The Shepherd in No Man's Land:
Psalm 23 and Early Pentecostal Pacifism

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ABSTRACT: *Though the global Pentecostal movement is not associated with pacifism or nonviolence in the contemporary era, many key Pentecostal leaders at the turn of 20th century expressed strong pacifist views. This paper traces the origin of these views and argues that pacifism was a necessary result of the early Pentecostal worldview for two reasons: First, the early Pentecostal church saw itself as a restoration of the apostolic movement which provided no room for violence or bloodshed in the Christian life. Second, the early Pentecostal movement saw itself on the brink of an imminent eschaton, which fixed their gaze away from the powers of this world and toward the world to come. The second part of this paper traces the pacifist Pentecostal thought of Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn and Frank Bartleman, using Psalm 23 as a scriptural foundation. It will be argued that these early Pentecostal pacifists viewed themselves as sojourners in the valley of the shadow of death, who sought to remain true to the peaceful, sacrificial way of Christ, their shepherd, amidst a world torn apart by violence.*

KEYWORDS*: Pentecost, Pentecostalism, Pacificism, Psalm 23, Nonviolence, Early Pentecostalism, Pacifism*

Introduction

The prevalence of pacifism as an early Pentecostal tenet is demonstrable among the doctrinal statements as well as theological writings of the early (pre-WWII) Pentecostal movement. This paper intends to explore this prevalence, using Psalm 23 as a scriptural basis. In the first part of this paper, it will be shown that pacifism was a necessary consequence of two central features of early Pentecostal theology, namely restorationism and millennialism. The early Pentecostal movement saw itself as a restoration of the apostolic age, which was witnessing an outpouring of God's spirit on the brink of an imminent eschaton. The imminence of Christ's return and the immediacy of his kingdom within Pentecostal thought meant that the devoted Christian could give their life only to the service of Christ himself and could not serve both the violent ways of the world and the peaceful way of Christ. Brief comment will be given regarding the decline of pacifism as a Pentecostal tenet, but this paper does not intend to explain or explore this decline in depth. In the second part of this paper, the pacifist Pentecostal worldview will be exemplified in the writings of two early Pentecostal writers, Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn and Frank Bartleman. Psalm 23 will serve as a suitable

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scriptural basis for the pacifist thought of these early Pentecostals, as it will be shown that they viewed the world's devotion to violence as a "valley" through which the faithful Christian ought to follow the sacrificial way of our Shepherd-Lord Christ rather than the violent patterns of our human kingdoms.

1. A Brief History of Pentecostal Pacifism

By the dawn of WWII, both the American Assemblies of God (hereafter AOG) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (hereafter PAOC), the two dominant governing bodies of Pentecostalism in North America, had adopted officially pacifist positions. The PAOC issued their officially pacifist resolution in 1939, declaring their understanding of "the New Testament teaching and principles as prohibiting Christians from shedding blood or taking human life." [2] The PAOC's position, on paper, was opposed merely to the act of taking human life and said nothing of military service or involvement in the war effort in general. The AOG was more resolute in their declaration: "we cannot conscientiously participate in war and armed resistance which involves the actual destruction of human life, since this is contrary to our view of the clear teachings of the inspired Word of God, which is the sole basis of our faith." [3] Though the PAOC's declaration may have been ambiguous regarding military or wartime service, it is apparent that many early Canadian Pentecostals (prior to WWII) held anti-military convictions, even though Canadian Pentecostals were not given the same conscientious objector status that their American counterparts were. At least one notable story has arisen in this regard, of a young Pentecostal man who perished in Canadian government custody in Winnipeg during WWI because of his conscientious objection to military service.[4] The contrast between this incident during WWI and the lack of military language in the PAOC's 1939 declaration may indicate that the Pentecostal zeal for pacifism, in the Canadian context at least, was already in decline during the interwar years. Though the decline of pacifist ideals is apparent in the histories of the PAOC as well as the AOG, especially during and after WWII, the early (pre-WWII) zeal for pacifism is unmistakable in the writing and preaching of the earliest Pentecostal leaders. Pacifism was not merely an additional component or factor of early Pentecostal ethics but was a necessary consequence of the early Pentecostal worldview and self-identity. [5] It will be shown that two major factors in early Pentecostal theology which brought about pacifism as a necessary consequence were restorationism and millennialism.

