spirit baptism, evidenced by speaking in angelic tongues. Letwaba felt he was empowered by the Holy Spirit, filled with real charismatic gifts and not just "some poor man-made counterfeit, some miserable ecclesiastical make-shift."¹⁵⁶ He found the spontaneity of worship, unhindered by a rigid liturgy, to be in keeping with his expectation of a spiritual religious experience. Such Pentecostal worship was more consistent with African spiritual traditions than the structured format typically utilized by mainline churches following European practice.¹⁵⁷

After his spirit baptism Letwaba promptly undertook evangelical work throughout the Transvaal and Free State. He initially worked in conjunction with Lake, Hezmalhalch or L. T. Schwede rather than operate alone in the field. He cooperated closely with Schwede, an acquaintance of Lake since the early days of Pentecostalism in Zion City, Illinois. Schwede held Letwaba in the highest regard, finding him "the most godly man I ever saw" and admiring his intellectual capabilities and fluency in seven languages. Early in his ministry with Lake's Pentecostals, Letwaba also worked with Hezmalhalch in conducting faith healing in Vrededorp, a Johannesburg suburb, during a 1909 fever epidemic.¹⁵⁸ Letwaba had opportunities

to co-minister with Lake, and both found the experience spiritually invigorating. The cooperative effort was not confined to Johannesburg and Bloemfontein. Lake and Letwaba were particularly active in holding joint services in the Potgietersrus/Waterberg area. In such healing demonstrations, "the two men, black and white together, placed their hands upon the sick in the name of Jesus."¹⁵⁹ Lake was so impressed with his South African friend that he related to William Seymour an incident illustrative of Letwaba's profound charismatic gifts demonstrated when attending a young boy dying of a broken neck and severed spine. Lake ascertained the situation was hopeless, yet realized Letwaba felt God could effect a healing. Lake did not want to remain and manifest any skepticism. Accordingly, he departed so as not to disillusion Letwaba by exhibiting a lack of faith. An astonished, jubilant Lake later learned that the boy was miraculously healed through Letwaba's charismatic gifts.¹⁶⁰

Letwaba asked Lake to undertake missions into the fever-infested northern Transvaal beyond the Potgietersrus district, with possible subsequent excursions to the Shona in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). He told Lake of the thousands of blacks "living in heathen superstition" in many "scattered native villages," lacking any substantive knowledge of Christianity, especially the Pentecostal message. Letwaba informed Lake that the blacks in the northern Transvaal were even more in need of evangelism than people in the Potgietersrus area where at least traditional mainline Protestant churches existed. Letwaba stated that there had been "no testimony at all" in the Soutpansberg villages.¹⁶¹ Lake was receptive to such field evangelism given his "big love for the natives," such that "a plea for the black man would draw

him even sooner than a call from a white congregation.”¹⁶² The Soutpansberg mountains, about one hundred kilometers northeast of Potgietersrus, presented a challenging environment for missionaries. South of the mountains were traditional Ndebele lands, where at Makapan’s Cave thousands were starved to death by avenging nineteenth century Boer commandos led by Piet Potgieter. To the north, the subtropical baobab trees and thorn bush covered plains bordering what was to become Zimbabwe and Botswana. There lived the Venda following traditional African religion that Christians like Lake characterized as witchcraft. Lake felt the Venda lacked adequate Western hygienic facilities, with the health situation exacerbated by an environment conducive to malaria and other epidemics. The thought of a sickly multitude in need of faith-healing was an encouragement rather than deterrent to Lake.

Two separate parties were utilized to conduct the Letwaba-inspired missionary excursion to the north. Jack Armstrong, accompanied by one or more black Christian interpreters, led a group of five missionaries to the Shona. Letwaba, Lake and ten others visited the Soutpansberg. Disregarding the meticulous preparations suggested by “old, experienced colonists,” Lake directed his party to depart without prudent preparations. With unbridled enthusiasm and an ultimate reliance on providence, Lake displayed his usual nonchalance about logistical planning and was not “moved” by the sound recommendations of veteran guides suggesting further travel preparations or deferring departure until a time less conducive to fever. After an animated farewell service, both parties left in good spirits, “full of plans and hopes...”¹⁶³. Lake and Letwaba were particularly optimistic.

Letwaba enjoyed the camaraderie of his fellow missionaries who treated him as “a brother in the Lord, and not as a mere inferior...”¹⁶⁴. The initial few days were uneventful as the Pentecostals preached and healed. However, they soon were stricken with malaria, such that the group became “indisposed” and “thoroughly sick.”¹⁶⁵ Eventually all were ill to some degree and further preaching was impossible. The parties returned to Potgietersrus. At least three missionaries died. Letwaba and Lake appeared to have only been moderately ill. Letwaba was especially heartbroken that the “splendid party” of white compatriots was broken up with the departure of Lake and the other whites to Johannesburg. Letwaba was then in large part left to his own devices with virtual autonomy in conducting ministry among blacks in the northern Transvaal.¹⁶⁶ He was accordingly designated a “Presiding Elder” at Lake’s direction.¹⁶⁷

Having successfully recruited and trained Letwaba, Lake sought out other black evangelists, securing the services of Edward W. Lion. Lion (called Lyons by Burton and Lindsay) was converted to Christianity and initially affiliated with Dowie’s Christian Catholic Church through the efforts of Edgar Mahon, a white minister. Lion, a Basotho whose original surname was Motaung, took an English name following a family disagreement. Lion was attracted by Mahon’s musical ministry and quickly embraced the Dowie emphasis on divine healing. Lake stated Lion exhibited great success in addressing the needs of the sick, and his dynamic, engaging personality and stamina facilitated an active ministry. With the Dowie church he baptized hundreds in the Caledon River and preached for hours on end to congregants gathered for open air services.¹⁶⁸ Around 1910 he encountered Lake in

Johannesburg and affiliated with the Apostolic Faith Mission. Lake stated that when he first met Lion he was “illiterate,” “a raw Zulu heathen, and wore a goatskin apron eight inches square, as his sole raiment.”¹⁶⁹ Letwaba brought Lion into full membership during a July 1912 mission in the Free State.¹⁷⁰ Working with the Apostolic Faith Mission, Lion returned to Basutoland to minister among the Basotho.¹⁷¹ Despite persecution by Basotho chiefs loyal either to traditional African religious practices or the Church of Basutoland, an entity founded by the Protestant Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Lion persisted in his charismatic ministry.¹⁷²

Lake described Lion’s profound spiritual gifts:

...God anointed that man with the faith...and Holy Ghost so intense that...when a multitude of sick folks had been brought into a valley, the power of God came upon him and he...stretched out his hands...In a minute hundreds were healed!...There is no such instance recorded in the New Testament. Jesus promised the Last Days would be marked by greater works than He Himself had wrought.¹⁷³

Similarly, Lake related that on Christmas Eve, 1912 in Basutoland, “we served the Lord’s supper to seventy-five lepers healed under Lion’s ministry.”¹⁷⁴ As with most faith healings Lake reported, no independent observer verified the reported miracles.

After Lake’s return to the U.S., Lion broke away from the Apostolic Faith Mission. Lion apparently wanted greater latitude and more autonomy in conducting the Basutoland (Lesotho) work than Lake’s successors would allow.¹⁷⁵ Another prominent black leader holding a leadership position comparable to Letwaba,

Brother Oliphant, encountered similar problems, proclaiming in frustration that “he has nothing to do with the white people except Bro. Lake.”¹⁷⁶ William Burton’s rather paternalistic account, evidencing disdain for any Christian/indigenous religion syncretism, stated that in the absence of “white teachers who could help him, Lyons was very much thrown upon his own resources, and he adopted many strange and strained interpretations of Scriptures.”¹⁷⁷ Similarly, Lindsay stated that Lion’s doctrinal errors resulted from inadequate recourse to “spiritually mature teachers” and self-exaltation.¹⁷⁸ Unlike his successors in the Apostolic Faith Mission and many other Protestant ministers, Lake accommodated unique indigenous expressions of Christianity and did not compel strict adherence to any Western-style liturgy. Such an accepting, non-dogmatic attitude exemplified one of the best aspects of Lake’s character.

In South Africa, as in America, even among Christians, Lake’s Pentecostals were often seen as dangerous cultists engaging in theatrics at best unbecoming to decorous worship, at worst a form of charlatanism, mental illness or malevolency.¹⁷⁹ Mainline Protestant denominations like Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists stood back to critically examine the charismatics. Although sometimes sharing a fundamentalist, literal biblical interpretation with Pentecostals, most established churches rejected any notion that New Testament gifts were a contemporary possibility. Lehman warned:

...South Africa is in consternation. The churches are rising up in arms against His Christ. Many untruths and falsehoods are circulating, but we pay not attention to them; we just obey God and He takes care of the rest.¹⁸⁰

Despite Lake's American experience he did not expect the negative reaction of established churches and did not anticipate the rejection of "people who spoke in tongues, prophesied, prayed for the sick and baptized believers."¹⁸¹ Even more critical was the DRC. Any member of that denomination associating with Pentecostals was branded from the pulpit as a disciple of "false teachings" or a "wolf in sheep's clothing," and expelled from membership.¹⁸² Those submitting to any Pentecostal re-baptism were excluded from fellowship with the DRC "covenant people," having betrayed their Afrikaner heritage by embracing "Englishness" and cult behavior. In response, Lake denounced the DRC for "spiritual apathy and inertness," criticizing its "satisfaction with the cold externals of religious forms and observations."¹⁸³ One Afrikaner Apostolic Faith Mission preacher described the typical Dutch Reformed Church minister's response:

(They) as a rule view us with suspicion, denounce the work as diabolical and the workers as hypnotics, demon possessed. They belie the many cases of healing and would excommunicate all who have been baptized with the Holy Ghost if their rules and regulations would permit. Some, however, seem to think it more discreet not to interfere...¹⁸⁴

The charismatics could take some solace in their cult designation, deeming themselves the truly elect of God. One Lake associate proclaimed, "The very fact that so many churches spoke and argued against the work merely served as an advertisement."¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, some mainline congregations were more receptive to the charismatics, affording them use of their facilities.¹⁸⁶ One DRC congregation even permitted Lake to engage in an open theological debate.¹⁸⁷

The secular response to Lake's Pentecostalism was also generally unreceptive and antagonistic. In both America and Africa Lake's congregants, in common with other Pentecostals, were ridiculed by derogatory names based on either the tongue utterances ("Gliddy Bluks") or the gyrations and spirit-inspired dance ("Holy Rollers"). Hecklers often attended Lake's South African services. "At times pandemonium reigned" when "godless opposers were shrieking and jeering at the back."¹⁸⁸ At times even Lake's personal safety was in jeopardy. At least once an enraged mob barged into the meeting hall with the intent to "Do for that hypnotist." Lake met such hostility with Christian love and concern, confronting with a benediction the vigilantes who then ceased their mischief.¹⁸⁹ On another occasion rowdy youths gave Lake "three pretty bad kicks in the side."¹⁹⁰ Lake reacted with nonviolence and took consolation in citing scripture. The ringleader was converted by Lake's demonstration of Christian commitment and willingness to endure suffering for a belief. Sometimes the Pentecostals sought redress through law. Lake related an attempt by the Apostolic Faith Mission to bring criminal charges against a James Marisall as disturber of the peace. Despite Lake's attendance at court as a witness for the prosecution, the defendant was discharged.¹⁹¹ Lake was frustrated by the failure of secular authorities to protect his congregants, and could only find solace in believing that his followers were God's elect, purified through adversity.

Throughout Lake's South African ministry, particularly during the initial organizational years, funding was a dire problem. Lake and his group had come to Africa as faith missionaries not financially supported by any one denomination,

organization or congregation. Free-will offerings were received occasionally from South African and American contributors. The U.S. donations were often funneled through the agency of Pentecostal periodicals such as a William Seymour's The Apostolic Faith and George Studd's The Upper Room.¹⁹² Such sporadic funding was frequently insufficient for maintaining an ongoing missionary presence, much less for addressing Lake's encompassing vision of expansive field work. The Apostolic Faith missionaries, particularly Lake's large family, were often in the "direst need."¹⁹³ Although the mission sometimes received gifts of clothing or food baskets, most people did not consider supplying the material needs of the missionaries, assuming that Lake was supported from overseas.¹⁹⁴ Lake did little to publicize the economic plight of his party, refraining from active solicitation in Africa. A contemporary remarked, "As there were no collections, the preachers and their families often went hungry."¹⁹⁵ Lake admitted, "There have been many days when the larder was low, and there have been many times when we ate breakfast that there was nothing left for dinner."¹⁹⁶

Discussing his initial six months of South African work, Lake outlined the practical considerations confronting a "very young institution...", "not known in the world."¹⁹⁷ Finances were so meager "under the awful assault we were compelled to endure" (apparently from hostile ecclesiastical organizations) that Lake, in the Johannesburg headquarters, could not even mail two dollars monthly to the one hundred and twenty-five field workers scattered throughout South Africa.¹⁹⁸ Lake recognized the "situation was desperate" and he "did not want to take the responsibility of leaving men and their families on the frontier..."¹⁹⁹. He sold much of

his clothing and house furnishings to raise funds to bring the field workers to Johannesburg for an emergency strategy session. After deliberating without Lake present, the group announced to Lake “a pledge unto death,” reminiscent of an Apostolic-like “spirit of martyrdom,” that they would go back to their ministry if they had to walk back.²⁰⁰ These dedicated Christians declared their total commitment to evangelism even if they and their families starved. They did ask Lake to bury those who succumbed, and through 1909 he conducted funerals for twenty-eight workers and their families. Lake lamented, “In my judgment ...if they had a few things a white man needs to eat... (they) might have lived.”²⁰¹ Lake recognized this ultimate devotion and saw parallels between the perils faced by his South African missionaries and early Methodists responding to Wesley’s heroic call to be “ready to pray, ready to preach, ready to die.”²⁰²

The Lakes were personally generous and self-sacrificing to a fault. Frequently they gave their remaining funds, a mere handful of change, to “some poor soul whom they considered more needy, or less able to trust God than they.”²⁰³ Jennie Lake was once delighted to receive a modest donation, declaring she had not one penny in the house. Often the Lakes gave away what meager food they had, despite their hunger. Although Lake and Jennie devoted themselves to full-time ministry, the other family members of working age had to seek secular employment. Lake’s brother, Wilford, himself an active evangelist, initially worked as a carpenter on the Johannesburg City Deep Mine. Lake’s son, Alexander, worked as a clerical assistant in the government railway office. Lake stated his desire that both Wilford and Alexander be able to work solely in the ministry, but financial constraints

required that they “keep the pot boiling.”²⁰⁴

In addition to facing fiscal challenges and other organizational concerns, Lake had to face personal loss. After less than nine months in African residency, in December 1908 Jennie died from a stroke and heart conditions exacerbated by overwork, malnourishment and inability to adapt to the African environment. At the time of Jennie’s death Lake was absent on a missionary trip to the Kalahari Desert. He returned to find she had been dead twelve hours.²⁰⁵ Her loss, leaving him an overworked, impoverished single parent with eight children (one adopted), was devastating. Lake kept his profound grief private, making little reference to his emotional turmoil in public addresses or published correspondence. He did express his feelings in his diary, attempting to articulate his physical and mental isolation and longing for his “precious wife.”²⁰⁶ He described Jennie as “a loving, beautiful wife.” He grieved, “Words can never tell all she was to me. God gave us a marvelous unity in the spirit. I worshiped her and she me likewise.”²⁰⁷ In the depth of despair, Lake wept. Facing ongoing financial difficulties he declared, “But as I look back over the terrible struggles of planting this work in Africa, I now really feel God in His mercy permitted her to escape this awful time of sorrow and trial and fighting by taking her to heaven.”²⁰⁸ Lake’s relationship with his first wife was a true love story. The bond possibly transcended his more practical affection and domestic concern for his helpmate second wife, Florence, whom he would marry shortly after returning to America at the conclusion of his African ministry. Speaking of Jennie two years after her death, he still lamented:

O, my darling, what dreary days since you went

away...You were all in all to me...Your memory is sweet today. Every book, everything about me speaks to me of you...Love, all happiness that heaven's heart could know I found with you. And when you went away, the hours became a winding sheet of woe, and made a ghostly phantom of today. But though the human is lonely, I yet rejoice my darling is with God...But as a manly man, I can only go on and wait to meet you when my own time comes and I must finish the work He gave me to do, ere I can come to you.²⁰⁹

The loss of Jennie was a significant setback to the Pentecostal ministry. She had been particularly active in counseling couples about domestic matters and felt she had a God given power to discern moral conflicts in penitent believers. She was instrumental in assisting Lake with black evangelism. Writing to his friend Bryant, the former Overseer for Dowie's Christian Catholic Church in South Africa who had since returned to residency in Zion City, Lake related that a Bryant protégé, Gordon Hinds, was attempting to take charge of the work "among the colored people" formerly performed by Jennie.²¹⁰

Lake faced considerable challenges as a single head of a family of eight. Frequently occupied with church matters and away from home, he encountered special difficulties in dealing with the boys. Lake's boys were apparently the stereotypical preacher's children, rather mischievous and self-willed. Lake related that he taught them to respect authority and accept guidance by allowing them metaphorically "to run headlong into a wall." His children (by Jennie) resented Lake's dedication to South African missions and felt Lake's church work left them neglected.²¹¹

The loss of his wife and the unrelenting demands of evangelizing short on workers and funds led Lake to seek companionship and advice outside his charismatic acquaintances. He was especially fortuitous in meeting Mohandas Gandhi, probably through Archibald Cooper and Joseph Doke. In Gandhi Lake found a "soul Mate" in whom to confide personal concerns and to discuss religion and philosophy.

In Johannesburg Lake met Archibald Cooper, with whom he had conducted a correspondence prior to the departure for Africa. Cooper, born in 1882 in England, relocated to Cape Town in 1901 to serve in the South African constabulary during the South African War. Converted at Gipsy Smith's Gospel Tent Revival in Cape Town in 1904, he then affiliated with the Presbyterian Church of Johannesburg as an ordinary lay member. About one year before Lake's arrival, Cooper experienced a Holy Ghost endowment. Although Cooper had no previous teaching regarding the significance of speaking in tongues, Lake's pre-departure letter to Cooper further prepared him for acceptance of Pentecostal theology and Lake's American missionary leadership.²¹²

Through Archibald Cooper, Lake made the acquaintance of Joseph Doke (1862-1913), a prominent Baptist minister who served as pastor in churches in Grahamstown and Johannesburg. Lake met Doke in September 1908 at Cooper's wedding where Doke performed the service. At the time both Lake and Doke were ministering in Johannesburg. Doke, an evangelical fundamentalist in the tradition of Dwight Moody of Chicago, had no use for Lake's Pentecostal emphasis on tongues as evidence of spirit baptism. Apparently speaking about Lake's Apostolic Faith

Mission, Doke declared the "Tongues Movement" to be "the devil's travesty of the work of the Spirit."²¹³ Despite serious misgivings about Lake's activities, Doke felt obligated, perhaps out of friendship to Lake's convert, Cooper, to afford the Pentecostals a "kindly, generous, (but) negative treatment."²¹⁴ Lake and Doke had very different ministerial styles in addition to their divergent theology. In contrast to Lake's disregard for an applied social gospel, Doke actually worked with Gandhi in the 1907 Rand passive resistance campaign promoting Indian civil liberties.

Doke was a close friend of Mohandas Gandhi, and Lake probably made the acquaintance of the "Mahatma" through him.²¹⁵ The introduction apparently occurred in Johannesburg, either at Cooper's wedding or at Doke's church office. Lake's son, Alexander, indicated that he accompanied his father on a visit to Gandhi's house "Savodaya" in Phoenix near Durban, on which occasion Gandhi told Lake "prayerful faith in God" was the inspiration to "continue the 'good fight' (for justice and equality)."²¹⁶ Alexander described Gandhi:

A friend of my father's - an Indian attorney who dressed in the robe of a servant, fought long and prayerfully for civil rights for persecuted Indians. This attorney had a degree in law from a great English university. He was versed in philosophy, and his heart overflowed with love for the oppressed of the world. Because his skin was brown, he'd been thrown off South African trains, kicked by a policeman for walking on a sidewalk; had been imprisoned for peacefully protesting against discriminatory laws.²¹⁷

Lake and Gandhi visited each other at their respective Johannesburg offices and Savodaya, discussing Christianity, metaphysics and social justice. Lake must have been most impressed with Gandhi's spirituality and his passionate dedication to

political equality.

Accordingly, the question arises why Lake did not use Gandhian civil disobedience to protest against racial injustice. The question is particularly compelling in that Lake did later employ civil disobedience to protest against government restrictions on religion in the U.S. in the 1920s.²¹⁸ Despite Lake's acquaintance with Gandhi, the American missionary never participated in Gandhi's civil rights campaigns nor agitated independently against government-sanctioned racial inequality in Africa or America. In fact, Lake believed in the superiority of Western culture and viewed tribal Africans as socio-economically and politically undeveloped. Moreover, he asserted, "Among the natives there are great tribal jealousies, and the only thing preventing war between them is the strong hand of British government."²¹⁹ He faulted missionaries for coming to South Africa with "a lot of 'brand new' American ideas to teach the natives." Lake condescendingly asserted:

One of the curses of American missionaries is that they teach race equality. Now the African native is very different from the American Negro. The African man is a heathen. He does not wear anything but a blanket until he is taught.²²⁰

Such invidious paternalism and white supremacy were widely evident in both white South African and American culture, even among persons like Lake. Despite segregationist inclinations, he had no race hatred and recognized spiritual racial equality. That Lake and most of his white contemporaries did not continue to fully practice the initial Azusa Street Pentecostal egalitarianism represented a great lost opportunity for racial justice. As justification for his failure to campaign for equitable

treatment of all races, he asserted African blacks were not as Westernized as African Americans. He felt that indigenous Africans were not ready for political participation. The rationale failed to explain why he did not use civil disobedience, education and protest to attack institutionalized de jure disparate treatment (the so-called "Jim Crow" laws) in the U. S. South and de facto segregation in the Northern states. Clearly Lake did not rise to the moral stature of Gandhi or Martin Luther King. He did not meet the challenges of racial injustice. He must be criticized for not working actively for racial equality. It was not enough to wish victims well and hope that future generations would bring about a more egalitarian society. He lacked a vision of a racial justice implemented by vanguard believers acting as God's instruments for change. Like most others, even liberals, he accepted the separate but equal standard promulgated by the U.S. Supreme Court and did not challenge unjust laws. Instead, Lake's only opposition to disparate racial treatment was a personal one limited to a spiritual context that emphasized all were equally loved by Christ and that God's grace and empowerment were available to all people. Lake announced, "We worship a God to whom the color of the skin means nothing. It is no more than axiom that God loves black and white alike: that Christ died for all..."²²¹. Such racially inclusive, empowering declarations do not exonerate Lake from the error of his inaction and poor prioritization. Absorbed in his otherworldly spiritualism, he failed to adequately address the ever present evils of discrimination and oppression.

Although never particularly interested in bureaucratic details, from 1909 Lake was faced with the task of organizing his South African ministry. He originally

conceived his ministry as a non-denominational outgrowth of the Apostolic Faith work which had been initiated by Parham and Seymour. He had hoped that South African mainline churches would accept charismatics as a faction within their denominations. As late as May 1909 he declared he was not forming a church or other ecclesiastic entity. Nevertheless, Lake was receptive to the pragmatic need for some structure and felt "that when the Pentecostal movement in its beginning left out divine order and system as provided in the New Testament, that the door was wide open for a great deal of confusion." He elaborated that in commencing work in South Africa, "we have endeavored not to fall into (such) error."²²² Coming to terms with occasional overt hostility and more frequent subtle indifference to his group, perceived by established denominations to be a mere cult, Lake ultimately recognized that Pentecostals must go their own way. Moreover, in order to receive government recognition as a religious organization entitled to undertake ministry among black congregants and to secure favorable clergy transportation discounts, the Apostolic Faith Mission was structured as a general council composed of all the acknowledged Pentecostal members. An executive council empowered to act on behalf of the General Council was formed, consisting of W. H. Elliot, J. O. Lehman, R. H. Van der Wall, H. M. Turney (treasurer), J. L. Schuuman (secretary), J. G. Lake (vice-president) and T. Hezmalhalch (president).²²³ Rather surprisingly, especially given his later antagonism toward U.S. state and local government intervention in his religious practices under the public health and safety rationale, Lake did not seem unduly antagonistic toward government involvement in religion in South Africa. He even added that the South African authorities "believe in us and our work among

the natives.”²²⁴ The Apostolic Faith Mission later adopted articles of incorporation and bylaws, called the constitution, to create a corporate entity, with formal filing through the Register of Companies in 1913.²²⁵

Through 1909 Lake addressed practical issues relating to the selection and support of field workers. Where a year previously he had actively recruited Americans to work in South Africa, by 1909 he changed the focus to the solicitation of funding from U.S. contributors to maintain Pentecostal evangelists already residing in Africa. Lake emphasized the benefits of utilizing missionaries already present in South Africa and offered an elaborate explanation for his policy. He maintained the undertaking demanded a self-denying lifestyle not common among Americans. Prospective workers would experience hardships and have to “count the cost” of total commitment. Lack of public recognition and outright scorn was common, evidenced by the ill-will of doctors, the press and fellow non-charismatic clergy.²²⁶

Lake frequently wrote home to charismatic periodicals, soliciting funds. He placed great emphasis on the economic plight of the region, perhaps feeling sympathetic Americans might reach deeper into their pockets when donating to the mission. Lake declared South Africa was impoverished following the South African War and felt the colonial governments were not receptive to foreign missionaries not sufficiently funded from overseas sources. Farmers had little livestock to sell with production still curtailed by the ravages of war, and the land itself was generally suitable only for grazing, not American-type crop agriculture. Lake likened the situation to the American South after the destruction wrought by civil war. He saw a

clear parallel between British scorched-earth tactics and William T. Sherman's march through the Carolinas, where federal troops subsisted off the land and destroyed any agricultural or industrial resources available to the Confederacy. Both the British and federal intention was to create a burnt-out zone incapable of supporting organized armies or even guerilla resistance.

In post-war South Africa, the ensuing poverty, even among whites, was "very intense."²²⁷ He noted the human ramifications engendered by South Africa's transition from a mercantile to industrial economy. For blacks, the growth of municipal slums, the breakdown of the tribal system and inadequate agricultural capacity in rural areas resulted in a bleak existence. Both Afrikaners and blacks often subsisted merely on corn meal, without salt or sugar in their diets. The lack of cash, scarce employment opportunities and limited agrarian commodities were exacerbated by a high cost of living, with food and housing particularly expensive.²²⁸ Lake concluded that South Africa lacked any wealth comparable to America "except for the money-makers" in the mining district "who are unsaved people and care little about the work of God."²²⁹ Accordingly, mission funding must come from the U.S. and Britain. Lake's assessment, while historically accurate, was offered with fund-raising in mind. He sought to edify charismatics about African missions and to engender sympathy by highlighting the difficult conditions under which he worked.

Lake asserted that given the tough economic conditions, the colonial governments, and from 1910 the Union government, were not receptive to the arrival of foreign missionaries lacking sufficient denominational support. Missionaries en route to join up with Lake at Johannesburg were not permitted to

disembark in Cape Town unless carrying credentials from the Apostolic Faith Mission and possessing at least one hundred U.S. dollars or twenty British pounds. Lake declared he was under personal bond to the American consulate and Transvaal government that Apostolic Faith Mission workers not be charges on the public. Lake stated, "We are in a strange land, and under different laws, and we have got to comply with governmental regulations here, and the government keeps us under close scrutiny all the time the same as it does with all other missionaries; and further, the Word of God demands that we comply with their laws."²³⁰

Whenever possible, Lake favored the utilization of resident South African missionaries rather than outsiders. He was motivated by several pragmatic considerations. Use of resident clergy was cheaper than importing and training U.S. missionaries. Afrikaners and indigenous blacks were adapted to the physically demanding African environment. Americans were unaccustomed to traveling the often rugged African landscape. In many situations horses and even mules were not readily adaptable, with oxen or foot travel the only available options.²³¹ Lake emphasized that Americans lacking the ability to endure the rigorous living conditions and having no foreign language aptitudes would be of negligible worth. Given the multitude of difficulties, he insisted that any Americans persisting in a desire to come to South Africa must be spirit-filled believers prepared for total commitment. Lake denounced "Missionaries without faith for healing [who] do not amount to much in this country - there are plenty of them here now who scarcely touch the people."²³²

Lake also felt that American missionaries with strong feelings about secular

racial egalitarianism would be liabilities for the South African work. Consistent with his lack of interest in promoting social and political racial equality, Lake maintained that prospective missionaries should not come with “brand new American ideas,” regarding black/white relations.²³³ Expressing a paternalistic Western cultural supremacy, Lake warned:

One of the curses of American missionaries is that they...are teaching social equality between the white people and the natives. Now, the African native is a very different man from the American Negro. The African man is a heathen - he does not wear anything but a blanket until he is taught and Christianized. Missionaries coming to this land must be prepared to come and learn...²³⁴

Even well intended, benevolent white ministers like Lake believed that God destined competent whites to be guardians of the tribal Africans. Despite Cape liberalism, by the 1910s even many humanitarians were ambivalent about racial equality. Liberals supported the jurisprudential concept of a nonracial franchise, but could not readily envision blacks dominating parliament. Despite his reprehensible notion of superiority, Lake was not in any way adverse to educated South African blacks securing the franchise and engaging in full civic participation.²³⁵

In detailing the advantages of utilizing South Africans as evangelists, Lake did overlook a significant benefit with American evangelists. As outsiders, Americans were not as entangled in English/Afrikaner antagonisms. Such an omission was rather striking, particularly in light of Lake’s awareness of South African history and contemporary events. Speaking about the important 1910 national election that followed South African union, Lake later reported:

A great deal of racial feeling was shown by this election, especially on the part of the English. There being no large majority will compel respect on both sides.²³⁶

In contrast to the problems Lake outlined for Americans coming to Africa, he found advantages in using South African residents familiar with the language and culture. Many South Africans spoke English, Dutch, Zulu, Sotho and other indigenous African languages. Moreover, Afrikaners, “born and bred” in the country, were acquainted with local manners and customs.²³⁷ On the other hand, Lake recognized the obstacles Afrikaner racial hatred posed to Christian ministry. Although clearly not a racial activist himself, Lake noted:

The difficulty with the Afrikander, as a rule, is that he is like our Southerner in America; there is a strong prejudice on his part against the Blacks, and only God the Holy Ghost can remove that. But, bless God, He does, and the most devoted white workers we have among the natives are those whose hearts God has caused to love the natives.²³⁸

The most notable of Lake’s Afrikaner ministers was P. L le Roux. In le Roux Lake found an experienced pastor familiar with South African culture and institutions, and a sympathetic adherent to charismatic theology. Destined to become the most significant white post-Lake Apostolic Faith Mission leader, during Lake’s residency he conducted a ministry focused on black evangelism. The orientation toward black work was a legacy of le Roux’s arduous, self-sacrificing labors among the Zulu in the Christian Catholic Church years. Lake described him as “an earnest man of God” and a gifted linguist fluent in English, Afrikaans, Zulu and Sotho.²³⁹ Lake believed le Roux was “worth as much in the extension of the

Kingdom of God [in South Africa] as twenty American missionaries.”²⁴⁰ Lake numbered le Roux’s black congregants at about ten thousand. Le Roux’s black missions were performed through the assistance of twenty-five local preachers and three evangelists, all black Pentecostals.²⁴¹ Operating from “the great center” at Wakkerstroom, le Roux utilized black clergy to extend work into Swaziland, Natal and the Free State.²⁴⁷ Although generally working at Wakkerstroom during Lake’s early South African residency, le Roux occasionally assisted at the Central Tabernacle, especially in the absence of Lake and Hezmalhalch from Johannesburg.²⁴³ By 1910 le Roux was increasingly integrated into the Apostolic Faith Mission headquarters administration as a member of the executive council.²⁴⁴

Lake’s Apostolic Faith Mission was a new religious organization struggling to gain credibility while facing charges of sectarianism. As with Pentecostals elsewhere, his group was denounced as fanatical. Lake faced the further possibility of opposition from a government that might see his Pentecostal missionaries at best as potential impoverished charges on the state not adequately supported by an established denomination and, at worst, as revolutionaries with political agendas. With the restoration of self-government in the Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1907, Lake wanted to gain the confidence of Afrikaner ruling officials. He referred to those Afrikaner home rule conciliationists seeking political cooperation of both English and Afrikaners (later to be organized as the South African Party) as “Nationalists”. Lake sought to befriend Transvaal Prime Minister Louis Botha, Jan Christian Smuts, a Botha subordinate, and other prominent Afrikaners.²⁴⁵ Lake also attempted to appease any concerns the unduly suspicious Natal government might

have entertained that his Pentecostals were social gospel activists, particularly in light of the Bambatha Poll Tax Rebellion of 1906 and purported involvement of Ethiopian movement agitators in that revolt.²⁴⁶ Concerned that the “government keeps us under close scrutiny all the time,” Lake wanted to make every effort to distance his Pentecostalism from Ethiopianism.²⁴⁷

The Ethiopian movement was an attempt by blacks to establish autonomous congregations not under white control or supervision. The ecclesiastical independence was inspired by such visionaries as Nehemiah Tile and Mangena Makone who saw their white-dominated Methodist churches as unresponsive to black leadership and political concerns. They were particularly appalled by the disparate racial treatment of clergy and the hypocritical mouthing of spiritual equality. Many Africans viewed the Wesleyans and other missionaries as instruments of imperialistic oppression and social disruption. Especially grating was the common missionary practice of removing converts from tribal environments for relocation to stations where the newly embraced faith was practised in isolation from African traditions. Especially during the South African War, those blacks benefiting from the physical security of the mission stations had few if any practical means to express any opinions inconsistent with white established policy. Fear of recrimination greatly curtailed religious and political expression by black congregants affiliated with white missions.²⁴⁸ Tile resigned in the face of the Methodist synod’s censure of his political activities. He then formed the Thembu National Church to promote independent chiefly rule in opposition to white domination of tribal society. Recognizing the futility of military resistance to white

encroachment, he sought to express opposition through autonomous black ecclesiastical channels. His church provided a Christian framework within which to enunciate African equality amidst white repression. Similarly, Makone resigned from a Methodist church that he perceived held the white minister infallible, while denying black clerics appropriate professional dignity. He was particularly grieved that black ministers had no right to use mission property, could not attend the segregated church conferences and could enter the residences of white clergy only by the back door. Facing such overt discrimination, in 1892 he pursued a pan-African dream to form the Ethiopian Church. Quite soon numerous black dissident Wesleyan congregations, including the Thembu Church, affiliated with his autonomous denomination. By 1896 a conference of the Ethiopian Church had affiliated with the sympathetic African Methodist Episcopal Church of America (AME). James Dwane was instrumental in working with the American organization to bring AME Bishop Turner to South Africa to ordain clergy. Especially following the amalgamation with the AME, the Ethiopians became increasingly confident of their destiny distinct from the white missions. Dwane observed, "the African would never allow the White man to ride roughshod over their country."²⁴⁹

The Ethiopians promptly earned the hostility of white governments critical of the church's political orientation and social activism. The Ethiopians' ability to unify South African blacks across ethnic boundaries was a threat to white supremacy. Use of mottoes such as "Africa for the Africans" led many whites to fear that Ethiopianism was a dangerous political movement operating under a religious guise.²⁵⁰

Ethiopians were seen as challenging the very structure of the colonial order as well as questioning the status of the aspiring black Christian elite. Most white South Africans considered Ethiopianism an “insidious poison,” being a racial rather than religious movement. Particularly in Natal, American blacks sponsored by the AME and South African blacks who had studied in the U.S. were seen as radicals advocating revolution. The 1906 Natal rebellion was thought to be evidence of the danger of black nationalism and the relaxing of white supremacy. In the Cape and Transvaal, the colonial governments did not generally employ the drastic repression adopted in Natal, fearing a heavy hand would only encourage “martyrs”. To thwart the Ethiopian message, Cape whites sought to embrace Booker T. Washington’s moderate Tuskegee Christian industrial training model as an alternative to black political agitation through autonomous African religious organizations. Many American missionaries, diplomats and journalists shared this white South African negative perception of Ethiopianism, as did even some U.S. black moderates who saw Ethiopianism as “barbarous” racial hatred, violence and degeneration into bondage.²⁵¹

Lake initiated his Pentecostal ministry during a period of heightened tension between missionary churches and rapidly growing Ethiopianism. The South African War especially served as a catalyst for Ethiopianism. During the conflict white clergy focused their energies on white congregants, neglecting Africans. The void was soon filled by black ministers who then, or soon thereafter, affiliated with the Ethiopian Church. The Ethiopian clergy was very active evangelizing the refugee camps housing blacks. In the post-war period prior to Lake’s arrival in Africa,

Ethiopianism enjoyed increasing credibility as an alternative to white-dominated ecclesiastical institutions that subordinated African interests. The further development of the Ethiopian Church in the first decade of the century promoted African political activism, setting the stage for the South African National Native Congress.²⁵²

Taking an apolitical stance that "the Word of God demands that we comply with...laws," Lake wrote to Louis Botha in September 1909, expounding an evangelism not threatening Afrikaner interests:

We have worked mostly among the Ethiopians with the intention to bring them under white (ecclesiastical) control...we have found when the Ethiopians are really saved, they give up their Ethiopianism and accept with joy white control and (church) government from us.²⁵³

L. T. Schwede, one of Lake's American missionaries who worked closely with Letwaba in the Waterberg district, declared:

Some American missionaries make a great mistake in trying to put the native on an equality with the white man, because there is danger of the unchristianized native being stirred up by some wicked leader, and then they could in a short time extinguish the whites altogether.²⁵⁴

In opposing Ethiopiansim Lake did not act solely to promote the Apostolic Faith Mission as a credible, non-threatening Christian organization dedicated to personal piety, spirituality and other worldly aspirations. While he did want to get in the good graces of the Afrikaner-led Transvaal and Free State governments and the conservative colonial Natal government, he was primarily motivated by a genuine loathing of Ethiopianism as politics masked as religion. Lake believed the

Christian must obey Caesar to the extent consistent with conscience and scripture. Moreover, God was not an instrument to be used to promote social or political agendas. For Lake Ethiopianism was not true religion, but rather more akin to communism, with spirituality subordinated to materialism. He was concerned that Ethiopianism lacked scriptural spiritualism and manifested no defining Bible-based creed or ritual.²⁵⁵ Lake concurred with William Burton that the Ethiopian churches were "breeding grounds for anti-European political propaganda. Instead of teaching freedom from sin and self, they...teach freedom from the European rule, and sing...'Africa for the Africans' and 'Drive all white men into the sea.'"²⁵⁶ Lake similarly denounced the Ethiopians:

In the course of fifty years they have created eight wars, and it had cost the nation one hundred million dollars. That institution was not organized as a society, but a church. They are simply throwing off all white authority...²⁵⁷

Consequently, unless the Ethiopians renounced worldly aspirations and social/political platforms, "the organization would prove a damnation to themselves."²⁵⁸ Lake's antagonism reflected his Western paternalism. Such a cultural chauvinism precluded him from adequately understanding Ethiopian theology and motivation. He completely failed to recognize that the Ethiopian leadership was not solely concerned with political action and instead sought to genuinely preach the gospel and evangelize among indigenous Africans.

To combat Ethiopianism Lake prayed for the Holy Ghost to "change their hearts."²⁵⁹ God would show the misguided Ethiopians the danger of supplanting the heavenly message of Jesus with mere politics. Lake actively worked to convert

entire Ethiopian churches to an affiliation with his Pentecostal organization. In order to gain Ethiopians' acceptance of his leadership and their abandonment of politics, Lake was willing to make concessions and be flexible regarding such non-doctrinal issues as the attire of worshippers and liturgy. He accepted black clergy and afforded considerable congregational autonomy, provided white Pentecostal supervision was acknowledged and personal piety adopted. Lake did require adherence to biblical ethics, together with renunciation of medicine, tobacco and beer. Provided proper behavioral standards were observed and basic biblical truth maintained, he allowed blacks to adopt his Pentecostal message to African religious needs. He offered potential converts an otherworldly spirituality. He trusted that the charismatic workings of the Holy Spirit and the emotional, spontaneous worship that he was comfortable with would appeal to Ethiopians as being consistent with popular African traditions. Thus Lake sought to change Ethiopians into Pentecostal Zionists, to transform the politically active congregants into pious spiritualists ultimately concerned with their souls. To effect conversion Lake tried to persuade the Ethiopians that their emphasis on worldly matters to the subordination of spirituality resulted in a degeneration "by which they were returning to their original state of heathenism and worse...They adopted the sin of civilization, and they are dreadful."²⁶⁰ Lake actively solicited and recruited Ethiopians, attending their services and conferences to promote the Pentecostal message.²⁶¹ Lake was rather successful in his evangelism, although his accounts manifested his customary exaggeration. Many Ethiopians found that empowerment and resistance to oppression could as readily be achieved through charismatic personal spiritualism

as through overt political activism. Lake related that on other occasions Ethiopians actively sought him out to offer their entire congregations in affiliation with the Apostolic Faith Mission. He explained, "They had discovered that they did not have power to help their people, that they needed a strong type of man and faith to help them."²⁶² Ethiopian overseers purportedly told Lake that they were divinely called to "Go to Johannesburg, inquire for a man by the name of Lake, he will help you."²⁶³ The piety of the Pentecostal character and apparent interest in black evangelism encouraged Ethiopian affiliation with the Apostolic Faith Mission. The Ethiopian converts asked Lake to personally conduct religious orientation necessary for Pentecostal church affiliation, recognizing him as "first in authority" with a faculty of making doctrinal teaching "clear to the native mind, so that our people never forget it."²⁶⁴ Lake maintained that one Ethiopian leader admitted:

Brother Lake, God sent me to you and I have traveled six hundred miles to see you! You must help our people. I heard you preach two years ago at Bloemfontein, but my heart was wicked then, and I did not like the white man. But I see, Brother, the people who went with you have gone on, and ours have gone back.²⁶⁵

Similarly, Letwaba refused to join the Ethiopians, affirming,

God has not sent me to fight white men. He has sent me to love everybody, and to preach to them the gospel of His Grace.²⁶⁶

Although very critical of Ethiopian politics and lack of spiritualism, Lake admired blacks' ability to administer autonomously the business aspects of church organization. He found Ethiopians

...educated in the maintenance of official dignity,

and one far in advance of white people in courtesy. They excel in parliamentary law. Everything among them is done with a perfection of system and order that is really astounding, especially to us Americans, who head things off the rod with a sort of jerk, in our rapid-fire business way.²⁶⁷

Although Lake's proselytizing might be deemed a manipulation of the Ethiopians, the dynamic, reciprocal relationship resulted in either party using the other on occasion. In fact, Pentecostal commentator William Burton thought the Ethiopians got the better of a naïve, trusting Lake. As "an enthusiastic white missionary," persuaded "to adopt them (Ethiopian congregations) wholesale," Lake in his "big-heartedness" was "caught."²⁶⁸ He committed "quite a large sum of money into helping these 'Ethiopian Churches,' but as soon as they had his money they made the white teacher to understand quite plainly they could do without him."²⁶⁹

Lake's opposition to Ethiopianism and his resulting communication to the government expressing a desire to curtail the movement did bring him into the company of Louis Botha and other prominent Afrikaner politicians.²⁷⁰ Lake was summoned to an audience with Botha, and they discussed Lake's religious agenda, particularly the conversion of Ethiopians. Botha declared, "We had to know you. Your influence [among blacks] has become so great."²⁷¹ Consistent with the plans he outlined to Botha, Lake then undertook eighteen months of intensive Pentecostal evangelism among blacks, directed at the conversion or diminution of Ethiopian influence until "God utterly abolished that Ethiopian Movement."²⁷²

In addition to using Lake to suppress Ethiopianism, Botha also asked him to address educational and health needs. Lake met with "the government" and was

informed that he had "to undertake some educational campaign among the multitudes. Turn your churches into schoolhouses."²⁷³ Botha also asked Lake to support efforts at disease control. In 1910 malaria, which Lake called "African fever," ravaged the Waterberg and Soutpansberg districts, killing one-quarter of the population. Secular and religious agencies participated in the relief effort. Lake ministered to the sick with a team of assistants, four of whom succumbed to illness. He communicated with Botha about means of better addressing the epidemic. Lake said that Botha dispatched one hundred ox wagons with attendants to be utilized pursuant to the American missionary's discretion. Purportedly Lake received official government recognition for his services.²⁷⁴

Lake's son Alexander, seventeen years old at the time, related that Botha and other prominent South Africans such as Jan Christian Smuts and General Christian de Wet occasionally came to Lake's Johannesburg residence. Lake and the Afrikaner leaders began and ended each house visit with prayer. The group sometimes related accounts describing the working of providence and God's answering of prayers.²⁷⁵ Lake felt sufficient camaraderie with the Afrikaner political leadership that he was comfortable with their visits to his home. He readily discussed social issues and politics with the Afrikaners, seemingly finding no contradiction in such association and his generally a-political, non-partisan stance.

Lake's dealings with the Transvaal and Orange Free State Afrikaners did benefit the Apostolic Faith Mission. Botha offered the Apostolic Faith Mission free use of his political headquarters for services.²⁷⁶ Moreover, Lake declared that Afrikaner officials and government workers (apparently below the higher

management/administrative level) showed so much enthusiasm for his Pentecostalism that he structured a “purely Dutch” Pretoria congregation primarily to minister to that group.²⁷⁷ Such an assertion exhibited typical Lake hyperbole. The actual numbers were modest given the adverse reception most DRC members afforded the charismatics.

Having become acquainted with Botha through Ethiopian proselytism, in 1909 Lake met with the Prime Minister to discuss “the question of a native policy for the (proposed) new Union.” Lake proudly described his role:

At this request, I outlined a native policy, and submitted it to the Government. On receipt of this I was invited to come to Cape Town and address the Parliament on this issue. I did so - something remarkable for an American in a foreign country. I framed the policy in harmony with our American policy involving the Indian tribes, having as an example the mistakes of the United States and other nations in regard to their handling of the native nations. This policy, as outlined by me, was practically adopted by the Boer party in toto.²⁷⁸

Although the referenced land use policy, to be known as the Natives Land Act, would not be enacted until 1913, Lake appeared to have devoted his attention to such issues only during 1909. None of Lake’s subsequent South African communications or his diary addressed the matter.

Lake was mistaken in attributing to himself a significant role in formulating the legislation. His involvement was limited to merely discussing the American reservation experience with Botha. The statute as enacted was primarily a product of the 1903-5 South African Native Affairs Commission. In claiming creation of the

reserve system, Lake showed that he knew nothing of the history of land use in South Africa. Lake was aware only of American reservations and did not acknowledge any African precedent. Nevertheless, although Lake was not the actual framer, the very involvement of a minister generally advocating Christian egalitarianism and an apolitical spiritualism in such a repressive scheme is troublesome.

Lake considered his input in helping to formulate the Natives Land Act of 1913 a significant lifetime achievement. This act contributed to later Nationalist apartheid legislation like the despicable Group Areas Act, and laid the foundation for the later bantustan system under apartheid. Even though conservative on racial issues, and disinclined to pursue a secular egalitarian agenda, Lake was a Pentecostal minister without overt racial hatred. Accordingly, the question arises why Lake promoted a law that came to epitomize the genesis of systematic disparate treatment.

Prior to Lake's arrival in Africa the stage was set for diverse interests to advocate segregation for social, economic and political reasons. Industrialization and urbanization fueled segregation. Afrikaner farmers saw the benefit in economies of scale promoted by acreage consolidation through acquisition of productive black agricultural lands. Moreover, limits on black individual ownership of land shielded Afrikaners from the keen competition of black farmers. Black agrarians were transformed from individual owners and operators into mere laborers having no participation in profits. Political considerations were particularly significant in furthering segregation. The Transvaal and Free State contributed the inviolable

principle of white rule. The adoption, in the nineteenth century, of constitutions enumerating subordinate racial status and military domination of indigenous blacks further ensconced white supremacy. While not a primary factor in the formation of segregation, the dominant Afrikaner outlook, shaped by rigid seventeenth century Calvinism little moderated by the European enlightenment, generally was not adverse to the disparate treatment inherent in segregation. English-speaking whites displayed a similar enthusiasm for the exploitation of blacks and Indians in Natal as plantation laborers or migrant mineworkers. Natal offered the model of nineteenth century "Native" Administrator Theophilus Shepstone that separation entailed a sympathetic, paternalistic white supervision permitting blacks limited autonomous governance through tribal structures and indigenous law and practices. The Cape suggested from the Glen Grey experience that with white guidance blacks could be permitted some degree of local management. Basutoland showed that tribal structures were not incompatible with eventual attainment of Western-style civic skills. On the other hand, many segregationists were adamantly opposed to civic equality, and desired to "retribalize" African society to defuse political organization.²⁷⁹

In attempting to address the question of Lake's involvement in formulation of the Natives Land Act, consideration of the American reserve system is appropriate. Throughout the nineteenth century the U.S utilized reservations. When Lake discussed reserves, he had the "liberal" Victorian era model in mind, through which the government held control of communal land as a fiduciary for indigenous beneficiaries. The American reservations were viewed as protected zones,

theoretically capable of securing indigenous land rights by precluding white speculator and settler property deprivations. Under such a volitional approach indigenous people were permitted to live off the reservation. The reserves with which Lake was most familiar were the Ojibwe Mille Lacs reservation in central Minnesota, the Bay Mills reservation near Brimley, Michigan and the Isabella reservation in Mount Pleasant, Michigan. Established by treaty council in 1825, successive modifications in 1855 and 1879 opened up the Ojibwe communal land for purchase by timber companies. During Lake's residence in northern Michigan he witnessed efforts of the federal government to further reduce recognized Ojibwe tribal lands through promotion of individual allotments. Lake was aware that as instituted the reservations had not achieved the desired laudable goals. Rather than protecting Native American land ownership, the reservations were merely residual tracts, usually badlands, left over after government seizure of vast acreages. Despite the failure of the Victorian model as implemented, Lake remained optimistic that the approach was desirable if administered fairly. He was aware that the Sault Chippewa had sought for decades to secure federal recognition and eligibility for trust property. The tribe believed the U.S. failed to honor 1855 treaty commitments that authorized establishment of a reservation. The ensuing "fraud and outright robbery" perpetrated by the government in failing to grant a reservation resulted in "a life of poverty and misery."²⁸⁰

Lake, like some other contemporaries in America and South Africa sympathetic to the indigenous populace, felt that the reserves could promote "civilization" through the inculcation of Western culture and institutions. Such paternalism was a well-

meant liberal response. Perhaps Lake was inspired by the nineteenth century example of Dr. John Philip of the London Missionary Society who tried to protect blacks against white encroachments and predatory labor practices. Consistent with the "progressive" views of Booker T. Washington, Lake thought the reserves promoted agricultural self-sufficiency and economic advancement through technical skill development. He saw segregated land use as a means of shielding blacks from the harsh new demands of industrialization. He felt his proposal was a benevolent, temporary measure to address rural, pre-industrial, economically backward conditions that were plaguing black advancement. Like other liberals, he did not perceive his reserve proposal as inconsistent with the "race relations cycle" of contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation.²⁸¹

Lake suggested a native land policy for South Africa based on his knowledge of nineteenth century Native American reservations, modified by learning from American policy and practical failings. Consequently, the U.S. General Allotment Act, commonly called the Dawes Act, must be evaluated.²⁸² In 1887, the Dawes Act attempted to divide Native American collectively owned reservations and other communal owned lands into undivided holdings. An expressed motive was to promote capitalism by creating small farms. Historians debate whether the Dawes Act was a product of land-hungry white Westerners or the work of humanitarians who believed communal landholding was an obstacle to "civilization." Senator Dawes, sponsor of the legislation, felt the socioeconomic gap between white and Native Americans could be diminished and Native Americans fully incorporated into society as citizens by promoting individual proprietorship. In any event, by the later

part of the century the reservation guardianship model utilized since the founding of America gave way to the Dawes allotment model.²⁸³ In some ways the Dawes Act was comparable to the 1894 Glen Grey Act of the Cape Colony in emphasizing individual land tenure over communal ownership. Both statutes employed the “one man-one lot” concept, with the division of communal tenure into small, often unsustainable, individual allotments. Both sought to encourage wage labor off the reservations. On the other hand, the acts exhibited significant differences. Dawes promoted Native American enfranchisement for allotment holders, whereas Glen Grey aimed to further curtail the indigenous vote.²⁸⁴

Despite expectations that the Dawes Act would “civilize” Native Americans through individual property stewardship and entrepreneurship into model citizen farmers, the program failed. The poor quality allotment land made it unable to sustain individual homesteads. Native Americans for the most part were not receptive to leaving ancestral lands and community support systems to undertake single family agricultural endeavors. Predatory white speculators, the very persons from whom the act sought to protect Native Americans, eventually acquired much of the allotment land. A decade later, Dawes himself acknowledged the program was not successful, attributing failure to government administrative fraud. Lake was aware of the Nelson Act, legislation intended to further implement the Dawes Act on the Ojibwe reservations. Passed in 1889, the Nelson Act sought to remove most of the reservation Ojibwe to the White Earth reservation in northern Minnesota and to allocate allotments to the remaining individuals. In his lay Methodist ministry among the Ojibwe, he became aware of the tribal grievances against a federal government

perceived to have dismally failed in protecting the interests of its wards. Lake was aware that the unpopular allotment legislation and partition of communal land were perceived by the Ojibwe as direct threats to tribal integrity, vitality and identity.²⁸⁵

Lake knew of the failure of the Dawes Act and felt guardian-type reservations would best promote the cultural integrity and economic sufficiency of both Native Americans and black South Africans. In South Africa he sought to combine the good elements of the Dawes Act (eventual U.S. citizenship for indigenous people) with a reserve system involving tribal control of good quality land capable of sustained viable agricultural production. Lake envisioned a completely volitional segregation in protected reservations that would serve as political and socioeconomic incubators for black development of skills, aptitudes, infrastructure and capital, facilitating eventual full black political participation in all of South Africa. Blacks would be completely free to own lands outside reserves if so inclined. Lake wanted reserves as a method of limiting the detrimental effects of rapid industrialization. Development of rural locales could minimize conflict with urban areas and thus to some extent protect blacks from the devastating disruption and transition engendered by industrialization.²⁸⁶

In proposing the reserve system, Lake and Botha concurred in utilizing segregation of the races as a tool for social restructuring. However, the two men's motivation and implementation were quite disparate. Unlike Botha and most capitalist employees, Lake did not actually advocate reserves primarily to promote white interests. He was not interested in the availability of cheap labor. Although Botha saw the legislation as a means of preventing both whites and blacks from

“purchasing ground promiscuously,” he particularly wanted to limit black off-reserve purchases and political participation.²⁸⁷ In contrast to Botha, Lake expressed no concern about black squatting, although that practice was an emotional issue for some white South African farmers. Such agriculturalists were concerned that numerous blacks were prospering working white lands on a cash rent or share crop basis. White farmers saw squatters as unwanted competition. Squatters supposedly aggravated the labor shortage and encouraged the formation of African land syndicates. Based on his knowledge of American sharecroppers, Lake did not concur with the white South African views. Instead he sympathized with landless farm-workers as a victimized group needing spiritual empowerment, not punitive sanctions. Botha wanted trustee titled communal ownership, in contrast to individual title ownership, as a means of depriving blacks of the property interests prerequisite for voting. Lake had no interest in precluding educated blacks from civic participation. He certainly never articulated any property ownership requirement for exercise of the franchise. Accordingly, he did not address in what technical form title to reserve land was to be held. Unlike Lake, Botha, an unapologetic white supremacist, was not sympathetic to black advancement and did not otherwise present himself as a “benefactor to the tribes.”²⁸⁸ In contrast to Lake’s sympathy with poor blacks, Botha perceived the concern to be not African poverty but rather prosperity. He maintained blacks had too much land, not too little.²⁸⁹

The Natives Land Act of 1913, supported by Piet Grobler, Botha’s Minister of Lands, became law in June 1913.²⁹⁰ The act received the support of all parties in the all-white Parliament. Rather than reflecting any influence on the part of Lake, the

statute as enacted embodied the orientation of British High Commissioner Alfred Milner's South African Native Affairs Commission. A few years before Lake's arrival in Africa the commission had proposed black territorial segregation. That body had thereby already set the stage for the use of reserves as labor pools and engineered segregated living areas without any right of political participation in the larger community. Milner's commission was influenced by an even earlier precedent. The Cape Native Laws Commission of 1883 had recommended trust reserves as the most appropriate land use for the foreseeable future. The legislation did not incorporate the benevolent aspects of American precedents advocated by Lake, such as the right of indigenous people to acquire land outside reserves and the possibility of ultimately attaining citizenship throughout the country. The most onerous provision of the act prohibited members of "an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa" from purchasing or leasing sharecropping land outside a scheduled area from a person other than a black. Outside scheduled areas communal tenure and squatter's rights were abolished. Such prohibitions were not advocated by Lake. Although he believed in a paternalistic way that South African blacks were not yet sufficiently adept socially and politically to assume an active citizenship role, he never suggested any impediments to black land use or ownership.²⁹¹ Lake did concur with the section of the act prohibiting non-natives from purchasing lands in scheduled areas as a check on white speculators. The Governor-General was authorized to appoint a commissioner to select scheduled native areas to be acquired by purchase or expropriation with compensation. The act included several exemptions. The legislation stated it was not applicable to the Cape should

enforcement there otherwise deprive natives from acquiring qualifications to vote in that province. In the Transvaal some ongoing lease and sharecropping was permitted. Several exceptions applied in all provinces. Agreements to purchase executed prior to the effective date were unaffected. Municipal areas were excluded from the legislation's jurisdiction, as were certain approved missionary societies. Lake apparently had no knowledge of or participation in such legislative details.²⁹²

The Natives Land Act engendered immediate controversy. The South African Natives National Congress took issue with the legislation as one of its first major causes. Surprisingly, like Lake, the SANNC did not initially find the segregation itself objectionable. Instead, the organization protested against limitations on black rights to lease or purchase lands anywhere throughout the country.²⁹³ The SANNC Secretary, Sol Plaatje, felt so strongly about hardships caused by the act that he wrote a scholarly analysis of the subject.²⁹⁴ John Dube, a black pastor formerly affiliated with the American Zulu Mission and a founder of the Ohlange Institute on the model of Washington's Tuskegee, denounced the legislation in his capacity as a protest delegate to Britain. Black sharecroppers particularly faced the ordeal of killing livestock or selling at low prices, unable to transport cattle when made to leave leased lands. The alternative of remaining on white lands solely in a worker capacity constituted a further deterioration in economic status. The American W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) journal, also initially agreed with Lake regarding the idea of reserves for South African blacks, feeling the areas might support autonomous black economic, social and political development. Du Bois later strongly dissented upon learning of

prohibitions on black ownership outside the scheduled areas. The NAACP journal Crisis denounced the law: "The civilization of South Africa, by means of theft, disenfranchisement, and slavery, goes on apace."²⁹⁵ Du Bois saw a parallel between white rule in South Africa and the American South, asserting that in both countries the white commitment to justice was only rhetorical, and that the U.S. served as a model for white supremacy preserved through intimidation and legislation.²⁹⁶ He saw the Act setting the stage for subsequent legislation seeking to control blacks and deprive them of civil liberties and political participation. The scheduled "native" areas in such light may be seen as precursors to formal Bantustans, homelands and puppet "sovereign" nations.

Other critics of the act stated its real purpose was to create a landless workforce for the mines, while making desirable land available for white farmers. As migrant workers the blacks could be sent back to the reserves when their services were not required, to await the call when again needed in the white enterprises. The reserves lacked sufficient good quality land to support viable communal farming for the resident population. Men were thus compelled to seek work off the reserve with white employers, leaving the small garden plots for cultivation by the women. The act benefited Afrikaner farmers by providing plentiful, cheap land and curtailing competition from economically viable independent black agriculturalists. English mine owners got inexpensive labor to make low grade ore profitable. Although Lake was aware of these labor arrangements, he noted only the advantages to evangelism offered by the concentration of workers in mining compounds and did not feel called to criticize work or housing conditions. Black activists attacked such

white missionary indifference, declaring, "At first we had the land, and you had the Bible. Now we have the Bible, and you the land."²⁹⁷

Lake apparently shared the perspective of J. W. Sauer, the Cape liberal who was one of the sponsors of the act.²⁹⁸ Lake believed voluntary segregation, with good quality land protected from white encroachment, would allow the maintenance of cultural identity while promoting economic development. Such a perspective was fully in accord with the 1910 Labour Party mandate. Concurring with liberal segregationists, Lake saw his proposals as a moderate practical median between assimilation and subordination. The nineteenth century "Cape" model that Lake favored represented relative political egalitarianism, while unabashed denial of civil rights was manifested in the "Boer" approach. Lake felt most indigenous Africans were not sufficiently educated for immediate civic participation, and that reserves would best promote further Western acculturation. He envisioned segregated land use as an opportunity to build up and develop black economic, educational and social attainment. Like the liberal Victorian advocates of reservations, Lake sought to indoctrinate blacks with Western culture. However, unlike certain liberals, he felt a voluntary, provisional segregation best promoted ultimate assimilation. On the other hand, he clearly saw the invidious nature of legally sanctioned repression motivated by racial hatred. Lake thought he embraced the moral high ground in advocating what he perceived was a balanced approach. Like Jan Hofmeyr in the 1930s, Lake looked to the "policy of Christ" as inspiration for his land use policies. In Hofmeyr's words, "It is the policy that the man on top must take the man who is below him by the hand and guide him along." The white supremacy of baaskap must give way to

leierskap, a leadership based on perceived white aptitudes. Like Maurice Evans, a contemporary Natalian commentator on the "native question," Lake saw his segregation as a positive policy based on mutual respect and racial sympathy, through which economic progress and self-sufficiency would eventually give rise to equal political participation. Like the mature Jan Smuts, Lake did not want separation "to be forced unnecessarily." Both Smuts and Lake sought black development "in harmony with native life and traditions." Neither sought to prevent blacks from working in municipal areas.²⁹⁹ Lake did not anticipate the Urban Areas Act of 1923 and Group Areas Act of 1950 and similar systematic segregationist measures. He never foresaw an arrangement maintaining blacks at subsistence level or below, deprived of civil rights, serving as a cheap labor source living on poor quality land. He did not intend that the reserves serve as residences for all or even most blacks. Although Lake apparently made no public statement opposing either U.S. or South African segregationist legislation, he regretted that he was too accommodating to discrimination in South Africa and that in the U.S. he did not speak out against American and South African racial oppression.³⁰⁰

Lake seemed to have committed himself to segregation without a full awareness of the implications and potential in such a doctrine as a seed for deprivation of civil liberties.³⁰¹ Lake's grandson, John Graham Lake, III, stated:

It was a nasty thing, but it came wrapped in a pretty package. The package was carefully wrapped in words like self-determination, preservation of language and culture. It might have looked pretty in 1910, but its odor showed its true contents in 1948.³⁰²

Despite his involvement in South African land use issues in 1909, Lake never allowed politics to take precedence over evangelism. After two years of vigorous, physically and psychologically demanding South African ministry, Lake felt the need for a brief diversion. In the last quarter of 1909 Lake and Hezmalhalch temporarily returned to the U.S. Lake wanted to visit American supporters like William Seymour and George B. Studd, solicit funding and recruit missionaries. On the way home he visited England and continued discussions with Anglicans receptive to charismatic theology.

Lake's association with the Church of England, traditionally noted for its decorous structured liturgy and ecclesiastical traditions, seemed rather remarkable. By the late nineteenth century, Oxford Movement Anglo-Catholics were increasingly influential in leading the Church of England away from the preaching house style of worship that had predominated since the Cromwellian period, toward a sacramental emphasis. Such Anglo-Catholic high-church liturgy focused on the altar rather than pulpit, in stark contrast to charismatic practice. Nevertheless, although Anglo-Catholic adherents clearly did not embrace Pentecostalism, evangelical Anglicans were more receptive. Lake was the beneficiary of solicitations and testimonials run in the Confidence, the publication of Anglican charismatic minister, Alexander A. Boddy.³⁰³ Anglicans had sent a three man delegation to visit him in Johannesburg with instructions to report back to the English hierarchy concerning the Pentecostals.

In early 1909 Lake met with Michael Bolton Furse, "the Bishop of the Church of England for Africa." The Bishop was purportedly interested in divine healing and encouraged Anglican clergy to maintain a dialogue with Lake. The inter-

denominational fellowship resulted in the formation in Africa of the Emanuel Society dedicated to charismatic healing.³⁰⁴ Anglican factions receptive to the African charismatic fellowship allegedly met with Lake on his visit to London. Lake then met with Bishop Winnington-Ingram, Anglican Bishop of London, and helped establish in Great Britain charismatic fellowships comparable to those pioneered in Africa.³⁰⁵ At Bishop Winnington-Ingram's request Lake addressed a conference of Church of England ministers on the subject of faith healing. Lake visited hospitals in London accompanied by Anglican clergy, then crossed the channel to Lourdes in their company. In France Lake conducted divine healing demonstrations supervised by a "Catholic Board" of physicians.³⁰⁶

Arriving in the U.S. for about six months, Lake held "evangelistic services" in Chicago, Portland, Oakland and Los Angeles. He recruited eight men to return as South African missionaries together with thousands of dollars of contributions. Lake spent about a month in Los Angeles visiting Studd and Seymour. George B. Studd, editor of The Upper Room, was an enthusiastic supporter of Lake's South African ministry, frequently featuring Lake correspondence in his popular Pentecostal periodical. While in Los Angeles Lake met with Studd to discuss fund-raising opportunities within the The Upper Room readership.³⁰⁷ Lake also met with William Seymour of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission, discussing the South African ministry, particularly the black evangelism conducted by Elias Letwaba. Seymour was quite enthusiastic about the black missions and divine healings, declaring, "Praise God, brother! That is not (only) healing - it is life!"³⁰⁸ Lake's ongoing association with Seymour, demonstrated by his seeking the black Pentecostal's

advice and support regarding African missions, suggested that unlike Parham and many other white Pentecostals, Lake was not attempting to distance himself from the black origins of the Azusa Street movement.

By mid-October Lake and Hezmalhalch visited William H. Durham at the North Avenue Mission, Chicago.³⁰⁹ Durham knew of Lake through their mutual association with Seymour. A few months after meeting with Lake, Durham announced his "Finished Work" doctrine, rejecting the Wesleyan second step of sanctification (cleansing and initial endowment of charismatic blessing) as a necessary precursor to spirit baptism. Durham then taught that the believer was perfectly sanctified at conversion and needed no second blessing. Such a doctrine reflected Durham's Baptist origins and rejected the Wesleyan sanctification of Lake, Parham and Seymour. Nevertheless, Lake was not antagonistic toward Durham and did not treat him as a schismatic. Lake was always rather flexible in theological doctrine, never permitting dogma to obliterate his basic emphasis on Holy Spirit empowerment and unity with the loving, suffering God in the person of Jesus.³¹⁰

After Chicago, Lake visited Fort Wayne, Indiana, at the request of several charismatics suffering extreme eczema necessitating a faith healing. He probably then traveled to see the Indianapolis Pentecostals who helped sponsor his original South African mission, finally including J. Roswell Flower and his wife, Alice in his visit.³¹¹

On 15 January 1910 Lake sailed from New York for South Africa accompanied by Hezmalhalch, Peter Moffat and wife, Irene Lake Moffat (Lake's sister), Margaret Lake Otto (another Lake sibling) and her husband, and Emma

Wicks, Lake's secretary. Whether the eight new missionaries accompanied the Lake party or instead traveled by other arrangements was uncertain. Stopping over in London, Lake preached in the church of Dr. F. B. Meyer and spoke in the weekly classes of Campbell Morgan, two internationally prominent non-Pentecostals.³¹² Lake again demonstrated a receptiveness to cross denominational boundaries when afforded an opportunity to dialogue with mainstream Protestant congregations.

Returning to Johannesburg, Lake soon faced serious challenges to his pastoral leadership and ministerial integrity. As early as September 1909 "disquieting" charges of financial impropriety, organizational mismanagement and self-aggrandizement had been leveled against Lake by "leading brethren."³¹³ Pentecostal publications in the U.S. and Great Britain initially warned readers about possible problems with an undisclosed South African ministry funded by their audience's contributions.³¹⁴ One such report in the Confidence, a British Pentecostal periodical, so concerned Lake that he visited the U.S. that year to respond to allegations. He especially wanted to explain the South African mission's funding and management concerns to George D. Studd, editor of The Upper Room, his principal financial sponsor, and to William Seymour, his Pentecostal mentor, both of Los Angeles. At that time Lake was able to refute allegations and to reassure Studd and Seymour that he would take appropriate precautions to prevent even the appearance of impropriety. Lake satisfied his supporters that "he will keep clear of the things mentioned."³¹⁵ Following the receipt of the letters of endorsement supporting Lake's character, the Confidence retracted its previous warnings, fearing its prior cautionary statements might "result in the withdrawing of help from very

good work among the Natives.”³¹⁶ The paper concluded with a hope that benefactors would continue financial support (“practical sympathies”) for Lake’s work.³¹⁷

Unfortunately for Lake the charges re-emerged from July to October 1910, endorsed by prominent American missionaries in South Africa. E. M. Scurrah initiated the charges and persuaded Hezmalhalch (Lake’s close friend, preaching partner and titular Apostolic Faith Mission president) as to the merits of the allegations. Archibald Cooper also joined the dissident Americans in endorsing and communicating the assertions, as did George Bowie, a non-Apostolic Faith Mission charismatic who later founded the Pentecostal Mission.³¹⁸ Scurrah wrote two or more letters to U.S. Pentecostal periodicals charging Lake “with all vileness of misappropriating funds, of all manner of evil machinations, etc. etc.”³¹⁹ A few days later Lake received correspondence stating he had been charged “with the very vilest possible actions.”³²⁰

In December 1910 Lake received copies of allegations by “false brethren here [Johannesburg]” forwarded from Los Angeles by his friend George B. Studd.³²¹ Lake stated, “These letters had been sent worldwide denouncing me as all that was wicked and unholy.”³²² In his periodical The Upper Room, Studd responded with a zealous vindication of Lake, declaring “many American Pentecostals had heard only one-sided accusations.”³²³ According to Studd four allegations were made by Lake’s opponents. First, Lake misappropriated contributions from America. Second, he made false representations to black field mission workers regarding organizational funding and support. Third, he exaggerated the achievements of his mission.

Fourth, he sought self-aggrandizement.³²⁴

Studd conducted an inquiry and found the charges to be totally unfounded. He first addressed the purported embezzlement or financial malfeasance. Studd's organization was by far the largest single contributor to Lake's mission, having allocated him over \$2,200.00 during a six-month period. The funds were made available to Lake with the sole condition that the monies not be used for property acquisition, construction or secular education. The contributions were made without other stipulations or specific accounting duties because of "every confidence in his integrity and his ability to administer the money wisely and well."³²⁵ Studd reaffirmed his ongoing trust in Lake and a willingness to continue financial support for his ministry. Studd received an accounting from Peter Moffat, the Apostolic Faith Mission treasurer and Lake's brother-in-law, such that Studd was "perfectly satisfied" that "funds have been well and carefully spent."³²⁶ The expenditures were consistent with high South African cost of living and transportation expenses incurred in evangelizing over a wide geographic area. The charge of financial impropriety was in large part based on the erroneous belief that Lake had sufficient U.S. funding sources to address all his ministerial needs.³²⁷ As to the charge that Lake had not kept commitments to support missionaries in the field, Studd found the fault to rest with Americans who did not sufficiently fund the activities. Addressing the issue of exaggerated reports, Studd determined Lake's correspondence to be honest and accurate and if anything to understate the success of the work. Considering the charge that Lake was unduly "ambitious to be the Great Chief of all the work, and of exercising the spirit of 'boss'," Studd relied on his own close

scrutiny of Lake during the 1909 Los Angeles visit. On that occasion Studd had “watched him critically as one who had been so written and spoken against.”³²⁸ He found Lake had no “wrong spirit,” but rather possessed a “generous, warm-hearted, forgiving and humble spirit.”³²⁹ He concluded the exoneration, maintaining God was doing a wonderful work in South Africa, having providentially placed Lake as leader of hundreds of the “best workers” who “fully recognize and are loyally and lovingly working with him.”³³⁰

Lake’s greatest support in Africa came from resident South Africans, particularly Afrikaners and blacks. In fact, no Afrikaners or blacks appeared to have ever joined in advancing the allegations. In contrast, certain Americans in South Africa and English-speaking South Africans primarily constituted the anti-Lake faction. Lake’s South African advocates commended him for “his earnest and devoted services.”³³¹ The “most infamous lies and violent slander” and the “malignancy and procedure of so degraded a character” set forth by the Lake antagonists were the result of “jealous and petty minds.”³³² Afrikaner and black Johannesburg residents praised Lake for his ministry that overcame “mountains of difficulty and adversity” at great personal sacrifice.³³³ Lake exhibited “a sweet spirit of humility” manifesting the presence of the “Spirit of the Living God.”³³⁴ Offering a Johannesburg Afrikaner perspective, Van der Wall wrote:

Our Dutch brethren do not worry about the petty jealousies which at times crop up...Brother Lake still seems the object of offense and fault-finding of foreigners who from time to time try to butt into the work...The saints - here that is, the people of the country - do not pay much attention to the scurrilous accusations that have been made

(chiefly for the eyes of the saints in America).
Let not the saints abroad be disturbed.³³⁵

Perhaps Lake's most articulate and strident support came from Letwaba.

The black South African offered comfort during the tribulations:

My self and the dear blessed man of God, John G. Lake, are always in troubles, the enemy fights us from every side, even the works of God which He has done through us are by this time in the eyes of our enemies as lie...Some people who came from America fight us.³³⁶

Letwaba stated he personally inquired into the validity of the allegations and determined the accusations to be without merit. He succinctly concluded, "...it was all lies."³³⁷ Letwaba incurred the enmity of certain Pentecostals for his defense of Lake:

Many hate me there [Johannesburg] because I am on the poor man's side; I don't want anything from him, but I know that...he is a true vessel of God, and that God is using him mightily.³³⁸

Lake defended his fiscal management and organizational administration in both letters to U.S. religious periodicals and in his personal diary entries. In correspondence with Studd of The Upper Room, Lake clarified that funds were used to expand the ministry and constantly enlarge the scope of the work through field activities rather than undertake brick and mortar construction and land acquisition. "My great fight has been not to permit the money sent to me to be used in the older work at all, but wholly in the new fields, and this is largely the secret of the dissension that came into the work at Johannesburg."³³⁹ To better alleviate any concern about fiscal expenditure, Lake indicated the Apostolic Faith Mission books

administered by the church treasurer were open for public inspection, with full documentation of monies received locally and abroad. Even contributions made to Lake personally were expended by him upon the advice of "the brethren at hand, especially Brother Van der Wall."³⁴⁰ Lake mentioned the evangelical work continued to proceed with great success despite troubling opposition, which in any event was confined to internal Apostolic Faith Mission dissent in Johannesburg. His primary concern was for the "awful privations" faced by field workers with offerings "largely cut off from the homeland because of these false accusations."³⁴¹ Confiding in his diary, Lake set forth his personal anguish in being accused of "Lies, blackmail, suggestions of evil of every kind."³⁴² Perhaps the most cutting denunciation for Lake as a Pentecostal minister was the claim that he was demon possessed.³⁴³

The charges of blatant wrongdoing, disconcerting at anytime, reached a crescendo at a particularly unfortunate period around the first anniversary of his wife's death. Furthermore, Lake was especially disturbed that his long friendship and professional association with Hezmalhalch was ending:

...like Barnabas and Paul, now separate each to go his own way. My heart is grieved and sore on account of his treachery, but feel it due to him to say it was the influence upon him of other false brothers, especially E. M. Scurrah, a stranger who integrated himself into Tom's good will, but who was a bold, vile man... They cannot see God or His work for prejudice.³⁴⁴

Lake purportedly harbored no malice for Hezmalhalch, or the other malcontents, stating, "Jesus won't let me. I only desire to go on my own way unmolested and may God's blessing (be) on them all."³⁴⁵

In November 1910 the executive council acted to vindicate Lake, terminating Hezmalhalch's position as Apostolic Faith Mission president and executive council member for his failure to substantiate the charges. In a total demonstration of confidence, Lake was then elected president to fill the vacancy.³⁴⁶ At a subsequent joint church council of Johannesburg and Vrededorp brethren, Hezmalhalch was again directed to bring forth signed charges of his allegations against Lake together with supporting evidence. In order to promote a full and open consideration of the controversy, Lake agreed not to prosecute Hezmalhalch in any judicial action on account of the preferment of charges presented for the church's deliberations.³⁴⁷ Hezmalhalch's failure to produce any documentation or testimony, or otherwise reconcile with Lake, further convinced the executive council regarding Lake's innocence and Hezmalhalch's groundless obduracy.³⁴⁸ Dismissed from any administrative capacity and his very Apostolic Faith Mission membership in question, Hezmalhalch left the fellowship and returned to the U.S.. Cooper also left the Apostolic Faith Mission to join George Bowie of the Pentecostal Mission, ministering particularly to white South African English speakers and Indians.³⁴⁹ Writing about the allegations eighteen years later, a still wounded and perplexed Lake remarked:

There arose a strange spirit of jealousy around me in the work in Africa, and I have never been able to account for it. It seemed to me that in my dealings with the others I was the most generous man in the world. Of course I had strong ideals of what constituted the Kingdom of God and righteousness, and my ideals of Pentecostal truth were very pungent.³⁵⁰

In the post-Hezmalhalch years Lake continued his ministry among both black and white South Africans, benefiting from a relative unanimity with fewer contentions from fellow Pentecostals. With the departure of Hezmalhalch and Cooper, Lake placed even greater reliance on le Roux, Van der Wall, Van Vuuren, Von Shield, Kratzmall, Mendelsky, Mahon, Kretschmar, Smit, Moffat, Letwaba and other resident South Africans.³⁵¹ Despite the resolution of the internal dissension, overseer funding still remained somewhat sporadic. Lake's grand plans to extend the Pentecostal ministry into central Africa were not fulfilled during his tenure as president, primarily due to fiscal constraints and logistical considerations.

Lake remained personally active in field work. To some extent, reversing the initial non-denominational and interdenominational emphasis of the early period of his South African ministry, Lake increasingly worked outside mainline denominations to network with existing black and white congregations sympathetic to the charismatic message, encouraging Apostolic Faith Mission affiliations of entire churches.³⁵² Church conferences, usually conducted separately for black and white participants, became his primary tool in fostering camaraderie, addressing organizational and business concerns, discussing theology and doctrinal issues and conducting preaching and healing services. To a large extent Lake utilized the Wesleyan devotional model and Methodist organizational structures in systematizing Apostolic Faith Mission work.³⁵³ Moreover, the Methodist revival mode, as perfected in antebellum America, was frequently used by Lake.

At this point in his ministry among blacks he primarily solicited among Zion/charismatic churches receptive to Pentecostalism and willing to forgo complete

autonomy. A number of such congregations had already affiliated with the Apostolic Faith Mission relatively early during Lake's South African ministry. As an inducement to membership he afforded the black congregants considerable discretion in ecclesiastical attire and liturgy. His emphasis on narrative theology expressed through personal testimony and his receptiveness to charismatic manifestations such as holy dancing, prophecy, tongues and healing were all consistent with the spontaneity and joyously physical, enthusiastic African worship.

His Pentecostal acceptance of ministerial qualification based on calling rather than academic training facilitated both black and white clergy affiliation. Such receptiveness toward preachers lacking formal ecclesiastical education stood in stark contrast to mainline established denominations. Congregationalists had a three-year course at Lovedale for African ministers, and even the less rigorous Methodists required one year study for black preachers. On the other hand, Lake never instituted any seminary program during his Apostolic Faith Mission tenure.³⁵⁴

Among whites Lake targeted worshippers coming from a charismatic/Holiness-type background. In 1911 he visited the Salt River Assembly in the Western Cape, formerly associated with the International Holiness Movement, and persuaded the congregation to join the Apostolic Faith Mission. In 1912 Lake recruited the Plymouth Brethren Assembly in Robertson, securing the membership of that entire body.³⁵⁵ In his work among the "Boers", he employed an evangelical rhetoric seeking to reconcile Afrikaner Calvinism with Pentecostalism. To that end he stressed common charismatic elements he sought to identify in Huguenot traditions and Dr. Andrew Murray's work. He found the Afrikaners "slow-moving,

deep-thinking people” who could be won for God if the Pentecostal worker demonstrated “care and patience.”³⁵⁶ He consistently declared that Afrikaners and Pentecostals shared a mutual respect for the working of the Holy Spirit as manifested throughout history. Lake taught that the Huguenot “tremblers” of previous centuries, shaking under God’s power, were precursors of his Pentecostals. Recognizing that many Calvinists looked askew at newfangled “Holy Rollers,” Lake sought to establish a Pentecostal continuity with such French and Dutch Calvinist traditions. He asserted the charismatic faith of the early Huguenot settlers was not dead, only latent in modern Afrikaners whose perception of God’s manifestations had been distorted by incorrect teachings of the DRC. Lake, the eternal optimist, expressed faith in prophesying that God would soon “cause the old faith to burn.”³⁵⁷

One of the most important Afrikaner ministers in Lake's later African ministry was Van der Wall. He was the one member of Lake's Apostolic Faith Mission to have been ordained as a minister (dominee) in the DRC. As a DRC pastor, he had stronger credentials than le Roux, who was only a missionary (eerwaardes). Van der Wall was excommunicated from the DRC because of his divorce for misconduct possibly based on his infidelity. He became addicted to alcohol following the dismissal. He was cured from alcoholism after meeting Lake and accepting the Pentecostal message. Lake maintained that Van der Wall had genuinely converted and that "Jesus saved him."³⁵⁸ Van der Wall's service with the Apostolic Faith Mission remained controversial, with Lake criticized by less forgiving Apostolic Faith Mission members for his "big heartedness" in according him a prominent role in the organization's management.³⁵⁹ Antagonists "felt that a man with such a record should not have been given so prominent a position."³⁶⁰ Lake consistently supported the redeemed Van der Wall, declaring him "one of our strong Dutch preachers," "a strong, clean man," a professor in DRC institutions and a qualified lawyer.³⁶¹ Accordingly, Lake appointed him his chief assistant. Van der Wall later served as secretary of the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council.³⁶² He generally worked out of the Johannesburg headquarters, concentrating on ministry to white congregations. Van der Wall stated, "the work in Dutch chiefly rests on my shoulder and that of a few others. We are working in harmony with the American brethren and enjoy their support..."³⁶³ He was in charge of the Tabernacle work in the absence of Lake and Hezmalhalch.³⁶⁴ During a period of dire financial need early in Lake's South African ministry, Van der Wall was spokesman for those Apostolic

Faith Mission clergy who were committed to ongoing field work despite the inadequate material assistance from the Johannesburg headquarters.³⁶⁵

Although Lake came to increasingly rely on Afrikaners as principal church administrators, he also utilized the services of British charismatics such as Scott Moffat. A Scot who relocated to the Transvaal, Moffat was a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher prior to joining with Lake. Following Lake's miraculous healing of Moffat's wife, Moffat was receptive to charismatic ministry and received his own spirit baptism. As a Pentecostal he was particularly given to mystic visions of a loving Christ.³⁶⁶ In December 1910 Lake ordained him an evangelist.³⁶⁷ From 1912-1915 Moffat supervised black mission work, served as secretary to the publication committee of The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, the official Apostolic Faith Mission publication, and finally pastored the Salt River Assembly.³⁶⁸ Although initially excited about securing the services of a trained minister sharing a common background in Methodism, Lake later was critical of Moffat's emphasis on church bureaucracy. Lake stated, "I felt his soul was more engaged in organizing than in getting God from heaven into his heart."³⁶⁹ Lake was probably concerned that Moffat did not share his commitment to treat blacks as respected fellow congregants. After Lake's departure Moffat voiced concern over the physical proximity and intimate touching (kissing) among black and white congregants in Basutoland.³⁷⁰ Moffat was ultimately dismissed from Apostolic Faith Mission fellowship in the 1920s.³⁷¹

As Lake's work in South Africa drew to a close, he remained committed to ensuring that women from the Apostolic Faith Mission received equal treatment in church participation and administration. He was especially concerned in sustaining

and advancing the ecclesiastical status of black women. He may well have wanted to secure women's participation in his organization in a manner that would continue after his departure. Lake was always active in promoting the role of women in charismatic ministry, having encouraged female evangelists in America even in the earliest days of his Pentecostal work. He advocated that Ira Sackett accompany his original South African missionary effort in 1908, despite Hezmalhalch's objections. During his wife Jennie's life in Africa, he frequently involved her in challenging aspects of this ministry. In fact, the entire African movement's initial success might be attributed to Jennie's ministerial efforts. She was the individual "who touched off a spirited explosion that is still shaking Africa and the world."³⁷² At Lake's first South African service in a church building, Jennie's presence at the Doornfontein Chapel and her assertiveness in taking charge of the meeting helped orientate the worship toward charismatic manifestations.³⁷³ Upon his wife's death Lake again turned to a woman, nameless in his accounts, to administer his household and help him perform ministerial duties and raise his children. Lake's selection of a female, particularly an African, to perform such critical, demanding tasks demonstrated his lack of any racial animosity. The extremely capable Zulu woman skilfully performed the full spectrum of familial duties, assisting Lake and the children in virtually every aspect of their home life and social activities. She was also an accomplished interpreter and quite intelligent, with considerable self-taught aptitudes in speech therapy. She was especially helpful in assisting one of Lake's sons with a major speech impediment.³⁷⁴ Based on such a close working relationship with the Zulu woman and his ministerial partnership with wife Jennie, Lake recognized the

invaluable services women provided as clergy, lay leaders and talented employees.