Early Pentecostal Restorationism

Early Pentecostals viewed themselves as continuing the ministry and mission of the early church. Amos Yong notes that the early Pentecostal movement was characterized, among other things, by restorationism, "involving the rejection of historical and contemporary religious life in favor of a pragmatic retrieval and reappropriating of 'the' biblical way of life." [6] Early Pentecostal writing features a heavy influence in returning to both the theological content and missional methodology of the apostolic age, and a denouncing of the rise of "Christendom" with the conversion of Constantine.

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[2] "The Pentecostal Movement and War," *The Pentecostal Testimony*, 20, (October 1939), 3.
[3] Michael Bridges, "The Assemblies of God Resolution Against War," (Unpublished essay for *American Pentecostalism*, 1983), 16.
[4] Martin William Mittelstadt, "'Canada's First Martyr': The Suspicious Death of Winnipeg's WWI Pentecostal Conscientious Objector." *Didaskalia* 28 (2018): 129–44.
[5] Jay Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism* (Hillsboro: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1989), 37.
[6] Amos Yong, *In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 27.

There is great vitriol present in the writings of early Pentecostals towards any notion of a "Christian" nation or Christianity being defined by national identity. Reflecting upon the ongoing first world war which was turning "Christian" nations against each other in war, Pentecostal writer and preacher Frank Bartleman declares that "Christianity has not broken down, but men have failed to be Christian. The civilization of the so-called 'Christian countries' has been essentially pagan in all of the relations of nation to nation…"[7] Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn, a Pentecostal convert from Quakerism, admonishes the shift in tone in Christianity from the early age of the church to the Constantinianism of later centuries, wherein "Paganism and Christianity became fused."[8] Bartleman and Booth-Clibborn have both been regarded as highly influential voices in early Pentecostal ideology.[9] Embedded in early Pentecostal worldview is the understanding that Christianity loses its authenticity when fused with worldly political power, and that the early church, pre-Constantine, was a model of authentic loyalty to the kingship of Christ. Loyalty to Christ, in the early Pentecostal view, categorically denied the world's methods of power, including violence and warfare.

Early Pentecostal ecclesiology was characterized by an emphasis on the church as a Kingdom which is not of this world and therefore may find itself at odds with the kings and rulers of this world, just as the early church found itself in awkward tension with the civil religion of Rome. Writing of the nature of the church, Pentecostal pioneer William J. Seymour immediately defines the church by its relationship to worldly power structures: "A church constitutes a kind of spiritual kingdom in the world, but not of the world; whose king is Christ… its members must 'submit themselves to governors'…remembering that God's claims are supreme, and annihilate all claims that contradict or oppose them."[10] Early Pentecostal ecclesiology understands the church as an institution which removes the human being from loyalty to any external state, nation, or power structures, with individual Christians "being citizens not of any earthly nation, but of the kingdom of God."[11] Frank Bartleman would go so far as to declare that conversion to Christianity removes the individual from their earthly country and worldly political loyalties in the same way that one would revoke their citizenship in the United States should they move to a new country.[12] The early Pentecostal church saw itself as the successors of early Christianity, and thereby situated the church in a position of irrelevance to worldly power structures and conflicts in much the same way that the early church existed in irrelevance to the wars and struggles of Rome prior to Constantine's conversion. The church, according to the early Pentecostals, was called to establish the Kingdom of God with Christ as its king, which left no room for individual Christians to be drawn in to nationalistic or patriotic loyalties which would rob Christ of the ultimate allegiance he is due.

Early Pentecostal Eschatology

The early Pentecostal church saw itself as a restoration of the early church, while simultaneously believing that they were living in the last days of the church. Emphasis was given to prophetic texts such as Joel 2:28, which is quoted by the apostle Peter in Acts 2:

> 'In the last days,' God says,
> 'I will pour out my Spirit on all people.

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[7] Frank Bartleman "Is Christian Civilization Breaking Down?," Christian Evangel (February 27, 1915) 3.

[8] Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood* (London: Headley Brothers, 1907), 44-52.

[9] Peter Althouse, "Canadian Pentecostal Pacifism." *Eastern Journal of Practical Theology* 4, no. 2 (1990): 34.

[10] William J. Seymour, The Doctrines and Disciplines of Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission by William J. Seymour. Complete Azusa Street Library 7. (MO: Christian Life, 2000), 93.

[11] Joel Shuman, "Pentecost and the End of Patriotism: A Call for the Restoration of Pacifism among Pentecostal Christians." *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 9, no. 4 (1996): 75.

[12] Jay Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism* (Hillsboro: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1989), 55.

> Your sons and daughters will prophesy,
> your young men will see visions,
> your old men will dream dreams.' (NIV)

The early Pentecostal church saw itself as part of the movement by which God was pouring out his spirit on all people - a reliving of the apostles' experience in Acts 2 - and thereby saw the world around it as experiencing the last days and sitting on the edge of the eschaton. Historically, it may be observed that the early Pentecostals were living through the preliminary signs of the coming first world war, which fueled their eschatological imaginings. Bartleman wrote more than one extensive analysis on the increasing militarism of the western world - observing increases in military spending, nationalistic rhetoric, and political fervor as warning signs of the world's increasing commitment to violence, bloodshed, and oppression, and thereby signs of Christ's imminent return.[13] Yong notes, among restorationism, that apocalypticism and millennialism featured among the defining features of early Pentecostalism: "involving a resistance to cultural accommodation in favor of emphasis on the world to come." [14] The historical context of the early Pentecostal movement contributed to these apocalyptic tendencies: "The context of the Great War inspired an abundance of apocalyptic interest among these early Pentecostals, and it is apparent that the Apocalypse influenced the early Pentecostals' reaction to World War I." [15] Millennialist eschatology contributed to the existence of pacifism in early Pentecostalism because it placed total emphasis on the eschatological fulfilment of God's kingdom and denied any notion of worldly powers or structures progressing towards the eschaton. In the millennialist framework, the church's present role was to preach the gospel and to exist as a realized example of Christ's eschatological kingdom, which denied the possibility of violence as well as any ultimate allegiance or loyalty to worldly powers.

Decline of Pentecostal Pacifism

The collective commitment to pacifism that is demonstrable in the early Pentecostal movement can no longer be said to exist. This is demonstrable in the current absence of any clear pacifist resolution the official doctrinal literature of either the PAOC or the AOG. In the Canadian context, the first General Superintendent of the PAOC, George Chambers, was a former Mennonite and therefore a staunch pacifist.[16] The PAOC did not form officially until 1919, during the aftermath of WWI, however, and Chambers seems to have been the last of the PAOC's General Superintendents to promote a strict pacifism.[17] Scholars of the movement have debated why the pacifist leanings seem to have vanished from public Pentecostal discourse. Althouse argues that the primary reason for the shift from pacifism to non-pacifism, at least in the North American context largely lies in the shift from "sect" to "church" experienced by the Pentecostal movement. Pentecostalism's sectarian origins are evident, as Yong has argued, in its apocalyptic and millennial eschatology, as well as in its restorationist ideology.[18] The earliest Pentecostals had not sought to establish their own church but had been driven out of existing church structures and denominational definitions by their beliefs and practices. This sectarian dynamic forged a counter-cultural ethos wherein the wars of the world were seen as wholly irrelevant

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[13] Pipkin, Brian K. And Jay Beaman, ed., *Early Pentecostals on Nonviolence and Social justice: A Reader* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2016), 39-50.

[14] Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 28.

[15] David R. Johnson, "The Mark of the Beast, Reception History, and Early Pentecostal Literature." *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 25, (2016): 202

[16] Geoffrey Butler, "Blessed are the Peacemakers: Canadian Pentecostalism and Military Conflict in the Early Twentieth Century." *McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry* 21, (2020): 74.

[17] Butler, "Blessed are the Peacemakers" 74.

[18] Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 28.

to those whose ultimate allegiance was to the kingdom of God. This is why the earliest Pentecostal writers (ex. Bartleman) spoke prophetically of the underlying economic and political systems of injustice and oppression which guised themselves under patriotic rhetoric during wartime. Althouse suggests that Pentecostalism, since its inception, "has transformed from a sect to a church. The lower-class sect has no use for a war which supports prejudiced social structures, but the upper-class church profits from these social structures, so it is willing to protect them."[19] The Pentecostal movement gained respect, organization, and social status during the interwar years, and it became apparent, especially in the case of the PAOC, that though the denomination had taken an officially pacifist stance, it was a movement that was capable of attracting believers from a multitude of backgrounds, and that a universal declaration of pacifism was unsustainable, especially in the hazy ethical era of WWII.[20] This explanation is also put forward by Jay Beaman[21] and is developed by a more recent analysis done by Murray W. Dempster.[22] The early Pentecostal movement saw itself as a restoration of the early church. They saw themselves as the spirit-baptized believers who would recover a genuine commitment to Christ as King, in expectation of his return and eschatological reign. This conviction created not only an apathy towards the wars and conflicts of earthly kingdoms, but also a fiery zeal to see the church called away from its post-Constantinian fusion with worldly powers. War and violence were not only irrelevant to the mission of the church, but antithetical to the teachings of the New Testament, according to the PAOC's 1939 declaration, and to the eschatology reality of Christ's kingdom. In the early Pentecostal framework, then, war and violence were simply incompatible with the kingship of Christ and the Christian life.