Accordingly, he was an advocate of the 1910 executive council resolution permitting black women to serve as local pastors.³⁷⁵ Such bold activism on behalf of women, particularly blacks, in the context of a very racist and sexist environment evidenced a commendable ability to at least on occasion transcend social norms and customs, even if in practice limited to an ecclesiastical or familial context and not always sufficient to overcome his segregationist inclinations.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE, MISSIONARY TO SOUTH AFRICA

1 A comprehensive biography is provided in J. Du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa (London: Marshall Brothers, 1919). Keswick rose out of an annual convention first held at Keswick, England in 1875. That Protestant movement was profoundly influenced by American Holiness. Both movements taught that spiritual power and purity resulted from a sanctification experience with infilling or habitation by the Holy Spirit. Consistent with a Holiness and Wesleyan emphasis, Keswick placed reliance on Holy Spirit guidance and subjective experience to illustrate Scripture. Keswick afforded faith healing a preeminent role. Keswick also differed from the Holiness position as to sanctification and the "filling" of the Holy Spirit. Whereas Wesleyanism stressed a dynamic "second blessing" subsequent to salvation, bringing freedom from sin, the Keswick "higher life" movement emphasized repeated endowments of the Holy Spirit commencing with salvation. See Charles E. Jones, Guide to the Study of the Pentecostal Movement, Vol. 1 (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1983), pp. 251-252. The South African Calvinist church known in English as the Dutch Reformed Church is commonly referred to as "NGK" in Africa, from the Afrikaans Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. Lake's comment is found in Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 686.

2 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 686.

3 Du Plessis, The Life, p. 345.

4 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 686.

5 A.J. Van Staden, Die Apostoliese Geloofsending Van Suid-Afrika (Pretoria: Haum, 1980), p. 2. The English translation was provided me by N.P. Govin of Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

6 Du Plessis, The Life, pp. 345-348. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 683-705, reprinting a booklet entitled "Is God Able to Heal?"

7 Van Staden, Die Apostoliese, p. 1.

8 Lindsay, The John G. Lake Sermons, p. 125.

9 Du Plessis, The Life, p. 345; Lindsay, The John G. Lake Sermons, p. 125.

10 Ibid., p. 342.

11 Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1977), pp. 114-116.

12 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 697.

13 Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 114.

14 Du Plessis, The Life, p. 344.

15 Ibid., p. 347.

16 Ibid.

17 Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, p. 115.

18 Ibid.

19 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 285-286, printing a sermon presented in the Masonic Temple, Spokane, 13 May 1917.

- 20 Bengt Sundkler, Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 29-30.
- 21 G.C. Oosthuizen, Religion Alive: Studies in the New Movements and Indigenous Churches of South Africa (Johannesburg: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), p. 1.
- 22 Sundkler, Zulu, p. 30.
- 23 G.C. Oosthuizen, The Birth of Christian Zionism in South Africa (Ulundi: University of Zululand, 1987), pp. 13-14.
- 24 Sundkler, Zulu, p. 31.
- 25 Spokane Press, 20 May 1918, a newspaper clipping entitled "A Lecture on Divine Healing", no pagination, Spokane Public Library, local history collection.
- 26 Sundkler, Zulu, p. 17.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 16-23.
- 28 Ibid., p. 34.
- 29 Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 345.
- 30 Ibid., 1899-1900, Vol. 6, p. 773.
- 31 Ibid., 1900, Vol. 7, p. 562, and 1900-1901, Vol. 8, p. 314.
- 32 Ibid., 1901, Vol. 9, p. 227.
- 33 Ibid., 1901-1902, Vol. 10, p. 834, and 1905, Vol. 17, p.149.
- 34 Oosthuizen, Birth of Christian Zionism, p. 14.
- 35 Sundkler, Zulu, p. 37.
- 36 Oosthuizen, Birth of Christian Zionism, p. 21. The ordination service for le Roux occurred 31 July 1904.
- 37 Ibid., p. 24.
- 38 Ibid., p. 22.
- 39 Ibid., p. 31.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., p. 26. Although Lake would initially introduce egalitarianism by conducting integrated Pentecostal services, he apparently supported or at least did not prevent Apostolic Faith Mission leadership from soon thereafter implementing separate baptisms.
- 42 Leaves of Healing, 1906, Vol. 18, p. 426. While Lake sometimes conducted services with designated hymns and prepared sermons, flexibility was more characteristic. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 288, reprinting a structured worship conducted by Lake 20 May 1917 at the Masonic Temple, Spokane.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Sundkler, Zulu, p. 41. See also Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 25.
- 45 Sundkler, Zulu, p. 41. While in Africa Lake continued to correspond with Bryant in Zion City. See The Bridegroom's Messenger, 1 January 1909, page unspecified, cited in Christian Assembly of God history posting at [http:// christianaog.com](http://christianaog.com).
- 46 Oosthuizen, Birth of Christian Zionism, p. 48.
- 47 Van Staden, Die Apostoliese, p. 1. See Cathy Crumpton, God In Action (Port Elizabeth: Cadar, 1993), pp. 1-4. The Plymouth Brethren were named after the English port where a well known congregation of the denomination worshipped. The body originated in Ireland and England in the 1820s and 1830s. Lake found the Brethren's motto, "To preach the gospel in the regions beyond you" a resonate call

to missions. For a basic history see H. A. Ironside, A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement (Neptune: Loizeau Brothers, date unspecified).

48 Crumpton, God, pp. 2-3. Lake may have meant Van Tonder rather than Van Jonder. Lake used phonetic spelling and proper names, particularly South African, were often incorrect in his writings.

49 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 101, reprinting Lake's South African diary.

50 The Way of Faith, 22 April 1909, p. 6.

51 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 75. Armstrong succumbed to fever in 1909 when leading a Lake/ Letwaba sponsored mission party to Rhodesia.

52 Crumpton, God, p. 2.

53 C. R. De Wet, "The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa: 1908-1980-A Case Study in Church Growth in a Segregated Society," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989, p.45.

54 Van Staden, Die Apostoliese, p.2.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid. Burger states a number already had the Pentecostal experience "But they did not understand it." See I. Van der Merwe Burger, "Historic Perspective on the Origins of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa," unpublished manuscript, 1995. The document has been posted on the Apostolic Faith Mission website as a church sanctioned official history, posted Feb. 1995, [http:// www.afm.ags.org](http://www.afm.ags.org).

57 Blumhoefer, "A Pentecostal Branch," p. 4.

58 Gardiner, Zion, p. 20. "The Haven" is pictured on page 34, showing the Upper Room as a plain, unadorned meeting hall with straight-back chairs.

59 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 82-83, reprinting Lake's diary. Sundkler suggests Lake's association with Bryant, then overseer of the Christian Catholic Church in Johannesburg, rather than divine revelation, as the informational source for Lake's knowledge of South Africa. See Sundkler, Zion, p. 52.

60 Ibid., p. 84.

61 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 417, printing a sermon delivered 12 January 1922 in Hillside, Oregon.

62 Ibid., p. 732, reprinting a sermon entitled "Discernment" and p. 204. The lives of Lake and Livingstone presented some striking parallels. Both manifested complex personalities with sometimes unpleasant foibles. Both held paternalistic preferences for Western culture, yet advocated use of trained indigenous Africans as evangelists. Lake and Livingstone each faced criticism, scandal and allegations of personal aggrandizement hurled by fellow missionaries in Africa. Finally, the two strongly felt their own consciences rather than others counsel were the best standard for behavior. On the other hand, Livingstone's mainline Protestant ministry was distinguishable from Lake's Pentecostalism. Moreover, Lake never placed the emphasis on a continuity between Christianity and commerce that was evidenced in Livingstone's writings. See Geoffrey Moorhouse, The Missionaries (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1973), pp. 111-156. For a concise study of South African historiography, see Ken Smith, The Changing Past:Trends in South African Historical Writing (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishing, 1988). The specific references Lake consulted in studying South African history are unspecified. He may

have read British school writers like John Alexander Wilmot or Rider Haggard, but given Lake's more favorable perspective on the Boers, probably consulted a George McCall Theal work.

63 The purported Cecil Rhodes quote was apocryphal, based merely on a faulty oral recollection recorded by Lake's son-in-law, Wilford H. Reidt, decades after the event supposedly chronicled. Rhodes died in 1902, six years before Lake arrived in Africa, and no evidence exists to support any correspondence between the two who never met. See B. Roberts, Cecil Rhodes (New York: Norton, 1987).

64 The Apostolic Faith, December 1906, Vol. 1, No.4, p. 21.

65 Ibid., January 1907, Vol. 1, no. 5, p. 18.

66 Ibid., June-September 1907, Vol. 1, no. 9, p. 2.

67 Alice Reynolds Flower anticipated accompanying Lake and Jennie to South Africa, but was persuaded by her family to instead conduct a domestic ministry. When Jennie died in 1908 in Johannesburg, Alice was so moved that she composed a poem commemorating her loss, titled "Only Beyond". The original is available in the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center (Assemblies of God Archives), Springfield, Mo.

68 The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 2.

69 Ibid. Lehman had worked with A.W. Baker, who was in charge of the South African Compounds Mission in the Rand. See The Standard Bearer, January-March 1960, p. 8.

70 David Du Plessis, A Man Called Mr. Pentecost (Plainsfield: Logos International, 1977), p. 105. The mistaken perception set forth by Du Plessis was apparently based on South African anecdotal accounts by Lake's former congregates as related in Du Plessis family history.

71 W.G. Burton, When God Makes a Pastor (London: Victory Press, 1934), p. 30. Ms. Sackett proved her usefulness as a children's minister with the Apostolic Faith Mission in Johannesburg, although she remained unhealed with a paralysis from the waist down. See The Pentecost, July 1909, p. 5, and August 1909, p. 10.

72 The Pentecost, August 1909, p. 2 and p. 6.

73 Indianapolis Morning Star, 1 April 1908, page unknown, a newspaper clipping in the Assemblies of God Archives captioned "Gliggy Blucks Off For Wilds Of Africa". The reporter's reference in his sardonic article that the mission was directed to the Zulu might also be interpreted as an intention to minimize the value of the undertaking as being a non-white enterprise. In that case the reporter himself would be despicable, exemplifying a racism relatively absent from the ridiculed Pentecostals at that egalitarian period of the movement. The reporter also implied an ethnic and racial slur when stating that Louis Schneiderman, a Jewish convert to Pentecostalism, had "once made choice raiment."

74 The Apostolic Faith (Los Angeles), May 1908, Vol. 11, no. 13, p. 12. While in Africa Lake received funds from Seymour's The Apostolic Faith readers, corresponded with Seymour seeking ministerial advise and requested Seymour recruit missionary candidates. Lake visited Seymour on a trip back to the U.S. in 1909.

75 Lake, Adventures, pp. 63-65. While in South Africa Lake learned a more direct and cheaper route. He then advised those leaving America to depart from Montreal in summer or from St. Johns, New Brunswick, Canada in winter for a faster sail to Cape Town. He indicated first-class arrangements were unnecessary as "even third class is good, and the intermediate is excellent." See The Upper Room, June 1909, p. 7.

76 The Upper Room, p. 3.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid. Schneiderman, a converted Jew, had actively participated with the Indianapolis mission. He left America with his family a day prior to Lake's departure to join the group in Canada for the transatlantic passage. Schneiderman stayed for some months in London to conduct evangelical ministry among Jews there prior to joining Lake in South Africa. See The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 3.

81 Ibid., p. 6.

82 Ibid.

83 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 22. Lake's South African trip was also facilitated by his Canadian dual citizenship and right to travel as an Empire citizen. See Dr. Ronald Higgins correspondence to the dissertation writer, 20 August 1999.

84 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 413, printing a sermon "The Wonderful Power of the Christian Life", delivered 12 January 1922.

85 Van Staden, Die Apostoliese, p. 2. See also The Upper Room, October-November 1909, p. 5, wherein Gerald Kretzchmar stated Lake's activities commenced in the Cape. The Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol. II, Durban: HSRC Publishing, nd., ed. unspecified, pp. 300-301 also references the locations where Lake began the African ministry.

86 The Pentecost, November 1908, p. 2.

87 For a discussion of South African political and economic developments within the first decade of the twentieth century, see William Beinart, Twentieth-Century South Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); William Beinart and S. Durbow (eds.), Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa (London: Routledge, 1991); John W. Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); T. R. H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History (London: Macmillan Press, 1987); Robert Lacour-Gayet, A History of South Africa (New York: Macmillan Press, 1970).

88 The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 6. Lake neglected to mention that he had corresponded with those presently or formerly associated with Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, including Archibald Cooper who arranged to meet Lake the day the American first arrived in Johannesburg.

89 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 23.

90 The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 7.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid., p. 5.

- 93 The Way of Faith, 22 April 1909, p. 6.
- 94 The Upper Room, June 1909, p. 7.
- 95 Dougie Oakes and Christopher Saunders, Illustrated History of South Africa (Pleasantville: Readers Digest Association, 1988) p. 205.
- 96 The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 6.
- 97 Oosthuizen, The Birth of Christian Zionism in South Africa, p. 26. Elder Bryant was herself a particularly keen worker among the black congregates.
- 98 The Pentecost, September 1908, p. 8.
- 99 Ibid., September 1908, p. 7.
- 100 Trooster-Comforter, May 1948, p. 7.
- 101 The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, October 1913, p. 2
- 102 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 32.
- 103 The Azusa Street quote appeared in "American Pentecost," an article published on the internet by Christian History Journal, February 1998 at www.christianity.net. The Doornfontein quote is found in Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 32.
- 104 The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, October 1913, p. 2. See Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 32 for the Lehman quotation.
- 105 Ibid., p. 35.
- 106 The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 7.
- 107 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 32. See also The Standard Bearer, January-March, 1960, p. 8.
- 108 Ibid., p. 37.
- 109 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 319, printing a sermon captioned, "Christian Consciousness," delivered 16 July 1920 in Chicago.
- 110 Ibid. Lake admitted a "peculiar interest in South African history...."
- 111 Charles Van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914 (Harlow: Longman, 1982), Vol. 2, p. 134.
- 112 Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson, The Oxford History of South Africa, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 39.
- 113 Ibid., p. 114.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 686, reprinting "Is God Able to Heal?"
- 116 Paul Maylam, A History of the African People of South Africa (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), pp. 136-152.
- 117 Comaroff, Body of Power, p. 166, addresses how Pentecostalism became an important source of metaphor and organizational format for the repressed seeking an expression of cultural resistance. Pentecostalism sought to address the needs of poor, oppressed, humiliated and broken people. See also Richard J. Foster, Streams of Living Water (New York: Harper Collins, 1998), pp. 119-120 and Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Charismatic rank-and-file membership and leadership often were from the lower-working class. In contrast, the social gospel movement was generally promoted by an educated, more elite vanguard. Charismatics sought empowerment through a profound spiritual experience, whereas social gospel adherents more directly addressed political and

social concerns. Elphick argues that the social gospel emphasis on justice united a black elite with white liberals, and promoted development of the South African Natives National Congress.

118 Van Onselen, Studies, 1: 27-39.

119 Ibid., p. 39.

120 The Pentecostal, September 1908, p. 2.

121 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 30 August 1910, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives.

122 T. Dunbar Moodie and Vivienne Ndatshe, Going For Gold: Men, Mines and Migration (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 11.

123 Van Onselen, Studies, 2: 103.

124 The Upper Room, January 1911, p. 6. Williford elected to reside the remainder of his life in South Africa where he later acquired a leather processing operation. Alexander became a Christian author and big game hunter.

125 Moodie and Ndatshe, Going for Gold, pp. 76-77. See also Van Onselen, Studies, Vol. 2, p. 185.

126 The Pentecost, December 1908, p. 7, discussing ministry among black miners in the Transvaal.

127 Ibid., p. 6.

128 The Pentecost, September 1909, p. 3.

129 Ibid., p. 6.

130 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 38.

131 The Pentecost, August 1908, p. 7.

132 Although "Apostolic Faith Mission" is used here to refer to Lake's Pentecostal group, his Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa was not formally created until 27 May 1909. Like many early Pentecostals, Lake initially thought of his work as interdenominational. Moreover, no structured organization was desired because Christ's return was thought to be imminent. Furthermore, bureaucracy was contrary to the spontaneity of the Holy Ghost. The organization of the Apostolic Faith Mission and its executive council apparently came in response to Transvaal and Free State colonial requirements that black ministry be supervised by whites. Reduced rail passage was also a benefit of such government recognition. See The Upper Room, August 1909, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 3.

133 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 1908 and 1909, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Lyndhurst, Johannesburg.

134 The Pentecost, June 1909, p. 10.

135 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, pp. 1-7. Burton concurred with Lake's segregation while joining the American missionary in denouncing racial hatred. Burton declared: "But we are in a world where the majority are still out of Christ, and there inter-racial bitterness still reigns. Every year the unholy spirit of Dingane's Day still harbors feelings of hatred and revenge, under a very thin veneer of religion. Every fresh session of parliament seems to make the white man's position more secure at the expense of the black." See Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, pp. 6-7. Dingane's Day refers to the 16 December 1838 victory of Boer commandos over Dingane's Zulu army. Commandant Pretorius purportedly made a vow to honor God

with an annual observance should victory be granted. Commencing with the centennial of the event, the engagement was interpreted in popular Afrikaner history as evidence of a providential Boer destiny, hence the alternate name for the battle, the Day of the Covenant. The observance of the event came to epitomize obnoxious notions of white supremacy and racist National Party politics, causing much discomfort for blacks.

136 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 90, reprinting a 4 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary.

137 John Graham Lake III correspondence to dissertation writer, 12 October 1997.

138 Reidt, Jesus, p. 46.

139 Jack Kirby, Darkness at the Dawning: Race and Reform in the Progressive South (Phila.: J.B. Lippincott, 1972), pp. 108-119.

140 Ibid. p. 118. Kirby states the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal looked to the American South as inspiration for segregation legislation. Some South Africans deemed the U.S. made a tragic blunder in dealing with blacks, with the American Constitution proclaiming racial equality while states resorted to "legal gimmicks" to deprive blacks of civil liberties. Some South African felt a declaration of black inferiority was more forthright than the American pretense of political equality. See Thomas Noer, Briton, Boer and Yankee (Kent: Kent State, 1978), pp. 125-126. The "Cape liberal tradition" actually manifested pronounced notions of white supremacy, increasing through the later decades of the nineteenth century. See Paul Maylam, South Africa's Racial Past (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 127.

141 Thompson and Wilson, The Oxford History, Vol. 2, pp.228-233.

142 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 47, reprinting "The Forerunner of God's Latter Rain," Johannesburg, August 1908.

143 The Pentecost, January/February 1909, p. 9.

144 Ibid., September 1908, pp. 2-3, and June 1909, p. 1.

145 The Upper Room, August 1909, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 6.

146 A. Anderson, Bazalwane: The African Pentecostals in South Africa (Pretoria: Unisa Press 1992), pp. 36-37.

147 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 51.

148 Ibid., p. 7.

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid., pp. 51-52.

151 Ibid., p. 52.

152 Ibid., p. 54.

153 The Upper Room, October/November 1909, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 3.

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid.

156 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 55.

157 Ibid. See also Anderson, Bazalwane, pp. 27-31.

158 The Upper Room, August 1909, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 2. Schwede's unexpected arrival in South Africa without any funding caused financial problems for a money-crunched Lake who had to scramble to raise the fiscal security required by Transvaal law. After only a year of African ministry, Schwede contracted a severely

debilitating fever that almost took his life, necessitating his premature return to America. See The Upper Room, July 1910, Vol. 1, No. 12, p. 2.

159 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 69. Lake found the orange farm situated among the rocky hills of Potgietersrus an especially aesthetic environment facilitating rest and contemplation. Lake occasionally stayed at the farm cottage of a Mr. Aman, whom he had healed of an agonizing gout. Lake intended such trips to provide a release and diversion from the hectic Johannesburg headquarters. However, when those in the Potgietersrus neighborhood became aware of Lake's presence, he would forgo his personal comfort and minister to the oncomers. Although the town had several mainline churches such as Dutch Reformed, Anglican and Methodist, there was no charismatic facility, hence Lake's popularity. See Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, pp. 69-73.

160 Ibid., p. 49.

161 Ibid., p. 73.

162 Ibid., p. 67.

163 Ibid., p. 73.

164 Ibid., p. 71.

165 Ibid., p. 74.

166 Ibid., p. 75.

167 The Upper Room, October-November 1909, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 3. Placed in charge of Waterberg (Potgietersrus), Letwaba became one of only two blacks ever made overseer of an Apostolic Faith Mission district. With Lake's permanent return to America, no more blacks received such an appointment until the post-apartheid years. In 1930 the indefatigable Letwaba founded and physically build virtually on his own the first Apostolic Faith Mission affiliated black institution of learning, the Patmos Bible School. Gordon Lindsay stated that Letwaba "as no other man carried on the great work started by John G. Lake in Africa." See Anderson, Bazalwana, p. 40.

168 Sundkler, Zulu Zion, p. 65.

169 Lindsay, Dominion, p. 72. The referenced Lake statement appeared in a sermon probably delivered more than a decade after the recorded event. Lake was mistaken in claiming that Lion was a Zulu and that the African had no exposure to Christianity. Lion's attire appeared to constitute a personal choice in keeping with his flamboyant personality and advocacy of indigenous culture.

170 The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, October 1913, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 12.

171 Sundkler, Zulu Zion, p. 65.

172 Stephen J. Gill, A Short History of Lesotho (Morija: Morija Museum and Archives, 1993), pp. 148-152, discussing the Church of Basutoland.

173 Lake, Adventures in God, pp. 38-39.

174 Lindsay, Dominion, p. 72.

175 The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, August 1921, p. 6.

176 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 2 February 1915, Apostolic Faith Mission Archive. Lion later joined Daniel Nkonyane's Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa, an independent black charismatic denomination, then seceded in 1920 to form his own Zion Apostolic Faith Mission. Background works addressing the ZAFM and

other black Zion and Apostolic churches in South Africa and Zimbabwe are Allan H. Anderson, Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecost and Zion/Apostolic Churches in South Africa (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2000); M.L. Daniel, Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Church (The Hague: Mouton, 1971); Sundkler, Zulu Zion.

177 Burton's Eurocentric perspective was somewhat antagonistic toward expressions of indigenous African Christianity expounded by autonomous black clergy.

178 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 50.

179 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 45.

180 The Pentecost, December 1908, p. 2.

181 Burger, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 13.

182 Du Plessis, A Man, p. 12. See also Mathew Clark, "Occasional Pentecostal Lecture Series-Apostolic Faith Mission," part 1.5.2, available on the internet at <http://www.aps.edu>.

183 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 628, reprinting "Divine healing," a Lake pamphlet disseminated by the Apostolic Faith Mission post-1910.

184 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1. P. 2.

185 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 56.

186 The Pentecost, August 1900, p. 7.

187 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 67, reprinting a September 1910 Lake article, "The Baptism in the Holy Ghost", published September 1910. The discussion was with Rev. S.J. Du Toit, a Dutch Reformed minister considered by Lake to be "one of the ablest and most skilful debaters in Africa." The dialogue occurred at the Dutch Church, Somerset East, Cape Colony.

188 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 39.

189 Ibid., p. 42.

190 The Apostolic Faith, October 1908, p. 3.

191 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 89, reprinting a 2 December 1910 entry from Lake's diary.

192 For other typical periodicals soliciting funding for Lake, see The Pentecostal, June 1909, p. 12, The Upper Room, October-November 1909, p. 1, and The Bridegroom's Messenger, 1 October 1909, p. 2.

193 Burton, When God Makes a Missionary, pp. 45-46.

194 Ibid.

195 Ibid., p. 40.

196 The Upper Room, June 1909, p. 2.

197 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 40, reprinting a sermon captioned, "A Trumpet Call", Johannesburg, 1909.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid.

202 Ibid.

203 Burton, When God Makes a Missionary, p. 46.

- 204 The Upper Room, January 1911, p. 6.
- 205 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 13. In contradiction of Lake's statement that his trip was mission related, Dr. Tannenbergl indicated exploration was the motivation.
- 206 Ibid., p. 98, reprinting the 22 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary, memorializing the second anniversary of his wife's death.
- 207 Ibid.
- 208 Ibid., p. 99.
- 209 Ibid., pp. 101-102, reprinting the 24 December 1910 diary entry.
- 210 The Bridegroom's Messenger, January 1909, p. 4.
- 211 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 16, reprinting Tannenbergl's account based in large part on oral history. See also L. G. (Jack) Lake interview with me, 14 August 1999.
- 212 The Standard Bearer, January-March 1960, p. 8.
- 213 William E. Cursons, Joseph Doke: The Missionary Hearted (Johannesburg: The Christian Literary Depot), 1929, p. 157.
- 214 Ibid., p. 165.
- 215 Ibid., p. 157 related Doke's enthusiastic discussion of Gandhi with American Baptists. Doke wrote an important biographical sketch of Gandhi. For a review of Gandhi's South African work, see Maureen Swan, Gandhi: The South African Experience (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985); Robert A. Huttenback, Gandhi in South Africa (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971); M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957 reprint of 1927 edition). No reference to Lake was found in such principal biographical works on Gandhi. Arun Gandhi, the grandson of Mohatma, did not recall his grandfather mentioning Lake. See correspondence from Arun Gandhi to Dr. Ronald Huggins, 31 August 1999.
- 216 Alexander Lake, Your Prayers Are Always Answered (New York: Gilbert Press, 1956), p. 34. An often reprinted photo showing Gandhi seated in front of his Johannesburg office may include Lake at his side. While the person in question did show a rather striking resemblance to Lake, Arun Gandhi believed the man to be Joseph Doke. See correspondence from Arun Gandhi to Dr. Ronald Huggins, 31 August 1999.
- 217 Ibid.
- 218 Lake used civil disobedience to protest against U.S. local government health regulations that he felt unduly curtailed his religious freedom to practise faith-healing. See The Oregonian, 8 April 1923, p. 21.
- 219 The Pentecost, June 1909, p. 3.
- 220 The Upper Room, September-October 1910, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 5.
- 221 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 5. Several African-American charismatic ministers have told me that Lake is not to be faulted for not pursuing a social gospel agenda, stating God calls whom He wills, when He wills. The Bible states God acts in the fullness of time, inscrutable His judgments and unfathomable His ways. The "providential plan," called by people of faith "salvation history," is a divine ordering of events pursuant to the "wisdom of God". God knows the appropriate time, place and instrumentality necessary to accomplish His purpose.
- 222 The Pentecost, 15 May 1909, vol. undesignated, No. 38, p. 4.

- 223 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 27 May 1909, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives.
- 224 The Upper Room, August 1909, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 2.
- 225 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 1913, p. 109.
- 226 The Bridegroom's Messenger, 1 October 1909, vol. undesignated, No. 47, p. 2. In soliciting overseas contributions, Lake prayed that "God would get hold of the hearts of some of our selfish American churches in such a way that they will lay at Christ's feet sufficient sums to put their (South African) brothers in the field." See The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 4.
- 227 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
- 228 Ibid., p. 6. See also Saul Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa (London: Macmillan Press, 1989), p. 33.
- 229 The Upper Room, pp. 3-7.
- 230 Ibid., p. 2. Lake's reference to the obligatory nature of secular laws where Christian conscience was not at stake further evidenced his reluctance to challenge the South African government. The intense state scrutiny reflected the government desire to maintain white supremacy, especially in light of black religious protest expressed through the Ethiopian movement and secular agitation manifested in the Natal Bambatha revolt. See S. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- 231 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2. A wagon capable of negotiating the rugged countryside had to be equipped with at least seven pairs of yoked oxen costing over one thousand dollars, a considerable sum for Lake's fledgling faith mission. Lake later happily reported that two "Gospel wagons" were equipped and commenced operations in the field. See The Upper Room, June 1910, Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 3.
- 232 Ibid., June 1909, p. 3.
- 233 Ibid.
- 234 Ibid.
- 235 J.M. Hofmeyr and G. J. Pillay, A History of Christianity in South Africa (Pretoria: Haum, 1994), p. 178. See also Alan Paton, South African Tragedy: The Life and Times of Jan Hofmeyr (New York: Scribners, 1965), p. 21.
- 236 The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol.2, No. 3, p. 6.
- 237 Ibid., June 1909, p. 1.
- 238 Ibid., January 1911, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 6.
- 239 Ibid., August 1909, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 6.
- 240 Ibid., June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3.
- 241 Ibid., August 1909, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 6.
- 242 Ibid., May 1910, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 5.
- 243 Ibid., February 1910, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 7.
- 244 "Minutes of the Executive Council", 25 February 1910, Apostolic Faith Mission archives.
- 245 The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 5. Lake used the name "Nationalists" for the Botha/Smuts party because of that organization's countrywide conciliation platform and pro-Union advocacy. Known as the South African Party,

the organization stood in stark contract to Judge Hertzog's National Party (Nationalists). Clearly Lake was not referring to the Hertzog party, as his quote predated the existence of that entity by two years.

246 E. Roux, Time Longer than Rope (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 97-98. Imposition of what was perceived to be an excessive hut tax triggered the Natal rebellion. Although opposed to any type of violent civil unrest, Lake did recognize the black grievances. Lake related the anguish of one black evangelist unable to pay such an imposition. "This the municipalities of Africa demand from every native man living in a native location. You can imagine, brother, what it means to me...to help these dear men." See The Upper Room, July 1910, Vol. 1, No. unspecified, p. 5. The Natal government, overreacting to the Bambatha Rebellion, attributing too great a role to the black Christians (Kholwa) as catalysts of insurrection. The reactionary Natal administration alleged the civil disturbances were primarily the work of the Ethiopians inspired by dangerous American African Methodist Episcopal doctrines. Actually only about five percent of the insurgents were Christians. See Hofmeyr and Pillay, A History, p. 182.

247 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2.

248 Hofmeyr and Pillay, A History, p. 169.

249 Daryl M. Balia, Black Methodists and White Supremacy in South Africa (Durban: Madiba, 1991), p. 77.

250 For a discussion of Ethiopianism, see Roux, Time, pp. 77-86; Bengt Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976 reprint of 1948 edition), pp. 65-70; Daryl Balia, Black Methodists and White Supremacy in South Africa (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1991); James Campbell, Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). The name was derived from the ancient black kingdom and Coptic Christian community, although not purporting any continuity of doctrine or liturgy with the North African nation. John Buchan, private secretary to Lord Milner in South Africa, wrote the derogatory Prester John. The novel addressed "American Ethiopian rascals", stating "American Negroes are the Chief Apostles." See J. Buchan, Prester John (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1910), pp. 23 and 81. There is no evidence that Lake ever read the childish adventure story.

251 Thomas Noer, Briton, Boer and Yankee (Kent State: Kent State University Press, 1978), pp. 112-123. See also Sundkler, Bantu, pp. 65-70.

252 Hofmeyr and Pillay, A History, pp. 167-169.

253 Letter from Lake to Louis Botha, 27 September 1909, Secretary for Native Affairs, Vol. 92, No. 36606, 1909, Government Archives, Pretoria.

254 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 7. Schwede's work with Letwaba appears in The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 2. Rather than political agitators, Balia saw the Ethiopians as true Christians interested in following Gospel dictates. See Balia, Black Methodists, p. 80.

255 Hofmeyr and Pillay, A History, p. 169.

256 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 84. Joseph Booth, a British missionary considered radical by his contemporaries, visited the Cape and Natal in 1896-97

- and published his pamphlet "Africa for the Africans" in that latter year. See T. R. H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History (London: Macmillan Press, 1987), p. 232.
- 257 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 512, reprinting "Address of Welcome to Northwest District Conference of Pentecostal Church of God", Portland, Oregon, 15 July 1930.
- 258 Ibid., p. 513. See also Balia, Black Methodists, p. 76.
- 259 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 512-513.
- 260 Ibid., p. 513.
- 261 The Upper Room, May 1910, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 6.
- 262 Ibid., January 1910, vol., no., and p. unspecified.
- 263 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 512.
- 264 The Upper Room, May 1911, Vol. unspecified, No. unspecified, p. 6.
- 265 Ibid., Jan. 1911, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 8.
- 266 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, pp. 84-85.
- 267 The Upper Room, May 1911, p. 6.
- 268 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, pp. 84-85.
- 269 Ibid.
- 270 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 513.
- 271 Ibid.
- 272 Ibid. Lake was incorrect in stating Ethiopian churches became nonexistent. Politically orientated black independent churches continued in South Africa in addition to the charismatic Zionists. Schisms within the churches and the emergence of a much more conservative, less political approach in the American African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) did make ongoing political activism very difficult. See Roux, Time, p. 86.
- 273 Ibid. An Afrikaner government requesting missionary assistance in education was rather unique. Customarily, missionary education activities were deemed suspect, indoctrinating indigenous peoples with empowering or egalitarian doctrines. Afrikaner efforts generally sought to replace missionary educational systems with state institutions. For Afrikaners to endorse Lake's educational activities, he must have been deemed either a conformist or otherwise non-threatening. See Frank Welsh, South Africa-A Narrative History (New York: Kodonsha America, 1999), pp. 108-109.
- 274 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 36. No "Transvaal Parliament Resolution" has been located in a search of the government archives to verify Lake's contentions.
- 275 Lake, Your Prayers, p. 1.
- 276 The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 5.
- 277 Ibid., May 1910, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 6. 278 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 36.
- 278 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 36. No address to any colonial or union parliament has been located in a search of the government archives to verify Lake's contentions. His recollection twenty years after the event that his principal work on land use policy occurred during 1910 seems in error. 1909 rather than a

later date appears the most accurate chronology. See my 25 Oct. 1998 discussion with Ray Kirschke, Lake's youth group minister.

279 John Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (New York: Cambridge, 1982), pp. 6 and 30. Unlike George Fredrickson, who saw South African segregation as the outgrowth of Afrikaner history, Cell asserted segregation was primarily an innovative twentieth century adaptation addressing labor and race control. See also Welsh, South Africa, pp. 210-211. Robert Price, The Apartheid State in Crisis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Chapter 1, states racial segregation, labor repression and white minority political rule characterized South Africa even before the creation of the modern state in 1910. See also William Beinart, Twentieth-Century South Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 107. Maylam, South Africa's Racial Past, pp. 115-141, discusses the perspective that urbanization and industrialization promoted racism and segregation.

280 The argument that reserves could be altruistic protected zones was later also used by the apartheid South African government. In contrast to most Malan Nationalists, Lake appeared to have genuinely believed reserves promoted black interests. American reserves are addressed in Francis Prucha, Indian Policy in the United States (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981); Brian W. Dippie, The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Lewis Meriam, The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1928). Chippewa reserves are discussed in Judith Rosenblatt, Indians of Minnesota (Minneapolis: University Press, 1985); J. Clifton, George Cornell and James McClusken, Peoples of the Three Fires-The Ottawa, Potawatomie and Ojibway (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1976). Sault Ojibway official tribal histories are posted at <http://www.sootribe.org> and www.saulttribe.org. The Sault Ojibway did not receive their long sought reservation until 1974. For Lake's familiarity with Chippewa reservations, see my telephone discussion with Ray Kirschke, 25 October 1998. For a discussion of the interplay of American and South African reserves, see Asma Hassan, "The Problems of Trusteeship in South Africa", a paper presented at the 18th Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Law and History Society, 11 July 1999, pp. 4-5.

281 Brian Lapping, Apartheid: A History (New York: G. Braziller, 1986), p. 41.

282 U.S. Statutes-at-Large, Vol. xxiv, p. 388, Government Printing Office, Washington, enacted 8 February 1887. The Dawes Act is also available as United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, v. 2. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887, pp. 356-359.

283 The Dawes Act is addressed in Wilcomb Washburn, The Assault of Tribalism: The General Allotment Law of 1887 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975); Leonard Carlson, Indians, Bureaucrats and Land (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982); Fredrick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

284 Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No. 7637, 31 August 1894, pp. 1681-1693, sets forth the Glen Grey Act. For commentary, see William Beinart, Twentieth-

century South Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 20. Glen Grey was clearly distinguishable from the Dawes Act. The Cape Colony legislation was a curtailment of black political rights outside the districts, whereas the American law did offer full citizenship to Native Americans residing off the reservation. Also note Ruth Edgecombe, "The Glen Grey Act", in J. A. Benyon *et al* (eds.) Studies in Local History (London: Oxford University Press, 1976) and R. J. Thompson and B. M. Nicholls, "The Glen Grey Act: Forgotten Dimensions on an Old Theme" in The South African Journal of Economic History, October 1993, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 58-70.

285 H. L. Dawes, "Have We Failed with the Indian?", in Atlantic Monthly, 1899. Vol. 84, pp. 280-285. Given the failure of the Allotment Act, the legislation was repealed by the U.S. Indian reorganization Act of 1934 that reestablished communal ownership. See "Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (Wheeler-Howard Act)", U.S. Statutes-at-Large, Government Printing Office, Washington. The Nelson Act, Chapter 24, 25, Stat. 642, U.S. Statutes-at-Large, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1934. Enacted 14 January 1889, the act was a source of ongoing tribal litigation throughout much of the twentieth century. See United States of America vs. State of Michigan, no. m-26-73, U.S. District Court, Western District of Michigan, Northern Division, June 1976, an unpublished opinion.

286 Letter from Rev. Ray Kirschke, Lake's youth minister for the Church at Spokane, to me, undated, received 3 November 1998, stating Lake "likened the Indians to the Blacks in South Africa" and wanted to develop and educate South African blacks for ultimate participation in full political and civil rights. Rev. Kirschke stated, "Lake was influenced by the U.S. reservations, but his intention was to give them good land, help maintain dignity, raise them up to everyone's level." See Kirschke's conversation with me 25 October 1998. Also, see a letter from John Graham Lake III (son of John G. Lake, Jr., a child of the first marriage) to me dated November 1997, stating Lake's proposal was "misused" by Afrikaner politicians. See also Dubow, Racial Segregation, p. 8.

287 F. V. Engelburg, General Louis Botha (London: George G. Harrap, 1929), pp. 272-276. The "liberal-humanistic" school of South African history generally viewed the Natives Land Act as an abdication of British concern and responsibility for indigenous people, whereby Afrikaners were permitted to run rough over black civil liberties. Such liberal historiography, commencing with the work of William M. Macmillan through more contemporary scholars like Leonard Thompson, asserts the legislation "robbed many blacks of the opportunity of making their living in an independent manner, forcing those who were not working on white farms into the mine compounds and urban townships." See Ken Smith, The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988), p. 133.

288 Although Botha did not initially envision the benefits to whites that would ensue from the reserves, he soon embraced the approach as a desirable system of labor control. See Cell, The Highest Stage, p. 48. J. B. M. Hertzog, as Minister of Native Affairs in Botha's 1910 Union government, drafted a mandatory, state-enforced segregation policy. Blacks were to be put in compulsory reserves and permitted into white areas only as workers. See Lapping, Apartheid, p. 40.

289 Cell, The Highest Stage, p. 167.

290 "Natives Land Act, 1913", Union of South Africa, Revised Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1913-1916, Vol. 11 (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1935), pp. 312-347. See also Lapping, Apartheid, p. 41.

291 Dubow, Racial Segregation, pp. 5-6. Unfortunately, typical of even many liberal contemporaries, Lake felt that traditional tribal South African blacks were not ready for full citizenship. He declared, "the African native is a very different man from the American Negro. The African man is a heathen... until he is taught and Christianized." See The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2. Squatting is addressed in Govan Mbeki, "The Struggle for liberation in South Africa," available on the internet at <http://www.anc.org.za>, p. 7.

292 Except in the Free State the act was not actively enforced until the Beaumont Commission determined the extent of expansion of Transvaal and Natal reserves and the Union enacted the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act. In the Cape in 1917 the Court ruled the Act ultra vires, impinging on the black qualification for franchise. See Welsh, South Africa, p. 376.

293 Welsh, South Africa, p. 377; Beinart, Twentieth-Century, pp. 84-85. The response of the SANNC, later known as the African National Congress (ANC), to the Natives Land Act is further addressed in M. Ballinger, From Union to Apartheid (Cape Town: Juta, 1999); Lapping, Apartheid; L. E. Neame, The History of Apartheid (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962); L. M. Thompson and Monica Wilson, (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. 2 (London Oxford University Press, 1971).