2. Pentecostal Pacifism and Psalm 23

It will now be shown that Psalm 23 provides a suitable scriptural basis for understanding the pacifist views of two key early Pentecostal leaders. These leaders saw the world's times of war and violence as a "valley of the shadow of death" in which we, as followers of Christ, are called to remain faithful to our shepherd-Lord, the prince of peace. The lordship of Christ, in this context, calls us away from the powers of the world which would seek to draw us into the "shadow of death" through the allure of patriotism and nationalism, but Christ, by being both our shepherd-Lord and our sacrificial lamb, provides an example of radical self-sacrifice in the depths of the valley. This section will focus on the writings of two prominent early Pentecostal pacifists: Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn and Frank Bartleman.

War and the Valley

Early Pentecostal writers understood war as being a realm of shadow and death, entirely contradictory to the lordship of Christ. This is nowhere more apparent than in *Blood Against Blood*, the pacifist manifesto of Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn written at the dawn of the 20th century. Writing out of first-hand experience in the Boer War, Booth-Clibborn describes war as a "deepest darkness" in which the church has no business, except insofar as it serves as an example of Christ's peace.[23] The machinations of war, according to Booth-Clibborn, reduce the beloved child of God to a mere cog in a

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[19] Althouse, "Canadian Pentecostal Pacifism." 40.
[20] Althouse, "Canadian Pentecostal Pacifism." 41.
[21] Beaman, *Pentecostal Pacifism*, 107-111.
[22] Murray W. Dempster, "Crossing Borders," In *Pentecostals and Nonviolence,* ed. Paul Nathan Alexander (Eugene: Pickwick, 2012), 121-143.
[23] Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood,* 24.

machine of death and destruction; the military force of a worldly empire takes the place of God in an individual's life insofar as it demands ultimate allegiance to the point of death. It is impossible, Booth-Clibborn would argue, for the individual to follow both Christ the shepherd-Lord as well as the machinations of a military force insofar as the individual cannot act both for the salvation of their fellow human beings as well as the destruction of their enemy.[24] This highlights one of the chief characteristics of war's ultimate darkness on which Booth-Clibborn reflects; war dehumanizes both the combatant and the civilian. It demands that the combatant take no heed of any commonalities which may exist between them and their enemy; it ultimately defies the call of Christ to love one's enemy and does not permit the individual to recognize God's own image in their opponent. The violence and destruction which Booth-Clibborn witnessed first-hand in the Boer War instilled in him the conviction that the death and darkness of war could not be supported by the radical call to humanity that is represented in Christ; a call that demands that we recognize God's image in the other and do not obey the world's call to ignorant violence in the face of our enemy.

Frank Bartleman, during WWI, declared: "God is not responsible for this awful war. But sin is."[25] Bartleman saw the powers of the world, all equally responsible of various injustices and oppressive behaviors, doing violence upon each other to no positive end. Bartleman argued for the same incompatibility between violence and the Christian life as Booth-Clibborn: "War is contrary to the whole Spirit and teaching of Christ. Any one going into war is bound to lose out. Christ's kingdom is 'not of this world'. If so, 'then would his servants fight.'"[26] Bartleman further argued that the death of war is contrary to the death of Christ: "For here is the supreme test of a Christian, to be killed rather than to kill… He [the soldier] can never forget his participation in the war, and his betrayal of the principles of the Christ who died for all men."[27] Though much Christian rhetoric during the early 20th century would have glorified the opportunity to go war and fused the patriotic call to military service with Christian ethics, Bartleman saw nothing in war except the shadow of death: "Ask the boys in camp, or on the battlefield. They will tell you it is hell, from end to end. Compare it with the Sermon on the Mount."[28] Bartleman, like Booth-Clibborn, recognized that war was not a place for glorious Christian sacrifice as many of his Christian contemporaries would have argued, but a place of shadow and death – a place where Christ stood as a radical opposite as opposed to a participant. These writers saw the death and violence of warfare as being entirely incompatible with the nature of Christ, who gave his own life as a victim of worldly military power as opposed to participating in and perpetuating the systems of violence which placed him on the cross.