294 Sol T. Plaatje, Native Life in South Africa (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1995, reprint of the 1916 London original). See also B. Willan, Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist (London: Longman, 1984). In his work Plaatje sardonically described a missionary who abused credulous tribal blacks by purporting to perform a divine healing. By sleight of hand the missionary produced a small lizard that he claimed was extracted from the sufferer, and which was purportedly the physical manifestation of the malignant illness. Although Plaatje did not specifically identify the missionary as a Lake Pentecostal, he may well have been addressing such faith healers. See Plaatje, Native Life, pp. 138-139.

295 Hofmeyr and Pillay, A History, p. 185. See also Noer, Briton, Boer and Yankee, p. 133. DuBois ultimately renounced the South African land acts as completely inconsistent with appropriate "absolute equality of the races-physical, political and social." See David L. Lewis, W.E.B. DuBois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), pp. 39 and 70.

296 Ibid., pp. 133-134. In contrast, Fredrickson emphasizes differences rather than similarities between the Natives Land Act and the U.S. Southern land tenure and labor arrangements. Despite the common element of separatism, Fredrickson asserts that the kinds of segregation and the white interests furthered in each nation "differed substantially". The Southern "Jim Crow" laws resulted from a national system that by the language of the Constitution theoretically pictured blacks as entitled to all civil liberties of citizenship, but as actually implemented deprived blacks of political rights through state and local enactments. However, in South Africa outside the Cape, black citizenship was not a possibility so no pretense was

necessary that under the national government all races were equal. South African supremacists saw their approach as more straightforward, unlike Americans who mouthed an egalitarian legal system but circumvented civil liberties by regional law, social intimidation and vigilantism. See George Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

297 The Upper Room, September-October 1910, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 5. Lake discussed black miners' work conditions and labor contracts without any adverse comment, merely observing "...Here you have them already concentrated into audiences for you." See also Cell, The Highest Stage, pp. 30-31.

298 Welsh, South Africa, p. 375. Although many South African liberals initially supported segregation, by the 1920s most no longer viewed such disparate treatment as benevolent as previously thought. For example, J. H. Hofmeyr came to see reserves as repressive. See Dubow, Apartheid, pp. 45-46.

299 Cell, The Highest Stage, pp. 30-31.

300 Conversation with Rev. Ray Kirschke, 25 October 1998. See also Paton, South African Tragedy, pp. 312-313 and 368.

301 Lake appears never to have actually read the Natives Land Act as enacted. A careful scrutiny of Lake's writings, addresses and contemporary accounts reveals only the cited Lindsay account set forth herein in note 278.

302 Letter from John Graham Lake III to me dated 12 October 1997. The 1948 date references the victory of D.F. Malan and his Herenigde (Reunited) National Party (HNP) and the extensive implementation of comprehensive racially discriminatory legislation known as apartheid.

303 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 34. While serving as Anglican Vicar of All Saints, Monkwearmouth, Sunderland, England, in 1890, Boddy made a pilgrimage to the Solovetshy Monastery in northern Russia, where he was much impressed with the dome of the Orthodox Church representing a flaming Holy Spirit baptism. Already familiar with the Welsh revival, in 1907 Boddy encountered the Azusa message conveyed by Thomas Barrett, a British born and educated Methodist preacher from Norway. Boddy added the tongue emphasis to the existing spirit baptism experience of the British Pentecostal League, a Holiness organization. He worked with his friend Cecil Henry Polhill, a missionary with field experience in China, to establish the Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) in 1909. The PMU supported missionaries forced out of mainline denominations due to expousal of charismatic doctrines. The PMU, headquartered in Sunderland, solicited donations through The Confidence to forward to field missionaries. Although a recipient of such funding, Lake did not formally affiliate with the PMU. Lake and Boddy apparently were not closely acquainted, with no mutual references found outside a few issues of The Confidence. Lake's failure to more aggressively cultivate the friendship of such a prominent early British Pentecostal is rather surprising. See Jeffrey Brothers Revival Archive, "Revival in the North-East of England," available on the internet at <http://www.visor.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk.nor> and Robert Mountford, "History of Missions in the Pentecostal Movement," pt. 2, p. 2, posted 24 September 2001 on the internet at <http://www.aog.world.ministries.org.uk>.

304 Michael Bolton Furse (1870-1955) was Anglican Bishop of Pretoria from 1909-1920, when he returned to England on his assignment to St. Albans in that latter year. He served as Bishop of St. Albans until 1944. See "Transcribed Names from the Memorials" available on the internet at <http://users.ox.ac.uk>. Sarah Wickham, archivist with the Church of England Lambeth Palace Library, London, assisted me in researching pertinent collections in October 2000. No reference to Lake or the Emanuel Society was located in the indexed and catalogued collections. The primary enunciation of the Emmanuel movement, probably the activity that Lake called the "Emanuel Society," is set forth in two books by its founders: Elwood Worcester, Samuel McComb and Isador H. Corist, The Moral Control of Nervous Disorders (publisher unspecified, 1908) and Elwood Worcester and Samuel McComb, The Christian Religion as a Healing Power: A Defense and Exposition of the Emmanuel Movement (publisher unspecified, 1909). Robert MacDonald, Mind, Religion and Health, with an Appreciation of the Emmanuel Movement (publisher unspecified, 1909) is also a principal work. Lake's charismatic Emanuel Society was distinguishable from the referenced Emmanuel movement in Lake's emphasis on a "miraculous agency," although sharing a common belief that God heals. See B. B. Warfield, Counterfeit Miracles (Carlisle: Banner of Truth, 1972 reprint of 1918 original), in a chapter captioned "Mind-use," pagination unavailable, internet site referenced. The Warfield work is available on the internet, posted by A. Allison Lewis.

305 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 34. Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram was Bishop of London from 1901-1939. His writings are contained in the Fulham papers, the London diocesan collection housed at the Lambeth Palace Library. M. Barber has composed a summary catalogue. In October 2000 I visited Lambeth Palace but found no Lake references in the collection. Similarly, no corroborating documentation was discovered in April 2001 inquiries at the British Library, Oxford Bodleian and Rhodes House Library, University of London School of Oriental and African Studies Collection, the University of Edinburgh Special Collection, New College Library and Faculty of Divinity Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western world, and Trinity College Library, Dublin. Similarly, the two leading Ingram biographies make no mention of Lake or the Emanuel movement. See S. C. Carpenter, Winnington-Ingram (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950) and Perry Colson, Life of the Bishop of London: An Authorized Biography (London: Jarrolds, 1935). Nevertheless, Bishop Winnington-Ingram was sympathetic toward Anglican "Evangelicals" and most probably would have afforded Lake a receptive audience. The Bishop acknowledged his church "owed a great deal" to the "Evangelicals" and particularly endorsed the "missionary spirit." See Carpenter, Winnington-Ingram, p. 156. The Bishop's ecumenism was particularly noteworthy. "He treated them [Nonconformists] himself, and insisted on their being treated, with the same courtesy and consideration as those of his own flock." Colson, Life, pp. 247-248. Moreover, Bishop Winnington-Ingram "rejoiced in miracles." See Carpenter, p. 150. Like Lake, he believed in the "Holy Spirit as an ever present worker in our own hearts... who yet comes at time...with special gifts and powers." Ibid., p. 46. In words fully consistent with Pentecostalism, Bishop Winnington-Ingram declared, "If the Kingdom of God

has arrived on Earth we must expect miracles." Colson, p. 152. Discussing the "Baptism of Fire," the Bishop found spirit endowment to be a contemporary experience, although omitting any explicit reference to tongues or faith-healing. Using Lake-type terminology, Bishop Winnington-Ingram stated, "God wants here and now to restore Paradise on Earth." See Carlile, Wilson, The Baptism of Fire, foreword by Winnington-Ingram, 1916, available on the internet at <http://www.churcharmy.org/baptism-fire.htm>. Dr. Allan Anderson, in a 6 April 2001 communication with me, suggested Lake may well have contacted sympathetic Anglicans, who perhaps regarded such an association as clandestine given the controversial subject.

306 Ibid., pp. 34-35.

307 The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 2.

308 Lake, Adventures in God, p. 33.

309 The Pentecostal, 15 October 1909, p. 4. J. Roswell Flower, Lake's friend and husband of Jennie Lake's close friend, Alice Reynolds Flower, seemed somewhat displeased that Lake did not announce his intended return to America or otherwise contact him and the Indianapolis Pentecostals regarding his whereabouts. The Flowers were to receive prominence as diligent leaders of the largest Pentecostal body, the Assemblies of God, organized in 1913.

310 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 190-191. See also Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the U.S. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971), p. 148.

311 The Bridegroom's Messenger, 15 November 1909, Vol. Unspecified, No. 50, p. 2.

312 The Upper Room, February 1910, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 4. Emma Wicks was apparently the first secretary Lake utilized. Jennie had provided modest clerical assistance, but lacked professional training in stenography and typewriting. Justus du Plessis, Secretary for Ecumenical Affairs, the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, states in a letter to me dated 30 September 1997: "At the time he was in South Africa we did not have good stenographers in our ranks and very few of his sermons and teachings were preserved..." Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 35 states Meyer was "the best known Baptist clergyman of his day." See Donald D. Dayton, (ed.): The Higher Christian Life-Sources for the Study of the Holiness, Pentecostal and Keswick Movements (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. 149. Morgan, a highly regarded author-clergyman like Meyer, was also receptive to charismatics through his Keswick associations. Like Lake he had left Methodism as a youth following rejection for ordination. See Dayton, The Higher, pp. 150-151.

313 The Confidence, December 1909, Vol. 2, No. 12, p. 281. Similar charges were leveled against Apostle Paul, such as failure to honor promises (2 Corinthians 1:12, 15-17), deceptiveness and arrogance (2 Corinthians 1:13, 10:9-11; 11:13-16), misrepresentation (2 Corinthians 4:2, 12:16), and fiscal misappropriation (2 Corinthians 7:2, 8:20-21, 12:16).

314 Ibid.

315 Ibid.

316 Ibid.

317 Ibid.

318 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 99, reprinting the Thursday, 22 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary. Bowie's Pentecostal Mission became the Full Gospel Church and in 1951 affiliated with the Church of God, U.S.A. as the Full Gospel Church of God in Southern Africa. See Gordon Francis Atter, The Third Force (Peterborough: The College Press, no date), p. 202. Lake did not appear to have known Bowie prior to the allegations. Lake's Thursday, 15 December 1910 diary entry stated: "I also received a most unholy letter from one George Bowie, a man who seems to be consumed with envy and jealousy. This is the opinion of all the American brethren with whom I am closely associated...". See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 97.

319 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 95, reprinting the Thursday, 8 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary.

320 Ibid., p. 96, reprinting the Tuesday, 13 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary.

321 Ibid., p. 97.

322 Ibid.

323 The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 1.

324 Ibid., p. 2.

325 Ibid.

326 Reidt, Jesus, p. 45.

327 The Upper Room, November 1910, p. 2.

328 Ibid.

329 Ibid.

330 Ibid.

331 Ibid.

332 Ibid.

333 Ibid.

334 Ibid.

335 Ibid.

336 Ibid.

337 Ibid., p. 6.

338 Ibid., p. 8.

339 Ibid. Letwaba compared Lake's persecution to that of the Apostle Paul, and frequently reiterated "a clean work is done in Africa, and the clean work is established by John G. Lake." See The Upper Room, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 8.

340 Ibid., p. 6.

341 Ibid.

342 Ibid.

343 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 99, reprinting Lake's diary, 22 December 1910 entry.

344 Ibid.

345 Ibid.

346 Ibid.

347 "Executive Council Minutes", 18 November 1910, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives. Although Lake had a much more forceful personality than Hezmalhalch, the older minister had initially been chosen Apostolic Faith Mission president out of deference to his age. See Burger, "Historical Perspective", p. 9.

348 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 100, reprinting Lake's diary, 23 December 1910 entry.

349 Burger, "Historical Perspective", p. 11. See also The Standard Bearer, January-March 1960, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 10 and Atter, The Third Force, p. 202.

350 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxii, reprinting Lake's correspondence with M.H. Wright of Johannesburg, 5 November 1928.

351 An Afrikaner butcher in Johannesburg, Daniel N. Van Vuuren contracted tuberculosis and relocated to a farm. He then experienced a spirit baptism and healing and accepted Pentecostalism soon after Lake's arrival from America. His conversion occurred at the Vrededorp Apostolic Faith Temple, Johannesburg. Following his spiritual endowment he dedicated eighteen days to a ministry specifically directed toward South African judges, lawyers, politicians, physicians and other civil leaders. He was particularly active in evangelizing Afrikaners in the Free State and Transvaal. See The Upper Room, January 1911, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 2. See also Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 198-199. Harry Von Shield was, in Lake's words, "the son of an old-line stock of highly educated Hollanders." He worked as a South African financial agent and accountant. After discussing spirit baptism with Lake, Von Shield retired to the mountains for three weeks secluded meditation. He returned to Johannesburg possessing charismatic gifts. He then evangelized primarily among Afrikaners. He was not opposed to adversarial encounters when matters of principle were at stake, once confronting an antagonist Dutch Reformed Church minister who asserted Pentecost was limited to biblical history. Lake characterized Von Shield, along with "Brother" Kratzmall, as the "only up-to-date new thought men I met in Africa" and "the brightest men I have ever known." Lake considered Von Shield the ultimate evangelist, a "sort of counterpart of St. Paul...more largely duplicated in that man than any other I ever knew." See Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 158-161. According to Lake, "Brother" Kratzmall was a descendant of Church of England ministers with a grandfather having presided at St. Pauls, London. Kratzmall was not initially receptive to spirit baptism, deeming it a "psychological condition" to be resisted. After hours of struggling against the Holy Ghost, he submitted to the will of Jesus and spoke in tongues. Lake declared that after the anointing Kratzmall "became the most remarkable preacher of the Gospel," working as an impoverished itinerant minister reminiscent of St. Francis. Traveling three hundred and fifty miles in rural areas, sometimes barefoot with feet cut and bleeding, he established numerous Pentecostal congregations. Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 162. Paul Mendelsky, a former Roman Catholic, came to the Transvaal as a boy. Lake stated that as a youth Mendelsky devoted himself to drinking and sex while disdainful of education. Willing to defy social convention, he was later ostracized for marrying a "colored" woman. Unfulfilled by conventional Christianity and feeling a need for conversion, he prayed and received spirit baptism with speaking in tongues. He promptly began to preach to both blacks and whites. He worked as a mechanic for material support while preaching for Lake in diverse locales from Johannesburg to Cape Town. See The Upper Room, September-October 1910, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.1-2.

In September 1908 S. Smit came to Johannesburg with his wife and children to join the Christian Catholic Church and receive water baptism from Daniel Bryant. Smit

encountered Lake with his Pentecostal message instead of meeting Bryant, who had returned to the U.S. Smit attended Lake's services seeking spirit baptism and received charismatic gifts, including tongues. Smit then undertook evangelism among predominantly black congregates in Vrededorp, Doomfontein, Louis Trichardt and Pretoria. A large component of his ministry entailed working among kraals, traveling by a mule drawn cart and living in a tent. When opportunity arose he availed himself of his Afrikaans and preached to the rural "Boer" populace. See The Upper Room, March 1910, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 1-2. Gerald Kretzchmar had been a "strong infidel" raised as an atheist in a "free-thinker" family. A person of considerable intellect, Kretzchmar successfully passed civil service qualifications exams in English, Dutch, Zulu and Sotho. After receiving a spirit baptism at an Apostolic Faith Mission service, he undertook ministry primarily among blacks in the Free State, Transvaal and Basutoland. He afforded considerable discretion to black local preachers assisting him in the rural evangelism, perhaps due to pragmatic considerations. Accordingly, in a report to Lake, Kretzchmar indicated that despite the utmost diligence and strenuous exertion, neither he nor other white ministers were able to personally view more than one quarter of the Orange River work. Kretzchmar often worked in the wild veldt hundreds of miles from urban areas, walking thirty or forty miles per day with limited food and water. He was almost murdered in a kraal. Rather than direct accompanying black Pentecostals to resist, he spoke of Christian love, whereupon the assailants desisted from the attack and even requested forgiveness. Kretzchmar was both tough and caring, offering an inclusive redemptive message. He asserted, "Africa is no place for little people...it wants workers in these fields who have universal hearts, men and women who embrace the whole world in Christian love...". See The Upper Room, October-November 1909, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 5 and The Upper Room, May 1910, Vol. 1, No. unspecified, p. 3. Born in Basutoland, Edgar Mahon (1867-1936) served in the Salvation Army in Cape Town and Natal. His wife was a step-sister of Johannes Buchler. His brother-in-law conducted a faith healing to cure Mahon of tuberculosis. Following the healing Buchler water baptized Mahon in contravention of Salvation Army orders. For such disobedience Mahon was dismissed in 1899. During the South African War, he learned Sotho. He then became active in Dowie's Christian Catholic Church as a minister under Daniel Bryant in the Orange Free State and Basutoland until Bryant's return to Zion City, Illinois. In 1909 Lake met Mahon, whom he called Brother "Mahond" and described as a young Dutchman because of the Afrikaans aptitude, despite Irish ancestry. Lake apparently thought Mahon at some point affiliated with the American Pentecostals. At their initial meeting Lake stated he recognized that the Holy Ghost had already ordained Mahon, so Lake's followers laid hands on the brother solely to consecrate him for charismatic ministry. Mahon was "troubled" that his wife had not received a spirit baptism and requested Lake to pray for his Holy Ghost empowerment. By such time Mahon must no longer have been a Christian Catholic Church pastor since Lake stated Mahon was compelled to farm to support his family with "no organization behind him to support in any way...". Lake asserted Mahon's cooperation with his Apostolic Faith Mission and credited that minister with numerous divine healings and with influencing the Plymouth

Brethren Church of Vrededorp to come into the Pentecostal organization as a group.

Lake's account contrasted sharply with the Mahon biographical sketch presented by Bengt Sundkler. Lake clearly placed Mahon in the Pentecostal camp and in fact claimed him as one of his own workers. On the other hand, Bengt Sundkler asserted that Mahon remained loyal to Bryant, even organizing his own congregation in the Free State affiliated with Bryant's Grace Mission Church in Zion City, Illinois, after Bryant's return to America with the Christian Catholic Church collapse. Sundkler claimed that Mahon never became a Pentecostal and did not join the Apostolic Faith Mission, remaining "critical of such phenomena as speaking in tongues." See Sundkler, Zulu, pp. 31-32 and The Way of Faith, 22 April 1909, p. 6.

352 The Upper Room, June 1910, Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 3.

353 Ibid., May 1910, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 5.

354 Hofmeyr and Pillay, A History, p. 174.

355 Burger, "Historical Perspective," p. 28.

356 The Upper Room, July 1910, Vol. 1, No. unspecified, p.2.

357 Ibid.

358 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 91, reprinting Lake's diary entry, Sunday, 4 December 1910.

359 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 42.

360 Ibid.

361 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 1.

362 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 91; The Upper Room, November 1910, Vol.2, No. 3, p.6.

363 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2.

364 Ibid., February 1910, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 3.

365 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. 103.

366 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 90, reprinting the Sunday, 4 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary.

367 Ibid., p. 97, reprinting the Sun., 18 December 1910 entry in Lake's diary.

368 Burger, "Historical Perspective," p. 33; The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, October 1913, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 8.

369 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxvi, printing Lake's correspondence with M.H. Wright of Johannesburg, 5 November 1928.

370 "Minutes of the Executive Council", 3 July 1914, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives.

371 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxvi.

372 John G. Lake III correspondence to me, 12 October 1997. Like Jenny, Lake's second wife Florence served his later life American ministry in an active clergy capacity. Lake's use of "young colored women" in his South African ministry was noteworthy given the tradition of male-dominant society. See The Pentecostal, July 1909, p. 5. In "Woman: Tradition and Modernity" posted on the internet at <http://www.vista.ac.za>, Professor Marie L. Botes of Vista University describes the role of women of that era as passive and largely restricted to the domestic domain. Lake's receptiveness to female participation in church schooling and ministry possibly was

influenced by the precedent presented by William Seymour's Apostolic Faith Mission. See Cheryl Sanders, "History of Women in the Pentecostal Movement" in Reconciliation, Summer 1998, no. 1, p. 9.

373 ibid.

374 ibid.

375 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 1910, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives.

CHAPTER FOUR

RETURN TO AMERICAN EVANGELISM

The African ministry was particularly wearing on Lake, both psychologically and physically, especially after his wife's death and the confrontation with Hezmalhalch and Cooper. With the increased duties of an expanded church, without any prominent veteran Americans to share bureaucratic and lead speaker duties, Lake was tired and isolated. Although he increasingly relied on the most capable administrative skills of a rising group of Afrikaner church leadership, he struggled on a domestic level as a single parent with sometimes unruly "preacher kid" sons. In a letter to le Roux, his successor as Apostolic Faith Mission president, written about nine months after his final return to the U.S., Lake stated, "I cannot always sacrifice my duty as a father, even for the work of God at large."¹

Always more interested in the spontaneity of evangelism and revival-style preaching and healing demonstrations than church structure and organization, he longed to get back to his American roots. He especially wanted to explore the possibility of drawing on the Dowie legacy of healing rooms, adapted to a Pentecostal orientation. He hoped to establish a chain of divine healing facilities throughout the U.S. Given his American expectations and the fact that the relentless demands of the African ministry finally caught up with him, Lake felt compelled to rather abruptly announce his intended return to the U.S. for needed "rest and change".² Consequently in February 1913 he left South Africa for an anticipated six-month leave of absence from duties as Apostolic Faith Mission president.³ Lake

declared that when he got aboard ship for the return trip his "eyes turned blind" and he was "a tottering wreck" suffering "nervous behavior."⁴ Although Lake never officially relinquished the presidency and did not give up Apostolic Faith Mission membership, he was not to return to Africa. As a recognition of Lake's service, he was elected to an honorary presidency for several years.⁵ The Apostolic Faith Mission Lake left would increasingly take on an Afrikaner dimension without any American or English South Africans in the highest leadership positions. By the 1913 church election that marked the commencement of le Roux's presidency and the end of the "Lake Era," not one of the original executive council board members remained.⁶

Through much of 1913 Lake adopted a less hectic pace in America, "Gathering health, preaching as I go."⁷ He returned home to his Michigan family. He preached at Battle Creek, Michigan and other Midwestern locations, often in conjunction with Cyrus B. Fockler, pastor of the Milwaukee Tabernacle and his "Dear Precious brother" and fellow clergyman from the Dowie years.⁸ Together they conducted tent meetings with both English and German language services.⁹

Around this time Lake met and married his second wife, Florence S. Witzer of Milwaukee.¹⁰ Like Jennie, Florence was receptive to undertaking a ministerial role with her husband. Florence did possess the clerical and stenographic skills Jennie lacked. Lake's remarriage so promptly following his return to the U.S., particularly given his passionate affection for his first wife, might either reflect his desire for a helpmate with his ministry and children, or indicate he found another true love. Family tradition related that Lake's relationship with his second wife was most

affectionate. His "picking a wife for his early years and a wife for his later years showed a marvelous interweaving of the need to grow spiritually and the need for a home where he could have comfort and rest..."¹¹.

By 1914 Lake was back in full-time ministry. After a three week preaching engagement in Philadelphia, he ministered in Findley, Ohio.¹² During mid-year in St. Paul, Minnesota, Lake encountered his former employer, the financier and railroad consolidator James Hill. Hill purportedly offered Lake work as a business manager. Lake declined, citing a divine directive to deliver the Pentecostal message by establishing West Coast churches together with affiliated healing rooms. To assist Lake's ministry, Hill awarded him complimentary railroad passes.¹³ The passes facilitated Lake's western travel, during the course of which he stopped at Spokane, feeling called to initiate a ministry there.

Rather surprisingly, Lake's first ministry opportunity in Spokane was as a guest pastor preaching in The Church of Truth, a denomination influenced by Lake's arch-rivals, the Christian Scientists. Lake always confronted Christian Science as erroneously denying the reality of sickness. He felt the Christian Science doctrine was outside Christian parameters. He particularly denounced the Christian Science doctrine that questioned basic beliefs about Christ's divinity, as well as the notion that the mind has complete control over the physical body. The pastor of The Church of Truth was Albert C. Grier, previously a Universalist preacher, and at the time of the meeting with Lake a Christian Scientist. Grier told Lake, "My message is not yours." Lake replied that he taught Christ crucified, to which Grier responded, "Brother, preach your message, as so much of it as you want to. You are in the

hands of the Spirit of God.”¹⁴ After Lake preached his initial Pentecostal sermon in that church, Grier invited him to administer one of the healing rooms, to preach Sunday evenings on a regular basis and to teach weekday classes on spirit baptism.¹⁵ By Oct. 1914, Lake had acquired his own church facility.¹⁶ Even though Lake terminated his professional affiliation with Grier, he remained a friend of the pastor who afforded him use of the church facilities when first locating in Spokane.¹⁷ Grier continued his own Christian Science ministry, perhaps reflecting some Lake Pentecostal influence as to the role of the Holy Spirit in healing. As late as 1925 the two ministers again collaborated, sharing a common reading room.¹⁸

In 1913 religious periodicals announced a “General Convention of Pentecostal Saints and Churches of God in Christ,” welcoming “all Pentecostal or Apostolic Faith Assemblies” to “cooperate in love and peace to push the interest of the Kingdom...”¹⁹. The convention, held in April 1914 and known as the general council of the Assemblies of God, was predominantly a white assemblage. Among those attending were Lake and his wife Florence together with friends from the Dowie days like Fockler and F. F. Bosworth.²⁰ Despite disclaiming any desire to create a new denomination or to establish “a human organization that legislates or forms laws and articles of faith,” the Assemblies of God would, in Lake's estimation, do exactly that shortly.²¹ Accordingly, Lake elected not to join the Assemblies, feeling a bureaucratic structuring of worshippers inhibited independent, spontaneous manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Lake was opposed only to the Assemblies of God organization, not to its doctrines which were generally consistent with his beliefs.²² About a decade and a half later, Lake felt his concerns were realized:

... the head of the Assemblies of God is doing a fine work in keeping his institutions orderly. True, they have drifted clear away from a true scriptural Pentecostal ideal and every day are becoming more and more a little bigoted denomination. The spirit of denominationalism in the Assemblies of God is probably narrower than even in the old churches... So, as a power to bless mankind and put an ideal before the world such as the scriptures outline..., it does not seem to me they are worth discussing or considering.²³

In addition to Lake's dislike of the Assemblies of God organizational structure, he was possibly concerned that the Assemblies were predominantly white. Without significant ongoing black participation, the commendable Pentecostal experience in interracial worship, whereby the color boundary was washed away by the blood of Jesus, would end. Lake owed much to Seymour and the Azusa Street ministry, both in initiating him into Pentecostalism and in supporting the Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa. Although not a vocal advocate for racial equality and social reform outside the context of the church, and despite his endorsement or acceptance of segregated baptism, he always cherished the ideal of interracial worship of equal believers. Thus he was reluctant to join the Assemblies of God, feeling the curtain would be drawn on a fellowship transcending the prejudice of prevailing social norms.²⁴

Of equal importance in Lake's decision to decline affiliation with the Assemblies of God was his perceived calling to pursue an independent ministry.²⁵ He sought "not a church but the Church; not an organization, but the real organism that we have always recognized; not an ecclesiasticism, nor a dictatorship, nor a

bureaucracy; but a group of Holy Ghost –baptized souls...²⁶. Expressing disdain for orchestrated formalism, he whimsically maintained, “I surely would use a meat ax, and use it to the death on every organizer.”²⁷

Early in 1915 Lake’s independent ministry, named The Church at Spokane, commenced a vigorous evangelism. The initial core congregation was composed of former Truth Church members who had studied and worshipped under Lake when he co-pastored with Grier. One enthusiastic congregant declared that God had called Lake from Johannesburg back to America in response to her soul’s call. Ministering to the needs of such Pentecostals, Lake established a healing room in the Rookery Building at North 14th Howard Street, together with a hall for weekday and weeknight meetings.²⁸ The Rookery was a recently constructed three-story stone and masonry structure with some classical architectural elements executed in a bold, simplistic style that characterized the Art Deco movement. The selection of offices in such a fashionable high rent location was rather unique for Pentecostals, particularly a start-up ministry.²⁹ The healing rooms were open 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. every day, welcoming those desiring physical or spiritual comfort, with no costs imposed on the worshipper. Attending ministers prayed for the sick and laid hands upon the infirm that sought a benedictive healing. An average of two hundred were ministered to everyday at the healing room.³⁰ As an outreach ministry to the homebound, Lake and his associates had use of two automobiles deemed the “healing cars.” The vehicles were equipped with placards mounted on the roof announcing “Dr. John Lake, Miracle Healing Power”, along with service times and locations.³¹

Sunday services were held in the Masonic Temple, commencing with Sunday School, followed by the 11:00 a.m. preaching (particularly orientated toward regular congregants) and a "Large public service" at 3:00 p.m. The church, like all Lake's facilities in Spokane, was located downtown.³² Christ the eternal healer and Holy Ghost empowerment were the primary emphases of Lake sermons. Consistent with his prior American and South African practice, with the organization of The Church of Spokane in 1915 and continuing throughout his ministry, Lake placed an ultimate reliance on demonstrating the spiritually and physically rejuvenating love and power of Christ the healer. In advertising the church at Spokane, Lake employed a logo that set forth his theology in a simple but compelling format—a cross with upright post labeled "Salvation," a left crossbeam "Healing," and the right member "Holiness."³³ Lake reported attendance by the physically, mentally and spiritually infirm, the spirit baptized and "teachers" of the Truth Church from throughout the Washington and Oregon area sympathetic to his charismatic message.³⁴ In addition to the mother church in Spokane, Lake established congregations in Sandpoint, Biovill and Moscow, Idaho and Edwall, Orville and Pullman, Washington. Never one to require any quantitative proof or other corroborative objective evidence, Lake declared his urban and outreach ministries so successful that the Spokane area was purportedly the healthiest municipality in America with over one hundred thousand healed annually. Lake's claims that he significantly improved Spokane public health are unfounded. In 1918, when he took credit for making the city the healthiest in the nation, the mortality rate from disease was the highest of the decade, not to be surpassed until 1926. Even with adjustments for the Spanish influenza epidemic, the

public health records do not suggest that Lake's presence or absence from Spokane had any measurable impact. Furthermore, the addresses Lake gave in newspapers and sermon testimonials for persons healed frequently do not correlate with City Directory listings for the relevant period, frustrating corroboration. Undoubtedly conscientious and dedicated ministrations were motivational to the lonely and isolated shut-ins and infirm.³⁵

During the worldwide Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918, Lake's organization did actively minister to victims of the pestilence. In America the contagion struck twenty-five million, killing about 675,000 in a few horrible weeks. The flu was most virulent among those between twenty to forty years old, the group normally most resistant to disease. Epidemiologists, ignorant of the virus, were unable to effectively fight the contagion. The epidemic had a devastating impact on community infrastructures and civil institutions. Public health organizations in Spokane and most other municipalities were generally ineffective in implementing effective control measures. Already deeply shaken by the world war, an unnerved and demoralized populace increasingly sought solace in religion. Evangelists like Billy Sunday asserted that sin was the cause of the illness and prayer the answer. Lake joined fundamentalists, fellow charismatics and traditional denominations seeking to "pray down" the pestilence. Lake claimed that during the epidemic the church at Spokane also served as a conduit for public health information and supplies. He was proud of the purported public health benefits derived by the citizenry through his ministry, provided without government cost.³⁶ Lake stated that his church helped more infirm than the three Spokane hospitals. Moreover, he took credit for addressing the needs

of the outcast and disempowered victims of the virus, purportedly providing services exceeding the care furnished by government social service agencies. Lake recognized what even the local government conceded – that modest municipal control measures like prohibition of public smoking and spitting, and counseling fresh air and adequate heat were marginally helpful at best. He proclaimed, “In the relief of poverty, not through doling out...dollars to the starving, but through bringing them to health, we have accomplished more...than the Social Services Bureau...”³⁷.

Lake’s Spokane operation was organized in the manner of the primitive church of the Bible. Such an emphasis was consistent with Lake’s desire to carry the Reformation to its ultimate conclusion, advancing early church principles that he perceived were neglected by Methodism and other mainline denominations. Accordingly, as head of the organization Lake declared himself “Overseer,” using a term previously employed in Dowie’s Christian Catholic Church. The name of Lake’s ministry, The Church at Spokane, reflected New Testament practice.

Prominent pastors affiliated with his ministry were Charles J. Westwood of Portland, Oregon, Sidney P. Fogwill, a former Dowie minister who had served in the Christian Catholic Church headquarters, and Charles B. Le Doux.³⁸ Lake praised his pastors for being “a Miracle of God’s Saving Grace and Healing Power.” Westwood was titled both vice-president and assistant pastor, being described as “A man with a marvelous healing ministry.”³⁹ Lake’s wife Florence later participated as an assistant pastor and general secretary.⁴⁰

One Pentecostal described a typical service in Lake’s Spokane church. Rich and poor met together. Lake told the gatherers to ask Jesus to take dominion over

their disease. He then prayed for all the sick, both non-believers and Christians. The afflicted were invited to come to be prayed for every day at the Healing Room until their health was restored. During his sermons he often stopped and prayed. Other times he interrupted his preaching to speak in tongues, which he or some congregant then interpreted. After the service spirit-filled believers took the evangelical message to the streets, providing ministerial guidance to disempowered blacks and street people.⁴¹

In addition to scheduled services, meetings and healing room services, Lake evangelized in the Spokane slums, seeking to provide spiritual help to the socially marginalized. Although described as "stubborn" and "strong spirited," Lake was specially generous and forgiving toward the needy and neglected. For example, once he granted use of his car to an impoverished youth attempting to steal the vehicle to go on a date.⁴² On another occasion, when his church members heckled a newly-baptized prostitute about her provocative attire, Lake defended the convert, saying, "You old hens, you keep your hands off her, the Lord has cleaned her up in the inside and He can take care of the outside."⁴³ Whatever criticism some commentators might accord Lake for not instituting a politically orientated social gospel, he deserved credit for looking beyond superficial facades to recognize the latent potential of persons whom society deemed failures.

During the hectic period of his Spokane ministry in which Lake was largely preoccupied with recruiting and organizing congregants for the ministry, Louis Botha cabled him from Cape Town requesting advice on the organization of a healing corps for South African troops participating in the invasion of German South-West

Africa. Lake implied that Botha deferred to his expertise in recognition of the American's prior African service through the Apostolic Faith Mission. Lake stated that Botha acknowledged the need for divine healing as an alternative to secular medicine, particularly for that "twenty percent of the South African army which placed its sole reliance on divine healing."⁴⁴ Such communication demonstrated Lake's ongoing rapport with Afrikaner and South African Party leadership. Lake apparently wanted to keep his foot in the door should his Spokane ministry be unsuccessful or a return to African mission seem likely.

As a component of his Spokane work, in April 1915 Lake founded the International Apostolic Healing Church, formally known as the International Apostolic Congress, Inc., to ordain and issue credentials for Pentecostals. Westwood and Fogwill were co-incorporators with Lake. Although he originally contemplated that England would be its headquarters, with the advent of World War I he relocated all operations to the United States. While The Church at Spokane and the associated Divine Healing Institute operated under the organization's auspices, possibly together with other Lake congregations, no corroborating evidence was found of any other churches affiliating with the International Apostolic Congress.⁴⁵

Lake was not particularly diligent in observing corporate formalities as regards annual meetings, and the organization seems to have existed more as a paper entity than an actually functioning denomination. The International Apostolic Congress held its first and probably only annual conference in Spokane in June 1921. The Congress established a governing board comprising Lake as apostle, and D. N. McInturff of Spokane and H.S. Wallace of San Francisco as bishops. Lake

also served as president.⁴⁶ Wallace was designated as missionary bishop to Africa and was also put in charge of black U.S. ministries in response to a petition received from fourteen black congregations in the American South desiring affiliation. No evidence confirmed that such an association with the International Apostolic Congress was consummated.⁴⁷

One of the Congress's first undertakings was to address the status of women. The Congress declared, "Woman is man's equal in the church and shall be admitted to all the offices and privileges on an equal footing with man."⁴⁸ The Congress's orientation reflected Lake's consistent and vigorous support of women's rights in a period pre-dating significant federal and state sexual equality.⁴⁹ Lake acknowledged the work of women in improving community life. He recognized the role played by Progressive-era women in promoting sexual equality, municipal sanitation, poor relief, education, temperance and suppression of prostitution. He always afforded women every privilege enjoyed by male church members. In the church at Spokane wife Florence was a co-pastor and equal with the male clergy. Women were particularly active in the healing room ministry.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Lake frequently declared his utmost admiration for female Pentecostal preachers. He recognized Maria Woodworth-Etter as his pioneer charismatic mentor and he voiced the highest commendation for Aimee Semple McPherson, a flamboyant, young nationally prominent evangelist.⁵¹ Lake's enthusiastic advocacy of women's rights and his desire to continue an international Pentecostal affiliation during a period when most white Pentecostals had abandoned the color-blind vision of Seymour's Azusa Street represented the best in Lake's nonconformist nature. He envisioned

the Congress as a tool for expressing his message of gender and racial community in Christian love to a large national and international audience. Unfortunately, the International Apostolic Congress remained virtually unknown outside Lake's West Coast congregations and was completely inactive by 1931.⁵²

Commencing in 1914 some Pentecostals, including Howard Goss (a founder of the Assemblies of God) advocated baptism in the name of Jesus alone as practiced by the New Testament Church, rather than use of the Trinitarian scriptural formula "in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit." These "Oneness" Pentecostals, also called "Jesus only" followers or "Pentecostal Unitarians," believed God and the Holy Spirit were revealed in Jesus as comprising the totality of the Divine. More extreme adherents rejected the concept of the Trinity as an un-biblical creation of the Catholic Church and called for rebaptism using only the name of Jesus. Although initially disclaiming any desire to establish creeds, by 1916 the Assemblies of God had enacted a "Statement of Fundamental Truths" repudiating oneness doctrines. J. Roswell Flower, a Lake acquaintance from the early Pentecostal movement in Indianapolis and later secretary of the Assemblies of God, was a major advocate of the prevailing Trinitarian position. In frustration the oneness believers left Assemblies of God fellowship. G. T. Haywood, an Indianapolis Oneness preacher, was the only significant black leader in the Assemblies of God. His departure meant that the Assemblies of God became effectively an all-white organization. The schism thus furthered Pentecostal segregation and the abandonment of the racial harmony of Azusa Street.⁵³

During the Oneness controversy Lake remained committed to his Wesleyan

and Dowie Trinitarian traditions. He continued trine baptisms according to the customary formula. Nevertheless, he was sympathetic to the Oneness opposition to church rigidity, and he respected the orientation seeking to recapture New Testament primitive church purity. He possibly was also concerned that the needs of blacks were not being fully addressed by the Assemblies of God. His distanced relationship with Flower, the husband of Alice Reynolds Flower, Jennie's best friend, may date from the Oneness controversy or from Lake's earlier failure to notify Flower of his whereabouts when visiting America during the South Africa missionary period. In any event Lake looked favorably on the Jesus-only believers, perhaps seeing them as individuals like himself following the dictates of conscience:

None of the other divisions of the (Pentecostal) movement of which I know, except the movement headed by Brother Goss, holds much hope. I see more hope in Goss's division of the movement than in any of the others. There is one thing we will have to concede—everyone does who is really intimate with their assemblies and with their preachers - and that is they show more genuine spirituality than any other branch of the movement. The mere fact of their emphasis of Jesus, that the other divisions of the movement regard as extreme, has tended to bless them in that it has brought them into closer touch with the Lord's life and spirit.⁵⁴

By 1916 Lake again felt the need for a further focus and refinement of his ministry. Writing to Eugene Brooks, a former Dowie Elder who served with the Christian Catholic Church in Victoria and Toronto, Lake expressed a robust optimism for future ministerial service, tempered by some introspective reflection. He maintained:

God wants to do something new in connection with my work. It is not clear to my soul yet just what it is. Finances have been tight lately... Healings have not been so powerful... My spirit is distressed... I feel the need of your prayers. As I look back over the way, though it seems hard, I can see that every step of the way has been necessary for my soul's discipline... I feel I have never yet attained that place in God where I can accomplish the real life work that He desires through me. There is a broader ministry that God wants accomplished ... John Lake has always been a good deal of burden to himself...⁵⁵

Brooks replied in a very straightforward manner, offering a little word of admonition" in what was rather a strident critique of Lake's shortcomings. Brooks declared:

My soul seems to sense a possible error you are making in reference to your self and work...one thing is absolutely necessary...HUMILITY, genuine, deep, lasting. You have the vision though somewhat mixed. You see God and you see your need, but you also see other things...needing you. The real vision is to see Jesus and to see nothing else...It is the folly of the natural man to suppose that he is doing it until his conceit is exposed...when the vessel took glory to itself He broke that vessel that He might use it again...Then sometime, somewhere you two will have to go down at the foot of the cross...or you will find yourself a broken vessel.⁵⁶

Although concerned that his frank advice bordered on "exceeding the limitations of propriety", Brooks warned, "Oh, my Bro. John, I once looked for power - wanted equipment, sought usefulness - saw gifts in the distance...but glory to God! One by one these faded..."⁵⁷. Whether Lake benefited from Brooks' admonitions not to

become distracted from an ultimate relationship with God by undue concern for greater accomplishments was uncertain. Lake apparently did not respond to Brooks' letter. Lake's ministry went forward in a manner consistent with prior practice as he sought to expand his ministry. He vigorously recruited new members for both the "mother" facility in Spokane as well as satellite congregations. No change was noticeable in his lively, engaging narrative testimonial preaching or dramatic healing services. He also continued to utilize his journalism and sales background to promote his ministry through a high visibility and occasionally sensationalist marketing.

Lake's Spokane faith healing demonstrations perhaps best epitomize his flamboyant use of showmanship to promote the ministry. Such lively religious services exhibited a degree of dramatic performance characteristic of Lake as "God's showman."⁵⁸ Lake's Better Business demonstrations were typical of such dramatic services. In June 1918 representatives of the Spokane Better Business Bureau contacted Lake regarding the truthfulness of his newspaper advertising purporting the efficacy of faith healing. Whether the Better Business Bureau acted in response to complaints or instead came at Lake's invitation was uncertain. In any event Lake had already prepared a number of notarized testimonies, some of which he used in public notices detailing his ministry. The claims were so "astonishing" that the Bureau was at least initially skeptical as to their veracity. To satisfy the Bureau Lake scheduled a healing demonstration and recital of testimony, extensively advertising the service. One advertisement set forth the remarkable cure of a woman with a gangrene condition who felt that Jesus appeared to her, then

directed, "When I heal you tell all men everywhere of my salvation." At Lake's request several local physicians examined her and verified the miraculous nature of the healing. His announcement proclaimed that "She was healed by the power of God in response to the prayer of faith that saved the sick."⁵⁹

In preparation for his planned demonstration, on 23 June 1918 Lake presented for public scrutiny a list of one hundred cases of faith healing. Prior to the scheduled service the Bureau contacted Lake, stating "they had no desire in any way to interfere" and that their appearance at the service would not be necessary.⁶⁰ Possibly the Bureau was either convinced of the truthfulness of the assertions or felt that an inquiry into religious practices transcended its customary commercial jurisdiction.⁶¹ Lake announced he would still hold the healing demonstration even if the Bureau declined to attend and that he would appeal to the public for a verdict. The Masonic Temple service was attended by over a thousand. A standing room only crowd witnessed several hundred testify to faith healing. Lake addressed the congregation with Dowie style interrogatories:

Gentlemen of the Committee and Audience, do you see these witnesses? Have You heard the testimony? ... has there been a fair presentation (Shouts of Yes!) Did God heal these people (Cries, Yes, Yes). Is divine healing a fact? (Replies from the audience: It surely is.)⁶²

Lake's provocative confrontation with the Better Business Bureau heralded a five-year period of similar legal confrontations. Commencing in 1918 Lake was actively engaged in a variety of civil litigation of both a personal nature and arising out of his ministry. Although Lake was fond of lawyers as acquaintances and

congregants, he did not relish the personal adversarial process outside the context of promotion ministry. One of his “consecrated” Christian principles was never to defend “my own personal rights, but...leave all judgment in God...I shall keep all hardness and harshness out of my life...”⁶³. In light of such lofty ideals, Lake’s failure to perform contractual duties and discharge his court-ordered obligations raised critical questions regarding his integrity and credibility.

His financial dealings raise questions about the sources of his income and the propriety of his financial transactions. The money Lake derived from his ministry is unknown. Unlike in South Africa where he maintained and disclosed financial records to diffuse mismanagement charges, in the U.S. he did not make the finances of his ministry public. After resuming his American ministry, he did invest in real estate and equities. Whether he undertook such speculations as an attempt to supplement a meager pastor’s compensation is uncertain. In any event, his financial dealings, most of which were arrangements with his congregants, were a source of controversy, demonstrating a poor judgment for someone possessing a rather extensive business and entrepreneurial background. Lake failed to recognize the conflicts of interest inherent in doing business with his congregants. His overly optimistic, insufficiently researched speculations diverted his time and energy from the ministry.

In Hilborn vs. Lake, filed 25 June 1918, Bert E. Hilborn, a resident of Spokane, brought a suit against Lake and his wife Florence, alleging breach of their agreement to purchase real estate. The land, situated in Kootenai County, Idaho, comprised two ten-acre tracts, part of the Hayden Lake irrigation project. Lake was

to buy the land free of encumbrance except for an existing mortgage not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars. The purchase price was two hundred and fifty-seven dollars, to be paid within sixty days following closing, bearing eight percent interest. Lake's loan was to be secured by a lien on his 1916 Maxwell automobile. Hilborn offered to convey the land pursuant to contract but Lake refused to pay. Hilborn then brought a suit through counsel. Lake sought legal representation through C.W. Greenough of the firm Ayes, McDonald and Greenough of Spokane. In response to the complaint, both a motion and an answer crossclaim were filed. Lake's motion sought to compel the plaintiff to set forth his allegations in more detail and to fully account for all asserted damages. The defense motion was denied and the case set for trial. Lake raised as an affirmative defense and as a basis for his crossclaim against Hilborn the contention that the seller did not make a full disclosure to Lake about the assessments charged for water to service the otherwise arid property. The calendaring of the case on the trial docket brought a prompt settlement with Lake appearing in person at the plaintiff attorney's law office to reach an agreement out of court.⁶⁴

Shortly after resolution of the land purchase case Lake was threatened with suit for alienation of affection. The pending litigation arose out of a claim by Frances Westwood that Lake encouraged her husband, a prominent clergyman in The Church of Spokane and vice president of Lake's Healing Room, to divorce her. A messy divorce did occur, with Westwood accused of various forms of misconduct - from leaving his wife to starve, to behavior towards female congregants that was "indecent, nauseating and uncalled for."⁶⁵ No suit was ever instituted for Lake's

alleged alienation of affection so the particulars of the controversy remained uncertain. An alienation of affection claim was permitted under Washington State common law. To prevail a plaintiff had to prove that a viable, amicable relationship had existed among the husband and wife and that a third party intervened with the intention of damaging the relationship and thereby securing a transfer of affection. Although some sexual intimacy between one of the spouses and the third person was often the grounds for such a suit, a mere transfer of affection and destruction of the existing relationship between husband and wife or parent and child was sufficient for a cause of action. Given the lack of documentation, any discussion about Mrs. Westwood's grievance was speculative. Lake strongly maintained the sanctity of marriage and opposed divorce unless based on adultery or abandonment as stipulated in Matthew 5:32 and I Corinthians 7:15. His Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa maintained, "We stand with the Scriptures against the re-marriage of divorced persons..."⁶⁶. In his enumeration of Christian principles, Lake declared, "I shall regard the home as sacred and always guard...so as not to cause a man and his wife to break their vows to one another."⁶⁷ Given his belief in the inviolability of marriage, Lake must have felt Associate Minister Westwood was biblically justified in leaving his wife.⁶⁸ Since no litigation for alienation of affection was filed, the allegation may have been the groundless assertion of a bitter, frustrated wife. Nevertheless, Lake's mere involvement in the incident reflected an inability to resolve conflict smoothly. Moreover, the unfortunate episode manifested his recurring failure to avoid the appearance of impropriety, essential for a minister.

In January 1919 Lake and Florence sued a Spokane taxi company for injuries

sustained by Florence and vehicle damage arising out of a collision occurring in August 1918. The accident took place near the Healing Rooms when Lake, as driver, collided with a speeding cab. Florence and his daughter Gertrude sustained significant injuries. Florence incurred injury to her right wrist, resulting in permanent scarring, disfigurement and loss of use. For a six-week period she was totally unable to perform her duties as "an experienced shorthand stenographer and reporter" for Lake's ministry. Surprisingly, given the Lakes' ultimate commitment to faith healing, she was "under the care of a physician" and incurred specific medical expenses. The Lakes were represented by Robert Corbery, an attorney practicing out of the Rookery Building in which the Healing Rooms were located. After the court joined the case brought by Lake and Florence with the companion suit filed on behalf of Gertrude, a trial date was set. Settlement quickly resulted and the plaintiffs dropped the actions.⁶⁹

In September 1919 Lake was sued by Joseph A. Martin for seventeen hundred dollars owed under a secured promissory note. The principal with interest was declared payable one year after execution. The note was collateralized with twenty-five thousand shares of Copper Giant Company of Idaho. Suit was filed upon Lake's failure to make any payments. Lake, represented by Anthony J. W. Graves, claimed in his answer that the plaintiff had a duty to sell the stock security and apply the proceeds toward the debt prior to initiating legal action. In settlement Lake agreed in a court stipulation to make periodic payments toward repayment of the debt, commencing six months from the settlement date. Lake failed to make any such payments and the court exercised ongoing jurisdiction to enter judgment for

the plaintiff, together with costs. At the sheriff sale the Copper Giant Mining Company stock sold for only sixty-nine dollars and twenty-five cents, leaving a balance of one thousand dollars. A subsequent execution against Lake was returned unsatisfied, the sheriff finding no personal or real property owned by Lake upon which to levy. The judgment remained unpaid.⁷⁰ Lake's failure to try in good faith to discharge his debts remained a serious blot on his personal integrity and his ministerial reputation.

Perhaps because of the outstanding judgment, Lake moved to Portland, Oregon, leaving the Spokane headquarters ministry under the direction of Charles Le Doux and George Halford. Before opening a Portland facility he tested the waters through meetings conducted under the auspices of the International Apostolic Congress at the municipal auditorium. The liturgy utilized was consistent with that learned under Dowie, further developed in South Africa and employed at Spokane. Divine healing and testimony characteristic of narrative theology were customary. With the Portland ministry Lake did start to emphasize that faith healings could manifest themselves either as spontaneous cures or as more incremental improvements. In contrast to the immediate health relief he had anticipated in his South African work, Lake increasingly maintained that not until later would many congregants seeking ministrations realize the full benefit of their treatment.⁷¹ Such modification of doctrine might be viewed as an effort by Lake to protect himself from critics claiming his faith healings were sham.

The Portland services, called "divine healing meetings," were attended by about three hundred each night. Usually about one hundred congregants gathered

after the service in a corner of the auditorium for treatment. Unlike Lake's initial rather favorable or at least non-adversarial reception in Spokane, in Portland the secular newspaper reports promptly dogged his work, reflecting a cynical criticism. Lake and his adherents were labeled a "sect." In a skeptical news article captioned "Miracles Not Seen," the congregants were described as "cripples and paralytics who did not appear to receive any especial benefit." The reporter declared that the greater number of those seeking cures "seemed to be hypochondriacs."⁷² The news accounts did acknowledge that no collection was taken and no appeal for funds made.⁷³

Despite secular criticism, by June 1920 Lake had established "The Church at Portland". He formed the church in response to a revelation. Unable to sleep one night, he wandered in the woods of Mount Tabor Park near his residence. In the pastoral surroundings he felt that God, through an angelic messenger, gave him a vision to implement a church in Portland reflecting "the very glory and heavenly power that God once gave from heaven."⁷⁴ Remarkably, rather than detail aspects of the Portland work, the angel primarily spoke of the mission most fond to Lake's heart, the South African work:

The heart of Jesus was once gladdened here [Johannesburg] through the glory, the grace and the power of God manifested here. But human pride, formalism and lack of faith have brought disappointment to the heart of Him we love. But the glory will return... But all self-seekers shall be dethroned.⁷⁵

To the extent the divine vision was interpreted and revealed through Lake, such a negative perspective of the African ministry seemed to indicate a concern with the

increasing organizational structure evidenced by the Apostolic Faith Mission in post-Lake years. The strident critique may also reflect the greater marginalization of black congregants' participation in Apostolic Faith Mission church governance and the Afrikaner diminished emphasis and deference toward veteran pioneer black Pentecostals like Letwaba. Furthermore, the human pride and lack of faith reference might have been a denunciation of those Lake detractors of the prior decade. Lake clearly remained concerned about the Apostolic Faith Mission, hoping to return to Africa to resume his ministry there. South Africa appeared to be in the forefront of his thoughts even as he worked to establish the new Portland work. He held fond memories of his overseas evangelism, proclaiming, "I would not have missed my life in Africa for anything."⁷⁶

Responding to the revelation, Lake started The Church at Portland, situated at 129 Front Street. It operated in conjunction with a healing clinic located at Christensen's Hall, Eleventh and Yamhill Streets.⁷⁷ Lake's work at both facilities was furthered by the efforts of four assistant ministers. Lake utilized his marketing skills to promote the start-up ministry, and characterized the Portland operation as "a businessman's church...conducted by preachers who are businessmen."⁷⁸ At this point Lake began to use the promotional title "Doctor" in conjunction with his surname. Although holding no formal medical credentials, and despite his denouncement of secular health professionals, Lake took evident pride in attributing the honorary distinction to himself.⁷⁹ He had previously been presented as a "Big Soul," a mahatma-like Gandhi, in a promotional for the Spokane ministry.⁸⁰ Lake apparently felt that through laudatory titles the Portland community would afford his

ministry more credibility and prestige.

Although devoting most of his energies toward instituting the Portland revelation, Lake remained interested in keeping some ongoing ministerial presence in Spokane. He asserted that in the Mount Tabor revelation God showed him "a church in Spokane that would be as pure as Jesus Christ." Around 1921 he recruited D.N. McInturff, D.D., as pastor of the Spokane work. Lake then designated himself general overseer resident in Portland.⁸¹ McInturff, a former Methodist preacher, had undertaken an independent ministry prior to his association with Lake, possibly at the old Vincent Methodist Church building located at Main and Lincoln Streets.⁸² Lake described McInturff as:

...a man with a successful law practice, a supreme court lawyer of note, seeing these things (Working of the Holy Spirit), gave up his practice of law and became pastor of the Church of Portland. He himself ministers to the sick and they are healed.⁸³

In 1921 the Church at Spokane addressed logistical and organizational concerns. The church relocated from the Masonic Temple to a newly purchased facility, the former Vincent Methodist Church. This was sufficiently commodious, comfortably seating over one hundred and fifty. The church had additional space for meetings and healing rooms, a kitchen and pastor's study. The new location made the Rookery Healing Rooms unnecessary and that lease was not renewed.⁸⁴ After finalizing the move, the church was reorganized as a corporation under the laws of Washington State. The principal officers of the corporation were C.R Le Doux and his wife and D.N. McInturff. The omission of Lake (at that period the general

overseer of his ministry) may well have been necessary to avoid personal creditors, such as Joseph A. Martin, from pursuing the assets of The Church at Spokane. McInturff's legal background was useful in structuring a corporation having a legal identity separate and apart from Lake.⁸⁵ By 1921 Lake sought to bring the Church at Spokane more formally within the auspices of an organization that he controlled. Accordingly, he revived his dormant International Apostolic Congress. Somewhat reminiscent of Dowie, Lake declared himself apostle and designated McInturff bishop.⁸⁶

Lake's designation of his congregations as "The Church at Spokane" and "The Church at Portland" evidenced his desire to use New Testament church organization. However, Lake's increasingly exclusive language, referring to "The Church", might arguably have demonstrated a gradual, subtle modification of his prior emphasis on an "undenominational and inter-denominational" work.⁸⁷ By 1921 Lake's announcements, despite his recognition of the church universal as believers unified in Christ, proclaimed, "The same power and works as was done by the Apostles will be done always by this Church; there is no other true church."⁸⁸ Lake did appear on such occasions sectarian. Nevertheless, Lake continued to participate in ecumenical work, welcoming all who elected to worship with him, and remained active in Pentecostal conventions addressing the full spectrum of the charismatic movement. At the Chicago Pentecostal Convention, held 9-23 January 1921, with Lake the keynote speaker, a sweeping ecumenical statement was adopted. "No bands...no creeds, but the precious word of God... We disfellowship no Christians."⁸⁹

Despite auspicious beginnings, Lake's relationship with co-pastor "Bishop"

McInturff soon so deteriorated that McInturff sought to sever their association. Having had a Spokane congregation prior to the Lake affiliation (possibly the Vincent Methodist church), and having established himself as the primary pastor at Spokane after Lake's relocation to Portland, McInturff took control of The Church at Spokane. The church caretaker, a friend of McInturff, locked out Lake and refused to surrender the keys.⁹⁰ Lake attempted to regain control of the local property, but McInturff, with his legal training, outmaneuvered Lake. When Lake persisted in an effort to visit the church as the pastor, McInturff had him arrested for impersonating an officer. Use of a statute primarily intended to prohibit persons without authority from purporting to be government officials, in the entirely different context of church governance, was a very broad interpretation not readily supported by existing law. Moreover, even though no longer an officer of The Church at Spokane, Lake was general overseer of the umbrella International Apostolic Congress to which the Spokane congregation belonged. Accordingly, although Lake was arrested and released on one hundred dollars bond, no ongoing criminal prosecution was pursued.⁹¹ Following the lockout those congregants loyal to Lake organized another Spokane fellowship but were unable to use the designation "The Church at Spokane." Moreover, given McInturff's preemptive use and control of the name, Lake could not continue to assert for his own remnant congregation there, as he had done in 1921, that Christ had only one true church in the city, "The Church at Spokane".⁹²

Why McInturff broke with Lake was uncertain. Lake seemed never to have publicly addressed any McInturff contentions, unlike Hezmalhalch's African charges

which Lake often mentioned. The American dispute may have resulted from Lake's representations to McInturff about opportunities available with the International Apostolic Congress. Under such a scenario Lake initially solicited McInturff for an affiliation, offering to make him a bishop in a seemingly sizable worldwide Pentecostal organization, the International Apostolic Congress. Lake was thus to assume the title "General Overseer" of that entity and to further benefit by getting use of the old Vincent Methodist Church property then under lease by McInturff (later to be purchased by Lake's The Church at Spokane) and securing the membership of preexisting McInturff congregants. McInturff subsequently discovered that the International Apostolic Congress existed only as a paper organization, lacking any property holdings or members other than the Church at Spokane, the Church at Portland and their local satellite operations. Furthermore, although McInturff afforded Lake a reasonable amount of time to revitalize the international organization, little if anything was accomplished. Resentful that Lake did not make a complete disclosure about the International Apostolic Congress, McInturff discontinued the association and Lake never regained control of "The Church at Spokane".⁹³ When reestablishing his personal ministry in Spokane in 1931, Lake had to use a different name for his congregation and affiliated with a recognized national organization, the Pentecostal Church of God.⁹⁴

While addressing the schism within his church organization, Lake also had to face government prosecution. In July 1921 Lake and son Otto were arrested for an alleged violation of the Oregon Blue Sky Law. The Lakes purportedly sold stock without the requisite permit. Lake owned a controlling interest in a silver and gold

mine called the Leadville Milling and Mining Company, organized in 1920 in Spokane with headquarters in Kitchener, British Columbia. The company owned a few undeveloped claims in British Columbia, years away from productivity. Otto Lake was the principal agent in marketing the enterprise. Lake supposedly offered the shares to John H. Broetje and wife, members of his congregation, guaranteeing a minimum dividend for the subsequent year. However, when the time to pay transpired, in lieu of paying the cash dividend, Lake only offered additional stock in the mining company. The Broetjes communicated a complaint to the State Corporation Commission and District Attorney, who upon investigation initiated a criminal proceeding.⁹⁵

During the course of the initial investigation, the public authorities were told of another alleged violation by Lake of Oregon securities law. Kenneth G. Olsen, supposedly a former overseer of Lake's Church at Sandpoint, Idaho, asserted in an affidavit that Lake "used his church work to promote his various mining schemes with the idea of first gaining the confidence of people through the ground of religion and then selling to the members of the congregation stock in which he was interested."⁹⁶ To substantiate his charges Olsen produced a letter purportedly written by Lake to a Ben Eastman and wife of Spokane. The correspondence stated that if the couple paid tithes of five hundred dollars Lake would give them a gift of stock in the mining company. Lake further allegedly asserted the company over the next year would raise the price of the securities such that investors would realize a significant capital gain. Lake purportedly asked that the offer be kept confidential so as not to "arouse jealousy." He also supposedly stated the couple should deem his

offer "the fulfillment of God's promise to him who faithfully and honestly keeps covenant with God in tithing."⁹⁷

The Oregon Blue Sky Law was introduced after the U.S. Supreme Court case that upheld the right of states to control schemes "which had no more substance than so many feet of blue sky."⁹⁸ The law was typical of those controls implemented as a component of the Progressive political movement seeking to make financiers more accountable to public scrutiny and accepted standards of fair play. Such state security regulations predated federal controls by about two decades. The act required registration of securities sold within the state, set forth certain exempt transactions, mandated the registration of broker-dealers and addressed fraudulent misrepresentations in the sale and marketing of equities. Both criminal and civil causes of action were available for enforcement against violations. Civil actions could be brought by victimized purchasers of nonregulated, nonexempt securities seeking to recoup the price paid for the stock plus interest and litigation costs.⁹⁹

Upon issuance of the arrest warrants, the Lakes were detained in the city jail overnight pending posting of appropriate bail. The following day the Lakes posted bond (reduced from the initial amount of twenty-five hundred to one thousand dollars) which was probably raised by loyal congregants. Addressing a crowd of over seven hundred and fifty supporters gathered at a skating rink owned by Otto, Lake declared:

I am a Christian, and cannot retaliate by bringing counter claims, but...six Portland businessmen who are acquainted with my work and have confidence in me have subscribed to a fund of \$10,000.00 which is to be used to delve to the

bottom of these charges which have been brought against me.¹⁰⁰

Lake's supporters formed a committee to pronounce his innocence and to contact Olsen and the Broetjes to secure repudiations and retractions of the "false" charges and to require explanation of the complainants' "un-Christian conduct."¹⁰¹ The loyal congregants compared their persecuted pastor to John Wesley, who likewise was frequently at odds with the legal system.¹⁰²

Lake presented both technical and substantive defenses. He maintained the stock he sold the Broetjes was his own property, not shares held by the corporation in inventory or certificates owned by others.¹⁰³ Furthermore, he said the charges used the pretext of purported security law violations, but were actually challenges to his church governance. According to Lake, a traveling evangelist named Ferdinand came to Portland when Lake was away in Spokane and conspired with Olsen to divide the congregation and form their own renegade church. Lake stated the rival ministers raised the unfounded stock sale issues merely as a subterfuge to discredit him.¹⁰⁴ Lake also promised "there would be sensational revelations concerning those who were instrumental in bringing the charges against him..."¹⁰⁵.

The Lakes waived a preliminary hearing and were released on bond to await convening of the grand jury. Further prosecution was dependent upon a determination by the Corporation Commission. Apparently no criminal or civil action came before the courts. The Corporation Commission and district attorney probably declined further prosecution in light of vocal Pentecostal support for the Lakes, the possible reluctance of Olsen and the Broetjes to testify given Lake's mobilization of

congregational opposition and the strength of Lake's technical defense that the transactions were outside the scope of the Blue Sky Law strictly construed.

Even though judicial proceedings were not ongoing, The Oregonian sought to try Lake in the forum of general public opinion, referring to him as a cultist "divine healer" with "a strong, magnetic personality" who "played for notoriety by...spectacular ceremonies" and "skillful press agent work."¹⁰⁶ The paper continued to question Lake's financial and moral integrity. It recorded that Helen F. Thibadeau of Idaho had on 30 December 1920 instituted or threatened a suit against Lake and one of his entrepreneurial associates. Ms. Thibadeau was said to have transferred Lake and his partner shares in the Copper Giant Mining Company as investment capital for mine improvements. The disgruntled investor claimed breach of contract. The claim was reported to have been settled out of court.¹⁰⁷ Remarking on the Westwood alienation of affection suit of three years earlier, the paper noted Lake's "questionable methods of achieving his ends" and asserted that allegations of improprieties were "apparently substantiated," despite the lack of any definitive supportive evidence in public records sufficient to corroborate the journalist's arguably defamatory comment.¹⁰⁸

Criminal proceedings against Lake were not limited to financial matters, and he soon had to contend with charges directly relating to his faith-healing. In April 1921 The Oregonian reported that the condition of a seven-year-old girl, whom Lake treated through faith-healing, had so deteriorated that hospitalization and surgery were required. The child had sustained fractures six months earlier when a toy wagon overturned. The parents, Hanna Anderson and her husband, devoutly

believed in the efficacy of faith-healing and were regular members of Lake's congregation. Mrs. Anderson took her daughter to Lake, who conducted a healing. Following such ministrations the girl was taken for x-rays, a practice customary with Lake to document cures. Lake claimed the x-rays showed the bones were no longer broken. However, the child's suffering had become agonizing. Given the parents refusal to authorize a health department x-ray, the county physician made application to the domestic relations judge for an order compelling such examination, which was then authorized. The mother initially continued to object to any medical treatment for her daughter but was finally persuaded by examination and interpretation of the x-ray. When Lake was confronted by reporters questioning him about his involvement in the girl's treatment, he declared the x-ray he had taken showed no existing injury. Lake stated he would ascertain what doctor took the x-ray he relied upon, but he apparently never disclosed any name. The public health authorities and district attorney did not elect to prosecute Lake.¹⁰⁹

In April 1923 the Portland City Health Officer, Dr. George Parrish, consulted with the district attorney regarding prosecution of Lake following the death of a congregant under the minister's faith-healing care. The deceased, Hanna Anderson, was the same mother who two years earlier initially declined treatment for her daughter's fracture. Mrs. Anderson died of bronchial pneumonia at her home. Lake was in charge of her care but did not call a physician until ten minutes prior to her demise, so a death certificate could be issued. Lake never notified the public health authorities of the infectious disease as required by law.¹¹⁰ Shortly before the woman's death, public health officials became aware of her condition and requested

her husband to authorize medical treatment. The public health physician tried unsuccessfully to persuade Mr. Anderson that both familial obligation and the law mandated treatment. The officials also remonstrated in vain with Lake to get him to convince the spouse to call in a physician.¹¹¹ Dr. Parrish ordered an autopsy that verified Anderson died of pneumonia as stipulated in the death certificate. Dr. Parrish initially declared his intention to charge Lake with manslaughter, asserting the woman's death was attributable to lack of medical care. The public health physician declared:

This is not the first time that the health bureau has been concerned with the so-called healings of Lake. However, heretofore we have never been able to obtain such evidence as we have in this case, and I intend to follow the case to the end.¹¹²

When confronted by reporters, Lake was not at all apologetic about his behavior and made no admissions. On the contrary, he seemed energized by the constitutional issues relating to religious practices raised by the death. He maintained a readiness "to call the bluff" of the city health officer. In addition to the First Amendment protection of religion, Lake set forth a practical defense, asserting he provided full and appropriate care. He said the woman was delirious when he initiated ministerial care. He maintained he could not effect a faith healing because the woman, convinced she would die, was not "receptive to the spirit of God."¹¹³ Lake claimed he had previously healed her invalid condition such that prior to contracting the flu she had "perfect health." He claimed that prior to her death she was provided the "best care" through the services of a trained nurse, a corps of

women experienced in treating the sick (apparently Lake church members affiliated with his healing rooms) and a former chiropractor then working as a minister with Lake's organization.¹¹⁴

The arrest warrant charged Lake with failure to report a communicable disease rather than manslaughter. The lesser charge was pursued after consultation between the city health officer and the district attorney and further evaluation of available evidence.¹¹⁵ Upon notification, Lake turned himself in to the police, posted bond and was released to stand trial.¹¹⁶

Lake was tried in the municipal court. Deputy City Attorney Stadter stated society should not permit "peculiar beliefs [to] override the law." The prosecutor argued that flu victims must be quarantined for the city's protection so that public health authorities do not "get the blame." He concluded with a strident denunciation:

But what are you going to do when a man sits here and says that his belief prohibits him from living up to the law, as "Dr." Lake has said? It's outrageous. If he can heal people let him go his way, but let him also comply with the law.¹¹⁷

Lake, represented by counsel, testified in his own defense. Lake was described in the secular news accounts as "a man of large frame, swarthy complexion and rich attire" wearing a long broadcloth coat. On direct examination, Lake first stated that the nature of the illness was immaterial: "Diagnosis has no bearing in the case." The question was posed by his defense attorney to help establish Lake initially had no knowledge the illness was of an infectious nature as defined by the reporting requirement. Lake then related how on prior occasions he had assisted Mrs. Anderson during illnesses. He had prayed away a blackness in

her extremities, but did not call a doctor in recognition of her religious beliefs and “terror of the medical profession.” Lake elaborated that “All our people are like that.” Further direct examination elicited that a Dr. C. H. Law had examined Anderson two days before her death, but was not authorized to treat her. Lake stated he thought that the physician would make any required public health reporting.¹¹⁸

On cross examination by the deputy city attorney, Lake was asked about fees for faith-healing and responded that he “never charged for a Christian service.” The prosecutor voiced what appeared to be an irrelevant question posed for inflammatory purposes, “Yes, but you get your money eventually and you’re like a doctor except in the manner you get it?” Whether Lake performed medical type services for compensation would only be material in a trial for unauthorized medical practice, not in a case involving failure to report an infectious illness prosecution. Lake responded “I’m a preacher.” Such a reply was a reiteration of Lake’s position that he was only a man of the cloth practicing his religion according to the dictates of his conscience, acting in good faith on a profound, sincerely held belief.¹¹⁹

On redirect, Lake’s attorney asked what course a person should pursue when the infirm were at a point beyond the power of divine healing. Lake responded, “There is no such point. They are often snatched right out of death itself by my prayers.” He then added that despite his religious belief, he would not hesitate to call a physician when the sick wanted such assistance. The testimony concluded with Lake stating that it was against his faith to report cases of illness to public health authorities. Lake’s testimony set forth his belief that religious commitments transcended temporal civil obligations. He felt that a Pentecostal reporting an illness

to the government was tantamount to asserting a lack of ultimate belief in God's power to cure. In the case at hand he also set forth the technical defense that he had no criminal intent to violate the law because he thought the examining doctor had done any required reporting. Nevertheless, he did feel compelled out of dedication to his Pentecostal faith to admit that in no event would he report a communicable disease. Such an admission against interest may well have been the deciding factor in the ultimate guilty verdict.¹²⁰

The emotionalism exhibited in the trial continued even after the court's ruling. Jubilant over the conviction, the city health official thought the case would be both a useful precedent in future prosecutions and a deterrent. Lake was clearly dejected and was consoled by over one hundred of his congregation who attended the trial.¹²¹ Lake continued to maintain that he had a clear constitutional authority to forbid the involvement of health officials in situations where religious convictions were at stake. His counsel, W. N. Gatony, stated the conviction would be appealed.¹²² Two days later Lake appeared in municipal court for sentencing. A fine of fifty dollars was imposed, but upon Lake's agreement not to appeal the conviction it was reduced to twenty-five dollars.

Lake's decision not to appeal, despite his belief that the conviction was unjust, seemed an odd prioritizing of the pragmatic over principle for a preacher usually advocating total devotion to ethics. His payment of the fine arguably was not consistent with his admonition to "not let myself be bribed or coerced into any unrighteous action for my earthly consideration."¹²³ Having found an ideal test case as a potential regional forum for voicing his views on divine healing, Lake seemed to

have lost his nerve or otherwise wavered in his commitment. He did not draw on his South African acquaintance with Gandhian civil disobedience to use the litigation to establish principles and rights. He appeared unwilling to undergo further personal sacrifice. Perhaps he felt his immediate ministerial duties to his confused, disheartened flock required his ultimate allegiance, precluding diversion of energies and funds toward personal vindication. Lake indicated a need to travel to England, stating he might be gone for six months, "maybe forever."¹²⁴

Following the Portland prosecution, Lake shifted the main thrust of his ministry back to Spokane. In that McInturff had gained control of The Church at Spokane, Lake sought to reestablish a sizable church in that city using as a nucleus those remnant congregants loyal to his ministry. Lake attempted to rebuild the Spokane work through "real old fashioned camp meetings along salvation lines" with large choirs and musical accompaniment with violins, pianos, organs and guitars.¹²⁵ Lake's new organization used two names in conducting the ministry - the "Church Elect" and "Holy Ghost Crusaders."¹²⁶ The services followed the Pentecostal traditions initiated at Azusa Street, adopted and evolved by Lake in South Africa and refined in the decade following Lake's return to America. Lake preached from an open Bible, offering commentary on passages illustrated by personal stories, often humorous, the majority of which derived from his African experience. Lake's speaking style was dramatic, theatrical and engaging, relying on modulations, particularly "high pitched vehemens."¹²⁷ While faith-healing and spirit baptisms accompanied by tongues occurred at almost every service, some meetings, designated healing demonstrations, were more specifically devoted to showcasing

cures.

During the Spokane healing demonstrations Lake gave short sermons, gospel songs were sung and persons were called forward to testify to divine cures. Congregants were described as “cured maniacs...former drunkards, morphine fiends, opium eaters, cripples and cancer victims,” “idiots, epileptics and paralytics” and “misery-wretched souls.”¹²⁸ Lake saw subjective narrative accounts as definite proof of the “power of God to work miracles today upon the bodies and souls of men and women.”¹²⁹ Lake called forth those familiar with each cured individual to verify that the healed truly had a preexisting infirmity or disease.¹³⁰ Lake stated, “We will present no testimony which cannot be substantiated, either by the family physician, or by reliable witnesses.”¹³¹ Like enthusiastic believers at Azusa Street and the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, “Hundreds screamed approval on each announcement of a healing,” shouting “Praise God,” “Bless God,” “Begone you devil” and “Bless Preacher Lake!” while “hands waived frantically in the air.”¹³² Sometimes Lake would cajole the congregants into a response, declaring “What’s the matter with you people?” He said when prayers were not answered, “the problem is with you, not with God.”¹³³ Lake then reiterated his calling forth those desiring God’s healing to come forward for prayer and laying on of hands by the presiding clergy and select spirit-filled lay person. Some lost consciousness “under stress of violent prayer.” Demons were cast out, the sick healed, tongues were uttered and visions and prophecies delivered. Commentaries were offered denouncing medicine and certain secular perspectives. For example, Lake expressed his creationist beliefs, ridiculing evolutionists in a straightforward but

humorous manner with the witticism, "Scientists advanced the theory that the appendix was a remnant left over from our monkey stage - but the Lord never monkeys."¹³⁴

Following his return to Spokane in 1924, Lake did not have regular use of any building for services. Halls were rented on a periodic basis and frequent resort was made to large "Gospel tents," perhaps loaned by the Knight Undertaking Parlor.¹³⁵ Lake's emphasis on expanding the ministry by reducing expenses associated with property procurement was consistent with his South African practices that engendered much of the internal dissension in the Apostolic Faith Mission. Leasing rather than buying facilities did offer the most immediate fiscal benefit. By failing to purchase permanent meeting facilities, when Lake was unavailable to shepherd a congregation, no other minister was able to sustain the momentum of the work or pay the costly rental expenses. The congregation was then forced to move from one place to another in an always less beneficial location. Ultimately the congregation dwindled after each move and the entire work folded without the power of the Lake "drawing card".¹³⁶

Day after day through July 1924 Lake's revivals made front page news in The Spokane Press. Given his journalistic background Lake may well have solicited and orchestrated the intensive coverage. Although the articles were sometimes cynical, Lake probably found the free publicity good advertising for his Spokane church. Many attended the highly publicized tent revivals, either out of Christian dedication or as bemused curious spectators.¹³⁷ Lake, calling himself the Apostle, made special efforts to announce events and promote attendance, even planning

transportation for thousands through the Washington Water Power Company street car system. However, to avoid disappointment he cautiously avoided making any predictions about attendance. Lake also promoted services by leading headline-grabbing, spectacular parades comprising hundreds of those "healed by God," bearing banners enumerating the diseases and infirmities overcome. Cars loaned by local dealers displayed other Spokane "miracles of healing."¹³⁸ The secular reporters either documented the events in a dry, matter-of-fact tone or occasionally interjected personal critiques. One account captioned "Miracles Fail, Imp of Tragedy Stalks In Tent" declared "Spellbound watchers in the audience waited for miracles. So far as an unprejudiced observer could see, there were none." The news reports emphasized the human interest aspect of one young girl suffering from an agonizing growth on her neck, refraining from buying candy so as to contribute her pennies. The girl confidently declared, "Rev. Lake will take away her tumors."¹³⁹ Although Lake prayed, her parents' "eyes pleaded in more eloquent terms than Lake...". The girl was not cured and "with the numerous pitiful little scenes like this enacted on every side the imps of tragedy seem to be laughing derisively in their victory." The reporter concluded none were cured and characterized the service as comparable to a Shakespearean tragedy.¹⁴⁰

Lake was back in Portland by the end of 1924 to make perhaps the most important conversion of his American work. Gordon Lindsay, later founder of an organization to be known as Christ For the Nations, was converted by Lake at a special holiday service in which Charles Parham participated as a co-pastor. Lindsay described Parham as not only possessing a powerful ministry, but also

manifesting a keen mind and incomparable eloquence. Like Lake, Parham was able to alternatively rock the audience with laughter, then induce weeping the following moment.¹⁴¹

As he had done with Letwaba, Lake exercised his ability to judge a candidate's ministerial aptitude and encouraged Lindsay to pursue a religious vocation. Lake's assistance to Lindsay was typical of a lifelong promotion of the development of aspiring ministers, particularly youths. Lake apparently felt a duty to expand the ranks of the Pentecostal clergy. However, his uncritical acceptance of gifted preachers into his organization without a rigorous scrutiny sometimes gave rise to rival ministries and schisms. As with Letwaba, Lake's guidance of Lindsay was one of the success stories. Lake and Lindsay shared a common theology and orientation that meshed well. He allowed Lindsay to preach at satellite congregations, and even provided tents for field revivals. Lindsay served only a month-long internship under Lake and the "veritable apostolic ministry" before the older preacher left Portland to conduct a campaign in San Diego. Despite the limited duration of their association, Lindsay was inspired by the "most remarkable person" and "his extraordinary and unusual ministry."¹⁴² Lindsay acknowledged a debt to "Dr. Lake for the rich legacy of faith his ministry brought to my soul during my formative years."¹⁴³

Lake described the three years following his Portland conviction as a period when he was in a "very broken state of health." In addition to waning physical strength, he faced an uncertain financial future, saying, "The devil has robbed me financially..."¹⁴⁴. As a result of these difficulties he may well have experienced what

he diagnosed as one of his “nervous breakdowns.”¹⁴⁵ He declared that after thirty years of “awful strenuousness, and life lived at a pace and a pressure that few men in the world have endured for so long...he simply had to break off and ease up.”¹⁴⁶ Reduced to a “snail’s pace” and “quiet and semi-rest,” he was able to productively use the “forced” inactivity in meditation on an “expanded vision” and a new appreciation of God.¹⁴⁷ Coming to terms with a more tranquil, reduced workload, Lake attempted to establish modest congregations in California and Texas, but was “greatly handicapped for a lack of resources” that placed him “on the rocks.”¹⁴⁸

In California Lake concentrated on a mission in San Diego and initiated meetings with other veteran Pentecostal clergy in convenient locations throughout the state, like Los Angeles, the home of the Azusa Street Revival. Topics included concerns specific to the charismatic movement as well as issues faced by the larger Christian community. The meetings utilized an introspective and critical analysis of the participants’ individual work practices and scrutiny of church objectives. The Pentecostal legacy particularly figured large in the ministers’ thoughts. Lake stated, “...I have always hoped that before we who saw the first glory...passed on, that we would leave behind us something that would at least continue its history...”¹⁴⁹ He bemoaned the failure to realize the full potential for Christian discipleship, stating, “We have rather been an order of cheap evangelism...not worthy in the highest sense of being called Pentecostals.”¹⁵⁰ Concerned over what he perceived was an increasing priority afforded ecclesiastical bureaucracy for the sake of “real Christianity,” particularly as manifested in the Assemblies of God, his consolation was, “Every little man is doing the best he can on a big job.”¹⁵¹ Lake trusted God

had not “changed His mind “ and that the church of Jesus Christ had not become “just a mob.”¹⁵² Perhaps in light of his litigation and his disputes with co-pastors, he admitted his “utter failure to measure up to the stature of Fatherhood in God...”¹⁵³. He willingly acknowledged his own inadequate contributions, declaring, “we have been too small for God’s uses.”¹⁵⁴ He feared that the Pentecostal revival might die out like lesser historical revivals that “...fluttered and sputtered for a few years, then disappeared.”¹⁵⁵ He was especially concerned that the “Second Coming” had not transpired and that his millennialism was perhaps in error: “We are shouting loudly about living until Jesus comes, but one by one our toes are preparing to be grass root extensions.”¹⁵⁶

Lake was critical not only toward himself but toward Parham and other charismatics. Although he acknowledged Parham as the “real father and leader of the Pentecostal forces,” Lake told Parham he was “childish.” Furthermore, Lake noted that Parham’s “overemphasis on the question of false manifestations has done much to break down faith in God for all manifestations.”¹⁵⁷ In that Parham had in a blatant racist manner attacked Seymour’s Azusa Street Mission for purported unbiblical emotionalism and physical enthusiasms, Lake’s statement reflected an endorsement of the black minister’s work and constituted an implicit rejection of Parham’s prejudice. Lake proceeded to attack those bogus charismatic clergy “who did not genuinely believe in spiritual empowerment and who “stoop to such dishonorable little things as no one could believe unless you were on the ground and saw it.” He was concerned that opportunistic charlatans, “little men with little minds (were) trying to fill big men’s places...”¹⁵⁸. Despite his imperfect personal

financial dealings and his tendency to zealously market his faith like a salesman puffing his product, Lake earnestly believed the scriptures. Accordingly, any insincere posturing by purported believers, particularly clergy, was most repugnant.

During the period of questioning and introspection, Lake looked back to his South African experience for strength. He told Parham that he would prefer a ministry in Africa to American work, but financial constraints precluded such a possibility.¹⁵⁹ Corresponding with a South African Pentecostal, Lake reminisced about the profound spiritual anointing that accompanied his African ministry, maintaining "Africa was written in my soul in the days when I was there."¹⁶⁰ He deemed the spiritual powers he possessed in Pretoria to be greater than any other manifested in the Pentecostal movement.¹⁶¹ In the "Boer back country" he witnessed miracles not seen since biblical times. He stated that although the Spokane ministry demonstrated more powerful divine healing, the South African work healed greater numbers.¹⁶² In his U.S. career only occasionally did he evidence "the burning, surging fire of God...as I did in Africa."¹⁶³

Despite fond memories of Africa, Lake was able to analyze his own limitations. He conceded that at the time of his Johannesburg mission, "my soul was not big enough to carry that wonder of God, neither my heart subdued enough."¹⁶⁴ He recognized that when commencing his African evangelism, he and other charismatic leaders were "mere infants in the Holy Ghost life...not sufficiently separated from the spirit of the world" to completely fulfill the divine calling.¹⁶⁵

Lake also reflected on the "strange spirit of jealousy around me in the work in Africa." He still found the adversarialism perplexing even with the benefit of a

decade of hindsight. He admitted he had “pungent” and “strong ideals of what constituted the Kingdom of God and Pentecostal truth.” He did come to recognize that his devoutly held convictions might have blinded him to the different perceptions of other charismatic clergy like Hezmalhalch and Cooper.¹⁶⁶ Facing a storm of unanticipated criticism he felt was totally unfounded, Lake conceded he had “just closed up” and failed to sufficiently enumerate and explain his ministerial activities and objectives. Nevertheless, he still felt he had been generously forgiving of unfounded character assassinations.