Following the Shepherd in the Valley

It is important to note that these early Pentecostal writers did not promote blissful ignorance as an alternative to participating in the world's wars. Rather, they promoted a radical path of self-sacrifice as is exemplified by Christ. The call of Christ – the presence of the shepherd in the valley – does not remove the individual from the valley, but it does provide a clear light to follow through the valley's shadows. Bartleman acknowledged that European militarism, for example, needed to be dealt with and could not be ignored, but he did deny that the genuine solution to any of the world's ills could come through violence: "We favor no country. The militarism of Germany must be broken. But it cannot be broken successfully by navalism or a greater militia. That would be changing horses only.

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[24] Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood,* 25.
[25] Frank Bartleman, "The European War." In *Early Pentecostals on Nonviolence and Social Justice,* ed. Brian K. Pipkin and Jay Beaman (Eugene: Pickwick, 2016), 34.
[26] Frank Bartleman, "War and the Christian." In *Early Pentecostals on Nonviolence and Social Justice,* ed. Brian K. Pipkin and Jay Beaman (Eugene: Pickwick, 2016), 121.
[27] Bartleman, "War and the Christian", 123.
[28] Bartleman, "War and the Christian", 121.

The prince of Peace must crush it...Man cannot save himself. The Prince of Peace must do it."[29] In the pacifist thought of these pioneers of Pentecostalism, war was a valley of the shadow of death from which humanity could not save itself by its own violent means – triumph over the valley required that we follow the peaceful, sacrificial way of Christ, which would not be understood or recognized by a world caught up in its own cycle of violence and injustice.

There is similar nuance in Booth-Clibborn's assessment of military service, as he recalls several anecdotes of servicemen from many different nations who found themselves able to be of service to the wounded and injured in the midst of armed conflict, though they refused to bear arms themselves.[30] These individuals did not flee or seek to ignore the valley, but, in Booth-Clibborn's mind, were able to faithfully follow the shepherd-Lord Christ in the midst of the shadow of death. Booth-Clibborn highlighted the need to *follow* and not just obey Christ, as the sheep would follow the shepherd: "Christ is the Leader and Commander of His people. Note the order of the titles. He leads before He commands. He led the way to Calvary."[31] The act of Christ on Calvary bore great normative weight in the pacifist thought of these early Pentecostals. Their understanding of Calvary was such that, in allowing himself to be arrested, tortured, and executed by the powers of the world, Christ set an example before us which we disobey if we allow ourselves to slip into violence or bloodshed for any purpose. It is essential to recall that Christ did not flee his accusers either; Christ inhabited death, shadow, and humiliation on the cross, making his power perfect in weakness (2 Cor. 12:9). As such, the follower of Christ does not ignore the reality of the shadow of death or cowardly shield themselves from the ills of the world, but they are called, in Bartleman's startling words, "to be killed rather than to kill."

For both Bartleman and Booth-Clibborn, to recognize the Lord as our Shepherd was also to recognize the shepherd as our only Lord. As such, the peaceful, sacrificial example of Christ required our ultimate allegiance, which left no room for patriotic or nationalistic loyalties to distract us from Christ's path of peace. Booth-Clibborn recognized the allure of patriotism as a seductive yet destructive distraction from the path of Christ: "But the very word patriotism, as used in war, is anti-Christian, for it denies the brotherhood of man, and therefore denies the fatherhood of God."[32] One might suggest that patriotism, in Booth-Clibborn's argument, competes with the individual's capacity to belong to the "flock" of our shepherd-Lord insofar as it creates boundaries and borders among God's children. Patriotism and national pride divide the family of God and create separations among the flock; they cannot be the work of the shepherd. Both Bartleman and Booth-Clibborn would suggest that we know the work and nature of the shepherd because it is ultimately revealed on the cross wherein Christ took the position not of the shepherd but of the lamb. It is the blood of the sacrificial lamb, Christ, which, as Booth-Clibborn argues, denies the Christian the right to participate in violence or in taking the blood of others: "And are such men, born again of the gentle spirit of Christ, cleansed by the blood of the LAMB to be herded off to the battlefield to kill like wolves?"[33] The Christian, in a time of war, then, stands in the valley of the shadow of death, confident in its allegiance to the shepherd-Lord, and comfortable in its status as a lamb in the midst of wolves; it does not seek to be a wolf itself, because it belongs to the shepherd who has endured death and violence himself in order that the flock may be delivered through the valley.