Although manifesting the fondest memories of his missionary endeavors, he offered constructive criticism of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa in light of his American experiences. He perceived the Apostolic Faith Mission after his departure as becoming a bureaucracy comparable to the Assemblies of God in the U.S. In the South African work he thought many appreciated order and system more than God’s presence and power. Lake lamented, “You could not make them understand that they were organizing God out of the work.” The resultant denomination was “too nice and smooth and modest and powerless...”¹⁶⁷ He joked that he should have “used a meat ax...to the death on every organizer.”¹⁶⁸

By the late 1920s a fatigued and financially strapped Lake expressed concerns that his ministerial efforts were not evidencing much visible fruit. The Texas work, specifically his Houston church, was disappointing despite considerable resources expended on the fledgling congregation. He conceded he had never before seen “such distracted, petrified, soul-bound saints.” Although a “lovely, Godly group,” the believers were “absolutely ossified.” Lake paradoxically remained

committed to the Houston church despite only modest success, neglecting the more favorable evangelistic opportunities available in his start-up San Diego and established Portland congregations. He admitted being “at a loss to know just why I am in Houston.”¹⁶⁹ Only upon learning of his elder son’s serious injury in an automobile collision did he leave Houston, never to return.¹⁷⁰

In 1928 Lake temporarily left active ministry awaiting remission of a throat condition that made public speaking impossible. As an alternative career he worked in California selling newspaper advertisements, assisted by his two elder sons.¹⁷¹ Lake’s throat appeared to have gradually improved with rest, enabling him to resume preaching in 1929.

Lake did not fare well financially during the generally prosperous boom times of the 1920s. Like many of the marginalized people he served, Lake was not a great beneficiary of the fruits of capitalism. His investments in land and mining equities were speculative, resulting only in unmanageable debt, unsatisfied legal judgments and controversial reflections on his character. What remaining funds Lake possessed, perhaps modest savings either exempt from legal execution, held wholly or in part in his wife’s name, or unknown to his creditors, were wiped out in the crash of 1929. Lake took his further impoverishment in tranquil good humor, although reduced to “his silk suit and his big smile.”¹⁷² When a neighbor asked him how he maintained his optimistic perspective, Lake replied, “I never lost anything but junk. What you have is all that’s left if your enemies drive you out of town naked.”¹⁷³ To Lake, education, talents, spiritual gifts and a personal relationship with God were of ultimate value. The material was just “the other stuff.”¹⁷⁴ Perhaps paradoxically, the

former businessman disdained the pursuit of material wealth for its own sake and even scomed a Christianity emphasizing only social and economic factors to the exclusion or subordination of the spiritual.¹⁷⁵ Although Lake seldom mentioned U.S. politics, instead concentrating on his "Father's business," he did remark on the Great Depression. He was sickened by waste brought about by capitalism gone awry. Lake remarked, "...it takes no great mind to see that something's gone wrong."¹⁷⁶ He was especially pained that apples rotted in California valleys while children went hungry. He pondered why the apples could not be dispensed to the poor, who might even visit the orchards for an enjoyable outing away from urban squalor, with the farmers getting compensation from the government. In a similar vein, Lake also spoke positively of the Works Progress Administration Columbia River Bonneville Dam project. He approved the assertive action taken by the federal government to prime the economic pump through an infusion of fifty million dollars in a project that provided desperately needed work for unskilled and skilled laborers, including three of his sons employed as electrical engineers.¹⁷⁷

In 1930 Lake returned to Oregon to try to revitalize The Church at Portland that had stagnated in his absence. He found the congregation "wrecked, depreciated in faith, and the fire of God gone out of it..."¹⁷⁸. The task of regenerating the congregation was deemed harder than initiating ministries in new fields. Nevertheless, he tried to persevere, working with a staff of seven, busily conducting afternoon and evening services every day.¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately, Lake was unable to keep up with such a demanding workload. A declining vitality precluded Lake from matching his spiritual vision with the physical strength necessary for its

implementation.¹⁸⁰ Discouraged at his efforts to continue an independent ministry and struggling with heart problems and occasional blindness, a “burdened” Lake affiliated with the Pentecostal Church of God, Northwest District.¹⁸¹

The question arises why Lake affiliated with an established denomination after pursuing an independent Pentecostal ministry. Although very loosely associated with Seymour’s Azusa Street Mission and funded through Pentecostal journal solicitations, Lake maintained an autonomous mission with his Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. Returning to America, he attended organizational meetings of the Assemblies of God, but never joined that denomination. The church of Spokane and the church of Portland and affiliated healing rooms were autonomous creations, united at least in theory under his International Apostolic Congress. Moreover, Lake repeatedly denounced ecclesiastical organization and structures in both South Africa and the U.S., feeling rigidity could curtail the full, spontaneous expression of the Holy Spirit. Lake’s distrust of excessive bureaucracy reflected his Methodist heritage and respect for Wesley’s itinerant ministry and the simplicity of the biblical church. Given such an orientation, Lake’s association with the Pentecostal Church of God so late in life may have seemed perplexing. However, his health had greatly deteriorated and he no longer felt able to undertake the rigors of a stand alone ministry. He also found the Pentecostal Church of God to be a charismatic entity without objectionable dogma. The organization’s emphasis on “Proclaiming Bible truth in Pentecostal Power” was fully consistent with Lake’s theology.¹⁸²

Although Lake had not affiliated with the Pentecostal Church of God prior to

1930, he was receptive to its theology and liturgy. Lake did not attend the 1919 organizational meeting of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, but was friendly with John C. Sinclair, a founder and first General Moderator. Lake knew Sinclair from their mutual association with Dowie's Christian Catholic Church. Sinclair was one of the first in Chicago to experience spirit baptism, and in 1906 a Pentecostal revival had commenced in his Chicago church. With both men residing in the same vicinity, Sinclair may well have been significant in encouraging and promoting Lake's initial involvement in the Pentecostal movement. The association continued throughout their lives. Promptly upon returning to America in 1913, Lake visited Sinclair in Chicago 'hungry for fellowship'.¹⁸³ Lake clearly valued Sinclair's counsel, stating, "There was such a passion in my heart to hear his words and assimilate his thoughts...". Lake honored Sinclair as one of the "original missionaries of the Gospel."¹⁸⁴ In the 1920s the two co-pastored, both appearing as key speakers at events like the Convention of Pentecostal Assemblies, the predecessor of the Pentecostal Church of God. Moreover, Lake's articles and sermons were frequently published by that organization's periodical, The Pentecostal Herald.¹⁸⁵ Although Sinclair was no longer active with the organization by the late 1920s, Lake found the Pentecostal Church of God to be a supportive and comfortable home. By July 1930 Lake was a featured speaker at the northwest district conference of the Pentecostal Church of God.¹⁸⁶ Lake's association with the Pentecostal Church of God was mutually beneficial, with Lake obtaining sorely needed funding while the organization enjoyed the services of a veteran charismatic with international evangelism experience and loyal followers in two principal cities of the northwest

district, Portland and Spokane. With such denominational support, after a lifetime of itinerant evangelism, Lake decided to return to Spokane, the place he most considered home. He planned to acquire a church facility and continue his divine healing ministry through revivals, church services, demonstrations and healing rooms.

Lake had not initially contemplated relocating to Washington State, even though he had decided to leave Oregon. He had recently conducted a successful summer evangelical campaign with fellow minister G. Calvin Peterson in Alberta, Canada. Lake was particularly impressed with ministerial opportunities available in the Gooseberry Lake vacation area. "Unsettled in his soul," he prayed and felt God wanted him in Spokane, not Canada. God called Lake to that city "where I originated my work when I first returned from Africa."¹⁸⁷

The move and house-hunting went smoothly. Gordon Lindsay assisted Lake in the logistical planning necessary for relocation to Spokane and may have actually driven the Lakes during the move. The Lakes acquired a modest home at 1523 West Indiana Street, a simple and unpretentious craftsman-style one-and-a-half story bungalow with a large dormer featuring a double window. A full front porch under roof provided Lake a place to relax and meet with church members.

After the loss of his first wife in Africa and the ensuing tumultuous challenges of a harried single parent raising a large family in a foreign land, the relatively tranquil domestic life at Spokane was pleasant and productive. Lake frequently invited guests home (generally without notice to his wife Florence). The home was lively with his own children and their friends. Lake let the younger children crawl in

his bed where he read the “funnies” and inquired about their activities. Often Lake brought picnic foods, like watermelons, as treats for his family and neighborhood youngsters.¹⁸⁸

Despite his deteriorating health, Lake experienced a revitalization, resulting in a vigorous revival-style evangelism reminiscent of his South African mission. Spokane commentators described him as a “big, powerful man” with “lots of lung power” who interspersed prayer with stomping and cries of “bless God.” He was noted for possessing a “strong spirit” with a “considerate, paternal demeanor.” He remained very active in personally healing and counseling congregants, often driving miles to visit the homebound in his Model A Ford bearing the placard “Dr. John G. Lake, Miracle Healing Power.”¹⁸⁹

In reorganizing his ministry Lake initially used leased facilities at the former First Evangelical Church situated on the corner of Fourth and McClellan Streets. Witnessing a significant growth in the congregation, Lake then purchased a “big Spokane tabernacle and three adjoining houses” to be used in conjunction with the rented facility at Fourth and McClellan.¹⁹⁰ Under Lake the newly acquired structure situated at Sharp and Lincoln Streets became known as the Apostolic Tabernacle or Big Tabernacle.¹⁹¹ The white stucco building was a contemporary adaptation of mission style architecture with some art deco features such as Cuban glass windows. An American Southwestern bell tower dominated the front perspective. The structure perhaps appeared more imposing than its actual square footage suggested, exhibiting the grandeur of a courthouse more than the customary spirituality of a classical church or stained glass gothic chapel.

Lake opened his revitalized Spokane Apostolic Faith ministry at the "Big Tabernacle" with a theatrical flourish. Like Aimee Semple McPherson's use of stage props and flamboyant attire to enhance spectator interest, Lake decided to don the outfit of a fictitious "great Christian mystic," Abdul Ben Shinandar. Advertisements were run announcing the appearance of "our Great Arab preacher and Bible story teller in native costume."¹⁹² An individual was pictured in floor length, dark flowing robes, white pants and a turban. The "princely Arabian" wore a curly dark beard reaching halfway down the chest. Other facial hair visibly obscured Lake's face. The Ben Shinandar character did speak at the opening, introduced by a lay member of Lake's congregation. Several days after the appearance the local paper disclosed that the Arab mystic was Lake. The reporter seemingly did not fully realize that Lake's "masquerade" was done in jest as an obvious promotional stunt rather than any attempt to seriously mislead spectators. When confronted, Lake eventually admitted he was the mystic personage, and when questioned whether the "Arab storyteller" would make further appearances, humorously responded, "I can't say for sure. You see, he hasn't been going over very well." Lake than jokingly proceeded to relate that he was a registered member of the Society of Arab Story Tellers, having been admitted in 1911. Lake also claimed an acquaintance with Lawrence of Arabia during the period that illustrious figure served with the British Army. Lake purportedly met Lawrence on an Arabian excursion financed by W.T. Stead of London. Undoubtedly Lake was fabricating the whole Arabian adventure for the reporter's benefit. No credible chronology existed that might support the tall tale. Stead, the editor of the London Review of Reviews, did supposedly know Lake and

may well have contributed to his ministerial travels, but no evidence suggested any Middle Eastern visit. Although Lawrence was an archaeologist with Sir Leonard Wooley during the 1911-1912 period Lake referred to, Lawrence did not serve in a military capacity until late 1914, more than a year after Lake's return to America from his overseas mission.¹⁹³

In his 60s Lake looked older than his actual age, having lived a vigorous and exhausting life with only modest material comforts. Particularly in South Africa, but also in his American ministry, he frequently subordinated his own well-being to promote church work. His generosity often was not prudently tempered to accord with appropriate self-interest.¹⁹⁴ Although lacking his previous "dynamic touch," Lake actively continued his ministry, conducting faith cures in his healing rooms, preaching in the Tabernacle, calling on the homebound in his car emblazoned with church advertisements, and utilizing radio to reach a large audience with minimal expenditure of his diminished personal energy.¹⁹⁵

By 1934 an elderly Lake was named superintendent of the northwest district of the Pentecostal Church of God. Lake enthusiastically embraced the arrangement, declaring:

It is now God's pleasure to give me a new day of opportunity in association with the Pentecostal Church of God and to the end that God may anoint my soul anew with Heaven's power for blessing on a great territory including the states of Washington and Oregon, and the Panhandle of Idaho.¹⁹⁶

The Pentecostal Messenger, official publication of the Pentecostal Church of God, in announcing Lake's appointment highlighted his African evangelism. He was said to

be the first American Pentecostal preacher to visit South Africa and was credited as being founder of the Apostolic Faith Mission. The account claimed the Lake-inspired movement fathered "550 European Churches, and over 1000 European preachers, besides a vast body of Native Pentecostal Christians, and 1500 Native preachers."¹⁹⁷ The article, based on information supplied by Lake, demonstrated he continued to show little regard for factual accuracy, greatly exaggerating his contributions as a missionary to South Africa.

Whether Lake's district superintendent position was an honorary designation commemorating his decades of evangelism or rather an active administrative duty posting was uncertain. To qualify as a district superintendent, the candidate had to possess at least seven years clergy experience with a minimum of three years work as an ordained Pentecostal Church of God minister. Lake met such standards, having affiliated with the denomination in 1931. As a district superintendent Lake was charged with the general oversight of the designated geographic area that comprised at least ten churches. His appointment, made at the district convention, was for a two- year duration. All ministers within the specified locale were to report monthly to Lake as district superintendent. The Pentecostal Church of God, with its representative form of governance, afforded each district convention and the respective chief executive administrator, the district superintendent, considerable autonomy and discretion in regulation and policy formulation consistent with the bylaws of the organization.¹⁹⁸

Lake's association with the Pentecostal Church of God seemed primarily a nominal arrangement, but was important for funding and organizational support of

the Spokane work. Lake's only documented duties were basically limited to serving as a high visibility speaker at denominational conventions and special services. He continued to advertise his Spokane work as if it was a stand alone ministry, without reference to the Pentecostal Church of God. His work was called the "Apostolic Faith," the same name Parham and Seymour used for their ministry and the title Lake employed in South Africa. Anticipating that he was "near the finish line," Lake may well have enjoyed the security of an association with an established denomination and the ensuing opportunities for organizational support while retaining practically unlimited autonomy.¹⁹⁹

Around mid-year 1935 Lake prepared and delivered a series of radio lectures entitled "Adventures in Religion." He epitomized those evangelicals who utilized radio to access a large audience in a cost efficient manner. Unlike many ministers representing mainline denominations affiliated with the Churches of Christ in America, Lake took full advantage of both free and purchased airtime made available through the Radio Act of 1927. He readily embraced the technology as a ministerial tool, unhindered by the reticence evidenced by some mainline traditionalists wedded to the in-person church service. The lectures were a fitting conclusion to his lifetime of Christian service, with each of the twelve-minute talks constituting a summary of prominent aspects of his applied theology. The talks included characteristic folksy reminiscences of exciting experiences as a pioneer Pentecostal evangelist, especially emphasizing his South African work. In the radio addresses he often talked of revelations he received when in the Transvaal and Cape. The prominence Lake afforded his African years was indicative of the

profound influence the South African mission had on both his liturgy and practical church organization.²⁰⁰

With Africa foremost in his thoughts, in June 1935 Lake wrote to le Roux, his successor as Apostolic Faith Mission president. Lake noted that twenty-two years had passed since he had said goodbye to le Roux at Robertson in the Cape Province. Lake felt compelled to further explain the circumstances surrounding a rather abrupt departure and to update his South African friend regarding subsequent developments. Lake stated he had anticipated a return to Africa, but was precluded from doing so with the advent of the Great War. With the conclusion of the war, Lake had been involved in the “tremendous task” of post-conflict counseling and assistance to soldiers, including his five sons-in-law, in readjustment to civilian conditions.²⁰¹

The correspondence between the two ministers demonstrated Lake's lifetime commitment to a Pentecostal evangelism and sincere, unbridled dedication to and belief in divine healing. Lake related to le Roux his concerns about “Dollar Christianity” and commercialized evangelism. He was particularly disturbed by those Pentecostals who undertook only expeditious healings without an ultimate commitment to an ongoing ministerial relationship with more spiritual and physical challenges. Particularly “obnoxious” was the notion in vogue among some charismatics that sick and infirm congregants were only to be prayed for once and then publicly presented as cured, even if the healing was incomplete.²⁰²

As Lake entered the last few months of his life, his thoughts focused on family. Writing to le Roux, Lake reminisced about the difficult times in Johannesburg

when Jennie's death left him a single parent with "seven babies in a strange country." He fondly described second wife Florence as a "fine Bible teacher." The doting father outlined the careers of his children. Eldest son Alexander was a published writer. Horace, John and Ted were electrical engineers. Otto was a salesman for a California publisher capitalizing on entrepreneurial skills honed in Johannesburg as a youth. Daughter Edna was a homemaker married to a federal civil servant. Irene, the youngest child, excelled as one of the distinguished Washington State teachers. Alexander's children were married so Lake happily anticipated becoming a great grandfather.²⁰³

On Labor Day, September 1935, Lake attended a church picnic with his wife at Mission Park, Spokane. As the women of the church prepared the Sunday School class meal, Lake saw a little girl who seemed eager to eat. He took the child to the food preparation area, saying, "This girl looks hungry to me: you fix her a sandwich right now." Shortly thereafter, feeling poorly and exhausted, Lake left for home, ate supper and rested. He did not attend the scheduled Sunday night service, being prevailed upon by Florence to stay at home and permit the guest speaker to officiate. When Florence arrived home from the meeting, she found Lake had suffered a stroke. He survived for two weeks, mostly unconscious, dying 16 September 1935 at his home, aged sixty-five.²⁰⁴

The Spokesman Review ran a rather brief obituary, describing Lake as "a minister for the Apostolic Tabernacle."²⁰⁵ The Oregon Journal ran an equally succinct obituary stating, "he was known to members of his congregation as a healer as well as a preacher."²⁰⁶ Although such modest announcements might have

appeared to Lake's congregants as insufficient recognition of a lifelong ministry, Lake may well have been pleased with the fitting and perhaps ultimate praise of the epithet listing him as healer and preacher.

Accounts of the funeral offered greater details and acclamations. In The Spokesman Review Lake was proclaimed a "spectacular figure in the religious world and a leading exponent of divine healing."²⁰⁷ He was stated to be the founder of his own church. No reference was made to the Pentecostal Church of God.²⁰⁸ Lake was identified as "a disciple of John Alexander Dowie." The article incorrectly asserted Lake went to Johannesburg in 1908 as one of Dowie's missionary group and most surprisingly omitted Lake's Pentecostal affiliation. Lake's five years of South African ministry were cited, along with a reference to the death of his first wife, Jennie, in Johannesburg. The account concluded with a discussion of the disagreement with McInturff and the division of the Spokane congregation among the contending ministers.²⁰⁹

The Spokane Press offered a more intimate account of the funeral. Over seven hundred were present, honoring Lake as "founder and bishop of the Apostolic Faith Church." The bereaved, described as both rich and poor, newsboys and clergy, the old and young, crippled and impaired, greatly exceeded the funeral home chapel's seating. Three clergy presided, speaking ardently of their association with Lake. He was praised as a kind and loving father, a devoted husband and an inspired spiritual leader. Appropriately, given Lake's enthusiasm for women's rights, the eulogy was delivered by Rev. Irene M. Poupore, an evangelist who had preached at the Tabernacle following Lake's stroke and who was his first convert in

Spokane two decades earlier. At times almost overcome by emotion, she paid tribute to Jennie Lake who gave her life in an ultimate devotion to African missions. Lake was acknowledged as founder of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, clearly his most enduring ministry and his fondest endeavor. Rev. Poupore concluded, "he found us in sin, sick, in poverty, and in the grip of despair. We had thought victory was up there, but Dr. Lake taught us it was here."²¹⁰ Perhaps a preacher could have had no greater commendation than the love of those to whom he ministered. Lake would probably have liked the remarks and demonstration of affection. Throughout his ministry he sought to bring a Pentecostal message of Holy Spirit endowment to those suffering physically, spiritually and socially, so as to guide the marginalized toward the possibility of a present God-like empowerment.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR, RETURN TO AMERICAN EVANGELISM

1 Letter from John G. Lake to P. L. le Roux, 26 September Apostolic Faith Mission Archives.

2 The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, October 1913, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 8.

3 Ibid., Le Roux, writing as editor of the official Apostolic Faith Mission periodical, announced: "The date of our brother's return to South Africa is as yet quite unknown. Let the brethren pray that the blessing of God may rest upon him both spiritually and physically."

4 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxv, Lake correspondence with M.H. Wright, 5 November 1928. Arriving in England, Lake apparently took the Queen Mary to New York. See letter from John G. Lake III to me dated 21 January 1998.

5 Burger, "Historical Perspective," p. 13.

6 Ibid., p. 24. One of the few Americans in Lake's group to remain in South Africa on an ongoing basis was his brother Wilford, who continued his association in a prominent but subordinate clergy status. See The Pentecostal Herald, January 1921, Vol. 6, No. 11, p. 2.

7 Lindsay, Life and Ministry, p. 22.

8 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. 221, reprinting Lake's sermon, "The Platforms of Jesus." Fockler had been an elder in Mansfield, N.J. and worked with Dowie's Central Zion Tabernacle. See Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 640 and p. 703. Prior to joining the Christian Catholic Church Fockler was a minister in the Church of God. In a letter to Parham, Lake described Fockler as "a fine evangelist, a man of sane mind, and ...one of the growing men in the movement." See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 478, reprinting a 24 March 1927 correspondence.

9 Photographs in the Assembly of God Archives show Lake in a white suit and Fockler in dark attire, both men standing together with open bibles, apparently co-preaching in a meeting hall. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 172-173.

10 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 15, reprinting Dr. Ward Tannenberg's article, "The Healer: Dr. John Graham Lake."

11 Letter from John Graham Lake III to me dated 21 January 1998. Florence was a trim, attractive, youthful brunet. See photographs in the Apostolic Faith Mission Archives posted at [http:// www.afm-ags.org](http://www.afm-ags.org).

12 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 115, 129 and 140, reprinting sermons from these locales.

13 Letter from Lake to Rev. Brooks, 16 June 1916, Assemblies of God Archives.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 The Spokane Review, 26 October 1914, p. 6.

17 In gratitude Lake named a son Livingston Grier ("Jack") Lake, born August 1914, the eldest of five children by Florence. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 31.

18 L. Polk, City Directory (Spokane: L. Polk, 1925), page undesignated. Grier's church still exists as the Unity Church of Truth.

- 19 Blumhoefer, The Assemblies of God, p. 201. See also Wayne W. Warner, "The Call to Hot Springs, Arkansas," in The Assemblies of God Heritage, Spring 1982, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-6.
- 20 See photo of visitors and delegates to the First General Council, 2-12 April 1914, Assemblies of God Archives.
- 21 Blumhoefer, The Assemblies of God, p. 202.
- 22 John A. Hardon, The Spirit and Organization of American Protestantism (Dayton: Pflaum Press, 1968), p. 250.
- 23 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 475-476, printing Lake's letter to Parham, 24 March 1927.
- 24 Conversation between Livingston Grier Lake and me, 15 August 1999. John G. Lake was "disappointed with the Assemblies of God." See correspondence from John G. Lake III to me dated 21 January 1998. In a November 1997 letter, John G. Lake III stated it was Lake's "intent to overcome lines of race and class by washing them away in the Blood of the Lamb." The Assemblies of God became effectively an all-white organization by 1916 with the departure of G. T. Haywood, a Oneness minister. See Synan, Aspects, pp. 151-157.
- 25 Warner, "The Call," p. 6.
- 26 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 477.
- 27 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxiii.
- 28 The Spokesman-Review, Sunday Morning Edition, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.
- 29 Store-front meeting halls in lower class neighborhoods or commercial/ industrial zoned districts were the norm for early charismatic ministries both in America and South Africa. See R. Dennis Heard, For Such a Time as This (Joplin: Messenger Publications, 1969), p. 6.
- 30 The Spokesman-Review, Sunday Morning Edition, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.
- 31 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 17, reprinting Dr. Tannenbergs' article. A comparable Lake car from the 1930s is pictured in Lairdon, p. 525, reprinting an Assemblies of God Archives photo. Dr. Stephen J. Pullum, author of "Foul Demons, Come Out!": The Rhetoric of Twentieth Century American Faith Healing (Westport: Prager, 1999), in a 20 November 1999 conversation with me noted that Aimee Semple McPherson used a comparable vehicle she called the "Gospel car".
- 32 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 25. The commodious structure was situated on Riverside.
- 33 The Spokesman-Review, 14 September 1919, Sunday Morning Edition, page unspecified, a clipping from the local collection, Spokane Public Library.
- 34 Letter to Rev. Brooks, 16 June 1916, Assemblies of God archives.
- 35 The Morning Oregonian, 24 May 1920, vol./no. undesignated, a clipping from the local history collection of the Spokane Public Library. See also Dr. Ronald Huggins' correspondence to me dated 31 August 1999.
- 36 The Spokesman Review, 9 February 1919. See also Lynette lezzoni, Influenza 1918 (New York: TV Books, 1999), pp. 68-69.

37 The Spokesman Review, 3 January 1916, p. 6. Public control measures are addressed in Dept. of Health, Annual Report (Chicago: Dept. of Health), pp. 40-150. See also Jordan Edward, "Influenza" in Public Health Reports, Vol. 34, No. 28, 11 July 1919, pp. 1528-45.

38 Ibid. Fogwell's Dowie work is cited in Leaves of Healing, 1900, Vol. 7, p. 570. See also L. Polk and Co., City Directory (Spokane: L. Polk, 1918), p. 20 and The Spokesman-Review, 19 May 1918, Sunday Morning Edition, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.

39 The Spokane Press, 3 August 1918, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.

40 Ibid., 13 July 1918, page unspecified, and 3 August 1918, page unspecified, both clippings from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.

41 Agnes LeBerge, What God Has Wrought (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), pp. 76-77.

42 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 26; Jack Lake's conversation with me, 15 August 1999. Lake was a "man of compassion" who "never refused a cry for help." See Reidt, Jesus, p. 36. He "believed and trusted everyone implicitly, even to his damage" and was "generous to a fault." He felt a great obligation to care for the poor...". Reidt, Jesus, p. 60.

43 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 30, Ione Eaton interview.

44 The Morning Oregonian, 24 May 1920, p. 4.

45 Rev. Allan Mesko, Sr. and Cindy Mesko notes prepared in the 1980s, provided me by Cindy Mesko, March 2000.

46 The Sunday Oregonian, 23 May 1920, p. 15.

47 The Spokesman-Review, 30 June 1921, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.

48 Ibid.

49 See Elisabeth I. Perry, "Men are from the Gilded Age, Women are from the Progressive Era," posted 31 March 2000 on the internet at <http://www2.h-net.msu.edu>. Although the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was adopted August 1920 giving women the vote, no subsequent Equal Rights Amendment was ratified. Sporadic legislation in the Progressive era looked favorably upon women's interests but typically viewed women paternalistically as fragile creatures needing protection from social and economic rigors, not as equal players in the workplace.

50 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 666, reprinting an Assembly of God Archives photo showing Lake and Spokane Healing Home workers, 1915-1920.

51 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 349, reprinting the sermon "Science of Divine Healing", July 1920 and Lairdon, p. 528, reprinting "Adventures in Religion", Radio Lecture 1, 24 June 1935. "Mother" Etter's charismatic itinerant ministry in the 1890s ranged the South and Midwest, predating even Dowie and Parham. She was a dedicated feminist who on occasion dealt harshly with antagonists. She championed women's rights long before the American women's suffrage movement gained national recognition in the twentieth century. See Synan, Aspects, p. 189. Lake admired McPherson for her vivacious, innovative, theatrical methods of presenting Scripture

and the Pentecostal message. Both Lake and McPherson shared a rhetorical style that placed higher priority on securing the congregants' attention than providing a purely factual academic presentation. See Pullam, "Foul Demons, Come Out!", pp. 6-24.

52 Various religious groups have attempted to revive the organization over the years. In the 1980s Lake's adopted daughter exercised control, while a rival faction led by Lake's daughter Gertrude and son-in-law Wilford Reidt claimed rightful administrative authority. Currently a West Coast organization led by Wayne Anderson is attempting to reorganize the entity. See Rev. Allen Mesko notes, circa 1980s, provided me by Cindy Mesko.

53 Synan, Aspects, pp. 151-157.

54 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 476, reprinting Lake's correspondence with Parham, 24 March 1927.

55 Lake's letter to Eugene Brooks dated 16 June 1916, and Brooks' reply dated 1 July 1916, from the Assemblies of God Archives.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 One Pentecostal observed, "Dr. Lake's ministry was unusual-to say the least," describing the work as "sometimes controversial but always unique." See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 21, reprinting Dr. Ward Tannenbergs article.

59 The Spokane Press, 15 June 1918, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.

60 Lindsay, John G. Lake-Apostle to Africa, p. 54.

61 The Spokane Better Business Bureau records were lost in a 1955 fire, so no documentation exists other than Lake's contentions.

62 The Spokane Press, 13 July 1918, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection of the Spokane Public Library.

63 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 969, reprinting "My Consecration as a Christian".

64 Bert E. Hilborn, Plaintiff vs. John G. Lake and Florence W. Lake, his wife, Defendants, in the Superior Court of the State of Washington for the County of Spokane, civil file no. 57414, Office of the Clerk of Court, Spokane, Washington, 25 June 1918.

65 Information regarding the Westwood's divorce was provided me by Dr. Ronald Huggins in correspondence dated 20 August 1999.

66 The Comforter and Messenger of Hope, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 8.

67 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 969.

68 The Oregonian, 24 July 1921, p. 8. After 1918 the city directories no longer listed Westwood as vice-president of the Divine Healing Institute or mentioned him in any capacity in Lake's organization. The controversial divorce and threatened alienation of affection action undoubtedly took a toll on Westwood and complicated any ongoing participation in Lake's ministry.

69 John G. Lake and Florence W. Lake, husband and wife, Plaintiffs, vs. 500 taxicab Company, a corporation, Defendant, in the Superior Court of the State of Washington for the County of Spokane, civil file no. 58640, Office of the Clerk of Court, Spokane, Washington, 7 January 1919.

- 70 Joseph A. Martin, Plaintiff vs. John G. Lake, Defendant, in the Superior Court of the State of Washington for the County of Spokane, civil file no. 60400, Office of the Clerk of Court, Spokane, Washington, 16 September 1919.
- 71 The Morning Oregonian, 24 May 1920, p. 4. See also The Sunday Oregonian, 23 May 1920, p. 15.
- 72 The Sunday Oregonian, 23 May 1920, p. 15.
- 73 The Morning Oregonian, 24 May 1920, p. 4. Baskets were positioned at the doors for free will offerings, but few contributed.
- 74 Copeland, John G. Lake, pp. 39-41.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 The Pentecostal Herald, January 1921, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 3. By late twentieth century, Reidt reported "no one in the archives knew of Letwaba...". See correspondence of Gertrude Lake Reidt and Wilford Reidt to Cindy Mesko, 24 October 1983.
- 77 The Oregonian, 27 June 1920, p. 20. The parsonage was located at 92 East Sixty-ninth Street. See The Sunday Oregonian, 24 July 1921, p. 1.
- 78 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 662, reprinting the sermon, "Is It Worth the Price?"
- 79 The Oregonian, 27 June 1920, p. 20.
- 80 Spokane Daily Chronicle, 25 May 1918, p. 7. The advertisement was headlined, "The Church at Spokane invites you to hear our pastor John G. Lake God's Big Soul of whom a leading Spokane preacher has said: He is a man with a ministry more like Jesus Christ than any other man I ever knew." Lindsay, Reidt and some other Pentecostals discussing Lake from a religious orientation have mis-attributed the source of the commendation to Andrew Murray and Gandhi.
- 81 L. Polk, City Directory, (Spokane: L. Polk, 1921), page unspecified; The Spokesman-Review, 22 April 1929, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection of the Spokane Public Library.
- 82 Dr. Ronald Higgins' correspondence with me, 24 March 2001.
- 83 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 665, reprinting "Is It Worth the Price?".
- 84 The Oregonian, 24 July 1921, p. 8.
- 85 The Oregonian, 27 June 1920, p. 20. See also correspondence by Dr. Ronald Huggins to me, 24 August 1999.
- 86 Polk, City Directory, page unspecified.
- 87 The Oregonian, 26 August 1922, p. 2.
- 88 The Spokesman-Review, 17 September 1935, page unspecified, in an article captioned "Lake Dies After Stroke," a clipping available in the Assemblies of God Archives. See also Polk, City Directory, page unspecified. McInturff continued to be called the minister of The Church at Spokane long after Lake died.
- 89 The Pentecostal Herald, January 1921, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 2.
- 90 The Oregonian, 26 August 1922, p. 2.
- 91 Dr. Ronald Huggins correspondence with me, 23 and 24 March 2000.
- 92 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 510, reprinting Lake's "Address of Welcome to Northwest District Conference of the Pentecostal Church of God," 15 July 1930. See also The Pentecostal Messenger, 15 September 1934, Vol. 7, No. 10, p. 1.
- 93 Ronald Huggins correspondence with me, 23 and 24 March 2000.

- 94 Ibid.
- 95 The Sunday Oregonian, 24 July 1921, p. 1.
- 96 Pentecostal denominations generally did not have any ethical mandates or disciplinary rules for clergy prohibiting a minister from engaging in financial dealings with congregates. Prominent organizations like the Assemblies of God and Pentecostal Church of God still have no such standards.
- 97 The Oregonian, 14 August 1921, p. 12.
- 98 Hall v. Geiger-Jones Co., 242 U.S. 539 (1917), Government Printing Office, Washington.
- 99 State securities law are discussed on the Oregon Secretary of State website, Corporate Division, <http://sosinet.sosstate.or.us>. The Peck, Shaffer and Williams firm also maintains a site addressing Blue Sky law, at <http://peck-shaffer.com>.
- 100 The Oregonian, 25 July 1921, p. 5.
- 101 The Oregonian, 26 July 1921, p. 6. The Broetjes were reported to have brought a civil suit in addition to serving as witnesses for the criminal prosecution. See The Oregonian, 24 July 1921, p. 1.
- 102 Ibid. Wesley was said to have been indicted fourteen times and eventually deported from Ireland.
- 103 The Oregonian, 23 July 1921, pp. 1-2.
- 104 Ibid., 25 July 1921, p. 5.
- 105 Ibid. Lake did not disclose details of the "sensational revelations".
- 106 Ibid., 24 July 1921, p. 1.
- 107 Ibid., 23 July 1921, pp. 1-2.
- 108 Ibid., 25 July 1921, p. 5.
- 109 Ibid., 27 April 27, 1921, p. 14.
- 110 The Spokesman Review, 4 April 1923, p. 1.
- 111 The Oregonian, 7 April 1923, p. 15.
- 112 The Spokesman Review, 4 April 1923, p. 1.
- 113 The Oregonian, 5 April 1923, p. 7.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid., 7 April 1923, p. 15.
- 116 Ibid., 8 April 1923, p. 21.
- 117 Ibid., 18 May 1923, page unspecified, a clipping in the Assemblies of God Archives captioned "'Dr.' Lake Found Guilty of Laxity". The post-trial commentary is set forth in The Oregonian, 19 May 1923, p. 8.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 The Oregonian, 19 May 1923, p. 8.
- 123 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 969.
- 124 The Oregonian, 19 May 1923, p. 8.
- 125 The Spokane Press, 4 July 1924, page unspecified, and 7 July 1924, page unspecified, clippings from the local history collection of the Spokane Public Library.

- 126 The Spokane Press, 10 July 1924 and 23 August 1924, pages unspecified, clippings from the local history collection of the Spokane Public library.
- 127 Ibid., 18 July 1924, p. 1.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Ibid., 11 July 1923, a clipping from the local history collection of the Spokane Public library.
- 130 Ibid., 5 July 1924, a clipping from the local history collection of the Spokane Public library.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Ibid., 23 July 1924, p. 1.
- 133 Ibid., 8 July 1924, p. 1.
- 134 Ibid., 18 July 1924, p. 1.
- 135 Ibid., 5 July 1924, p. 1. The tents were erected on a leased lot on the corner of Chelan and Ash.
- 136 Mrs. Gordon (Freda) Lindsay's letter to me, 27 August 1997.
- 137 The Spokane Press, 10 July 1924, p. 1.
- 138 Conversation between L.G."Jack" Lake and me , 15 August 1999. An undated clipping from The Spokane Press captioned "'Healed By God" to Parade Saturday In Streets Of Spokane" is available at the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.
- 139 The Spokane Press, 22 July 1923, page unspecified, a clipping from the local history collection, Spokane Public Library.
- 140 Ibid., 23 July 1923, p. 1.
- 141 Gordon Lindsay, God's Twentieth Century Bamabas-The Gordon Lindsay Story (Dallas: Christ For the Nations, 1982), p. 38.
- 142 Ibid., pp. 44-46.
- 143 Lindsay, The John G. Lake Sermons on Dominion Over Demons, Disease and Death, p. 4. While suffering from ptomaine poisoning, Lindsay read a collection of Lake sermons that he found most inspirational in his time of need.
- 144 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 476, reprinting Lake's letter to Parham, 24 March 1927.
- 145 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxv, printing Lake letter to M.H. Wright of Johannesburg, 5 November 1928.
- 146 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 476.
- 147 Ibid. See also Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxvii.
- 148 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 478-480.
- 149 Ibid., p. 474.
- 150 Ibid., p.478.
- 151 Ibid., p. 475.
- 152 Ibid., p. 477.
- 153 Ibid., p. 475.
- 154 Ibid., p. 477.
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 Ibid., p. 478.
- 157 Ibid., pp. 475-476.

- 158 Ibid., p. 478.
- 159 Ibid.
- 160 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxi.
- 161 Ibid., p. xxxiii.
- 162 Ibid., p. xxxii.
- 163 Ibid., p. xxxiii.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Ibid., p. xxxvii.
- 166 Ibid., p. xxxii.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 478.
- 170 Ibid., John G. Lake, p. 21, reprinting Dr. Ward M. Tannenbergs brief biographical sketch, "The Healer: John Graham Lake."
- 171 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 32, quoting a letter by Jack (L.G.) Lake, 15 November 1989. Lake's condition was called "preacher's throat" in late nineteenth/early twentieth century parlance.
- 172 John G. Lake III correspondence with me, 16 September 1997.
- 173 Ibid.
- 174 Ibid. For example, Lake's principal antagonism with the Ethiopian Church was based on what he perceived to be an emphasis on politics and materialism over spiritualism. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 512.
- 175 Ibid. Also see Lake correspondence to le Roux dated 20 June 1935, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Johannesburg.
- 176 John G. Lake III's correspondence with me, 12 October 1997.
- 177 Ibid.
- 178 Copeland, John G. Lake, p. xxxv. Although Lake made an April 1928 effort to revive the Portland congregation, he did not launch a concerted reorganization until 1930.
- 179 Ibid. See also Lake correspondence to le Roux dated 20 June 1935, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Johannesburg.
- 180 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 21.
- 181 The Pentecostal Church of God was organized in 1919 as the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World by charismatics not electing to associate with the Assemblies of God. Rather than major theological differences, the two organizations remained separate primarily due to the Assemblies of God failure to endorse The Pentecostal Herald, edited by George C. Brinkman, as its official publication. Brinkman also served as first general secretary of the ensuing Pentecostal Assemblies. See Dennis R. Heard, "For Such A Time As This" (Joplin: Messenger Publications, 1969), p. 3.
- 182 Pentecostal Church of God, General Constitution and Bylaws (Joplin: Messenger Publishing House, 1996), p. 28. Ronald R. Minor, general secretary, informed the dissertation writer in 20 March 1998 that the referenced provisions remained unchanged since Lake's membership in 1930.

- 183 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 331, reprinting "Salvation: God's Big Word", a sermon delivered at the Chicago Pentecostal Convention, 16 July 1920.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 478, printing Lake's letter to Parham, 24 March 1927.
- 186 The Pentecostal Herald, January 1921, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 1. See also a photograph of Lake and John Sinclair sitting at a table, circa 1920s, Assemblies of God Archives.
- 187 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 510.
- 188 Dr. Ronald Huggins' conversation with L. G. (Jack) Lake, 12 August 1999. Lake's son subsequently indicated he might have confused Lindsay's role in the relocation with a different excursion. See also Lake's correspondence with le Roux, 29 June 1935, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Johannesburg.
- 189 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 27, an interview with Alice Fritsch.
- 190 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 27-29, lone Eaton and Alice Fritsch interviews.
- 191 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 32.
- 192 The Spokane Daily Chronicle, 7 November 1931, p. 7. See also conversation with Rev. Ray Kirschke, 25 October 1998.
- 193 Spokesman-Review, 21 November 1931, p. 9. See also The Spokane Daily Chronicle, Empire Edition, 25 November 1931, p. 1.
- 194 Stead died on the Titanic, 15 April 1912.
- 195 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 32, L. G. Lake interview, 15 November 1989; The Pentecostal Messenger, 15 September 1934, Vol. 7, No. 10, p. 1.
- 196 The Pentecostal Messenger, 15 September 1934, Vol. 7, No. 10. P. 1. The South African information was apparently provided the editor by Lake. The figure on church membership and clergy were unsubstantiated.
- 197 Pentecostal Church of God, General Constitution and Bylaws, Article Eleven.
- 198 On 20 March 1998, when the dissertation writer discussed Lake with Ronald Minor, General Secretary, a highly regarded church historian, Rev. Minor was quite knowledgeable about the Lake/Sinclair friendship, but was unaware that Lake served in any active capacity with the denomination. The Apostolic Faith reference appears in The Oregon Journal, 16 September 1935, p. 6. See also Lake correspondence with le Roux dated 20 June 1935, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Johannesburg.
- 199 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 526-557.
- 200 Lake's correspondence with le Roux dated 20 June 1935, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Johannesburg. A discussion of the origin and evolution of American religious radio broadcasting from the 1920s through the 1950s is set forth in Tona J. Hangen, Redeeming the Dial: Radio, Religion and Popular Culture in America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
- 201 Ibid.
- 202 Ibid.
- 203 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 31, lone Eaton interview.
- 204 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 21-22, reprinting Tannenberg. See also The Spokesman Review, 17 September 1935, p. 12.
- 205 The Spokesman Review, 17 September 1935, p. 12.

- 206 The Oregon Journal, 16 September 1935, p. 6.
207 The Spokesman Review, 17 September 1935, p. 12.
208 Ibid.
209 Ibid.
210 The Spokane Press, 19 September 1935, page unspecified, local history collection, Spokane Public Library.

CHAPTER FIVE

LAKE THE PREACHER AND THEOLOGIAN

An analysis of Lake's sermons and correspondence affords opportunities to consider his preaching and theology. As a preacher he combined the dramatic narrative testimony of William Seymour's slave inspired worship and ecstatic South African black Zionism with the faith healing emphasis of John Alexander Dowie. Although Lake as theologian evidenced consistency with his Wesleyan/Holiness/Apostolic Faith background, he was surprisingly innovative in developing a rather ecumenical Pentecostalism that demonstrated the strong influence of Augustine of Hippo and other early church fathers.

Dr. Stephen J. Pullum, in his "Foul Demons, Come Out", asserted that twentieth century American healing revivalists could be distinguished by their own unique rhetorical tradition. Although not mentioned in the Pullum study, an analysis of Lake's rhetoric using the Pullum methodology is useful. Pullum defined rhetoric as a means of persuasion or influence, either verbal or nonverbal, spoken or written. In considering rhetoric the observer was to report what had occurred, interpret the communication event and appraise the discourse. Elements considered included development, organization, style, memory and delivery.¹ This dissertation considered the following, utilizing the Pullum model:

- How did the speaker Lake look?
- How did he act when discoursing?

- What was the content of his communication?
- In what manner did he speak?
- To whom did he speak and how was he received by that audience?

Lake always placed considerable emphasis on his appearance, shown in his neat grooming and attire. He dressed to impress. Around 1900 at age thirty Lake probably weighed about 190 pounds, a somewhat stocky physique for his five foot, eleven inches. At that time he wore a fashionable mustache and trimmed beard. At age fifty-three he was described as "a man of large frame, swarthy complexion and rich attire."² In photographs he always wore a suit. He appeared in either a dark bow tie or a shirt buttoned to the neck. The shirt was always a white dress style. The suits were either dark blue/black or white. On some occasions white shoes were worn with both light and dark suits. Lake was always proud of his fine suits. When dressing each day, he habitually looked in the mirror, pointed to his image, and exclaimed, "God lives in that man in that suit of clothing, and where that suit of clothes goes, God goes."³ By the time of the 1906 Azusa Street Revival, Lake retained only the mustache, having shaved his beard. He removed his mustache sometime during his 1908-1913 South African mission. From 1913 through the remainder of his life, he was clean-shaven. At all times his hair was moderately short, never extending over the ears. Although his hair remained thick, he had grayed by 1930, five years prior to his death. He was always photographed bareheaded. All pictures of worship services show him with solemn, forceful, discerning countenance, never smiling, usually holding a Bible.

Lake was a most articulate speaker.⁴ Without loudspeakers, he addressed congregants in a loud voice, even when praying. His talking was often accompanied by stomping of his feet. He frequently shouted, then modulated to a lesser tone. He excelled at mimicry which he used to illustrate his addresses. His presentations were enthusiastic and lively.⁵ He did not seek to avoid confrontation, evidencing a willingness to “take on anyone, anytime, anywhere.”⁶ His style did not allow compromise or retreat. Contemporaries noted “he would never back down” and “he had no fear.”⁷

Lake was often more enthusiastic than organized. He generally spoke without elaborate notes. Formal preparation and structure were subordinate to dramatic demonstration and narrative. As a speaker Lake was “a strong, rugged character” but lacked a teacher’s attributes.⁸ In his African ministry Lake participated with Tom Hezmalhalch in team presentations. Lake delivered driving, fearless messages, while Hezmalhalch followed up with “more lucid teachings.”⁹ Lake excelled at “rough and ready” theatrics, preferring to concentrate on performing healings. He often deferred to Hezmalhalch for more traditional sermonizing.¹⁰

Like his Holiness predecessors and in the tradition of his experience in Dowie’s Christian Catholic Church, Lake preached using a narrative style. He frequently presented personal experiences or third party testimonies addressing scriptural themes. His stories were either allegorical, employing commonplace occurrences to illustrate biblical teachings, or autobiographical, fostering camaraderie and credibility with his audience. Such a format was fully consistent with Pentecostal narrative theology emphasizing experience of the Holy Spirit over

academic discussions and adherence to formal doctrines and structured liturgy. Lake on occasion delivered traditional structured sermons typical of Protestant worship, setting forth one or more concepts organized in support of a common thesis, supported by scripture and references to recognized religious authorities, particularly John Wesley. Other favorites frequently encountered in his sermons were Saint Patrick, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint John of the Cross, Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission, Evan Roberts of the Welsh Revival, Alexander Dowie of the Christian Catholic Church, Charles Parham of the Topeka tongues revival, William Seymour of Azusa Street and Aimee Simple McPherson of twentieth century divine healing fame.

According to Pullum testimony was a compelling means to assert a position.¹¹ Testimony entertained and captured the audience's attention. The hearers connected psychologically with the speaker, helping foster credibility. Furthermore, testimony from believable, accurate witnesses was deemed reliable. Lake fully realized the potential offered by testimony in assisting congregants toward a deeper religious conviction. He often preached for hours, telling stories of his American and South African healing ministry.¹² In some of his services over one hundred persons related their miraculous cures. Former alcoholics and drug abusers, the disabled and the sick testified to the healing power of faith.¹³

Lake's public addresses were sincere expressions of faith, engagingly presented in a logical format illustrated with humor. He frequently related personal instances of illness cured by divine healing, sharing accounts of his youth and his parents' experiences. After his marriage to his first wife, Jennie, he made repeated

note of her sickly nature and the divine healing she received. Returning to the U.S. from his African mission, he continually referred to his South African healing as perhaps the most compelling evidence of Holy Spirit healing since biblical Pentecost. Even a cynical Spokane newspaper reporter grudgingly admitted Lake could hold an audience with accounts of his healing ministry delivered with “a dynamic force that cannot be denied.”¹⁴

Lake’s divine healing demonstrations, although affording much spontaneity, followed a discernible pattern. Frequently the services incorporated multiple healings through prayer and laying on of hands, or testimony by congregants. Lake asked the participants leading questions to elicit a description of the illness, how the healing was produced and what impact the event had on the spiritual development of the worshipper. During a healing call, congregants sometimes advanced to the front of the room for Lake’s ministrations, and, if healed, left their crutches, wheel chairs, walkers, braces and wrappings as trophies demonstrating the power of divine healing. The service format used by Lake was fully consistent with the practices of his non-Pentecostal but charismatic mentor, John Alexander Dowie.

Lake’s sermons regularly emphasized Jesus the healing God. To the extent Lake gave prominence to divine healing over tongues, he was acting in the tradition of his mentor Dowie. Lake’s minor deviation from his Methodist-Holiness-Dowie background was a result of his embracing Pentecostalism. Although Dowie also spoke of the Corinthian gifts and baptism of the Holy Ghost, Lake’s mentor placed no premium on speaking in tongues. On the contrary, such exuberant expressions were generally viewed by Dowie as undesirable. The impact of Parham’s Topeka

revival and Seymour's Azusa Street charismatic worship, stressing tongues as the initial evidence of spirit baptism, were evident in Lake's preaching after his separation from the Christian Catholic Church.¹⁵ Nevertheless, he consistently afforded healing a preeminence over tongues and other charismatic gifts.

Lake's sermons also stressed salvation, sanctification and sacrifice. Recurring reference was made to martyrdom and the call of Jesus to make "a pledge unto death."¹⁶ He illustrated his sermons with accounts of self-denial in Africa, where severe privations such as hunger, illness and overwork took a significant psychological and physical toll on Lake and his Apostolic Faith Mission ministers.

Lake was not at all adverse to using dramatic devices and poetic license in delivering his message. Like Aimee Semple McPherson, a contemporary Pentecostal minister he much admired, Lake was quite willing to be God's showman. For example, he once presented himself as a great Middle Eastern Christian mystic, and alleged an acquaintance with Lawrence of Arabia although any such meeting was most implausible.¹⁷ In another sermon he related conversations with Cecil John Rhodes that did not occur.¹⁸ Representative of Lake's use of an interesting story to illustrate sermons was his retelling of the tale of Lazarus as discussed in "The Gospel of Nicodemus". Such a selection offered insights into Lake's perspective on truth. The use of the Apocrypha was perhaps a novel choice for a biblical literalist, given that most Christians deemed the writing a colorful but fictional, uninspired source. As with his personal narratives, Lake did not feel that religious truth must necessarily conform to legal and secular standards of

accuracy. He did not regard Christian testimony as suspect merely because of the deviations from objective standards of truth. Like the authors of the Apocrypha, Lake was not averse to telling an entertaining tale to engage the audience in what he perceived to be the absolute truth of the Gospel. Although he did not compromise on the truth of basic Christian beliefs, as a gifted speaker he did not let veracity as to minor details impinge upon a colorful, captivating story. Such a practice, called "holy humor," was not an unfamiliar technique to Protestant ministers of the revival and narrative theological traditions.¹⁹

The ways Lake utilized humor and good stories must be considered in evaluating his veracity. Secular accounts frequently related that Lake told humorous stories.²⁰ His son, Livingston Grier ("Jack") Lake remembered his father enjoying funny writings.²¹ Lake readily used humor to capture congregants' attention and put the listener at ease. Some critics perhaps mistakenly took Lake's fanciful entertainments as factual representations, and then felt Lake was not trustworthy or truthful. Lake's narratives were not delivered with malevolence or fraudulent intent. A more charitable interpretation was that Lake was humoring his receptive audience, who responded with appreciative enthusiasm. Such innocent hyperbole was generally characteristic of the rhetorical Lake. In his enthusiasm to convert an audience by telling an entertaining, captivating story, like a consummate salesman puffing his goods, he occasionally embellished events in an imaginative manner. Such exaggeration and use of a tall tale was not inconsistent with American oratorical tradition. Many of the stories were delivered in the context of a rousing, musical, old-fashioned camp revival setting. To utter enthusiasms in such a context

was possibly more forgivable than telling a premeditated lie in a formal speech during a structured service. Rather than criticize Lake for a less than perfect adherence to fact, perhaps he should have been seen as God's showman or salesman making a compelling presentation for the ultimate purpose of leading others to Christian commitment.

Lake's theology can be considered in light of the apostolic church, baptism, the healing and suffering God and the inclusive Christ. These themes recur throughout his sermons and characterize both the South African and American ministry. While evidencing consistency with Holiness-Apostolic Faith-Pentecostal precedents, he demonstrated innovation with his concept of God and the working of the Holy Spirit.

Consistent with his Apostolic Faith background, Lake emphasized a need to restore the contemporary church to the purity shown by the biblical institution. He frequently discoursed on the early church's organization, practices, spiritual endowment and providential view of history. Like most charismatics and other Protestants, he made resort to the Bible to ascertain the nature of the first Christian community. Nevertheless, for a Pentecostal he was creative in consulting church history sources other than scripture. As always, Lake was pragmatic in his theology, studying the early church, not as an academic abstraction, but rather as a role model for modern worship.

In keeping with a return to the New Testament church, Lake developed his concept of the apostle position consistent with the Pauline model.²² To emphasize the continuity with the early church, Lake began using the apostle title extensively

upon his return to the U.S. after the conclusion of his South African work. Lake saw a parallel between his ministry and the work of the original apostles. Like Paul, Lake felt a God-given empowerment to preach with charismatic power, inspired by trances, visions and revelations. Like Paul he demonstrated a personal divine calling through tongues, healing, and interpretations. In common with the apostle, Lake maintained that his ministerial commission came from God, that it was not merely a denominational authorization. Like the biblical apostle, he saw himself as a founder of authentic churches and healing ministries. Like Paul, Lake felt God's call to suffer and to pay the price of apostleship and service of the crucified deity. He declared that God poured out charismatic blessings on the South African ministry because he and his Pentecostal brethren, like the biblical martyrs, were willing to make the ultimate sacrifice required by unbound faith and commitment.²³ Lake and his ministers evangelized in South Africa, far from European and American logistical support. Aware they might die along with their families, they freely gave themselves to the call of faith. Lake buried twelve missionaries and many of their families who literally starved or succumbed to illness due to inadequate diet. Such devotion exemplified the spirit of martyrdom essential to a meaningful ministry, reflecting the work Jesus instituted with a "pledge unto death." He attributed unity and commitment amidst adversity as the factor uniting the charismatic ministry in his South African work.²⁴ Pentecost was established in South Africa by Christians uniting as one in willingness to die, Christ-like, for God. Lake saw Pentecostals as called to give all rather than enjoy "country club-type" effortless, risk-free worship afforded by a "nice church and harmonious surroundings and a sweet do-nothing

time.” Lake declared the truly devout must be ready to endure or die in the tradition of the heroic calling of the early church and John Wesley. Lake did not allow “sissified” material ease to replace the ultimate apostolic sacrifice of the authentic Christian “ready to pray, ready to preach, ready to die.”²⁵

Lake drew upon his Wesleyan antecedents, Quaker traditions and his apostolic faith in advocating that biblical church purity be restored. Believers were to emulate the personal piety of the first Christians. Lake saw his Pentecostalism as fully within the true Methodist and apostolic traditions. He implied that Pentecostalism was the genuine expression of Wesley’s message and the rightful inheritor of the charismatic emphasis expressly rejected or woefully neglected by late nineteenth and twentieth century mainline Methodism. In contrast to his ministry, contemporary Methodism was deemed the easy religion lacking ultimate concern and commitment toward God. Lake was particularly concerned that Methodism no longer emphasized sanctification. In Lake’s theology John Wesley’s concepts of justification as release from sin by God’s grace and sanctification as a cleansing for “blameless” living were quite evident.²⁶ Similarly, Lake’s emphasis on the power of the spirit to eradicate sin was consistent with American Holiness perfectionism. He claimed traditional churches sought to bind hearts and consciences to dogmatic creeds rather than accept the directive of the Holy Spirit. They attempted to unduly curtail the word of God. Accordingly, the Lord was compelled to go outside existing ecclesiastical entities to raise up a new body, the Pentecostals.²⁷

He saw himself and Pentecostal brethren as carrying Holiness and Wesleyan

teachings to their ultimate conclusion. Lake felt he had become the rightful custodian of the Wesleyan tradition, picking up the spirit "banner" dropped by mainstream Protestantism. With Parham and Seymour he also further refined a compatible Holiness message by placing emphasis on a predominant role for tongues within the panoply of Corinthian gifts. Lake maintained that he and fellow Pentecostals were advancing Protestantism to a higher, more complete stage, recapturing the early church grounding in gifts of the spirit. Dispensationalists asserting that charismatic gifts were confined to the apostolic age were seen by Lake as denying the dynamic powers God desired to convey to true believers.

Lake asserted that Christianity would degenerate into hollow ritualism, sterile moralism and esoteric intellectualism unless the spiritual experience was paramount. The modern mainline church taught only forgiveness of sin to the neglect of union with and charismatic power through God.²⁸ Such a misguided church had no dominion and possessed only a "befogged" notion of God. Mistaken teachings stressed that the believer must humbly dwell in constant recognition of a sinful and degraded nature. Even Charles Wesley had declared, "Weak and sickly, vile and full of sin I am." Lake stated in contradiction, "I do not like to preach one thing and Charles Wesley another," but God's restorative cleansing made possible an entirely different experience of glorious dominion for believers.²⁹ In contrast to the "dead" churches, Lake saw the Quaker traditions as appropriately acknowledging the ongoing presence of the Holy Ghost. Lake's Pentecostalism and Quakerism epitomized a religious democracy in which the spirit might use anyone as an instrumentality, no matter how lowly. God manifested His presence in

contemporary times just as in the biblical era and desired to pour His spirit upon congregants as a demonstration and gift of love and power. For Lake, the day of Pentecost was the birthday of Christianity.³⁰ Believers became godlike. Speaking in tongues evidenced full baptism in the Holy Spirit. Other charismatic gifts were also bestowed, such as wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, discernment and interpretation of tongues. Due to lack of faith the powers were not regularly exercised by the post-biblical church, but were always available to true believers.³¹ In support of such assertion, Lake marshaled evidence of miraculous events he experienced in South Africa. In his own congregation in Johannesburg he came to expect the ongoing presence of the Holy Spirit.³² For example, once when praying for a mentally impaired individual resident in Wales, Lake underwent an experience through which he seemed to travel outside his body from Johannesburg to Britain. He felt as if he had actually placed hands upon the patient to seek a divine healing. A subsequent notification was received by mail indicating the healing had occurred.³³ On another occasion, while walking the veldt with his elder daughter, Lake felt the presence of God come upon him.³⁴ Returning home, he lay on his bed and heard what seemed to be an angelic choir. He distinctly discerned one of the voices as a deceased loved one he had known on earth (probably a reference to his first wife, Jennie Stevens). Similarly, in the chapel in Doomfontein, Johannesburg, while Zulu children prayed, an angelic host appeared to honor the youths' faith. Lake maintained that such manifestations of the spirit demonstrated that God sought to permeate every receptive soul.³⁵

Clearly reflecting his Holiness and Wesleyan background and Quaker

influences, Lake asserted the Holy Ghost endowed believers with a Christ-like nature. He preached dominion theology, also known as Kingdom Now and Manifest Sons of God. Believers had dominion over sickness, evil and all worldly obstacles. The church would be purified through the works of apostles and prophets (manifest sons), and thereby empowered to perfect the world in preparation for Christ's return. The purpose of the Gospel was not to help Christians avoid hell or to reach heaven. Both objectives were "wholly selfish" and neither approach was the goal of Jesus.³⁶ Christ's message was constructive, not destructive, entailing positive righteousness, not negative dictates mandating obedience. Believers had the capacity to grow out of infancy into the stature of Jesus, becoming perfect.³⁷ Those inspired by the spirit were able to emulate Jesus and take one step after another until demonstrating God's perfection. Through Pentecost the power of God had fallen upon believers. Accordingly, totally committed Christians partaking of the empowerment of the spirit were the "kingliest in the whole earth," "as kingly and holy as the Son of God, as big as Jesus, with His power and love."³⁸ Christians must take the shackles off God and recognize their full potential as believer-priest. Performing the Christ function, the spiritually empowered were able to heal, forgive sins, pronounce absolution and cast out demons. Lake embraced the Pauline concept of Mysterium Christi whereby the believer is transformed into the divine likeness, passing "from glory to glory."³⁹

Lake called his pragmatic Christian spiritualism "pneumatology." He asserted his spiritual inquiry was "scientific in its application," being "the discovery of how God does things."⁴⁰ He deemed such study the highest possible understanding of both

the incorporeal and physical. The classification of the working of the Holy Spirit as an academic inquiry was a rather unique Lake innovation. Especially given Lake's denouncement of medicine, his advocacy of the purported scientific aspects of the indwelling of the spirit seemed a paradoxical mixing of a divine orientation with a disparate rationalist empiricism. On the other hand, his subordination of secular science to miraculous intervention and revelation was consistent with traditional Christian doctrine. In that regard Lake was not at odds with medievalists like Anselm and the Scholastics with their assertion that belief was a necessary prerequisite for absolute knowledge. Lake's rejection of medicine was fully in keeping with Pentecostal practices in the first quarter of the twentieth century, but at variance with mainline Christianity.

Lake maintained that Jesus produced in believers a consciousness of the living God, endowing Christians with a divine nature. Lake was possibly influenced by Meister Eckhart's vision of an ultimate union wherein an individual could become God through the divine presence within the believer. Such power was said to be unique to Christianity. The Holy Spirit filled the soul and body, flashing through like a flame, accomplishing the will of God. Through such an experience of "conscious mastery" and "mutual longing," sensual wants were replaced by a joyous need for only Jesus.⁴¹ In explaining the concept of conscious mastery, Lake described how the Anglo-Saxon was different from indigenous Africans. Education was not the distinguishing aspect, in that Africans educated at Ivy League schools still did not manifest what he called "consciousness of Power." "Good breeding" also failed to explain the supposed different nature. Rather, the Anglo-Saxon mind supposedly

contained an “awareness” lacking in other ethnicities. Lake vaguely described the purported awareness as a consciousness of power, mastery, self-control and sensitivity.⁴² The Anglo-Saxon consciousness was a growth, an evolution or an imparting from God of a mutual “soul longing.”⁴³ Lake used an occurrence from his South African work to illustrate consciousness and “soul longing.”⁴⁴ While performing African missionary activities he had an “awful longing” to associate with his “own race and type of mind, men who understood the things that were moving my soul and had the proper comprehension of the things I talked about, who could feed my heart with love and knowledge.”⁴⁵ He acknowledged that many “saved native people” were “wonderful,” but “notwithstanding their goodness, they had not been educated in the line of thought that interested me.”⁴⁶ A Eurocentric, paternalistic Lake declared:

They were spiritual babies; they were intellectual babies. My heart was longing for Companionship on my plane of life.⁴⁷

Lake’s assertion that he was not able to fully participate in the life of black South Africa could either be seen as a forthright, frank assessment of his grounding in societal and educational systems distinct from indigenous culture, or as an expression of white racism and Western paternalism. Lake’s theology in this regard reflected the unfortunate influence of Parham’s white elitism. The reference to black South African Christians as a wonderful people empowered by the Holy Spirit showed Lake harbored no blatant racial hatred or cultural hostility. Nevertheless, he did manifest racism and did express an odious notion that Western perspectives, especially Anglo-Saxon culture and the accompanying “consciousness” of mastery,

were superior to “primitive” indigenous orientations.

Lake never doubted that Christianity was superior to science, philosophy and other religions in that it produced the greatest consciousness of God. Christianity was the “highest and holiness” revelation, “breathing and throbbing and burning right out of the heart of the glorified Son of God.”⁴⁸ Both science and faddish religions failed to comprehend biblical spiritualism. Modern agnostic science represented a type of “semi-scholarship” that despised scriptural truth.⁴⁹ Physiology and psychology made no allowance for the revelation of Jesus Christ as Savior. Similarly, religions like Christian Science and New Thought lacked the divine secret of eternal power available through Christ.

Similarly, non-Christian spiritualism and the occult were dangerous descents into malevolent realms. The occult was an attempt to drag the dead up to the realm of the living. In sharp contrast, Lake maintained, “Christianity, bless God, is making the blood-washed spirit free to go to the Lord.” Occult spiritualism was dark, partaking of the Devil, whereas the spirit of God was an “attractive power that animates the Christian heart.”⁵⁰ Accordingly, Christians were not to communicate with the mind of dead men, but instead seek the mind of God.

Lake saw Christians as empowered by God to prevail over all adversity and evil. Fear of the Devil and demons was foolish. The spirit of God made the soul impregnable to the powers of darkness. Believers were not to be intimidated by the Devil, afraid that evil would take possession of their bodies and souls. The Holy Spirit was the gift of God Himself, not merely a communication channel for or to the individual. The indwelling of Christ in the spirit baptized made such a person a son

of God like Jesus. Such a believer was able to command the power of God and conquer all evil.⁵¹ Lake maintained no doubt that God was in the very act of marshalling believers as victorious warriors assured of vanquishing darkness.

Lake stated that in South Africa he observed the tremendous influence “native medicine men” or “witch doctors” exercised over significant portions of the indigenous population.⁵² He recognized such shamans as truly possessing profound psychic aptitudes, but asserted the power was malignant. Lake conceded, “I have seen shocking things take place at the hand of witch doctors, things that nobody would believe unless you beheld them.”⁵³ Lake viewed such pagan practices as a “slavery in which they had been held through their superstitions, psychological, spirit control, and they are most terrible.”⁵⁴ Christianity was a conquering force able to enter “into the heart of heathendom to undo their superstitions, to break down their psychological forces, to leave the consciousness of Jesus Christ in the heart.”⁵⁵

Lake’s antagonism toward pagan practices as derivative of the Devil was not unusual for Christians with a conservative or fundamentalist theological perspective. He was generally tolerant of superficial local or personal variations in non-substantive Christian practice, like worship attire and liturgy. He afforded believers a relatively wide latitude in structuring the external manifestations of religious observance. Lake unequivocally declared, “I am not interested in the form or the figure or the name of an individual. I am interested in seeing God.”⁵⁶ Nevertheless, he was not accepting of any “heathen” corruption of basic Christian truth or any actions in any way irreconcilable with scripture. Accordingly, any indigenous African religious observances incorporating the occult or other practices not conforming to

apostolic Christian belief were unacceptable.

Lake's emphasis on an imminent second coming of Christ was typical of his contemporary charismatics, as was his disdain for formal dogma and ecclesiastical organization. In the initial decade following the Azusa Street revival, Lake maintained that given the impending return of Jesus no structured denomination was necessary or even desirable. In South Africa he had not initially sought to found a separate religious body, instead deeming his work only a mission. Lake attended the organizational meetings of the Assemblies of God but never joined. Although he did found the International Apostolic Congress in 1915, that entity was intended only to loosely associate affiliated congregations and apparently was inactive until the following decade. Not before the 1920s did he structure the autonomous Church of Spokane and Church of Portland. Only in the last year of his life did a physically ailing Lake join an established organization not within his control, the Pentecostal Church of God. He apparently had conceded the second coming would not occur in his lifetime.

Lake's anticipation of the "end time" reflected his providential view of history. He saw the Holy Spirit as working the divine will in materiality and time. Pious men and women were the medium through which the divine power was invoked. Lake saw all history as God's work-in-progress leading to the divine goal. The Moravians prayed and a great piety revival occurred. Charles G. Finney, the lawyer turned evangelist who founded Oberlin College, prayed and nineteenth century America "rocked with power." Hudson Taylor prayed and the China Inland Mission was born. Evan Roberts prayed and the Welsh revival commenced. William Seymour of the

Azusa Street Mission prayed and Heaven's fire fell over the world and a revival of real religion resulted.⁵⁷

Lake's notion of providential history was generally consistent with that of St. Augustine. God worked His will through the church as a fellowship of believers.⁵⁸ The Bible revealed the mind of God, and the Holy Spirit actively empowered believers with charismatic gifts. Lake felt he lived in an apocalyptic era and anticipated the Lord's prompt return to rule in power. He thought Pentecostalism reflected the greater light of the spirit given as the Lord's second coming became more proximate. God had revealed to him and other contemporary charismatics the eternal truth in a more comprehensive manner compared with prior revelations.⁵⁹

The concept of the healing God formed the core of Lake's teaching. He often cited Matthew 4:23 and 8:1-2, James 5:14 and Luke 4:18-19. Lake's theology in this regard was influenced by early church fathers, particularly Augustine of Hippo's conception of "the God of all health."⁶⁰ His perception of the divine as healer was also in large part a product of his exposure to Holiness thought and the practices of John Alexander Dowie. Lake's theology represents a continuity with such Apostolic Faith practices as well as his innovation in incorporating Populist/Progressive terminology.

God desired to heal believers seeking His help. The God who offered salvation from sin was the same deity offering health. Lake advised transgressors to quit their sins and to seek God's pardon, thereby receiving the gifts of forgiveness and both physical and mental well-being. No greater degree of faith was required to be healed from sickness than necessary to be saved from transgression.⁶¹ He

encouraged Christians to see the body, spirit and soul as one.⁶² To seek only salvation from God, but resort to secular help for illness, was to demonstrate a lack of total commitment. Christians' use of medicine was as offensive as drunkards partaking of whisky. Christ gave freedom from all dependence on the worldly.⁶³ Lake's profound vision of God's power stood in stark contrast to some contemporary evangelists who had degraded divine healing by employing the gift as a "teaser" to bring those desirous of physical health under the sway of their ministry. Lake maintained that enticing belief through desperate hope and need for relief from maladies was contrary to the practice of Jesus, who healed both believers and unbelievers.

Lake offered a personal testimony of faith-healing. Although a Methodist in his youth, he declared himself not a Christian in the "best sense" of that name, having no true knowledge of the healing God.⁶⁴ Going outside that denomination, he witnessed a faith-healing and renounced any further recourse to medicine.⁶⁵ In spite of such personal dedication to God, he later contracted inflammatory rheumatism.⁶⁶ He regularly prayed and remained firm in his pledge not to seek medical assistance even unto death.⁶⁷ Through the ministrations of an elder affiliated with John Alexander Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, Lake reported healing from "the crown of my head to the souls of my feet."⁶⁸ The Dowie theology, highlighting a healing ministry and renouncing medicine, was fully consistent with Lake's pre-existing Holiness and Wesleyan beliefs.⁶⁹

Using secular Populist/Progressive terminology, Lake analogized the dictates of the healing Jesus to political party platforms. Christian commitment required

adherence to a code of action, the “planks of the Jesus agenda.” The Gospel “plank” required healing of the broken- hearted whether that condition was attributable to physical or mental sickness, transgression or social alienation due “ to conditions around them that they seem unable to control.”⁷⁰ Such healing was an integral part of ministry. Healing of the body was just as sacred as soul healing.⁷¹ Christians were not only to proclaim deliverance from sin, but also to exercise God’s power to free the “hurting” enslaved.⁷² The socially and politically dispossessed, “the bleeding ones, the bruised ones, those who have been hid away, and those whose life has been made a burden“ were to be restored by God’s grace. Lake’s theological emphasis on healing of the politically and socially disempowered reflected his Midwestern Populist/Progressive egalitarianism. Although Lake did not articulate a social gospel theology, he felt the redemption of believers would result in the salvation of society. His pietism did not acknowledge any insurmountable dichotomy between religion and the secular. To draw such distinctions would minimize the significance of Christianity in all aspects of life. Lake’s spiritualism offered individual and collective redemption, purification and empowerment.⁷³

Like other Pentecostals, Lake placed a great emphasis on the role of baptism, both water and spirit. Understanding that water baptism was often a subject of controversy and contention in the church, he felt compelled to explain his understanding of that sacrament. However, his primary interest was in spirit baptism as God’s ultimate endowment of the believer.

To be water baptized Lake maintained the candidate must first experience a consciousness of and commitment to God. In preparation for baptism the Christian

was to be ready to live, to die, to suffer and to endure all.⁷⁴ Lake asserted that only the substance of water baptism was important, not the format. "It always troubles my soul to be compelled to discuss the forms of Christian worship."⁷⁵ Lake asserted that the only standard was the ineligibility of infants for the sacrament. Accordingly, unlike many Pentecostals, Lake was not concerned whether single or triune immersion was performed.⁷⁶ Apparently even sprinkling was an adequate but not preferred practice.

Lake asserted a concept of continuous, progressive spirit baptism. His initial experience of only water baptism expanded as a teenager to include a further manifestation of sanctification through which he felt a closer association with Jesus and a complete forgiveness of transgressions. He next progressed to various phases of spirit baptism, leading to more extensive demonstrations of charismatic gifts together with a more "godlike" demeanor and essence. His expression of "oneness" with the divine, entering into a deep communion and perfection through unity with God, were statements reminiscent of Christian medieval mysticism more commonly associated with Catholicism than Protestantism. For a Pentecostal to use terminology typical of St. John of the Cross, an authority Lake surprisingly frequently employed and acknowledged as inspired, was rather unique. Lake was influenced by John's mystical "ascent" into progressively more intense purification and illumination through a growing union of the soul with God.⁷⁷

Lake declared that without tongues, experience of spirit baptism was not possible. However, he acknowledged that even among charismatics the tongue experience was not fully understood. John Alexander Dowie tried to build a church

with healing only and failed to achieve a full communion with God. Holiness stressed a general anointing of the Holy Spirit, but denounced tongues, and “died in power.”⁷⁸ Even those believers recognizing a full Pentecostal baptism, with tongues as initial evidence, unduly emphasized tongues. Lake conceded:

...we wanted to build a great structure and stamp it with tongues. After awhile the tongues got dry. Somehow the glory and the glow had gone out of them. They became ratty and did not sound right.⁷⁹

The Pentecostal experience itself was not at fault. Lake stated the problem resulted from being “absorbed in the phenomena of God and not in God Himself.”⁸⁰

Lake presented an unanticipated critique that Pentecostals were increasingly losing sight of the true experience of God by their undue emphasis on tongues. Such a negative analysis was particularly surprising since he also admitted “tongues have been to me the making of my ministry.”⁸¹ Although Lake asserted the ability to speak in tongues demonstrated spirit baptism, he also quoted 1 Corinthians 14:22, “Tongues are for a sign, not to those who believe, but to them that believe not.”⁸² Like Seymour, Lake apparently came to believe that tongues were not the greatest spiritual gift. The loving nature afforded paramount consideration in Corinthians placed the highest importance on treating the economically, socially and politically dispossessed with affirming dignity and affection. The poor, the sick, non-whites and those of undesirable secular status and occupation were to be embraced and ministered to by Christians possessing genuine spirit endowment.⁸³ Lake stated, “yet above all the external evidences, that which God accomplishes in your lives, demonstrating to your consciousness the operation of God, no doubt is the great

evidence to the believer himself.”⁸⁴ Moreover, he declared the ultimate presence of the Holy Ghost was not seen in preaching or charismatic work, but rather in Christian unselfishness. Helping others was a “greater manifestation than healing...greater than tongues.”⁸⁵ He cautioned against overemphasizing tongues to the neglect of loving care and concern for others, especially the downtrodden. He admonished Pentecostals not to be “babies,” babbling and exalting about the phenomenon instead of partaking of the substantive nature of the loving God.

Perhaps Lake’s most innovative theological contribution was his emphasis on the suffering God. Such a perspective was particularly unique for a Pentecostal. The concept of a suffering God needing the participation of people to bring about ultimate perfection was more consistent with the existential thought of William James or Dietrich Bonhoeffer than a biblical literalist. The persecution Lake faced as a divine healer “cultist”, his legal travails, schisms within his churches, and the rejection of most of his ecumenical efforts may have been formative experiences contributing to his idea of the suffering God.

Possibly influenced by his reading of Origen’s “An Exhortation to Martyrdom,” Lake declared the suffering God brought release from transgressions, grief and sickness to the totally committed believer.⁸⁶ The spirit would infuse the soul purified by adversity with the fires of holy passion so the believer could partake of Christ’s dominion.⁸⁷ Christians were called to partake of the divine suffering, to live and to die with God.

Pentecostals must prepare for persecutions comparable to those endured by Jesus. Lake detailed the persecution charismatics faced from mainline

denominations. Some Christians held faith healers were “insane” sectarians whose denunciation of modern medicine was inconsistent with public health considerations.⁸⁸ Lake asserted that from 1900 to 1906, hundreds of thousands were baptized in the Holy Ghost and spoke in tongues. Nevertheless, many churches failed to acknowledge that Pentecost was ongoing, not just a historic event confined to the New Testament era. Some ministers in an “ignorance of the operations of God” actually claimed tongues were malevolent works of the Devil.⁸⁹ In light of such persecutions, Lake encouraged his followers to emulate Jesus and Christians who throughout history suffered for their convictions.

Lake claimed that mutual suffering for a common cause precluded schism among charismatics in South Africa. Such a pronouncement was both inaccurate and perplexing. He failed to note the conflicts with Thomas Hezmalhalch, Archibald Cooper and other dissidents within his own Apostolic Faith Mission, not to mention differences with other South African charismatics. Perhaps Lake felt a need to emphasize the unifying potential of faith or wanted to express a desired consensus. However, a frank recognition of internal dissension would have been historically accurate and arguably fully consistent with the conflicting perceptions and orientations evidenced in the Biblical church.

Lake’s emphasis on total Christian commitment whatever the cost and ultimate devotion to a suffering God calling believers to participate in painful service was a remarkably resonant precursor of concepts developed decades later by European theologians. Lake’s call to plenary discipleship appeared to anticipate Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s more refined and systematic theological expressions in The

Cost of Discipleship.⁹⁰

The idea that a suffering God needed believers to effect the divine plan for a perfect universe, wherein transgression, sickness, suffering and death were eliminated, constituted a somewhat surprising expression for a Pentecostal clergyman. Possibly Lake was influenced by Origen's concept of Apocatastasis ("recreation" in Lake's words). Lake was clearly not a Christian existentialist, and was totally unburdened by any doubt as to biblical infallibility. Nevertheless, his conception of a God requiring people's acceptance of and participation in His providential work in order to advance a final triumph of spirit and consciousness was consistent with utterances by William James and Miguel De Unamuno. Although he was acquainted with James and specifically discussed theology and metaphysics with him, Lake never entertained any angst or doubt as to God's existence. Nevertheless, Lake did sound much like James with the emphasis on the individual's role in promoting a final restitution and union with the divine, a perfect reconstruction of all things in Christ. Lake and James advocated a direct experience of the divine. Both felt dogma bound institutions and meaningless ritual distorted any authentic relationship with God. Lake concurred with James that the "sick soul" could achieve relief and restoration only through religious experience, not rationalistic empiricism.⁹¹

Lake's vision of the inclusive Christ constituted the most commendable aspect of his ministry. He saw a God that transcended race, class, sex and religious orientation. God sought to embrace and empower all, being no "respector of person." Lake stressed the inclusive nature of his ministry and the brotherhood of

believers. He extended an invitation for Christian service to "Dutch and English, Jews and Gentiles, black and white, Chinese or Indian" and "any other nationality or color."⁹² Lake took Azusa Street inclusiveness to South Africa, conducting interracial services in what had been segregated facilities. He acknowledged blacks as spiritual equals. He accepted and actively encouraged black clergy like Letwaba, even in the face of white opposition.

Unfortunately, Lake's initial egalitarian vision was subordinated to a structured disparate treatment of Apostolic Faith Mission congregants based on race. As early as 6 November 1908, Lake participated in or at least deferred to the executive council decision to segregate baptisms. By February 1909 the Apostolic Faith Mission was conducting mostly separate services for blacks, whites and coloureds. Nevertheless, throughout Lake's South African residency any congregant was at liberty to attend any service, and he consistently advocated a Christian fellowship without social, sexual and racial distinctions.⁹³ Lake never wavered from a love of all persons, and he denounced racial hatred as the work of the Devil, damning the unrepentant bigot.

Lake expressed noteworthy respect for differing religious beliefs, in sharp contrast to many of his Christian contemporaries. Although he clearly asserted that Christianity was a superior, complete insight into God's conscience, he acknowledged the positive aspects of other religions that affirmed the dignity of the individual, recognized divinity and advocated love and charity. Lake recognized a spiritual brotherhood existing among men and women of different faiths. He spoke affirmatively about Judaism and Catholicism, recounting profound, inspiring lectures

delivered by learned rabbi and priest.

Lake acknowledged the pivotal role of women in the divine healing ministry and other church work. He denounced “those who would deny the right of Christian ministry to women.”⁹⁴ Like most Pentecostals, but in contrast to many non-charismatic fundamentalists and mainline denominations of his era, Lake afforded women clerics all ministerial privileges and imposed upon females the same obligations accorded men.

Lake’s theology on the whole was accepting and not unduly judgmental. He strove to look beyond the superficial and to focus on motive, intent and spirit. The form of worship, the race, sex, class and social standing of the individual were all immaterial.⁹⁵ What was important was whether God was present in a person. Although God afforded differing levels and progressions of spiritual gifts, believers were never to tell another “child of God,” “You are not in my class. I am baptized with the Holy Ghost.”⁹⁶ Lake enjoined Christians never to crush aspirations by a single negative criticism, but instead love others and seek God.

NOTES

CHAPTER FIVE, LAKE THE PREACHER AND THEOLOGIAN

- 1 Stephen J. Pullum, "Foul Demons, Come Out": The Rhetoric of Twentieth Century American Faith Healing (Westard: Prager, 1999). In a January 2000 discussion with Dr. Pullum, I outlined my intention to analyze Lake through a rhetorical model. The general paradigm was set forth in Pullum, pp. xi-xix.
- 2 The Oregonian, 18 May 1923, page unspecified, clipping in the Assemblies of God Archives.
- 3 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 271, reprinting an Assemblies of God Archives photo. Lairdon captioned the picture "Dressed in God's Presence".
- 4 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 25, Clark Peterson interview.
- 5 Ibid., p. 27, Alice Fritsch interview.
- 6 Ibid., p. 25.
- 7 Ibid., p. 22, Dr. Ward Tannenbergh sketch.
- 8 Burton, When God Makes a Pastor, p. 35.
- 9 Ibid., p. 68.
- 10 Pullum, Foul Demons, p. 15.
- 11 The Spokane Press, 23 July 1924, p. 1.
- 12 Ibid., 5 July 1924, p. 1.
- 13 Ibid., 18 July 1924, p. 1.
- 14 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 382.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 38-39, 819.
- 16 Spokesman-Review, 21 November 1931, p. 9.
- 17 Spokane Daily Chronicle, 25 November 1931, p. 1.
- 18 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 204.
- 19 See my 3 July 2000 conversation with Rev. James Malloy of the North Carolina Conference of the United Methodist Church, Wilmington, N.C., a pastor well acquainted with charismatic practices who studied under Dr. Martin Luther King's divinity professors. The interplay of humor in the charismatic experience is addressed in J. Lawrence Brasher, The Sanctified South: John Larkin Brasher and the Holiness Movement (Champlain: University of Illinois Press, 1994). John Larkin Brasher (1898-1971), a representative Methodist Holiness preacher, regularly used humorous self-deprecation, deliberately absurd statements, pretenses, entertaining tales, idiosyncratic "local character" anecdotes and mimickery. Like Lake, Brasher related humorous incidents that poked fun at his adversaries. In common with many charismatic/evangelical ministers, both men utilized traditional American homespun, folksy humor "virtually to laugh people into sanctification". Ibid., p. 162.
- 20 The Spokane Press, 23 July 1924, p. 1. See Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 436 for a typical example of Lake's humor which was demonstrated during an occult spiritual session he attended with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Lake's account was reminiscent of Mark Twain's Innocents Abroad. The séance sought to summon the spirit of W. E. Gladstone, the British Prime Minister who died in 1898. To debunk the activity Lake

brought several of Gladstone's addresses to the séance. He compared the published speeches to the messages allegedly being delivered by the deceased. The spirit's statements were incoherent and grammatically incorrect. Thus Lake whimsically observed:

It seems to me something terrible has happened to W.E. Gladstone if he is the author of the message. The thing is not comparable with the things he uttered in his life. It looks to me as if dying has had an awful bad effect on him.