In denying the place of patriotism or nationalism in the life of the Christian, Bartleman and Booth-Clibborn do not suggest general rebelliousness against the state or nation, but only the proper subjugation of all worldly powers to the lordship of Christ. In this framework, the Christian's civic duty should be obeyed, and harmony should exist between the Christian and the powers of the world,

[29] Bartleman, "The European War", 36.
[30] Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood,* 19-21.
[31] Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood,* 26.
[32] Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood*, 16.
[33] Booth-Clibborn, *Blood against Blood*, 22.

but only insofar as the world powers do not require disobedience to Christ. Bartleman explains: "We are to 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.' But our lives and our souls belong to God...Caesar disputes this ownership with God."[34] Caesar may own a great deal, but upon conversion, Caesar is no longer the Lord we seek to follow through the valley – Caesar seems in fact to be the reason for the valley. This attitude may be said to have arisen out of a general sense of "pilgrimage" among early Pentecostals. This sense of pilgrimage, as has been argued in this paper, came about due to the eschatological reality that the early Pentecostal movement saw itself participating in as a restoration of the Apostolic movement.[35] The early Pentecostal movement saw itself dwelling on the edge between the present age and the next; as genuine citizens of heaven who only temporarily found themselves among a fallen and broken world, eager not to please the forces of shadow and death that currently reign but fixated on the coming Kingdom. In other words, Pentecostals did not expect to be permanent residents of the proverbial valley, but only sojourners, faithfully following their shepherd-Lord through to brighter lands beyond.

As has been argued, Psalm 23 provides a suitable scriptural basis with which we may capture the motives of early Pentecostal pacifists. These early Pentecostals saw themselves as sojourners who "walk" through the valley of the shadow of death, though they refuse to participate in the destruction and violence that they witness around them, regarding it as the result of sin and wholly incompatible with the follower of Christ. Instead, they sought true allegiance to Christ the shepherd-Lord who provided an example of peace, but also of radical self-sacrifice. To follow Christ as shepherd, these early Pentecostals proposed a radical opposition to the violence of the world which did not permit participation within worldly cycles of violence but may still require a radical inhabiting of these "valley" spaces in order that Christ, the shepherd-Lord, may be represented.

Conclusion

The early Pentecostal movement developed pacifist ideologies for two key reasons. First, it saw itself as a restoration of the Apostolic movement, which required a faith that was unattached to any worldly power structures but was committed to the example of Christ on the cross. This example of Christ overrode any fusion of Christian faith with worldly political power or military might. The early Pentecostal movement was, rather, committed to a pre-Constantine model of Christianity wherein the church's power was embodied in weakness and sacrifice, rather than violence or bloodshed. Second, the early Pentecostal movement saw itself as an embodiment of an imminent eschatological reality. They saw themselves as the Spirit-Baptized believers who, as examples of Christ's coming Kingdom, were living in the end of this age, and had no business in the structures of violence and bloodshed that dominated the twentieth century. These pacifist ideals are embodied in the writings of Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn and Frank Bartleman, two early Pentecostal evangelists who fervently dissuaded their fellow believers from fusing their allegiance to Christ with any worldly obligation which created violence, destruction, and death. Psalm 23 has been used as a scriptural basis for Bartleman and Booth-Clibborn's thought, insofar as these writers saw themselves and their movement as sojourners walking through a valley of death and destruction, following the example of Christ, their Lord and shepherd, who modelled the power of peace and self-sacrifice in a world gripped by war.

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[34] Frank Bartleman, "Christian Citizenship," In *Early Pentecostals on Nonviolence and Social Justice,* ed. Brian K. Pipkin and Jay Beaman (Eugene: Pickwick, 2016), 106.

[35] A close study of Booth-Clibborn's rhetoric in relation to the "pilgrimage" mentality of the early Pentecostal movement has been done by Murray W. Dempster: Murray W. Dempster, "Crossing Borders," In *Pentecostals and Nonviolence,* ed. Paul Nathan Alexander (Eugene: Pickwick, 2012), 121-143.

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