Doyle appears to have had little regard for Lake. Doyle held both Catholic and Protestant missionaries in South Africa in low esteem. The British spiritualist declared:

...the Missions of every sort have done more harm than good ...The worst, however, appeared to be the American Missions with their four-square evangelical dogma and their hobnobbing with the blacks... The order of merit of the various bodies varies, but ...all agree that the American is the last.

See Arthur Conan Doyle, Our African Winter (London: Gerald Duckworth, 2001), pp. 179 and 210-211.

21 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 32.

22 Ibid., pp. 37-39.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 40.

25 Ibid.

26 The Upper Room, June 1909, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 1 and 3. One commentator has suggested Lake did not believe in xenoglossa (the divine gift of speaking in known tongues unlearned by the recipient) because of Lake's reliance on language educated missionaries. See James Goff, Jr., Fields White Unto Harvest (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), p. 154. However, Lake's at least theoretical adherence to xenoglossa is found in "The Baptism of the Holy Ghost," Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 369.

27 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 133.

28 Ibid., p. 518.

29 Ibid., p. 521.

30 Ibid., p. 362. Lake maintained, "every man has a degree of the Holy Spirit in his like." Ibid., p. 412. He declared, "I am a Quaker in my own makeup...". Sometimes when the Spirit comes on your soul, it will make you a Quaker. I am a Quaker in my spirit...". Ibid., p. 419. See also Douglas Steere, Quaker Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1984).

31 Ibid., p. 146.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., pp. 148-149.

34 Ibid., p. 153.

35 Ibid., p. 154.

36 Ibid., p. 308.

37 Ibid., p. 312.

38 Ibid., p. 311.

39 Ibid., p. 489. See 2 Corinthians 3:18.

40 Ibid., p. 483; Kenneth Copeland, John G. Lake: His Life, His Sermons, His Boldness of Faith (Fort Worth: Kenneth Copeland Publishers, 1994), p. 361. Some Evangelical Christian commentators have found Lake's theology more consistent with New Age teaching than Christian orthodoxy. See Christian Research Ministries, "The Revival of John G. Lake's Ministry," p. 29, a 1 January 2000 internet posting at <http://www.crmspokane.org>.

41 Ibid., p. 232.

42 Ibid., p. 223. Lake did associate with Anglo-Israel theologians like Charles Parham and Arthur Henry Dallimore. Parham was introduced to the doctrine through his friend and mentor, J.H.Allen, author of Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright (1902). The Anglo-Israelists asserted that Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, were the true descendants of the House of Israel. Dallimore apparently met Lake at a 1920 British-Israel conference, where Lake encouraged him to enter the Pentecostal ministry. Dallimore believed the British, as Abraham's seed, would inherit the earth. Dallimore embraced the elitism, exclusivity and racial animosity of Anglo-Israelism. He maintained that the British Empire had been corrupted by morally degenerate non-Anglo-Saxons. Unlike Lake, Dallimore advocated that "degenerate rats" be exterminated by "ruthless men, fired by the fear of God, and a loyalty to His Kingdom that nothing can check". See Bryan Gilling, "Dallimore", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, available on the internet at <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.

43 Ibid., p. 331.

44 Ibid., pp. 330-331.

45 Ibid., p. 330.

46 Ibid., p. 331.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., p. 324.

49 Ibid., p. 483.

50 Ibid., p. 434.

51 Ibid., p. 445.

52 Ibid., pp. 442-443.

53 Ibid., p. 443.

54 Ibid., p. 444.

55 Ibid., p. 450

56 Ibid., pp. 474-475.

57 Ibid., pp. 526-527. Charles Finney, born 1792, trained as a lawyer but answered a calling to minister in western New York. He was known for passionate revivalism and an impulse for social reform. His 1830-31 New York revival set a precedent for large scale evangelism. Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), a tough, warm hearted, businesslike Yorkshireman, trained in medicine and theology, emphasized the need for holiness and a full identity with Christ. His ministerial work in China commenced

in 1854, resulting in formation of the China Inland Mission in 1865. Evan Roberts, a youthful coal miner training as a minister, felt led by the spirit to acknowledge the sovereign providence of God and seek a divine communion. He furthered the Welsh Revival of 1904, an important precursor for Azusa Street. For succinct biographies from a devotional perspective, see <http://www.christianword.org>, <http://www.christianbookshop.co.uk> and <http://www.christianitytoday.com>

58 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 132.

59 Ibid., pp. 132-133.

60 Ibid., pp. 382 and 692. See Mary T. Clark, Augustine of Hippo (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), p. 107, citing The Confessions.

61 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 129.

62 Ibid., pp. 120-121.

63 Ibid., p. 42.

64 Ibid., p. 117.

65 Ibid., pp. 117-118.

66 Ibid., p. 124.

67 Ibid., p. 118.

68 Ibid., p. 124.

69 Ibid., pp. 122-124.

70 Ibid., p. 171.

71 Ibid., p. 172.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., p. 174. See also D.G. Hart, That Old Time Religion In Modern America: Evangelical Protestantism in the Twentieth Century (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2002).

74 Ibid., p. 181.

75 Ibid., pp. 190-191.

76 Ibid., p. 190.

77 Ibid., pp. 562 and 693. Christian mysticism is discussed in Louis Dupre and James Wiseman, Light From Light (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1988), p. 17.

78 Ibid., p. 376.

79 Ibid., p. 376.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid., p. 373.

82 Ibid., p. 389.

83 Ibid., pp. 394-395.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid., p. 379.

86 Ibid., p. 52. Lake was greatly influenced by his reading of Origen, Ambrose, Augustine and other church fathers. Ibid., p. 692. Origen's theology is addressed by Rowan Greer, Origen (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).

87 Ibid., p. 53.

88 Ibid., p. 375.

89 Ibid., p. 387.

90 See Kberhard Bethge, Dietrich Bonhoeffer (New York: Harper and Row, 1970); John Godsey, The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1952).

91 Lindsay, John G. Lake, pp. 112 and 520. At the time of their meeting, William James was, in Lake's words, "A psychologist of Harvard, a splendid man." James' philosophical and spiritual analysis of theism is set forth in The Will to Believe (Mineola: Dover Publishing, 1985) and Charles Taylor, Varieties of Religions Today (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 2001). See also Miguel De Unamuno, The Tragic Sense of Life (Mineola: Dover Publishing, 1972), p. 241

92 Lairdon, John G. Lake, pp. 46-47.

93 "Minutes of the Executive Council," 6 November 1908 and 13 February 1909, Apostolic Faith Mission Archives, Johannesburg.

94 Lairdon, John G. Lake, p. 484.

95 Ibid., p. 366.

96 Ibid., p. 373.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

John G. Lake and his impact on South African and American Pentecostalism is perhaps best reviewed in light of four major themes. First, the reciprocal relationship between Lake and American/South African religious traditions and practices is considered. Second, his theology is evaluated in light of consistency with Methodist-Holiness-Apostolic Faith precedent and Pentecostal innovation. Third, his racial and social attitudes expressed in religious and secular contexts are examined. Fourth, his applied ethics as manifested in business dealings and church administration are discussed.

Despite Pentecostal innovations, Lake's ministry evidenced consistency with nineteenth century American evangelism. His earliest religious training was in a Canadian Scottish Presbyterian Church. His exposure there to biblical literalism coupled with strict standards for personal piety indelibly marked his lifelong worship. The Calvinist doctrine of providence he encountered was clearly reflected in his conception of history. A reliance on God's structuring of human endeavors greatly influenced not only his apocalyptic belief in a redemptive restoration, but also motivated his emphasis on a spiritual rather than social gospel agenda.

In his youth Lake was very much influenced by American Midwestern Holiness doctrines. He was exposed to such practices through adherents struggling for recognition within the Methodist Church, as well as by way of independent Holiness advocates. During his Methodist seminary years, he was aware of those

Holiness practitioners emphasizing and amplifying Wesleyan sanctification and the working of the Holy Spirit manifested through charismatic gifts. Having a delicate constitution himself, and further burdened with a sickly family, he was most receptive to Holiness teachings that New Testament spiritual endowments, particularly divine healing, were presently available to believers. Like many of his charismatic contemporaries, Lake was very frustrated when the Methodist conference refused to tolerate the Holiness contingency and even denounced such doctrines. Given his Holiness convictions, he was compelled to leave the Methodist ministry, feeling he and not the church administration had remained true to John Wesley's teachings.

Rejected as a Methodist clergyman, he soon embraced the faith healing of John Alexander Dowie's Christian Catholic Church. That ministry, with its Apostolic Faith seeking restoration of the New Testament church, resonated with Lake, and was substantially in accord with Holiness precepts. Lake embraced both the notion that worship should be organized like the biblical church and the idea that charismatic gifts were readily available to the sanctified. Although he never attempted to establish his own Dowie-style theocratic utopian community, he did later employ certain church offices and primitive church structures he had encountered as a Christian Catholic Church clergyman. Furthermore, Lake adopted virtually the entire Dowie liturgy. The evangelical strategies and worship learned under Dowie remained a hallmark of Lake's ministry, particularly the stress on testimony, demonstrative healings and theatrical preaching. Lake was also the beneficiary of Dowie's legacy emphasizing a Populist egalitarianism and rejection of

racial exclusivity.

With the rise of Pentecostalism through Charles Parham's 1901 Topeka School and William Seymour's 1906 Azusa Street Revival, Lake adapted his Holiness and Dowie doctrines to the Pentecostal emphasis on speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Holy Spirit baptism. Parham's Apostolic Faith was comparable to the theology and liturgy Dowie had imparted to Lake. Although Dowie had recognized tongues as one of the charismatic gifts, he never stressed that specific endowment. Through Parham, Lake was first exposed to that basic Pentecostal belief in tongues as initial evidence. By way of Seymour, Lake became aware of the enthusiastic African-American worship characterized by ecstatic communal utterances and gestures. Such dramatic, engaging liturgy was a deviation of African "shout" worship, appearing in America in the slave community. Seymour's Pentecostal spiritual empowerment and ensuing charismatic gifts harmonized with such African-American and African practices. Lake was also influenced by Seymour's subsequent relegation of tongues to a status subordinate to racial harmony and egalitarian concern for all persons. Although he never went as far as Seymour in minimizing tongues, Lake did accept the Seymour preeminence afforded Christian love.

In South Africa the Seymour African-American ecstatic liturgy blended well with Zion practices, facilitating acceptance of Pentecostalism by congregants. The Pentecostal style tongues, prophecy and healing were already frequently encountered elements in indigenous African worship. Lake's Johannesburg-based mission built upon the precedents of the charismatic doctrines of Dutch Reformed

Church cleric Andrew Murray. Murray's expression of spiritual gifts, particularly divine healing, had already taken root in South Africa, promulgated by revivalists who experienced spirit baptism in South African War prison camps. Lake was also the beneficiary of groundwork evangelism among both blacks and whites conducted by Dowie-affiliated Zion adherents, finding ready-made congregants and facilities receptive to the message of the American Azusa Street Revival.

In Africa Lake carried forward the egalitarian message of Seymour's Azusa where communal fellowship transcended social, ethnic, racial and sexual differences. Lake especially recognized the need for freedom from racial hatred. Although evidencing a Western paternalism, for the most part he afforded South African blacks considerable autonomy in structuring liturgy. He generally looked beyond form to substance, a practice not always adhered to by Lake's successors as leaders in the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. Lake did authorize segregated baptisms, a concession to pragmatic considerations and white South African prejudices. Nevertheless, despite such failures in judgment, he never evidenced any racial animosity. Throughout his South African ministry Lake explored ecumenical opportunities with mainline established Protestant denominations, but was rebuffed for the most part. He did establish healing associations with charismatic Anglicans in South Africa and Britain.

Returning to America, Lake continued his inclusive healing-oriented evangelism. Unlike Parham and many of his white brethren, Lake never spoke disparagingly about William Seymour and the black origins of Pentecostal worship. Lake's racially encompassing U.S. ministry evidenced continuity with his South

African work among black congregants and clergy like the saintly Elias Letwaba.

Lake's American ministry differed from his South African work in two primary respects. First, in Africa Lake was much more accommodating to government dictates. As a foreigner he felt more constrained in confronting secular authority. In stark contrast, in the U.S. Lake seemed to relish the publicity generated by government prosecution of the faith-healer exercising religious convictions. Unlike in the Transvaal, in Oregon he was willing to confront through civil disobedience and nonviolent protest what he perceived were state incursions into religious conscience. Second, in America Lake generally limited his ecumenism to other Pentecostal groups. Having been largely repudiated in South Africa by mainline churches, in his later U.S. work he was prepared for the antagonism of established non-charismatic denominations. He finally accepted the "cult" status afforded his healing endeavors and ensuing ecclesiastical and secular persecution as a recognition of divinely elected status.

Lake was perhaps rather unique as one of the few ministers grounded in the traditions of Holiness/Wesleyanism, Dowieism and Parham/Seymour Pentecostalism, combined with South African black and white charismatic traditions. His liturgy and healing services represented a flamboyant synthesis of South African and African-American ecstatic worship and narrative testimony grafted onto and harmonized with comparable Wesleyan, Holiness and Pentecostal spiritualism.

Lake's theology reflected both adherence to precedent and innovation. As might be anticipated for a minister in the Holiness and Pentecostal traditions, he emphasized Christ as physician of both body and soul. Lake repeatedly preached

that the God who saved was also the God who healed. Perhaps surprisingly for a Pentecostal, Lake often referenced the early church fathers and medieval saints as role models to be emulated in seeking an intimate, empowering spiritual relationship with God. For a Protestant, particularly an Apostolic Faith advocate seeking to take the reformation and the work of John Wesley to conclusion by restoring the purity and faith of the Biblical church, his endorsement of numerous Catholic saints was a most noteworthy ecumenism. Lake's intense interest in Christian mysticism was also unique for a Pentecostal. His reliance on such saints as Patrick, Francis and John of the Cross probably reflected his Methodist seminary training and self-directed readings undertaken in preparation for ministerial qualification. Although critical of Catholic bureaucracy and doctrinal embellishments obscuring the primitive church, he was not adverse to recognizing the piety of spiritual Christians of any denominational affiliation. Although uncompromising in his belief in the Apostolic Faith, Lake genuinely sought to build bridges to other Christians and even other faiths. Generally unsuccessful in his interdenominational endeavors, he nevertheless was an ecumenicist at heart, no matter how frustrated. Unlike many religious leaders, he looked to substance over form. While other Pentecostals divided over methods of baptism, the stages inherent in spirit baptism and Oneness/Trinitarianism, Lake regularly avoided doctrinal stances conducive to schism. His straightforward emphasis on biblical literalism, individual piety and spirit endowment avoided abstract academic postulations and petty bickering over non-core beliefs not essential to salvation, sanctification and spirit baptism. He always afforded "enacted theology" priority over doctrinal formulation.

Lake's discussion of the suffering God calling believers to the ultimate commitment, while common to all Christians, was expounded in a creative manner unique for a Pentecostal. Such an innovative emphasis was somewhat anticipatory of the theology of Bonhoeffer and Tillich.

Like many other nineteenth century Midwestern U.S. businessmen, Lake initially had only minimal contact with African-Americans. As a member of Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, Lake probably first encountered a strong affirmation of racial equality. Subsequently, while seeking a healing for wife Jennie's gunshot wound, Lake afforded a black female Dowie congregant a prominent role as caregiver and guardian. His association with William Seymour set the pattern for later productive relationships in South Africa with black ministers like Elias Letwaba and Edward Lion. Lake considered Seymour a mentor with profound spiritual empowerment, much more comprehensive than his own charismatic experiences. By working with Seymour, Lake developed a respect for and deference toward the African-American spiritual traditions and the remarkable charismatic aptitude of black clerics. Seymour's egalitarianism as well as his narrative theology and unstructured enthusiastic liturgy profoundly influenced Lake's ministry.

In working with Letwaba, Lake emulated Seymour's mentor role. The Lake/Letwaba relationship was mutually beneficial, bringing out the best in both men. Lake was afforded an opportunity for practicing Seymour's racially inclusive Christian love. Perhaps the most commendable act of Lake's career was his stalwart defense of Letwaba when confronted by white racists. Lake's kissing and embracing Letwaba, together with a bold denunciation of prejudice, was an unequivocal

demonstration of racial respect in a society permeated with animosity. The considerable autonomy Lake afforded Letwaba in ministering to both black and white congregants further exemplified Lake's great admiration for Letwaba's piety and spiritual power. Under Lake's tutelage Letwaba blossomed as a Saint Patrick for southern Africa. Letwaba reciprocated the trust and commitment, becoming a steadfast defender of Lake when the American was challenged for alleged Apostolic Faith Mission fiscal improprieties and mismanagement.

The low point of Lake's ministry came when he either initiated or acquiesced with the resolution to segregate Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa baptisms. His participation in the most unfortunate decision reflected an indefensible compromise of ethics to pragmatism. Lake apparently felt that South African evangelism was promoted by segregated baptism and that such a policy placated Afrikaner "sensitivities". Lake most regrettably did not sufficiently heed St. Paul's admonition in Romans 12:2, "Do not be conformed to this world." The precedent set by disparate racial treatment would haunt the Apostolic Faith Mission, giving rise to separate racially organized sections of that church in the post-Lake era. Despite this deplorable baptismal apartheid, during Lake's Johannesburg residence no races were excluded from attending worship service at any Apostolic Faith Mission facility.

In the secular context, Lake's formulation of an indigenous reserve system was most perplexing. Reflecting a paternalistic and parochial, but not malicious, perspective, Lake proposed reserves of good quality, sustainable agrarian land wherein non-blacks could not own land. Black residence on the envisioned reserves was to be totally volitional. Lake modeled his system on nineteenth century U.S.

guardianship-style Indian reservations, learning from American policy mistakes to more humanize the land use. He anticipated such reservations as a means to promote cultural integrity while alleviating pressure from predatory white land speculators. He never advocated the South African compulsory relegation of indigenous peoples to crowded, inferior land as a means of subjugation, denial of civil liberties and maintenance of a labor pool. Lake's belief that he was the architect of the Natives Land Act of 1913 was mistaken in that he proposed a much more benign elective system based on the "liberal" Victorian reservation. He apparently had little, if any, knowledge of the actual legislation after his departure to America. He certainly was not the father of subsequent apartheid.

Lake's involvement in the South African political process in the first place was rather out of character. Generally he adhered to an apolitical orientation. Like many Pentecostals of his era, his emphasis on the spiritual rather than temporal, his deference to providence and his belief in Christ's imminent second coming all discouraged an active social agenda. Perhaps his well-intentioned reservation proposal reflected his Populist notions of government intervening in society to benefit the downtrodden and to promote working class interests. Lake's attempt to work with the Afrikaner leadership on land use and racial relations was a poorly chosen venture and reflected much political naiveté. Similarly, his misplaced enthusiasm in opposing Ethiopianism as a pseudo-religion led to an unhealthy relationship with Afrikaner segregationists who manipulated the trusting, otherworldly American and corrupted his reservation plans.

Despite his friendship with Gandhi, Lake's usual apolitical orientation diverted

him from undertaking protest against social injustice. Lake was not a Gandhi or Martin Luther King. Although denouncing racial hatred, he did not rise to a call for resistance against institutionalized prejudice. When he should have fought racial discrimination, he merely referred the justice issues to secular institutions. When he did choose resistance, he addressed only nonracial religious conviction issues. In the U.S. he protested and litigated for the right of faith-healers to worship without government interference, but did not conduct comparable protests for disempowered, discriminated blacks in either South Africa or America.

Lake manifested the racial ambiguities of his era prevalent even among “liberal”, and demonstrated deplorable notions of cultural superiority. Although a minister both advocating and demonstrating Christian love, he pursued no agenda for black political advancement. His empathy remained relegated to the spiritual realm. Through a religion emphasizing individual piety and charismatic union with God, he sought the empowerment of discriminated ethnic and racial groups, as well as improvement of the plight of the worker, the social outcast and the physically and mentally ill.

Outside the context of race, Lake was more forceful in advancing the socially, politically and economically neglected. Despite his lamentable failure to pursue a political agenda for blacks, Lake was a forceful advocate for women’s rights, affording females prominent positions in his ministry with comprehensive equality. Lake recognized spiritual gifts rather than gender were the true qualification for Christian service. Lake was also able to personally transcend class differences, voicing a Populist/Progressive and Pentecostal inspired egalitarianism while

maintaining amicable relations and engagement with prominent financiers, industrialists and entrepreneurs.

Lake propounded very demanding ethical standards. He viewed spirit filled believers as members of a Christian priesthood, partaking of the divine nature. The sanctified elect were a purified people disinclined to transgression of moral and legal precepts. His personal dictates called for equitable treatment, fair play, meekness, rendering good for evil, forgiveness, mercy, sexual propriety, honesty, avoidance of unfruitful contention and uncompromising righteousness.

Lake was frequently embroiled in controversy relating to his ministerial organization. When he left the Christian Catholic Church to embrace Pentecostalism, detractors labeled him a traitor and predator seeking to steal congregants. In South Africa Lake faced charges of financial and managerial impropriety. Lake's difficulties were in large part attributable to poor communication even with close associates like Hezmalhalch, and substandard book accounting, surprising shortcomings for a once successful businessman. The charge of self-aggrandizement and exaggerated mission reporting reflected lack of maturity in a preacher relatively inexperienced in autonomous ministry, lacking denominational support and facing opposition from established churches and secular detractors. To Lake's credit, he never was vindictive toward his adversaries, finding solace in Christian love and forgiveness.

Returning from Africa, Lake was rather frequently involved in litigation involving personal finances. He generally appeared to have evidenced no fraudulent or illegal motives in such transactions. Rather, he often demonstrated a naivety

remarkable for someone with his rather extensive business background. Always the unbridled optimist and possessing a forward-looking, exuberant personality, he seemed not to have carefully scrutinized investment schemes or reasonably anticipated that a deal could go sour. Furthermore, he showed poor judgment in even engaging in financial undertakings with congregants. A strict avoidance of potential conflicts of interest would have been prudent and saved him much anguish.

Lake attempted to implement his Apostolic Faith by establishing churches on the pattern of the New Testament institution. He emulated the apostle role through which he exerted considerable control of church governance. The fact that his American churches did not experience ongoing vitality was in large part attributable to his dominant personality and poor financial and administrative planning. He repeatedly faced schism as a result of the internal opposition of once trusted fellow clergy. Lake's rigid personality and strong notions of self-worth grated on subordinates and colleagues. His frequent ministerial excursions to satellite branches often made him in effect an absentee pastor, leaving him open to coups in the home church. Lake's desire to pursue an autonomous ministry until the last few years of his life and his distrust of bureaucracy left him bereft of financial support and the structure for resolution of church disputes possible in a denominational organization.

Lake may well be faulted for his sometimes rather fanciful tales and elaboration. He certainly never let strict adherence to factual accuracy curtail a good story. Nevertheless, Lake's misstatements were not malicious nor undertaken for

personal financial enrichment. Rather, he was a consummate salesman of the Gospel and skilful communicator, using interesting narratives to engage congregants. His deviations from strict factual accounting were arguably permissible for God's storyteller, provided biblical truth was never compromised.

Lake unquestionably believed in Scripture and evidenced a commendable commitment to a self-sacrificing ministry. Despite failings in not more actively pursuing a social gospel agenda, Lake repeatedly evidenced genuine adherence to his core spiritual convictions whatever the costs. He renounced personal financial opportunities available to the talented entrepreneur in America to pursue his ministry. Along with his wife and family he endured the grueling demands of an underfunded African mission. In the U.S. he faced ridicule and prosecution as a "cult" faith healer and "Holy Roller" defying secular law inconsistent with his convictions.

Despite his shortcomings, particularly his most aggrievous failing in instituting or tolerating some degree of disparate racial treatment in his South African church, Lake made his time and skills available for service to his God. He undoubtedly inspired the sick, oppressed and disempowered. His life was instructive in demonstrating how a willing but imperfect instrument may effect a divine purpose.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF LAKE'S LIFE

- 18 March 1870:** Lake born at St. Mary's, Ontario, Canada, son of James Lake and Elisabeth "Betsy" Graham.
- June 1884:** Lake water-baptized at Methodist Church, St. Mary's, Ontario.
- 1886:** Lake participates in Methodist Bible classes taught with evangelical fervor in Wesleyan Holiness tradition.
- Lake reads of David Livingstone's African ministry and wants to visit southern Africa.
- Lake cognizant of and sympathetic toward Orange Free State and South African Republic efforts to maintain sovereignty and resist British imperialism.
- Lake witnesses the illness and death of a girl acquaintance and, emotionally moved, undergoes a profound conversion experience.
- Lake moves with family to Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan.
- 1887-1891:** Lake apparently studies at Garrett Biblical Institute and reads the course of study set forth in The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
- 1891:** Lake ordained a Methodist minister, probably a "local pastor," but declines appointment.
- Lake moves to Harvey, IL to start Harvey Citizen, a secular newspaper.
- 5 February 1891:** Lake marries his first wife, Jennie Stevens of Newberry, Michigan, at Millington, IL, with the couple residing in Harvey.
- Lake's son, Alexander James, born.
- 1894:** Lake meets John Alexander Dowie on a Chicago street, and visits the Divine Healing Home. Lake says Dowie's prayers cure his chronic constipation and disabling

rheumatism.

Lake's son, Alexander, born, named after Dowie.

Jennie Lake is frequently a virtual invalid, with a heart condition, spinal problem, and diphtheria.

1896:

Lake's son, Horace, born.

Lake and wife move to Sault Sainte Marie, seeking a climate more convivial to her consumptive condition.

Lake commences publication of Soo Times, a secular paper, in conjunction with George A. Ferris.

1897:

Jennie Lake undergoes conversion experience under Dowie.

April 1898:

Jennie Lake's health further deteriorates following birth of third child, Otto. She becomes comatose. Lake attributes her recovery to Dowie's faith healing.

Jennie's recovery leads Lake to a salvation "in spirit, soul, and body." The Lakes resolve to refrain from secular medical treatment.

Lake supports U.S. efforts to liberate Cuba from Spanish colonial control, seeing the confrontation as an altruistic, moral war.

1898:

Lake aware that Dowie has appointed Johannes Buchler, a Transvaal Zionist, Pastor of the Johannesburg congregation of the Christian Catholic Church in Zion.

October 1898:

Lake leaves Methodism to worship with Dowie. He contributes testimony to Dowie's Leaves of Healing.

April 1899:

Lake and wife water-baptized by immersion in a special service conducted by Dowie commemorating laying of Zion Temple cornerstone, Zion City, Ill.

1 January 1900:

Lake attends opening service at Dowie's Shiloh Tabernacle, Zion City, Ill.

- 1900:** Lake ordained Deacon in Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, with Elder David Bryant presiding at the Zion Building, Sault Sainte Marie, with confirmation by Dowie in Chicago. As Deacon, Lake performs water baptisms, including that of his son, Alexander.
- 2 August 1900:** Jennie Lake accidentally shot by four-year-old son, Horace, Sault Sainte Marie. Elder Bryant participates with Lake and other Dowie congregants in a healing service, and she substantially recovers.
- October 1900:** Jennie's residual paralysis resulting from the shooting is treated by a subsequent healing service, wherein an African-American woman assists Lake.
- 1900:** Charles Parham visits Dowie's Christian Catholic Church, where Lake worships, then founds the Topeka Bible School.
- 1900-1902:** Spirit baptisms, including speaking in tongues, manifested among some Afrikaners interned in British South African War concentration camps. Lake sympathetic toward Afrikaner war effort.
- 1901:** Lake moves to Zion City, Ill, the Dowie Utopian community, continuing service in his deacon capacity.
- Lake makes a substantial contribution to charity and renounces secret societies.
- Lake concludes association with Soo Times, obtains Dowie's appointment as an Elder, and serves as a business manager for Dowie, while also maintaining a Zion City insurance brokerage.
- June 1901:** Dowie proclaims himself the God ordained Apostle Elijah and claims Corinthian gifts, engendering media and ecclesiastical attacks.
- 1902:** Lake's daughter, Irene, born.
- 1903:** Buchler, disillusioned with Dowie's self-aggrandizement, resigns from the Christian Catholic Church, replaced by Lake's friend, David Bryant.

- 1904:** Persons having received Spirit baptism under Parham locate in Zion City and hold home prayer meetings, but forced by Dowie to vacate.
- Lake makes acquaintance of Parham's wife and his sister-in-law, Lillian Thistleweight, when these women visit Fred Bosworth in Zion City. He learns of the Pentecostal gifts associated with Parham's 1900 Topeka School.
- September 1904:** Lake leaves Zion City, perhaps anticipating the utopian city's declining financial fortunes following Dowie's progressive psychological and physical deterioration. Lake borrows investment capital to fund a Chicago real estate office and purchase a seat on the Chicago Board of Trade.
- Through 1907, Lake engages in financial management and insurance sales, handling accounts for investment and industrial magnates James J. Hill, Tom Lawson, Edward H. Harriman and Thomas Ryan.
- Lake is the "full gospel, full businessman," holding a regular job while actively preaching.
- April 1906:** Overseer Wilbur Voliva wrestles control of the Christian Catholic Church from Dowie, prevailing in litigation over church property ownership. Lake further disengages from Zion City Church.
- 20 August 1906:** Parham visits Zion City, attracting hundreds in private home meetings, Voliva having prevented rental of public accommodations. Lake hears Parham speak of Spirit baptism manifested in 1900 Topeka, Kansas, and since April at Azusa Street, Los Angeles, under the African-American Methodist Holiness minister William Seymour.
- November 1906:** Lake's friend and fellow Dowie associate, John C. Sinclair, prays for an Azusa Street type baptism and becomes the first person in Chicago to receive such an experience. Sinclair's friendship with Lake eventually leads Lake to join the Pentecostal Church of God in 1930.
- 1 January 1907:** Lake attends Parham's watch night/New Year's Day

tent service in Zion City, and further affiliates with Pentecostals.

- Early 1907:** Lake apparently experiences an initial charismatic endowment.
- 1907:** Lake, Fred Bosworth and Thomas Hezmalhalch visit William Seymour at the Azusa Street Mission, and Seymour travels to Zion City.
- April–September 1907:** Lake overcomes initial ambivalence about full time non-denominational ministry, resolving to close out business activities. He liquidates assets, giving money to friends, relations, and charitable, religious and educational institutions.
- May 1907:** Lake, Bosworth, and about thirty others formerly associated with Dowie engage in various itinerant Pentecostal ministries.
- July 1907:** Lake's son, Wallace Stevens, born.
- Third Qtr. 1907:** Lake receives vividly prophetic vision that he will travel to South Africa, revealing the nature and extent of his African ministry. He feels called to Indianapolis, Ind. to conduct services in preparation for departure to South Africa.
- October 1907:** Lake receives Holy Spirit baptism with tongues (glossolalia), healing power, and other charismatic gifts. This baptismal empowerment was apparently distinguishable from his prior religious experiences in magnitude and comprehensiveness.
- Early 1908:** Lake and Hezmalhalch conduct joint evangelical campaign in Zion City. They plan the logistics of the South African trip, anticipating a mission concentrating on indigenous Africans.
- 2 April 1908:** Lake and a party of twelve depart for South Africa by way of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Liverpool, London, Madeira and Cape Town.

- April-May 1908:** Overseer Bryant of the Christian Catholic Church in Zion sails back to U.S. and passes Lake's party on the high seas.
- 14 May 1908:** Lake arrives in Cape Town, and for several days conducts first Azusa-inspired South African Pentecostal services in congregants' homes. Services also held at homes in Mowbray and Plumstead. He departs by train to Johannesburg.
- 23 May 1908:** Lake unexpectedly meets Mrs. C. G. Goodenough awaiting him at the depot, who accommodates his party with housing.
- May 1908:** Lake makes a short visit to Pretoria to explore ministerial opportunities, but decides to maintain headquarters in Johannesburg.
- 25 May 1908:** Lake, Hezmalhalch, and J. O. Lehman preach their first South African service in a church, addressing a Zulu congregation at Doornfontain, Johannesburg.
- May/July 1908:** Archibald H. Cooper and Pieter Louis le Roux, having read the Azusa Street Mission's The Apostolic Faith in 1907, meet Lake, accept Pentecostalism, and affiliate with his group.
- May/June 1908:** Lake and Hezmalhalch take over the Zion Tabernacle, Johannesburg, formerly used by the Christian Catholic Church in Zion, as initial headquarters for the Apostolic Faith Mission. The name for the organization reflects the legacy of Parham and Seymour.
- 1908:** Lake travels throughout South Africa, especially the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, ministering to persons regardless of nationality, religion, ethnicity or sex. Although administrative duties often require his presence in Johannesburg, he frequently ventures into the backcountry, especially when pestilence is epidemic.
- September 1908:** Lake meets Joseph Doke, Baptist Minister and friend of Gandhi, at Archibald Cooper's marriage, Johannesburg.

- 6 November 1908:** Lake does not oppose the Apostolic Faith Mission Executive Council's decision that blacks are to be baptized after whites.
- Mid-Year 1908
- 1909:** Lake's faith mission, not yet a separate denomination and not supported by any one ecclesiastical organization, faces dire financial conditions. He is unable to adequately supply food and housing needs of field workers, a number of whom nevertheless elect to remain at their duties and die from illness.
- 23 December 1908:** Jennie Lake dies from heart failure or stroke exacerbated by overwork, malnutrition and inability to adapt to African environment.
- 9 February 1909:** At Lake's Johannesburg home, Elias Letwaba, a Northern Ndebele, receives Spirit baptism and speaks in tongues. Denounced by unconverted white racists for accepting Letwaba as a religious equal, Lake openly kisses and embraces him in Christian fellowship.
- 27 May 1909:** Hezmalhalch elected president of the Apostolic Faith Mission; Lake chosen as vice-president.
- 30 July 1909:** Lake, as a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission executive council, does not prevent adoption of church policy mandating separate baptism services for whites, coloreds, and blacks.
- 27 September 1909:** Lake corresponds with Louis Botha, Transvaal Prime Minister, about curtailing the Ethiopian Movement. Lake becomes acquainted with Louis Botha, Jan Smuts, and Christiaan De Wet.
- Lake discusses his notion of a South African black reservation system with Botha. Lake addresses a parliamentary subcommittee of the Union of South Africa, and a variation of his proposal is enacted as the Natives Land Act of 1913.
- Third/Fourth Qtr.
1909:** Lake and Hezmalhalch return to U.S. by way of Britain. In England Lake meets with Bishop Ingram of London and Bishop Furze of the Church of England for Africa,

establishing an Emmanuel Society for the Practice of Divine Healing, a significant early acceptance of the charismatic movement by a major established denomination. Accompanied by Emmanuel Society Anglicans, Lake visits Lourdes and performs faith-healings.

Arriving in the U.S., for six months Lake recruits missionaries and solicits funds for South African work through campaigns conducted in Chicago, Portland, Oakland, and Los Angeles.

Lake meets with Seymour in Los Angeles to discuss South African missions and solicit support from Seymour's Apostolic Faith Mission.

- 10 January 1910:** Lake leaves for South Africa by way of England, preaching and teaching Bible classes while in London.
- 1910:** In Johannesburg, Lake meets Edward Lion, a Sotho Zionist, who joins the Apostolic Faith Mission as a native minister assigned to Basutoland.
- 1910:** When malaria ravages the Waterberg and Soutpansberg districts, Transvaal, Lake coordinates a nursing effort with Louis Botha, Transvaal Prime Minister.
- July-Oct. 1910:** Some American missionaries, including Hezmalhalch, charge Lake with financial improprieties, organizational mismanagement, and self-aggrandizement. Archibald Cooper joins in these allegations.
- October 1910:** Afrikaners give Lake use of their Braamfontein political headquarters.
- 18 November 1910:** Lake is exonerated by the Apostolic Faith Mission Executive Council of malfeasance and inappropriate conduct. The Council terminates Hezmalhalch's position for failure to substantiate charges against Lake, who then assumes the Presidency.
- 1911:** Lake visits the Salt River Assembly, Western Cape, formerly associated with the International Holiness Movement, and the congregation joins the Apostolic

Faith Mission.

- 1911-1912:** Lake ministers to Ndebele suffering from malaria and smallpox.
- 1912:** Lake visits the Plymouth Brethren assembly in Robertson, and the whole church joins the Apostolic Faith Mission.
- February 1913:** Lake travels to the U.S. for an anticipated six-month leave of absence from duties as Apostolic Faith Mission President, to regain health after grueling service, but never returns to Africa.
- 1913:** Lake ministers in Milwaukee with Cyrus B. Fockler, conducting tent revival meetings with both English and German language services.
- 27 November 1913:** Lake marries his second wife, Florence S. Witzer of Milwaukee.
- 1914:** Lake conducts Pentecostal services at Albert C. Grier's Church of Truth, Spokane, and evangelizes in Edwall, Orville and other Washington State communities.
- 2 April 1914:** Lake attends the organization meeting of the Assemblies of God, Hot Springs, but never becomes a member of the organization.
- Mid-Year 1914:** Lake declines employment with James Hill.
- August 1914:** Lake's son, Livingston Grier ("Jack"), born.
- 1914-1919:** Louis Botha communicates with Lake, now in Spokane, to organize a faith healing medical corps for South Africa Pentecostal soldiers declining conventional medical treatment.
- January 1915:** Lake establishes the Apostolic Church of Spokane and opens the Healing Rooms in the Old Rookery Building, Spokane.
- 16 April 1915:** Lake founds the International Apostolic Congress in England, an organization with the power to establish churches and ordain clergy.

- June 1918:** Spokane Better Business Bureau investigates Lake's ministry for alleged fraudulent misrepresentation relating to faith healing claims, particularly the purported healing of a woman supposedly examined and pronounced incurable by 735 physicians. No actionable misconduct is proven.
- 25 June 1918:** Lake and wife, Florence, sued for breach of contract relating to a proposed purchase of real property.
- 1918:** Lake threatened with suit for alienation of affection, purportedly based on Lake's encouraging a husband, a prominent clergyman in The Church of Spokane and vice-president of the Healing Rooms, to divorce his wife.
- 7 January 1919:** Lake and wife, Florence, sue a taxi company for injuries sustained by Florence and vehicle damage arising out of a collision 31 August 1918.
- 16 September 1919:** Lake sued for money owed under a promissory note.
- 20 May 1920:** Lake moves to Portland, Oregon, and receives an angelic visitation at Mt. Tabor Park inspiring him to establish the Divine Healing Institute and Apostolic Church of Portland.
- 30 December 1920:** Lake and an entrepreneur sued for breach of contract for a transaction whereby an investor conveyed them mining stock as investment capital for mine improvements.
- Late First Qtr.,
1921:** Lake reorganizes his congregation as "The Church at Spokane," with himself as apostle and D. N. McInturff, former Methodist preacher, as bishop.
- 23 June 1921:** Lake and son, Otto, charged by Oregon State Corporation Commission and Portland Better Business Bureau with criminal violation of state Blue Sky Law, for a sale of mining stock to certain members of their congregation.
- 29-30 June 1921:** Lake relocates the International Apostolic Congress to a headquarters in Spokane. The organization's first

annual U.S. conference soundly endorses woman's equality.

26 April 1922:

Lake arrested for impersonating an officer of The Church of Spokane when D. N. McInturff claims Lake has no official capacity with the congregation. Lake's faction is locked out of the church building.

7 April 1923:

Lake charged by Portland City Health Director with failure to report a communicable disease in the context of an influenza and pneumonia death of one of his parishioners. The physician health director had earlier sought to charge Lake with criminal carelessness and manslaughter for failure to obtain medical treatment for the critically ill woman.

17 May 1923:

Lake convicted in Portland for failure to report a communicable disease. The fifty dollar fine was reduced by half upon his agreement not to pursue an appeal.

December 1924:

At Portland, Lake converts Gordon Lindsay, later founder of an organization to be known as Christ for the Nations, in a special service in which Charles Parham participates.

March 1927:

Lake writes to Parham and expresses disillusionment with the present Pentecostal movement. He states financial difficulties and health preclude a longed for return to African ministry.

March-October 1927:

Lake conducts revival campaigns in California and Texas. Lake resides in Houston attempting to found church, but organizational difficulties and son's critical automobile injuries necessitate departure.

1928-1929:

Lake leaves active ministry due to throat condition, and works in California selling newspaper advertisements with his two elder sons.

1930:

Lake returns to Portland and affiliates with the Pentecostal Church of God, Northwest District, after a lifetime of non-denomination ministry.

1931:

Much diminished in vigor, Lake returns to Spokane, holding services at the First Evangelical Church.

- 1931:** Lake purchases the "Big Tabernacle," Lincoln and Sharp Streets, Spokane, and conducts revivals and regular services at that location.
- September 1934:** Lake named district superintendent of the Northwest District Office, Pentecostal Church of God.
- June-July 1935:** Lake delivers series of twelve radio sermons.
- 16 September 1935:** Lake dies at age 65, following two weeks of unconsciousness due to stroke suffered at a church picnic.

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